

# PARTICIPANTS IN GUARANI NARRATIVE

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Preliminary Version

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## CONTENTS

0.	Introduction	3
1.	Preliminary notions	3
1.1.	Participants	4
1.2.	Referring expressions, direct and indirect	4
1.3.	Context rules	6
2.	The function problem	11
3.	The reference problem	13
3.1.	Subjects	14
3.2.	Objective complements	17
3.3.	Indirect objects	18
3.4.	Possessors	19
3.5.	Compound referents	21
3.6.	Free pronouns	23
3.7.	Referring expressions without referents	24
4.	The naturalness problem	26
4.1.	Elementary constraints	26
4.2.	Paragraphs	29
4.3.	Prominence	31
4.4.	Participant introduction, dismissal, and re-introduction; rate of participant reference	39

## 0. Introduction

The participant problem for Guarani narrative consists of three parts:

- i) to describe how one knows which grammatical function is being performed by a given referring expression;
- ii) to describe how one knows which participant is being referred to by a given referring expression;
- iii) to describe how one knows which referring expression to use to refer idiomatically and naturally to a given participant in a given context.

Part i) will be called the function problem; ii), the reference problem; and iii), the naturalness problem.

The function problem and the reference problem are problems facing the hearer (or analyst), while the naturalness problem is a problem facing the speaker (or translator). The first two may be more elementary, but it was necessary to include them because of difficulties I was having in these areas.

As it turns out, all three problems are interrelated. The solution to the function problem forms the basis of the solution to the reference problem (at least as I am treating it here), and certain parts of the solution to the reference problem constitute low-level constraints on the natural occurrence of referring expressions of various types. In the other direction there is also some feed-back, at least in terms of expectation: if, for example, a given referring expression is not being used idiomatically and naturally, the hearer may have difficulty in determining its referent or its grammatical function. So it is not exactly correct to say that the solutions to the function and reference problems are presupposed by any solution to the naturalness problem; presuppositions also go in the other direction.

The corpus consists of six narrative texts by six different authors, with a total of some 600 clauses. Other texts were also consulted, but not systematically. The corpus includes only one short first person text, and for this reason the analysis should be considered to cover only third person narratives. In fact, all of the observations and conclusions should be considered quite tentative, and requiring confirmation or modification in the light of further data.

The data is transcribed phonemically according to the phonemic statement of February 9, 1961, as slightly modified by subsequent studies on file. An apostrophe ( ' ) is used for the glottal stop. A slash ( / ) separates sentences within an example.

## 1. Preliminary notions

In this section are discussed some preliminary definition of participants and referring expressions, and some general rules on determining the grammatical function or referent of a referring expression from the context.

### 1.1. Participants

The following definition of the term "participant" is only meant to approximate what I understand to be its common, non-technical sense. First of all, a personal participant in a

narrative is a person who is referred to more than once and is spoken of as doing something or having something done to him. In other words, more than his existence or his characteristic properties are mentioned. In general, a participant is either a personal participant, or some other entity which either interacts with a personal participant in a non-incidental way or is ascribed personal behaviour or thought process.

In the corpus, participants are for the most part personal (either real or fictitious), but there is also an onça (fictitious, presented with personal characteristics) and a snake (real, interacting with a personal participant throughout the narrative).

Entities besides participants that are referred to in a narrative will be called props.

## 1.2. Referring expressions, direct and indirect

When the word "refer" in any of its forms is used in this paper, the sense will be limited to referring to participants and not to other entities (props) in a narrative. Even aside from this restriction, our usage of the word "refer" requires some explanation.

1.2.1. In Guarani, there are two ways to call attention to a participant, and this paper deals with both of them. The first way, which is the only one of the two that is ordinarily termed "reference", will be called in this paper direct reference. In Guarani, the expressions which are normally used for direct reference are: nouns (possibly with modifiers), including proper nouns; nominalized clausal and descriptions; free pronouns; and bound pronominal forms which are prefixed to verbs (to indicate subject or direct object), to adjectives (to indicate attribuant), or to possessed nouns (to indicate possessor). All of these expressions have been described elsewhere.

Expressions of direct reference are not merely dummy expressions that "stand for" their referent; they provide to a greater or lesser degree, clues to facilitate his identification. The clues, in the case of direct reference, are characteristic or contextual features of the referent.

For example, the expressions kujã 'woman' and a'e '3rd person animate pronoun' convey those identificational features listed in their respective glosses.

An important feature of direct reference is the speaker's intention to refer. According to Searle (Speech Acts, p.95). "The speaker intends that the utterance of the expression will identify the referent to the hearer by means of the hearer's recognition of the speaker's intention to identify the referent..." (Searle's abbreviations filled out by me). In summary, direct reference occurs when the speaker uses some nominal expression to call attention intentionally to some participant, and in general some features of the participant are included in the expression as identificational clues.

1.2.2. The second way to call attention to a participant is termed in this paper indirect reference. In common usage and in certain linguistic literature (cf. Searle) it is not called "reference" at all, but rather "allusion" or some such term. Perhaps the clearest example is the "understood object" of a verb: oexa '3p subj-see (3p obj understood)'. What is happening in such cases is that the verb stem is accompanied by certain semantic roles (in the above example, "experiencer" and "phenomenon") that are manifested grammatically as grammatical functions (here, subject and direct object, respectively), and it is these roles and grammatical functions, which serve to call attention to participants. Such semantic roles are assumed to form a part of the lexical structure of expressions of indirect reference.

In Guarani, there are three types of such expressions: verb stems, adjective stems, and the stems of certain nouns. Roles attaching to verb stems are well known from case grammar. What is being said here is that each such role alludes to some entity. This is true whether or not any expression of direct reference to the entity also accompanies the verb stem (such as bound or free subject or object, etc.). The stem itself is performing indirect reference by means of accompanying roles; otherwise "understood objects" would not be understood. Prefixes and free forms may or may not be present to strengthen the reference in a direct manner, by providing identificational features.

Adjective stems, especially when used to predicate, also generally perform indirect reference by means of the accompanying semantic role of attribuant: porã 'good' must allude to something, its attribuant, although it may comprise a complete utterance. Sometimes, in a way analogous to verbs, the attribuant is also directly referred to by means of a nominal prefix (iporã '3p referent-good') or by a free nominal (ava porã 'man good'), or by both.

Noun stems are expressions of direct reference, but certain noun stems can also perform indirect reference: mẽ 'husband' refers directly to the husband, but also alludes or refers indirectly to the wife by means of the accompanying role of "possessor" (or "ego"), which is implicit in the lexical structure of the stem. Nouns that are accompanied by the role of possessor as a part of their lexical structure will be called implicitly possessed nouns. As in the case of verbs and adjectives, the indirect reference performed by stems of implicitly, possessed nouns may be reinforced by some expression of direct reference, either bound (omẽ, '3p gram subj as possessor-husband') or free (kujã mẽ 'woman-husband').

Indirect reference is incidental reference in the sense that such reference is in general only a secondary object of the speaker when he utters an expression of indirect reference. His primary object is either to predicate (in the case of verb and adjective stems) or to refer directly to another participant (in the case of implicitly possessed noun). Indirect reference therefore does not meet the requirement of speaker intention cited by Searle in 1.2.1. Searle goes on to say (op.cit.), "This Gricean condition enables us to distinguish referring to an object from other ways of calling attention to it". For the purposes of the present paper, the distinction drawn by Searle is between direct and indirect reference.

1.2.3. The basic facts of direct and indirect reference are summarized in the following table.

___ reference	is performed by ___	by positing ___	for the ___ purpose of referring
Direct	noun phrases, free pronouns, bound pronominal, forms, nominalized clauses & descriptions	identificational features	intentional and primary
Indirect	verb stems, adjective stems, implicitly possessed noun stems	semantic roles (and grammatical functions)	incidental and secondary

Figure 1. Direct and indirect reference.

Expressions of indirect reference can form a part of larger expressions, which refer directly. This seems to be the case for nominalized clauses and descriptions. It is not clear whether adjectives used attributively to modify nouns are referring expressions of any kind. The intricacies of this kind of analysis are for the most part beyond the scope of this paper.

One point should have become clear by now. For each instance of direct reference, there is an instance of indirect reference that the direct reference serves to supplement and reinforce. Possible exceptions (vocatives, etc.) will not be discussed here; the claim is that the above statement is essentially true. Thus, a direct referring expression can be viewed as a device to reinforce a reference that would otherwise be performed only indirectly, and this reinforcement is accomplished as the direct referring expression posits identificational features of the referent that it has in common with the indirect referring expression. This viewpoint may not be the most "correct" one in general, but for certain purposes in the present paper it will prove useful.

All instances of either direct or indirect reference to participants will be called reference. Expressions, which normally are used for direct reference, will be called direct referring expressions; indirect referring expressions are defined analogously. Direct and indirect referring expressions will all be called referring expressions. This usage not only conflicts with Searle in the way already discussed, but seems to be also at variance with the reminder of Strawson (On referring, p.111): "'Mentioning' or 'referring' is not something an expression does; it is something that someone can use an expression to do." This comment is important and will surface at various points throughout the paper, but for the sake of convenience in terminology it will usually be suppressed. So a referring expression should not be thought of, strictly speaking, as an expression that refers, but rather as an expression that is ordinarily used to refer. (cf. also Searle, p.73: "Not every occurrence of a referring expression in discourse is a referring occurrence...")

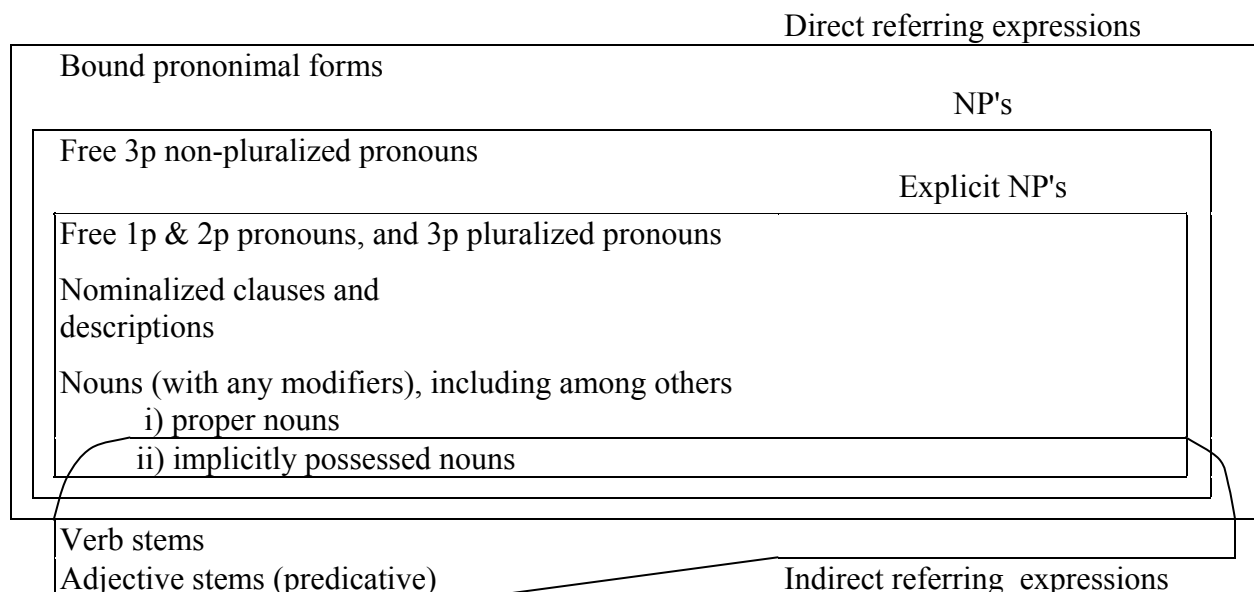


Figure 2. Categories of Guarani referring expressions.

1.2.4. One other matter of terminology will be covered here. The term noun phrase (NP) as it is being used in current literature means roughly, as I understand it, "free nominal expression," that is, any expression with the same basic distribution that a noun has. The term will be used in

the same sense in this paper. Thus, it denotes a proper subclass of the direct referring expressions, those that are free. If now free third person nonpluralized personal pronouns are deleted from the general class of NP's, what is left will be called the class of explicit noun phrases. This last class is defined for convenience of description only, and will be further discussed when the reference problem is taken up in section 3.

The diagram above serves to classify the various referring expressions in Guarani according to the categories that have been defined.

### 1.3. Context rules

A single indirect referring expression such as a verb stem may be accompanied by several semantic roles. Whenever all the participants are identified for each of the roles of an indirect referring expression, we say that its participant assignment has been made.

Participant assignments are aided by various phenomena in the Guarani language, some of which are based on the content of the preceding context rather than on formal surface features. In the present section five rules are presented which specify how participants can be deduced from the context. These will be referred to as context rules throughout the remainder of the paper. This section does not specify under what conditions these context rules are to be invoked; that topic forms part of the solution to both the function problem in section 2 and the reference problem in section 3. Here the rules are merely stated, explained and briefly illustrated.

There are likely other context rules at work in Guarani besides the five listed here. These five, however, were the only ones found to be necessary in the solutions of the function and reference problems. In this sense they are the minimal set of context rules sufficient for our particular analysis

**1.3.1.** The five context rules fall into two broad classifications: rules of facsimile and rules of expected sequel. This division, though in a sense arbitrary, is useful for the purpose of setting out the rules, and it also turns out to have certain linguistic relevance, as will be seen in 3.1.2. and 3.1.3. Rules of facsimile are based on situations in which the participant assignment in question is consciously patterned after a participant assignment made in the preceding context. Rules of expected sequel are based on situations in which the participant assignment in question has been rendered highly predictable by something in the preceding context.

**1.3.2.** There are two rules of facsimile: the rule of repetition/restatement and the rule of parallel incidents. The key distinction between the two is that the first deals with two reports of the same state or process, while the second deals with reports of two different but structurally similar incidents. In the statement of the context rules the abbreviation C will be used to designate the clause in which occurs the indirect referring expression in question.

**1.3.2.1.** The rule of repetition/restatement can be formulated as follows:

Entry condition: C repeats verbatim or restates in some modified form an earlier clause, and reports the same state or process that the earlier clause reported.

Regularity: The participant assignments in C are the same as the participant assignments in the earlier clause at least for the semantic roles (and grammatical functions) that appear in both clauses.

The two clauses mentioned in this rule need not be juxtaposed, as the following example shows.

- (1) ijarí ojou je kavara/ tuja okaxa vɪ oo jepi ag<sup>wā</sup>  
 3p poss-grandmother 3p-find ind info goat/ adult 3p-hunt cl subord 3p-go  
 frequently purpose  
 'His grandmother it is said found a goat/ The adult went frequently on top of him  
 to hunt in the forest/'
- i'árɪ ka'ag<sup>wɪ</sup> re/ kavara'i ojou mā rire  
 3p-top forest in/ goat-dim 3p-find complete after  
 'After she found the little goat,
- je oo riae oikovɪ rajē  
 ind info 3p-go contin 3p-walk-aux mkr temporarily  
 it is said he was always going during that time.'

In this case it is the semantic agent (as grammatical subject) that is identified by the rule of repetition/restatement. 1.3.2.2. The rule of parallel incidents is as follows:

Entry condition: C reports (part of) an incident that is patterned structurally after a different incident that was reported previously.

Regularity: The participant assignments are the same for both incidents, except for changes indicated by explicit NP's.

It is difficult to describe precisely how one incident is patterned structurally after another, but in all instances of this rule it seems obvious that such patterning is deliberate on the part of the narrator, perhaps to make use of this context rule.

- (2) guu ro pɪ ovaã mē rā je  
 3p subj poss-father house in 3p arrive complet cl subord ind info  
 'When they arrived at the house of her father,
- tuu tens overapa va'e og<sup>w</sup>eru og<sup>w</sup>apɪ ag<sup>wā</sup> rā je  
 father bench 3p-bright-all which 3p-bring 3p-sit purpose cl subord ind info  
 when the father brought a completely bright bench for them to sit on,
- tajɪ aipo e'i ore g<sup>w</sup>ī nuga pɪ norog<sup>w</sup>apɪ/  
 daughter thus 3p-say 1p pl excl thus type on neg-1p pl excl-sit-neg  
 'the daughter said, "We are not going to sit on that sort/'
- oreaɪvu e'ē vɪ mā oremonouka va'ek<sup>w</sup>e e'i/  
 1p pl excl-love neg cl subord complet 1p pl excl-caus- go-instig which-past 3p-  
 say  
 Since you did not love us you sent us away", she said/.'

a'e rire je omoga'ɪu ta'avɪ ka'ɪg<sup>wa</sup> overapa va'e  
 then after ind info 3p-caus-maté-drink certain cup 3p- bright-all which  
 'Afterwards it is said when he brought a completely bright cup for them to drink  
 maté in,

og<sup>w</sup>eru rã je noka'ɪ'exei taju/ oreavɪ e'ɪ vɪ mã  
 3p-bring cl subord ind info neg-3p-maté-drink-want-neg daughter/ 1p pl excl-  
 love neg cl subord complet  
 the daughter did not want to drink/ "Since you did not love us

oremonouka va'ek<sup>w</sup>e mã/ ramig<sup>wa</sup> pɪ ete oromoga'ɪ'u ta  
 1p pl excl-caus-go-instig which-past complet/ as-nom true 1p pl-caus-maté-drink  
 fut

you sent us away. For something for us to drink maté in,

peru ka'ɪg<sup>wa</sup> vaik<sup>w</sup>e e'i  
 2p-pl-bring cup ugly 3p-say  
 bring an ugly cup". she said.'

The term "incident" in this rule could be augmented by "state" or "process," but in the corpus it is generally entire incidents that are patterned after one another.

1.3.3. There are three rules of expected sequel: the rule of sustained progress, the rule of reciprocation, and the rule of fulfilled prediction. (cf. the term "behavioral dyad" in the literature to denote situations described in the entry conditions to these rules.)

1.3.3.1. The rule of sustained progress is as follows:

Entry condition: C reports the continuation of some process, the semantic roles of which are essentially constant, and the earlier stages of which were reported shortly before.

Regularity: The participant assignments in C are the same as in the reporting of the earlier stages of the process, for the same roles. The following sequence serves to illustrate this rule.

- (3) moi aexa pe'i pɪ tape pɪ/.../  
 snake 1p sg-see there-dim in path in  
 'I saw a snake right over there, in the path. ...  
 ajuka g<sup>w</sup>ɪrapa pɪ/.../ a'e g<sup>w</sup>i mã oka pɪ ve ju ajatɪ  
 1p sg-kill bow with/.../then from complet outside more again 1p sg-bury  
 I killed it with the bow. ... Afterwards I buried it in the same place outside,  
 namomo rivexéi vɪ  
 neg-1p sg-caus-jump for no reason want-neg cl subord  
 since I didn't want to throw it away idly.'

The patient (and direct object) is identified as the once-mentioned snake, largely through the use of this rule.

The particular way in which the earlier-begun process is continued may not be predictable from the preceding context. In the example just cited, for instance, the hearer may not have been able to guess, before he heard the last sentence, whether the dead snake was buried or tossed away, or whether its final disposal would even be reported. What was expected, however, was that the one who killed the snake would do something with it afterwards. Thus, regardless of what that "something" turned out to be, the one who killed the snake (the 1p participant) would be the agent in any report of that disposal, and the dead snake would be the patient. So the participant assignment was expected, if not the particular action. In this sense the rule of sustained progress is classified as a rule of expected sequel.

1.3.3.2. The rule of reciprocation is stated as follows:

Entry condition: C reports a response, which is anticipated for some action reported shortly before.

Regularity: The participant assignments are switched in some particular way (depending on the particular action-response pair).

The most common use of this rule is in dialog; the speaker and addressee change roles as the dialog passes from initiating utterance to response (which in turn can serve as initiating utterance to elicit a further response, and so on.)

- (4) aipo e'i professorā o e'i/ma'e pa ereju erejapo/  
 thus 3p-say teacher-fem oh 3p-say/ what interr 2p sg-come 2p sg-do/  
 'The teacher said, "Oh," she said. "What did you come to do?"  
 aju ajemo'e vɪ  
 1p sg-come 1p sg-self-teach cl subord  
 I came to study."

Various features of the response serve to show that it is in fact a response to the previous utterance. But the participant assignment is determined by the rule of reciprocation.

As for the previous rule, in the rule of reciprocation the content of the response may not be predictable. What is predictable from the previous context is that there will be some sort of a response which, when it is reported, will be recognizable as a response. And being recognized as such, its participant assignments will be specified by the rule of reciprocation.

1.3.3.3. The rule of fulfilled prediction is the following.

Entry condition: C portrays a state or process that was earlier predicted, either by the narrator directly or by reported speech.

Regularity: The participant assignments in C are the same as in the prediction, except for changes indicated by explicit NP's.

A prediction in direct speech seems to be the most common type.

- (5) ko'ẽ rã voive aju rã e'i/.../ a'e g<sup>w</sup>i ko'ẽ ou ju/  
 dawn cl subord early-more 1p sg-come fut 3p-say/.../ then from dawn 3p-come  
 again  
 "'Tomorrow I will come earlier," he said. ...Afterwards (the next) day he came  
 again.'

The speaker can be the same as the performer of the predicted process, as in (5), or the speaker can be another.

- (6) tereo ke tape rupi e'i/.../ a'e rã je oo  
 imper-2p sg-go polite path along 3p-say/.../that subord ind info 3p-go  
 "'Please go along the path," he said. ... And so it is said he went.'

But the narrator himself can give the prediction.

- (7) je ojemo'exe escola pɛ/oo/ovaẽ professoraa pɛ  
 ind info 3p-self-teach-want school in/ 3p-go/3p-arrive teacher(fem)-place in  
 'It is said he wanted to study in school. He went. He arrived at the teacher's  
 place.'

For this rule the same comments on expectation apply that were given for the two previous rules. In particular, the report of action contrary to the prediction can take place. This can be seen in example (2). What is predictable is the participant assignment of whatever the fulfillment turns out to be.

## 2. The function problem

The problem is to describe how one knows which grammatical function is being filled by a given referring expression.

2.1. Certain types of referring expressions can be easily dispensed with. Indirect referring expressions perform their reference by virtue of accompanying semantic roles, and the association of semantic role with grammatical function is a matter of lexical description. This facet of lexical description is semantic clause analysis, and lies outside the scope of this paper.

Therefore the function problem may be restricted to direct referring expressions. But within this class the bound pronominal forms will not be considered. Their association with grammatical functions is a matter of morphological description, which is also outside the scope of this paper.

Thus we are left with the class of noun phrases (see Figure 2). Hence the function problem, as it is being treated here, of the following: how does one know which grammatical function is being filled by a given NP?

2.2. Certain of the NP's may be identified as to function on elementary syntactic grounds. An NP preceding a noun marked for NP possession is a grammatical possessor of that noun. NP's with post-positionals fill some oblique or adjunctival grammatical function, depending on the post-positional: *-pe* 'to, for' is used with indirect objects; *-re* 'on' with grammatical goals (see

3.2) and certain locationals; -pɛ 'with,in' with instrumentals and certain other locationals and so on.

Besides these cases, a NP in an intransitive or stative clause is the subject. The two NP's within an equational clause do not seem to have different grammatical functions. And in a transitive clause, an NP of the first or second person is either subject or direct object, according to its agreement with the bound subject or direct object prefixed to the verb.

2.3. Thus we are left with the third person NP's in transitive clauses in which there are no first or second person forms. The following ordered rules give the grammatical function of such an NP.

- R1: If lexical restrictions preclude the NP from being either subject or direct object, then it is the other of these two functions.
- R2: If there are grammatical conditions that preclude the NP from being either the subject or the direct object, then it is the other of these two functions.
- R3: If the clause repeats or restates a previous clause containing the NP, then the NP has the same grammatical function as it had in the earlier clause.
- R4: The only permissible orders are SV, VO, and SO.

Not only are these rules ordered, but they obtain the proper results only as they are applied to the clauses in the sequential order of those clauses; all the rules are applied in order to the first clause, then all the rules are applied in order to the second clause, and so on.

2.4. The rules just given will be discussed briefly. The lexical restrictions of R1 need hardly any comment and admit of few generalizations. The most common lexical restriction is for the verb to admit only an animate (more precisely, personal) subject, as in the following example:

- (8)    ɪvotɪ om'ēe rā ixɪ kʷérɪ kujagʷe pe  
          flower 3p-give cl subord non subj poss-mother class woman-class to  
          'When their mother gave the women the flowers.'

a partial division of pronouns according to whether they have personal or non-personal referents. R1 applies to well over half of the examples in the corpus.

The grammatical conditions mentioned in R2 can be of various kinds. The verb can have an auxiliary, which admits only plural subjects.

- (9)    ikɪpɪ'ɪ kʷérɪ ojojái rei okʷapɪ kama vaikʷe  
          poss-younger sister class 3p-laugh 3p-uniformly negro ugly  
          'The younger sisters laughed together at the ugly negro.'

In other cases, a nominal is precluded from being subject because its prefix indicates that it is "possessed" by the subject.

- (10) g<sup>wa</sup>'ixɩ og<sup>we</sup>ru  
 subj poss-wife 3p-bring  
 'He brought his wife.'

The following example shows a more complicated type of grammatical condition. Its effectiveness depends upon the knowledge of the subject referent of the previous clause, because the conjunction vɩ implies that same participant is subject in the clause in question.

- (11) oo jevɩ vɩ je oexa kama vaik<sup>we</sup>  
 3p-go again cl subord ind info 3p-see negro ugly  
 'When he went again he saw an ugly negro.'

Thus we are assuming that both the function problem and the reference problem are solved for one clause (in that order) before we go on to the next clause.

R3 is actually a form of the context rule of repetition/ restatement.

- (12) a'e omotɩ emireko/ emireko ojomɩ  
 3p sg 3p-close wife/ wife 3p-other-hide  
 'He enclosed the wife. He hid the wife.'

Although this rule was necessary for only one example from the corpus, it is possible that even more context rules will need to be cited in R3 when more data are available.

R4 dictates word order restrictions only in the case that R1 through R3 do not apply. If only one NP occurs in the clause, it will be the subject, if it precedes the verb,

- (13) tuu oexa  
 father 3p-see  
 'The father saw (them).'

and the direct object if it follows the verb.

- (14) oexa kama vaik<sup>we</sup>  
 3p-see negro ugly  
 'He saw an ugly negro.'

If two NP's occur, the first is the subject and the second is the direct object. In this case there are no restrictions on the placement of the verb.

- (15) k<sup>w</sup>āsito emireko omotɩ  
 prop noun wife 3p-close  
 'Francisco enclosed the wife.'

### 3. The reference problem

The reference problem for Guarani narrative is to describe how one knows which participant is being referred to by a given referring expression. Recall that every direct reference

can be viewed as a device to supplement a particular indirect reference (see 1.2.) In fact, the solution to the function problem (section 2) pairs up direct referring expressions with their grammatical function, and hence with the instances of indirect reference that they supplement.

This being the case, the most economical way to solve the reference problem is to solve it for indirect referring expressions only. Then, if we want to know the referent of any direct referring expression, we first determine its grammatical function by section 2, and then we determine the referent of the indirect reference performed by the grammatical function (more precisely, by its associated semantic role) by the rules about to be presented.

This will be our strategy for the present section. The first four divisions of this section deal with the principal grammatical functions filled by participants; other, non-participant grammatical functions, such as location, are not treated. The last three sections deal with special topics.

The rules of the present section are designed to be used by someone working through a text clause by clause. For each clause the analyst first determines the grammatical function of each referring expression, then the referent of each referring expression. In this way he has at his disposal these results for all preceding clauses. Thus, whenever the rules of reference are able to say that the participant being identified is the same that was referred to by such-and-such a referring expression or grammatical function in a previous clause, their task in that instance is finished.

A similar tactic will be used within the clause under investigation. We will assume that all explicit NP's are successful in identifying their referents without the need for rules (except in the case of third person, pluralized, personal pronouns, which will be taken up in 3.5.) So that whenever the rules of reference say that the participant being identified is the same as the referent of a particular explicit NP in the clause, then in this case also the rules have done their job. (Our assumption about explicit NP's should not be taken to mean that they refer independently of the context. They posit features, which are able to select from the participants in the context that one which is intended. In another context these same features might be unsuccessful in performing the same reference; they are selected, and they are successful, only with reference to their particular context. This dependence on the context could presumably be made formally explicit, but no practical difficulties have been encountered in this area, so that we will work on the basis of the assumption stated above.)

Although this paper covers only third person narratives, an easy way to extend many of the results to first and second person narratives would be the following: replace the class of explicit NP's by a larger class including all expressions, bound and free, that refer to first and second person. This larger class could then be assumed to be "self-referring" in the same sense that we are assuming explicit NP's to be.

### 3.1. Subjects

The subject of a verb may be manifested by a bound pronominal prefix, by an NP, or (in the case of certain bound direct objects) by neither. In this section, we give rules to identify the subject referent. Clauses which provide only setting or background information are not treated. Purpose clauses and nominalized clauses will be treated separately.

3.1.1. To find the referent of the subject of a (non-nominalized, non-purpose, narrative) clause, the following ordered rules may be consulted.

- R1: If the subject is manifested by an explicit NP, the subject referent is the referent of the explicit NP.
- R2: If the presence of other NP's in the clause explicitly reduces the possibilities for the subject referent to one, then it is that one.
- R3: If the context rules of 1.3. apply, they identify the subject referent.
- R4: Otherwise, the subject referent is the same as the subject referent of the preceding clause.

3.1.1.1. A bit of explanation is required for R2. It is stated in rather general terms, but is meant to cover only two situations. One is when a NP in a non-subject slot in the clause identifies the subject referent by means of kinship or other relationships.

- (16) g<sup>w</sup>amói pe oexauka e'ĩ.  
3p subj poss-grandfather to 3p-see-instig neg  
'He did not show (it) to his grandfather'

The other situation is when all other participants in the context are referred to by NP's in non-subject slots within the clause, leaving only one possibility for the subject referent.

- (17) ojuka xivi  
3p-kill onça  
'He killed the onça.'

If there is only one participant in the context to begin with, this will be construed as a limiting (and vacuous) case of this second situation.

- (18) jipói ma'eve/ojapixaka ...  
neg-3p-is-neg nothing/ 3p-listen  
'There was nothing there. He listened ....'

3.1.1.2. There are certain regularities that are obscured by the generality of these rules. First of all, if the clause is narrative initial, there is always an explicit NP as its subject. This forms part of the participant introduction apparatus to be discussed in 4.4.

If the clause is sentence initial, it may be preceded by one of approximately twenty sentence introducers found thus far. Some of these are helpful in predicting the subject referent; others predict that certain context rules will apply to help determine the subject referent. If the sentence introducer is a'e rã is used, for example, the subject referent is almost always different from the subject referent of the preceding clause; when it is the same, this must be signalled by the use of an explicit NP. If the sentence introducer is a'e v±, context rules of expected sequel determine the subject referent in almost every case. This entire area of sentence introducers needs further study. It seems that various sets of sentence introducers are used

characteristically by different speakers; moreover, a given introducer may be used in slightly different ways by different speakers, depending on which other introducers that speaker is using and what kinds of relationships he is indicating by his use of them. In the present paper it is only noted that the reference problem can be solved without considering sentence introducers. This fact probably contributes to the freedom with which they are used by different speakers.

There is one other regularity, and it is perhaps the most important one of all. If the clause is not sentence initial, certain inter-clausal conjunctions can serve to predict the subject referent. For example, if the clause is linked with the previous clause by the conjunction vi, then the subjects of the two clauses are co-referential; and if the conjunction is rã or ramõ, the subjects are not co-referential.

**3.1.2.** The subject referent for a purpose clause is simply determined. It is identified by context rules of expected sequel, in each case.

It is unusual to find NP's as subjects of purpose clauses. The one example in the corpus is apparently a correction to reference failure, and will be discussed in 3.7.

If the verb of the matrix clause is intransitive, its subject is co-referential with the subject of the purpose clause.

- (19) oo ojemĩ ag<sup>wã</sup>  
 3p-go 3p-self-hide purpose  
 'He went to hide himself.'

**3.1.3.** The subject referent for a nominalized clause is identified by the following ordered rules.

- R1: If the subject is manifested by an explicit NP, the subject referent is the referent of the explicit NP.  
 R2: If the nominalized clause is in apposition with a preceding explicit NP, then the subject referent is the referent of the explicit NP.  
 R3: Otherwise the context rules of 1.3. apply and identify the subject referent.

In the corpus, the subject of a nominalized clause is given by an NP only when the nominalized clause is in a location slot.

- (20) Jesus ovaẽ xivi 'aĩag<sup>We</sup> pĩ  
 Jesus 3p-arrive onça stand-nominalizer-past in  
 'Jesus arrived in the place where the onça had stood.'

Cases of apposition are predominantly with props, but can also occur with participants.

- (21) rei rajy yvate oĩ va'e oexa  
 king poss-daughter high 3p-be located which 3p-see  
 'The king's daughter who was up high saw (him).'

The only context rules required by R3 are rules of facsimile, predominantly the rule of repetition/restatement.

In the case of subjects that are props instead of participants it may be that none of the above three rules apply, and a fourth rule is necessary.

R4: The nominalized clause defines a new entity and the subject does not refer to one already introduced.

An example of this situation is the following.

- (22) oipe'a imotia oexa ag<sup>wã</sup> caixa rĩpĩ pĩ oĩ va'e  
 3p-open poss-lid 3p-see purpose box poss-inside in 3p-be located which  
 'He opened its lid to see what was inside the box.'

### 3.2. Objective complements

Once the subject reference has been identified, that participant is eliminated from consideration as the referent for other grammatical functions within the clause (except, of course, for constructions such as reflexive constructions; all these are marked as such by surface devices.) Therefore the identification of the referent for other functions is easier in practice. It should be easier theoretically also, but it is difficult to account for the process of elimination in the kind of rules that we are giving. Nevertheless it should be borne in mind as we proceed.

The term objective complement will be used to embrace both direct objects and grammatical goals. It turns out to be possible to consider these two grammatical functions together in identifying their referents.

3.2.1. Grammatical goals need a bit of introduction. In Guarani, there are many verbs whose complements take the postpositional re, and these complements are for the most part semantic goals of the verb. Examples include

- (23) apĩrõ moi re (1p sg-step snake on) 'I stepped on a snake.'  
 (24) oma'ẽ ava re (3p-look man at) 'He looked at the man.'  
 (25) oo ãã re (3p-go water for) 'He went for water.'

In accordance with this rough correspondence, a grammatical goal is defined to be a verbal complement followed by the postpositional re. Although the grammatical function thus defined does not match completely with the goal as a semantic role, the designation is useful.

3.2.2. To find the referent of an objective complement, the following ordered rules can be invoked.

- R1: If the objective complement is given by an explicit NP, then its referent is the referent of the explicit NP.  
 R2: If the context rules of 1.3. apply, they furnish the referent of the objective complement.

R3: Otherwise, the objective complement is co-referential with the last preceding objective complement.

3.2.3. Each of the context rules is employed in R2, and these account for the great majority of objective complements. There remain cases, however, when R3 must be invoked.

- (26) oma'ē ok<sup>wā</sup> rā je iju porā ik<sup>wā</sup>/  
3p-look 3p subj poss-finger cl subord ind info 3p-yellow quite poss-finger  
'When he looked at his finger, it is said, his finger was quite yellow.  
a'e g<sup>wi</sup> je g<sup>wamōi</sup> pe oexauka e'ī  
then from ind info 3p subj poss-grandfather to 3p-see- instig neg  
Afterwards it is said he did not show it to his grandfather.'

It seems likely that in such cases the understood object has some sort of thematic prominence. This possibility will be discussed further in 4.3.5. At any rate, "understood" objective complements are quite common.

### 3.3. Indirect objects

An indirect object is recognizable by some NP followed by the post-positional *pe* 'to, for' when it occurs in surface structure. But, like the direct object, it is often implicit and "understood".

3.3.1. An indirect object referent is identified by the following ordered rules.

- R1: If there is an explicit NP for the indirect object, then its referent is that of the indirect object.
- R2: If there is a vocative explicit NP in a quote content, then the indirect object referent is the referent of the vocative.
- R3: If there is a pronominal indirect object, or if the quote content indicates an addressee distinct from the speaker, then there is only one participant in the context besides the speaker, and he is the referent of the indirect object.
- R4: Otherwise, the referent of the indirect object is the speaker himself.

3.3.2. For all verbs except verbs of speech introducing direct quotations, the indirect object is manifested as an explicit NP.

- (27) kama va'e ome'ē perata kavara re īma va'e pe  
negro which 3p-give money goat on beast which to  
'The negro gave the money to the owner of the goat.'

Therefore, R2 through R4 apply only to verbs of speech introducing direct quotations.

The quote content may indicate a non-speaker indirect object, as R3 mentions, in various ways. Commands seemingly do this regularly, as do other forms appropriate to a second person referent only.

- (28) g<sup>w</sup>aīmī'i va'e aipo e'i tereo ndee avei ejau/  
 old woman-dim which thus 3p-say hort-2p sg-go 2p sg also 2p sg hort-bathe  
 'The little old woman said, "You too go and wash."'

Questions, however, may be rhetorical and directed to "nobody" or, as R4 states, to the speaker himself.

- (29) ma'e re na'u xeramōi po ramī e'i  
 what for indef 1p sg-poss-grandfather thus as 3p-say  
 "'What could my grandfather have meant?" he said.'

If the indirect object referent is not given by R1 or R2, then in general it is co-referential with some referring expression in the preceding clause. This regularity commonly applies in dialog, where the speaker of one clause becomes the indirect object (addressee) of the next. Actually two kinds of clauses may intervene between the two referring expressions: clauses of background information and clausal describing the mental state of the speaker. Example (3) illustrates this last possibility.

If a clause with an explicit NP for the indirect object is repeated or restated in the clause following, a pronominal form is used in the corpus for the indirect object of the second clause.

- (30) Roberto pe amome'u/  
 Robert to 1p sg-tell/  
 'I told Robert (about it).  
 erexa va'e e'ī ae pa moi a'e ixupe  
 2p sg-see which neg same interr snake 1psg-say 3p-to  
 "Isn't this the same snake you saw?" I said to him.'

### 3.4. Possessors

Often a participant is in some genitival relationship with another entity:

- (31) rei rajy (king poss-daughter) 'the king's daughter'

The terminology being used in this paper as a matter of convenience for such relationships is "possessor-possessed noun", although these terms are too narrow for the variety of relationships. (cf. Greenburg, *Some universals of grammar*, p.78, where he uses the terms "genitive - governing noun"; Lyons, *Introduction to theoretical linguistics*, p.295, prefers "adnominal" in place of possessor".)

3.4.1. The following ordered rules can be used to determine the referent of the possessor of a possessed noun.

- R1: If there is an explicit NP for the possessor, then its referent is the referent of the possessor.
- R2: If the possessed noun is marked as possessed by the subject of the clause, then the possessor is co-referential with the subject.
- R3: If the possessed noun has occurred before with a previous possessor, the present possessor is co-referential with the previous possessor.
- R4: If the converse relationship has occurred before, then the present possessor is co-referential with the possessed noun in the converse relationship.
- R5: Otherwise, there is only one possible participant in the context to be the referent of the possessor.

3.4.2. Some of these rules call for explanation. As for R2, a great number of nouns are in a sense "inflected" as to possessor. There are two such "inflections", and in each of them four "case inflections" can be distinguished. The main facts of these "cases" are summarized in the following chart.

	"Case" prefix		The referent of the possessor is
	"R class"	"I class"	
C1	r-	∅	given by an immediately preceding explicit NP the subject referent
C2	g g <sup>w</sup>	o-	
C3	∅	i-	neither of the above
C4	t-	∅	not at all in view

Figure 3. "Cases" of possessed nouns

Cases C1 and C2 are quite regular morphologically, but at least for "R class" nouns the last two cases often have the same form, one of the two listed or another yet. R1 applies precisely where case C1 occurs; the C1 prefix is obligatory in this situation. R2 applies to situations where C2 is found. In this paper no use is made of the distinction between C3 and C4.

The "converse relationship" mentioned in R4 can be clarified by illustration, bearing in mind that the relationship holds between the direct referent and the indirect referent of a possessed noun. The terms emireko 'wife' and mē 'husband' designate converse relationships. And if emireko occurs before me in the text, and if R4 applies in the case of mē, then the indirect referent (possessor) of mē and the direct referent (possessed entity) of emireko are co-referential. Another way to say this is that the same basic relationship is being viewed from two different egos.

The "one possible participant" mentioned in R5 cannot be the referent of the possessed noun; neither can it be the subject referent because R1 has not been applied.

- (32) *ijaxi'ɛ joaeve re opoko teĩ*  
 poss-shoulder both on 3p-touch frustrative  
 'He put his hands on both shoulders of the other, but.'

If props are being considered as possible possessors of possessed nouns, the following rule would have to be added between R4 and R5.

R4': If the possessed noun carries with it lexical restrictions as to its possessor, then these identify the referent of the possessor.

This rule would cover examples such as the following.

- (33) *oipe'a imotɛ*  
 3p-open poss-lid  
 'He opened its (i.e., the box's) lid.'

**3.4.3.** Either there is an explicit NP for the possessor, or else the possessor is co-referential with another grammatical function in either the clause in question or the previous clause. This regularity was found to hold true in 59 of 60 cases of possession by a participant. It need not hold true if the possessor is a prop, where R4' holds.

### 3.5. Compound referents

A single act of reference that refers to a group of two or more participants is said to be a compound reference. A group of participants so referred to is a compound referent. The phrase "a single act of reference" is meant to exclude such phenomena as verb stems which, although they may refer to several participants simultaneously, do so by several distinct acts of indirect reference; and also implicitly possessed nouns, which refer simultaneously to two participants, one by an act of direct reference and the other by indirect. Of course, the phrase also excludes reference by two or more referring expressions linked together in some way.

It is not necessary to give rules to tell how to identify all compound referents, since this would largely duplicate the efforts of 3.1 through 3.4. All that is necessary is to describe how to find the referent of a third person pluralized personal pronoun. This is the only explicit NP which might possibly require rules to identify its referent. Since these rules logically precede the rules of 3.1. through 3.4., they must be stated without using those previous rules.

The present section will also, however, include some remarks on the forming and splitting of groups of participants, since this is an important subject in its own right. Strictly speaking, these remarks should be included under the naturalness problem.

Unfortunately, this paper cannot deal with the important question of what kinds of semantic plurals, if any, are indicated by the various NP suffixes that we are taking as plural markers.

These suffixes are: *k<sup>w</sup>érɛ*, *k<sup>w</sup>e*, and *g<sup>w</sup>e*.

Pluralized personal pronouns are: *jane ± k<sup>w</sup>érɛ '1p pl incl'*, *ore ± k<sup>w</sup>érɛ '1p pl excl'*, *pene ± k<sup>w</sup>érɛ '2p pl'*, and *a 'e k<sup>w</sup>érɛ '3p pl'*, along with certain oblique forms.

**3.5.1.** The compound referent of a third person pluralized personal pronoun is identified according to the following ordered rules.

- R1: If there is a compound referent for a referring expression for another referring expression in the clause in question or in the preceding clause, then the last occurring such compound referent is the referent of the pronoun in question.
- R2: Otherwise, the compound referent to the pronoun in question is a set of participants which has been consolidated as a group by some relationship or joint activity reported in the preceding context.

In R1 the pronoun refers to a group already linguistically indicated as such, while in R2 it refers to a group already indicated as such by relationship or joint activity. In no case does the whole burden of forming a group fall on a pronoun; it can only refer to a group already formed, at least in some potential sense.

R1 is illustrated by the following example (in which, curiously, the referent of the Np *ixɪ kwérɪ* 'poss-mother-class' is apparently singular).

- (34) *ɪvotɪ ome'ẽ rã ixɪ kwérɪ kujãg<sup>w</sup>e pe*  
 flower 3p-give cl subord poss-mother-class woman-class to  
 'When their mother gave the flowers to the women,  
*a'e kwérɪ omomo ok<sup>w</sup>apɪ oipotave va'e va'e re*  
 3p-pron class 3p-caus-jump 3p-uniformly 3p-like more which which at  
 they threw them all together at the ones they liked best.'

Both possibilities mentioned in R2 show up in the following example.

- (35) *oexa oka pɪ / ta'ixɪ voi oexa /*  
 3p-see outside in / wife emph 3p-see /  
 'He saw it outside. (His) wife saw it.  
*a'e kwérɪ ae ojemoníi ok<sup>w</sup>a*  
 3p-pron class emph 3p-self-startle 3p-uniformly  
 They were both startled.'

**3.5.2.** A group of participants can be introduced into the narrative as a group and continue to behave as a group throughout the narrative. When this happens, the group can be treated (from the viewpoint of discourse, not grammar) as a single participant, although that is not done in this paper. In no cases in the corpus is a group thus introduced afterwards split into smaller groups or individuals.

Aside from a group introduced as such, a group can be formed in basically four ways: fixed relationships, common identificational features, preview of joint activity, or joint activity itself.

Fixed relationships include close kinship units such as a married couple or their family, as in (35). Identificational features in common also allow group reference by a single NP.

- (36) kunumĩg<sup>We</sup> oenõi ukapa momĩrĩ g<sup>Wi</sup>  
 lad-class 3p-call-instig-all far from  
 'They had the lads called from afar.'

Joint activity is activity, which causes the participants engaged to function as a group. Some less obvious examples are one participant taking or bringing another, as well as group compliance to a cultural norm such as nightly sleep.

- (37) ojenõ jenõ oke ok<sup>Wapĩ</sup> je  
 3p-self-lay down self-lay down 3p-sleep 3p-uniformly ind info  
 'It is said they both lay down to sleep.'

The preview of a joint activity is given by a direct quotation in all examples in the corpus,

- (38) jaa te mã / ...e'i/ a'e g<sup>Wi</sup> je oo tape rupi  
 1p pl-go immed/ ... 3p-say/ then from ind info 3p-go path along  
 "'Let's go," ... he said. So then they went along the path.'

although other means could be used as well.

The four ways of forming groups should actually be considered only potential group formers, since they may or may not be accompanied by any surface recognition that a group has been formed.

**3.5.3.** A group once formed is split by only one means, according to available data: by making individual reference to one of the participants in the group. This may be done by an explicit NP (the following example is the next clause after example (37)),

- (39) pĩtũ are jave je ta'ĩxĩ omĩi  
 dark long time while ind info wife 3p-wake  
 'Late at night it is said the wife woke up.'

but can just as well be done by a more subtle referring expression such as implicit noun possession.

- (40) tape i'ĩvia pĩ ovaẽ rai'i rã je tuu oexa  
 path straight on 3p-arrive almost-dim cl subord ind info father 3p-see  
 "When they had almost arrived on the straight path as it is said, the father saw (them).'

### 3.6. Free pronouns

According to the strategy announced in the first paragraphs of section 3, the solution to the reference problem is now complete. In 3.6. and 3.7. two topics of special importance for reference are discussed. The present section deals with free pronouns, recording some observations on third person non-pluralized forms in particular. Third person pluralized pronouns were discussed in 3.5.

**3.6.1.** Third person non-pluralized pronouns seem to carry little functional load in acts of reference. This statement is made because for each grammatical function that they can fill, the reference problem can be solved just as if they weren't there. This is merely an observation from the rules just given in 3.1. through 3.4. Such pronouns are not explicit NP's, and the rules do not mention them.

These observations suggest that such pronouns have another function besides reference as their primary reason for being. This function seems to be prominence, and will be discussed in 4.3.2.3.

**3.6.2.** Sometimes third personal pronouns are not used as personal pronouns, that is, they are not used to refer to persons. This is usually the case when they occur with certain post-positionals (pɛ 'in', ri:re 'after', and so on); in such contexts they generally are referring to some deictic category besides person (such as time or location).

There are also some special free pronouns which seem to be used exclusively for personal reference: exe and ixu are third person personal pronoun stems used in the oblique cases of indirect object, grammatical goal, and grammatical source (with the post-positional ɔwɪ 'from'.) These special forms leave the more general third person form a'e free for use with the other, non-personal categories discussed in the preceding paragraph.

**3.6.3.** There are no instances in the corpus of a third person personal pronoun being used as a direct object. If this is a grammatical regularity, it would be an easy way to solve the function problem for these pronouns. This seems unlikely, however, since it is easy to get these pronouns as direct objects by means of elicitation. What seems more likely is that this restricted distribution is due more to prominence phenomena than to syntax. More data will be required to settle this question.

### **3.7. Referring expressions without referents**

At times referring expressions appear without referents. The number of occurrences is small, in less than 1% of the clauses of the corpus. In this section we discuss how to recognize these occurrences and how they should be interpreted.

**3.7.1.** Up to this point the impression has probable been conveyed that by using the rules of reference in the preceding sections, one and only one (possible compound) referent is identified for each referring expression. Actually the rules are not all that foolproof; they were designed, with the present corpus in mind, to "foul up" precisely where the referring expression is without a referent. The rules can foul up in two ways: either they identify a unique participant who is patently impossible as the desired referent, or they do not succeed in identifying any participant at all.

There are various reasons why a participant identified by the rules should be considered impossible. In the following example the participant identified by the rules (being the only participant in the context) is located at the top of a tree, while the action he is supposed to be the agent of, takes place at the bottom of the tree.

- (41) jane'i va'e ojeupi rire je ...  
 1p pl incl-dim which 3p-self-place on top after ind info  
 'After the Guarani climbed up, as it is said, ...  
 ìvìra ìvìpì pì oipe'a jenu okē  
 tree earth-beginning in 3p-open noisily door  
 at the base of the tree (someone) noisily opened a door.'

In another example, the participant identified by the direct object rules is singular, while the verb has a plural indicator (the suffix ma 'all') for the direct object.

- (42) oo porā mī omotī / a'e g<sup>wi</sup> mā je oenoīma  
 house nice in 3p-caus-shut / then from complet ind info 3p-call-all  
 'He shut her in a nice house. Then it is said that he called all.'

If the rules fail to specify any participant at all, it is either because the rules in that case are ambiguous or because they do not describe the situation correctly. To illustrate ambiguity, the subject referent of a purpose clause is supposed to be determined by context rules. But two different referents may be possible, depending on how and which context rules are invoked. (This is a good place to note that the context rules are not considered to be ordered, so that it is possible for more than one to apply.) Thus in the following example, the last grammatical subject can be either the young men or the young women who had them called, depending on how the context rules are applied.

- (43) kunumīg<sup>we</sup> oenōi ukapa momīrī g<sup>wi</sup> ou va'erā omena ag<sup>wā</sup>  
 lad-class 3p-call instig-all far from 3p-come fut 3p-marry purp  
 'They (the young women) had all the lads called from afar to come, to marry.'

It may also be that the rules do not describe the situation correctly. For example, R5 for possessors says that there is only one participant in the context. If that rule applies when there are two or more participants in the context, the rules have fouled. Although this does not actually occur in the corpus, it is listed as a possibility.

**3.7.2.** Once it is determined that a certain referring expression has no referent, this fact must be interpreted in some way. First of all, it may be that the speaker himself has no referent in mind. If this is the case, then the effect is very much like a passive.

- (44) a'e ramīg<sup>wak<sup>we</sup></sup> omovevepa va'erā  
 that as-nom-past 3p-caus-fly-all fut  
 'That type of thing (i.e. birds) (someone) was to cause to fly (were to be caused to fly).'

Or it may be that the speaker has a referent in mind, but does not communicate it to the hearer. If this failure to communicate is unintentional, that is, if the speaker was actually intending to identify the referent, then the result is referent failure, a speaker error. Often the speaker himself is the one who points out reference failure, by recognizing his error and correcting it immediately. Thus, after example (43) the speaker added immediately.

- (45) kujatāig<sup>w</sup>e oipotave va'e rei rei amona ag<sup>w</sup>a  
 girl-class 3p-like-more which just just 3p-marry purp  
 'for those to marry that the girls liked best.'

Other errors pass unnoticed.

One other possibility remains, that the speaker has a referent in mind and intentionally fails to communicate it to the hearer. This deliberate concealment creates the effect of suspense, especially if the hearer suspects that this is going on. This seems to be what is happening in example (41). The clause immediately following breaks the suspense.

- (46) oipe'a jenu vɪ ve'i je jigante oē opɪ g<sup>w</sup>i  
 3p-open noisily cl subord more-dim ind info giant 3p-exit inside from  
 'Upon opening it noisily, as it is said, the giant came out from inside.'

Thus there are three possible interpretations for a referring expression without a referent: the effect of a passive, reference failure, and suspense. It is difficult to find formal clues to help us know which interpretation to choose in a given case. However, certain patterns may be worth checking in further data. If no referent is ever furnished, even later on, then there has probably been either an unnoticed error or the effect of a passive. If a referent is furnished soon after, then it is probably a corrected error or a case of suspense. As suggested by the two examples of the corpus, an error seems to be corrected by means of a restatement, while suspense is broken not in a following restatement (which is in fact present in (46)), but in a further clause.

#### 4. The naturalness problem

The problem is to describe how one knows which referring expression to use to refer idiomatically to a given participant in a given context. For the most part, indirect references and even bound references are obligatory in a given context, so that our problem can be reduced down to NP's of various types.

At this point I do not know enough about the factors influencing natural reference to solve the naturalness problem by stating rules, as was done for the function and the reference problems. Thus the strategy in the present section will be different. There are some elementary constraints, which can be stated first. After that, three broad areas will be discussed in which there seem to be at work principles governing the natural and idiomatic use of NP's. These principles interplay, in a way, which I cannot specify by rules, to produce idiomatic participant reference. The three broad areas to be investigated are paragraphs, prominence, and participant introduction and dismissal.

##### 4.1. Elementary constraints

There are several constraints on the use of NP's, which can be stated without recourse to any high level phenomena, such as grouping or prominence systems. Some of these, in fact, have already been mentioned in the discussion of the reference problem (section 3). These constraints can be divided into two categories obligatory omission of NP's, and obligatory inclusion of NP's.

4.1.1. There are certain contexts in which the use of an NP for a certain referent would seem to be awkward, and therefore does not occur.

4.1.1.1. The subject of a purpose clause is not ordinarily given by an NP (3.1.2.), nor is the subject of a nominalized clause except when the clause is in a location slot (3.1.3.).

4.1.1.2. An objective complement is referred to only indirectly (i.e., is "understood") if it is co-referential with the previous objective complement. And if there is an intransitive clause (or two) intervening between clauses with co-referential objective complements, the participant who is the objective complement referent on both sides is also subject of the intervening clause.

- (47) *moi aexa pe'i pɛ tape pɛ / tape pɛ itui /*  
 snake 1p sg-see there-dim in path in / path in 3p-lie  
 'I saw a snake right over there in the path. It was lying in the path.  
*apɛrõ rai'i*  
 1p sg-step almost-dim  
 I just almost stepped (on it).'

Exceptions to this rule are for the most part those to be expected. First and second person direct objects are obligatorily prefixed to the verb, according to present data. Statements of repetition and restatement can repeat free objects.

- (48) *a'e omotɛ emireko / emireko ojomĩ*  
 3p-pron 3p-caus-shut wife / Wife 3p-other-hide  
 'He enclosed the wife. He hid the wife.'

The above rule does not go across the boundaries of direct quotes.

4.1.1.3. In reporting a direct quote, the speaker can appear as free subject of the pre-quotation margin verb *aipo e'i* 'thus 3p-say' or of the post-margin verb *e'i* '3p-say', but not of both.

- (49) *tamõi aipo e'i aỹ mã ereo rã momɛrɛ e'i*  
 grandfather thus 3p-say now complet 2p sg-go fut far 3p-say  
 'The grandfather said, "Now you will go far away," he said.'
- (50) *eru taexa e'i tamõi*  
 2p sg hort-bring hort-1p sg-see 3p-say grandfather  
 "'Bring it, let me see it," the grandfather said.'

If the quotation is long and broken up by a series of post-margins, then the free subject can appear with the pre-margin and the final post-margin. Similar remarks apply in the case of indirect objects in the quotation margins.

- (51) *oxɛ pe aipo e'i peva'e re rive rã ko xee ɛvotɛ amomo e'i*  
 subj poss-mother to thus 3p-say that at without cause fut this 1p sg flower 1p sg-  
 caus-jump 3p-say  
 'To her mother she said, "I am just going to throw this my flower at that one," she said.'

If, however, the pre-margin verb is other than aipo e'i, these remarks do not seem to apply, as example (30) shows. This fact seems to suggest that a speech verb other than aipo e'i is not thought of by native speakers as a quotation pre-margin, so much as a statement of which the direct quote with its post-margin e'i is a restatement.

4.1.1.4. Never in the corpus is a free third person personal pronoun used as direct object. (3.6.3.)

4.1.1.5. Several regularities for indirect objects have already been stated in 3.3.2. and 3.3.3.

4.1.1.6. If a participant is possessor of a possessed noun, and if this is the only reference to the possessor participant in both that clause and the previous one, then the possessor is given by an explicit NP. Only one exception occurs to this rule in over 60 cases.

4.1.1.7. It seems that under no conditions will co-referential free subjects appear for several clauses in succession. Over a long stretch of text, NP's for co-referential subjects appear in about every other clause at most.

4.1.2. A few regularities can be stated regarding the obligatory use of NP's. The first three of these regularities can be considered corollaries of the rules of reference in section 3, in the sense that if the correct referent would not be selected by those rules without an NP, then an NP is used, except where no referent is intended (3.7.).

4.1.2.1. Explicit NP's are always used to refer to a participant being introduced for the first time.

4.1.2.2. NP's are also used to forestall the application of context rules that would give an incorrect referent. This use seems to be not too common. In the following example the NP "Jesus" seems to have been furnished to forestall the use of the rule of reciprocation, which would have incorrectly identified Jesus's companion to whom he addressed the direct quote.

(52) ojepe'a ta mā e'i / Jesus oma'ē  
 3p-self-open fut complet 3p-say / Jesus 3p-look  
 "'It is almost open," he (Jesus) said. Jesus looked.'

4.1.2.3. Similarly, and a bit more frequently, an NP is furnished where context rules would not apply and there is a change of subjects. In this case the rules of 3.1. would indicate a continuation of the same subject as before, unless an explicit NP is used.

(53) voive ou / aipo e'i professora o e'i  
 early-more 3p-come / thus 3p-say teacher (fem) oh 3p-say  
 "'He came earlier." The teacher said, "Oh," she said.'

In other instances the same effect of identifying a new subject referent is achieved rather obliquely. An NP is furnished for a non-subject slot in order to restrict the possible participant assignments to one, the correct one, for the clause as a whole.

- (54) omẽ pe aipo e'i sabado jevy pɛ mã  
 subj poss-husband to thus 3p-say Saturday again on complet  
 'To her husband she said, "Next Saturday
- jaa papaia pɛ japassea e'i  
 1p pl incl-go papa-place in 1p pl incl-visit 3p-say  
 let's go to papa's and visit." she said.'

4.1.2.4. The following two cases, in this subsection and in the next ones, are not corollaries to the reference rules. If a location can only be described in terms of a participant who is there, then that participant must be given by an NP.

- (55) tupã ra'ɛa pɛ ovaẽ  
 Tupã son-place 3p-arrive  
 'He arrived at the place where the son of Tupã was.'

4.1.2.5. An indirect object must be given by an NP, except for verbs of speech followed by direct quotes. (3.3.)

4.1.2.6. As a general rule, a participant must be referred to by an NP at least once in every 7 or 8 clauses in which he appears as subject or objective complement. This allows intervening clauses in which the participant is not in one of these grammatical functions, but does not include these intervening clauses in the count. However, if the participant is referred to by NP in one of the intervening clauses, even in a direct quotation, the clause count begins anew.

This limit may be raised, as much as doubled, under certain conditions. The limit is raised to accommodate clauses of repetition and restatement. If the participant in question is speaker in a long quotation with several post-margins inserted, the limit is accordingly raised. If the participant in question is in a fixed or recurring pattern of interaction with another participant who is frequently referred to by an NP, the limit seems to be raised.

It should be noted that this principle of periodic updating of participant identification is independent of the rules of reference given in section 3. That is, even if according to those rules a successful reference could be made without the use of an NP, yet when the time comes for a participant's identification to be renewed, an NP will be used nevertheless. Therefore, the NP's used only for identification renewal seem to carry a light functional load for the purpose of reference. Perhaps they serve another simultaneous purpose, such as some type of prominence.

## 4.2. Paragraphs

The notion of a paragraph awaits a thorough study for Guarani. To this point it seems quite likely that such a unit exists, but in certain cases its boundaries are hard to pinpoint with certainty. Having recognized this analytical deficiency, we will nevertheless use the notion of paragraph in this study; certain phenomena of participant reference seem to be explainable only in terms of a paragraph-like unit. After the narrative paragraph is briefly described, several of these reference phenomena will be discussed.

4.2.1. Tentatively, a narrative paragraph can be defined as a section of narrative comprised of sentences and characterized by a single locational setting, a continuous time frame, and a fixed basic interrelationship among the participants. Every participant interrelationship found thus far is some variation of a dominance relation -- one participant is dominant with respect to the others in what he does or says. Of course, there are also paragraphs in which one participant appears alone. The constancy of these three factors -- location, time, and participant interrelationships -- appears to serve at least two purposes. It not only provides cohesion within the paragraph, but also frees the narration from what would otherwise be a continuous updating of setting details. As it is, deictic updating is done at discrete intervals throughout the narrative, and these intervals themselves become narrative paragraphs.

4.2.2. The participant who is dominant on the paragraph level will be called the dominant participant (DmP) of the paragraph. If there is only one participant, he is automatically the DmP. This definition must remain unmotivated for the present time, but will take on significance when the system of prominence is discussed in 4.4. For the present we simply illustrate the concept by means of the following paragraph, in which the DmP is quite clearly the tamōi 'grandfather.'

- (56) a'e rire aje'i'i mā rire je  
 then after short time-dim complet after ind info  
 'Afterwards, it is said after a little time,  
 kunumī va'e exarai mā rire je  
 lad which forget complet after ind info  
 it is said after the lad had forgotten,  
 tamōi ojopɪ oexa ag<sup>wā</sup> /  
 grandfather 3p-grab 3p-see purp /  
 his grandfather grabbed him to see.  
 ojora ik<sup>wā</sup> ojok<sup>waag<sup>w</sup>e</sup> /  
 3p-untie poss-finger 3p-tie-nom-past /  
 He untied (the lad's) finger which he had tied up.  
 a'e rā je iju porā oinɪ ik<sup>wā</sup> /  
 then conj ind info 3p-yellow nice 3p-lie poss-finger /  
 And then, it is said, his finger lay there quite yellow.  
 a'e rā je tamōi ijao omoipa kɪrɪ'i va'e g<sup>wi</sup> /  
 then conj ind info grandfather poss-clothes 3p-remove-all young-dim which from /  
 And then, it is said, the grandfather took all the clothes off the youngster.  
 a'e g<sup>wi</sup> og<sup>w</sup>eraa a'e pɪ omojau /  
 then from 3p-take there in 3p-caus-bathe /  
 Then he took him and bathed him in it.'

4.2.3. The surface indicators of paragraph boundaries deal, for the most part, with the same three factors which characterize the paragraph itself -- time, location, and participant

interrelationships. In particular, these indicators relate the value of these deictic quantities in the paragraph where they are found, to their value in the adjacent paragraph.

For example, expressions of time (a'e rire 'after that', pɛtũ are 'late at night') and location (momɛrɛ 'far away') that occur paragraph initially define the deictic anchorage for the current paragraph by relating it to that of the previous paragraph. The phenomenon of restatement/repetition often spans paragraph boundaries, and seems to serve somewhat the same function. Often a motion verb will be found in paragraph final position. This either serves to anticipate the participant setting for the next paragraph (in the case that the participant in motion is thus being dismissed from the scene) or to anticipate the location setting for the next paragraph (if the narration is following the participant who is in motion).

**4.2.4.** Often, the participants in a paragraph are referred to at the beginning of the paragraph by explicit NP's. This is frequently necessary, if not in order to introduce participants or bring them back into the narrative, at least to establish them in their paragraph level interrelationship, as in the following example. (The symbol ≠ indicates paragraph boundary).

- (57) a'e ramĩ vɛ je oo ju okaxa vɛ / ≠  
 that as conj ind info 3p-go again 3p-hunt cl subord / ≠  
 'And so it is said they went hunting again. ≠
- a'e rire kama va'e ome'ẽ perata kavara re ɪma va'e pe  
 then after negro which 3p-give money goat at beast which to  
 'Afterwards, the negro gave the money to the owner of the goat.'

If there are alternate explicit NP's being used for a certain participant, the one used paragraph initially is generally the same as that found in the body of the preceding paragraph, even though it may not be the most appropriate at that point. For example, the Np jane'i va'e 'Guarani' used in example (41), which is paragraph initial, is taken from the body of the previous paragraph where he was being distinguished from a negro; but he is the only participant in the context of (41). This practice is closely analogous to the practice of describing paragraph initial time and location settings by relating them to those of the preceding paragraph, as was discussed in 4.2.3. The deictic categories of time, location, and participants thus provide cohesion between paragraphs, as well as within a paragraph.

### 4.3. Prominence

Guarani narrative makes use of a system of participant reference which has the paragraph as its minimal domain. Within this system various kinds of prominence are signalled.

**4.3.1.** Our description of the system begins with the identification of a certain participant for each paragraph whom we will call the base participant (BsP) of the paragraph. For a first notional introduction, the BsP may be thought of as thematically central in some sense; the hearer is interested in the proceedings of the paragraph primarily as they affect him.

Four reference phenomena serve to signal the BsP of a given paragraph:

- P1: the BsP or his actions are the topic of direct quotations;

P2: the BsP is not referred to by explicit NP's except where necessary;

P3: only the BsP is referred to by free personal pronouns;

P4: the BsP is possessor in the case of possessed nouns that refer to participants.

None of these phenomena is quite true as stated. Each will require some explanation and qualification.

4.3.1.1. In general, the BsP of a paragraph or his actions are the topic of direct quotations within the paragraph. The term "topic" here is used non-technically to describe what the quotations seem to be centrally "about". Thus, in the following conversational exchange, the second speaker is the BsP.

- (58) ma'e pa ereipota e'i professora aipo e'i /  
what interr 2p sg-want 3p-say teacher thus 3p-say /  
'What do you want?' she said, the teacher said.'
- a'e rã tuja'i va'e aju apɪ ajemo'e aɣ<sup>wã</sup> e'i  
that conj adult-dim which 1p sg-come here 1p sg-self-teach purp 3p-say  
'And then the old man (said), "I came here to study," he said.'

In some narratives, when a BsP is indicated as the topic of a direct quote, phenomena P2, P3, and P4 may not hold within the paragraph. This is especially true in paragraphs consisting primarily of dialog. Thus in example (58), the second speaker, although the BsP, is referred to by an explicit NP.

4.3.1.2. Subject to certain qualifications, the following statement is a useful approximation: the BsP of a paragraph is not referred to by an explicit NP unless such would be necessary to achieve correct reference, whereas other participants are referred to by explicit NP's except where such would be awkward. The "unless" and "except where" clauses are intended merely to be reminders of the elementary constraints of 4.1.2. and 4.1.1. respectively. It is also understood that the frequency constraints on NP's (4.1.2.6. and 4.1.1.7.) will also be observed, so that for example a BsP will be referred to periodically by an NP. Another qualification, already mentioned in 4.2.4., if the tendency for all the participants of a paragraph, BsP included, to be referred to by explicit NP's at the beginning of a paragraph.

Despite these exceptions and qualifications, this explicit NP condition often makes clear the BsP.

- (59) tamõi ou oporanu ma'e tu nek<sup>wã</sup> mã nee erejapo e'i/  
grandfather 3p-come 3p-ask what interr 2p sg-finger complet 2p sg 2p sg-do 3p-  
say /  
'The grandfather came and asked, "What did you do to your finger?" he said.'
- a'e rã je xakã re aa vɪ ajekɪxɪ e'i /  
that conj ind info firewood for 1p sg-go cl subord 1p sg-self-cut 3p-say /  
'And so it is said, "I cut myself when I went after firewood," he said.'

a'e g<sup>wi</sup> je eru taexa e'i tamōi /  
 then from ind info 2p sg hort-bring hort-1p sg-see 3p-say grandfather /  
 'Then it is said the grandfather said, "Bring it for me to see."'

a'e rā je noexa ukaxei g<sup>wamoi</sup> pe /  
 that conj ind info neg-3p-see-instig-want-neg subj poss-grandfather to  
 'And so it is said he did not want to show it to his grandfather.'

a'e rā je oexa'ã rai a'e pɛ opo'ēag<sup>We</sup> tamōi  
 that conj ind info 3p-think almost there in 3p-put hand-nom-past  
 'And so it is said the grandfather suspected that he had put his hand in there.'

4.3.1.3. With few exceptions, free personal pronouns are used to refer only to the BsP. Exceptions thus far encountered may be described as follows.

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns seem to be obligatory where they are appropriate.

(60) ojee ɛɛ omomo momo'i oikovɛ rive  
 self water 3p-caus-jump caus-jump-dim 3p-walk-aux mkr without purpose  
 'He just kept throwing water on himself.'

(61) janeru tupã ra'ɛ Jesus xivi reve oga  
 1p pl incl-father Tupã Jesus onça with 3p-play  
 'Our father, Tupã's son Jesus, played with an onça  
 mava'e pa ipɛ'a g<sup>waxuve</sup> joe g<sup>wi</sup>  
 which interr poss-liver larger-more 3p recip than  
 (to see) which was braver than the other.'

Pluralized personal pronouns are used for grouping sets of participants, irrespective of their status within the paragraph. This is shown in example (35).

There may be a freer use of indirect object pronouns than of others, although this is not common in the corpus. Example (30) illustrates this possibility.

A free pronoun may appear in apposition to a following NP referring to an non-BsP, but not to a BsP.

(62) a'e rei je carro'i pɛ ojeupi  
 3p pron king ind info coach-dim in 3p-self-put high  
 'He the king, it is said, climbed into the little coach.'

The restricted distribution of the appositive pronoun is thus in accord with P2, that BsP's are not normally referred to by explicit NPs, whereas other participants are.

It should be noted that the claims of this sub-section all have to do with personal pronouns, pronouns that refer to participants. Non-personal pronouns are of course found with non-BsP referents, as 3.6. discusses.

It was also noted in 3.6. that free personal pronouns have a very light functional load for the purpose of reference. This accords very well with P3, since the BsP of a paragraph is, notionally, the participant that needs least to be referred to explicitly.

**4.3.1.4.** The BsP is, in general, the possessor in the case of possessed NP's that refer to participants. This is true whether or not the possessed NP is accompanied by a direct referring expression (a prefix) indicating the possessor (cf. ijaríi 'his grandmother' and tamōi 'the grandfather').

It is important to note that the regularity being discussed deals only with possessed NP's that refer to participants. Possessed NP's that refer to props such as body parts and personal possessions are obligatorily possessed, and this has little to do with participant prominence.

Actually, in the corpus the rule applies only to kinship terms, both consanguineal and affinal. So the rule could as well have been stated: the ego of a term of kinship is the BsP of the paragraph. And yet there are certain exceptions that need to be discussed.

First, if a participant being introduced is in a kin relationship with a participant that has already been introduced, a kinship term is used for the introduction even if its possessor is not the BsP.

- (63) a'e vɪ je rei rajɪ ɪvate oɪ va'e oexa  
 that conj ind info king daughter high 3p-be located which 3p-see  
 'And so it is said the king's daughter who was up high saw him'.

Another source of exceptions is caused by a particularly crowded participant inventory in a certain context, so that a kinship term must be used to achieve successful reference. When this is the case, the possessor of the term may have nothing to do with the BsP of the paragraph. Thus, in the following example a more generic term such as kujã 'woman' would not make for a successful reference (even though it is used elsewhere to refer successfully to this participant), because another woman has already been mentioned in the paragraph.

- (64) tuu tena overapa va'e og<sup>w</sup>eru og<sup>w</sup>apɪ ag<sup>w</sup>ã rã je  
 father bench 3p-bright-all which 3p-bring 3p-sit purp cl subord ind info  
 'It is said that when the father brought a really bright bench for them to sit on,  
 tajɪ aipo e'i ore g<sup>w</sup>i nuga pɪ norog<sup>w</sup>apíi  
 daughter thus 3p-say 1p pl excl thus type on neg-1p pl excl-sit-neg  
 the daughter said, "We won't sit on that sort."'

In the above example, the daughter herself is the BsP.

As was discussed in 4.2.4., the participants of a paragraph tend to be mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph by means of explicit NP's, and if alternate expressions are in use for a certain participant, the one likely to be used paragraph initially is one that was used in the body of the preceding paragraph. In the present discussion, this means that the rule P4 should really not include the paragraph initial reference, but should be extended to include a possible reference at the beginning of the following paragraph. Thus, if a kin term is paragraph initial, its ego is the

BsP of the preceding paragraph; if not paragraph initial, its ego is the BsP of the current paragraph.

In all, the exceptions and qualifications to P4 as originally stated account for only about 20% of the occurrences of free third person personal pronouns. Thus, since the BsP is regularly the possessor for kinship terms, kinship terms are not ordinarily used to refer to BsP's. A converse regularity can also be stated: when a non-BsP is in a kin relationship with the BsP, a kinship term with the BsP as ego is generally used to refer to him.

Exceptions to this converse regularity are few, and seem to fall into two classes. The first, a paragraph initial reference, has already been discussed. The second can be stated as follows: if a non-BsP is in a kinship relation with the BsP, and if the non-BsP was referred to by a kinship term in the previous clause, and if the BsP is not referred to at all in the current clause, then the non-BsP can be referred to by a non-kinship term.

- (65) tuu ovaixĩ oovĩ / a'e rei je carro'i pĩ ojeupi  
father 3p-greet 3p-go-aux mkr / 3p pron king ind info coach-dim in 3p-self-put  
high  
'The father went to greet them. He, the king, it is said, climbed into the little  
coach.'

**4.3.1.5.** The four phenomena just discussed -- quote topics, lack of explicit NP's, personal pronouns, and ego of kinship terms -- are manifestations of the BsP in a given paragraph. These phenomena together constitute the system of participant reference based on the BsP; at least they constitute it on the paragraph level. From these manifestations it would seem that the BsP is "in focus" in some sense, but not in the same sense as the DmP, who can be and often is a different participant in the paragraph. The BsP forms the basis of the reference system of the paragraph, while the DmP dominates the action. We are thus avoiding the term "focus", since on the paragraph level at least it would be ambiguous.

**4.3.2.** As we identify BsP's for the individual paragraphs according to the criteria of 4.3.1., we notice that the same participant typically repeats as BsP for a series of consecutive paragraphs -- there can occasionally be intervening paragraphs with different BsP's.) It thus becomes apparent that the paragraph-level BsP is itself a manifestation of some higher-level phenomenon. When a certain participant repeats as BsP for a succession of paragraphs, we say that he is the thematic participant (ThP) for that sequence of paragraphs (including the occasional intervening paragraphs with different BsP's). A shorter narrative typically has only one ThP. One longer narrative in the corpus, however, has a succession of three different ThP's.

As we investigate the "occasional intervening paragraphs" in the domain of a ThP, we find that the ThP is not a participant at all in those paragraphs. Moreover the BsP of such paragraphs is in each case the DmP. Therefore we have the following regularity:

If a given paragraph is in the domain of a certain ThP, and has the ThP as a participant, then the ThP is the BsP of that paragraph; otherwise, the DmP is the BsP of the paragraph.

**4.3.3.** We have defined the ThP in terms of BsP's. But in the light of the regularity just stated, that appears a bit like putting the cart before the horse. It seems that the ThP is the more

fundamental phenomenon within a discourse, and that the BsP's are simply manifestations of the ThP on the level of individual paragraphs. Assuming that this is the case, we owe ourselves some sort of notional description of the ThP, and also some way to find the ThP besides looking for a succession of co-referential BsP's.

**4.3.3.1.** As to a notional description of the ThP, we have begged the issue somewhat by its very name. Thematic prominence is, according to Callow (*Discourse considerations in translating the Word of God*, p.52), the narrator "saying to the hearer, 'This is what I'm talking about'". A thematic participant (ThP) would then be whom the narrator is talking about. This seems to be the case in Guarani, but not necessarily in the sense that it is the purpose of the text to furnish information about the ThP; it is more in the sense that the narrator is using the audience's interest in the ThP to sustain interest in the text. The text may not exist for the ThP, but the ThP exists for the text.

The above notional description of the ThP is one of the more speculative in this paper, and doubtless can profit as more texts are examined. Nevertheless certain evidence exists for the notion of the ThP as an interest-sustaining device, and this will be presented briefly in the following sections. Here it is simply being hypothesized that the ThP is a technique of text construction whose primary purpose is to sustain hearer interest in the text as a whole by means of interest in a certain participant, the ThP.

**4.3.3.2.** If it is true that the narrator uses the hearer's interest in the ThP to sustain interest in the text as a whole (or more properly in that portion of the text which is the domain of the particular ThP), then it follows that there must exist devices in the text for generating strong audience interest in the ThP himself. We find such devices in Guarani, and in fact it appears that the devices which establish a participant as ThP are regularly devices which generate fairly long-term interest in the participant.

The most common such device might be called an open prediction about the future actions or welfare of a participant. The prediction is described as "open" because it gives little if any indication to the hearer whether it will actually come true. It is this feature, probably as much as the feature of futurity, which is responsible for generating the degree of interest required. Open predictions can be predictions in direct quotes.

- (66) peva'e re rive rã ko xee ìvotì amomo e'i  
that at without reason fut this 1p sg flower 1p sg-caus-jump 3p-say  
"I am going to throw this flower at that one," she said.'

or quoted commands.

- (67) upe oopì ke eike emē e'i  
there house-in hort 2p sg-hort-enter neg 3p-say  
"Don't go in there," he said.'

An open prediction can also be made by the narrator himself, but not in the form of a prediction itself, since then it would no longer be "open". The narrator can indicate a participant's wishes,

- (68) je ojemo'exe escola pɿ  
ind info 3p-self-teach school in  
'He wanted to study in school.'

or his plans and purposes,

- (69) a'e nouxevei g<sup>w</sup>ajɿ mẽ ro g<sup>w</sup>i  
3p pron neg-3p-come-want-more-neg subj poss-daughter husband house from  
'He didn't want to leave his son-in-law's house.'

- (70) opa ma'e'i oenõimã oipe'a ag<sup>w</sup>ã  
all thing-dim 3p-call-all 3p-open purp  
'He called everything (birds) for them to release here.'

without himself being committed as to what the outcome will be.

In each of the above examples of open predictions, the narrator indicates a participant who shortly thereafter begins repeating as BsP in a series of paragraphs and thus proves to be a ThP. In every case the participant persists as ThP until it is revealed whether and how the open prediction is fulfilled, and the consequences brought on the ThP by its fulfillment.

A problematic case of open predication is the following.

- (71) kujã va'e aipo e'i araa ta kova'e kɿrɿ va'e xememɿrã e'i  
woman which thus 3p-say 1p sg-take fut this small which 1p sg-child-fut-dim 3p-  
say  
'The woman said, "I'll take this youngster to be my own child," she said.'

From this direct quote it is not clear whether the child or the woman is being indicated as the ThP. As it turns out from observing co-referential BsP's in the following paragraphs, the ThP is the child. Actually, in another sense this text-initial example is unambiguous. It seems to be regularity that the last participant that is introduced before the text-initial ThP is indicated by an open prediction is the ThP himself. Since the child was last introduced before example (70), he is thus indicated as ThP according to this regularity. One result of this regularity is several cases in which the text-initial ThP is the second person introduced, rather than the first.

There is one text in the corpus for which the ThP was established before the narrative itself was begun, and it was established by me, the hearer, rather than by the narrator. I had asked for a story about a snake, so the narrator's only indicator of the ThP was a fronted direct object, which is likely, a marked theme on the clause level.

- (72) k<sup>w</sup>ee ka'aru'i xero katɿ aa vɿ  
yesterday late-dim 1p sg-house toward 1p sg-go cl subord  
'Yesterday at dusk as I was going home,

moi aexa pe'i pɪ tape pɪ  
snake 1p sg-see there-dim in path in  
a snake I saw right over there in the path.'

**4.3.3.3.** Since we have presented the participant prominence system as it was in fact discovered, from low level manifestations backward to high level discourse principles, here we summarize the system in the opposite direction.

A narrative (or at least a significant portion of it) is constructed around a thematic participant ThP). He is indicated as such by an open prediction or possibly by some other device, which generates long-term hearer interest in his activities. The interest thus generated in the ThP serves to sustain the hearer's interest in the text itself.

The text is divided into paragraphs, which serve as discrete deictic bases from which the action is narrated. Each paragraph has a dominant participant (DmP) and a base participant (BsP). The DmP dominates the action, while the BsP serves as the base of the participant reference system within the paragraph. For each paragraph, if the current ThP is a participant at all, he is the paragraph's BsP; otherwise, the DmP is the BsP.

The ThP repeats as BsP for several consecutive (or nearly consecutive) paragraphs. At the end of the ThP's domain the narrative ends or a new ThP begins to function.

**4.3.3.4.** It seems to be simpler to establish a ThP text initially than to establish one following another. Part of the reason for this seems to be a certain expectation that a participant once established as ThP will continue as ThP, especially if he remains an active participant in the narrative. This expectation, perhaps as much as any of the four surface phenomena listed and discussed in 4.3.1., serves to identify the BsP of a given paragraph as the current ThP. The problem then is to show that the domain of a given ThP is at an end, and that a new ThP is being established.

Non-initial ThP's seem to be indicated in the same way as initial ThP's, by generating long-term hearer interest in them by such means as an open prediction. The examples in 4.3.3.2. are of both initial and non-initial ThP's. A problem arises, however, when the open prediction indicating a non-initial ThP comes within the domain of the preceding ThP. For example, in the one text with a succession of ThP's, the open prediction indicating the second ThP (example (66)) came 8 paragraphs before the end of the first ThP's domain, and the open prediction indicating the third ThP (example (69)) came 5 paragraphs before the end of the second ThP's domain.

The result is a kind of "lame duck" effect. After the indication of a new ThP, the remainder of the still current ThP's domain shows a profusion of NP's as referring expressions. During these transitional sections it seems that the reference system based on the BsP of a paragraph is all but suspended. It is more difficult to recognize the BsP's in these sections by the phenomena discussed in 4.3.1.; for the most part BsP's coincide with the DmP's of these paragraphs (though still observing the regularity of 4.3.2.), so that the need for recognizing the still-current ThP is at a minimum.

Thus the transition from one ThP to another seems likely to be at least a potential problematic area in text construction. It may be significant that in these transition sections the narrator made several false starts, evidencing unsureness on his part. Much more data is needed before any firm conclusions can be reached.

**4.3.4.** In hindsight, the solution furnished for the reference problem, especially in the case of subject and objective complements, foreshadows, the kind of prominence system that has been discussed in the present section. Those rules of reference have the form, "Grammatical function X is coreferential with the previous X unless other factors intervene." This rule schema is at least compatible with the kind of paragraph-level constancy observable in inter-participant relationships (such as made possible the definition of DmP), and also with the tendency toward thematic constancy that attaches to ThP's and BsP's.

**4.3.5.** There seems to be room still for other kinds of thematic prominence, although perhaps not so extensive as that already discussed. Example (26) is a case in point. The finger seems to be in some sense topical, although its possessor is the BsP of the paragraph and the ThP of this section of the narrative. If such local thematic prominence does in fact exist, two things seem to be true of it. First, it tends to thematize props rather than participants, and so lies outside the scope of this paper. Second, it appears to be extra-systemic in the sense that it occurs only occasionally.

#### **4.4. Participant introduction, dismissal, and re-introduction; rate of participant reference**

In this section we discuss idiomatic ways of introducing a participant for the first time, dismissing him from the narrative (perhaps only temporarily), and re-introducing him. A few remarks are added to discuss the normal rate of participant reference, that is, the number of participants that are normally referred to in a paragraph, sentence, and clause.

**4.4.1.** When a participant is introduced for the first time, he is referred to by an explicit NP, which can be a proper name. But this alone seems to be insufficient for the introduction; one other identificational element must follow, usually in the next clause. This second element is either another NP or a relevant descriptive fact about the participant.

**4.4.1.1.** If the second element is another NP, it can be either an explicit NP or a pronoun. If an explicit NP, it is often the same explicit NP that was used in the first reference to the participant .

- (73) og<sup>w</sup>ereko amɪminō'i / oo ome'eapo vɪ je aipo e'i g<sup>w</sup>amɪminō  
           pe ...  
           3p-have grandchild-dim / 3p-go 3p-thing-do cl subord thus 3p-say subj poss-  
           grandchild to  
           'He had a grandson. When he went to work he said to his grandson,....'

There can, however, be variation in the explicit NP

- (74) oexa kama vaik<sup>w</sup>e / a'e ramī vɪ je ojukaxe rã je  
           3p-see negro ugly / that as cl subord ind info 3p-kill-want cl subord ind info  
           'He saw an ugly negro. So it is said he wanted to kill him, but

xejuka emē ke / neirūrā re neporiau rei'i ramō mā  
 1p sg-kill neg hort / 2p sg-companion-fut for 2p sg-poor just-dim cl subord  
 complet

"Don't kill me. I'll come and be your companion,

xee aju e'i kama va'e  
 1p sg 1p sg-come 3p-say negro which  
 you poor thing," said the negro.'

and even a completely different NP.

- (75) Janejára aipo e'i a'e pe Jesus aipo e'i ...  
 1p pl incl-owner thus 3p-say 3p pron to Jesus thus 3p-say  
 'Our owner said, Jesus said to him, ...'

If a pronoun is used for the second NP reference, in the corpus it is never the simple third person pronoun a'e, but another form, such as an oblique form, as example (30) illustrates, or a pluralized form which groups the participant just introduced with others, as in example (35).

**4.4.1.2.** In place of a second NP, there may be provided a relevant descriptive fact about the participant being introduced. This "fact" may be a durative action forming a time frame for an action to be reported subsequently,

- (76) ɛmā ete g<sup>w</sup>are peteī je oiko g<sup>w</sup>aimī'i va'e /  
 long ago certainly nom one ind info 3p-live old lady-dim which  
 'Long ago there lived an old lady, it is said.

iporiau rei je oovɪ tape rupi /  
 3p-poor just ind info 3p-go-aux mkr path along  
 She was just going along the path, it is said, a poor thing.'

or it may be a mental state,

- (77) oiko peteī jurua tuja'i /  
 3p-live one national old man-dim /  
 'There lived an old national (Brazilian) man.

je ojemo'exe escola pɪ  
 ind info 3p-self-teach school in  
 It is said that he wanted to study in school.'

or a relationship with another participant.

- (78) ɛmā ete katu oiko peteī tuja'i /  
 long ago certainly emph 3p-live one old man-dim /  
 'Long ago there lived an old man.

og<sup>w</sup>ereko amɪminõ'i  
 3p-have grandchild  
 He had a grandchild.'

4.4.1.3. Sometimes when a participant is introduced, the narrator presents him as if his existence is a known fact to the hearer, that is, without any surface features to indicate otherwise.

(79) a'e rire uma semana duas semanas pɪ je  
 then after one week two week-nom in ind info  
 'It is said that one or two weeks afterwards  
  
 rei rejɪ k<sup>w</sup>érɪ omena va'erã  
 king daughter class 3p-marry fut  
 the king's daughters were to marry.'

However, as in the above example, there is sometimes no reason why the hearer should have already recognized or even expected the existence of the participants. It is as if the narrator is assuming that, if the hearer is not already aware of their existence, at least he would be willing to grant that existence without it being specifically asserted. Something like this seems to be a necessary condition for a speaker to introduce a participant without actually asserting his existence.

One thing this discussion bears upon is the issue of definite reference versus indefinite reference. Neither category is commonly indicated in Guarani; for example, there is nothing in frequent usage corresponding to a definite or indefinite article. It seems, however, that when NP is modified by a preceding number, the reference is thus marked as indefinite. Therefore, a common way to introduce a narrative-initial participant, if he is not already known to the hearer, is by the following formula, possibly with minor modifications:

± (time expression) oiko peteĩ NP

where *oiko* is '3p-live' and *peteĩ* 'one'. Illustrations are examples (77) and (78).

I know of no other way to mark indefiniteness in the surface structure than to use numbers preceding NP's. However, the first sentence of example (73) is also surely a case of indefinite reference. It could be possible that, in the case of possessed nouns, an explicitly indicated possessor is an indication of definite reference; this would presumably encompass "cases" C1 and C2 as set forth in Figure 3 of 3.4.2. Therefore, when a "case" C3 (or C4?) inflection is found where a C2 inflection is normally used (the possessor is the same participant as the subject, as in the first sentence of example (73)), perhaps this also is an indication of indefinite reference. One other factor should be noted: in each of the examples of possible indefinite reference cited in this discussion, the verb asserts the existence of the participant that is presumable being referred to indirectly. Perhaps this condition obligatorily accompanies indirect reference, and thus serves to strengthen it. This entire area is in only the beginning stages of investigation.

4.4.2. Participant dismissal and re-introduction can be conveniently discussed together because of similarities of marking these phenomena. Both normally occur at paragraph boundaries, and are indicated by motion verbs in many cases.

4.4.2.1. When a participant has been part of the deictic scene of one paragraph and is not part of the next, we say he is dismissed. Each participant dismissal is indicated by some explicit signal.

Paragraph-final motion verbs figure in fully two-thirds of the cases of participant dismissal. In very few cases is the participant being dismissed actually the subject of the motion verb.

- (80) oʝok<sup>w</sup>apa oovɛ  
 3p-tie up-all 3p-go-aux mkr  
 'He tied up everything and went away.'

Rather, in almost every case, a participant is dismissed when another leaves his presence and as it were carries with him the deictic anchorage.

- (81) a'e ramɪ vɛ Jesus oo momɪrɪ / ɪapu oovɛ  
 that as conj Jesus 3p-go far / thunder 3p-go-aux mkr  
 'According to that, Jesus went off. He went along thundering.'

Or, similarly, one participant can awake, leaving a companion asleep and therefore effectively dismissed.

- (82) pɪtũ are jave je ta'ɪxɪ omɪi  
 dark time when ind info wife 3p-wake  
 'Late at night the wife, it is said, awoke.'

If the motion verb occurs paragraph finally, it is likely to be restated, or the termination of the motion indicated, at the beginning of the next paragraph.

- (83) oo / ≠ ovaẽ professoraa pɪ  
 3p-go / ≠ 3p-arrive teacher-place in  
 'He went. He arrived where the teacher was.'

Change of locational setting without participant motion can, of course, also serve to dismiss the participants that would be associated with the former setting. This device is comparatively rare.

- (84) a'e vɛ je a'e pɪ overa rei oikovɛ / ≠  
 that conj ind info there in 3p-bright just 3p-walk aux mkr / ≠  
 'So it is said that he was shining there.'
- a'e vɛ je rei rajɪ ɪvate oĩ va'e oexa  
 that conj ind info king daughter high 3p-be located which 3p-see  
 'So it is said that the king's daughter who was up high saw him.'

In the same way, a gross change of temporal setting can serve to dismiss participants. When this happens, it seems that no participants are assumed to be on the new temporal scene until referred to by an NP, as happens in example (79).

It is clear that all of the above devices for participant dismissal can serve to dismiss not just one participant, but all who are "left behind" when the deictic anchorage changes.

Of course, participants are also dismissed when their death is reported, although their physical remains can continue to be referred to.

- (85) a'e g<sup>w</sup>i je ojuka mā  
 then from ind info 3p-kill complet  
 'And then it is said he killed him.'

**4.4.2.2.** If a participant has been dismissed from one deictic setting, he can be re-introduced in a subsequent one. Re-introduction generally requires the first reference to the participant to be by an explicit NP.

- (86) tupā ra'ɪa pɪ ovaē  
 Tupā son-place in 3p-arrive  
 'He arrived where the son of Tupā was.'

Exceptions to this regularity are very few, and seem to be limited to the re-introduction of a thematic participant.

- (87) a'e rire je ojee ɪɪ. omomo momo'i oikovɪ rive je  
 then after ind info self water 3p-throw throw-dim without reason ind info  
 'Afterwards, it is said that he was just throwing water idly on himself.'

Even in these few cases the re-introduced participant is readily identifiable by other factors. In the above example, for instance, the participant had begun to bathe two paragraphs previously, and his identification in the re-introduction follows from the context rule of sustained progress.

As in the case of participant introduction, the re-introduction of a participant is always accompanied by at least one other signal in addition to the NP reference. The additional signals are virtually the same as those used for participant dismissal. By far the most common one, as in the case of dismissal, is a motion verb with another participant as subject; the other participant brings the deictic anchorage with him to where the participant being re-introduced is known or stated to be, as in example (86). There are cases, however, when the participant is re-introduced by himself arriving on the scene of the current deictic anchorage.

- (88) a'e g<sup>w</sup>i je g<sup>w</sup>amōi pe oexauka e'ɪ vy  
 then from ind info subj poss-grandfather to 3p-see-instig neg cl subord  
 'It is said that afterwards, not wanting to show it to his grandfather,

ok<sup>wã</sup> ojok<sup>wa</sup> erekovɪ ≠ rire tamõi ou oporanu  
subj poss-finger 3p-tie \_\_\_\_ after grandfather 3p-come 3p-ask  
he tied up his finger. Afterwards, his grandfather came and asked.'

Also as in the case of dismissal, participant reintroduction may be signalled by a change of location without participant motion, as in example (84), or by a change of temporal setting.

Many of the observations that have been made about participant dismissal and re-introduction can be summarized in the following statement: the participants do not ordinarily change without an accompanying change in the locational or temporal setting. Thus, the participants do not change except at paragraph boundaries (where a certain latitude must now be allowed for the term "boundary"). Thus within the body of a paragraph, the participant inventory (those participants who are both on the deictic scene and being referred to in the paragraph) is, in general, constant.

**4.4.3.** This constant number of participants in a paragraph participant inventory can be as few as one or as many as five, some of which may be compound referents. Under most conditions the number does not exceed three or four. When the number rises above two, the frequency of NP's tends to increase accordingly.

This is related to what goes on on the clause and sentence level. One or two participants per sentence are normative. Up to two participants can be referred to in a single sentence without any of them being referred to by explicit NP's. Up to three participants can be referred to in a sentence if at least one of them is referred to by an explicit NP, but these occurrences are rare. Never in the corpus are four participants referred to in a single sentence.

The above remarks do not count participants referred to in quoted speech. Compound referents are being counted as single participants. And only participants, not props, are at issue. There can be many props referred to in a sentence, especially in a list construction.

The above statements concerning the number of participants per sentence apply as well to the clause level.