THIRD-PERSON REFERENCE AND
THE FUNCTION OF PRONOUNS
IN CENTRAL POMO NATURAL SPEECH

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1. Introduction. The function of pronouns might be assumed to be universal among languages. The use and interpretation of particular forms within a language, however, depend significantly on the full repertoire of referential devices with which they contrast. In English, third-person pronouns alternate with full lexical noun phrases and reflexives. In many other languages, free pronouns appear only for contrast or emphasis, while bound pronouns appear obligatorily in every clause, whether additional nominals are present or not. Many languages lack regular third-person pronouns altogether; reference is indicated by means of full noun phrases, by demonstratives, or not at all.

The general third-person pronouns of Central Pomo contrast not only with full noun phrases, but also with a set of empathetic pronouns and with the absence of any referential device whatsoever. When these alternatives are compared in natural speech, it becomes clear that their selection and interpretation are highly systematic, governed by factors of cognition and interaction.

Work by Wallace Chafe is useful in understanding cognitive aspects of referential choice. He relates three components of thinking: consciousness, information, and the self (Chafe 1980:12):

Consciousness can be regarded as the activation of restricted pieces from the vast array of available information. Consciousness is highly limited in capacity. It is also highly limited in the time it can dwell on one piece of information. It is jerky; that is, it rests on one thing and then another and does not scan information continuously. And it has a focus and a periphery; that is, there is a maximum degree of activation and lesser degrees. The self deploys this mechanism over centers of interest which are related to its needs and goals. In this deployment, it presumably follows paths which are determined by associations between one focus and the next, and by schemas—already known paths which have been established for the same or similar areas of information in the thinker’s past experience.

Referential choice in Central Pomo, as in all languages, reflects the activation state of information within the mind of the speaker as focal, peripheral, or absent. It also reflects the speaker’s identification of self.
Referential choice is an interactive process as well. It depends on the speaker's assessment of the status of referents in the mind of the listener. Referents that are assumed to be active are designated by devices different from those that are not. Referents assumed to be identifiable are expressed differently from those that are not. The actual activation of information is itself an interactive process. One speaker may introduce a new referent, but all participants in conversation can subsequently treat it as active and identifiable.

2. General third-person pronouns in Central Pomo. General third-person pronouns are based on the demonstrative muul ‘that’. Case and number are distinguished for human referents and those classified as human, such as pets and legendary characters.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>miul</td>
<td>múuțu</td>
<td>múuțuke(-t')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>miuțuya</td>
<td>múuțuyal</td>
<td>múuțuyak'e(-t')</td>
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(The suffix -t' on the oblique forms indicates spatial distance of the possessor. A special possessive form miya is used with kinship terms.)

An inspection of simple sentences suggests that the Central Pomo pronouns are essentially equivalent in function to those in English, apart from their agent/patient case organization. The oblique forms serve as possessives.

(1) **Müul čhnií dóč'khe.**
   3.AG bread will make
   ‘He/she is going to make bread’.

(2) **Múuțu ʔaa dawáyla.**
   3.PAT 1.AG woke up
   ‘I woke him/her up’.

(3) **Múukhe'ęt' báya ʔel q'law.**
   3.OBL man the die
   ‘Her husband passed away’.

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I am especially grateful to the Central Pomo speakers who generously contributed their expertise, and whose speech appears here: the late Alice Elliott of the Hopland rancheria, Winifred Leal and Eileen Oropeza of the Point Arena/Manchester rancheria, Florence Poali of the Yokaya rancheria, and especially Frances Jack, of the Hopland rancheria, all in California. Unless otherwise specified, all examples occurred in spontaneous connected speech. Each line of transcription represents a separate intonation unit. Two dots ( . . ) represent a short pause, and three dots ( . . . ) represent a longer pause. Commas and periods represent intonation contours. Where not pertinent, morphologically complex words have not been segmented, to avoid distraction.
Pronouns in complex sentences also appear to serve similar functions.

(4) Múul jáwhal ?el yhéenyla šk’e ma míału manáñčiʔkhe.  
3.AG work the do THEN only 2.AG 3.PAT pay

‘Don’t pay him until he does the work’.

When the use and interpretation of these pronouns in natural speech are compared with those of other referential alternatives in the language, however, it becomes clear that they are in fact quite different from English pronouns.

3. Full lexical noun phrases. Pronouns in Central Pomo, as in many languages, contrast with full lexical noun phrases. Noun phrases consist of nouns (or clauses) with or without demonstratives, adjectives, and enclitics marking definiteness, new topicality, and specificity.

Noun phrases without the definite enclitic ?el are indefinite or non-referential. Indefinite noun phrases typically introduce new entities. Full noun phrases, more explicit than pronouns, are selected in such contexts because their referents are assumed to be outside of the consciousness of the listener. They trigger a special retrieval task, a fact reflected in intonation patterns. Noun phrases introducing new referents typically constitute separate intonation units in the sense of Chafe: “a sequence of words combined under a single, coherent intonation contour, usually preceded by a pause” (1987:22). Note the intonation breaks in the passage in (5), the beginning of a story. Each line of transcription represents a separate intonation unit, and punctuation marks intonation contours.

(5) šéemi ?doma,  
long ago HEARSAY

‘A long time ago,
p’sé báyaa kay,  
deer man also
a man deer,
p’sé máaṭa kay,  
deer woman also
and a woman deer,
míału yaak’hε ?doma,  
3.OBL HEARSAY
had, they say,
báyaa ?učii q’hóo.  
boy children two
two sons’.
Lexical noun phrases without the definite enclitic can also be non-referential. Nonreferential nominals include generics.

(6) *Ts'atóto* metli ̂ ñk'e qanén̓aʔkayaw.
robin that kind with only trapped

‘That’s the only kind of thing *robins* can be trapped with’.

Predicate nominals and other nouns with various modifying functions, such as constituents of compounds, are also nonreferential. The noun *maʔá ‘food’* in (7) qualifies the verb with which it is compounded.

(7) ḥóč’ ṣaa maʔá qaawáan ḥów.
yet 1.AG food BITING go not

‘I haven’t eaten yet’.

Definite noun phrases, obligatorily marked with the enclitic *ʔeł ‘the’, are referential and assumed to be identifiable to the listener (cf. Chafe 1972, Hawkins 1978, and Du Bois 1980). They may refer to unique entities, like the sun, or to referents that are part of the general knowledge of the listener. The noun phrase in (8) followed the question ‘How many people live on the other side?’

(8) *Ball family* ʔeł ḥk’e?
the only

‘Just the *Ball family’?’

Referents may be identifiable because of their relationship to some other known entity. Although they themselves are not given, their identity is accessible through the relationship. The sentence in (9) was part of a discussion about the preparation of buckeyes. The buckeyes are boiled until the skin cracks. Although this was the first mention of the skin, it was identifiable from the buckeyes.

(9) ts’dá ʔeł ḥe mu mq’áq’aa.
skin the that cracks

‘The skin cracks’.

Referential possessed nouns in Central Pomo are usually marked as definite for the same reason, their relationship to the possessor.

(10) Méen ḥe k’e roses ʔeł q’alúʔan.
so COP my roses the die

‘That’s the way *my roses* (definite) are dying’.

Entities may be pointed out or identified by demonstratives. Central Pomo noun phrases with demonstratives are typically marked as definite.

(11) Q’dí qaʔ’áa bal sántiyya ʔeł.
good tastes this watermelon the

‘This *watermelon* tastes good’.
Entities may be identified by full clauses.

(12) *Muul . . . sheriff hném ?el?*

that stab the

‘The one that stabbed the Sheriff?’

Finally, definite nominals may be identifiable because of previous mention. Following the opening of the deer story cited above, the speaker recounted that where the deer lived, the water had gone dry. There was no water. She then continued with (13). As is typical with the opening of a new scene, characters are respecified, this time with definite noun phrases because the referents are identifiable.

(13) *Méen ?in ?doma,*

so is HEARSAY

‘So it seems

*p’sé báyaa ?el kay,*

deer man the also

these two, the man deer,

*p’sé máata ?el kay,*

deer woman the also

and the woman deer,

*h?élmaaw.*

water seek

went out to look for water’.

(The water is nonspecific, so it is not marked as definite.)

The cognitive factors underlying the use of these various kinds of noun phrases are clear. Full lexical noun phrases, more explicit than pronouns, are generally used to call up entities that are not already within immediate focal consciousness. They are marked as definite when they refer to entities the speaker assumes the listener can identify. The choice of nominal expression is interactive in the sense that speakers select among alternatives according to their assessment of the status of each referent within the minds of listeners: within focal consciousness or not, identifiable or not. A further interactive aspect of this selection emerges in ordinary conversation. The identifiability of referents need not be established by each speaker, but can be initiated and observed cooperatively.

4. **Empathetic pronouns.** In addition to the set of general third-person pronouns, Central Pomo contains a second set of third-person pronouns, based on the form *fi*. Like the *muul* set, these also distinguish case and number but not gender.
These *i* pronouns function in the same way as the cognate set in Northern Pomo described by O'Connor (1985; 1987). Similar pronouns have sometimes been termed long-distance or non-clause-bounded reflexives, since they can be coreferent with the subject of their own or a higher clause and, in some languages, have the same form as reflexives. (See, for example, Anderson 1982, Maling 1984, Thráinsson 1976 on Icelandic, Clements 1975 on Latin, and Kuno 1986 and Kameyama 1984; 1985 on Japanese, among others. Sells 1987 provides a general discussion.) Similar pronouns in African languages have been called logophoric, because their use was first noticed in indirect quotations (Hagège 1974) to refer to an argument coreferent with the subject of the main clause, the speaker.

The Central Pomo pronouns are formally unrelated to basic reflexivization, which is indicated by means of a derivational verbal suffix ęż'.

(14) pʰhwi-w
    see-PRF
    ‘see’
    pʰhwi-ęż'
    see-REFLEXIVE (-PRF)
    ‘see oneself’

(15) qʰáʔan-ta-w
    dream-MULTIPLE.EVENT-PRF
    ‘dream’
    qʰáʔan-ta-ęż'
    dream-MULTIPLE.EVENT-REFLEXIVE (-PRF)
    ‘dream about oneself’

Reflexive verbs are derived intransitives whose only core arguments are agents.

The special *i* pronouns are also unrelated to emphatic/contrastive particles in Central Pomo, particles functionally similar to pronouns sometimes described as emphatic/contrastive reflexives in other languages. The Central Pomo emphatic/contrastive ʃʔun is undifferentiated for person or number. It does not distinguish agent and patient case, although it can appear with an oblique enclitic.
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(16) ṣʔún yhētα?yaw ḥín. Maqʼán ya yhētac’ ṭe bal EMPH done PL not friend TOP do PL COP this máa ṭel.

stuff the

‘(They) don’t do that themselves. Friends do this stuff’.

(17) Máqaala ḋoEq’ ḏáʔduw, méenʔi múun ṣʔún ḋoEq’iw.

rabbit shoot want but he EMPH shoot self

‘He was trying to shoot a rabbit, but he shot himself instead’.

Like the logophoric pronouns described by Hagege, the special ʔii pronouns appear in complements of verbs of saying or thinking to refer to arguments coreferent with the sayer or thinker.

(18) Meeq in ka muul yal ʔiʔkʰet’ čá m̈i̯ hlaankaw so it is INFR he us his house there go cause diyanya.

tell

‘That must be why he was telling us to come to his house’.

(19) was a response to the question, ‘Who are the people that want the new homes (on the rancheria)?’

(19) K’učii šaʔt’aaʔč’iw tiya bēdaʔkʰ’e.

children know they here from

‘Children (who) know they are from here’.

The ʔii pronouns appear with verbs of attitude and intention.

(20) Mašaʔan ya ḏáʔč’iw ṣʔów tiyaakʰ’e m̈aʔ m̈i̯ máa čʰémaw.

White TOP want not their land there dirt
dig

‘White people don’t like anybody to dig around their ranches’.

If one examines natural speech, however, it becomes apparent that sentences containing these special ʔii pronouns do not necessarily contain either coreferent subjects or verbs of saying or thinking. One speaker reopened a discussion of doctoring practices saying that Indian doctors sometimes doctor with a song. She continued:

(21) Muul kʰé ṭel ṭe mu, that song the COP that

‘That song is one that can be tiyaakʰet’,

their

passed on to their
The grammatical subject of this sentence is the song. The verb bádaaqahč’aw ‘be passed on to people’ is intransitive. The sentence contains neither a subject coreferent with the special pronouns nor a verb of saying or thinking. The use of i’i pronouns in this context was not a mistake. The tape of this discussion was transcribed with the help of the speaker, who was quite satisfied with the original version.

The function of these special i’i pronouns is actually to present ideas from the point of view of a third-person referent: a person with whom the speaker empathizes. Describing similar pronouns in Ewe, Clements states that they indicate “reference to the individual whose speech, thoughts, or feelings are reported or reflected in a given linguistic context” (Clements 1975:141). Given their function of marking empathy, it is not surprising that they should appear in complements of verbs of saying and thinking.

The empathetic i’i pronouns are not used for all protagonists. Another speaker opened a discussion with the question in (22).

(22) X ṭoč’ ṭeḥdaw?
    still sit
    ‘Is X still alive?’

After comments on his poor health, a different speaker said:

(23) Múuk’hę’ máata ṭel ṭe ṭuũ bávaa dée?wan.
    his woman the COP other man lead around
    ‘His wife got some other man’.

The empathetic pronoun i’i’k’hę’ was not used, because this information did not represent X’s own words, thoughts, or point of view.

In general, the use and interpretation of the empathetic i’i pronouns are determined by factors beyond the scope of the syntactic sentence. Their selection has been grammaticized in some contexts, however. When a sentence contains a pronoun coreferent with its subject, the pronoun must be from the i’i set.
(24) Yâk'he bâ'è ya 100 ñûk'et' ñanà àmiili 100 dêen. 
our father TOP me his hand that with me hold

‘Our Father was holding me with his hand’.

If the general possessive pronoun miuk'hêl‘his’ had been used in the above sentence, the owner of the hand would have been interpreted as someone other than the subject.

The antecedent subject may be in the same clause, as in (24), or in a higher clause. The empathetic possessive ñûk’hêl in (25) below (an elicited translation) is ambiguous. It may be coreferent with the subject of either its own clause or the higher clause.

(25) Bal căâq’i maqôw ñûk’hêl hâyu ma’ônan.
this woman the man find his dog abusing

‘This lady found the man that was abusing his/her dog’.

The empathetic pronoun appears in dependent adverbial clauses as well. The possessive pronoun in the dependent clause of (26) (elicited) must be empathetic if it is coreferent with the subject of the main clause.

(26) ñen’awil ña mûul yôw ñe
to town FAC she go COP

‘She went to town

‘aa ñûk’hêl k’u’êl p’h’déenda.
while I watched her children’.

When a possessive pronoun in a main clause is coreferent with the subject of a dependent clause, however, it need not take the ñû form.

(27) Bal căâq’i ma’hûk’et’ k’u’êl ‘aa p’h’déen ñe
this woman COP her children the I watching COP

‘I watched this lady’s children

mûul ñen’awil yôwda.
she town to WHILE go
while she went to town’.

The grammaticization of the notion of empathy within sentences is not surprising. The point of view within a sentence is evidently defined as that of the subject. This fact surfaces most often in the expression of coreferent obliques in Central Pomo, because coreferent subjects and objects are usually expressed by means other than pronouns. Coreferent subjects of dependent clauses are usually not specified at all. (See 5 below.) Coreferent objects are rarely specified by pronouns, since basic reflexivization is expressed in derived intransitive verbs that have no grammatical objects.
5. Zero. Third persons are not always designated by one of the devices described so far. They are often not specified at all.

(28) Múa ʔélšíba šíka péesu théduu . . .
place sold and guess money lots
‘(He) sold that place and has lots of money . . .
 básñkli čómkaw.
bank in set
(He) put it in the bank’.

The absence of referential markers is systematic, but the system can be missed by looking at individual sentences in isolation. The factors that determine when speakers will omit overt reference, and how hearers will interpret the omission, operate over a context that is larger than the individual sentence. As long as a clause-level topic remains within focal consciousness, it need not be respecified. Recall that the deer introduced above in (5) and (13) had to go look for water. They told their two sons to stay home and wait. The story continued as below. Note that the deer are not mentioned overtly at all here. (Central Pomo contains no pronominal affixes within verbs.)

(29) Muul qʰá hʔélłač’
that water look for
‘(They) were looking for the water,
méen hláaʔwač’.
so walk around
(they) went here and there.
Dóy méen ʔe
long so COP
For a long time
ʔmíi hláaʔwač’;
there walk around
(they) walked around,
qʰá hʔélłač’.
water look for
(they) looked for water.
Bal čál hlíw.
this house to go
Then (they) came home’. 

In many cases, strings of sentences containing no overt mention of the topic are related semantically such that speakers should conjoin them.
The context conditioning the overt specification of referents clearly extends beyond the boundaries of sentences, however. It extends beyond intonational sentences, as above, and across turns in conversation. In the segment in (30) below, the topic, White people, was initially introduced by the first speaker with a full lexical noun phrase containing a new topic marker ya. The White people were never subsequently specified, although considerable turn taking occurred.

(30) A: Muul pqála?či ya q'arát'ìl' el k'hmu šléyač'.
    that White TOP urchin the all gathering up
    ‘White people are getting all the sea urchins’.
B: Met' kay wa ?ul yhéłač’?
    that kind too Q now do PL
    ‘(They)’re getting those now too?’
A: ?q. Met’ ?e múul ?údaaw ... sélləm
    that kind COP that really  sell PL
    ‘Yeah. (They)’re selling lots of them’.
B: Yeah.
A: Péesu q’di t'héduu dób’ ?e mil h'tow.
    money good lots make COP there from
    ‘(They)’re making lots of money from that source’.
B: Mm. Méen ʧ’āa múul bá?elsim ʧ’aa múul ...
    so guess that sell PL guess that
    ‘Mm. (They)’re also selling
    t’hóono ?el kay yhéłač’:
    seaweed the too do PL
    the seaweed’.

6. The function of general third-person pronouns. The general third-person muul pronouns in Central Pomo are thus not equivalent to English pronouns, because they contrast with different categories. They do not represent entities that are completely new, outside of the consciousness of speakers and listeners; this is accomplished by means of full lexical noun phrases. They do not represent entities that are already within focal consciousness; no markers at all appear in these contexts. They also do not represent entities from whose point of view information is presented; this is accomplished by the empathetic ʧii pronouns. The muul pronouns actually serve a constellation of functions, in many cases best described in terms of their contrast with alternatives for third-person reference.
Consider (31), an elicited sentence:

(31) Múukʰet' háyu ?el maʔőnaadan.

3 OBL dog the beats

‘He beats his dog’.

If the beater beat his own dog, the empathetic possessive tiikʰet’ would be used, because the grammaticized point of view of the sentence would be the subject, the beater. The pronoun múukʰet’ here must thus refer to someone other than the beater. This pronoun takes on its meaning from what it is not, from its contrast with tiikʰet’.

Another speaker was describing how rabbit traps used to be made with small sticks and string. At one point she said:

(32) Bał slémat’ ?el šópčidun,

this string the slip off when

‘When the string slips off,

muel ya tightčin.

3 TOP tight INCHOATIVE

it (something else) gets tight’.

The mere presence of the pronoun indicates that what gets tight must be something other than the string that slips off. If the same string both slipped and got tight, no pronoun at all would appear in the second clause. Here, the interpretation of the general pronoun muul comes from its contrast with the zero alternative.

The general pronouns also serve a variety of other functions. Central Pomo nouns are usually unmarked for case or number. The muul pronouns, which do indicate case and number, are often used with a copular construction to specify the patient role or plural number of humans identified by nouns. The proclitic ? below is the copula.

(33) Múul ?aa bal máaqạ ?múułu ʔégedan ?e.

that 1AG this woman COP 3PAT tell COP

‘That’s what I was telling this lady (PAT)’.

(34) Hínűl ?múułuṇa šáat’aaʔéʔiw.

Indian COP 3PL know PL

‘Indians (PL) know that’.

The general muul pronouns are also used to support constructions that supply emphasis, like the cleft sentence below.

(35) Máaqa q’di ?e múul.

woman good COP 3

‘A good woman, she is’.
They support the enclitics kay 'also' and šk'e 'only'. During a discussion about several elderly people in the community, the response to the question in (22) above, 'Is X still alive?' was:

(36) Mm. Műul kay ?e ʔúdaaw yěm.
3 also COP really old
'Mm. He too is getting pretty old'.

Most frequently, the pronouns designate entities that have been displaced by some discontinuity in the flow of discussion. The discontinuity may come from the intervention of other topics or from new lines of discussion, sometimes initiated by questions. The discontinuity may be subtle, but its effect on referential choice is systematic. Compare the use of the pronoun and its absence below.

(37) A: Siín wa muul . . .
  why Q that
  'Why did
  X wet' . .
  POSS
  X's
  k'iubayaa ya ?el . .
  child man TOP the
  son
  prison qóyow?
  out go
  come out of prison?'
B: Muul . . . sheriff hihném ?el?
  that stab the
  'The one that stabbed the sheriff?'
B: ?4?l'a műtu ʔéey déeyawʔkʰe
  be think 3.PAT away to be led
  'I think they're going to take him away'.
A: Oh. Pápel ?mii ts'éeyaw čʰów?
  paper there written not
  'Oh. Didn't they write about it in the paper?
Műul wínčiw ʔhín ka hičim?
  3 win not INFR say
  He didn't win that at all, did he?'
B: $H_d^?_a$.

A: Oh.

B: $Muul \ldots sheriff \ ?el \ f'a\ldots$

that the guess

'The sheriff

$basêt' \ yhéen \ ?i\hla.$

bad do again

was also in the wrong'.

A: $\?_d. \ ?ó\?e' \ wa \ múu\l mii \ldots$

still Q 3 there

'Yeah. Is he still there

$yhéen$
do

$tá\hwhal \ yhéen$
work do

working?'

B: $Méen \ f'aa.$

so guess

'I think so.

$?dó\?ma \ ?yéekayaw,$

HEARSAY made to stop working

They say (he) was pulled off the job,

$náamaë' \ t'hìn.$

forever not

not for good.

$Daç'häa \ ?yéekayaw.$
temporarily made to stop working

(He) was made to stop temporarily.

$Méen \ hičaaqaw.$

so it is said by several

So they say'.

A: Oh. $?\hla \ hinüïl \ t'ëduu \ ?lëy \ I guess.$

again Indian lots kill PL

'Oh. (He) killed a lot of Indians too, I guess.

$Hinüïl \ ts'äl \ I guess.$

Indian hate

(He) hates Indians, I guess'.


In line 7, the son is referred to by an overt pronoun, because of the contrast between A’s assumption that he would get out of prison and B’s statement that he was being taken away. In line 9, a pronoun appears because of the discontinuity from the previous line. In line 14, a pronoun is used for the sheriff because of the discontinuity in activity from the previous line. No pronoun appears in lines 18, 20, 22, or 23, because they continue a single direction of discussion.

Continuity can also be interrupted by summarizing statements, which break a flow of description or a chain of related events. Note the use of the pronoun in the last line of (38).

(38) A: ʔaaʔ e X to doːʔ útil maqːw tʰin.
IAG COP PAT long now find not
‘I haven’t seen X for a long time’.
B: ʔudaaw ʔaatʰal pʰʔəw.
aWFul sick SEEING sense
‘(She) looks very sick.
ʔudaaw qʰʔaʔ pʰʔʔaywʔom.
aWFul pitiful look appear
(She) looks bad in the face.
Matːul yɛm minʔom ʔe.
old lady old like look COP
(She) looks like an old lady.
Múul ʔudaaw qʰʔaʔ pʰʔʔayaw.
3 awful look pitiful
She really looks pitiful’.

7. Conclusion. The functions of pronouns in natural speech are not universal. They depend on the full repertoire of third-person referential devices available within the language. The general third-person pronouns in Central Pomo fill a variety of functions, defined in part by their contrast with the other referential alternatives. They do not represent referents that are outside of the consciousness of the speaker and hearer; in those cases full lexical noun phrases are used. They do not represent referents from whose point of view information is presented; in those cases the empathetic ʔii pronouns are used. They do not represent entities that are already within the immediate focal consciousness of speaker and hearer; in those cases there is no overt reference at all. Their primary function is to draw already active referents back into focal consciousness after some disruption or discontinuity. This function is in fact consistent with their diachronic development from a demonstrative.
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