

PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN DIUXI MIXTEC

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This paper describes the personal pronouns of Diuxi Mixtec, a language spoken in San Juan Diuxi, Santiago Tilantongo, and the smaller villages pertaining to the latter, all located south-southwest of Nochixtlán, Oaxaca, México. Relevant dialectal differences between the towns are indicated.

The data are presented in phonemic transcription, with the following adjustments:

High tone is represented by acute accent (´); low tone is unmarked. Tones are written in their basic, nonperturbed form. There are two types of stress: (1) length-stress (marked phonetically by vowel length), which occurs on the penult syllable of stems. This stress is not marked. (2) a second stress (whose features include intensity and allotones) occurring on the final syllable of certain words. This stress is marked by an apostrophe (').¹

1. A more complete description of tone and stress contrasts is in process, written by Eunice Pike and Joy Oram.

Data were gathered by Albertha Kuiper during field trips to Diuxi between 1971 and 1973, with the principal informants being Amelia Martínez Matías and Juval Cenobio Cruz.

Personal pronouns are of two forms: bound and free, and designate four general types of referents: human, deity, animal, and plant. Within the forms indicating human referents, distinctions are made as to person (1,2,3), gender, and social relationships. Except for first person inclusive, number is not a feature of the pronoun series. Plural number is indicated by morphemes of a different series.

Bound forms are enclitics to verbs, enclitics or proclitics with other classes of words. Free forms may be used in isolation or preposed or postposed to the verb. Other details on distribution of free and bound forms are discussed below.

1. Following is a list of the pronominal forms, including the bound alternants where these exist. (The respect terms and most of the familiar terms do not have bound alternants.) This list is presented according to person, without indicating in detail the social relationships involved. These relationships are clarified by the following chart and in section 2.

	<u>free form</u>	<u>bound alternant</u>
First person exclusive	medá	dá
	meér	r
	ruʔú	---
	dañá	---

First person inclusive	meró	ró
Second person familiar	yoʔó	---
	ndoʔó	---
	meú	ú
Second person respect	ndiʃí	---
Second person general (no special attention to respect vs. familiar)	meén	n
Third person child	meí	í
Third person female adult	meñá	ñá
Third person male adult (female speaker)	meté	té
Third person male adult (male speaker)	meés	sí ~ s ~ sé
Third person deity	meiá	iá
Third person indefinite (entities without sex; persons when sex unknown or not in focus)	---	i ~ yi
Indefinite reference	ñáʔa	---
Reciprocal	tnáʔá	---

In addition to the pronominal referents, a small class of nouns also have bound-form pronouns:

water	ndúte	te	
flower	íta	ta	
tree	yútnu	tnu	
animal	kítá	tá	(the bound form for animal is also used to refer to stars and to some vegetables)

The following chart indicates in abbreviated form the social relationships involved in the various forms. Section 2 presents in prose form a further clarification of their usage.

PERSON	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE (relationship of speaker to addressee)			
		ADULT			CHILD
First-person forms	Any	Respect	Familiar	General	Special meaning: ruʔú emphatic meér non " meró inclusive
		Second-person forms	Man	ndiʃí	
	Boy	ndiʃí	ndoʔó	meén	meén
	Woman	ndiʃí	yoʔó	meén	meú
	Girl	ndiʃí	yoʔó	meén	meú
Third-person forms	SPEAKER	REFERENT			
	Male	Male adult	Male child	Female child	Female adult
	Female	meés	meés	meí	meñá
		meté	meí	meí	meñá

2. First and second person forms are distinguished according to the relationship of the speaker to the addressee, including three levels of formality: Respect, Familiar, and General.

Respect terms are appropriate for adults in speaking to dignitaries, godparents, parents, or the aged. Children also use these terms in speaking to adults. In San Juan Diuxi, it is appropriate but not compulsory for women to address their husbands with the Respect form. In the closely related dialect of Tilantongo, however, this usage seems to have been lost.

Familiar is the most informal relationship. Familiar categories include: adult to child; adult to age peers; man to wife; child to younger children.

General refers to a relationship between the two extremes, more formal than Familiar but less formal than Respect.

First person Respect form is dañá. This form is also used when the first person is in focus, as when telling a story about oneself. When playing a game the children use it to get attention called to themselves; "Dañá, dañá" "To me, to me!"

There are two first person Familiar forms: meér and ruʔú. ruʔú indicates more emphasis on the speaker. It is also used in answering questions such as "Who is going?"

The first person General form is medá. The inclusive form meró is used irrespective of age or social relationship. Meró used without the plural morpheme includes only the speaker and the addressee. With the plural marker, it includes third person referents.

Second person forms are distinguished according to the sex and age of the speaker as well as the social relationship with the addressee.

The familiar forms are: ndoʔó for male speakers, yoʔó for female speakers. The Respect and General terms are the same for all speakers: ndiʃí for Respect, meén for General.

Second person forms for female speakers distinguish child addressee from the General; women and children speak to children with the form meú, rather than meén.

Third person forms distinguish male and female speaker, and male-adult, male-child, female-adult, female-child referents. The term "child" used in the chart in 1.2 includes young adults when mentioned by a person much older.

When third person includes both men and women, the male referent form (meés / meté) is used. When it includes people, animals, and things, each pronoun must be stated separately:

ka-ʃiká-té sǐʃí kítá-té	'They (he and and his animals) are
ol-walk-he with animal-his	walking'.

The indefinite reference pronoun ná?a indicates object, indefinite as to person. When it occurs with a first person subject it indicates second person object, and vice versa. When it occurs with a third person subject, it is ambiguously first, second, or third person. The ambiguity is resolved by addition of the free pronoun.

nde?á- ¹ ná?a-dá	'I see you'
I	
nde?á- ¹ ná?a-n	'You see me'
you	
nde?á- ¹ ná?a-té	'He sees me/you/him/her'
he	
nde?á- ¹ ná?a-té medá	'He sees me'
he me	
nde?á- ¹ ná?a-té meén	'He sees you'
he you	
nde?á- ¹ ná?a-té meeña	'He sees her'
he her	

tná?á is a reciprocal pronoun object. It may be used with or without the plural marker:

n-(ká)-tuu	tná?á-té	'They knifed each other'
compl.-(pl.)-knife	recip.-he	

3. Personal pronouns, both bound and free, function as subject, object or indirect object in the clause and in various functions in phrases. Function is distinguished only by position.

The basic order in clauses is S-IO-O postposed to the verb. Both free and bound pronouns may fill these positions, but the use of free pronouns indicate focus.

Co-occurrence restrictions include the following:

- (a) three free form pronouns do not occur together
- (b) bound forms never follow free forms
- (c) first and second person bound pronouns do not occur in the same constructions. The combination I-you or You-me is expressed by the use of the indefinite pronoun ná?a as object.

A sequence of two first or second person pronouns in the basic syntactic S-O order indicate reflexive action.

teñu?ú-dá medá	'I am burning myself'
burn-I me	
teñu?ú-da meén	'You are burning yourself'
burn-you you	

Occurrence of two third person pronouns of the same gender in the basic syntactic order are noncoreferential if they are a sequence of two bound or two free forms. Bound followed by free, however, is ambiguously noncoreferential or coreferential (reflexive).

teñu?ú-té-té	'He _i is burning him _j '
burn-he-him	

teñuʔú meté meté	'He _i is burning him _j '
burn he him	
teñuʔú-té meté	'He is burning him' or 'He is burning himself'
burn-he him	

Neither ya '3rd. person deity' or i '3rd. person child' can succeed itself in the same clause. The free form must be substituted for the second bound form:

Not:	čindé-í-i	
But:	čindé-í meí	'She/he helps her/him'
	helps-she/he	her/him

In addition to the basic order V-S-IO-O, there are two forms which occur in a different order: the indefinite pronoun ñaʔa and the reciprocal tnáʔa; both function as object but precede the subject.

The basic order is changed to place focus on the subject. A subject free pronoun or noun phrase may be placed in focus by movement to a pre-verb position. Object pronouns are placed in focus only by use of the free form.

n-žiaʔá-dá-té-tnu	'I gave the tree to him'
compl.-give-I-him-it (tree)	
n-gidátátná-té-ñá	'He cured her'
compl.-cure-he-her	
meté n-gidátátná-ñá	'He cured her'
he compl.-cure-her	
meté n-gidátátná méñá	'He cured <u>her</u> '
he compl.-cure her	

A special class of pronouns occur as preposed subject to indicate affirmation of a fact, positive or negative. They are:

first person referents:	adí	(replaces daña)
	arú	(replaces ruʔu)
	aró	(replaces meero)
second person referents:	andiš	(replaces ndiši)
	ayó	(replaces meu)
third person referents:	ase	(replaces meés)
	até	(replaces mete)
	añá	(replaces meña)

ko mení kátyí ío te arú kuíní kátdíʔí
 but only male pigs there are but/and I want female pigs
 'I want female pigs, but there are only male pigs.'

ña handišá-té ko añá n-gáʔa
 neg. believe-he but she compl.-speak
 'He didn't believe her, but nevertheless she spoke.'

4. There are two types of imperative constructions: In the Familiar relationship, no pronominal form is used. In the General relationship, the bound form -n is used, giving no formal distinction between the imperative and the potential-aspect indicative. Use of a free form

Respect *ndiʃí* or Familiar *ndoʔó* pronoun with the imperative construction softens the command.

5. Bound pronouns also occur in various substantival phrases.

5.1. They function as possessors of nouns:

dúʔnu- <u>ná</u>	'her blouse'
dúʔnu- <u>dá</u>	'my blouse'

5.2. They function as objects of prepositions:

ʃiʔí- <u>ná</u>	'with her'
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5.3. They substitute for nouns as heads of modification phrases:

ʃiáʔá <u>íí</u> -ná	'a woman says'
say one-she	
ná-káʔnu kuu-ná	'She is a fat woman'
she-large is-she	

5.4. Third person forms replace nouns as introducer to relative clauses which function as subject or object. This function is carried by either free or bound pronouns, but the bound form *i* does not occur, and the bound form sá has shape sé.

The following examples may all occur as subject of an intransitive verb, e.g. "The one who...walks around near my house" or as object of a transitive verb, e.g. "I saw the one who..." (In the illustrations, the format *meńá/ná* etc. indicate that either the free or the bound form occurs here.)

meńá / ná-kuhanú	'The woman who is ashamed'
she -ashamed	
mété / té-kuiʔá	'the man who is stingy'
he -stingy	
meés / sé-kuu-nʒáʔnú	'the king'
he -a-ruler	
meyá / yá-kuu-nʒáʔnú	'the deity who is ruler'
he(deity)-be-ruler	
meí ʃiká	'the child who walks'
he (child) walks	