

PRONOUNS AND TOPICALIZATION IN GUARANI TEXTS

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Pronouns and Topicalization in Guarani texts¹

0. It has been observed that there are only two basic patterns of pronoun reference: either the referent is identifiable as the topic in a particular passage, or else the referent is identified by being mentioned another time close by. In each language, each system of pronouns has been found to follow one of these two basic patterns.²

To facilitate discussion, I will say in this paper that pronouns following the first pattern above are topic-oriented, and that those following the second pattern are not topic-oriented. A topic in a particular passage is an entity of particular interest, an entity which the passage is particularly about, if for that passage such an entity exists. For the purposes of this paper I am content with a non-technical sense of the word "passage", in order to avoid the question of the scope of a topic. A passage consists of several consecutive sentences in a text.

In Brazilian Guarani (Mbyá dialect), certain pronouns are topic-oriented (ha'e and certain of its derivatives), and others are not topic oriented (of which ha'e va'e is of primary interest for this paper).³ Both of these pronouns are third person singular and anaphoric (referring to something mentioned previously). The primary distinction between the two is that one is topic-oriented, the other not.

The distribution of ha'e within a text reveals interesting aspects of the topic structure. The topic can change within a text from one participant to another, but in any given passage there can be no more than one topic. Moreover, a text is not uniformly topic-structured: some passages are more topic-oriented than others, if judged by surface indicators and in particular by the pronouns under discussion here. This suggests that it may not be uniformly relevant to try to identify the topic in each passage, much less in each sentence or clause. Other ways of organizing the text may at times take precedence over topicalization.

These implications for topicalization, although of obvious theoretical interest, are nevertheless not treated fully here. This paper is basically descriptive, not explanatory. Topicalization in Guarani, which involves many more lines of evidence besides pronominal reference, will require a much broader treatment.

1. The demonstrative ha'e is almost always used as a pronoun, but in rare instances it is used as a demonstrative adjective preceding a noun: ha'e rei 'that king'. It can be inflected for past tense: ha'ekue 'that (past)'. The past tense form has not been found in use as an adjective. It is most commonly used to denote a past condition or occasion.

Ha'ekue ae ma aỹ reve jaexa jaavy.

'We see that very same [custom] until the present.'

1.1. The pronoun ha'e, in its present tense inflection, and when not occurring in one of the easily recognizable special uses to be discussed in 1.5., refers only to animate entities. Moreover,

when not followed by qualifiers (to be discussed in 1.2.), it is used in a text to refer only to a participant that is clearly the topic in a particular passage.

Yma je oiko peteĩ tuja'i va'e. Ha'e je nda'- ijapyxavei je.
Ha'e nunga ra'aga rei ta'vy je ha'e oo ka'aguy re.

'Long ago, they say, there lived an old man. He could not hear well any more. In that condition he went to the woods.'

When an inanimate object is topic, it is referred to either by nouns or by bound prefixes or by zero, but not by free pronouns.

Mba'erã pa yrupẽ po'i ha'eve? Ha'eve aroi oipiro pyre
jaiporavo aguã. Ha'eve avei nhambogua aguã avaxi ku'i,
jajapo aguã hu'i xiĩ.

'What is a fine sieve good for? It [zero, no pronoun] is good for selecting shelled rice. It [zero] is also good for sifting corn meal to make toasted meal.'

Ha'e is used more frequently when the topic participant is in fact the only participant present and active in a particular passage.

Ha'e rire je tyke'y oo ma ka'aguy re. Ha'e vy je oo. Oo te
ma oiny. Ha'e je ojevy aguã re je ha'e nhima'endu'ai. Ha'e
gui je ovaẽ/peteĩ henda py. Ita ova oĩ va'e yvy yvy ry je
hekony va'e ma je ha'e inhembyayí ma oikovy.

'After that the older brother went to the woods. And so he [verb prefix] went. He [verb prefix] kept going and going. He did not remember that he should return. And then he [verb prefix] arrived at a certain place. He [verb prefix] kept walking around at the base of a rock face and he was getting hungry.'

When there is another participant active in a passage, something like topical balance or neutralization occurs, so that both participants are referred to by nouns and not by pronouns (in addition to obligatory reference by bound forms). Later in the same text cited just above, when a second participant enters, the man referred to earlier by the pronoun ha'e comes to be referred to as nhande'i va'e 'the Indian' (literally, 'the one of us') in contrast to the second participant, a mythical being.

Ha'e gui ou vy ri ma je parito ramigua je omoĩ ouvy. Ha'e
gui je nhande'i va'e pe omboi ma. Ha'e vy je nhande'i va'e
jyva re je ojopy.

'And then [the mythical being] came and, coming, put on something like a jacket. And then he [verb prefix] took it off for the Indian. And so he caught the Indian by the arm.'

So the topic is referred to by ha'e when there is least competition or interference from other participants, that is, when the topic is most apparently so. I know of no reason why ha'e should be used in such contexts, except to highlight the topic status. It can add little or nothing to the act of reference or identifying the participant being talked about, since it is poor in semantic

features; it carries, in fact, only the features of singular number and anaphoricity, beyond those features carried by pronominal verb prefixes that nearly always occur in the same clause. Being grammatically optional, it seems to reflect a simple fixation of attention on a clear and unambiguous topic, and thus occurs most frequently when such attention is least distracted.

Because in any given passage there is no more than one topic, in any given passage no more than one participant is referred to by ha'e. It is possible, though, for different participants to function as topic successively in the course of a text. In one narrative, three participants are referred to by ha'e as topic, but in succession and not in overlapping fashion. In descriptive texts, as for example in one text where the habits of several birds are successively described, any number of topics can occur following one another. Because in descriptive texts there is, in general, less interaction among "participants" than in narrative texts - that is, there are fewer instances where different objects of description are mentioned in the same passage - there is less opportunity for topic neutralization. Thus, the topic at any given point is likely to be quite apparent and occupy full attention. For this reason, ha'e is found with high frequency in descriptive texts.

Ha'e gui havia ma je ha'e oporaei porã. Ha'e vy je ha'e ovy'a. Ha'e gui yro'y ovaẽ ma rã ma je ha'e ndoporaeivei. Ha'e rami vy ma je ha'e ndovy'avei, ha'e ojae'o guive oikovy, oporaei e'y vy.

'And then the it sabia, it sings well. And so it is happy. And then when cold weather arrives it does not sing any more. And so it is not happy any more, it cries also, from not singing.'

This lavish use of ha'e in descriptive texts contrasts with its scarcity in many narratives. Sometimes a narrative contains no occurrence of ha'e, especially if the narrative consists mainly of interactions between participants. Ha'e is most likely to be used in a narrative when the topic participant is acting alone, or when the topic participant is being described shortly after being introduced. (Participant introduction can often, in fact, be considered a short, embedded descriptive text). Both of these cases have already been illustrated.

1.2. Therefore ha'e, as thus far described, always refers to a participant with clear topic status. Sometimes, however, ha'e is pressed into service in saying certain things about participants that are not topics as well as those that are topics. These things all have to do with his relationship to some other participant in a certain action or state, and are always signalled by qualifiers which follow ha'e. Thus there occur the following:

ha'e avei 'that one also' (doing or being something like some other participant has already done or been)

ha'e ranhe 'that one first' (doing something before some other participant, in turn, does it)

ha'e jevy (or ha'e ju in a short form) 'that one in turn' (doing something in turn, following some other participant)

ha'e ae 'that one alone' (doing or being something to the exclusion of other participants).

It is true that such expressions usually refer to the topic participant in a certain passage, but at times they refer to some other participant. Therefore they are considered not to be topic-oriented.

The occurrence of ha'e with these qualifiers is a result of two factors acting together: the grammar and standards of good speech. Each of the four qualifiers – avei, ranhe, jevy (or ju), and ae – is grammatically required, in the type of usage that we are considering, to be preceded by a free substantive, either by a noun, a descriptive phrase, or a pronoun. But when the participant under discussion has just been referred to by a noun or by a descriptive phrase, it would be felt awkward to use such a specific expression, soon afterward, to refer to that same participant. So the pronoun ha'e is used with the qualifier, even though the referent may not be the topic. Besides, the qualifier itself often helps to identify the participant.

Xariã ovoko py opo'ê vy peteĩ jokua perata oguenoẽ vy oexa uka nhanderu pe ramo ha'e ovoko py opo'ê vy oguenoẽ avei perata.

'The devil put his hand into his bag and pulled out one roll of money and showed it to our father and [different subject] he [our father] put his hand into his own bag and [same subject] also pulled out money.'

Ha'e rire je Xariã okaru. Ha'e ranhe mbojape'i ho'u.

'After that the devil ate. He first [of the two participants] ate the small pieces of bread.'

Ha'e gui je ojuka ma poryko, ka'i ovy e'ỹ re poryko ruguy oikytypa ka'i rova re. Ha'e rire je ka'i ovy vy oo yy py ojau, huguy oikytypa rire. Ha'e rire je ha'e jevy oikytyxe huguy xivi rova re, ko'ê rai'i jave je xivi okeve teri. Ha'e rã je ha'e ju oikyty huguy xivi rova re.

'And then [the jaguar] killed a pig, and without the monkey waking up smeared the pig's blood on the monkey's face. After that the monkey awoke and went to bathe in the water, because [the jaguar] had smeared the blood. After that he in turn wanted to smear blood on the jaguar's face, while the jaguar was still sleeping right before dawn. And so he in turn smeared blood on the jaguar's face.'

Ha'e rami ijayvu ramo Xariã: – Mba'e re nda'u po rami ijayvu? he'i oovy ha'e ae py'a py.

'When he spoke like that [different subject] the devil [said]: – Now why did he say that? he said in his own heart.'

Sometimes ha'e is used with one of these qualifiers simply because it would be difficult to find a noun which would be appropriate to refer to the participant in that particular context.

Ha'e gui je ogueroike opy'i. Ha'e ae'i oike.

'And then he [verb prefix] took [some squash] inside. He alone went in.' (In other passages this same participant is referred to by noun as patrão to his employee or husband to his wife, but in this passage these terms of relationship are not relevant because neither his employee nor his wife is present. Here, it would be hard to find an appropriate noun to refer to the participant.)

Thus, although ha'e is most commonly topic-oriented (in a situation, that is, where a noun would be unnecessary), it can occur with qualifiers in a use that is not topic-oriented (in a situation where an appropriate noun would be difficult to find). When ha'e is not topic-oriented, the addressee is so advised by the presence of one of the four qualifiers just discussed.

1.3. The problem of identifying the referent for ha'e depends for its solution on whether ha'e is being used as topic-oriented or not. In either case the solution is usually quite obvious. If ha'e is in a topic-oriented use, in most cases the topic is acting alone or being described alone, so that there is only the one possibility for a referent.

Ha'e vy ojora okê ojokuaague oike aguã. Ha'e gui je oike oopy. Ha'e gui je oexa caixão itui va'e. Ha'e vy je ha'e oo oipe'a imbotya oexa aguã caixa rypy py oĩ va'e.

'And so he [verb prefix] untied the door which had been tied, in order to enter. And then he [verb prefix] went inside. And then he [verb prefix] saw a box lying there. And so he went to open the lid to see what was in the box.'

Even when a topic participant is involved in an interaction with another participant, if he is referred to as ha'e he is still enough recognizable as the topic that he can be identifiable as referent of ha'e. His recognizability as topic in such situations can often be considered as a kind of inertial transfer of topic status from an earlier passage where his topic status is more distinct and less potentially ambiguous.

Ha'e gui je peteĩ 'ara oo voi'i jevy. Ha'e vy je peteĩ ava oexa tape py. Ha'e rã je ha'e va'e oporandu: – Mamo ereo? he'i. Ha'e rã je ha'e ombovai vy aipo e'i: – Aa amba'eapo vy, he'i.

'And then one day he [verb prefix, the topic participant] went again quite early. And so he [verb prefix] saw a man in the path. And so he [ha'e va'e, the man in the path just mentioned] asked: – Where are you going? he [verb prefix] said. And so he [the topic participant] replied and said: – I am going to work, he [verb prefix] said.'

If, on the other hand, ha'e is being used as not topic-oriented and is thus accompanied by one of the qualifiers avei, ranhe, jevy (or ju), or ae, then in most cases a coreferential noun occurs immediately previously (1.2.). If no such noun is present, then the referent of ha'e is identifiable on other grounds.

Teĩ nhanderu ndogueroviai vy aipo e'i jevy Xariã pe: ...
 he'i Xariã pe. Aipo e'i rive. Ha'e avei ombotavy Xariã.

'But our father did not believe it and said again to the devil: [there follows a long quotation, which I, RAD, have elided] ... he [verb prefix] said to the devil. He [verb prefix] said it untruthfully. He also was deceiving the devil [just as the devil had earlier tried to do to him].' (The last two sentences are explanatory restatements of the quotation sentence, and hence there is a high degree of expectancy that their subjects are coreferential with the subject nhanderu of the quotation sentence.)

1.4. To this point, all discussion of ha'e has concerned its occurrence as grammatical subject (or occasionally, when not topic-oriented, as possessor in a construction of possessor-possessed noun: ha'e ae py'a 'his own heart'). This is because the pronoun ha'e, when referring to an animate entity, does not occur in any other grammatical function.

For example, when ha'e refers to an animate entity it does not occur as direct object. This is not true of ha'e va'e and certain other pronouns. I do not know of any convincing explanation for this fact, but it does point up the close association between topic and grammatical subject.⁴

In the oblique cases, ha'e undergoes a transformation to another stem, which is then joined to a postposition. The postposition, ordinarily unstressed, becomes stressed in fixed expressions such as these. Thus, what would semantically be

<u>ha'e</u> + <u>pe</u>	'to' becomes <u>ixupe</u> 'o him/her' (indirect object); ⁵
<u>ha'e</u> + <u>gui</u>	'from' becomes <u>ixugui</u> 'from him/her' (source); ⁶
<u>ha'e</u> + <u>re</u>	'at/on' becomes <u>hexe</u> 'at/on him/her' (goal);
<u>ha'e</u> + <u>reve</u>	'with' becomes <u>hexeve</u> 'with him/her' (in company of);
<u>ha'e</u> + <u>rupive</u>	'along with' becomes <u>hupive</u> 'along with him/her' (accompaniment in a motion event).

The oblique pronouns obtained by the above transformations are like ha'e in being topic-oriented, in most cases. But like ha'e with qualifiers, (1.2.), they can sometimes refer to participants that are not topics.

Xee aipota José ombopara João pe eremondouka ixupe água ...

'I want José to write to João in order for you to send [the letter] to him [to João]
 ...'

The postposition -pe 'to' here serves to require a nominal expression, as do the qualifiers mentioned in 1.2.; and the pronoun is used in this place because the noun is used shortly before,

in the phrase João pe. Except for such cases, which parallel those for ha'e discussed in 1.2., the oblique pronouns ixupe, ixugui, hexe, and hexeve are topic-oriented.

1.5. Only when ha'e refers to a participant, an animate entity, do the oblique pronouns of 1.4. occur. In many of its occurrences, in fact in most, ha'e refers to something non-animate or else does not refer at all.

In the following expressions, for example, ha'e refers not to a participant but to a place just mentioned: ha'e gui 'from that place', ha'e py 'in/into that place', and ha'e rupi 'along/through that place'.

ha'e can also refer to a time just mentioned, in such expressions as ha'e guive 'since that time', and as an adjective in ha'e jave 'that time'.

Moreover, ha'e can refer to the general content of the preceding sentence in such sentence initial conjunctions as ha'e (rami) vy 'and so' (action continued), ha'e (rami) ramo 'and so' (action switched in some way), ha'e (rami) rire 'after that', ha'e gui 'proceeding from that'.⁷ Similarly, in the comparative phrase ha'e rami 'like that', the pronoun ha'e has general reference to the content of the preceding sentence or to even more. In the past tense form ha'ekue rami 'like that (in the past)', the pronoun often refers to a past event or condition mentioned several sentences previously. This more distant reference is enabled by the added semantic component (past tense) of the referring expression.

In the phrase ha'e nunga 'things like that', ha'e refers back to an entity (or list of entities) mentioned just previously. The referent can be animate or inanimate, but not a person or a personalized animal.

Finally, ha'e and ha'e gui can function non-referentially as conjunctions connecting items in a list, with a gloss like 'and also'.

All of these uses of ha'e mentioned in this section (1.5.) are given without examples, being outside the scope of this paper. We are here concerned only with uses of ha'e that require an animate referent. It is precisely these uses of ha'e that are included if we say that we are considering all referring uses of ha'e that do not form a part of the specialized expressions mentioned in this section (1.5.).

1.6. Like ha'e, its plural form ha'e kuery is occasionally used as an adjective: ha'e kuery mokōive 'those two'. However, ha'e kuery is always restricted to animate entities. And unlike ha'e, it is not topic-oriented.⁸ It usually refers to the last-mentioned group of participants that would make sense in the place where the pronoun occurs.

Ha'e rire je yvoty ome'ě rã ixy kuery kunhague pe, ha'e
kuery omombo okuapy oipotave va'e va'e re.

'After that the parents gave flowers to the women [to their daughters], and
[different subject] they [the women] threw them at whoever they liked best.'

The previous mention of the group is usually not distant, but occurs in the same sentence, as above, or in the preceding sentence. At times, however, the distinctive semantic component of this pronoun (plurality) enables it to refer to a group of participants that has not been mentioned for several sentences. As with ha'ekue rami (1.5.), the general rule seems to be that if a pronoun is not topic-oriented, then the more semantic features that it carries, the more text can be allowed to intervene between it and its antecedent.

Teĩgue ma aa avei akaxa vy jurua kuery reve. ... Ha'e jave
ma xee ha'a rive pikape gui. Ha'e rami ajava rã ha'e kuery
oo te ma oiny.

'One time I also went hunting with Brazilians. [I delete here four sentences with no reference to the Brazilians except by verb prefixes] At that time I fell off of the pick-up truck. I ran like that, but they went right on.'

The pronoun ha'e kuery is also used occasionally to form a group of participants that have been mentioned previously only as individuals.

Aru apy oka py ramo mae ma oẽ oka py, oexa oka py. Ta'yxy
voi oexa. Ha'e kuery ae onhemondyipa okua.

'Only when I brought [the snake] here to the yard he came out to the yard, to see it in the yard. His wife also saw it. They were both startled.'

As above, it is intended to be obvious which participants are being formed into a group by the plural pronoun.

2. Occuring in texts along with the simple demonstrative ha'e is found ha'e va'e, which consists of the pronoun ha'e followed by the nominalizer va'e. Like ha'e, ha'e va'e is usually used as a demonstrative pronoun, and sometimes as a demonstrative adjective preceding a noun: ha'e va'e ava 'that man'. Also like ha'e, it can be inflected for past tense, ha'e va'ekue 'that (past)', and the past tense form is also used occasionally as an adjective: ha'e va'ekue jagua 'that (past) dog'.⁹

2.1. The demonstrative ha'e va'e is not topic-oriented.¹⁰ Its antecedent is almost always manifested in the preceding sentence by a noun, a descriptive phrase, or by a free pronoun. This suggests the gloss 'the one I just mentioned'.

Ha'e py oĩ peteĩ oo ramigua. Ha'e va'e guy py oroike.

'In that place there was a kind of house. In the bottom part of that we entered.'

In the rare cases in which one or more sentences intervene between ha'e va'e and its antecedent, the speaker often uses ha'e va'e as an adjective, following it by a noun to reinforce the reference.

... nhande'i va'e oĩ te ma ha'e py. Ha'e gui je ita ova oĩ
va'e gui je peteĩ ava ramigua je okẽ oipe'a jekuaa. Ha'e
vy ma je oẽ je ouvy ha'e va'e nhande'i va'e a katy.

'the Indian [literally, 'the one of us'] was there. And then from a rock face that was
there, one like a man was seen opening his door. And so he [verb prefix] came
out towards where that Indian was.'

In other cases where ha'e va'e is somewhat removed from its antecedent, the referent
is predictable on other grounds.

2.2. Unlike ha'e (except in the special constructions noted in 1.5.), ha'e va'e shows no
limitation as to type of referent. The referent can be animate or inanimate.

Ha'e py je peteĩ ava. Ha'e va'e je ete oguereko, serviço.

'In that place there was a certain man. He had a lot of work to hire.'

Ha'e gui ka'aru ete ma jave ma tape pia'i aexa. Ha'e va'e
rupi jevy aa.

'And then quite late in the afternoon I saw a small side path. I went along it.'

The referent of ha'e va'e can also be a process or event that was mentioned
immediately previously, in which case it has no nominal antecedent at all. Such uses, however,
are rare.

... Epyta ke upe py, he'i xevy. Ha'e va'e mae ma xemondyive
imondovy.

'... Stop where you are, he said to me. That sent me off startled even more.'

Ha'e va'e is also unlike ha'e in that it sometimes occurs as direct object, although this
use is not common.

Ha'e va'e ma ndajukai.

'That one I did not kill.'

The choice between ha'e and ha'e va'e must therefore take into account both what
the referent is, and how the referent functions in the text. Ha'e, when not occurring in the frozen
expressions of 1.5., requires an animate referent; and when not occurring with one of the
qualifiers discussed in 1.2., its referent must be currently functioning as topic. Ha'e va'e can
refer to entities of all types, but not when they are topics.

FOOTNOTES

1. This study is based on field work conducted among the Guarani Indians of Posto Indígena Rio das Cobras, Paraná, Brazil, from 1975 through 1978. The Guarani of Brazil (Mbyá dialect, of the Tupi-Guarani family) number about 1500 and are found throughout the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, São Paulo, and Mato Grosso do Sul. They are semi-aculturated to the national culture.

The primary corpus for this study consists of approximately fifty texts written during the Sexto Seminário de Produção de Literatura Indígena, held in Brasília in 1977. The Guarani participants were Arlindo Veríssimo, Darci Pires de Lima, Laurindo Veríssimo and Nelson Florentino. Other texts were also used. Copies of the books produced at this Seminário are on file at the Fundação Nacional do Índio and also at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, both in Brasília.

2. Joseph E. Grimes, private communication.

3. Data in this paper appear in the orthography currently in use by the Guarani. The Guarani language has six vowels **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, **u**, **ɨ** (written *y*), and fifteen consonants **p**, **t**, **k**, **ʔ** (glottal stop, written *'*), **m** (written *mb* before oral vowels), **n** (written *nd* before oral vowels), **ɲ** (written *j* before oral vowels and *nh* before nasal vowels), **ŋ** (written *ng*) **v**, **ts** (written *x*), **h**, **kʷ** (written *ku*), **gʷ** (written *gu*), **r**, and **g**. Nasalization is regressive throughout a stem and its prefixes. Stress is usually on the final syllable of a phrase, except for postclitics.

4. Wallace L. Chafe claims that the surface grammatical subject represents a cognitive or textual function that is essentially what I have been calling topic: "the best way to characterize the subject function is not very different from the ancient statement that the subject is what we are talking about" (1975, p.43). I do not believe that topic and grammatical subject coincide in every Guarani sentence where a topic is referred to, but in the absence of certain specific elements (first or second person subject, free subject, and perhaps others) the topic generally does coincide with the grammatical subject. This is an area requiring further investigation.

5. I have found just one example of ha'e pe 'to him' in a text. In that place, ha'e refers to a clear topic participant. The following passage is from an admonition by a tribal leader just before he was to take an extended trip.

Aguata ta'vy rive ma ta'vy, napena vaipai ta'vy aỹ. Xeayvu
rive ri. Ha'e gui xeruga py aeja aavy tuja'i José ju.
Xapy'a rei mba'emo oĩ rã pejeapura ete ri vy ha'e pe
pemombe'u.

'I am taking a trip (expressions of disapproval with the situation), I cannot attend to many (problems) now. I can only talk. And then when I go I am leaving in my place the old man, José. In the case that anything happens and you (plural) get all upset, tell it to him.'

Perhaps ha'e pe is allowed as a variant of ixupe when the referent has especially clear topic status.

6 The stem ixu is likely derived from ij- '3p' + u 'oblique root', with a subsequent change from j to x. The stem u- occurs elsewhere in je- 'reflexive' + u 'oblique root' + -pe 'to' = jeupe 'to himself'; and in jo- 'reciprocal' + u 'oblique root' + -pe 'to' = joupe 'to one another'.

7 These sentence initial conjunctions are discussed in detail in Dooley 1976. The optional rami has hierarchical rather than logical or semantic significance.

8 It is possible to say ixupe kuery 'to them' instead of the much more common form ha'e kuery pe 'to them'. As the glosses indicate, the meaning is the same. The difference could be, that since the oblique form ixupe 'to him' is normally topic-oriented (1.4.), ixupe kuery is a topic-oriented variant of ha'e kuery pe.

Ha'e gui ome'ẽ peteĩ oo'i ixupe kuery oĩ aguã omba'eapo vy.

'And then [the employer] gave a little house to them [to the topic participant and his wife] to stay in while employed.'

To date, however, there are not enough examples of ixupe kuery to decide this question conclusively.

9 In the corpus, it is often problematical to see why the past tense form ha'e va'ekue should be used instead of ha'e va'e.

10 In a text there occur nouns, as well as pronouns, that are followed by va'e, as well as nouns that are not. This has nothing to do with topicalization, however. This usage can be described as follows.

A certain lexico-semantic class of nouns commonly occurs followed by the nominalizer va'e. These nouns all refer to persons by describing autonomous, (semi)-permanent qualities. They include, for example, terms based on age and sex (but not kinship): kyrĩ'i 'young child', kunumi 'young man', kunhataĩ 'young woman', ava 'man', kunha 'woman', tuja'i 'old man', guaimi'i 'old woman'. They also include certain descriptive terms indicating ethnic group: kamba 'negro, black', nhande 'Indian' (literally, 'me'). Since va'e elsewhere is commonly used to make a descriptive phrase or clause into a referring expression (oikove va'e 'the one who is still living', hoo va'e 'the one whose house it is'), it is not surprising to find va'e occurring with the type of descriptive nouns mentioned above: kyrĩ'i va'e 'young child', kamba va'e 'the negro', etc. Several of these nouns, in fact, function also as adjectives and intransitive verbs: ta'yxy guaimi 'the old wife', nekyrĩ 'you are a young child', etc.

In a few types of grammatically identifiable contexts, however, these nouns may refer to a participant without requiring va'e. For example, in a participant introduction with peteĩ 'one, a certain', the nominalizer va'e is optional.

Yma je oiko peteĩ ava (va'e).

'Long ago, it is said, there lived a certain man.

Also, va'e is at times absent when the noun is followed by a restrictive adjective.

Ava poapẽ (va'e) ou jekuaa jevy.

'The claw-man [a mythical being] was again seen coming.'

In addition, va'e is optional when the noun is not the grammatical subject.

Oexa kamba (va'e).

'He saw the negro.'

In all other contexts, va'e obligatorily follows the nouns of this class. It never occurs in this manner with other nouns.

This same class of nouns, except for possibly the ethnic terms, has a characteristic plural formation, suffixing -kue (or -gue following a nasal vowel), instead of the kuery that occurs with other animate nouns: tujakue 'the old men' versus tuu kuery 'the fathers' (a kinship term).

11 For example, a pattern of action may have been established earlier in the text, that would make the referent quite predictable when the pattern is being repeated.

Ha'e rã je nhande'i va'e oma'ẽ jevy. Ha'e rã je ha'e va'e
haĩ mbixi jevy ae ri.

'And so the Indian looked again. And so he [at whom the Indian looked] bared his teeth again, as before.' [The two occurrences of jevvy 'again' and the phrase ae ri 'as before' connect this incident with an earlier, similar one.]

The referent of ha'e va'e can also be predictable because of cultural rather than textual patterns. When asked a question, for example, it is generally the addressee who responds.

Ha'e py ovaẽ oovy vy nda aipo e'i: — Ndee ere'a vaikue'i
pa? he'i. Ha'e rã nda ha'e va'e aipo e'i: — Any, he'i.

'When [father] arrived there he said: — Did you have a bad fall? he said. And so he [the addressee of the question] said: — No, he said.

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