

SIL-Mexico Branch Electronic Working Papers #002:
Grammatical Encoding of Participants in Mixtec of Tezoatlán
Judith Williams

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discover what types of referring expressions are used naturally in which situations in narrative discourse in Mixtec of Tezoatlán (MT).¹ MT is spoken by about 6,000 people in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. The data upon which this paper is based consist of six short narratives (by a total of five different authors) and six longer narratives (by two of these same authors). The material in direct quotes is generally excluded from the analysis. Nine of the narratives are stories and three are personal experiences.

A hierarchy of six cognitive statuses for referring expressions was proposed by Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski (1993). The implicational hierarchy of cognitive statuses they proposed is as follows:

in focus > activated > familiar > uniquely identifiable > type referential > identifiable

This paper will deal with four of these cognitive statuses. Section 2 covers the “referential” expressions used to introduce new characters and props. Section 3 deals with the “familiar” status, when a character that is already familiar to the people, or a character or a prop that is inferred, is referred to. Section 4 then deals with both “in focus” (which I rename “center of attention”) and the “activated” cognitive status.

¹ Thanks to Jim Watters, Cheri Black and Doris Bartholomew who had helpful suggestions for this paper. The data were collected by my husband, John L. Williams, and me under the auspices of SIL from 1986 to the present. Special thanks to the five narrators from San Andrés Yutatío. The abbreviations used in this paper are: AF = affirmation particle; D.O. = unspecified direct object pronoun; INT = intensifier particle; PLEASANT = particle that indicates something is said in a pleasant way; PROG = progressive; SUBJ = subjunctive; SURPRISE = particle that marks something surprising; ¿? = yes/no question marker.

The referring expressions used in Mixtec are:

<u>Referential</u>	<u>Familiar</u>	<u>Activated</u>	<u>Center of Attention</u>
Number + NP	Proper Name	Pronoun ²	Pronoun
NP ³	NP		Pronoun + ñoó ⁴
	Possessed NP		D.O. pronoun ñaá
		NP	NP
		NP + ñoó	NP + ñoó
		Proper Name	Proper Name
		Proper Name + ñoó	Proper Name + ñoó

Finally, section 5 exemplifies how a character is referred to who is in a surprising position or event, and section 6 describes the changes in the narrative that occur in the peak or climax of the story. An appendix explains the way the stories have been divided into clauses.

2. Referential cognitive status expressions in MT: Number + NP or NP

This section deals with the expressions used for referential status, i.e. when "the speaker intends to refer to a particular object" (Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski 1993:276) or to introduce a participant for the first time. It is usually indicated in Mixtec of Tezoatlán by a number and a noun or noun phrase. With plural animate characters of an indeterminate number and in some other cases, it is indicated simply by a noun or a noun phrase.

Nouns themselves in Mixtec do not specify singular or plural. For example,

- (1) a. iin ko'o *one dish*
 b. uu ko'o *two dishes*

Most characters and some props are introduced into a narrative using a number with a noun, most often *iin* "one", which can also be considered an indefinite article. For example, the characters in the "Woodpecker" story are introduced as:

² Much less used and only if nonambiguous with other character in center of attention.

³In the three personal experience stories, however, the teller starts out with a first person pronoun. Two of them introduce some other characters with Number + NP. In the other one, the characters were familiar to the hearers.

⁴ The Mixtec word *ñoó* is a demonstrative adjective here which means "already mentioned", glossed "that(anaphoric)".

(2) iin tató'o
 one/a man
a man

(3) iin ta'áná sá'ano
 one/an lady old
a woman

Other numbers besides **iin** “one” may be used, as seen in the first sentence of the story "Five Sheep":

(4) Ni_sa_io iin tató'o, ni_sa_ndeí oni de'e ra, ni_sa_ndeí o'on léko ra.
 was one man were three sons.of him were five sheep.of him
There was a man, he had three sons and he had five sheep.

In addition, the expression **iin ka** / **iin ga** “another” (literally, “one more”) is sometimes used to introduce a character for the first time.⁵ In the story "Striped Fish" the woman gives birth to triplets. See the use of **iin ka xi** “another of them” in the second and third clauses in the following sentence:

(5) Dá ni_chinani ná iin xi San Martín,
 then named they one.of them San Martín
They named one of them San Martín,

(6) ta iin ka xi ni_chinani ná San Jorge,
 and one more them named they San Jorge,
and another of them they named San Jorge,

⁵**Iin ka** or **iin ga** “another” is not strictly a number, and there is an example of an expression with **iin ga** in the data which is not introducing a character for the first time: **iinga de'e ra** “his other daughter” refers to a minor character in "Blanca Flor" who has already been mentioned several times.

- (7) ta iin ka xi sa_naní Santiago.
 and one more them was.named Santiago
and the other was named Santiago.

In story of "Five Sheep", the first son is first mentioned as **iin tayíí ló'ǒ** "one/a little boy" and then is in the center of attention for a while, using the pronoun **xi**; later the second is first mentioned as **iin ka tayíí ló'ǒ** "another little boy" and then is in the center of attention temporarily, also using the pronoun **xi**.

The third son is then first mentioned as **tayíí kúú onǐ** "third boy". However, in addition to referring to him with the pronoun **xi**, the expression **tayíí kúú onǐ** is used again while he is the center of attention; it is not a strict Number + NP expression, but more like a N + rel.cl. (lit., "boy is three").

Often inanimate objects are also introduced with the referring expression Number + NP, e.g. **iin ve'e yukú** "one/a house in the countryside", **iin yító kánǐ xíxío** "one/a very tall tree", **iin ka pastel** "another cake".

Number + NP is not found in higher cognitive statuses, except in the special situation where an object or participant is first seen by a main character in the story. For example, in the story "Woodpecker", although the house has already been introduced to the reader, the following Number + NP expression occurs when the man sees it for the first time:

- (8) Dá nǐ_xini ra íin iin ve'e.
 then saw he is.standing one house
Then he saw that there was (standing) a house.

Also a similar expression (9) occurs three times in the story "Striped Fish", when each of the triplets arrives separately at the same place and sees a particular old lady (minor character) for the first time.

- (9) Tá nǐ_saa na ñoó, ió iin ta'ánó sá'ano.
 when arrived he there is one lady old
When he arrived there, there was an old lady.

Similarly, in "Blanca Flor" the author tells about a man's experience with a snake in the garden. Then when the man relates this experience to his wife (in an indirect quote), his first mention of the snake is *iin koŋ* "one snake", since he is introducing the snake to her.

Later in "Blanca Flor", the snake speaks in a direct quote, saying that he knows why the man wanted the flowers. Even though the reader knows about the girl, the snake says:

- (10) *Ió iin dehe yo'ó naní Blanca Flor...*
 is one daughter.(of) you is.named Blanca Flor
You have a daughter named Blanca Flor...

The direct quote is like a small separate discourse embedded in the larger one, and the participant is introduced with Number + NP.

It is interesting to note the verbs used when introducing a character with Number + NP. Usually the verbs of existence are used. On the other hand, at the reappearance of a character after an absence (with Proper Name or NP) or the introduction of a new character inside of the story, often a verb of motion is used, such as appear, arrive, return, come out, etc.

- (11) *Kúú iin_kuití vá, ni_karxóo iin tijaká ló'o.*
 and suddenly AF appeared one fish small
And suddenly a small fish appeared.

- (12) *Dá too va kíán, dá ni_saa ta né'e choon...*
Dá too va kí-án, dá ni_saa ta né'e choon...
 then while AF is-it then arrived men are.carrying authority
Then after a little while, the government authorities arrived.

- (13) *Dá ni_nandió_koo San Jorge ni_sa_nde'é ná te'e.*
 then returned San Jorge looked.at he squash.plants
Then San Jorge returned and looked at the squash plants.

- (14) Ta ni_keta tadi'í kini káa ñoó kasá'á ká'an xī:
 Ta ni_keta ta-di'í kini káa ñoó kasá'á ká'an xī:
 and came.out young.person-female ugly looks.like that(anaphoric) began is.saying she
And the ugly girl came out saying:

Alternatively, a character, who is already in the center of attention, can “arrive” where the new character is. In that case, verbs of existence (is) or position (is standing, is lying, etc.) are used with the new character.

- (15) Kúú ni_saa xī noó kándu'u iin kirí_ya'a.
 and arrived he where is.lying one eagle
And he arrived where an eagle was lying on the ground.

- (16) Dá ni_saa San Martín noó íin iin tadi'í.
 Dá ni_saa San Martín noó íin iin ta-di'í.
 the arrived San Martín where is.standing one young.person-female
Then San Martín arrived where a girl was standing.

- (17) Tá ni_saa na ñoó, ío iin ta'ánó sá'ano.
 when arrived he there is one lady old
When he arrived there, there was an old lady.

While most characters and even objects are first mentioned in a narrative with the referring expression Number + NP, some are introduced instead with a noun phrase. These include indefinite plural participants, that is, groups which contain an unspecified number. (18)-(20) give examples of participants introduced in the the body of stories.

- (18) tiyaká kuálí
 fish small.pl
some small fish

(19) t̥ɪɖy'ú kuálí
 ants small.pl
some small ants

(20) ñ̃ayuu
 people
the people (at a wedding)

In the story "Two Brothers", the king's daughter, a minor character, is first mentioned in the body of the story by a possessed noun phrase inside of a direct quote as *d̥e'e di'í* “my daughter” and the next mention as *d̥e'e di'í rey* “king's daughter”.⁶ I'm not sure whether this might be of familiar status, since the king tends to have a daughter to give in marriage to the hero in stories.

The noun phrase **tachi déen** “strong wind” is introduced without a number and is a temporary agent. I don't believe a number can be used with such an expression, unless the wind is personified.

In summary, to refer to a particular person, animal or object for the first time, MT usually uses a Number + NP. In some special cases after the beginning of the story, simply a NP is used, especially when there is an unspecific plural number that is not important to the author.

3. Familiar status: Proper Name, NP, Possessed NP

The familiar cognitive status describes a person or thing that is already in the long term or short term memory.

For example, in the story of "Jesus" (legendary, not Biblical), Jesus is first mentioned in the story with his proper name. The author assumes that the reader is already familiar with this famous person. So, though the proper name is used in the first mention of the character, this use is of the cognitive status familiar.

⁶The king himself, a more major character, is only introduced in the clause **noó íin iin palacio rey** “where stood a palace of (the) king”, as if the story teller assumed we know there was a king. This is not a typical way to introduce an important character.

- (21) Ná ko'ín nakanii kuentó Jesús.
 Ná ko'-ín nakani-i kuentó Jesús.
 SUBJ will.go-I will.relate-I story.(of) Jesus
I'm going to tell the story of Jesus.

- (22) Iin kuꝯ, ni_saa Jesús noó ió víko tánda'a.
 one day arrived Jesus where is party are.marrying
One day, Jesus arrived at a wedding party.

Pedro Mala is a very well known character and the story in the data begins without the regular introducing of this character also.

- (23) Dá ni_kee Pedro Malá kua'an ra.
 then left Pedro Mala is.going he
Then Pedro left.

Most stories do not give proper names to characters.

Another aspect of the familiar cognitive status could be things or people that are inferred. For example, when a house is the center of attention, the door is inferred, and mentioned merely as *y'éé* “door” (see Section 2). In the story "Two Brothers", the soldiers (who have a significant role but are not talked about as individuals nor given a number) are introduced in the body of the story by a possessed noun phrase *solndado ra* “his soldiers”. The soldiers can be considered in the familiar status, since it is assumed by the hearer that when a king is present in the story, he has soldiers. Another example of an interred character is a man's wife first introduced by a possessed noun *ñadi'í ra* “his wife”, after knowing the man has two daughters.

Another example of the familiar status seems to appear in the story "Striped Fish". San Jorge and Santiago are introduced and appear together with their brother San Martín and father for thirty clauses. Then the story continues with San Martín. San Jorge and Santiago are not mentioned until clauses 112 and 144 respectively, excluding direct quotes. When each in turn comes back onto stage to play a more significant role, the first referring expression used is their name without the anaphoric *ñoó*. These examples of Name might be considered in the cognitive

status familiar, since the characters are off the scene for a considerable while and are thus in the reader's longer term memory, rather than in his shorter term memory.

The same is true in "Blanca Flor" by the same author. The girl Blanca Flor is off stage for 48 clauses excluding direct quotes and then reappears with the referring expression Name. However, she had been mentioned once in the conversation during that gap, and also the father was looking for flowers named "blanca flor" for her, so this is not as clear an example as in the cases of San Jorge and Santiago. She is reintroduced by:

- (24) ...ta Blanca Flor ni_kee xi kána_kono xi ve_i xi ni'i ñaá xí.
 and Blanca Flor left she is.running she is.coming she will.receive D.O. she
And Blanca Flor came running out to meet him.

In a long story by another author, "Two Brothers", the younger brother goes to seek the older brother. The older brother is not mentioned for 34 clauses and then mentioned by a possessed noun phrase. (The brothers do not have names in this story.)

- (25) Kúú ñóó vá íin ñani xi.
 and over.there AF is.standing brother.(of) him
And over there was his brother

4. Cognitive statuses of the center of attention and activated

This section deals with characters who are in the category of "in focus" (Gundel Hedberg, & Zacharski 1993:279), which I have renamed "center of attention". In the parts dealing with a character returning to the center of attention, it includes the "activated" cognitive status (Gundel Hedberg, & Zacharski 1993:278) which consists of characters or props that are also in the mind of the reader or listener or at least in their short term memory.

MT is a strongly VSO language. A "clausal unit" as I count it for this paper (see Appendix) frequently contains a chain of two or more verbs, each with the same subject referent.

In verb chains, the subject of the first verb may be a referring expression of any type, but the only referring expression used for the subjects of the subsequent verbs is the pronoun clitic. This is illustrated in the following example where the woman and the man are in the current

center of attention. The first verb is followed by NP plus **ñóó**⁷ as subject, and the other verbs by the pronoun clitic **-an** (woman).

- (26) Dá ni_kee t̩á'áná_tó'õ ñóó kána_konóán kua'an
 Dá ni_kee t̩á'áná_tó'õ ñóó kána_konó-án kua'-an
 then left lady that(anaphoric) is.running-she is.going-she
 nomi ni'ini ñaáán,⁸ ká'áán.
 nomi ni'ini ñaá-án, ká'á-án.
 will.embrace wildly him-she is.thinking-she

Then the lady ran intending to hug him.

Characters or props in narratives that are in the center of attention are most often indicated by pronouns (all third person pronouns are one syllable clitics) or much less often by the pronoun with the deictic **ñóó** “already mentioned” attached to the end of it. Other forms, such as NP, NP + **ñóó**, Proper Name, or Proper Name + **ñóó**, may be used:

- as the character comes back to center stage (from activation)
- when there is ambiguity with the pronouns of other characters on stage
- when there is a change of time/scene, but the character is still in the center of attention
- at times in quote margins in a dialogue, even when there is no ambiguity

The Mixtec word **ñóó**⁹ is a demonstrative adjective¹⁰ which means “already mentioned”. It will be glossed in English as “that (anaphoric)”. **Ñóó** is woven throughout MT stories. A demonstrative adjective with this meaning is found in many other varieties of Mixtec (for example, Ayutla, Mitlatongo, Alacatlazala, Peñoles, Coatzospan, San Juan Mixtepec)¹¹ though not all. This follows a noun phrase, proper name, or pronoun, in the above mentioned Mixtecs, though there is some uncertainty about whether it follows a pronoun in Coatzospan and it does

⁷ **Ñóó** means “already mentioned”, i.e. “that” (anaphoric).

⁸ The pronoun **ñaá** (unspecified meaning except by context) is the only direct object that comes before the subject.

⁹ The tone of **ñóó** changes to **ñóó** after certain words.

¹⁰ This Mixtec word is also used as a demonstrative adverb meaning “over there (out of sight, but known or already mentioned)”.

¹¹ From Robert Hills, Leroy Whitman, Carol Zylstra, Margaret Daly, Priscilla Small, María Nieves 2008, personal correspondence

not follow a pronoun in San Juan Mixtepec. Even Copala Trique, a close relative of Mixtec, has “a somewhat obsolescent nominal marker **dan**³² ‘that’, which refers to something previously mentioned” (Hollenbach 1992:273).

It might seem that expressions with *ñoó* could be grouped in the activated cognitive status (in the short term memory of the hearer) instead of in the center of attention, but sometimes an expression with *ñoó* occurs in the very next clause after the same animal, prop, or person was mentioned, and in that case seems to just make sure the reader is understanding that it is, for example, the same man, skunk, or door as mentioned before, and not a new one.

4.1 Majority of referents are pronoun clitics

If two or more characters are in the center of attention, they may be distinguished by different pronouns if they are a man vs. a woman, a child or an animal. Props may also sometimes be distinguished by different pronouns. The third person pronouns are as follows:

ra	adult man
ña/ -an ¹²	adult woman
na	when used as sing.: a respected adult; pl.: men, women, men and women
xi	a child, young person, or one can use it to refer to a close adult, such as husband or wife
ri	animal, spherical items such as certain fruits or a ball, the moon, the stars, the devil and a fire fan
ra or ro	liquid, trees, wood, things made of wood, guns, vehicles
ña/-an ¹³	all other inanimate objects

But there is ambiguity if, say, two men are both in the center of attention, and both are referred to by **ra**. So adjustments must be made.

¹² All the 3rd person pronouns are sing. or pl. , except this pronoun for “woman” can be used for singular only. Use **na** for plural women.

¹³ This pronoun **ña** can be distinguished from the pronoun for a woman by different patterns of tone.

The majority of referring expressions in all the narratives are simple pronoun clitics. Once a character has been brought onto the stage (into the current center of attention), he may be referred to by a pronoun clitic as long as he remains in the current center of attention and there is not a problem of ambiguity with the appropriate pronoun for another participant also in the center of attention. Often a character is referred to in clause after clause by the pronoun clitic alone.

For example, in "Blanca Flor", the father is the subject in ten consecutive clausal units and is referred to only by **ra** (3rd masculine adult informal pronoun clitic) a total of 22 times because of clauses with verb chaining. Soon after that¹⁴ there are another ten consecutive clauses where he continues to be referred to as **ra**.

In the story of "Two Brothers", the younger brother is the main character throughout. The story has approximately 184 clauses (excluding direct quotes). This brother is referred to 122 times in the story by the pronoun **xi** (pronoun for youth), twice by **roón** (pronoun + **ñoó**), four times by **ñaá** (direct object pronoun), and only seven times by a noun phrase! There are quite a few other characters in the story, but they are referred to by **ra** or **ri**, except for his older brother, who is rather a minor character and referred to as **xi** only five times near the beginning, where four of the seven noun phrases for the younger brother appear.

Other times the participant is only very temporarily at the center of attention, but a pronoun is still used immediately following his introduction, as shown in (27)-(29). Notice also the use of appositives in (27) and (29).

(27) Iin kuu ni_i tar'u'u_i ini de'e ra, ta yata.
 one day was.offended child.(of) him child older
One day his older son was offended.

(28) Da ni_i kee xi kua'an nda'í xi.
 then left he is.going sadly he
Then he (joven) sadly left.

¹⁴ The break is an answer to his question to some other people.

- (29) Dá ni_kandoo de'e ra, ta ló'o,
 then remained child.(of) him child little
Then his younger son remained..

4.2 Ambiguity with pronouns

In the body of data, there are various stories or stretches of those stories without ambiguity and others with constant ambiguity.

4.2.1 Examples of no ambiguity

In the "Five Sheep", the author refers to each boy as **xi** (boy, youth) after being introduced, since only one boy at a time is in the center of attention. Then he continues with four to six references as **xi** in the story. The following sentences each begin a section about one of the sons.

- (30) Tíra iin kuu ni_kee iin tayí ló'o kua'an xi xí'in rí kasá'an rí.
 but one day left one boy small is.going he with them(animals) will.eat they
But one day a boy went with the sheep.

- (31) Ta_kúú ni_kee iin ka tayí ló'o kua'an xi xí'in rí kasá'an rí.
 and left one more boy small is.going he with them(animals) will.eat they
And another boy left with the sheep.

The referent **xi** is uniquely identifiable because of who is in the current center of attention.

Another kind of nonambiguity is when two people are represented by different pronouns. A part of the "Striped Fish" story consists of a stretch of 21 clauses (plus 26 clauses of direct dialogue which I am excluding). There are two main characters, a man and his wife. In the first sentence the wife is presented as a possessed noun:

- (32) Dá ni_kaa ra xí'in ñadi'í ra:
 then said he with wife.(of) him
Then he said to his wife:

In the rest of the section she is referred to with the pronoun clitic **-an** “woman” five times and nothing else. The man is referred to as the pronoun clitic **ra** “man” fifteen times and once as a possessed noun **yíian** “husband of her” (33) and this possessed noun phrase takes place after he visited his *compadre* and returned, a sort of reintroduction

- (33) Dá ni_saa yíian, dá ni_kaa ra:
 Dá ni_saa yí-an, dá ni_kaa ra:
 then arrived husand.(of)-her then said he
 Then her husband arrived and said:

4.2.2 Examples of main characters with identical pronouns

The story of “Pedro Mala” selling a tree to a man is an example of two main characters in a story, both represented by the pronoun **ra** “man”.

The first eight clauses talk only about Pedro Mala and begin with one noun phrase, viz. **Pedro Mala**, and continue with seven instances of the pronoun **ra** to represent him. Then the other man arrives. Notice that after the man is introduced in (34) as **iin rató'o** “a man”, he is referred to as **rató'o ñoó** “that man” three times and as the pronoun **ra** only four times. Pedro Mala is referred to by name three times and by the pronoun **ra** twice. The pronoun referrant in (36) is only clear by the question asked (What are you doing?). Perhaps the author thought his reference a bit unclear and in the next quote margins put in both men as NPs.

- (34) Ñoó ni_karxóo iin rato'o v̄ei ra. /¹⁵
 there appeared one man is.coming he /
 A man appeared, coming.

- (35) Dá ni_saa ra / noó nákaa Pedro Mala ñoó / dátaká ra dij'ón ñoó. /
 then arrived he / where is Pedro Mala that(anaphoric) / is.gathering he money that(anaphoric) /
 Then he arrived where Pedro Mala was gathering the money.

¹⁵ Represents the end of a clausal unit (see Appendix).

(36) Dá ni_kaa ra: xxxx / --kaá ra.
 then said he xxxx / said he
Then he said, xxxx, says he.

(37) Dá ni_kaa Pedro Malá xí'in rató'o ñoó: xxx / --kaá ra. /
 then said Pedro Malá with man that(anaphoric) xxx / says he /
Then Pedro Mala said to the man, xxx, says he.

(38) xxx --kaá Pedro Malá xí'in rató'o ñoó.
 xxx says Pedro Malá with man that(anaphoric)
xxx, says Pedro Mala to the man.

(39) Ndisa ví ká'án rató'o ñoó.
 truly INT is.thinking man that(anaphoric)
The man was thinking it was the truth.

In the next 14 clauses (not including the dialogue), Pedro Mala and the man are both on stage. Pedro is referred to 11 times, once by his name, five times by **Pedro Mala ñoó**, and five times by the pronoun **ra**. The other man is referred to 14 times, seven times by **rató'o ñoó** and seven times by the pronoun **ra**.

Then Pedro Mala leaves the scene and the man is alone. The man is referred to by a pronoun in all but the first instance in the rest of the story, which starts with the following sentence:

(40) Dá ni_kandoo rató'o ñoó nákaa ra dátaká ra di'ón.
 then remained man that(anaphoric) is.there he is.gathering he money
Then the man remained there, gathering money.

Similarly, the two main characters in the story “The Rabbit and the Skunk” are animals and both take the pronoun **ri**. The rabbit begins the story with a noun and is alone during 14 clauses, in which he is called only **ri** (19 times). Then the skunk arrives. The verb **kosaá** (the

progressive of *saq* “to arrive”) in (41) has the special meaning of arriving to the person one is talking to or the person talked about.

- (41) *Ni_karxóo iin tĩñi'í kosaq ri.*
 arrived one skunk is.arriving.to.other.character he
And a skunk arrived.

This is followed by a dialogue between the skunk and rabbit. Six of the seven beginning quote margins have a NP: *ilo* “rabbit”, *ilo ñoó* “that (anaphoric) rabbit”, or *tĩñi'í ñoó* “that (anaphoric) skunk” and the other beginning quote margin has both participants as NPs:

- (42) *Dá ni_kaa ilo ñoó xí'in tĩñi'í ñoó: xxxx*
 then said rabbit that(anaphoric) with skunk that(anaphoric) xxxx
Then the rabbit said to the skunk: xxxx

Most of the quote ending margins are simply *-kaá ri*, meaning “—says he”. This is enough to be clear (that the quote ends), but not more than necessary. This agrees with Grice’s Maxim of Quantity (Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski 1993:295). Actions follow and *ilo* “rabbit”, *ilo ñoó* “that rabbit”, or *tĩñi'í ñoó* “that skunk” mark the beginning of each change of actor.

4.3 Noun Phrase (+/- ñoó) or Proper Name (+/- ñoó) in center of attention

After the introduction of a main character (usually with a number and noun phrase), there are times when nouns and names (with or without *ñoó*) are used instead of pronouns in spite of there being no ambiguity in the pronouns. Each of these will be illustrated in the following subsections.

4.3.1 NP when coming back onto stage as current center of attention

In the “Salt” story, the father sends away his daughter.

- (43) *Dá ni_taxí rá de'e di'í ra.*
 then sent.away he child female of.him
Then he sent away his daughter.

Then the story continues referring to this daughter with the pronoun **xi** (11 times), until another character comes on stage.

- (44) *Dá ni_kandaꞑ_ini seto'o ñoó...*
 then realized owner that(anaphoric)
Then the owner noticed...

The story continues with two more clauses about him. When the daughter is mentioned again, it is with a noun and **ñoó**, as she is brought back into focus, even though her pronoun **xi** is different from the owner's **ra**, and she is certainly activated (in the mind of the reader).

- (45) *Dá ni_kasá'á kuíko tadi'í ñoó.*
Dá ni_kasá'á kuíko ta-di'í ñoó.
 then began is.hungry child.pron.-female that(anaphoric)
Then the girl became hungry.

The story continues with eight clauses about her and she is referred to only by **xi** (five times). When the owner is mentioned again, there is a noun with **ñoó**:

- (46) *Dá ni_keta tꞑtó'o ñoó.*
 then came.out man that(anaphoric)
Then the man came out.

Then the story continues with pronouns as they encounter each other and interact, since the male pronoun (**ra**) and the female youth pronoun (**xi**) are different.

In the “Woodpecker” story, the man and a house are in the center of attention in the first five clauses. Then a woman is introduced for the first time (notice the **iin** “one, a”) as she opens her door:

- (47) *Dá ni_keta iin tꞑ'áná sá'ano ni_sonóán ye'é ñoó.*
Dá ni_keta iin tꞑ'áná sá'ano ni_sonó-án ye'é ñoó.
 then came.out one lady old opened-she door that(anaphoric)
Then an old woman came and opened the door.

A short dialogue is next. Then in the next four clauses only the man appears. He is the subject of these clauses and is signified by the pronoun *ra*. The woman is activated (in the mind of the reader) but not in the center of attention. Then switching back to the woman as the center of attention (48), she is referred to with the noun phrase again (without the *iin*) and now with *ñoó* “already mentioned”, glossed “that (anaphoric)”.

- (48) Kúú ta'áná sá'ano ñóó ndato ni nákaa ñóó káva'an pastel.
 Kúú ta'áná sá'ano ñóó ndato ni nákaa ñ-oó káva'-an pastel.
 and woman old that(anaphoric) pleasantly PLEASANT is she-that(anaphoric) is.making cake
And the old woman was there, pleasantly making a cake.

In the next 11 clauses she is always referred to by the pronoun clitic *-an* (woman) except in one case after the man is mentioned and there she is again referred to by *ta'áná sá'ano ñóó*, as in (48)

4.3.2 NP after change of time/scene but still in current center of attention

Once in a while a character who is in the center of attention is referred to by a string of pronouns and then when a change of time or a change of scene is introduced, the same character is referred to by a NP. Examples (49) and (50) are two sentences that follow each other in a personal experience narrative about a dog named “Montero”. The first contains the animal pronoun *rí*. At the change of time, he is referred to by a possessed name **Monteró*i*** to make sure the reader knows he’s still the same one in the current center of attention.

“Montero”

- (49) Kúú ni_sa_sa'ání ndava'o rí ilo ni_sasá'in.
 Kúú ni_sa_sa'ání ndava'o rí ilo ni_sasá'-in.
 and used.to.kill much he rabbit ate-I
And he used to kill lots of rabbits that I ate.
- (50) Dá iin kuu, dá ni_kandee ta'ani Monteró*i* ni_sa'ani r*i* iin ndigüe'í.
 Dá iin kuu, dá ni ta'ani Monteró-*i* ni r*i* iin ndigüe'í.
 then one day then was.able.to also Montero-my killed he one coyote
Then one day, then succeeded also my Montero in killing one coyote.

In the story “Two Brothers”, the eagle has been talking to a brother. Then examples (51) and (52) are consecutive sentences. The first uses the pronoun for the eagle and the second has a time change and uses the noun.

(51) Dá ni_kee rí kua'an ri.
 then left he is.going he
Then it (eagle) left going.

(52) Kúú ni_tuu_noo vá, kúú ni_kasáa va kirí_ya'a.
 and dawned AF and arrived AF eagle
And it dawned and the eagle arrived.

The story "Jesus" has a passage with the people and Jesus both as referred to by the pronoun *na* (53)-(55). A switch of referent is made, but is clear from actions stated. When the switch back is made, it is made clear with Name + *ñoó*, instead of a pronoun (56). Then there is a change of time and the proper name Jesus is used (57).

(53) Dá ni_kava'a na vinó / ni_xe'e na / ni_xi'i ñayuu ñoó.
 then made he wine / gave he / drank people that(anaphoric)
Then he made wine that he gave that those people drank.

(54) Dá ni_kasá'á ná nína_vaa na, /
 then began they are.rowdy they /
Then they began to make noise,

(55) ni_kasá'á ná káyu'ú ná sérsá'a ná /
 began they are.shouting they are.dancing they/
they began to shout and dance,

- (56) ni_kee vinó ni_kavá'a Jesús ñóó.
 caused wine made Jesus that(anaphoric)
because of the wine that Jesus made.

- (57) Dá ni_ini, ni_kee Jesús kua'an na kudi na...
 then got.late left Jesus is.going he will.sleep he
Then it got late, Jesus left going to go to bed...

4.3.3 NP (+/- ñóó) in quote margin as center of attention

On the other hand, there are at least three examples of noun phrases used for a referent soon after it has been introduced into the center of attention and there would be no ambiguity of pronouns. For example, in the “Woodpecker” story, **tá'áná sá'ano** “old lady” is found in a quote margin in the second clause after she was introduced. She is in the center of attention and there is no ambiguity of pronouns.

- (58) Dá ni_keta iin tá'áná sá'ano ni_sonóán yé'é ñóó.
 Dá ni_keta iin tá'áná sá'ano ni_sonó-án yé'é ñóó.
 then came one lady old opened-she door that(anaphoric)
Then an old lady came and opened the door.

- (59) Dá ni_kaa ra xí'án: --xxxx.
 Dá ni_kaa ra xí'án: --xxxx.
 the said he with-her: --xxxx
Then he said to her: --xxxx.

- (60) Dá ni_kaa tá'áná sá'ano xí'in rtó'o ñóó: --xxxx
 then said lady old with man that(anaphoric) --xxxx
Then the old lady said to that man: --xxxx

Note that the two participants are referred to by pronouns in (59) and then the newly introduced one is referred to with a NP expression without ñóó (60). After that, she is referred to as N + ñóó or with pronoun expressions.

The same thing happens with **tadi'í/radi'í** "girl" in "Striped Fish" (61)-(63) after she is introduced.

- (61) Dá nĭ_saa San Martín noó íin iin rdi'í.
 Dá nĭ_saa San Martín noó íin iin ra-di'í.
 then arrived San Martín where is.standing one youth-female
Then San Martín arrived where a girl was standing.

- (62) Ta nda'í ndéi'ĭ xi íin xi.
 and sadly is.crying she is.standing she
And she was standing there crying sadly.

- (63) Dá nĭ_kaa San Martín xí'in rdi'í: --xxxx
 Dá nĭ_kaa San Martín xí'in ra-di'í: --xxxx
 then said San Martín with youth-female:--xxxx
Then San Martín said to girl: --xxxx

And the same thing happens in the quote margin with **kirí ya'a** in the "Two Brothers" story in (66).

- (64) Kúú nĭ_saa xi noó káandu'u iin kirí_ya'a.
 and arrived he where is.lying one eagle
And he arrived where an eagle was lying.

- (65) Dá nĭ_kaa xĭ xí'in rí: --xxxx
 then said he with it(eagle): --xxxx
Then he said to it: --xxxx

- (66) Dá nĭ_kaa kirí_ya'a xí'in xí: --xxxx
 then said eagle with him: --xxxx
Then the eagle said to him: --xxxx

On the other hand NP + **ñoó** is often used in quote margins in stories when two characters are taking turns talking back and forth. Example:

(67) Dá ni_kaa ilo ñoó: xxx -kaá ri.
 then said rabbit that(anaphoric) xxx says he
Then the rabbit said, “xxx.”

(68) Dá ni_kaa tĩni'í ñoó xí'ín rí: xxx -kaá ri.
 then said skunk that(anaphoric) with him xxx says he
Then the skunk said to him, “xxx.”

It is similar to a television camera¹⁶ focusing on one person speaking and then moving to the other person when he speaks. The center of attention switches back and forth. The character not speaking at the moment is in the activated cognitive status.

4.4 Pro. + ñoó (“mentioned” or anaphoric “that”)

The pronoun clitics and **ñoó** fuse to form distinct two syllable forms, ex. **ra** (man) + **ñoó** = **roón**. These are also used when a character is in the center of attention. These pronouns with **ñoó** are:

ra (man not formal)	+ ñoó	roón
ñá (woman, not formal)	+ ñoó	ñoó ¹⁷
na (sing.: 3 rd respect; pl.: men & women)	+ ñoó	noó
ra (child, young person)	+ ñoó	roón
rí (animal, spherical object)	+ ñoó	ríón
rá (wood, liquid, etc.)	+ ñoó	roón
ñá (other thing)	+ ñoó	ñoó

¹⁶ This analogy given by Doris Bartholomew.

¹⁷ A nasal consonant makes the 2 syllable morpheme nasal and so nasality is not written by a final n.

Of the stories in the data base, "Woodpecker" has by far the most examples of pronoun + anaphoric **ñoó** (13 cases). In (70), the topic is switched from the woman to the man, indicated by the **rató'q ñoó** "that man" in the left detached position before the verb and a pronoun after the verb. The pronoun is **roón** "he-that (anaphoric)". He is referred to by the same pronoun in (71).

(69) Kúú ni_sá_io tuku miían ni_seí ña pastel ñoó.
 Kúú ni_sá_io tuku mí-án ni_seí ña pastel ñoó.
 and was again self-she ate she cake that(anaphoric)
And once again she ate the cake.

(70) Ta_kúú rató'q ñoó nda'í kuíko roón.
 Ta_kúú rató'q ñoó nda'í kuíko r-oon.
 and man that(anaphoric) poor is.hungry he-that(anaphoric)
And the man was very hungry.

(71) Dá ni_tuu_noo, / dá ni_kee roón kua'an ra.
 then dawned / then left he.that(anaphoric) is.going he
When dawn came, he left.

Then the woman, who was temporarily not at the center of attention, though quite activated, is referred to by **ñoó** "she-that".

(72) Dá ni_kandoó ñoó ióán.
 Dá ni_kandoó ñ-oo ió-án.
 then remained she-that(anaphoric) is-she
And she remained.

In two cases in "Woodpecker", the referent of Pro. + **ñoó** is an object which has just been introduced into the temporary center of attention: "another cake" and "a very tall tree". In this story the old woman is turned into a woodpecker.

(73) Dá ni_sá_káá tukúán ni_kava'án iin ka pastel.

Dá ni_sá_káá tukú-án ni_kava'án iin ka pastel.

then was again-she made one more cake

Then she made another cake.

(74) Kúú tuku va va'a sá'an ñóó.

Kúú tuku va va'a sá'an ñ-óó.

and again AF good is.tasting it-that(anaphoric)

And again it was delicious.

(75) Né'e ñaá tachí ñóó ni_sa'an ni_chindá'a ñaáán yika iin yító

Né'e ñaá tachí ñóó ni_sa'-an ni_chindá'a ñaá-án yika iin yító

is.carrying D.O. wind that(anaphoric) went-it put D.O.-it side one tree

káni xixío. Dá ni_kandooán ndá'an yika rón.

káni xixí-o. Dá ni_kandoo-án ndá'-an yika r-ón.

tall very-AF then remained-she is.stuck-she side it-that(anaphoric)

Then the wind carried her and put her on the side of a very tall tree. Then she stayed stuck on the side of the tree.

Toward the end of the story Pro. + ñóó occurs five times in a row to refer to the lady. I believe this is because of the unusual nature of what was happening to her, to help the reader realize that it was that same character (the lady) who was eating bark and growing a beak and feathers.

Other stories in the data base contain less or no use of pronoun plus ñóó. For example, the “Striped Fish” (a long story) contains only five examples.

4.5 Direct object pronoun ñaá

There is a special direct object pronoun ñaá that will be glossed as D.O. (direct object). It is pronounced as one or two syllable¹⁸ pronoun, but with two tones. In some cases this pronoun refers to people in general. But in narratives it usually refers to a person or prop that must be surmised from the context. There is no hint from the pronoun itself as to person, gender, age,

¹⁸ If the subject follows ñaá, then ñaá is pronounced as one syllable. But if ñaá comes at the end of a sentence (with the subject fronted before the verb, then ñaá is generally pronounced as two syllables.

animacy, etc. In the narratives studied here, this pronoun is used only when it refers to that which is in the center of attention.

This pronoun is found twice in "Woodpecker", referring in both cases to the old lady. She is definitely in the center of attention. Note the great amount of focus on the lady in (76), gained by the fronting and by the extra words, just before she is referred to by *ñaa* twice in (77):

- (76) Kúú ndá miíó ñoó ni_ndachí /
 Kúú ndá mií-ó ñ-oó ni_ndachí /
 and even herself-AF she-that(anaphoric) went.flying /
And even she herself went flying.

- (77) né'e ñaa tachí ñoó ni_sa'an
 né'e ñaa tachí ñoó ni_sa'an
 is.taking D.O. wind that(anaphoric) went
 ni_chindá'a ñaaán yika iin yító káni xixío.
 ni_chindá'a ñaa-án yika iin yító káni xixí-o.
 put D.O.-it side one tree tall very-AF
The wind carried her and put her on the side of a very tall tree.

The following example (78)-(79) from "Striped fish" is of a main character (San Martin) in the center of attention indicated by *ñaa*. This is an example of *ñaa* used in 1st and 2nd person, in a dialogue:

- (78) --Nakíi ná ko'ó, chí kána ñaa rey -kaá ra xí'in ná.
 come SUBJ let's.go because is.calling D.O. king say they with him
 --Come, let's go, because the king is calling **you** --they said to him.

- (79) --¿Ndá choon kuu rey yu'u ña kána ñaa ná?
 what use will.be king I that is.calling D.O. he
 --For what reason is the king calling **me**?

In another example from the same story (80), the D.O. pronoun refers to 3rd person.

- (80) Dá ni_kee ra ndáka ñáá rá kua'an ra noo rey ñoo.
 then left they are.taking D.O. they are.going they where king that(anaphoric)
Then they left and taking him they went to the king.

In the next passage from "Two Brothers", the daughter and son-in-law of the king are in the current center of attention, because of the direct quote (82). In (84) and (85) they are referred to by ñáá.

- (81) Dá ni_kaa rey xí'in solndadó ra:
 then said king with soldiers of.him
Then said the king to his soldiers:

- (82) --jKua'án ndo ki'in ndó de'e di'íi xí'in kadóí!
 --jKua'án ndo ki'in ndó de'e di'í-i xí'in kadó-í!
 go you.pl will.get you.pl child female-of.me with son.in.law-of.me
--jGo get my daughter and my son-in-law!

- (83) Dá ni_kee ra taxí_tá'an ra kua'an ra.
 then left they are.running they are.going they
Then they left running.

- (84) Dá ni_sa'an ra ni_sa_ki'in ñáá rá.
 then went they got D.O. they
Then they went and they got them.

- (85) Dá ndáka ñáá rá ni_kasáa ra.
 then are.bringing D.O.they arrived they
Then bringing them they arrived.

In conclusion, characters in the center of attention are most often indicated by pronouns. Both characters in the center of attention and activated characters as they come back on stage are indicated also by NP, NP + **ñooó**, proper name, proper name + **ñooó**. Other times the character in the center of attention is referred to by the pronoun + **ñooó**, or the direct object pronoun **ñaá** which does not indicate person, gender, age, animacy, etc. and can be interpreted only by context.

5. Participant is surprising or unexpected

There are a number of examples in this small data base which all represent a surprising or unexpected participant. Of the following five examples, three employ fronting, but all use certain words of focus, such as **mií** “self”, **ndaá** “until, even”, **va** (affirmation particle), and **káa** (surprise particle). Note in the examples that the underlying referring expression is N + **ñooó**, Pro + **ñooó**, Pro, NP + **ñooó**, and NP respectively.

“Jesus”

- (86) Dá ni_kani ra ta kándu'u sa'a vé'e.
 then beat they man.that is.lying acerca.de house
Then they beat the one on the inside.

- (87) Káa miíó Pedro ñooó ví kúú ííó rá.
 Káa mií-ó Pedro ñooó ví kúú íí-ó rá.
 SURPRISE self-AF Peter that(anaphoric) INT is still-AF he
And Peter himself was the one!

“Woodpecker”

- (88) Kúú ndá miíó ñooó ni_ndachí.
 Kúú ndá mií-ó ñooó ni_ndachí.
 and even self-AF she-that(anaphoric) flew
And even she herself went flying!

“Woodpecker”

- (89) Kúú ni_sá_io tuku miían ni_seí ña pastel ñoó.
 Kúú ni_sá_io tuku mií-án ni_seí ña pastel ñoó.
 And sat again self-she ate she pastel that(anaphoric)
And again she herself ate the cake!

“Two Brothers”

- (90) Kúú ni_sá_ño'o miíó t̥ɖu'ú kuálí ñóó ni_nakaxi rían.
 Kúú ni_sá_ño'o mií-ó t̥ɖu'ú kuálí ñóó ni_nakaxi rí-an.
 And were.inside self-AF ants little that.(anaphoric) sorted they-them
And the little ants themselves were in there and they sorted them!

“Woodpecker”

- (91) Kúú nda doo yító ni_sá_seí ñoó.
 Kúú nda doo yító ni_sá_seí ñ-oó.
 and even bark.(of) tree ate she-that(anaphoric)
And she ate even the bark of the tree!

In the next example, the arrival of the eagle, who was quite unexpected, is marked also by a relative clause after a N, as well as by **káa** and **vá**. There is a pronoun + **noó** at the end.

“Two Brothers”

- (92) Káa kirí_ya'a, kirí ni_xini x̥i ích̥i noó vei xi,
 SURPRISE eagle animal saw he path where came he
And there was the eagle, the one he saw on the path where he travelled,

ñoó vá kúú rión.
 ñoó vá kúú rión.
 there AF is it-that(anaphoric)
right over there was that one.

6. Peak in narratives

In the peak of a Mixtec story, the action is told in great detail, thus slowing down the action. This is called “rhetorical underlining” by Longacre (1996:39). Often it is accompanied by the conjunctions **kúú** and **ta kúú**, both meaning “and” (with an emotional excitement), instead of the **dá** “then”, which just moves along the action in the story.

One example is the story where the rabbit loans the skunk his brand new guitar (though with misgivings). When he wants it back, the skunk replies, “I won’t give it to you, because you gave it to me forever.” It is a short story so peak is rather short too:

(93) Ta_kúú ni_kasá'á vá ilo ñóó ndé'í ri ió ri.
and began AF rabbit that(anaphoric) is.crying he is he

(94) Ta_kúú ndúndéé ka ví tñi'í ñóó dáká'a rí.
and with.force more INT skunk that(anaphoric) is.playing he

(95) Ta_kúú ko ní_xiní ri ni_sa_koo rí yé'é tño'ó.
and no saw he sat he door(.of) type.of.red.stinging.ants

(96) Ta_kúú ni_kankuei tño'ó ni_kasá'á seí ñáá rí.
and came.out ants began are.biting D.O. they

(97) Kúú ni ko ná'á ka va rí ni_dandákoo rí guitarra.
and neither no knows more AF he left he guitar

(98) Ta_kúú kua'an va rí.
and is.going AF he

And the rabbit began crying. And the skunk played harder. And he didn't see that he was sitting on the door of the stinging red ants. And out came the ants and began to bite him. And he didn't know that he left behind the guitar. And he went away (running?).

A good example of rhetorical underlining is in the “Deer Story” text by Sebastián Ojeda Velásquez published with glosses and free translation in the popular grammar (Williams 2006: 248-254). The peak comes in lines 8-18 which contain 26 clauses, and they all describe a moment or two of time. The conjunction **kúú** appears eight times, and **tá kúú** appears three times. There is also a rhetorical question as shown as (101) in the following excerpt from the peak (99)-(103). The context is that he came to a cave and there was a lion about to spring out at him.

(99) Tído kúú ni_daxínokooi raxííi kua'in kiníí rí, / ni_ka'in, /
 Tído kúú ni_daxínokoo-i raxíí-i kua'-in kiní-í rí, / ni_ka'-in, /
 but and lifted-I rifle-my am.going-I will.shoot-I him(lion) / thought-I /
But I lifted my rifle to shoot him, I thought,

(100) ta_kúú ñóó ni_kana_kono rí ni_keta rí vei rí /
 and over.there ran he came.out he is.coming he /
and he came out running, coming right toward

(101) noó íin yu'u, / chí ¿ndeí ko'on ríón keta rí? /
 noó íin yu'u, / chí ¿ndeí ko'on rí-ón keta rí? /
 where am.standing I / because where will.go he-that(anaphoric) will.leave he /
where I was standing, because where else could he leave?

(102) Ta_kúú míí ñóó íin yu'u.
 and same there is.standing I
And right there I was standing.

(103) Ñóó vá kúú yé'é rí.
 there AF is door.(of) him
There was his door.

Longacre says there may be “paraphrase” and “tautologies of various sorts” in rhetorical underlining to be sure the reader gets the point (Longacre 1996:39). Note some repetition of ideas in (101)-(103).

Another feature of peak is illustrated in the “Deer Story”. Before the peak, the author uses first person plural. At the beginning of the peak he switches to first person singular. “Heightened vividness may be obtained by a shift to a more specific person...” (Longacre 1996:41).

The “Woodpecker” story (also included in complete form and glossed in Williams 2006:241-244) has a peak of 14 clauses, with six instances of **kúú**. The “Rabbit and Skunk” story, the “Deer Story”, and the “Woodpecker” story are told by three different authors, although two are grandchildren of the author of the “Deer Story”. The short personal experience story “Montero”, by the same grandfather, has a peak containing the conjunction **kúú** eight times. A story by his daughter called “Five Sheep” contains two instances of **ta kúú**.

Actually quite a few of the stories in the data base (mostly by another author) do not have peaks accompanied by the conjunctions **kúú** and **tá kúú**. For example, in the “Salt” story, there is only a slowing of action, although there is one **ta kúú** in a direct quote. In the story, the girl, whose father chased her away because she said she loved him like salt, is getting married and invites her father to come, and her groom leaves salt out of his food. The peak is quite lengthy, but it simply tells about him coming and eating and asking for salt, and at the end, their answer.

(104) Dá nĭ_tanda'án choon / kua'an / kasaā rā noo koo víkō. /
 Dá nĭ_tanda'án choon / kua'-an / kasaā rā noo koo víkō. /
 then sent-she message / is.going-it/ will.arrive he where will.be party /
Then she sent word for him to come to the party.

(105) Dá nĭ_saa ra. / Dá nĭ_sa_kuíin na mesá. /
 then arrived he / then stood.up they table /
Then he arrived. They stood at the table.

(106) Dá nĭ_chikodó ná ko'o, / dá nĭ_sa_ndeĭ na sásá'an na. /
 then put.on they dishes / then were.seated they are.eating they /
They put the dishes on and were seated and were eating.

(107) Ta sa_ná'á vá rá / ndi_káa ko'o kasá'an tatá tadi'í ñoó. /
 and knew AF he / which dish will.eat father.(of) girl that(anaphoric) /
And the groom knew which dish the girl's father would eat.

(108) Ni lú'u ví ñii ni_chikáa na ko'o rá. /
 not a.little INT salt put they dish.(of) him /
They did not put any salt into his dish.

(109) Takují oon_nina va kúú rón. /
 Takují oon_nina va kúú r-ón. /
 water only AF is liquid-that(anaphoric) /
The liquid was pure water.

(110) Dá ni_sa_koo ra ió ra sásá'an ra. /
 then was.sitting he is he is.eating he /
Then he was sitting eating.

(111) Dá ni_kaa rón: /
 Dá ni_kaa r-ón: /
 then said he-that(anaphoric) /
Then he said,

(112) --Kámanj vá ñii ko'ó yu'u / -káa ra di'a. /
 is.lacking AF salt dish.(of) mine / says he thus /
"My dish has no salt."

(113) Dá ni_kasá'á rá xíka ra ñii. /
 the began he is.asking.for he salt /
Then he began to ask for salt.

(114) Dá n̄_kaa n̄a x̄í'ín rá: /
 then said they with him /
They said to him,

(115) --¿Ndiva'a kón̄i míi ní ñ̄ii? /
 why are.wanting self you salt /
“Why do you want salt?”

(116) A_duú k̄o x̄íñó'ó ta'on míi ní ñ̄ii, / kaá ní /
 no no is.needing no self you salt / says you /
You don't need salt, you say.

(117) ta_kúú n̄i_taxí ní de'e ní / -kaá n̄a di'a x̄í'ín rá. /
 and sent.off you daughter.(of) you / say they thus with him /
And you sent off your daughter!” they said to him.

(118) Dá k̄o ká'an̄ k̄a r̄a íó r̄a.
 then no is.speaking more he is.sitting he
Then he said no more.

Note a lack of noun participant references in the peak of the “Salt” story, even though there could be confusion as to who is being referred to by the pronouns. However, in peaks of other texts, I don't see any real difference from normal participant reference encoding.

Note that (108) and (109) do not begin with conjunctions. In example (108) the direct object is fronted for emphasis¹⁹ and also has the intensifier particle **ví**. This contrasts with the beginning of (109), which has the affirmation particle **va** that is not as strong as **ví**, and also **oon nina** “only, nothing more”. The two sentences say the same thing but in a very different way.

An example similar to (108)-(109) occurs in the peak of the “Pedro Mala” story, when a tree stops raining down money.

¹⁹ William, Judy 1993:90

(119) Dá ni_ndi'i va di'ón ñóó.
 Then ended AF money that(anaphoric)
Then the money stopped.

(120) Kóó ká va ñóó kuéi.
 Kóó ká va ñá-ñoó kuéi.
 no more AF it-that(anaphoric) is.falling
No more money fell.

The story of the “Striped Fish”, by the same author as the “Salt” story, has no use of **ta kuu** in its peak. It has five clauses about Santiago beating the lady until she gave him the key and six clauses of how he freed the people and animals locked up. All the clauses begin with **dá** “then” except one beginning with **dión** “thus”.

The story of “Jesus” has a short peak with a direct quote, one sentence beginning with **dá** “then” and then two sentences without conjunctions (123)-(124). The background is that Peter was beaten when he was lying on the outside of the bed and Jesus against the wall, when the drunks came the first time and beat Peter. So the next night Peter asks Jesus to trade places with him and he does. Then the drunks come back and say,

(121) Sá ni_yá'a va tá [kándu'ú yú'ú], / ndá rá [kándu'ú sa'a_vé'e] kámani /--káá rá. /
 already passed AF he is.lying edge / until he is.lying wall is.lacking / say they/
“We’ve done the one lying on the outside; now it’s the turn of the one lying against the wall,”
they said.

(122) Dá ni_kani ra tá [kándu'ú sa'a_vé'e].
 then beat they he is.lying wall
So they beat the one lying against the wall.

(123) Káa miíó Pédro ñóó ví kúú ió rá.
 Káa mií-ó Pédro ñóó ví kúú íí-ó rá.
 SURPRISE self-AF Peter that(anaphoric) INT is still-AF he
And Peter himself was the one!

- (124) Uu ví ta'ándá ni_katátá Pedro / ni_kee ra xini ñoó.
 two INT times was.beaten Peter / did they are.drunk that(anaphoric)
Twice Peter was beaten by the drunks.

Here in (123) and (124) is another instance of saying much the same thing twice in a different way.

Another story by the author of “Salt” is “Blanca Flor”. “Blanca Flor” contains more than one peak. The first is when her father finds the garden with “blanca flor” that his daughter had asked him to bring her. He knocks and knocks on the door and no one comes. He finally decides there’s nothing to do but get the flowers anyway. Notice the drama of repetition in the next three lines.

- (125) Dá ni_sa'ano ra iin noo ita, / ko ta'ón ña'a ní_keta.
 then broke.off he one stem.(of) flowers / no no thing came.out
Then he broke off one stem of flowers, nothing came out (of the house).

- (126) Dá ni_sa'ano ra uu noo ita, / ko ta'ón ña'a.
 then broke.off he two stem.(of) flowers / no no thing
Then he broke off another stem of flowers, nothing.

- (127) Tá ni_sa'ano ra noo [kúú oni ñoó], / karxoo iin koo.
 when broke.off he stem.(of) is third that(anaphoric) / arrived one snake
When he broke off the third one, a snake appeared.

The snake, of course, is angry.

In summary, peak is characterized by the slowing down of action and sometimes the conjunctions **kúú** and **ta kúú**. Sometimes repetition of ideas is used, and in one case in the data there was a rhetorical question.

7. Conclusion

This paper is an exploration of the use of grammatical expressions that refer to characters and props in several stories in Tezoatlán Mixtec. It makes use of the concept of cognitive states of the hearer presented in Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski 1993:275, 284.

The cognitive referential status is shown to be most commonly Number + NP in Tezoatlán Mixtec. This is not unusual in Mixtec, also occurring for example in Ocotepéc Mixtec (Alexander, 1988: 297: 7.1 and 7.2), or Ayutla (Hills. 1990: 251: 7.1 & 7.3. Another example from Coicoyan (Mixteca Baja) is:

(128) *lín ichí iin leso xíxi ri itu iin ra tíaa.*

one time one rabbit PROG.eats it(anim) cornfield one male man.

One time, a rabbit was eating a man's cornfield. (Bruce Beatham, personal correspondence).

The familiar referential status is most commonly expressed by a name or an inferred noun or possessed noun.

A pronoun is the most common grammatical coding for a character in the center of attention (cognitive state “in focus”), but a variety of other codings are possible, especially when the pronouns for two main characters are identical; when changing to a new time in the story; in quote margins; and as a character comes back to center stage from the cognitive state of activation.

Finally, a section on peaks or climaxes in stories claims that a slowing down of action (greater details and repetition of ideas) is the chief device to show peak. This is called “rhetorical underlining” by Longacre (1996:39). Normal participant reference is not usually disturbed in the peak of stories. In some cases the use of the conjunction **ta kúú** and **kúú** (Williams, John 1993:78, 80), both meaning “and” (with emotional excitement) also show peak.

APPENDIX: Type of clausal units counted for MT

MT is a strongly VSO language. The subject of a clause must at the minimum be represented by a pronoun clitic following the verb.²⁰ In dividing narratives into clauses for the purpose of this paper, I am using the following six criteria.

²⁰ Only a few verbs such as **kuu** “to be able” and **kuna'á** “to take a long time” do not have a subject. Some verbs, such as **kasá'á** “to begin” at times take sentential subjects.

1. Verb chains counted as one unit

Verb chains are common in MT. In chains where each verb has the same subject, the first verb may be followed by any referring expression for subject, but each of the other verbs is followed by a pronoun clitic as subject. Examples:

- (129) Íin va noó ndáti na.
 Íiin va n-óón ndáti na.
 is.standing AF she-that(anaphoric) is.waiting she
She is standing and waiting.

- (130) Dá ni_kee ta'áná_tó'o ñoó kána_konó na kua'an nomi_ni'ini ñaá na, ká'án.
 dá ni_kee ta'áná_tó'o ñoó kána_konó na kua'an nomi_ni'ini ñaá na ká'-án
 then left woman that(anaphoric) is.running she is.going will.hug D.O. she thinks-she
Then the woman came running intending to hug him.

- (131) Dá ni_saa ra ni_kasá'a rá dákásá rá yé'é.
 then arrived he began he is.knocking he door
Then he arrived and began knocking on the door.

For making clause counts I will count as one clausal unit a chain of verbs, each with the same referent as subject, and with no conjunctions coming between the verbs. Thus (129), (130), and (131) above are single clausal units. Examples (132) and (133) contain a conjunction and are considered two clauses each.

- (132) Dá ni_kee ra ndáka ñaá rá kua'an ra noo rey ñoó, / dá ni_saa ra.
 then left they are.bringing D.O. him are.coming they to king that(anaphoric) / then arrived they
Then they came bringing him to the king / and they arrived.

- (133) --iin taa kánóo iin kuéi pindó, / ta ndáka ra iin tina pindó..
 one man is.on one horse striped / and brings he one dog striped
--A man was on a striped horse/ and bringing a striped dog..

A NP adjunct which pertains to only a single verb may follow a verb and subject in the chain, and I will still consider it a single clause. For example, in (134), **de'e di'í rey** is the direct object of the verb **ndáka ra** and in (135), **cadená** is the instrument of the verb **ndíko na** in the second example.

(134) Kúú dá ndáka ra de'e di'í rey ni_kasáa ra.

And then is.bringing he child female of.king arrived he

And then he arrived, bringing the daughter of the king.

(135) Díón ví nda'í ndáa ñani na ndíko na cadená ñó'o na.

thus INT poor are brothers of.him tied they chains are.in they

Thus his poor brothers were in there tied with chains.

2. Verb chains with a shared adjunct at the seam of two separate clausal units

However, sometimes a NP direct object appears in a verb chain and is the direct object both of the verb it follows and of the subsequent verb. In (136)-(140), note that no overt expression referring to the direct object occurs after the second verb. This will be considered a special construction where two clauses share a NP direct object at their seam.²¹ This construction is often used to advance the story line.

(136) Ni_xi'o yu'u takuí / ni_xi'i tina.

gave I water / drank dog

I gave water / [which] the dog drank.

(137) Dá ni_tao San Martín yáa ri / ni_daná'a na noo rey.

then pulled.out San Martín tongues of.it / showed he to king

Then he pulled out the tongues/ and showed [them] to the king.

²¹ It could be argued that these are simply single clause chains, except when the subject changes, as in (136) and (142). Also the direct objects in the 2nd or 3rd clauses could be considered in focus and unmarked.

(138) Dá ni_sa'an ra ni_sa_ki'in ra kuéi / né'e ra ni_kasáa ra.
 then went he got he horses / is.bringing he arrived he
Then he went to get the horses / and arrived bringing [them].

(139) Dá ni_ki'in na dagá na / ni_chikáa me'í na.
 then took he dagger of.him / put in.the.middle.of.them
Then he took his dagger / and put [it] in between them.

(140) Ta_kúu komandánté ni_ki'in ra ndu'u / né'e ra kua'an ra ve'e kaa.
 and comandante got they us / are.taking they are.going they house.(of) metal
And the comandante got grabbed us / and took [us] to the jail.

When the first clause shares its direct object with two subsequent verbs, the construction will be counted as three clauses, as in (141) and (142).

(141) Ñóo ni_sa_káa ra ni_sa'anda ra ndin usa diníi koq /
 there was he cut he the seven heads of.snake /
 né'e ra kua'an ra / dánda'í ra rey ñóo.
 is.bringing he is.going he / is.showing he king that(anaphoric)
*There he was cutting off the seven heads of the snake, /
 and bringing [them] / he showed [them] to the king.*

(142) Dá ni_kava'a na vinó / ni_xe'e-na / ni_xi'i ñayuu ñóo.
 then made he wine / gave-he / drank people that(anaphoric)
Then he made wine / and gave [it][to the people] / and they drank [it].

In example (143), the direct object of the first verb is shared with the third verb and is divided as follows:

(143) Dá né'e ñaá rá ni_sa'an ra / ni_chikáa ra ini ve'e kaa na.
 then is.bringing D.O. he went he / put he in house.(of) metal of.them
Then bringing them / he put [them] in the jail.

A locative NP may also be shared by two verbs and this will likewise be counted as two clauses sharing a locative NP at their seam. This is less common in the data. In (144), **iin ka yúku** (another mountain) is a locative NP shared by two verbs.

- (144) N_i t_{uu} no_o ndú iin k_a yúku, / sa_{nde}i ndu n_iki_di ndu u_u horá.
 dawned to.us one more mountain were we / were we slept we two hours
At dawn we were on another mountain / and we slept [there] for two hours.

And perhaps **dini vé'e** (roof) is a locative phrase shared by two verbs in (145).

- (145) Dá n_ikaa na din_i vé'e / kándodó ná.
 then went.up they head.(of) house / are.upon they
Then they went up on the roof / and were up on [it].

3. Verb chaining with repetition of kua'an (Progressive:go)

A special case of clause chaining is where the verb **kua'an** (Progr.:go) is repeated. I will count as separate clauses each clause where kua'an is repeated.

- (146) Dá n_ikee xi kua'an xi. / N_iki'in xi iin ích_i kua'an xi / xíka xi kua'an xi.
 then left he is.going he / took he one road is.going he / is.walking he is.going he
Then he left and was walking on the road.

- (147) N_ikee r_i kua'an r_i. / Nda'í ndáa ri kua'an r_i.
 left they are.going they / poor are they are.going they
Then they left and went sadly.

- (148) Dá n_inakuei ndu kua'an ndu / xíka ndu kua'an ndu, /
 then got.up we are.going we / are.walking we are.going we /
 ta xíka ndu kua'an ndu.
 and are.walking we are.going we
Then we got up and went on walking and walking.

4. Sentential complements, locative clauses and relative clauses

For purposes of this paper I will count sentential complements, locative clauses, and relative clauses in the clause count totals. Example (149) contains a locative clause (**noó íin iin tadi'í**) and I count it as two clausal units. Example (150) contains a sentential complement as direct object and I count that likewise as two clausal units.

(149) Dá ni_saa San Martín / noó íin iin tadi'í.
 then arrived San Martín / where is.standing one girl
The San Martín arrived where a girl was standing.

(150) --¿Á ni_keeón / ña ni_ka'in xí'ón?
 --¿Á ni_kee-ón / ña ni_ka'-in xí'-ón?
 ¿? did-you / what said-I with-you
 --*Did you do what I told you?*

The following two locative clauses fill the slot of direct object instead of being locative adjuncts of the verb. They are counted in the total.

(151) Dá ni_xini San Jorge / noó kána ño'oma ñoó.
 then saw San Jorge / where is.coming.outsmoke that(anaphoric)
Then San Jorge saw where the smoke was coming out.

(152) Dá ni_sa'an na ni_sonó ná / noó ñó'o ñani na.
 then went he opened he / where are.in brothers of.him
Then he went and opened the place where his brothers were.

Examples (153) and (154) contain relative clauses, modifying *t̥aa* (man) and *vinó* (wine) respectively.

(153) Dá ni_kee na kua'an na kanoo na kande'é ná viñá t̥aa [kúú rey ñoó].
 then left he is.going he will.walk he will.see he vineyard of.man is king that(anaphoric)
Then he left and went to see the vineyard of the man [who was the king].

- (154) Dá ni_ndi'i vinó [ni_xi'i tətó'ò ñóó].
 then finished wine drank men that(anaphoric)
Then the wine [drunk by the men] was all gone.

Sometimes relative clauses are embedded within a main clause. They will still be counted as separate clausal units. In (155) and (156), the relative clause is marked by square brackets and the total count is two (main clause + relative clause).

- (155) Dá ni_xi'o tadi'í ñóó iin dé'e [nákaā ndá'a xí] noo S.M. ñóó.
 then gave girl that(anaphoric) one ring is.on hand.(of) her to S.M. that(anaphoric)
Then the girl gave a ring [that was on her hand] to San Martín.

- (156) Dá ni_ki'in na íchi me'í [noó kua'an S.M. ñóó] kua'an na.
 then took he road in.middle where is.going S.M. that(anaphoric) is.going he
Then he took the road in the middle [which was the one San Martín had gone on].

5. Adverbial clause of time and other temporal elements

To introduce a new scene, MT often has a temporal element occurring sentence initial.

Examples:

- (157) Dá ni_ini, ni_kee Jesús kua'an na kudj na xí'in discipuló na.
 then got.dark left Jesus is.going he will.sleep he with disciple.(of) him
Then it got dark and Jesus left to go sleep with his disciple.

- (158) Dá ni_tuu_noo, ni_kee na kua'an dii na xí'in ñóón.
 Dá ni_tuu_noo, ni_kee na kua'an dii na xí'in ñ-oón.
 then dawned left he is.going for.a.walk he with her-that(anaphoric)
At dawn he and the girl went for a walk.

Since the temporal elements in (157) and (158) are meteorological verbs with an unmarked impersonal subject and serve merely to change the scene, they will not be counted as separate

clauses in this paper. However, if they are followed by a conjunction, as in (159), they will be counted as separate clauses.

- (159) Kúú dá ni_tuu_noo, / dá ni_nakoo xi.
 and then dawned / then got.up he
And then at dawn he got up.

Alternately, when the temporal element is preceded by **tá** “when”, as in (160), it is counted as a separate clause, even though a conjunction does not follow it, since it is normal for the clause following a “when” clause to have no conjunction:

- (160) Tá ni_tuu_noo, / ni_kee tató'o kua'an ra ko'óni rá lechí.
 when it.dawned / left man is.going he will.milk he milk
At dawn the man went to milk (goats).

Example (161) contains an adverbial clause of time at the end of the sentence separated by the conjunction **tá** “when”. It also contains a participant **-in** “I” in the clause of time.

- (161) Dión ni_ndo'o yu'u / tá ni_sa'in norté.
 Dión ni_ndo'o yu'u / tá ni_sa'-in norté.
 thus happened.to I / when went-I the.north
This is what happened to me / when I went to the North.

6. Natural break

When a natural pause comes in what could be a chain, I also divide it. For example, one takes a pause after an affirmative clause when followed by a negative:

- (162) Dá ni_sa_sa'an ndu uu kuu, / ko ní_sasá'an ndu.
 then went we two days / no ate we
Then we went two days without eating.

References

- Alexander, Ruth Mary. 1988. *A Syntactic Sketch of Ocoatepec Mixtec* in Henry C. Bradley & Barbara E. Hollenbach, eds, *Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages*, Vol. 1. Arlington, TX: SIL and The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg, & Ron Zacharski. 1993. *Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse*. *Language: Journal of the Linguistic Society of America*. Vol. 69, Number 2, 274-305. Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press Inc.
- Hills, Robert. 1990. *A Syntactic Sketch of Ayutla Mixtec* in Henry C. Bradley & Barbara E. Hollenbach, eds, *Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages*, Vol. 2. Arlington, TX: SIL and The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Hollenbach, Barbara E. 1992. *A Syntactic Sketch of Copala Trique*. in Henry C. Bradley & Barbara E. Hollenbach, eds, *Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages*, Vol. 4. Arlington, TX: SIL and The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1996. *The Grammar of Discourse*. NY: Plenum Press.
- Williams, John. 1993. *Four Conjunctions in Tezoatlán Mixtec*. In SIL Workpapers No. 10. Tucson:SIL
- Williams, Judith Ferguson de. 2006. *Gramática popular del mixteco de Tezoatlán, San Andrés, Yutatío, Oaxaca*. D.F., México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A. C. Also on the web: www.sil.org/mexico/mixteca/tezoatlan/G009a-GramMixTez-mxb.htm.
- 1993. *The Fronting of Noun and Adverb Phrases in Mixtec of Tezoatlán*. In SIL Workpapers No. 10. Tucson:SIL