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PERSON SHIFT AT NARRATIVE PEAK

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Narrators like to highlight important events in their stories. In some languages, they may shift to first- or second-person pronouns to refer to third-person referents in order to do so. Such pronoun shifts show functional parallels with tense shifts like the historical present, as both highlight events through shifts in deictic categories. Longacre (1983:138–39) discusses the parallels between person and tense shifts in his account of narrative peak, that is, the formal marking of important narrative events. Labov (1972) analyzes similar strategies as internal evaluations. Person shifts constitute a phenomenon of the discourse-syntax interface and present a clear case of discourse structure influencing grammar. Both person shifts themselves and their motivation in narrative structure have been little investigated. The article reviews person shifts in a number of languages reported in the literature and analyzes in detail the characteristics of this discourse strategy in Saliba-Logea, an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea. The study contributes to the growing body of research on pronouns and person markers, and on referring expressions more generally, by adding a new angle of investigation. Previous studies have tended to focus on the morphosyntactic choices of referring expressions and their motivations, that is, on the choices between lexical nouns, free vs. bound pronouns, and so forth. The present study focuses on the paradigmatic choices between different person forms within one and the same morphosyntactic expression type. In doing so it offers a new perspective on pronoun choice and the factors influencing it crosslinguistically. While some types of person shift appear to be rare, overall, the strategy of person shift at narrative peak seems to constitute a solid crosslinguistic phenomenon.*

Keywords: person shift, pronouns, narrative peak, narratives, evaluation, imperatives, tense shift, historical present, discourse structure, Silverstein hierarchy

1. INTRODUCTION. Much research over the last decades has been concerned with the factors influencing the choice of referential expressions in discourse. The focus has commonly been on the choices between different morphosyntactic encoding options and on notions like referent accessibility that may determine how a referent is expressed. The current article contributes to this ongoing discussion by investigating cases where the choice of referring expression is influenced by discourse structure. Rather than focusing on different morphosyntactic encoding options, the article is concerned with a speaker's choice of formal features of person indexes, in particular the choice of person distinction.[1] While variation in semantic features has been discussed for categories like number and gender, variation in person has been little investigated. In fact, the idea of variability in person marking for the same referent may appear odd,

[1] In line with sources like Cysouw 2003, Haspelmath 2013, and Siewierska 2004, I use the terms 'person marker' and 'person index' to refer to both free pronouns and bound person markers.

in that the person distinction might be expected to be predetermined by the referent and to not be a matter of speaker choice. The article discusses a phenomenon where first- or second-person pronouns are used to refer to third-person referents in narrative texts. The pronoun choice is motivated by narrative structure, in particular by the classification of events as important.

Longacre (1976, 1983) discusses the notion of narrative peak—the structural marking of important events in a narrative. Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) describe similar phenomena under the label of evaluation. Among the crosslinguistically attested peak-marking and evaluation strategies, Longacre lists shifts in person. To illustrate the phenomenon to be discussed, consider the following examples from Saliba-Logea, an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea, where speakers can employ second-person pronouns to index third-person referents with the function of highlighting important events in a narrative. Example 1 is from a retelling of the frog story, based on a wordless picture book (Mayer 1974). In one scene, a boy is scooped up by a deer's antlers, carried up a hill, and thrown down into a pond. The boy's dog follows and also lands in the water. The second-person index that occurs where a third-person form would be expected is marked in boldface.[2]

(1) Naniwa padipadi hesau na   dedeka-na   waila bigisipi-na.   (IU109)
    thingy cliff   other CONJ side-3SG.POSS water big-3SG.POSS
       '(They went up to) a cliff and next to it was a big pond.'
    Unai ye-gabae-dobi-yei-di.   (IU110)
    PP.SG 3SG-throw-down-APPL-3PL.OBJ
       'From there, it (the deer) threw them down.'
    Ye-gabae-dobi-yei-di   meta se-dobi-uyo   (IU111)
    3SG-throw-down-APPL-3PL.OBJ TOP 3PL-go.down-again
       'It threw them down and so they went down again.'
    Kedewa ye-dobi   ye-talu/ eh   (IU112)
    dog   3SG-go.down 3SG-land INTRJ
       'The dog went down and landed/—eh' (false start—self-correction)
    wawaya ye-beku-dobi na   kedewa ye-beku-dobi ede   (IU113)
    child 3SG-fall-down CONJ dog   3SG-fall-down PRSUP
       'the boy fell down and then the dog fell down,'
    wawaya kewa-na   unai **ku**-talu.   (IU114)
    child top-3SG.POSS PP.SG 2SG-land
       'and **you (dog)** landed on the boy's head.'
    Waila wa kalo-na   wa unai se-talu. | Se-talu.   (IU115–16)
    water ANA inside-3SG.POSS ANA PP.SG 3PL-land | 3PL-land
       'They landed in the water. They landed.'   (FrogStory_02AZ_0111-0116)

In intonation units (IUs) 110 and 111, the boy and the dog together are referred to by third-person plural object suffixes on the verb. In IU 113, they are each referred to by

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[2] Saliba-Logea examples are presented in intonation units (IUs), where each line constitutes a unit. Where short IUs have been combined into one line for ease of reading and reasons of space, the intonation break is marked by a vertical bar. Abbreviations and formatting follow the Leipzig glossing rules. Note in particular the following: A: agent, ADVZ: adverbializer, ANA: anaphoric, APPL: applicative, AUG: augmented, BACK: back (grammaticalized), BODY: body (grammaticalized), CONJ: conjunction, CONS: consequence clause, DETR: detransitivizer, DIM: diminutive, DIR: directional, EVID: evidential, FOC: focus, H: human, I: independent pronoun, IMP: imperative, INTENT: intention, IPFV: imperfective, IRR: irrealis, MIN: minimal, NH: nonhuman, PFV: perfective, PP: postposition, PRF: perfect, PROH: prohibitive, PRSUP: presupposition, PST.REM: remote past, RED: reduplication, REFL: reflexive, RL: realis, SAY: say (grammaticalized), TAM: tense/aspect/mood, TOP: topic.

third-person singular subject prefixes. Then, in IU 114, reference to the dog shifts to a second-person singular subject marker, and in IUs 115 and 116 the boy and the dog are again referred to as third-person plural. The choice of the second-person prefix for a third-person referent has the effect of highlighting the clause and of drawing the interlocutor's attention—in this case, to what can be considered the funny bit of the episode. The second-person subject signals the need for increased attention on the part of the addressee. The same holds for example 2 from a story about two brothers, where their brother-in-law gets angry because they do not help in the garden and he orders his wife to add excrement to the brothers' food.

(2) Se-lau koya-i | kai wa se-bahe | se-sugulage.   (IU56–58)
    3PL-go garden-LOC | food ANA 3PL-carry | 3PL-arrive
       'They went to the garden, they carried the food, they arrived back home.'
    Waihiyu wa   ye-nekwa-nekwali.   (IU59)
    girl   ANA 3SG-RED-peel.veggies
       'The woman was preparing the food for cooking.'
    Ye-nekwa-nekwali   na | kabo loheya wa   (IU60–61)
    3SG-RED-peel.veggies CONJ | TAM boy   ANA
       'She was preparing the food and the man (her husband)'
    u-lao   kabo | buse wa   **u**-kasi-hai   (IU62–63)
    2SG-go TAM | shit ANA 2SG-scoop-get
       '**you** went and **you** scooped up some shit (with an empty coconut shell)'
    Buse wa | **u**-kasi-hai | **ku**-laoma   (IU64–66)
    shit   ANA | 2SG-scoop-get | 2SG-come
       '**You** scooped up the shit, **you** came'
    gulewa wa   ye-sami   ye-gehe   kabo i-wane   (IU67)
    clay.pot ANA 3SG-put.leaf.in.pot 3SG-finished TAM 3SG-say
       '(meanwhile) she (his wife) had finished preparing the clay pot for cooking and he said:'
    'Teina | buse ne | ma   higuhigu-na   ku-usai!'   (IU68–70)
     this | shit DEF | with coconut.shell-3SG.POSS 2SG-insert
        ' "Put this shit with its coconut shell in the pot!" (to cook along with your brothers' food)'
    Oh   waihiyu ye-siyayau   (IU71)
    INTRJ girl   3SG-upset
       'Oh, the girl was distraught.'
    'Eh   wa, | teina lou-gu-wao,   (IU72–73)
     INTRJ INTRJ | this brother-1SG.POSS-PL
        '(She thought) "Oh, these are my brothers,'
    na   kadi | kai te kabo ma buse-na   ya-liga.' (IU74–75)
    CONJ 3SG.POSS | food this TAM with shit-3SG.POSS 1SG-cook
       'and I'm cooking their food with shit!" '   (Tautolowaiya_01AG_0055-71)

Again, the second-person subjects in IUs 62 to 66 highlight the climax of the episode: the man's outrageous demand of adding excrement to the food. A number of phenomena have to be considered as potential explanations of these person shifts, including whether they may constitute pronoun syncretism, direct speech, asides to the audience, or rhetorical devices such as vocatives or apostrophes. While I show that none of these phenomena provide a possible analysis of the Saliba-Logea examples, some of them share functional characteristics in terms of their discourse functions, in that they also constitute strategies for marking narrative peaks.

The article begins with a review of factors known to influence the choice of referential expressions and then investigates the notions of evaluation and narrative peak. It discusses examples of person shifts in a range of languages, followed by a detailed analysis of person shifts in Saliba-Logea narratives. The article finally addresses the question of whether the strategy of highlighting information through person shift is as rare as the limited discussion in the literature suggests, or whether it could constitute a solid crosslinguistic phenomenon that has so far remained underdocumented.

2. Factors influencing the choice of referential expression. The present study deals with cases where person indexes do not match their antecedents in the feature of person. The purpose of this section is to ground the discussion in the wider context of previous research showing that person markers not matching their antecedents in all formal features are not, as such, an unusual phenomenon. More generally, the section establishes that discourse factors impacting the choice of referential expressions is well established in the literature. Much of the research on person indexing and referentiality has focused on the choice between different morphosyntactic expressions, that is, between full noun phrases, free and bound pronouns, or zero anaphora. The most discussed criterion in this context is the notion of referent accessibility. While some approaches subsume a range of factors under this notion and consider it the primary determining factor (e.g. Ariel 1990), others consider accessibility as merely one factor in interaction with others (e.g. Gundel et al. 1993, Siewierska 2004).

In what could be termed a 'traditional view', going back to the ancient Greek and Latin grammarians, anaphoric pronouns are defined as substitutes for an antecedent noun. Allan (2007:96) summarizes the position expressed by Dionysius Thrax and Aelius Donatus as follows: 'A pronoun is a word that substitutes for a noun to convey the same meaning and indicates definite persons (i.e. persons previously mentioned)'. This position sees pronouns essentially as empty grammatical elements that do not contribute to the interpretation of the referent beyond pointing back to it. This view carries the expectation that pronouns should match their antecedents in formal features, as expressed by Frank and Treichler (1989:145):

> According to common wisdom, pronouns substitute, or stand in, for antecedent nouns or nominal phrases and exemplify a general grammatical process of substitution … When the noun in question identifies a human being, the substitute word is a personal pronoun marked for 'humanness'.

Nowadays, probably few scholars would subscribe to the characterization of pronouns as simply substituting for nouns, yet the implicit expectation that they should match their antecedents in formal features largely persists—not least because they do so most of the time. This holds especially for approaches that consider pronouns as 'relational' or 'dependent', that is, where their interpretation is seen as dependent on a structural link with a controlling antecedent (see Newman 1997:69, Wiese 1983). In more pragmatically based approaches, pronouns are viewed as independent of antecedents ('pragmatic/independent' pronouns in Newman's (1997:69) terms). Hence there is no explicit expectation of a match in formal features. Such approaches consider pronouns to be information-bearing, meaningful elements and see variation in pronoun form as implying variation in meaning. Consider the quotations below, and for further discussion see Barlow 1992, Cornish 1986, 1987, 1999, Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990, and Newman 1997.

> Formal properties of noun phrase antecedents do not determine anaphoric pronoun replacement. Rather, the anaphoric pronoun contributes to the interpretation given to the antecedent. (McConnell-Ginet 1979:69)

> [P]ronouns do more than just continue the reference initiated with the antecedent; they add a specific perspective on the referent … pronouns are communicatively significant and … the information about the referent can be continuously added to throughout the entire anaphoric chain. (Newman 1997:101)

An example illustrating this contribution of information by anaphoric pronouns is presented by Cornish (1987:253) in her analysis of a French newspaper article about the Education Minister, who was a woman. Reference to the minister is first established with the masculine noun phrase *le ministre*, which is then referred back to by a male anaphoric pronoun *lui-même* when discussing her actions in her ministerial role. However, when the minister's (i.e. the person's) lack of knowledge of history is criticized, she is referred to by the female singular pronoun *elle*.

(3) … **le ministre** [M.SG] [at the time, Mme Alice Saunier-Seïté] … s'octroie également le pouvoir de recruter **lui-même** [M.SG] qui bon **lui** semble sur les postes de professeurs nouvellement créés ... **Elle** [F.SG] connait décidé-ment fort mal son histoire, car **elle** apporte tout le contraire: le renforcement des privilèges des notables …

'… **the minister** also gives **himself** the power to appoint to newly created teaching positions anyone **he** sees fit … **Her** historical knowledge is bad, for **she** has brought about exactly the opposite: the reinforcement of the mandarins' privileges …'

(Cornish 1987:253, citing *Le Monde*, emphasis added)

Cornish states that this example shows the 'dynamic, discourse role which third-person pronouns can perform, and further indicates that a speaker's referential perspective upon a discourse entity may shift as the discourse develops' (1987:253).

There are some well-discussed scenarios where referential expressions do not match certain features of their antecedent or their referent, including social deixis (§2.1), empathetic deixis (§2.2), and semantic agreement (§2.3). There are also less well-described factors that can account for a lack of formal agreement, including the degree of individuation (§2.4) and discourse factors such as topicality (§2.5).

2.1. Social deixis. In the case of social deixis, the relation between participants and factors like power, solidarity, status, or familiarity can influence the choice of person marker, and a referent may be referred to by forms that do not match it in person and/or number (see e.g. Helmbrecht 2004:169ff., Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990, Siewierska 2004: 214ff.). The semantic distinction most varied for this purpose is number (Head 1978: 187–90, Siewierska 2004). In such cases, a nonsingular form is used for a singular referent in order to signal, for example, social distance, status, and respect. This is found in the French distinction between *tu* and *vous*, where the latter refers to the second-person plural but also to the second singular in formal or polite address. Variations in the category of person (often also in combination with nonsingular number) are also common, as in 4, again from French, where the third-person pronoun *elle* indicates extreme or exaggerated politeness.

(4) Votre Altesse, que   désire-t-elle?
     your Majesty what want-t-she
        'Your Majesty, what would you like?'   (Siewierska 2004:222)

These are strategies for making second-person reference less potentially face-threatening in the sense of Brown and Levinson (1987). Apart from such conventionalized politeness distinctions, there are many other examples of divergences between the semantic features of person indexes and the characteristics of their discourse referents. Siewierska (2004:215) illustrates how, given the appropriate context, the English first-person plural *we* can denote any person/number combinations. Similarly, Obeng (1997) describes how pronouns in Akan (Kwa, Ghana) can index referents other than those conventionally associated with them. These nonprototypical uses are again a strategy of indirectness; they are chosen for politeness or to hedge insults and criticism (Obeng 1997:201).

2.2. Empathetic deixis. Further factors that can influence the choice of referential expression include the notion of emotional or empathetic deixis. These terms do not refer to a single coherent concept but rather cover a range of interrelated phenomena. Lakoff (1974) uses the term 'emotional deixis' to describe uses of demonstratives that constitute neither spatiotemporal nor discourse deixis and that are linked to 'the speaker's emotional involvement in the subject matter' (1974:347). Emotional deixis can create a sense of participation by the addressee and have an effect on the perceived vividness of the discourse. Lyons (1977:677) defines 'empathetic deixis' as encoding emotional proximity or distance between the speaker and aspects of the speech event. Kuno and Kaburaki (1977:628) discuss 'empathy' as 'the speaker's identification … with a person who participates in the event that he describes'. They liken the effects to the choice of 'camera angles', as in 5a and 5b, which they present as possible descriptions of the same event (Kuno & Kaburaki 1977:627).

(5) a. John hit his wife.
    b. Mary's husband hit her.

Levinson (1983:79–81) describes 'empathetic deixis' as the metaphorical use of deictics to indicate emotional or psychological distance or proximity between a speaker and a referent. Brown and Levinson (1987:121) suggest that in contexts where both proximal and distal demonstratives could be used, choosing the proximal form signals increased empathy, while choosing the distal form can express the speaker's emotional distance. An example where a speaker signals attitudinal stance with the distal demonstrative *that* is given in 6.

(6) Susan, get **that** snake out of **this** house!   (Fillmore 1982:44, emphasis added)

On purely spatial grounds, the snake could be categorized as proximal—at least as close as the house in which it is located—so the nonproximal form *that* is used here not on the basis of location but in order to signal the speaker's attitude toward the referent.

2.3. Semantic agreement. For some nouns in some languages, there is a choice between grammatical agreement with formal features of an antecedent and semantic agreement with features of the referent. For example, in British English, singular nouns like *committee*, *government*, and *police*, which refer to a group of people, allow singular or plural predicates and anaphoric pronouns, as in 7a and 7b, respectively. The forms in 7a agree with the formal feature of the singular noun *committee*, while those in 7b agree with the semantic feature of the referent of *committee*, which is typically plural.

(7) a. The committee **has** decided that **it** …
    b. The committee **have** decided that **they** …

An example of semantic gender agreement is given in 8 with the German noun *Mädchen* 'girl', which is formally neuter (because, etymologically, it includes a diminutive suffix) but can also trigger feminine agreement because of the nature of the referent. In 8a the anaphoric pronoun in the second clause is neuter, agreeing with the grammatical gender of the antecedent. In 8b the pronoun is feminine, agreeing with the semantic gender of the referent.

(8) a. Das Mädchen war nett, **es** [NEUT] hat mir was geschenkt.
        'The girl was nice, **she** (lit. **it**) gave me a present.'
    b. Das Mädchen war nett, **sie** [FEM] hat mir was geschenkt.
        'The girl was nice, **she** gave me a present.'

Braun and Haig (2010) show that the tendency for semantic agreement is linked to the age of the referent. They collected responses to a sentence-completion task where the referents of *Mädchen* were said to be two, twelve, or eighteen years old. They found

that two-year-olds and twelve-year-olds were treated similarly, with a higher tendency for grammatical agreement, but that feminine agreement increased sharply with the eighteen-year-old referents.

Semantic agreement is more likely to occur with some agreement targets (i.e. forms that show agreement, such as articles, verbs, or pronouns) than with others. On the basis of crosslinguistic data, Corbett (1979, 1991, 2006) formulates the hierarchy in 9.

(9) Corbett's agreement hierarchy:
   attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun

The hierarchy predicts that elements on the left side of the scale, which tend to be structurally closer to the noun, are more likely to show syntactic agreement than elements on the right.

2.4. Degree of individuation. Lack of alignment in formal features between person indexes and their antecedents is also found with singular uses of *they*, where a formally plural pronoun refers back to a singular antecedent. A common explanation is that *they* is used with epicene antecedents, that is, those where the gender of the referent is either unspecified, as in 10, or obscure, as in 11. In these cases, *they* is chosen as an ungendered singular pronoun option (Newman 1992, 1997).

(10) Anyone doing fieldwork in the tropics should take **their** anti-malarials.
(11) A: One of my students wants to do fieldwork in Papua New Guinea.
    B: Wow! Have **they** told **their** parents yet?

However, there are also cases where singular *they* is triggered by antecedents that are not epicene, as in 12 and 13.

(12) You take somebody's mother, all **they** want to hear about is what a hot-shot **their** son is.
    (J. D. Salinger, *The catcher in the rye*, cited in Newman 1997:104; emphasis added)
(13) If there is a Barbara Wassman on board, could **they** make **themselves** known to the cabin? (Weidmann 1984:65, cited in Newman 1997:106)

Newman (1997:106–11) suggests that such examples signal a low degree of individuation. This covers cases where *they* indicates that the referent is to be taken as a type or a member of a group, as in 12, but also cases of uncertainty about the presence of the referent, as in 13. Weidmann concludes about example 13:

> Any person called Barbara may be assumed to be female, so the choice of *they* for anaphora cannot be prompted by the wish to remain non-committal about the sex of the person in question. What *they* does is to reiterate the meaning of the indefinite article before the name: it expresses uncertainty about the presence of any person called Barbara Wassman. (Weidmann 1984:65, cited in Newman 1997:106)

Examples of this type illustrate the meaning-bearing role of pronouns and how they add information about the referents that were evoked by their antecedents. Individuation can play a similar role in pronoun and article choice in Dutch, which has a gender system in flux, as distinctions have been lost in some contexts but continue in others. Audring (2006) describes the result as resemanticization, where pronouns of different genders do not necessarily agree with the antecedent but can mark referents as count vs. mass nouns, that is, as individuated vs. nonindividuated. Audring notes that masculine pronouns can occur with neuter antecedents if they refer to countable items, as in 14.

(14) Moet je nog wat informatie over dat **boek** [Neut] hebben? Dan moet 'k **'m** [Masc] ook nog niet gaan inleveren.
    'Do you need some more information about that **book**? Then I shouldn't return **it** (lit. **him**) yet.' (Audring 2006:95)

In turn, neuter pronouns can occur with common (COMM) gender antecedents when they refer to substances and materials.

(15) Ik vind **puree** [COMM] van echte aardappelen altijd lekkerder want **het** [NEUT] is wat steviger.
   'I always prefer **puree** made of real potatoes, because **it** is more firm.'

(16) 't zit toch ook bij **olijfolie** [COMM] wel een beetje in hoe **'t** [NEUT] geconserveerd wordt.
   'Even with **olive oil**, it matters how **it** is preserved.'   (Audring 2006:96)

Similar patterns are found with Dutch articles. Certain nouns can trigger agreement with either the common or the neuter gender, even for the same speaker. Semplicini (2012) shows that different conceptualizations of the same referent can account for pronoun and article switches within the same text. Example 17 shows the noun *drop* 'licorice' first with the common article and referred to by a common pronoun and then with the neuter article and referred to by a neuter pronoun. Example 18 shows the same gender shift in the article.

(17) Doe **de** [COMM] **drop** in het pannetje en zet **deze** [COMM] op een laag pitje. Laat **de** [COMM] **drop** smelten en voeg naar smaak suiker toe, om het dropijs zoeter to krijgen. Blijf goed roeren. Als **de** [COMM] **drop** niet makkelijk smelt zou je een beetje water toe kunnen voegen. Een klein beetje water toevoegen kan helpen om **het** [NEUT] **drop** beter te laten smelten zonder dat **het** [NEUT] aankoekt.
   'Put **the** [COMM] **licorice** in the little pan and leave **it** [COMM] on a low heat. Let **the** [COMM] **licorice** melt and add sugar as much as you like to get a sweeter licorice ice cream. Keep mixing. If **the** [COMM] **licorice** does not melt easily you could add a bit of water. Adding a bit of water can help to melt **the** [NEUT] **licorice** avoiding that **it** [NEUT] over cooks.'
   (adapted from Semplicini 2012:169–70)

(18) **De** [COMM] **boter** an de buitenkant van de tosti is voor als je de tosti gaat keren en afbakken. Brood neemt namelijk **al het** [NEUT] **boter** uit de pan op.
   'The [COMM] **butter** on the outer side of the toast is useful as you turn and bake the toast. That is, bread absorbs all **the** [NEUT] **butter** from the pan.'
   (adapted from Semplicini 2012:173)

Semplicini notes that when speakers refer to the bounded entity of a piece of licorice or the amount of butter specified in a recipe, they use common gender. But when they talk about the same referent as unbounded, as the melted substance, they shift to neuter gender. In other cases, the gender shift corresponds to the distinction between specific and generic nouns, as in 19.

(19) **De** [COMM] **hippodroom van Olympia** is niet bewaard gebleven … De Romeinen hadden voor paardenraces het circus, dat in tegenstelling tot **het** [NEUT] **Griekse hippodroom** echt een afgesloten bouwwerk was. Soms wordt hier ook wel de naam hippodroom voor gebruikt zoals in het geval van **de** [COMM] **Hippodroom van Constantinopel**.
   'The [COMM] **hippodrome of Olympia** is not preserved … The Romans had the circus for horse races, that in opposition to **the** [NEUT] **Greek hippodrome** really was a closed off building. Sometimes the name hippodrome was used even here such as in the case of either **the** [COMM] **Hippodrome of Constantinopolis** [sic].'   (Semplicini 2012:164–65)

Semplicini points out that when specific hippodromes are referred to, namely those of Olympia or Constantinople, the common article is used, but when the speaker refers to the Greek hippodrome in general, as a type of building, then the neuter article occurs.[3]

2.5. DISCOURSE FACTORS. Cases where the choice of referential expression is influenced by discourse structure can be linked to the notion of referent accessibility to varying degrees. I take a broad view of discourse structure here, which subsumes certain aspects that in some approaches are discussed under accessibility, including unity and cohesion of the text, topicality of a referent, and changes in discourse topic.

The unity or cohesion across text segments can influence the choice of person indexes. Siewierska (2004) describes the reduction of cohesion between clauses as a factor that can influence the choice between dependent and independent person indexes. For example, in Polish narratives, referents that are otherwise comparable are encoded differently depending on whether they appear in clauses on or off the storyline. Referents on the storyline are encoded by dependent person markers, while those off the storyline are expressed by independent forms (Siewierska 2004:184). Similarly, in Kolyma Yukaghir the choice of person marker can change with a switch to and from a background description (Maslova 1999:628, cited in Siewierska 2004:184).

Topic shifts and referent accessibility are well documented to influence a speaker's morphosyntactic choices between, for example, pronouns and lexical nouns (Ariel 1990, Gundel et al. 1993, Siewierska 2004), but topicality is also attested to affect the choice of person indexes in terms of formal features, such as person and gender. Languages with an obviative/proximate distinction show a grammaticalized system of marking salient (proximate) and nonsalient (obviative) referents with different pronoun forms. The obviative is generally considered a person category and is also referred to as 'fourth person'. It can therefore be considered a case where discourse factors impact person choice. There are also cases where the protagonists of otherwise third-person narratives are tracked by first- or second-person indexes. Dixon (1989) discusses examples from Yidinyji, Saxon (1993) from Dogrib and Chipewayan, and Serzisko (1992: 138, and Linguist List 7.1686, 29 Nov. 1996) from Ik. Margetts 2015 provides further discussion of person-based deictics flagging topicality and referent salience.

Discourse salience can also influence the choice of person deictics in terms of gender. Examples come from the time when English was shifting from a system of grammatical gender to one of natural gender. Curzan (2003) suggests that during this transition period speakers could, in principle, draw on either type of system. The choices made were influenced by a range of factors. The excerpt in 20 shows anaphoric pronouns with different gender linked to the same antecedent within the same sentence. The noun *hund* 'dog' (grammatically masculine) is first referred back to by a neuter pronoun (natural gender) in object position—'one beats it'—and then by two masculine pronouns (grammatical gender) in subject position—'he understands, he is beaten'.

(20) þe **hund** þe fret leðer oðer awurið ahte, me **hit** beat ananriht þt **he** understonde for hwi **he** is ibeaten.

　　'The **dog** that chews leather or worries cattle, one beats **it** right away, so that **he** understands why **he** is beaten'

<div align="right">(*Ancrene Wisse* 167, Curzan 2003:120, n. 21)</div>

[3] One of the referees pointed out that the examples by Audring and Semplicini have different statuses in the literature on Dutch: while Audring's account of pronouns is widely accepted and the patterns appear very robust, Semplicini's examples of article shift refer to a rare phenomenon and many speakers of Dutch do not accept them as grammatical.

The example suggests that agentivity may be relevant, but Curzan primarily notes the role of topicality of the referent in the choice between natural and grammatical gender:

> With a subset of antecedent nouns … which demonstrates fluctuation between grammatical and natural gender reference during this period, there are patterns that suggest possible discourse motivations for the appearance of one gender as opposed to the other. Thematic prominence is probably the most obvious factor. (Curzan 2003:120)

The passage in 21 contains two inanimate referents, 'pot' and 'oven', which are both grammatically masculine. While 'pot' is referred to by masculine pronouns throughout the text, 'oven' is referred to by a neuter pronoun *ðar inne* 'therein'. Curzan suggests that this choice reflects the fact that the pot is the discourse topic, while the oven is 'rhetorically secondary'—it is merely mentioned as the location of the pot.

(21) al swo is þe **pott** ðe is idon on ðe barnende **ofne**. Gif **he** ðar **inne** bersteð and brekð, **he** is forloren and sone utȝeworpen; ȝif **he** belæfð hal and ȝesund, ðe pottere **hine** deð ðar to ðe **he** iscapen was.

    'as the **pot** [MASC] that is put in the burning **oven** [MASC]. If **it** (lit. **he**) bursts **therein** (lit. **in it**) and breaks, **it** (lit. **he**) is abandoned and soon thrown out; if **it** (lit. **he**) remains whole and sound, the potter puts **it** (lit. **him**) there to which **it** (lit. **he**) was made.'

<div align="right">(<i>Vices and virtues</i> 73, Curzan 2003:121)</div>

In another text, where 'oven' is topical, it is referred to by masculine anaphoric pronouns.

(22) Seoððan he him sceaude an ouen on berninde fure **he** warp ut of **him** seofe leies.

    'Afterwards he showed him an oven in burning fire, **it** (lit. **he**) threw seven flames out of **it** (lit. **him**).' (<i>Lambeth Homilies</i> 41, Curzan 2003:121)

Curzan observes that:

> The highlighting of an inanimate object as the focus of the sentence or longer segment of discourse seems to favor the use of grammatical gender in anaphoric pronouns, while other 'backgrounded nouns' may be more likely to take the neuter. (Curzan 2003:120)

The same tendency is attested, again, with some Dutch nouns when they occur as discourse topics. Semplicini (2012) suggests that the gender shift of the article in 23 corresponds to the discourse status of the referent.

(23) In een bekerglas, gevuld met water, wordt **een half** [NEUT] **tablet** gegooid. … het water war **het** [NEUT] **bruistablet** fijnmalen in ging is helderder dan het water in het andere bekerglas. … **De** [COMM] **bruistablet** in het warme water was sneller opgelost dan **de** [COMM] **bruistablet** in het koude water.

    'In a glass beaker filled with water there has been placed **a half** [NEUT] **tablet** … the water with **the** [NEUT] **milled soluble tablet** is lighter in color than the water in the other glass beaker. … **The** [COMM] **soluble tablet** in warm water melted more quickly than **the** [COMM] **soluble tablet** in cold water.' (Semplicini 2012:162–63)

As a newly introduced referent, the noun *bruistablet* 'soluble tablet' takes the neuter gender, but then the speaker shifts to common gender for the remainder of the text. Semplicini states:

> The neuter gender is typically used to convey new information (first mention), while the common gender is typically used to convey old, or given information (topic). Once the referent is well established in the universe of discourse, its topicality is signalled by the speaker through a specific gender choice (that is, common gender). (Semplicini 2012:163)[4]

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[4] Cf. n. 3.

2.6. Summary. The phenomena discussed here share a variation in the semantic features of referential expressions. In the remainder of the article, I discuss a further case of such variation, namely person shifts as a strategy to highlight important events. Social and empathetic deixis, semantic agreement, and variation reflecting degrees of individuation or discourse status share with person shifts the ability to trigger a lack of alignment between person indexes and certain features of the referent or antecedent. In addition, there are similarities between person shifts and social deixis, as both strategies involve pronouns with a person distinction that does not match their referential meaning. Person shifts at narrative peak are also a social phenomenon in that they provide the listener with information about the speaker's point of view. The description of empathetic deixis as adding vividness is echoed by many accounts of peak-marking and evaluation strategies as increasing the vividness of a text (e.g. Fleischman 1986, Labov 1972, Labov & Waletzky 1967, Longacre 1983, Schiffrin 1981, Silva-Corvalán 1983, Wolfson 1982). Empathetic deixis arises from the speaker's and the hearer's presumed shared attitudes and beliefs, and similarly peak marking and evaluation indicate the speaker's attitude toward an event.[5] Empathy is typically regarded as having little to do with syntax, but Kuno and Kaburaki (1977:629) show that empathy phenomena can interact closely with the syntactic coding of events. Similarly, peak-marking devices are commonly discussed as rhetorical choices rather than as having an impact on grammatical encoding. However, as I show below, the marking of narrative peak can be manifested in the morphosyntax of a language.

3. Narrative peaks and evaluations. Narratives typically have some kind of internal structure and, following Labov 1972 and Labov & Waletzky 1967, a fully developed narrative may show content-based elements such as an abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, evaluation, and coda. Evaluations are not fixed in their position and can occur at any point of a narrative. Labov considers evaluations 'the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its raison d'être: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at' (1972:366); '[e]valuative devices say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful; more generally, that it was strange, uncommon, or unusual—that is, worth reporting' (1972:371). Storytellers can explicitly state the point of a narrative, for example in an introduction or as the moral at the end, but typically the important points are also highlighted in the course of the story. Polanyi (1989) maintains that evaluation is not a punctual phenomenon but constitutes a continuous process throughout the text:

> Highlighting the most important information in the story at the expense of less important information is accomplished by according each proposition a more or less distinctive form of encoding; the more distinct the encoding, the more the information encoded stands out from the rest of the text and the better it is remembered. (1989:14)

> The use of evaluation must be highly monitored and … orchestrated by the teller. The degree of salience accorded to any proposition by use of any evaluative device … depends on the power of the device … at that specific moment in the telling. If a device has been heavily used earlier, for example, it is no longer so 'surprising' or arresting—a change in effectiveness analogous to the functioning of much 'forte' in music. … as forte becomes the 'normal' volume … a change to 'piano' is strongly perceived … . (1989:15)

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[5] Wolfson (1982) considers evaluative devices to be a feature of 'performed narratives' and suggests that empathy is a precondition for a speaker's breakthrough into performance. A further parallel is Kuno and Kaburaki's (1977) metaphor of 'changes in camera angle', which has also been applied to evaluative devices (e.g. Hatcher 1942 on tense shifts, cited in Fleischman 1986:202, and Longacre 1983:35 on change of vantage point).

Labov distinguishes between external and internal evaluations. External evaluations are those for which the narrator stops the narrative, leaves the storyline, turns to the listeners, and tells them what the point is, as in statements like 'it was really quite terrific' or 'it was quite an experience' (1972:371). In contrast, clauses with internal evaluations are typically narrative clauses, and therefore on the storyline, but they include some formal marking as indication of their important status. In internal evaluations, 'rather than interpret the events of the story for the listener, the narrator allows events to speak for themselves relying on the more subtle internal devices, including tense shifts, to foreground individual narrative units' (Fleischman 1986:224). Tannen (1982:4) suggests that internal evaluation is an essentially oral strategy, while external evaluation is a more literate one. This lends support to Labov's sociolinguistic correlation between social class and narrative strategies, as he found that internal evaluation is prominent among older narrators from working-class backgrounds, while external evaluation is most common among middle-class speakers. Tannen's point also correlates with Wolfson's (1978:216) observations that narratives that are not merely told but performed commonly show internal evaluation devices such as tense shifts, repetitions, and direct speech.

Labov and most researchers following in his footsteps tend to focus on the major European languages and therefore restrict their attention to evaluation devices attested there. Longacre (1976, 1983, 1990) investigates discourse phenomena from a crosslinguistic perspective, drawing on data from a broader range of language families. Like Labov, Longacre endeavors to analyze the structural characteristics of narratives. In his investigation of 'the grammar of discourse', he distinguishes between the notional structure of a narrative and its surface structure (1976:213, 1983:3). The concept of notional structure represents the plot of the narrative, which Longacre also refers to as the deep structure or semantic structure. By contrast, the surface structure represents the means by which the plot is expressed in terms of structural linguistic choices. His point in making this distinction is that the two structures do not necessarily have to align, and narrative highpoints in the notional structure may or may not be overtly marked in the surface structure. Longacre therefore reserves the terms 'climax' or 'denouement' for highpoints in the notional structure, but the term 'narrative peak' for any corresponding structural marking of such plot highpoints in the surface structure. So, a narrative peak refers to 'any episode-like unit set apart by special surface structure features and corresponding to the Climax or Denouement in the notional structure' (Longacre 1983:24). In other words, the notion of peak refers to the manifestation of features in the surface structure, and a peak exists only where the importance of a plot event is in some way structurally marked. Narratives containing a climax or denouement that is not structurally highlighted are therefore considered not to have a narrative peak. Longacre's peak events form part of the storyline and convey their own importance through formal marking, and they can therefore be classified as internal-evaluation devices in Labov's sense. Longacre provides a list of six crosslinguistic peak-marking strategies, which is presented in Table 1.

Drawing on work by both Labov and Longacre, Polanyi (1989) also provides a list of evaluative devices from different levels of linguistic structure, as summarized in Table 2.[6]

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[6] There has also been extensive discussion of evaluation in children's narratives, which I am not able to discuss in more detail here. See, for example, Bamberg & Damrad-Frye 1991, Berman 1997, Küntay & Nakamura 2004, Peterson & McCabe 1983, Shiro 2003, and the references therein.

(i)   Rhetorical underlining—for example, through devices like parallelism, paraphrases, or tautologies
(ii) Concentration of participants—the narrative equivalent of 'the crowded stage' of a theatre play, where everybody except some subsidiary characters is on stage
(iii) Heightened vividness
     a. shift in noun-verb balance
     b. tense shift
     c. shift to a more specific person
     d. shift along a parameter: narrative > pseudo-dialogue > dialogues > drama
(iv) Change of pace—for example, variation in the size of constructions and variation in the amount of connective material
(v) Change of vantage point and/or orientation
(vi) Incidence of particles and onomatopoeia

Table 1. Crosslinguistic means of marking the surface-structure peak
(based on Longacre 1976:217–28, 1983:25–38).

PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL

odd pronunciation/accentuation	onomatopoeia
distinctive dialectal sound quality	rhyme
changes in stress	nonlinguistic noises
changes in volume	…

LEXICAL LEVEL

words of a register different from rest of the text (e.g. colloquial vs. formal and vice versa)	foreign words
	relatively infrequent words
'loaded' words rich in connotations	…
profanity	

SYNTACTIC LEVEL

modification	elaboration and specification
comparators	any marked change in syntactic complexity
superlatives	(e.g. shift from simple to highly attenuated
negative sentences	sentences and vice versa)
modal operators and adverbials that shift the point of view or frame of reference	…

DISCOURSE LEVEL

repetition	'clustering' a number of events at the 'peak'
reported speech or thought	of the story
flash-backs and flash-aheads	…
explicit meta-comments	

Table 2. Evaluative devices at different levels of linguistic structure (adapted from Polanyi 1989:14).

Most of the devices listed in Tables 1 and 2 are relative devices in that they are not inherently evaluative. The crucial feature of these strategies is a change from a previous pattern. In fact, Polanyi stresses that all evaluation devices are relative:

> Evaluation … is accomplished by encoding the information to be accorded increased weight in a way which departs from the local norm of the text. … It should be borne in mind, however, that there are no 'absolute' evaluative devices; any device available for evaluation can be used non-evaluatively as well or can be so over-used that it becomes a textual norm. (1989:14)

Some of the strategies work exclusively through a change from the pattern in the preceding text, such as shifts in the noun-verb ratio, change of pace, change in the degree of syntactic complexity, or shift in register. It can be argued, however, that certain strategies have some degree of inherent evaluative force, and I maintain that tense shifts and person shifts constitute such strategies. I show that, even though Polanyi's claim may hold for English and many other languages, crosslinguistically, strategies exist that can be considered 'absolute' evaluative devices.

While I largely employ the terms 'narrative peak' and 'internal evaluation' synonymously, one can make a distinction in that peak has only been used to mark a climax, while evaluation, at least in Polanyi's sense, is a continuous process, weighing and marking the relative importance of each event in comparison to others. This distinction will be relevant later when discussing events that are highlighted by evaluation devices but that do not constitute peaks in the strict sense of marking a climax on the storyline (cf. the Greek data in §4.1).

While Longacre identifies person shifts as a peak-marking device, none of the sources in the Labovian tradition explicitly mention person shifts. However, several of the strategies discussed in the literature implicitly involve these shifts. In the following, I discuss person shifts as peak-marking and internal-evaluation devices. Changes in vantage point or orientation show parallels with person shifts, as both can involve shifts in person-based deictics, and they are also touched on. Of the other peak-marking strategies, the closest functional parallels to person shifts are found with tense shifts, which have been extensively discussed in the literature and shown to cooccur with person shifts. It is therefore worth exploring them here briefly.

3.1. TENSE SHIFTS. Longacre (1983) describes tense shifts as devices to heighten vividness and mark peak. He discusses examples from a traditional narrative in Fore (Papua New Guinea):

> The story starts off in the far past, *a long time ago*. As it proceeds and as the plot thickens, there's a shift into the recent past. Right at the notional structure Climax of the story it shifts into present tense and then at the conclusion of the story we're told *that's how it happened a long time ago*—where the far past tense is again employed. (Longacre 1983:28)

Shifts to the present tense are a common discourse strategy. In what is commonly called the historical present, a narrative event that took place in the past is reproduced in the present tense. Such shifts have been described as vivifying and foregrounding, and in some languages also as having text-structuring functions (cf. Schiffrin 1981, Wolfson 1979:178). Wolfson (1978:222) suggests that the historical present in American English highlights events seen by the narrator as most important. Similarly, Silva-Corvalán (1983) shows that, for Spanish, the switch between past tense and historical present sets off climactic events from the rest of the narrative. Consider the example in 24.

(24) Oh, yes, we decided to go to this pizza place for lunch so we sailed—we left at eleven in the morning and we got there at three, okay? Four miles—it was against the wind all the way. **We get up to the place, we have our lunch, we get back in the boat** and I said to Bud, 'I think the wind died.' The wind died, it took us hours to get back.   (Wolfson 1982:36, emphasis added)

The historical present conveys the same referential meaning as the past, but it has additional discourse functions (Schiffrin 1981:46ff.). Wolfson (1982:3) defines the historical present in part by the fact that it alternates with the past in such a way that it is always substitutable for the simple past without change in referential meaning, and further that it is never found in all clauses where it could in principle have been used. Schiffrin (1981) considers the historical present in English to be a device for marking narrative events that convey their own importance and that make an obvious contribution to the point of the story. She suggests that, similar to the effect of direct speech in narratives, the historical present 'makes the past more vivid by bringing past events into the moment of speaking' (1981:58–59). It allows the narrator to present events as if they were occurring at the moment of speaking, so that the audience can hear for itself what happened and can interpret for itself the significance of those events. Fleischman (1986:224) makes parallel observations about the narrative present in medieval French texts.

3.2. Person shifts. Compared to tense shifts, person shifts seem to be less common—or possibly they merely have received less attention. As mentioned, Longacre (1983:29) discusses 'shift to a more specific person' as a peak-marking strategy. Such shifts can be defined as moving upward on Silverstein's (1976) animacy hierarchy from nonhuman to human, from third to second to first person, or from plural to singular.[7] All of Longacre's English examples cooccur with tense shifts from past to the historical present. The findings to be reported here show, however, that the two strategies are, in principle, independent of each other (not least since some languages that use person shifts do not have grammaticalized tense). This highlights the importance of investigating person shifts in their own right.

There is a range of peak-marking strategies that involve shifts in person indexes. In some cases, it is the person shift as such that functions to highlight an event. Such cases are discussed under what I call 'person shifts proper'. Similar peak-marking functions are attested with other person deictics, such as directional markers, which are also briefly discussed below. In other cases, person shifts are embedded within broader peak-marking strategies, and it is not the person shift alone that is performing this function. This is the case for questions and imperatives to the listener, direct speech, apostrophes, vocatives, and exclamations, but also for discourse markers that morphologically incorporate person-based deictics, which are all discussed here under the label of 'associated person shifts'.

Person shifts proper. Longacre (1983) notes that shifts in person markers occur not only in narratives but also in some procedural texts. He provides examples from hunting and fishing texts in Dibabawon (Southern Philippines), where such shifts can correlate with the onset of peak. Example 25 shows Longacre's English summary of a Dibabawon passage. There is a shift from third-person plural to third singular along with a shift in the denoted referent. The shift occurs right at the point where the actual target procedure is described, the shooting of birds, which the text is about.

(25) The bird hunters among the Dibabawon, **they** do so and so, **they** make certain preparations … . **They** build a bird blind … . And then **he** shoots the bird. (Longacre 1983:29, emphasis added)

Note that subject referents in procedural texts tend to be less specific compared to those that appear on the storyline of narrative texts. Subjects of procedural texts tend to be hypothetical, prototypical, or generic. In contrast, the subjects in narrative texts tend to be specific characters. The difference between these text types can be reflected in the nature of the shifts. In 25 there is a shift in person marker (and in referent) from 'they', referring to a hypothetical group of hunters, to 'he', referring to one hypothetical hunter who shoots the bird. That is, there is a shift to a subset of the original group of referents. As examples of person shifts in narratives, Longacre provides passages from two novels. At a crucial moment in Charles Dickens's third-person narrative *A tale of two cities*, there is a shift in pronoun (and referent) from third person to first-person plural, as shown in 26. The excerpt describes the flight of the central characters in a carriage, aided by their friend Jarvis Lorry.

(26) … It is **Jarvis Lorry** who has alighted and stands with his hand on the coach door … These are again the words of **Jarvis Lorry**…
'Look back, look back, and see if **we** are pursued!'

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[7] If one conceives of the animacy hierarchy as including definiteness distinctions, even the choice between definite and indefinite NPs could be influenced by such broader discourse considerations and have peak-marking functions. Investigating this is beyond the scope of this article, but it is clearly an area that deserves further research.

Houses in twos and threes pass by **us**, … The hard uneven pavement is under **us**, … The agony of **our** impatience is then so great, that in **our** wild alarm and hurry **we** are for getting out and running—hiding—doing anything but stopping. … Have these men deceived **us**, and taken **us** back by another road? … Look back, look back, and see if **we** are pursued! … Suddenly, the postilions exchange speech with animated gesticulation, and the horses are pulled up, almost on their haunches. **We** are pursued?

'Ho! Within the carriage there. Speak then!'

'What is it?' asks **Mr. Lorry**, looking out at window.

(*A tale of two cities*, Ch. 13, emphasis added)

In this example, the narrator shifts from recounting events in the third person to describing them as if narrator and audience are sitting in the carriage with the protagonists. There is a change in reference from story characters only to what appears to include story characters, narrator, and audience. In this scene the pronoun shift cooccurs with a shift to the historical present, and Longacre suggests that the pronoun shift reinforces the tense shift in marking narrative peak. He reports similar correlations of person and tense shifts from Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The house of seven gables*. Here the person shift, again accompanied by a shift to present tense, spans an entire chapter of the novel. Judge Pyncheon, a central villain of the book, is introduced in the first chapter, referred to by lexical noun phrases and third-person pronouns in clauses with past tense, as in 27. In chapter 18, after Judge Pyncheon dies unexpectedly (meaning the hero and heroine can live happily ever after), the narrator shifts from past to present tense and addresses the judge in the second person and with imperative verbs. As the chapter continues the narrator jeers at the dead judge, describing his ambitions and his greed and the extent to which he was hated. An excerpt is presented in 28.

(27) **Judge Pyncheon** was unquestionably an honor to **his** race. **He** had built **himself** a country-seat within a few miles of **his** native town, …

(*The house of seven gables*, Ch. 1, emphasis added)

(28) Why **Judge**, it is already two hours … . Pray, pray **Judge Pyncheon**, look at **your** watch now… . Up, therefore, Judge Pyncheon, up! Canst **thou** not brush the fly away? Art **thou** too sluggish?

(*The house of seven gables*, Ch. 18, emphasis added)

In contrast to 25 from the Philippine language Dibabawon, and to the Dickens example in 26, where the pronoun switch was paired with a shift in referent, in example 28 the referent remains constant despite the shift from third to second person.

SHIFTS IN DIRECTIONAL MORPHEMES. In some languages, shifts in person-based deictics other than person indexes perform similar functions. Longacre (1983:35) describes changes in vantage point or orientation as another peak-marking device, and such changes are reflected in the use of spatial deictics. Boerger (2010) reports that in Natügu (Oceanic, Solomon Islands), directional suffixes can be used differently at the peak of a narrative from elsewhere. They can be used to place the narrator at the same location as the protagonist, promoting identification with the character. In a story about a man who is attacked in the bush, the narrator shifts the deictic center 'as if he were the director of a film and chose to position the camera just behind the main character so the audience sees things from his perspective' (Boerger 2010:7). The narrator reports the event of the man being shot in 29 with the directional *-mü* 'hither', which translates as 'he shot at me/us'. (The reading 'he shot at him' would require a different directional suffix.) The man makes it back home and asks his children to bring him soap to clean

the wound. The clause in 30 shows that the narrator has shifted back to an omniscient narrator perspective as the 'bring' verb carries the directional -*bë*, which indicates directionality toward a referent other than the speaker.

(29) Sâ   tü-ö-pnë'=pe-**mü**-Ø
  PFV RL-DETR-shoot=PRF-DIR.hither-3MIN
    'Then he shot at (me/us).'   (Boerger 2010:7, emphasis added)

(30) Në-oti-**bë**-lö   sop sâ tü-kipo=pe-Ø
  3AUG.A-get-DIR.yon-3AUG soap PFV RL-bathe=AS-3MIN
    'They got the soap, then he bathed.'   (Boerger 2010:7, emphasis added)

ASSOCIATED PERSON SHIFTS. Apart from Longacre's (1976, 1983) accounts, person shifts proper as a peak-marking strategy are scarcely mentioned in the literature. Associated person shifts, which are embedded within other discourse strategies, have been more broadly discussed—but they have generally not been recognized as involving person shifts as a shared functional trait. Below, I discuss direct speech, questions and imperatives to the addressee, apostrophes, vocatives, and exclamations, as well as some discourse markers, as peak-marking strategies involving person shifts.

DIRECT SPEECH. Several of the evaluative devices discussed by Labov (1972) involve direct speech, which typically includes first- and/or second-person pronouns. In what Labov terms 'embedded evaluations', narrators either quote evaluating sentiments as their own speech addressed to story characters, as in 31, or they introduce a third person into the story and attribute evaluative statements to them, as in 32.

(31) I say 'Calvin, I'm bust your head for that.'   (Labov 1972:372)

(32) But that night the manager … said, 'You better pack up and get out … '
                                                                          (Labov 1972:373)

Similarly, Fleischman (1986) explains that internal evaluation may be carried out by presenting commentary in the form of direct statements, as in 33 from Old French. (See also Hymes 1974, 1977 and Wolfson 1978 on direct speech as a feature of performed narratives.)

(33) Il [Roland] dist al rei: 'Ja mar crerez Marsilie.'
      'Roland said to the king: "Woe will be to you who believes Marsilie." '
                                              (*La chanson de Roland*, cited in Fleischman 1986:223)

Schiffrin observes that the historical present, which is an evaluation device in its own right, commonly occurs with verbs of saying that introduce direct quotes. She also suggests that:

> Direct quotes … increase the immediacy of an utterance which occurred in the past by allowing the speaker to perform that talk in its original form, as if it were occurring at the present moment … It is through a combination of deictic and structural changes that direct quotes have this effect … (1981:58)

The relevance of direct speech for the present discussion is that it typically includes first- and second-person deictics, and so it often constitutes a person shift vis-à-vis the remainder of the narrative. Direct speech also commonly includes devices such as questions, imperatives, vocatives, and exclamations, which are themselves person-based peak-marking strategies.

QUESTIONS, IMPERATIVES, APOSTROPHES, VOCATIVES, AND EXCLAMATIONS. Labov (1972:385) considers questions and imperatives directed to the listener to be evaluative devices. They can occur embedded in direct speech, and both are, again, associated with first- and/or second-person deictics. Consider examples 34 and 35.

(34) And guess what?
    After all that I gave the dude the cigarette,
    after all that.
    Ain't that a bitch?

(35) And I said,
    'I can't run around with you all night.
    Now let's put an end to this.
    This is the fare,
    You'll go your way and I'll go mine.'
    So I got out of it that way.   (Labov 1972:385)

Apostrophe is a figure of speech where the narrator turns from the general audience to directly address a person, personified object, idea, or imaginary entity. It is typically employed to display the emotions of the speaker and shares characteristics with direct speech, including the use of questions, imperatives, exclamations, and vocatives. In 36 from Macbeth, the speaker first refers to the dagger by a lexical noun but then turns to directly address it with *thee*. The apostrophe ends when the speaker again refers to the dagger by a noun phrase (*such thing*).

(36) Is this **a dagger** which I see before me,
    The handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch **thee**.
    I have **thee** not, and yet I see **thee** still.
    …
    And on **thy** blade and dudgeon gouts of blood,
    Which was not so before. There's no **such thing**.
    It is the bloody business which informs
    Thus to mine eyes.   (Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act 2, scene 1)

Reich describes apostrophic shifts from third to second person in the New Testament:

> Apostrophe represents the turning from the general audience to the specific direct address. Here the Lucan Jesus turns from the general audience, 'blessed are **the poor**,' to the specific direct address, 'for **yours** is the kingdom of God.' (Reich 2010:77, emphasis added)

Another example (which also illustrates questions as evaluation devices) is presented in 37.

(37) … then will come about the saying that is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory. **O death,** where is **your victory? O death,** where is **your sting?**' The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law; …   (1 Corinthians 15:55)

DISCOURSE MARKERS. Discourse markers that morphologically include second-person deictics can also function as peak-marking devices. A case in point is the English discourse marker *y'know*, which includes a contracted form of the second-person pronoun. This marker has a range of functions, but in narrative texts Schiffrin observes that it typically occurs with evaluations. It helps the addressee filter through the story and identify what is important for understanding the main point (Schiffrin 1987:281–85). Examples 38 and 39 show *y'know* with such peak-marking functions (in combination with other evaluation devices, including the historical present and direct speech).

(38) And I was working very hard,
    And I told him, I said 'I must save some money t'send my children t'college.'
    Y'know what he told me for an answer?
    He says, 'Henry, children find their own way t'go t'college if they want to.'

(39) And she sat down there
And she says, '**Y'know** I got a problem Zelda.'
She says, 'I really got a problem.'
So Zelda says, 'What's your problem?'
I was sittin' right there.
She says, '**Y'know** I gave you a tomato. Your tomato's not as big as the one I gave you. What shall I do with it?'
What d'y'think I wanted t'tell her t'do with it?! (Schiffrin 1987:282)

Brown and Levinson (1987:120) discuss both English *y'know* and the Tzeltal equivalent *yaʔwaʔy* 'you know/see/understand/feel' as point-of-view operations, that is, as politeness strategies to claim common ground. Both examples also mark narrative peaks.[8]

(40) I'm just walking down the street, **ya know**, and I damn near get run over by the huge Cadillac that comes roarin' by, **ya know**, like he owns the world, and I'm so scared, **ya know** I just about died.

(Brown & Levinson 1987:120, emphasis added)

(41) haʔ lah hič la spasik **taʔwaʔye**; ya lah stihikon ta čukel te ʔahwalil, lom bayel lah la sɛeʔla **taʔwaʔy** bi ya yal te maestro.
'Thus it is, they say, that they do, **you know** (lit. in your knowing); they say the chief will jail me, they say they really laughed a lot, **you know**, at what the teacher said.' (Brown & Levinson 1987:120, emphasis added)

Brown and Levinson state that the Tzeltal form 'is often scattered throughout a story to draw the hearer into it' and it is used to encourage the addressee 'to follow the emotional trend of the complaining story' (1987:120).

3.3. SUMMARY. Person shifts to first or second person can function in similar ways as shifts to present tense by evoking the here and now and telling a story as if the interlocutors were there to witness the events. While Longacre explicitly discusses person shifts, they have not been identified by Labov and researchers following in his footsteps as an overarching theme in evaluation strategies, despite the fact that many of the devices discussed inherently involve them. Table 3 provides a summary of the strategies discussed so far.

DEVICE	LANGUAGE
First person (for third-person referents)	English (Longacre 1983)
Second person (for third-person referents)	
Direct speech, questions, imperatives, apostrophes, and vocatives	English (Fleischman 1986, Labov 1972, Polanyi 1989, Schiffrin 1987)
Direct speech	Old French (Fleischman 1986)
Discourse markers including second-person deictics *y'know*	English (Brown & Levinson 1987, Schiffrin 1987)
yaʔwaʔy 'you know/see/understand/feel'	Tzeltal (Mayan) (Brown & Levinson 1987)
Directional markers -*mü* 'hither' = toward speaker (for -*bë* 'yonder' = toward other than speaker)	Natügu (Oceanic) (Boerger 2010)

TABLE 3. Peak-marking devices associated with person shifts discussed in §3.

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[8] There are some interesting parallels between peak-marking and evaluation strategies, as discussed by Labov and Longacre, and point-of-view operations as positive politeness strategies to claim common ground, as discussed by Brown and Levinson (1987). In particular, Brown and Levinson list personal-center switches, as with *y'know*, time switch like the 'vivid present', and the use of direct speech, all of which have been iden-

4. PERSON SHIFTS AS PEAK-MARKING DEVICES. Longacre (1983:29) establishes person shifts as a peak-marking strategy, but examples of person shifts proper are few and far between even in his own work, and so far there has been a lack of discussion of this phenomenon in the typological literature. Some information on person shifts as peak-marking devices can be gleaned from work on individual languages, however, and in this section I review data from a small range of languages that show this phenomenon. Table 4 provides an overview of the strategies to be discussed. While imperative verbs do not necessarily carry overt subject marking, they can be considered to be associated with second-person subjects. As such, shifts from indicative verbs with third-person subjects to imperative verbs (with or without overt subject marking) can be considered instances of person shift and are included in the discussion. Section 4.1 presents shifts in person indexes; shifts to imperative verbs are discussed in §4.2.

LANGUAGE	DEVICE AND REFERENT	FUNCTION AS DESCRIBED IN THE LITERATURE
Kɔnni (Gur)	human person markers (for nonhuman referents)	narrative peak (Cahill 1995)
Dogrib (Athabaskan)	first person (= third impersonal) (for specific third person)	centrally important episodes (Saxon 1993)
Homeric Greek	second person (for third person)	dramatic moments (Jones 1992)
Goemai (Chadic)	second-person nonlogophoric (for third-person logophoric)	turning point or moral of the story (Hellwig 2011)
Arabic	imperative and second person ± vocative and participant name (for third-person indicative)	important or dramatic phase of the action, sudden, bold, unexpected, hurried actions; turning point of the story (Ingham 1993, Palva 1977, 1984)
North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (Semitic)	imperative and third person (for third-person indicative)	drawing special attention to following information; transition between spatial locations (Khan 2008)
Slavic and Balkan languages	imperative and first or third person (for first- or third-person indicative)	sudden, unexpected, typically undesirable actions (Friedman 2012, Israeli 2002)

TABLE 4. Person shifts marking narrative peak.

4.1. SHIFTS IN PERSON MARKER. As noted by Longacre (1983:42), shifts from third to first or second person proceed upward on Silverstein's animacy hierarchy. This is exemplified by data from Dogrib, Homeric Greek, and Goemai. Shifts starting lower down on the hierarchy, from nonhuman to human, are also attested, as discussed for Kɔnni.

KƆNNI. Cahill (1995) investigates narrative peaks in Kɔnni (Gur, Ghana). In a text about a hippo and an elephant, the hippo is originally referred to by the third-person nonhuman subject pronoun *ka*, but in a passage that Cahill (1995:349) identifies as narrative peak, the pronoun shifts to the human form *wʊ* while the referent stays constant. Consider the example in 42 (some clauses have been omitted).

(42) nyayiimiŋ dɪ   sʊʊŋ   ga bie   nyaan sʊʊŋ …   (IU12)
     hippo   then come.down go exist water inside
        'The hippo went down into the water … '
     ka   ke jigisi-ye   …   (IU13)
     3SG.NH NEG budge-PFV
        '**It** didn't budge … '

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tified as peak-markings strategies as well. I am not able to explore these parallels further in the present article, however.

a dɪɪ ree **wʊ** yaa ga tʊg-a ta yɔbɪŋ zie
and follow just 3SG.H have go reach-IPFV and(?) elephant stand

    dugukukuku. … (IU18)
    big.size

  'And **he** followed (the rope?) and reached the elephant, standing huge. … '

wʊ baa dɪ n zʊa tɪ datɪ-naa tamba ree? (IU19)
3SG.H say that 1SG friend 1PL pull-SUBJ.FOC one.another just

  '**He** said, "My friend, is it we who have been pulling each other?" '

                (Cahill 1995:355–56)

Importantly, the characters in 42 are not indexed by human person markers throughout the text, but there is a switch from nonhuman to human pronouns just for the peak episode at the end of the story.[9]

DOGRIB. A similar strategy is found in Dogrib (Athabaskan), where Saxon (1993) discusses special uses of the subject marker *ts'e-* (and the corresponding nonsubject form *go-*), which can refer to first-person plural referents, as in 43 and 44.

(43) Wexe**ts'**aadǫ.
    3SG.TS'E.PFV.get.used.to
      'We got used to it.'

(44) Gik'àda**ts'e**redè
    3PL.TS'E.IPFV.tease(PL)
      'We're teasing them.' (Saxon 1993:344)

The same prefix is also used to index third-person human impersonal subjects when the subject is unknown, nonspecific, or nonreferential, as in 45 and 46.

(45) Kìnde wedechįkè ni**ts'**įèwa nǫ̀.
    brother 3SG.boot TS'E.PFV.pick.up EVID
      'Someone picked up my brother's boots apparently.'

(46) Lucy segha età**ts'e**hti nįwǫ
    Lucy 1SG.for TS'E.IPFV.interpret 3SG.IPFV.want
      'Lucy wants someone to interpret for her.' (Saxon 1993:344)

In addition, Saxon discusses a previously undocumented use of this subject prefix. In one narrative it refers to a third-person subject that is specific and definite, and she calls these personal (rather than impersonal) uses of *ts'e-*. When referring to the protagonist, the Dogrib text alternates between *ts'e-* (and the corresponding nonsubject form *go-*), on the one hand, and the regular third-person indexes, on the other. There are three episodes in the story where *ts'e-* and *go-* are used, and each features an instance of narrative peak. The text tells the story of a man whose wife dies and he is left having to care for his infant son. Examples 47 to 49 provide Saxon's English translation of the three episodes. All pronouns referring to the father are marked in bold. Saxon translates *ts'e-* and *go-* with English first-person plural forms (*we*, *our*) but the regular third-person pronouns with English third-person forms.[10] In 47a–h the problem is introduced

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[9] The use of human pronouns for nonhuman anthropomorphized protagonists in a narrative is not surprising as such. Cahill's corpus includes several narratives where animal protagonists are referred to by human pronouns throughout. Such cases can be analyzed as instances of empathy influencing pronoun choice, as discussed, for example, by Kuno (1972), Kuno and Kaburaki (1977), Oshima (2007), and Siewierska (2004: 207).

[10] As mentioned, canonically *ts'e-* has a reading of either first-person plural or of human impersonal subjects. The Dogrib examples only conform to Longacre's description of 'shift to a more specific person' if we consider them as representing shifts to first person, but not if they are interpreted as shifts to third-person im-

using *ts'e-* and *go-*. In 47g,h there is a switch to the regular third-person marker and then back to *ts'e-* and *go-* 'we'/'our'.[11] Then in 47i, the father's response to the problem is presented, and the speaker switches again to the regular third-person form.

(47) a. **We** were living alone, alone, [with] the woman there were two of **us**, there were two of **us**, it is said **we** were living alone, before.
   b. So, **our** wife was pregnant, she was expecting a child.
   c. So, **we** were living alone because of her. So, finally **our** son was born, it is said; the baby was born, it is said.
   d. After the baby was born, after that, **our** wife suddenly died, it is said.
   e. Because **our** wife suddenly died, there was nothing **we** could do for **our** son.
   f. **We** had nothing to raise him with.
   g. Then because **he** was a man, and therefore didn't have breasts, since his mother had died, **we** had nothing with which to raise her son.
   h. There was no way we could abandon **our** child either.
   i. So **he** hunted rabbits for **his** son.
   j. **He** snared for rabbits.   (Saxon 1993:345–47)

The next episode with *ts'e-* and *go-* occurs in 48, when the baby is abducted by a wolverine.

(48) a. When **he** came back, **his** son was gone, it is said.
   b. So, a wolverine, a wolverine crawled into **our** house, apparently.
   c. It was like a wolverine took **our** son, it is said.
   d. Oh! **we** thought, 'It was my child, the wolverine took down my child, it was my child,' and so **we** took off after him just like that.
   e. Because the wolverine had apparently taken **our** son, **we** took off after him.   (Saxon 1993:347–48)

The man follows the wolverine and is again referred to by regular third-person markers. The third episode occurs when the father finds his now grown son who aims an arrow at him.

(49) a. **He** [the father] walked after them, and then, as it was getting toward evening, in the woods they [Wolverine and the boy] went separate ways.
   b. They [Wolverine and the boy] went separate ways so **we** left the trail [following] after the child who had left using the large snow shoes.
   c. Up ahead, **our** son was shooting at grouse.
   d. He was standing in the woods, and when **we** came out of the woods [into a clearing] toward him, he aimed an arrow at **us**, that child.
   e. 'What are you doing, my son? I am your father. You are my son. Don't do anything to me,' **his father** said to him.   (Saxon 1993:347–48)

Saxon (1993:353) notes:

> The personal use of *ts'e-* has a clear discourse function in this Dogrib text, to set apart episodes centrally important to the protagonist and to the action of the story—the confrontation with matters of life and death. Interestingly the actions by which the problems are solved do not have this linguistic mark. This seems to be reserved for the time of mental turmoil surrounding the realization of the difficulties.

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personal. Since Saxon consistently translates *ts'e-* as first person in the relevant text, this seems to be the preferred (or at least a possible) analysis.

[11] Because of the switch to a third-person marker for the same referent in 47g, one could argue that the sequence in 47a–h constitutes two episodes of person shift rather than one.

Homeric greek. Person shifts from third to second person are attested in Homeric Greek. Jones (1992) investigates a variation in quotation formulas in the Odyssey. In the standard formula the quoted character is referred to by a third-person pronoun, as in 50. In the second formula he is referred to by a second-person pronoun, which may be accompanied by vocative uses of the character's name, as in 51. This second-person quotative construction only occurs with the swineherd Eumaios.

(50) He shouted at the dogs and scared them in every direction with volleyed showers of stones, and spoke then to his own master:

<div align="right">(Odyssey 14:35, cited in Jones 1992:264)</div>

(51) Then, O swineherd Eumaios, **you** said to him in answer:

<div align="right">(Odyssey 14:55, cited in Jones 1992:264)</div>

Of the thirty-two quotation formulas introducing speech by Eumaios in the Odyssey, seventeen occur with third-person and fifteen with second-person subjects. There are no immediately obvious differences in distribution. Jones observes that none of the quotations are centrally significant to the storyline and that, in principle, they could be deleted 'in the process of constructing a summary of the macrostructure for the Odyssey' (1992: 268). These events do not seem likely candidates for narrative peaks. However, Jones argues that it is not the significance to the progress of the story but the notion of 'dramatic moment' that triggers the use of second-person pronouns. He shows that they occur only in moments of drama and heightened emotional involvement, such as Odysseus's first reencounter with beloved people and places, or developments in his revenge on his enemies (Jones 1992:270). In one case, the introduced quotation seems to reflect Homer's evaluation of the fate of the enemies and unfaithful servants (Jones 1992:273) and can therefore be read as a moral of the tale. So, while these clauses do not technically mark peaks in Longacre's sense of highpoint, they do mark dramatic tension and function as evaluative devices in Polanyi's sense of indicating the relative importance of events in comparison to others.

It may seem odd that the quotations highlighted by second-person pronouns are restricted to the swineherd and not found with other referents. Jones argues that Eumaios is a key character in Odysseus's homecoming. He is described as a man of outstanding character, showing many of the qualities of classical Greek manhood: loyalty, virtue, piety, generosity, hospitality, and kindness (Jones 1992:265, 279). Furthermore, Jones points out that Eumaios is the obvious character with which a classical Greek reader could identify:

> It could hardly be expected that the average Greek audience … would have identified with a legendary hero such as Odysseus … However, Eumaios, as a common swineherd who exhibits outstanding Greek character qualities, … is the participant of the epic who typifies the self-image of most of the Greek listeners of the poem. The use of [second-person quotation formulas] to refer exclusively to Eumaios may thus serve to involve the audience more deeply in the narrative by identifying them with this ideal Greek Everyman. (1992:265)

Goemai. In Goemai (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic), storytellers employ a similar strategy of using unexpected person indexes to mark important information. Direct speech is rare in Goemai narratives, and in reported speech, which is used instead, special logophoric person indexes are required when referring to the speaker or the addressee of the speech.[12] Hellwig describes how, at times, instead of using reported speech with the ex-

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[12] Logophoric pronouns can be thought of as separate third-person forms that overtly distinguish between speaker and the addressee of the reported speech, as in *Peter$_{speaker}$ told Fred$_{addressee}$ that he$_{speaker}$ will go but he$_{addressee}$ should stay*, where he$_{speaker}$ and he$_{addressee}$ are distinct forms. Logophoric pronouns are typically

pected logophoric pronouns, 'the narrator steps outside the narrative at a turning point
to incite his protagonists' (2011:453). This is attested at crucial points in a narrative, as
in 52, or when phrasing the moral at the end of a story, as in 53. In 52 the narrator ad-
dresses first the rabbit and then the bird with imperative verbs; the rabbit is also referred
to by the second-person possessive in 'your little head'.

(52) **Màng**   lá=p'áng   ńnòe!   **K'wàk** lá=k'á
     take(SG) DIM(SG):GEN=stone LOC.ANA knock   DIM(SG):GEN=head(SG)
       yóe   ǹ-ní!
       2SG.F.POSS COMIT-3SG.I
      '**Pick up** (said to the rabbit) this little stone! **Knock** (said to the rabbit)
      against **your** (said to the bird) little head with it!'   (Hellwig 2011:453)

In 53 the moral of the story is expressed as reported speech by one story character to an-
other, again with second-person nonlogophoric pronouns. Implicitly, it is directed to-
ward the story's audience.

(53) Muèp dók   k'wàl ńdòe fuán Muèp yí tô / lá   t'òng
     3PL.SBJ PST.REM talk   CONJ rabbit 3PL.SBJ SAY okay COND IRR
      góe=shín   bì   póenóe ń-d'é-ńnòe: **gòe**=kàt
      2SG.M.SBJ=do thing thus   ADVZ-CLF:exist-DEM.PROX 2SG.M.SBJ=find
      s'óe / bá   ń-ní   ń-lú. …   Mán t'òng
      food   return(SG) COMIT-3SG.I LOC-settlement PROH IRR
      góe=t'óng   puánáng   ńk'òng lú   **góe**=s'óe
      2SG.M.SBJ=sit(SG) there/yonder BACK:GEN settlement 2SG.M.S:CONS=eat
      yì   **mòesák**   bá.
      CONS REFL.BODY.2SG.M.POSS NEG
     'They talked to the rabbit. They said, okay if **you** would do it like this if
     you **find** food bring it back to the village. … Don't **you** sit over there
     behind the village to eat it alone by **yourself**.'   (Hellwig 2011:453)

The English translations render these passages as if they constitute direct speech. How-
ever, Hellwig (p.c., 2013) points out that the examples cannot present direct speech be-
cause, as in 52, for instance, there are only two characters in the story and both are
referred to by second-person pronouns within the same utterance, so the speech cannot
be attributed to either of them.[13] Shifts to second person where logophoric person mark-
ers would be expected can therefore be considered analogous to shifts from third to sec-
ond person and show person shifts as a strategy for highlighting events.

   4.2. NARRATIVE IMPERATIVES. While some of the above examples happen to feature
imperative verbs, in some languages the phenomenon of person shift is restricted to im-
peratives. Such uses of imperatives are functionally parallel to the person shifts dis-
cussed above in that there is an inherent link between imperatives and second-person
subjects.

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grammaticalized from third-person pronouns, demonstratives, or lexical nouns. The Goemai forms for the
speaker are based on demonstratives, while the addressee forms are based on the nouns 'man', 'woman', and
'people' (Hellwig 2011:89).
   [13] It should also be noted that the occurrence of direct speech in these contexts would in itself be unex-
pected and surprising, since direct quotations are exceedingly rare in Goemai narratives. So, even if these pas-
sages were to be analyzed as direct speech, they would still constitute unexpected person shift in contexts
where logophoric pronouns would be expected.

ARABIC. Imperative verb forms are well attested in spoken Arabic narratives, where they have been labeled 'descriptive imperatives' (e.g. Palva 1977, 1984), 'narrative imperatives' (e.g. Ingham 1993), and 'historical imperatives' (Bravmann 1953:105, cited in Palva 1977). In a detailed account of oral texts, Palva (1977) notes that this feature is basically absent from the written narratives collected prior to modern recording techniques, which had typically been dictated by the narrator. Palva states explicitly that these imperatives cannot be analyzed as direct speech (1984:380) and that they are attested in narratives but not in other text types (1977:24). In certain contexts the imperatives lack gender agreement, which Palva takes as indication that they are not true imperatives: 'Semantically they are verbs, morphologically they are imperatives but syntactically they are used as independently as interjections' (1977:10). He describes these imperatives as a feature of animated speech and of narrative style (1977:11) and lists a range of functions, including the marking of dramatic situations and sudden, bold, unexpected, hurried actions. The imperatives commonly occur at turning points of the narrative (1977:23), and the first imperative tends to appear when the narrator introduces the 'dramatic part of the story' (1984:390). These functions can again be analyzed as indicating narrative peaks and as marking text structure.

Ingham (1993) describes the use of narrative imperatives in the Bedouin Arabic oral narrative genre Sālfah. He notes:

> It is quite common for the actor to speak as though he is addressing the participants in the narrative. This has the effect of enlivening the text, since it is as though the participants are there with the speaker. The narrator will use the second person pronoun *int* 'you' followed by the vocative particle *ya* 'oh' and the name of the participant. In conformity with this, past actions are signalled by the imperative, … so that it is as though the narrator is orchestrating the action of the story. This is usually done at a point where an important or dramatic phase of the action takes place. (1993:21)

Examples 54 and 55 show the literal and the free translations (in lines one and two, respectively) as presented by Ingham for two Sālfah excerpts.

(54) **Fall** silent, **O Ibn Suwaiṭ**, and **rise** from them and **recline** by that tree!
　　signifying: Ibn Suwaiṭ fell silent and stood up and went and lay down by
　　　　that tree.

(55) He took the reins and **throw** him off and **mount** upon it!
　　signifying: He took hold of the reins of the horse, threw off its rider, and
　　　　jumped onto it.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ingham 1993:21)

Sālfah narratives also show uses of the historical present, and Ingham (1993:24) points out the functional similarity between the two in marking sudden dramatic changes in the story.

NORTH-EASTERN NEO-ARAMAIC. Narrative imperatives also appear in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, another Semitic language. Khan (2008:744, 2009) notes that, in narratives, perfective verbs can be substituted with imperatives addressed to characters in the story. In such contexts, the imperatives may combine with third-person rather than the expected second-person subject pronouns.

(56) ʾáw xáreša m-táma **qú** **si** l-beθa.
　　he　directly from-there get.up.IMP.SG go.IMP.M.SG to-house
　　　'He—directly from there get up and go home.'
　　ʾáp ʾan-tre-ʾálpe dáwe xéne **mèθi-la**
　　also those-two-thousand gold.pieces other.PL bring.IMP.M.SG-OBJ.3SG.F
　　　ʾu-háyyo
　　　and-come.IMP.SG
　　　'bring back also those two thousand pieces of gold and come back'

(57) hadìya, ʔáw **qu**   **šqúl-la**   quṣàrta-w
     now   he get.up.IMP.SG take.IMP.SG-OBJ.3SG.F cooking.pot-and
       'Now, he—get up and take the cooking pot and'
     sí   be-šwàw-ux.
     go.IMP.M.SG house.of-neighbor-your.M
       'go to the house of your neighbor!'
     šláma-ll-ɛxu šwàw-e.
     peace-on-2PL neighbor-PL
       'Greetings to you, neighbors.'   (Khan 2008:744)[14]

The negated imperative *lá-mur* 'do not say' occurs in narratives with the function of drawing attention to following information. In these cases, the imperative seems to be directed toward the audience (Khan suggests 'guess what' as a nonliteral translation). Khan further notes that imperatives 'are typically used when there is a transition between spatial locations that involves a verb of movement' (2008:744). So, in addition to marking peaks, these uses also alert the interlocutor to a change in scene and have text-structuring function.

SLAVIC AND BALKAN LANGUAGES. Narrative imperatives are found throughout Slavic, as well as in a number of other Balkan languages, including Albanian, Romanian, Aromanian, Meglenoromanian, Romani, and Turkish, but apparently they are absent in Greek (Friedman 2012:417). In Romani they are attested in dialects spoken in Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo, and Turkey, but not in those spoken in Greece. This distribution suggests an areal phenomenon that has spread through contact (Friedman 2012:420, citing Cech & Heinschink 1999:125). Friedman, again, points out the functional parallels with the historical present, but notes that while the historical present can be maintained over longer stretches, narrative imperatives are typically only used for short passages of no longer than a sentence. Consider 58 from Macedonian.

(58) Tetin Nomče beše orač.   Eden vol kupi **drug pcovisaj**.
     uncle N.   was ploughman one   ox buy other die.IMP
       'Uncle Nomče was a ploughman. He'd buy one ox and **another would die**.'
     Cel   život toa raboteše.
     whole life   that work
       'His whole life went like that.'   (Friedman 2012:417, citing Hacking 1997:215)

Friedman does not explicitly mention the notions of peak or evaluation, but he describes functions including 'render[ing] the narration of past actions particularly vivid' (p. 417), describing 'sudden past actions' and 'emotive usage' (p. 419). The parallels between peak-marking and vivifying strategies were already discussed above. Furthermore, the imperative verb forms in 58 to 62 express important, dramatic events, and I therefore suggest that they have peak-marking functions in at least some of these languages.

As in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, some of the languages show the imperative verbs with other than second-person subjects. In 58 above, the imperative occurs with the third-person subject 'other'. Consider also 59 from Turkish, 60 from a dialect of Romani, and 61 from Walachian, which show first- and third-person subjects with imperatives.

(59) Sarhoş dön-üyor-du-k   **o düş,   ben kalk,**
     drunk   return-PROG-PST-1PL he fall.IMP I   stand.IMP
       'We were returning drunk: **he fell, I stood up**,'

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[14] Glosses and morphological segmentation were kindly provided by Eleanor Coghill.

ben düş,   o kalk.
I   fall.IMP he stand.IMP
　'**I fell, he stood up**.'　　　　　　　　　　　　(Friedman 2012:420)

(60) Irinaja   sine amen mate: **ov per,   me ušti,**
　　 return.1SG be   we   drunk he fall.IMP I   stand.IMP
　　　'We were returning drunk: **he fell, I stood up**,'

me per,   ov ušti.
I   fall.IMP he stand.IMP
　'**I fell, he stood up**.'　　　　　　　　　　　　(Friedman 2012:420)

(61) Cartea   e deschise la foia 80; şi **eu trage-i**   tare şi deluşit …
　　 the.book is opened   to page 80 and I   read.IMP-it aloud and clearly
　　　'The book opened to page 80; and **I read it** aloud and clearly … '
　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Friedman 2012:420, citing Graur et al. 1966:223)

In Russian, narrative imperatives can express unexpected sudden actions that are often undesirable or imposed on the subject (Birjulin & Xrakovskij 1992, Glovinskaja 1989, Prokopovič 1982, Xrakovskij & Volodin 1986, cited in Israeli 2002). The imperatives typically occur with first- or third-person subjects, as in 62.

(62) a   он возьми   и стукни   кулаком по столу
　　 a   **on voz'm-i**   i **stukn-i**   kulak-om po stol-u
　　 and he take-2SG.IMP and bang-2SG.IMP fist-INS   at table-DAT
　　　'... and **all of a sudden he banged his fist** on the table.'　(Israeli 2002:2)

Israeli (2002:1) also observes that the imperative verbs are singular regardless of the grammatical number of the subject NP.

4.3. Summary. The languages discussed here show shifts upward on the Silverstein hierarchy: from nonhuman to human, from third-person or logophoric forms to first- or second-person forms, and, in a similar fashion, from third-person indicative to imperative verbs. In all of the languages, the person shifts are restricted to topical, discourse-prominent referents, and in some languages the shifts appear to be further restricted to story protagonists. Several of the authors make reference to the parallels between person and tense shifts. Arabic shows both strategies in tandem, and functional parallels between narrative imperatives and the historical present were pointed out for Slavic and other Balkan languages. A recurring theme for both person and tense shifts is the vivifying effect of these strategies. Evaluative devices are the hallmark of what have been described as performed narratives, which share a number of features with theatrical performances, including direct speech, asides, repetition, expressive sounds, motions, and gestures (Fleischman 1986, Hymes 1974, 1977, Wolfson 1978:216, 1982:25ff.). In line with their evaluative function, both strategies commonly mark sudden, unexpected events, which are likely to express important information (and both cooccur with expressions like 'suddenly' or 'unexpectedly'; cf. Frey 1946, cited in Wolfson 1982:21, Friedman 2012, Israeli 2002, Palva 1977:23, and Wolfson 1982). Finally, in the historical present a past event is described in the present tense, while in person shifts an event involving non-speech-act participants is described using person indexes canonically associated with speech-act participants. Both strategies thus share the feature that a narrative event that took place in the past is reported with a deictic category associated with the here and now, as if the interlocutor had been there to witness to event.

An interesting question relates to narrative imperatives that occur with subjects other than second person, as reported for some of the languages. If imperatives are not grammatically sanctioned with first- or third-person subjects in other contexts, then such nar-

rative imperatives would constitute dedicated grammatical constructions—that is, they would be morphosyntactically distinct from other uses of imperatives. This would be significant, as Polanyi (1989) states that there are no absolute evaluation devices and that it is the shift from the narrative norm that has the foregrounding effect, not the employed devices themselves. More research is needed to establish this as a possibility for the narrative imperatives discussed.[15] As I show for Saliba-Logea, however, absolute peak-marking devices do exist.

5. Person shifts in saliba-logea. Speakers of Saliba-Logea (Oceanic, Papua New Guinea) can use shifts from third to second person to highlight important narrative events. I refer to these second-person forms as second-for-third-person indexes. The data set on which this study is based contains ninety narrative texts, and seventeen of these (about 19%) show one or more episodes with this strategy.[16] In a given text, up to three episodes are attested. There are a total of twenty-five episodes across the seventeen texts (where the switch back to a third-person marker for the same referent is considered the end of an episode). The texts were contributed by eleven different speakers aged between their teens and their eighties. The shifts are attested only in narrative texts or narrative passages of conversations. They occur in a variety of narrative types, including traditional narratives, funny stories, and stimuli-based retellings.[17] Most episodes come from the text category of *boneyawa* 'funny story', which tends to have a funny or dramatic punch line.

In the Saliba-Logea strategy, a speaker shifts from third- to second-person pronouns, while the referent remains constant. There are no contexts in which the shifts to second person are grammatically required; they constitute an optional stylistic device a narrator may draw on. The database includes cases of the same story told by different speakers, where one speaker employs person shifts while the other does not. But there are also instances of speakers independently telling the same story, where both employ the strategy at roughly the same point in the narrative. For example, the episodes in 63 and 64 come from traditional stories by two different speakers. In both stories, a man instructs his wife to throw his spear to him, so he can catch it. The wife refuses but the husband insists. When the spear kills the husband, the woman is distraught, accidentally causes a fire, and burns to death. The stories each contain one episode with second-for-third

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[15] At least some of the languages discussed (including Turkish and Russian) allow imperatives with first- or third-person subjects in contexts other than marking peak, for example, with optative meanings or to convey obligation and permission. In such cases the combination of imperatives with non-second-person subjects would not necessarily constitute a dedicated construction, since I would define those as showing features not sanctioned in other contexts.

In addition to marking peak, dedicated devices could be associated with other discourse functions, such as indicating thematic paragraphs, changes in location, or undesired events. The important point is that they are grammatically unlike the canonical uses of imperatives or person markers in some respect, and in this sense constitute dedicated constructions.

[16] The database on which this study draws consists of texts collected in Papua New Guinea between 1995 and 2006. At the time the present study was conducted, the overall database included over sixteen hours of recorded speech by a wide range of speakers. The Saliba-Logea texts referred to in this article are available in the DoBeS archive to registered users. To register as an archive user go to http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi _browser. The following texts include episodes of second-for-third-person markers: Boneyawa_12AH, Boneyawa_17AH, Boneyawa_18DL, Boneyawa_19DL, Boneyawa_20DL (1 and 2), Boneyawa_21DL, Boneyawa_23DZ, Conversation_01AN, Frogstory_02AZ, Kuhi_01AQ, Mouse7_02DA, Mouse7_06DX, Mouse0_05BQ, Taukulupokapoka_01AG, Tautolowaiya_01AG, and Wonu_01CN.

[17] Stimuli include the frog story (Mayer 1974; cf. Berman & Slobin 1994) and video-clip retellings based on some of the stimuli employed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (http://fieldmanuals.mpi .nl/).

markers, and they occur in almost identical positions in the narratives—but with different referents. In one case the second-person prefixes refer to the woman, describing how she causes the fire and dies. In the other the prefix refers to the fire.

(63) Ye-gwali ye-dobi   ye-talu   na kabo   (IU38)
    3SG-spear 3SG-go.down 3SG-land and then
      'It (the spear) pierced him (the man) and then'
    sinebada ye-hedede | 'Eh   taubada?'   (IU39–40)
    woman   3SG-talk   INTRJ man
      'the woman said: "Hey husband?" '
    Ye-hedede wa   i-wane 'Oh.' | Natu-na   hesau i-wane 'Oh.' (IU41–42)
    3SG-talk   ANA 3SG-say INTRJ | child-3SG.POSS other 3SG-say INTRJ
      'Having said it she said "Oh." One of her children said "Oh." '
    I-wane 'taubada wa | o-gwali   ede   ye-mwaloi.'   (IU43–44)
    3SG-say man   ANA | 2SG-spear PRSUP 3SG-dead
      'It said "you speared the old man and so he died." '
    Sinebada numa unai | **o**-kae-kae-giyali   ede   (IU45–46)
    woman   house PP.SG | 2SG-RED-foot-kick PRSUP
      'In the house, **the woman you** (lay on the ground and) kicked **your** feet
        in despair'
    kaiwa wa | **o**-giyali-tepatepanei ede   (IU47–48)
    fire   ANA | 2SG-kick-scatter   PRSUP
      '**you** kicked and scattered (the embers of) the fire'
    ye-lau   ede   yodi   numa wa ye-kalasi ede   (IU49)
    3SG-go PRSUP 3PL.POSS house ANA 3SG-burn PRSUP
      'and so their house burned down'
    sinebada wa   o-kalasi …   (IU50)
    woman   ANA 2AG-burn
      'and **the woman you** burned … '
    Ye-kala-mwaloi ede   ye-bawawa   (IU53)
    3SG-burn-die   PRSUP 3SG-stay
      'She burned to death and remained there.'   (Boneyawa_17AH_0038-53)

(64) Sinebada wa   ye-kita-dobi   wa taubada wa ye-mwaloi   (IU259)
    woman   ANA 3SG-look-go.down ANA man   ANA 3SG-dead
      'When the woman looked down the man was dead'
    hinage iya menai numa wa   kabo ye-dou kabo   (IU260)
    also   3SG there house ANA then 3SG-cry then
      'she started crying there in the house and then'
    ye-dou na ye-kae-kae-giyali ye-lau-lau   ee   (IU261)
    3SG-cry and 3SG-RED-foot-kick 3SG-RED-go until
      'she cried and (lying on the floor) kicked her feet in despair until'
    kaiwa wa   ye-utu-suwalei ede   (IU262)
    fire   ANA 3SG-step-scatter PRSUP
      'she kicked and scattered the fire'
    kaiwa wa   ko-lau ede   numa wa ye-kala-si   (IU263)
    fire   ANA 2SG-go PRSUP house ANA 3SG-burn-APPL
      '**the fire you** went you burned down the house'
    numa wa ye-kala-si   ye-lau ede   (IU264)
    house ANA 3SG-burn-APPL 3SG-go PRSUP
      'having burned down the house'

<div style="text-align:right">(IU265)</div>

sinebada wa   hinage ye-kala-he-mwaloi.
woman ANA also   3SG-burn-CAUS-dead
　‘it also burned the woman to death.’　　　　　　　　(Boneyawa_23DZ_0259-265)

Examples 65 and 66 are by different speakers retelling the same video stimulus, in which a cartoon duck jumps on top of an elephant and from there onto a hippo. The elephant then also jumps onto the hippo and finally the duck jumps back onto the elephant. Stacked up in this way, duck on elephant on hippo, they walk away. The first retelling contains one episode with second-for-third-person indexes; the second contains two. All episodes deal with jumping events, but the speakers choose to mark different ones: in 65 the speaker marks the duck’s first jump onto the elephant; in 66 the other speaker marks the duck’s jump from the elephant onto the hippo and then back onto the elephant.

(65) Elefanti wa   ye-sugulage | ye-lau-lau na   (IU11–12)
　　 elephant ANA 3SG-arrive　 | 3SG-RED-go and
　　　 ‘The elephant arrived, it went along and’

　　 daki wa   ku-kamposi-lage ede   (IU13)
　　 duck ANA 2SG-jump-arrive PRSUP
　　　 ‘the duck you jumped’

　　 elefanti wa kewa-na　　wa unai **ku-**talu | Oh   (IU14–15)
　　 elephant ANA top-3SG.POSS ANA PP.SG 2SG-land | INTRJ
　　　 ‘you landed on the elephant’s back—Oh’

　　 kewa-na　　 wa unai na ye-bahe-bahei na | ye-tahile   (IU16–17)
　　 top-3SG.POSS ANA PP.SG and 3SG-RED-carry and | 3SG-go.for.walk
　　　 ‘on its back and it (elephant) was carrying it (duck) and it walked.’

<div style="text-align:right">(Mouse7_06_23DX_0011-17)</div>

(66) Ginauli wa　| nabada ye-laoma | ye-laoma ede   **kowa naniwa** (IU35–37)
　　 thing　 ANA | enough 3SG-come | 3SG-come PRSUP 2SG thingy
　　　 ‘The thing came, it came and then **you thingy-what’s-it** (duck)’

　　 hesa-na　　　ne? | **daki wa** ye-tolo[18] ede   (IU38–39)
　　 name-3SG.POSS DEF | duck ANA 3SG-stand PRSUP
　　　 ‘—what’s it called?—**the duck** was standing’

　　 elefenti wa ye-kamposi-gabae na ye-kamposi-lau   (IU40)
　　 elephant ANA 3SG-jump-away　 and 3SG-jump-go
　　　 ‘it jumped off the elephant and onto’

　　 wau | naniwa suisui wa unai bigi-bigi-na   (IU41–42)
　　 now | thingy animal ANA PP.SG RED-big-3SG.POSS
　　　 ‘onto the animal, the big one (hippo)’

　　 ede   unai | naniwa elefenti wa ye-kita-lau wa   (IU43–44)
　　 PRSUP PP.SG | thingy elephant ANA 3SG-look-go ANA
　　　 ‘so when the elephant looked over’

　　 daki wa   ye-kamposi-lau-ko naniwa wa unai ede   taki hinage (IU45)
　　 duck ANA 3SG-jump-go-already thingy ANA PP.SG PRSUP just also
　　　 ‘the duck had already jumped onto the thingy-what’s-it’

　　 iya wa   naniwa   (IU46)
　　 3SG ANA thingy

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[18] In this episode the speaker starts to use a second-for-third pronoun but then seems to get sidetracked by her word-finding difficulties for ‘duck’. By the time she names the animal and comes to the bound subject pronoun of the verb *tolo* ‘stand up’, she has abandoned the second-for-third episode and continues with a third-person subject pronoun.

elefenti wa ye-tolo   ede   ye-kamposi-sae naniwa wau   (IU47)
elephant ANA 3SG-stand PRSUP 3SG-jump-go.up thingy now
   'as for the elephant, having stood there it jumped up onto the thingy'
suisui wa unai ede   taki hinage   (IU48)
animal ANA PP.SG PRSUP just also
   'onto the animal (hippo)'
daki wa u-kamposi-seuyo   ede   (IU49)
duck ANA 2SG-jump-go.back.up PRSUP
   'and **the duck you** just jumped back up'
elefenti wa kewa-na   ne unai ne.   (IU50)
elephant ANA top-3SG.POSS DEF PP.SG DEF
   'onto the elephant's back.'
Temeta ye-hemala | hippopotamas wa   (IU51–52)
that   3SG-become | hippopotomus ANA
   'So then it was: the hippo'
ka kewa-na   wa unai elefenti wa na elefenti wa kewa-na
then top-3SG.POSS ANA PP.SG elephant ANA and elephant ANA top-3SG.POSS
    wa   unai daki wa.   (IU53)
    ANA PP.SG duck ANA
   'and on top of it was the elephant and on top of the elephant was the duck.'
Se-laoma se-gabae ede   se-lau. | Auu! ye-gehe.   (IU54–55)
3PL-come 3PL-leave PRSUP 3PL-go | INTRJ 3SG-finished.
   'They went along and left. That was it.'   (Mouse7_02_23DA_0035-55)

The two example pairs show that speakers independently use shifts to second person at about the same point in the narrative and in each case the shift marks narrative peak. In the following, I discuss the formal characteristics of the Saliba-Logea person shifts in §5.1 and compare them with canonical uses of second-person markers. I then turn to describing the functional characteristics in §5.2.

   5.1. Formal characteristics. There are four paradigms of person markers in Saliba-Logea. The first are free pronouns that function as subjects with nonverbal predicates and as emphatic pronouns in combination with the obligatory subject prefixes or object suffixes on the verb. The three remaining paradigms are bound person markers denoting subjects, objects, and possessors, respectively. All four paradigms distinguish between singular and plural, and in the first-person plural also between inclusive and exclusive reference. As can be seen from Table 5, there is no syncretism or homophony between

	FREE	SUBJECT	OBJECT	POSSESSIVE
1SG	yau	ya-	-gau	-gu
2SG	kowa	ku-, ko-	-go	-m
3SG	iya	ye-, i-	-Ø, -ya	-na
1INCL	kita	ta-	-da	-da
1EXCL	kai	ka-	-gai	-ma, -mai
2PL	komiu	kwa-	-gomiu	-mi
3PL	siya	se-, si-	-di	-di

Table 5. Saliba-Logea paradigms of person markers.[19]

[19] The two forms of the subject prefix in the second-person singular and the third singular and plural appear to be remnants of a previously productive mood distinction. The object suffix of the third-person singular has a word-final allomorph (-Ø) and a word-internal one (-*ya*). The difference between the two first-person plural exclusive possessive forms is that -*mai* occurs on nominal heads, while -*ma* occurs on possessive constituents ('classifiers') when they modify a noun. The subject markers are shown as prefixes in the examples presented here, but they are written separately in the Saliba-Logea orthography that is used in the archived texts.

second and third person anywhere in the paradigms. That is, there are no instances of what Cysouw (2003:40) describes as 'Dutch type' syncretism in the singular (his type Sb), or any of the second/third-person homophonies he discusses in the nonsingular.

The narrative strategy under discussion employs second-person markers in alternation with third-person forms. Both singular and plural person indexes are attested, and the number distinction remains constant across the person shift. The strategy is mainly attested with subject prefixes, as in 1 and 63–66 above, and also in IUs 58–59 of ex. 67 and IUs 24–27 of ex. 68 below. In addition to the subject prefixes, the strategy can involve free pronouns, as in IU 58 of ex. 67, and possessive suffixes, as in IU 27 of ex. 68.

(67) Sinebada wa gado-na   ye-magu | ye-wane 'Laino   (IU50–51)
     woman   ANA throat-3SG.POSS 3SG-thirsty | 3SG-say proper.name
        'The woman became thirsty and said "Laino,'

     hage | em   niu   ne maisa-na   saha?' Ye-wane   (IU52–53)
     let's.see | 3SG.POSS coconut DEF price-3SG.POSS what 3SG-say
        'how much are your coconuts?" '

     'Twenty toea.' | Ede … twenty toea ye-gabae-lae   (IU54–55)
      twenty toea | PRSUP   twenty toea 3SG-away-give
     niu   wa ye-numa ye-numa yee ye-gehe   (IU56)
     coconut ANA 3SG-drink 3SG-drink until 3SG-finished
        'He said "twenty toea." So she gave him twenty toea and drank the
           coconut'

     gado-na   wa ye-biga.   (IU57)
     throat-3SG.POSS ANA 3SG-quench
        'until her thirst was quenched.'

     Taubada kowa hinage **ku**-hasali   (IU58)
     man   2SG also   2SG-hungry
        '**You** man, **you** in turn got hungry.'

     twenty toea wa **ku**-hai **ku**-mose-uyoi sinebada wa unai **ku**-wane
     twenty toea ANA 2SG-get 2SG-give-back woman   ANA PP.SG 2SG-say
        'em   hiyaga   ne hisa?'   Ye-wane   (IU59)
        2SG.POSS chestnuts DEF how.much 3SG-say
     'twenty toea' ...   (IU60)
      twenty toea
        '**You** gave the twenty toea back to the woman and said "how much are
           your chestnuts?" And she said "twenty toea." ' (Boneyawa_20DL_0050-60)

(68) Siya se-kaigwali   se-laoma | se-yoga | 'Inu'e |
     3PL 3PL-spear.fish 3PL-come | 3PL-come | proper.name |
        yama teina.'   (IU20–23)
        fish this
        'They went spear fishing, came home, and called "Inu'e, here is some
           fish." '

     Inu'e   **ku**-dobi | **ku**-haihaisi ye-gehe   (IU24–25)
     proper.name 2SG-go.down | 2SG-clean.out 3SG-finished
        '**Inu'e you** came down, **you** cleaned out the fish,'

     ku-sae   u-kiyapolu   na ku-howo   (IU26)
     2SG-go.up 2SG-cook.fish and 2SG-smoke
        '**you** went up and cooked and smoked the fish,'

     ma mwane-**m**   **kwa**-kai   (IU27)
     with husband-2SG.POSS 2PL-eat
        '**you** ate with **your** husband'

kadi   gulewa wa   (IU28)
3SG.POSS clay.pot ANA

se-bahe-dobi-yei   yodi   balanda wa unai.   (IU29)
3PL-carry.down-APPL 3PL.POSS veranda ANA PP.SG

  'They (the brothers) carried their clay pot down to their veranda.'

(Tautolowaiya_01AG_20-29)

Object suffixes are not attested with shifts to second person. It is possible that this constitutes an accidental gap due to the comparatively small data sample. But it is also conceivable that the shifts are in fact restricted to subjects, as all examples to date involve subject marking: the free emphatic pronouns are attested only if they are coreferential with the subject prefix on the verb, as in 67, and the possessive suffixes are attested only if they are either coreferential with the subject prefix, as in 68, or in predicates where the logical subject is expressed as a grammatical possessor, as in 69 (where the meaning of 'you were startled' is expressed literally as 'your spirit flew').

(69) ye-kita na baela   mo   (IU26)
     3SG-see and banana only

     taubada wa   ye-laudabayalo-i   ede   ye-koimuli ede   (IU27)
     man   ANA 3SG-carry.on.shoulder-APPL PRSUP 3SG-ask   PRSUP

       'She looked and the man was only carrying the bananas, so she asked'

     ye-wane 'taubada | natuda   wa?'   (IU28–29)
     3SG-say man | our.child ANA

       'she said "husband, where is our child?" '

     … 'Yeeii! … iya ede   sanala   ne unai!'   (IU30)
         INTRJ   3SG PRSUP yam.house DEF PP.SG

       '(he answered) "Yeeii! It is still under the yam house!" '

     Tem taubada wa kaluwa-**m**   wa **ko**-loi[20]   (IU31)
     that man   ANA spirit-2SG.POSS ANA 2SG-fly

       '**That man you** were so startled,'

     e/   kaluwa-**m**   wa ye-loi ede   (IU32)
     false.start spirit-2SG.POSS ANA 3SG-fly PRSUP

       '**you** were so startled,' (lit. 'your spirit flew')

     naniwa | baela   wa nige **ku**-tole.   (IU33–34)
     thingy | banana ANA NEG 2SG-put

       '**you** didn't put the bananas down.'

     Na baela wa **ko**-bahe **ko**-tau ko-saeuyo   yeee koya wa unai
     and banana ANA 2SG-carry 2SG-go 2SG-go.back.up until garden ANA PP.SG

        ko-tole   (IU35)
        2SG-put

       '**You** carried the bananas, **you** went back up all the way, **you** put them
        down in the garden'

     na natu-na   wa ye-hai   (IU36)
     and child-3SG.POSS ANA 3SG-get

       'and he got his child'   (Boneyawa_19DL_0026-36)

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[20] The second-person subject prefix on *loi* 'fly' in IU 31 is a speech error. The idiomatic expression is *kaluwa-m YE-loi* 'your spirit (IT) flew' (not 'your spirit YOU flew'). The speaker corrects this in IU 32 by repeating the expression with the correct (third-person) subject prefix.

In analyzing the Saliba-Logea person shifts and comparing them to canonical uses of second-person markers, we need to consider, first, who the authors of the utterances are, second, the type of referents denoted by the second-person forms, and third, whether the utterances are directive or descriptive in nature.

AUTHORS OF SECOND-FOR-THIRD UTTERANCES. There is evidence that narrators themselves are the authors of utterances with person shift and that they are not attributable to story characters. In 70 from a story featuring a man and a woman, a stretch of direct speech (IUs 35–38) is followed by an episode of second-for-third shift (IUs 39–40). In both sequences, the referent of the second-person index is the woman. In the passage of direct speech, the man is the speaker and he is referenced by a first-person prefix. By contrast, in the second-for-third episode the man is referenced as third person.

(70) 'dabayalo-gu   te   unai ku-hekaidikwa-dobi-ya-ma   (IU35)
      shoulder-1SG.POSS NEAR.SPKR PP.SG 2SG-put.across-down-3SG.OBJ-hither
        '(the man said:) "put it (spear) across my shoulder, pointing it down,'
      kabo yau ya-kabi-kabi-hedudulai na │ kowa u-kaikalatei   (IU36–37)
      then 1SG 1SG-RED-hold-straight and │ 2SG 2SG-push.down
        'then I hold it straight and you push it down'
      na guiyuwa ne ta-gwali.'   (IU38)
      and octopus DET 1INCL-spear
        'and we spear the octopus." '
      Sinebada kebolo wa **ku**-bahe **ku**-laoma   (IU39)
      woman   spear   ANA 2SG-carry 2SG-come
        '**Woman, you** bring the spear'
      dabayalo-na   ne unai **ku**-hedalo ye-dobi.   (IU40)
      shoulder-3SG.POSS DET PP.SG 2SG-point 3SG-go.down
        '**you** put it on his shoulder and point it down.'
      Ye-hedalo **kowa taubada** kebolo **ko**-hai ede   **u**-kabi-kabi-hedudulai
      3SG-point 2SG   man   spear 2SG-get PRSUP 2SG-RED-hold-straight
          eee │ eh   gonogonowana.   (IU41–42)
          until │ INTRJ alright
        'She pointed it, (and) **you man,** having taken the spear, **you** hold it straight
          until—eh—it is alright.'
      Ye-wane 'Heii   sinebada kabo ku-pusim!'   (IU43)
      3SG-say INTRJ woman   then 2SG-push
        'He said "Heii woman, push!" ' '
      Sinebada ye-pusim ede   │ bolo-na   wa taubada wa ye-gwali.
      woman   3SG-push PRSUP │ balls-3SG.POSS ANA man   ANA 3SG-spear
                                                                   (IU44–45)
        'The woman pushed, she speared the man's balls.' (Boneyawa_21DL_0035-45)

In the direct speech in IUs 35–38, the man instructs the woman to place and hold the spear over his shoulder. He refers to *dabayalo-gu* 'my shoulder'. The IUs in 39 and 40, with the person shift, then report how the woman is doing as instructed by the man. The man's shoulder is referred to as *dabayalo-na* 'his shoulder'. The episode does not constitute direct speech, and, in fact, there is no further character in the story to which the passage could be attributed.

REFERENTS OF SECOND-PERSON MARKERS. All referents of the second-person indexes are characters within the narratives. The referents are previously introduced into the discourse and are highly accessible, topical, and discourse prominent. They are all ani-

mates (humans or animals), except for one example of *kaiwa* 'fire', as shown in 64 above. In the database, up to three characters are referred to by second-person markers within the same episode. This is the case in 71 from a story about three sorcerers (some material has been omitted, as indicated by ellipses).

(71) Lugaluga   ye-sugulage   (IU34)
    proper.name 3SG-arrive
       'Lugaluga arrived (and said)'
    'Taukulupokapoka, kam   waila Tauhau   ye-numa.'   (IU35–37)
     proper.name   2SG.POSS water proper.name 3SG-drink
       ' "Taukulupokapoka, Tauhau is drinking your water." '
    … ye-dahalai.   (IU38–40)
       3SG-leave
       'Taukulupokapoka left (to challenge Tauhau).'
    Kowa Lugaluga   ko-dahalai ede   **ko-**sae   ede   (IU41–43)
    2SG   proper.name 2SG-leave PRSUP 2SG-go.up PRSUP
       '**You Lugaluga, you** left, **you** went up and'
    ko-hede-hedede "Tauhau   teina   taki u-gelu … !"   (IU44–47)
    2SG-RED-say   proper.name NEAR.SPKR just 2SG-board
       '**you** said "Tauhau, get into your canoe right now!" '
    Eh   kabo **Tauhau   ku-**gelu   (IU48–49)
    EXCL TAM proper.name 2SG-board
       'So **Tauhau you** got on board.'
    Taukulupokapoka ku-sae   wa: bwala! …   (IU50–52)
    proper.name   2SG-go.up ANA tricked
       'When **Taukulupokapoka you** went up: (you had been) tricked!'
    Tauhau   u-gelu-ko. | Ede ye-dobi-uyo   ede. (IU53–55)
    proper.name 2SG-board-already | PRSUP 3SG-go.down-go.back PRSUP
       '**Tauhau you** had already left. So he (Taukulupokapoka) went back down.'
                                             (Taukulupokapoka_01A_0034-55)

Virtually all episodes contain a lexical noun that is coreferential with the second-person index, and in most cases the noun is marked as identifiable. The coreferential nouns are either common nouns, as in 64 and 70, or proper names, as in 68 and 71. There are only two exceptions in the database where episodes do not include the lexical mention of the referent. One example comes from a story that involves only a single character. In the other case, the second-person plural index refers to both of the two protagonists together, as in 72.

(72) Taubada hesauna … ma mwane-na   se-lao koya   (IU2–4)
    man   other   with spouse-3SG.POSS 3PL-go garden
       'A man and his wife went to the garden.'
    Se-lao koya natu-di   maiyadi …   (IU3–7)
    3PL-go garden child-3PL.POSS with.3PL
       'They went with their baby …'
    Se-lao koya   … se-paisowa na   … kaleko se-pai …   (IU8–10)
    3PL-go garden 3PL-work   and   cloth 3PL-tie
       'They went to the garden to work and they tied a cloth (i.e. hung it like a
          hammock)'
    sanala   wa yauli-na   wa unai ede   (IU11)
    yam.house ANA under-3SG.POSS ANA PP.SG PRSUP
       'under the yam house'

se-pai   na   natu-di   wa   se-kabihekeno   (IU12)
3PL-tie and child-3PL.POSS ANA 3PL-put.to.sleep
  'they tied it and put their child to sleep.'
Kwa-paisowa koya   ne   yee   (IU13)
2PL-work   garden DEF until
  'You worked in the garden until'
meimeilahi se-wane 'ta-lau   magai'   (IU14–15)
afternoon 3PL-say 1INCL-go place
  'in the afternoon they said "let's go home." '   (Boneyawa_19DL_0002-15)

Episodes of person shift may align with subject changes, as in 63–65, 70, and 71. As
shown in 72, however, the shift in person marker can also occur within a sequence of
clauses in which the subject referent remains constant. The example shows a sequence
where the man and the woman are referred to together by a third-person plural marker
over several clauses. The person marker then changes to second-person plural for one
clause before the narrator shifts back to third person, all without a change in referent.

UTTERANCE TYPE. Having established that the narrator is the author of clauses with
person shift and that the referents are characters in the narrative, the next question is
whether the narrator utters the clauses as directives to the story characters, giving stage
directions, as it were, or whether they are simply describing events on the storyline like
the clauses preceding and following the shift.

DESCRIPTIVE VS. DIRECTIVE CLAUSES. There is evidence that the clauses are not di-
rective but descriptive in nature and do not contain imperatives, apostrophes, or voca-
tives. Two features illustrate this: one is the type of negation that occurs in such clauses,
and the other is the presence of certain nominal modifiers. In Saliba-Logea directive
clauses, the negative marker *tabu* 'don't' occurs, as in 73. However, the only negative
clause with second-for-third shift in the corpus, shown in 74, features the general nega-
tive marker *nige*.

(73) Ye-wane 'Eh | **tabu** metai   ku-lao-laoma …
     3SG-say   INTRJ | PROH near.ADDR-LOC 2SG-RED-come
        'He said "Hey, don't come toward me from there … '
     madai ye-kita-go.'
     lest   3SG-see-2SG.OBJ
        'otherwise it (the octopus) might see you." '   (Boneyawa_21DL_0029-31)

(74) Baela   wa **nige ko**-tole, | na   baela   wa **ko**-bahe **ko**-tau …
     banana ANA NEG 2SG-put | CONJ banana ANA 2SG-carry 2SG-go
        'You don't put down the bananas, you carry the bananas and go ... '
                                                              (Boneyawa_19DL_0034-35)

The second piece of evidence against the utterances being directives, apostrophes, or
vocatives relates to nominal modifiers. As mentioned, almost all clauses with person
shift include lexical nouns that are coreferential with the second-person indexes. Just
over 50% of these nouns are followed by the postnominal modifier *wa*, which marks a
noun as given information and as identifiable by the addressee, as in 64–66 and 69
above, and in IU 87 of 75.

(75) … se-kabigogo   kabo … kedewa hinage se-henaku.   (IU86)
        3PL-work.together TAM   dog   also 3PL-chase
        '… they (bees) got together and chased the dog.'
     Na   **bui wa** hinage **ko**-tolo   (IU87)
     CONJ owl ANA also   2SG-get.up
        'And **owl you** got up'

wawaya wa **ku**-henaku, | meta iya ede **kwa**-lao. (IU88–89)
child ANA 2SG-chase.away | TOP 3SG PRSUP 2PL-go
  '**you** chased the boy and so **you (boy and dog)** went.'
Kwa-lao ee weku hesau-na bigisipina kewa-na ne unai meta
2PL-go until stone other-3SG.POSS big top-3SG.POSS DEF PP.SG TOP
  '**You (boy and dog)** went until you were on top of a big boulder,' (IU90)
kedewa guni wa unai ye-bawabawa na wawaya ye-mwalae-sae. (IU91)
dog bottom ANA PP.SG 3SG-wait and child 3SG-climb-go.up
  'the dog stayed down at the bottom and the boy climbed up.'

                                (FrogStory_02AZ_0086-91)

The modifier *wa* is an anaphoric marker (as defined by Fox 1984) and is not compatible with vocatives or subjects of imperative clauses. It traces the continuity of identity of discourse participants and occurs with third-person NPs throughout narrative texts. It is never attested with second-person markers outside of the context of second-for-third clauses. Anaphoric *wa* is in complementary distribution with the postnominal modifier *ne*, both marking identifiable referents. In a study comparing the functions of these two modifiers, Cleary-Kemp (2006:70–72) found that *wa* mostly occurs in narrative clauses. In contrast, *ne* occurs mostly in nonnarrative clauses, including procedural discourse, conversational discourse, and direct speech within narratives. Table 6 is adapted from Cleary-Kemp 2006:48.

	ne		*wa*	
Narrative clauses	10	(10%)	258	(**83%**)
Nonnarrative clauses	86	(**90%**)	53	(17%)
TOTAL	96	(100%)	311	(100%)

TABLE 6. Distribution of *ne* and *wa* according to discourse mode.

The majority of referents marked by *wa* across Cleary-Kemp's corpus are explicitly evoked or inferable from the preceding discourse, whereas referents marked by *ne* are typically identifiable via the immediate or wider extralinguistic situation (2006:72). Within narratives, *ne* mostly occurs in direct speech, as in 76, or with entities that are considered identifiable even at their first mention, as in 77 and 78.

(76) 'Kabo sinebada **ne** ta-unui na kabo boga-na **ne**
    then woman DEF 1INCL-kill CONJ then stomach-3SG.POSS DEF
      ta-nigwa-i … '
      1INCL-cut-APPL
    ' "We will kill that woman and cut open her stomach … " '
                          (WekuSinibu_01AC_0188)
(77) Papua Niu Gini **ne** …
    PNG DEF
    'Papua New Guinea (first mention) … ' (Bagodu_01AH_0001)
(78) Yaumai **ne** ye-lotalu.
    wind DEF 3SG-blow
    'The wind (first mention) was blowing.' (Bagodu_01AH_0065)

The fact that it is the anaphoric marker *wa* (associated with narrative clauses) that occurs with the second-for-third-person indexes rather than *ne* (associated with direct speech) confirms that clauses with second-person indexes are not directive and do not constitute direct speech.

NARRATIVE VS. NONNARRATIVE CLAUSES. A further categorization concerns the distinction between narrative vs. background clauses (Labov 1972:360). Narrative clauses

are in contingent temporal succession, and if their order is changed the inferred temporal sequence of events is altered. The uses of second-person indexes in contexts such as direct speech, addressing the audience, or general reference are typically classified as nonnarrative clauses (Labov 1972). In Du Bois's (1980) terms they are in 'descriptive mode' (as opposed to 'narrative mode'), and they do not advance the storyline. The Saliba-Logea clauses with second-for-third indexes are generally narrative clauses: they describe major events on the storyline rather than background information. In 79, again from the frog story (Mayer 1974), the clauses with second-person indexes continue to report the main events of the story.

(79) Ye-nuku-heulu ye-gehe   meta iya ede   **wawaya** hinage   (IU72)
    3SG-shake-fall 3SG-finished TOP   3SG PRSUP child   also
     'It (dog) shook it [beehive] down and that was it, the **boy**'
    ku-dalahai ede   wau | **sibini**   **wa** **ku**-taumasalaha ede   (IU73–74)
    3SG-leave PRSUP now | bandicoot ANA 2SG-appear   PRSUP
     '**you (boy)** left, the **bandicoot you** appeared and'
    wawaya wa | **ku**-sugulage ede   (IU75–76)
    child   ANA | 2SG-arrive   PRSUP
     '**the boy you** came'
    wawaya wa   hinage **ku**-dalahai **ku**-lau kaiwa hesauna bigisipina
    child   ANA also   2SG-leave 2SG-go tree   other   big
      ku-mwalae.   (IU77)
      2SG-climb
     '**the boy you** left, **you** went and **you** climbed a big tree.'
    Ku-mwalae meta duha-na   unai **ku**-lohe-lohe.   (IU78)
    2SG-climb   TOP hole-3SG.POSS PP.SG 2SG-RED-look
     '**You** climbed up and **you** looked into a hole in the tree.'
    Ku-lohe-lohe ye-lau-lau   kabo … hakataki bui duha-na   meta! (IU79)
    2SG-RED-look 3SG-RED-go and.then INTRJ   owl hole-3SG.POSS TOP
     'You looked and looked and then—hello there!—it was an owl's hole!'
    Ena   noi. | Ye-kai-kaipate-lau   kabo   (IU80–81)
    3SG.POSS nest | 3SG-RED-struggle-go and.then
     'Its nest. He struggled and then'
    bui wa ye-pesama   meta iya ede   wawaya ye-matausi meta
    owl ANA 3SG-come.out TOP   3SG PRSUP child   3SG-scared TOP
      ye-beku-dobi ye-talu …   (IU82)
      3SG-fall-down 3SG-land
     'the owl came out, the boy got scared, and he fell down on the ground … '
                                          (FrogStory_02AZ_0072-82)

CANONICAL USES OF SECOND-PERSON FORMS. Having established some of the formal characteristics of clauses with second-for-third-person markers, we can now compare this discourse strategy with canonical uses of second-person markers in narratives. In Saliba-Logea as well as crosslinguistically, there seem to be at least three types of contexts in which second-person markers are commonly attested in narrative texts: direct speech, addressing the audience, and general reference.

DIRECT SPEECH. Passages of direct speech in narratives can be associated with a shift from third person to second person when story characters address each other. This shift can be accompanied by a change in the speaker's voice as they impersonate the characters that are speaking. In Saliba-Logea, direct speech is generally introduced by the

quotative verb *wane* 'say' and commonly also by interjections, as shown in 80 and 81. These features never occur in clauses with second-for-third-person markers.

(80) I-wane | 'Heii **kwa**-dobima!'
3sg-say | intrj 2pl-come.down
  'He said: "Heii, come down!" ' (BudoiNualele_01_0017-18)

(81) Na si-wane
conj 3pl-say
  'And they said'
'Aeee Gagageniyole **ku**-laoma yogu **ku**-hede-hedede.'
 intrj proper.name 2sg-come 1sg.poss 2sg-red-tell
  ' "Aeee Gagageniyole come tell me (about it)." '
  (Gagageniyole_01AT_0088-89)

Episodes of direct speech can also include self-reference by the speaker by means of first-person markers, as in 70 discussed above, and in 81 with the first singular form *yogu* 'mine' (also 'for me, to me'; cf. Margetts 2004). By contrast, clauses with the second-for-third strategy never contain first-person markers.

Addressing the audience. Another context for second-person markers arises when the narrator addresses the audience, for example, in order to provide additional information or to ensure that the audience is following, as in 82 and 83.

(82) Kemuluwa.
trad.sailing.canoe
  'A Kemuluwa canoe.'
Nige hesau inai taba hesau inai kabo **u**-kita.
neg other here if other here then 2sg-see
  'There isn't one here, if there was one here, **you** could see it.'
  (Kemuluwa_01AS_0072-73)

(83) Sebulu unai se-ginauli.
pandanus.type pp.sg 3pl-make
  'They make it of sebulu pandanus.'
Sebulu kabi-na **u**-kata?
pandanus.type nature-3sg.poss 2sg-know
  '—Do **you** know sebulu?—' (FishingNet_01AS_0110-111)

Such utterances can, in principle, again include self-reference by the speaker.

General reference. A third context for second-person markers in narratives is general reference, where there is a shift to second person for statements about people in general. Such comments may again provide additional information and clarify points in the narrative, as in 84.

(84) Bena se-lau se-iyala. | Na tem matagibugibu na
intent 3pl-go 3pl-make.war | conj that blind conj
  'They wanted to go to war. But they were blind, and'
kabo i-dohagi na ginauli wa **u**-kita
tam 3sg-how conj things ana 2sg-see
  'how can **you** see things (when you are blind)'
na **ko**-lau **ko**-iyala?
conj 2sg-go 2sg-make.war
  'and how can **you** go to war?' (Boneyawa16_0010–13)

Table 7 summarizes the formal characteristics of the second-for-third strategy in comparison to other uses of second-person indexes in Saliba-Logea narratives.

	SECOND-FOR-THIRD CLAUSES	GENERAL REFERENCE	ADDRESSING AUDIENCE	DIRECT SPEECH
Quotative marker	—	—	—	yes
Change in voice	—	—	—	yes
Interjections	—	—	yes	yes
First-person self-reference	—	—	yes	yes
Referent	story character	generic	audience	story character
Negation	*nige*	*nige*	*tabu, nige*	*tabu, nige*
Advancing storyline	yes	—	—	—
Anaphoric marker *wa*	yes	—	—	—

TABLE 7. Characteristics of clauses with second-person markers.[21]

5.2. FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS. Episodes with second-for-third indexes can be identified as narrative peaks and internal evaluations. Beyond any referential meaning, these person markers highlight clauses that are important for the understanding of the narrative by drawing on deictic elements that are normally associated with direct speech (which has been shown to be a peak-marking mechanism in its own right in §3.2). In addition, the strategy is attested to indicate parallel and contrastive events and to structure the text.

NON-PEAK-MARKING EPISODES. There are two episodes where shifts to second person do not coincide with narrative peaks. Both of these examples occur in texts that include further second-for-third episodes that clearly do mark peaks. That means the only non-peak uses of person shifts in the database occur in narratives that also include peak-marking uses of these shifts. The first example was presented in 68 from the story about the two brothers. It shows an episode where clauses with second-person subjects express the sister's habitual tasks, which are then contrasted with those of the brothers. The clauses occur early in the narrative as part of the orientation and are clearly not pivotal or climactic. The shifts highlight the contrast between the habitual activities of the central characters, which gives rise to the conflict that is later spelled out in the complicating action and whose climax is marked by second-for-third indexes, as was shown in examples 2 and 86.

A second nonpeak example was presented in 72 from the story about a couple who returned from their garden in the bush but forgot to bring their baby home. Again, the person shift occurs very early in the narrative and the clause is neither pivotal nor climactic. The highpoint of the story is later described by another episode of second-for-third shift, which was presented in 69. It is noteworthy that in this story the nonpeak episode in 72 appears at the transition between the orientation and the complicating action. The shift to second person may function here to structure the text and to flag the transition between thematic paragraphs. This is again a functional parallel with other peak-marking devices, including the historical present, which has been analyzed both as an evaluation device and as a strategy to structure narrative texts (cf. Schiffrin 1981, Wolfson 1982, among others). Margetts 2015 also shows that marking narrative peaks and indicating text structure is an attested combination of functions of person-based deictics crosslinguistically.

To conclude, there are cases where the Saliba-Logea second-for-third-person forms do not mark narrative peaks, but they are only attested in texts that also include peak-

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[21] Apostrophe as a rhetorical strategy shares many of the formal characteristics of direct speech, such as potential change in voice, exclamations, imperatives, and self-reference by means of first-person forms. But since there are no examples of this figure of speech in the Saliba-Logea data, it is not included in the table.

marking episodes. In both examples, the nonpeak person shifts are associated with functions such as highlighting contrasting events and/or marking transitions in narrative structure, which are also attested with other peak-marking devices.

Marking narrative peak. Virtually all episodes of second-for-third indexes can be shown to mark narrative peaks. At times, it is possible to distinguish two components of such high points in the notional structure: on the one hand, pivotal events building up to the final climax, and on the other hand, the climax itself, and I call these pivotal vs. climactic clauses. Pivotal clauses are crucial for the understanding of the story, such as the information that sets up a joke's punch line. Climactic clauses express the highpoint itself, such as the showdown, punch line, or moral, or the final dramatic resolution of the narrated events.[22] Almost all clauses with second-for-third markers in Saliba-Logea can be characterized as either pivotal or climactic in this sense. An example of pivotal clauses with second-person indexes was presented in 79 from the frog story, where they highlight the pivotal information of the boy discovering the nest. Note that the strategy is not used to mark the climactic event of the owl making the boy fall. Another example of pivotal information was presented in 70 where a man who crouches naked in the sea mistakes his own testicles for an octopus. He instructs his wife to sneak up behind him with his spear so as not to scare the octopus away—this is important since, because she is behind him, the wife never gets to see the mistaken octopus. This episode of person shift marks pivotal clauses that lead up to the final climax, but for the actual spearing event, the speaker switches back to third person.

In other cases, it is the climax itself that is marked, as above in 1 from the frog story, and in 2 from the story of two brothers. Two further examples of shifts indicating climactic clauses are presented in 85 and 86.

(85) Ye-huku ye-gehe ye-dobima Dabunai unai ye-duna (IU163)
3sg-fish 3sg-finish 3sg-come.down place.name pp.sg 3sg-arrive
ye-howo-i-di.
3sg-smoke-appl-3pl.obj
'He finished fishing, came down and went ashore in Dabunai and smoked them (fish).'
Ye-howo-howo na kabo | **mwata** wa **ku**-sugulage ede (IU164–65)
3sg-red-smoke conj tam | snake ana 2sg-arrive prsup
'As he was smoking (fish), **snake you** came out of the bush'
pwaule wa **ku**-kai. | Osili wa ye-tu-i. (IU166–67)
chicken ana 2sg-eat | palm.frond ana 3sg-throw-appl
'and **you** devoured a chicken. He threw palm fronds at it.'
(Conversation_01AN_0163)

Example 86 stems again from the story of the two brothers, who, outraged at finding excrement in their food, leave and turn to stone. Distraught, the sister follows them and also turns to stone. Her husband goes berserk, drowns some in-laws, and is sent to the bottom of the sea himself. These events constitute the climax and moral of the entire narrative.

(86) 'Ma lou-m-wao doha temeta laolao kwa-ginauli (IU182)
with brother-2sg.poss-pl like that way 2sg-do
'(He said) "You and your brothers, because you act like this,'

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[22] Other peak-marking devices have also been shown to mark pivotal or climactic events. Fleischman (1986:225) and Wolfson (1979:174) note that sometimes the most salient events of a narrative are reported not in the historical present but in the past. See Wolfson's example in 24 where the shift to present tense marks pivotal events, but for the climax itself the narrator switches back to the past tense.

malaitom kabo keha-miu-yao   kabo   (IU183)
tomorrow TAM blood.line-2PL.POSS-PL TAM
ya-tupa-he-yoli-he-gehe-di.'   (IU184)
1SG-bump-CAUS-sink-CAUS-finished-3PL.OBJ
  'I will drown your entire blood line." '
Inu'e   wa **ku**-dobi   ede   (IU185)
proper.name ANA 2SG-go.down PRSUP
  '**Inu'e** (the woman) **you** went down'
Kawanamwadawa | duwaduwali ne unai **ku**-tuli,   (IU186–87)
place.name | middle   DEF PP.SG 2SG-sit
  'you sat down in the middle of the ocean at Kawanamwadawa'
ede   unai **ku**-tuli-hai   (IU188)
PRSUP PP.SG 2SG-sit-stay.long
  'and **you** stayed there forever (turning to stone)'
ku-tu-tuli. | Naniwa   (IU189–90)
2SG-RED-sit | thingy
  '**you** sat there. Thingy-what's-it—'
Mwalawelagana ku-lao ede   Buyali   unai   (IU191)
proper.name   2SG-go PRSUP place.name PP.SG
  '**Mwalawelagana** (the husband) **you** went and at Buyali'
ku-sae   **u**-kabi-hepatu unai **ku**-ba-bawa.   (IU192)
2SG-go.up 2SG-hold-fast PP.SG 2SG-RED-stay
  '**you** went up and **you** were staying in your canoe alongside the place.'
Eh   hesau | ye-tau-tau-yauyaule   (IU193–94)
INTRJ other | 3SG-RED-go-crazy
  'When someone came by, walking around aimlessly'
to   ye-tupa-he-yoli   na   (IU195)
CONJ 3SG-bump-CAUS-sink CONJ
  'he (the husband) just drowned him,'
hesau ye-tau-tau-yauyaule to | ye-tupa-he-yoli.   (IU196–97)
other 3SG-RED-go-crazy   CONJ | 3SG-bump-CAUS-sink
  'another person came walking by and he (the husband) drowned him.'
Eh   kabo | se-hetamali ede   ye-dobi   (IU198–99)
INTRJ TAM | 3PL-send   PRSUP 3SG-go.down
  'So then, they (the people of Buyali) send him down'
duwaduwali ne unai ye-tuli eh   kabo | kabo taki ye-namwa. (IU200–201)
middle   DEF PP.SG 3SG-sit INTRJ TAM | TAM just 3SG-good
  'to the middle of the ocean and there he sat, and then it was good.'
          (Tautolowaiya_01AG_0182-0201)

    Distinguishing between pivotal and climactic events is not always straightforward. It can be as subjective as determining which bit of a joke is funny. The point here is not to consistently distinguish between them but rather to establish that second-for-third indexes occur in clauses that set up or express dramatic highpoints and that they highlight what the story is all about.

    In addition to marking peaks, episodes of shift commonly also contrast parallel events. In some cases, only one of the contrasted activities is marked by shift to second person while the other is described with regular third-person forms, as in 66 to 68 above. In other cases, each of the contrasted events is highlighted by second-person indexes, as in 70 and 71, or in 86 where IUs 185–89 describe the actions of the wife and IUs 191–92 those of

the husband. These uses are reminiscent of other peak-marking strategies listed by Longacre and Polanyi (Tables 1 and 2 above), including rhetorical underlining through parallelism, repetition, and concentration of participants.

5.3. SUMMARY. The Saliba-Logea shifts occur in narrative clauses that contain pivotal or climactic information. The clauses are descriptive rather than directive and do not include vocatives or apostrophes, and the authors are the narrators themselves, rather than characters in the story. The second-person indexes are usually in subject position, and the referents are discourse-prominent and typically human. Several characters can be referred to by second-person indexes within the same episode. In addition to marking narrative peaks, they can contrast parallel actions and states of affairs. They also occur rarely in nonpeak contexts where they, again, indicate contrasting events or the transition between thematic paragraphs.

The uses of second-person indexes as peak-marking devices are formally distinct from other occurrences of second-person forms in Saliba-Logea such as in direct speech, addressing the audience, or general reference. Unlike these uses, clauses with second-for-third markers combine features of second person (the person index) with those of third-person reference (coreferential nouns that may be marked by the anaphoric modifier *wa*). The Saliba-Logea person shifts therefore constitute a morphosyntactically dedicated peak-marking constructions. This is noteworthy since the strategies discussed by Labov (1972), Longacre (1983), Polanyi (1989), and others generally consist of shifts from one type of marking (e.g. past tense) to another (e.g. present tense), but both types are attested in other contexts and it is the shift itself that has the peak-marking effect. Polanyi (1989:14) explicitly states that there are no absolute evaluative devices, and, while this seems to hold for the major European languages, the Saliba-Logea person shifts must be described as just such an absolute device.

6. THE RARITY OF PERSON SHIFTS. Labov and Longacre both investigate discourse structure and phenomena of the discourse-syntax interface; however, they approach them from different research traditions. The Labovian framework approaches the topic from a sociolinguistic, discourse-analysis point of view, and research in this tradition commonly focuses on major Indo-European languages. Longacre approaches the phenomenon from a more structural perspective, coming from the analysis of little-described languages, and his approach is therefore more inherently crosslinguistic in nature. Surprisingly, Labov and Longacre are seemingly unaware of each other's findings, and this history has hampered the analysis of person shifts and their recognition as a crosslinguistically well-established evaluation strategy.[23]

In the discussion in §3.2, I suggested a distinction between person shifts proper, where the shift itself constitutes a discourse strategy, and associated shifts, where the person shift may be somewhat secondary and occur embedded in a more general discourse strategy, such as the use of questions or direct speech. (I would argue, however, that these discourse strategies may derive some of their evaluative force from these embedded person shifts.) The distinction between proper and associated shifts was employed above as a way of structuring the discussion, and it may have some intuitive value. However, I do not claim that it provides a clear categorization that can be practically maintained in a consistent way. Another approach to categorizing such shifts is in the form of a continuum, from common discourse strategies to marked rhetorical de-

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[23] Longacre does not refer to Labov's work that predates his, and in turn Labov's followers generally do not refer to Longacre's findings (with the notable exception of Polanyi 1989).

vices to dedicated constructions with the function of marking peaks. The distinction between general discourse strategies and marked rhetorical devices is primarily one of frequency. General discourse strategies can be expected to occur in most narratives and be employed by most speakers, while marked rhetorical devices are used more sparingly, and typically by some speakers but not others. (A further distinction may be that they are more likely to be identified as rhetorical devices by speakers and possibly used more consciously than common discourse strategies.) Dedicated constructions are different in nature in that they are restricted to occur with a given function and constitute a grammatically distinct form-function pairing. They are located at the structural end of the discourse-syntax interface and are not purely grounded in the realm of rhetorical devices. I would suggest that the uses of direct speech, questions and imperatives to the audience, and certain discourse markers, as discussed by Labov (1972), Polanyi (1989), Schiffrin (1981), and others for English, constitute general discourse strategies, while apostrophes, vocatives, and person shifts, such as in Kɔnni, Dogrib, Homeric Greek, and Goemai, can be classified as marked rhetorical devices. Narrative imperatives in Arabic and some other languages may also tentatively be categorized as such. In contrast, the Saliba-Logea person shifts constitute dedicated constructions because they combine grammatical features that are not sanctioned together in other contexts. (The same possibly holds for narrative imperatives in some languages; cf. §4.3.) Figure 1 illustrates this categorization.[24]

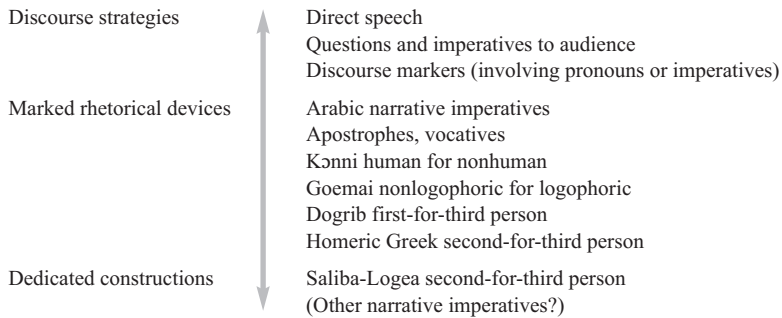|		
Discourse strategies	↑	Direct speech
		Questions and imperatives to audience
		Discourse markers (involving pronouns or imperatives)
Marked rhetorical devices		Arabic narrative imperatives
		Apostrophes, vocatives
		Kɔnni human for nonhuman
		Goemai nonlogophoric for logophoric
		Dogrib first-for-third person
		Homeric Greek second-for-third person
Dedicated constructions	↓	Saliba-Logea second-for-third person
		(Other narrative imperatives?)

FIGURE 1. Preliminary classification of person shifts as peak-marking devices.

The categorization in Fig. 1 can only be considered a rough working model because, in practice, the distinction between common discourses strategies and marked rhetorical devices may be difficult to draw. Where exactly a strategy is to be placed could depend to some extent on the proliferation of its use by individual speakers. A further issue is that the categorization may be influenced by a researcher's own linguistic background. The Arabic narrative imperatives may appear to be a marked rhetorical device from an English perspective but be rated as a common discourse strategy by Arabic speakers.[25] While we simply do not know enough about the discourse patterns of most languages to perform such categorizations in a reliable way, the suggested three-way distinction may

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[24] Within categories, the relative position of a strategy is not necessarily intended to represent the relative proximity to the category above or below. Also note that imperatives feature more than once in this figure: 'discourse strategies' include imperatives addressed to the audience, such as *Guess what!* or *Get this!* (see §3.2). In contrast, narrative imperatives in the other two categories do not address the audience (see §4.2).

[25] While a frequency analysis of evaluation devices in discourse may help to place specific strategies closer to one pole or another, this would not solve the problem as such.

be useful for an initial classification and in order to establish the notion of a continuum of strategies that share a family resemblance across their form and function.

A further issue is the frequency of strategies not within a given language but crosslinguistically, and I advance the hypothesis that the continuum depicted in Fig. 1 may also reflect crosslinguistic spread. Discourse strategies with associated person shifts, including questions, direct speech, and the like, may be crosslinguistically relatively common. Person shifts proper, including marked rhetorical devices, seem to be less frequent, and grammatically dedicated strategies such as in Saliba-Logea appear to be rare crosslinguistically, judging by the limited discussion in the literature and Polanyi's (1989) prediction that they should not exist at all. However, future research will need to test both the proposed prevalence of associated shifts, and the apparent crosslinguistic rarity of dedicated constructions. Even grammatically dedicated constructions as in Saliba-Logea do not unequivocally constitute rara in the sense of Plank (2000) or Wohlgemuth and Cysouw (2010a,b), who define them as features that not only are infrequent, but whose attestations should also not occur spread out in genealogical or geographical clusters. It is possible that both rhetorical devices and dedicated peak-marking strategies are underinvestigated rather than rare, and there are several reasons why such strategies may not be well documented: (i) because they are phenomena of the discourse-syntax interface, which is notoriously underresearched, (ii) because they simply may happen to be less common in the better-described languages, and (iii) because such strategies may be inherently difficult to document.[26] There are serious issues with documenting discourse strategies that are not grammatically required and therefore constitute fragile phenomena that tend to disappear under certain conditions. For Arabic, Palva (1977:5–6) notes that narrative imperatives were essentially absent from written texts and only began to be noticed with the advent of audio-recording technology and the analysis of oral narratives. Similarly, Wolfson (1982) reports that the historical present was quite rare in her early interviews but that some participants who had not used it did so freely in nonrecorded conversations as she walked them to the door. This suggests that discourse strategies of this type are indeed difficult to document as speakers may only draw on them in certain situations or for certain audiences. They are features of performed narratives and may be absent when speakers are self-conscious or addressing outsiders and languages learners.

Before classifying any of the strategies as rara, we also need to consider Trudgill's (2011, 2012) notion of sociolinguistic typology and the possibility that certain phenomena may be absent from the major, better-documented languages by definition. Sociolinguistic typology explores the relationship that might exist between types of communities and aspects of linguistic structure (Trudgill 2011:xv), that is, the idea that certain sociolinguistic parameters may impact the grammar of a language. Since several of the languages discussed here are minority languages with relatively low speaker numbers that are primarily used in face-to-face interaction, and spoken by communities relatively little influenced by industrialization and globalization, this line of thought should not be easily dismissed. While Trudgill makes his point specifically in relation to morphological complexity, such relations may also turn out to play a role in other areas of grammar or in discourse structure. Wierzbicka (1986) suggests that optional grammatical categories are more likely to be linked to cultural factors than obligatory ones, and that those parts of a language dealing with the relationship between speaker

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[26] As pointed out above, a further reason that such strategies may have received little attention in typological research might be their characterization as 'merely' stylistic rhetorical devices and therefore as less worthy of typological investigation than topics in morphosyntax or discourse structure.

and addressee are more likely to show such cultural connections. Both of these points apply to person shifts as peak-marking devices since they are optional discourse strategies that present a way for speakers to convey their evaluation of the narrative to the addressee. Regardless of whether individual strategies may turn out to be rare, the data reviewed here suggest that, considering all subtypes, person shifts at narrative peaks constitute a solid crosslinguistic phenomenon whose internal classification, frequency, and spread are in need of further investigation.

7. CONCLUSION. Because narrators do not want their audience to miss the important points of their story, they may go to some lengths to highlight them, and person shifts constitute a strategy for doing so. The findings presented here have implications for several areas of linguistic investigation: the analysis of pronouns and person markers, the study of peak-marking and narrative structure, and, as I argue, for our practices in language documentation and description.

The study contributes to the growing body of research on pronouns and person markers by adding a new angle of investigation to those covered by sources such as Ariel 1990, Cysouw 2003, Helmbrecht 2004, Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990, and Siewierska 2004. The discussion of person shifts is relevant for our understanding of person indexes, and it offers a fresh perspective on pronoun choice and the factors influencing it crosslinguistically. There are few cases in the literature that reveal the influence of narrative structure on grammar as clearly as some of the patterns presented here. Previous studies tend to focus on the morphosyntactic choices of referential expressions and their motivations, that is, the choices between lexical nouns, pronouns, and so forth. By contrast, this study has focused on the paradigmatic choices between different person forms within the same morphosyntactic expression types. The discussion of person shifts adds to existing research that shows that person indexes are, or can be, dynamic, meaning-contributing elements rather than semantically empty place holders. There are formal and functional parallels to phenomena such as social and empathetic deixis, semantic agreement, and degrees of individuation, as well as text unity and cohesion, referent salience, and topicality. Such factors can influence a speaker's choice of referential expression and they demonstrate the semantic and pragmatic contributions person indexes can make. The present study reveals that we also need to take narrative structure into account in the analysis of morphosyntactic variation, pronoun choice, and the criteria governing the choice of referential expressions in general.

Person shifts can be considered a functional reversal of the crosslinguistic tendency for indirectness and verbal avoidance strategies when referring to certain referents. Typological overviews of person markers, such as Helmbrecht 2004, Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990, and Siewierska 2004, provide many examples of person/number shifts for the purposes of indirectness and politeness. In fact, these are the only uses of person markers with noncanonical reference that such overviews tend to address. First- and second-person pronouns are associated with potentially face-threatening acts in Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, and many languages go to great lengths to avoid them by using indexes with different person/number distinctions, indefinite forms, or names, titles, and kinship terms (Brown & Levinson 1987:190–206, Siewierska 2004:214–35). The person shifts discussed here show the reverse situation: first- and second-person indexes are employed for 'directness', as it were, to draw the addressee's attention. Because the use of first- and second-person indexes is a potentially face-threatening act, they are attention-getting devices par excellence and prime candidates for peak-marking strategies.

Person shifts generally proceed upward on the Silverstein hierarchy, that is, from nonhuman to human, from third to second or first person. The data presented here indicate moreover that there may be a crosslinguistic tendency for second-person forms to be the target of such shifts. This is the case for many of the associated shifts (in direct speech, questions, imperatives, discourse particles like *y'know*), for the shifts to second person in Homeric Greek, Goemai, and Saliba-Logea, and also for shifts to narrative imperatives. The hypothesis that second-person deictics have a particular propensity to take on discourse functions is explored in Margetts 2015 and deserves further study.

Narrative peaks and internal evaluations are generally marked by changes in narrative patterns; that is, they tend to be relative devices that work though a departure from the narrative norm. As shown here, however, absolute peak-marking devices do exist, where a rhetorical strategy is embedded in the grammar of a language and forms a dedicated morphosyntactic construction. Shifts to second person in Saliba-Logea are a prime example of such an absolute device, but, in some languages, narrative imperatives with subjects other than second person may also constitute such dedicated constructions.

The findings presented here have implications for our practices in language documentation and description. The discourse-syntax interface is at the heart of research in pragmatics, discourse analysis, language change, psycholinguistics, and other subdisciplines, yet this area remains understudied for the majority of the world's languages. As the sample of languages we can draw on becomes less representative of possible linguistic systems, the findings presented here highlight the need for annotated text corpora from lesser-known and endangered languages to provide lasting records that will enable us to investigate phenomena of language use and change, discourse structure, the emergence of grammatical constructions, and the like. The analysis of person shifts is typically not possible without annotated corpora of a reasonable size because some of them are low-frequency phenomena and unlikely to surface in elicitations. Therefore, large amounts of annotated text data may be needed to provide enough instances for analysis. We need such lasting records of languages that are at risk of disappearing if our aim is to investigate not only what is typical but also what is possible in human language.

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