DISCOURSE STUDIES
IN
MESOAMERICAN LANGUAGES

Volume 1: Discussion
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Publication Number 58
Volume I

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DISCOURSE STUDIES
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Volume 1: Discussion

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A PUBLICATION OF

THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
and
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

1979

ISBN Volume I 0-88312-078-X
Set 0-88312-080-1

Library of Congress Catalog Card No: 79-66353
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Bookstore
Summer Institute of Linguistics
7500 W. Camp Wisdom Road
Dallas, TX  75236
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction ........................................... vii

Part 1: Theoretical Orientation .................. 1
Multiple Levels of Information in Discourse ........... 3
Larry B. Jones and Linda K. Jones

Part 2: Tense, Aspect, and Mood .................. 29
Tense-Aspect in Totonac Narrative Discourse .......... 31
Ruth G. Bishop
Towards a Discourse Perspective of Modes and Tenses in Kickapoo Narratives ................. 69
Linda K. Jones and Ned R. Coleman
The Role of Aspect in Distinguishing Aguacatec Discourse Types 97
Harry S. McArthur
Plot Structure in Lachixio Zapotec Discourse .......... 123
David Persens
Tense, Tense Embedding, and Theme in Discourse in Mazatec of Jalapa de Díaz ................. 141
T. L. Schram

Part 3: Particles and Affixes ..................... 169
Verbal Suffixes of Prominence in Western Tarahumara Narrative Discourse .................. 171
Don Burgess
A Discourse Particle in Cajonos Zapotec ............ 189
Larry B. Jones and Donald Nellis
Highlighting in Aguacatec Discourse .......... 219
Lucille E. McArthur

Part 4: Participant Reference .................... 245
Rank of Participants in Huasteca Nahuatl ............ 247
Dick Beller and Pat Beller
Participant Reference in Narrative Discourse in Mazatec of Jalapa de Díaz ............. 269
Judith L. Schram and Linda K. Jones

v
Part 5: Theme, Prominence, and Dominance. 291

Dynamics of Reported Speech in Totonac 293
Aileen A. Reid

Theme in a Mazatec Story 329
T. L. Schram

Prominence and Dominance in Coatzospan Mixtec Narrative 353
Priscilla Small

References 373
INTRODUCTION

In a field as varied and complex as contemporary linguistics, the dissemination of information from one practitioner of the discipline to another is a major problem. For one thing, there is an enormous spread of interest within current linguistics. The scope and variety is such that linguists tend to become specialists on a narrow front: e.g., phonology (or some specific variety of phonology), syntax, development of language, language disorders, diachronic linguistics, discourse, conversation— or what have you. Specialization of this sort has built-in dangers, for very often research finds or conceptual frameworks in one field of specialization have important implications for another field of specialization. As a result the overly narrow specialist loses competence in his own field of specialty by failing to look beyond its borders. Add to this the further parochialism resultant from a hangover of the sectarianism of our immediate linguistic past—in which one read papers by and interacted with only those who consented to his own particular brand of linguistics—and scholarly interaction is even further reduced. Finally, add to both the above the tendency among field workers to specialize in one linguistic area of the world over against others, and it is evident that dialog among scholars can be reduced to a minimum. In the end one can find himself interacting with and reading the works of linguists limited to his field of specialty, sharing his particular approach and interested in his chosen linguistic area. Obviously, an occasional excursus beyond such self-imposed boundaries is called for.

Admittedly the present volume should be of interest to students of discourse and/or those interested in Mesoamerican languages—as well as to those accustomed to the general sort of approach here embodied. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the material included here can have a certain significance over and beyond these restrictive boundaries. The study of discourse is not a specialization; rather it embodies new perspectives for any student of human language. In this new perspective the study of verbs, nouns, and particles comes alive in a sense not previously possible, and some apparently disconnected linguistic phenomena are seen to have broad connections. That the material is Mesoamerican is, in a sense, incidental; a similar study in any linguistic area would be significant. And, again, the significance of any such study should outrun the theoretical perspectives of those who conducted it.
Specifically: seventeen field investigators of the Mexican and Central American branches of the Summer Institute of Linguistics were brought together for a two month's workshop at Ixmiquilpan in the Mexican state of Hidalgo during the summer of 1978. As director of the project, I was assisted by Larry and Linda Jones and Stephen Thrasher as linguistic consultants. The language families and stocks represented were Mayan, Totonacan, Otomanguean, Utoaztecan, and Algonquian. While the first four are typically Mesoamerican, the representative of Algonquian (Kickapoo) is a recent newcomer.

The avowed aims of the project were to investigate monolog discourse structured from a twofold perspective: that of uses of tense-aspect in verbs, and participant reference (including nouns, pronouns, verb suffixes, and null). Ultimately this proved to be practically equivalent to accounting for discourse functions of verbs and nouns, along with substitutes for the latter. But other matters inevitably came in by the board, e.g., the function of certain sequence signals and mystery particles.

Out of the study various conclusions emerged: (1) that tense-aspect distinctions are best explained in reference to the texture of connected discourse; (2) that different discourse genre feature different ensembles of tense-aspects; (3) that other features of verb inflection can enter in and complicate the picture; (4) that the explanation of a mystery particle of apparently random distribution can reveal very sophisticated patterns; (5) that varying ways of introducing, tracking, and removing participants involve highly systematic rules; (6) that full understanding of such rules ties into: (a) thematic structuring of discourses and paragraphs; (b) and consideration of dominance in participant interaction—with dominance and thematicity not fully isomorphic.

While few of the above are startlingly new, much of previous discourse research was solidly confirmed and amplified. Perhaps the most significant advances are: (1) the synthesis involved in recognizing multiple levels of information relevance (see Jones and Jones); and (2) the recognition of thematicity and dominance as intertwining considerations in participant reference (see Part 5).

As for the significance of relative levels of information relevance (as over against a simple division of a discourse into foregrounded and backgrounded material), this is the main point of the Jones and Jones paper. In relating this new material to previous work, it should be noted that (1) backbone or eventline—used interchangeably in the Colombia—Panama—Ecuador volumes (Longacre and Woods, eds. 1976-7)—referred there rather to significant or major events than routine events on the eventline. Thus, in the Guajiro materials of Mansen and Mansen, the verb auxiliary calaca, was considered to mark 'important events', not simply events per se. (2) What was lacking in the South American
materials was a careful exploration of the routine eventline as marked in discourse. (3) The Mexican workshop program brought into clear focus the distinction between privileged events and routine events in narration with consequent terminological refinements. The Jones and Jones paper makes these refinements and attempts to relate all this to recent work of the Pikes' on referential hierarchy, to work on foregrounding in discourse by Hopper and others, and my own work on marking of discourse peak (Longacre 1976a). The result is a new and insightful synthesis.

One feature that repeatedly is illustrated in the material of this volume can be summarized in the rubric peak as zone of turbulence, i.e., at the peak of a discourse we do not have the usual discourse flow but distortion of this flow by a superimposed marking of prominence. In the generally heightened style that is characteristic of a peak, features that mark either the routine eventline or the more major events may be absent or replaced by other features. For this reason, analytically speaking, the peak is the worst of all places to begin the study of the discourse structure of a text.

The Totonac materials— to cite data which I am especially familiar with—illustrate the manner in which apparently unrelated matters come together rather dramatically in the study of discourse. The apparently disparate features that are relevant here are: tense-aspect of verbs; suppression of reference to subjects by verb affixation; uses of adverbial and relative clauses; prefixes of negation and frustration in verbs; use of the conjunction tuncan 'and then'; and meaning and function of a mystery particle -tza'. These various features are seen to mark levels of information relevance and peak: (1) The eventline is indicated by choice of the preterite tense-aspect, but only non-collateral, independent preterites are to be regarded as on the eventline. (2) The mystery particle -tza' labels supportive material which is crucial to something which is on the eventline. (3) Preterites in adverbial and relative clauses are seen not to be on the eventline in that they may on occasion take -tza'. Furthermore, adverbial clauses are often used in back-reference where they refer to a previous event but are not in and of themselves reporting anything. This is further evidence of their off-the-line status. (4) Relative clauses, even though having a verb in the preterite, may likewise be marked with -tza', marker of crucial supportive material. Again, the attributive function of relative clauses agrees well with their off-the-line status. (5) Independent preterites which are prefixed with ti' 'negative' and ti- 'frustrative' may likewise take -tza'. That they are thus marked as important supportive materials (collateral) agrees with their status as non-events rather than events— in spite of the occurrence of the preterite. (6) Tuncan 'and then' marks the clause which it introduces as containing especially foregrounded material, i.e., important rather than routine events. (7) While for various
Introduction

reasons involving thematicity and dominance the identity of the subject of a clause may be suppressed by use of the suffix -ca/can, the identity of the global participant (central character) may not be suppressed except as in (8) below. (8) Under the special conditions which prevail at peak several of the above rules are qualified or suspended: (a) Under certain conditions the imperfect rather than the preterite occurs on the eventline, or better, the distinction between preterite and imperfect, i.e., on-the-line and off-the-line, is suspended and only imperfects occur. (b) The identity of the global participant may be suppressed with -ca/can (with the adversary, who is being defeated, made thematic at the peak of the action). (c) Multiple 'tza' marking can occur in the same clause, while this is not the case elsewhere (where one or two 'tza' per clause is more normal). In summary, Totonac illustrates well a 'prominence' conspiracy that embraces many apparently disparate features and involves several features of the verb morphology.

This volume is prepared, then, with the hope of reaching as its audience not only a few people with special interest in Mesoamerican languages, but the more general linguistic reader to whom such concerns as those just illustrated are relevant.

This introduction would not be complete without a word of appreciation to Linda Jones for her meticulous work in editing these materials for publication. Without her considerable investment of energy and time these data would either not have been published or would have emerged in much less readable form. I also acknowledge the help of Larry Jones and Stephen Thrasher as linguistic consultants along with Linda and myself. Marilyn Thrasher and Carolyn Kent assisted us in the many secretarial duties incidental to the project. All of us further take the occasion to express our gratitude to the directorate of the Mexican Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their help in many details of workshop operation and to the colleagues with whom we worked for those two months. And last, but by no means least, our appreciation to the speakers of Mesoamerican languages who are the sources of these data. Our best wishes to the indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica in their search for the good life.

Robert E. Longacre
Dallas, Texas
This article touches on several topics which hold promise of being relevant for the analysis of many languages in the world. While Section 4 deals with the somewhat more routine matters of participant staging--entrance and exit of participants, role reversal, and the marking of thematic, major, and minor participants--most of the fresh, important contributions of the paper are found in Sections 1-3. Mazatec is one of many languages that do not have obligatory subject noun phrases in each clause, especially in connected discourse. Determining the understood subject for these clauses is not always simple for a non-native speaker. This problem is resolved for Mazatec by a set of rules proposed in this article. The basic rule, called the subject-chaining rule, is that a noun phrase in an independent clause is understood to be the subject of a following subject-less ambiguous clause(s).

Section 2 analyzes fronting, a type of topicalization which occurs in many languages with so-called free word order. There are several functions of fronting in Mazatec, including presentation of significant new information. Of special interest also is the analysis in Section 3 of the doublet construction, a special type of construction which may be more widespread in languages than might appear at first. In Mazatec, doublets may have descriptive, contrastive, or dramatic functions.
Contents

0 Introduction 272
1 Subject-chaining rules 272
   1.1 Clause with a single noun phrase as subject 272
   1.2 Clause with a single noun phrase as object 273
   1.3 Clause with both subject and object noun phrases 273
   1.4 Change of subject 274
   1.5 Ambiguous versus non-ambiguous clauses 274
   1.6 Reported speech 275
2 Fronting 277
   2.1 Doublets 277
   2.2 New information 277
   2.3 Topics in performative interaction 278
3 Doublets 279
   3.1 Structure 279
   3.2 Functions 280
      3.2.1 Descriptive doublets 280
      3.2.2 Contrastive doublets 281
      3.2.3 Dramatic doublets 281
4 Participant staging 282
   4.1 Entrance 282
      4.1.1 Unexpected appearances 282
      4.1.2 Expected appearances 284
   4.2 Exit 284
   4.3 Role reversal 285
   4.4 Thematic participants 286
   4.5 Major versus minor participants 286
5 Conclusion 287
Notes 288
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aux</td>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIS</td>
<td>Distant past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emph</td>
<td>Emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>Present complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRI</td>
<td>Present incomplete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>Recent past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rep</td>
<td>Reportative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCR</td>
<td>Subject-chaining rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Gloss uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,2,3</td>
<td>First, Second, Third persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s,p</td>
<td>Singular, Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i,e</td>
<td>Inclusive, Exclusive</td>
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0 Introduction

Narrative discourse in Mazatec of Jalapa de Diaz\(^1\) is characterized by a number of patterns which determine participant reference. In this paper we describe various patterns of participant reference in Mazatec of Jalapa de Diaz and analyze their functions in narrative discourse. One of the most important patterns, which we consider first, establishes the underlying grammatical subject of a clause which has no overt subject; we call these subject-chaining rules. Next we examine another important pattern, fronting. It has several discourse functions, such as conveying significant new information and marking topics in performative interaction. Any of these functions may involve participant reference. There are also pairs of constructions called doublets, which function to describe, contrast, or dramatize materials in narrative. Finally, we consider an assortment of patterns which function to stage participants in regard to their entrance into the story, significant exits, and role reversal, as well as the marking of thematic participants and major versus minor participants.

1 Subject-chaining rules

In Mazatec, neither subjects nor objects of verbs are required to be overtly stated in a clause; in fact, in discourse both are absent in a great many clauses. Although verbs are marked for person, in the case of third person there is potential difficulty in determining the underlying grammatical subject when there is no overt subject in the clause, especially in contexts involving more than one third-person reference. However, there is in fact no difficulty in these cases, because the underlying grammatical subject is determined by a discourse-conditioned rule which we call the SUBJECT-CHAINING RULE. This rule may be stated as follows:

SUBJECT-CHAINING RULE (SCR): A noun phrase in an independent clause is understood to be the subject of a following subject-less ambiguous\(^2\) clause(s); a subject noun phrase takes precedence over an object noun phrase if both are present.

1.1 Clause with a single noun phrase as subject

When a subject is explicit in a clause, it is also the subject of the immediately following subject-less ambiguous clauses. For example:

Example 1

1. Guv, tu qui-tsúya-xú-∅ ndo.\(^3\) well just DIS-tell-rep-3 man
2. S'ai-xú qui-ndyja-ngáa-∅, qui-ndyja-ngáa-∅ nichínee. then-rep DIS-lost-again-3 DIS-lost-again-3 food

3. Qui-ndyja-xú-∅ toon xi tjín-∅ nd'ai. DIS-lost-rep-3 money which be-3 then

4. Qui-ndyja-xú-∅ cu-ma-∅ nga je qui-tsúya-∅. DIS-lost-rep-3 DIS-become-3 when aux DIS-tell-3

'Well, but the man told. Then he lost all his crops again. He lost the money he had before. He lost it when he told.'

The subject of each of these four clauses is established in the first clause by the noun 'man'. Clause 2 has no overt subject; the verb simply indicates that the subject is third person. Therefore, by the Subject-Chaining Rule (SCR), the underlying grammatical subject is the subject of the preceding clause, i.e., 'man'. Clauses 3 and 4 are similar: they have no overt subjects and the verbs are simply marked for third person subject. Therefore they also have 'man' as subject, by repeated applications of the SCR.

1.2 Clause with a single noun phrase as object

If a clause has no explicit subject noun phrase (NP) but does have an explicit object NP, then the explicit object will become the underlying grammatical subject of a following ambiguous clause (unless context affects it otherwise, as discussed in Section 1.5 below). For example, in a story about "The Thunderman" (see text in the companion texts volume), the Thunderman asks a boy to give him his machete.

Example 2

1. "C'way-ma-náa-chí quicha-na. IMP/2S/give-can-me-little machete-my

2. Cjiñña-∅ yo." PHR/ls (horizontal)-3 there

'"Give me my machete please. It's lying over there."'

The subject marker on the verb in clause 1 is second person singular, but there is no subject NP. However, there is an object NP, 'my machete'; therefore, this NP becomes the subject of the following clause, clause 2.

1.3 Clause with both subject and object noun phrases

If there are both a subject and an object NP in a clause, then it is the subject NP, rather than the object NP, that will become the subject of a following clause. For example, in the story of "The Thunderman":
Example 3

1. Tsa-nquísajĩ-xú-∅ jó quicho.
   DIS-look for-rep-3 people machete

2. Qui-sacu-xú-∅ quicho.
   DIS-find-rep-3 machete

'The people looked for the machete. They found the machete.'

The first clause in this example has both a subject NP and an object NP. Therefore, by the precedence clause in the SCR, the subject NP—not the object NP—will become the subject of the following clause, clause 2.

1.4 Change of subject

The SCR applies until a new subject is introduced by a NP. For example, in clause 2 of Example 3 above, 'machete' would become the subject of a following subject-less clause, by the SCR. The clause that in fact occurs after this clause is:

Example 4

Ngji-co-xú jó quicho.
DIS/take/3-rep people machete

'The people took the machete.'

The NP 'people' has been reinserted as subject. Thus the SCR does not apply, and the NP 'machete' has not become subject.

1.5 Ambiguous versus non-ambiguous clauses

Sometimes a sequence of clauses can have different subjects even though no new noun phrase has been introduced. In these cases there is no ambiguity regarding subject because some aspect of the context has established clearly the identification of subject. The context may be: (1) the lexical context of the verb, (2) the script of the text, (3) the larger social context, or (4) the performative interaction (dialog or conversation). Examples of each of these contexts in Mazatec follow.

Example 5 illustrates how the lexical content of the verb may allow unambiguous identification of subject.

Example 5

1. Jis’ai-xú tsa-cjántse-∅ yóo.
   then-rep DIS-split-3 tree

   DIS/go-rep-3 DIS/go-rep-again-3 high over there
'Then he split the tree. He went, he went again up in the sky.'

The subject of the first clause was established in a previous clause as 'the man'. Since 'tree' is the only NP in clause 1, by the SCR, it should be the subject of the second clause. However, the lexical content of the verb in clause 2, 'go', precludes 'tree' from being its subject. The NP 'the man' is, therefore, still clearly subject.

Scripts in a text may disambiguate a subject. The term SCRIPT, in the current use of many linguists, refers to a repeatable sequence whose component parts are predictable to a person from many previous experiences with that sequence. A script represents an observed pattern in human behavior. Stereotypes of behavior are highly stylized scripts. Thus, a town bum's script typically involves raggedy appearance, drunkenness, laziness, etc.

A Mazatec story about a clever rabbit outwitting a number of other characters illustrates the way a text's script may disambiguate a subject in Mazatec. Rabbit first outwits a cockroach, then a chicken, then a tiger, and finally a hunter. Rabbit's script (the pattern of his behavior, in this case his strategy for outsmarting his opponents) is clearly established in the early episodes. The reader forms expectations of what Rabbit will say and do next, so it is not necessary to make him the overt subject of as many clauses in the final episodes as would be required by the SCR.

The larger social context may provide clues to the identification of subject in a subject-less clause. For example in Mazatec texts, the speaker of a greeting is frequently not identified. However, the larger social context indicates that it is usually the Mazatec visitor who greets first rather than the host, and thus, in a text, the speaker of a greeting is assumed to be the visitor.

For example, in the story of "The Rabbit" just mentioned, Rabbit goes to visit each of his opponents in turn. In several of these visits, the speakers of the greetings are not identified in the text. Yet it is assumed by Mazatec social structure that the visitor, Rabbit, greets first, and his host then returns the greeting.

The normal give-and-take of performative interaction (conversation) may provide unambiguous identification of subject-less clauses. For instance, the normal situation in conversation is for a question and its answer to be spoken by different persons. This assumption may be invoked in texts to disambiguate the speakers in give-and-take dialog. In the story of "The Thunderman" when one participant asks a question, it is assumed that his opponent is the one who utters the answer where there is no overt identification of speaker.

1.6 Reported speech

An explicitly stated subject of a clause is the speaker of subsequent reported speech unless a quote formula or vocative form indicates
otherwise. This statement means that reported speech in Mazatec is at the crossroads of ambiguity and unambiguity in subject-identification. Frequently, a speaker is identified in the quote formula of a reported speech clause, but frequently he is not. When he is not, the speaker is sometimes identified by the SCR; at other times, the content of the speech itself indicates who the speaker is. Examples of each of these situations follow.

Example 6 illustrates straightforward application of the SCR to determine the speaker of reported speech material.

Example 6
1. Tsa-nca-xú-Ø ndachíu.
   DIS-flee-rep-3 boy
2. "Ya xi cji'a nc'a ya jažn xi
   who who be in high tree over there who
   sfs'en'yún-Ø." Ø-tsu-xú-Ø.
   PRI/catch (vertical)-3 GEN-say-rep-3
   'The boy fled. "Who is it who is stuck up high in the tree over there?" he said.'

In the first clause, 'boy' is the subject and is therefore the subject of the quote formula in clause 2 (and hence the speaker of the reported speech).

Example 7 illustrates how the content of the speech itself indicates who the speaker is. A vocative form in the reported speech clearly indicates who is the speaker and who is the addressee.

Example 7
1. Tfs-juacj'á-Ø cui tumancu.
   PRI-get-3 that mango
   'He was getting those mangoes. "Boy! Boy! You come here!"'

In the first clause, 'the boy' is the subject established by the SCR and he should also be the speaker of the subsequent reported speech. However, the vocative form in the second clause indicates that 'the boy' is the addressee, so the speaker of the quote is the other participant in the narrative.

We wish to add a note on differences in rhetorical style among Mazatec narrators. We have noted that some narrators occasionally insert nouns which are not required by the SCR. This is especially true in quote formulas. These redundant nouns seem to help the narrator's audience follow the story more easily.
2 Fronting

FRONTING is one type of topicalization construction in Mazatec.7 The grammatical form fronting takes in Mazatec is a change in the order of clause constituents. The usual order of clause constituents is VSO, but either the subject or object NP may be shifted in front of the verb. Fronting has three main functions: 6 (1) a function peculiar to doublets, (2) presentation of significant new information, and (3) marking topics in performative interaction. We are including a brief discussion of fronting since any of its three functions may involve participant reference.

2.1 Doublets

Fronting is a feature of doublet constructions. Doublets have their own functions and are described later (Section 3).

2.2 New information9

Fronting is often used to introduce a new topic or significant new information. For example, in a story where a man vanquishes his enemy by killing him with a bone, the fatal prop is introduced with a fronted NP.

Example 8

Ncuuy, tu ninta 'anima-xú tʃi-nchantuy-ncjún-θ.
well but bone human corpse-rep PRI/GEN-pile up-very-3

'Well, but human bones are really piled up.'

In this example the significant new information contained in the NP 'human bones' is fronted.

The story of "The Rabbit" referred to above has a number of cyclical episodes in which the clever rabbit outwits first one opponent and then another. In this story, each new opponent is brought on the scene in a clause with a fronted construction.

Example 9

Tʃtjun-xú nda chyɛ ngjil-se-θ.
first-rep man cockroach DIS/go-see-3

'First Mr. Roach, he [Rabbit] went to see.'

The object NP, 'Mr. Roach', occurs preceding the verb and so is fronted. It is Mr. Roach's first appearance on stage in the story.

In the previous examples, the new information is new to the narrator's audience. But in the world of the discourse itself, information can be new to a particular participant even though already familiar to the audience in the real world. In the following example, fronting is
used to introduce information new to the addressee of the reported speech. In "The Rabbit" text mentioned in Example 9, Rabbit has asked for money from Mr. Roach, Mr. Chicken, Mr. Tiger, and now a hunter, each on separate occasions. Each time he asks for money, the noun 'money' is fronted.

Example 10

Toon machjeén-ncjún-naa-chí-cai.
money need-very-little-perhaps
'I really need a little money please.'

This example illustrates fronting of information new to a particular participant in the story—in this case the hunter—even though by now the request for money is familiar to the storyteller's audience.

2.3 Topics in performative interaction

Fronting also typically occurs in sequences of clauses that are in a social interaction of a paired nature such as a question-answer sequence or a command-response sequence. The question word of a question is fronted and the topic of the answer is also fronted as follows:

Example 11

1. "Yá xi ngji-co-Ø?"
   who who DIS/go-with-3
2. "Ndachí xí ngji-co-Ø."
   boy who DIS/go-with-3
   "'Who took [it]?' "The boy took [it].""

In this example, the topic of the answer, 'boy', is fronted. It is also information new to the addressee, another reason for fronting.

In the following example, the topic of a command is fronted. The response half of the pair is not reported here because it is a behavioral response rather than a verbal response, and occurs later in the text.

Example 12

"Tsaa-chí quicha-na c'uay-ná tsacai."
maybe-little machete-my IMP/2s/give-me perhaps
"'Please, would you give me my machete.'"

The topic of the command, 'machete', (also the object of the clause) is fronted in this example. Although the topic is fronted in this example, it is not necessarily fronted in all commands.10
3 Doublets
3.1 Structure

Roughly speaking, DOUBLETS may be characterized as pairs of constructions in which the second member of the pair usually elaborates on, repeats, or paraphrases the first member. Various kinds and sizes of constructions may form the constituents of a doublet: two sentences, two independent clauses, two relative clauses, or two noun phrases. Either verbs or nouns or both verbs and nouns may be involved in doubles. For example:

Example 13
1. Yo-xú ngji ncu ndachí.
   there-rep DIS/go/3 a boy
2. V'i-xú cj'i ncu ndachí.
   like-rep this a boy
   'A boy went there. The boy was like this.'

In this example the doublet is a pair of clauses in which the second clause elaborates on the first. Note that the repetition of 'a boy' in clause 2 is completely redundant, i.e., it is not required by the SCR. Redundant NPs are typical of doublets.

The previous example of a doublet focused on a noun. The following doublet focuses on verbs.

Example 14
1. Qui-tsjenc'a-xú-Ø tsfú.
   DIS-clear up-rep-3 rain
2. Qui-tsjenc'áya-Ø tsf.
   DIS-clear up-3 rain
   'The rain cleared up. The rain cleared up.'

In this example, the second clause is almost a repetition of the first clause.

Fronting (see Section 2) is a prominent structural feature of doublets in that a NP is often, but not always, fronted in the second member. For example:

Example 15
1. S'ai-xú qui-ts'ín-qu'í-Ø xán.
   then-rep DIS-cause-drink-3 liquor
2. Xán-xú qui-tsjá.
   liquor-rep DIS-give/3
'Then they caused him to drink liquor. Liquor they gave him.'

In this example, the second clause paraphrases the first clause, and the noun 'liquor' is fronted.

3.2 Functions

Doublets have three major functions in Mazatec narrative discourse: (1) a descriptive function, (2) a contrastive function, and (3) a dramatic function.

3.2.1 Descriptive doublets

Descriptive doublets typically occur in descriptive paragraphs rather than narrative paragraphs of a text. These descriptive paragraphs differ from narrative paragraphs primarily in that the emphasis of a descriptive paragraph is on qualities, participants, or circumstances, while the emphasis is on events in a narrative paragraph. Grammatically this focus in descriptive paragraphs on qualities, participants, or circumstances is expressed in an abundance of doublets and in many seemingly redundant noun phrases or relative clauses.

The favorite locus of descriptive materials in Mazatec is in the setting or in materials describing the characters of a text. An example of a setting paragraph follows.

Example 16

1. V'á-xú cu-ma-∅ nqu'le.
    thus-rep DIS-become-∅ then

2. Nú-chá jaán v'a-xú cu-ma-∅.
    year-old then thus-rep DIS-become-∅

3. Tsí-xú qui-ts'a-∅.
    rain-rep DIS-fail-∅

4. Je-xú vac'a-∅ tsiú yoni.
    aux-rep PRC/stop-∅ rain ?

5. ∅-Yja-xú-∅ tumancu.
    GEN-bear-rep-∅ mango

    like-rep GEN-do/∅ GEN-bear-∅ mango

7. Qui-tsjenc'á-xú-∅ tsiú.
    DIS-clear up-rep-∅ rain

8. Qui-tsjenc'áya-∅ tsi.
    DIS-clear up-∅ rain

1. 'Thus it happened then. 2. Long ago it happened like this.
3. Rain fell. 4. Now the rain stopped. 5. It was mango season.
6. The mangoes were like this. 7. The rain cleared up. 8. The rain cleared up.'

This example was taken from the beginning of a setting paragraph, which is introductory to the story of "The Thunderman". Notice the series of doublets in clauses 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, 7 and 8. The subject NP of clause 3 is fronted, as is another NP in clause 2.

3.2.2 Contrastive doublets

Contrastive doublets occur at points in a text where a contrast is particularly relevant to the narration. Significant differences between two participants or props may be highlighted with a doublet. The doublet by itself focuses on just one item of the contrast; the other item of the contrast is somewhere in the context of the doublet. Therefore, the doublet in contrastive function emphasizes qualities which contrast with something outside the doublet itself. For example:

Example 17

1. Ts'înxá-∅ suva.  
   FUT/work-3 alone

2. Ts'înxá-∅ suva.  
   FUT/work-3 alone

'It will work alone. It will work alone.'

In this example a magic machete is being contrasted with another, non-magic machete. The contrast between the two is highlighted by the doublet proclaiming that the magic machete will work alone. The fact that the magic machete will work alone contrasts with the fact that the other machete will not work alone, but must be wielded by a man.

3.2.3 Dramatic doublets

Dramatic doublets occur at crucial points in a story where they highlight special new information. The peak of a narrative is a favorite place for their occurrence in Mazatec, and there they tend to focus on a crucial turn in the plot. For example, in one "Thunderman" text a man was forbidden to tell that he had a magic machete. At the peak of the story the man does in fact tell. His telling is highlighted by a narrator comment in the following doublet:

Example 18

1. Qui-tsûya-xû-∅ nqu'ia.  
   DIS-teill-rep-3 then

2. Qui-tsûyat'ain-xû-∅ yîjoo.  
   DIS-tell about-rep-3 himself
'He told then. He told about himself.'

This doublet, as in other doublets occurring at the peak of a narrative, seems almost to slow down the action of the narrative by employing more words, so that the effect is more dramatic.\(^{13}\)

4 Participant staging

Mazatec narrative also has patterns which determine how participant staging is handled. These patterns relate to the entrance and exit of participants, role reversal of a participant, statement of the thematic participants of a paragraph, and the differences between major and minor participants.

4.1 Entrance

In Mazatec narratives, participants and props are introduced in several ways depending on whether or not the audience has anticipated their appearance.

4.1.1 Unexpected appearances

Unexpected appearances of participants are introduced in one of two ways; first, in a participant introduction paragraph which is formal and very stylized. Doublets occur frequently. When the participant introduction paragraph is used, it occurs immediately following a setting paragraph and before the action of the story begins. In "The Thunderman" text, for example:

Example 19

1. Yo-xú ngji ncu ndachf.
   \underline{there-rep DIS/go/3 a boy}

2. Ju'-xú cj'i ncu ndachf.
   \underline{like-rep this a boy}

3. "Tj'insenqui. Maa-raá tumancu," \(\overline{0}\)-tsu-xú-\(\overline{0}\).
   IMP/1pl/go see be-probably mango \underline{GEN-say-rep-3}

4. 'An tu yo-xú cjinchu'yúü=\(\overline{0}\) cu\(\underline{i}\) xúta-ch'\oen.
   why but there-rep PRI/stick-3 that person-thunder

5. Cjinchu'yúü-xú-\(\overline{0}\) y\(\overline{0}\).
   PRI/stick-rep-3 tree

6. Je-xú ca-jne-\(\overline{0}\) quicha, quicha ndju xl \(\overline{v}^{i}l\) cj'i
   aux-rep REC-fall-3 machete machete long which like this
   \(\overline{0}\)-y'a-\(\overline{0}\), xl \(\overline{v}^{i}l\) \(\overline{0}\)-ts'\in t\(\overline{f}\)-ts'\inc'at'ai-\(\overline{0}\).
   GEN-carry-3 which like GEN-do/3 PRI-flash-3

7. Ca-jne-xú-\(\overline{0}\).
   REC-fall-rep-3
8. Tu v'l-xú cj'l ja ncu xî cuén-chî but like-rep this another one which short-little Ø-y'a-∅.
   GEN-carry-3

9. Tu najmi ta tf-chúc-jua-xú-ra-∅ yâo nga but not anymore PRI-sufficient-rep-probably-3 tree to
   tf-vacjântse-∅.
   PRI-split-3

1. 'There went a boy. 2. The boy was like this. 3. "Let's go see. There are probably mangoes," he said. 4. Why that Thunderman was stuck there! 5. He was stuck in the tree.
6. Now the machete had fallen, the long machete which he carried like this, which flashed like this. 7. It had fallen. 8. But he carried another one like this which was a little short one.
9. But it [unlike the other one] probably was not able to split a tree.'

In this participant introduction paragraph, two major participants are introduced, the boy and the Thunderman. Two props are also introduced, the long machete and the short machete. The boy's appearance is unexpected and therefore, the noun 'boy' is preceded by an indefinite article. Notice also the many doublets: clauses 1 and 2, 4\textsuperscript{1a} and 5, 6 and 7, 8 and 9. There is an embedded doublet of relative clauses in clause 6.

The participant introduction paragraph in Example 19 simply introduces two major participants and two major props. Some of this information is repeated again later when it forms a part of the plot of the story.

The second way to introduce an unexpected participant is to have him appear on stage at the relevant point in the narrative. For example:

Example 20

J'ai-tsûya-xûû-∅ na'ml-ì.
DIS/arrive-tell-rep-3 father-his

'He arrived to tell his father.'

Father is not introduced in the participant introduction paragraph even though he is a major character in the story. Rather, he is introduced at the point in the story when his appearance is relevant. Since he is introduced by being related to the boy, no indefinite article precedes the noun 'father'.

In another text, the story of "The Rabbit", participants are introduced at the relevant point, but not in relation to someone else. "The
Rabbit" narrative is characterized by cyclical episodes in which Rabbit meets a series of other participants on different occasions. Each of these participants is introduced as a fronted NP at the point where he becomes relevant to the story. In these cases, the significant new information which fronting signals (cf. Section 2.2) is the introduction of important participants. For example:

Example 21

Tusa xanto-xú ngjise-ngáa-∅.
next chicken-rep DIS/go see-again-3

'Next Chicken, he [Rabbit] went on to see.'

In this clause, the noun 'chicken' is fronted and is not preceded by an indefinite article. (See also Example 9 from the same text.)

4.1.2 Expected appearances

The social context can lead the audience to anticipate a participant's appearance. For instance, in the social context of someone asking a storyteller to relate a particular story about so-and-so, the major participant is automatically introduced. Or the storyteller himself may say, "Do you want to hear a story about so-and-so?" The major participant is then not necessarily introduced as formally as in the paragraph devoted to participant introduction described in the preceding section, nor is the major participant's first entrance marked with an indefinite article. For example in "The Rabbit" narrative, the text opens with the question:

Example 22

1. 'A mje-nyu cfénŋjuw ncu 'én-chá ts'e chángatsé?
   Q want-2p FUT/hear/2p a word-oid about rabbit

2. Ncu-xú niŋá tsanqui-xú cušentə njí chángatsé.15
   a-rep time DIS/ask for-rep advance corn rabbit

   'Do you want to hear a story about Rabbit? One time Rabbit went to ask for an advance on corn [i.e., on his prospective corn harvest].'

Rabbit is introduced in the first clause by the narrator's question. Although the narrative proper actually starts in the second clause with the standard story opener 'one time', Rabbit is not introduced further.

4.2 Exit

In general, there are no significant grammatical devices in Mazatec for marking the exit of participants. The exception to this is when the exit is integral to the theme of the narrative. In this latter case, the exits which are a part of a theme of a narrative are
marked by the occurrence of a NP to refer to the exiting participant. Frequently this NP is redundant; that is, it is not required by the subject-chaining rules. For example, in the story of "The Rabbit", Rabbit decides to kill off each of his creditors. The successive deaths of the creditors develops an important theme in the story. As each of the creditors dies, the death (a final exit!) is reported in a clause with a NP referring to that creditor. For example:

Example 23

    Jls''al-xú tra jacj'áá cuí xanto.
    then-rep nap DIS/grab/emph/3 that chicken

    'Then zap he grabbed that chicken!'  

The chicken's demise is integral to one of the themes of the narrative (i.e., the theme of Rabbit's killing off his creditors). This significant exit is marked grammatically by the occurrence of the NP 'that chicken'.

4.3 Role reversal

Mazatec narrative discourse foreshadows impending disaster or role reversal in two ways: (1) by a change in the way a participant is referred to, or (2) by the use of a grammatical construction containing the clitic -tsacai or -caí.

The name change device is the more common. For example, in "The Thunderman" narrative a man consistently called ndo 'man' becomes rich. However, in a paragraph describing his success and prosperity—a paragraph which precedes his downfall—he is referred to as nda x'an 'poor man'. In "The Rabbit" story, 'Mr. Roach' becomes 'Little Roach', also just before his doom.

The second device uses a construction containing the clitic -tsacai or -caí, which roughly might be translated as 'perhaps'. The particle seems to cast doubt over the content of a clause. For example, in a different version of "The Thunderman" story:

Example 24

    Jml ø-nchja-xú ndo-caí.
    not GEN-talk/3-rep man-perhaps

    'The man didn't talk-caí.'

Previous to this clause, the man had been warned not to tell the secret of his success. The clause in the example, which reports the man's first response when he is questioned, says that he did not tell. But the narrator's use of the clitic -caí indicates the tentative nature of this information. Shortly after this clause, the man succumbs and does talk, which leads to his downfall. Note that the -caí shortly precedes the role reversal.
In the story of "The Rabbit", Tiger's demise is foreshadowed by a clause in which the Rabbit lies to him. Rabbit makes a promise to Tiger, which is marked for the audience as a lie by the clitic -cai.

Example 25

\begin{align*}
\text{Jis'ei-xú} & \quad \text{ngjuaí-co-Ø} & \quad \text{ndo} & \quad \text{tî-tsu-xúu-Ø-cai.} \\
\text{then-rep} & \quad \text{PUT/go-with-3} & \quad \text{man} & \quad \text{PRI-say-rep-3-perhaps} \\
\end{align*}

'\text{Then he will go with the man [i.e., tiger] he [Rabbit] is saying-cai.}'

This -cai clause occurs shortly before Tiger is shot, due to the Rabbit's deceit.

4.4 Thematic participants

The thematic participants of a paragraph are introduced as nouns or free pronouns\(^{16}\) in the first clauses of a paragraph. These nouns and free pronouns may or may not be redundant; that is, may not be required by the SCR (Section 1), doublet structure (Section 3), or social interaction (Section 2.3). See for example these first two clauses of a paragraph from "The Thunderman" story:

Example 26

1. \begin{align*}
\text{Tu} & \quad \text{yo-xú} & \quad \text{sínchu'yú̂n-Ø} & \quad \text{jincui} & \quad \text{nda-ch'ôn.} \\
\text{but} & \quad \text{there-rep} & \quad \text{PRI/stick-3} & \quad \text{that} & \quad \text{man-thunder} \\
\end{align*}

2. \begin{align*}
\text{Tu} & \quad \text{yo-xú} & \quad \text{qui-chuquie-Ø} & \quad \text{ndach'fu} & \quad \text{yoní}. \\
\text{but} & \quad \text{there-rep} & \quad \text{DIS-arrive see-3} & \quad \text{boy} & \quad ? \\
\end{align*}

'But there was stuck that Thunderman. But there the boy arrived and saw [him].'

The Thunderman and the boy are the thematic participants of this paragraph and are introduced explicitly by use of NPs.

4.5 Major versus minor participants

In Mazatec narrative discourse there appears to be no significant grammatical way to distinguish major from minor participants. Rather, they are distinguished lexically, that is, by the actions attributed to them (i.e., by verbs), as well as by their frequency of appearance.

For example in "The Thunderman" story cited in Examples 19, 20, and 26, the boy is a participant whose sole role in the narrative is to take his father to see the Thunderman stuck in the tree, and once he gets his father to the tree he is no longer mentioned. After this point in the story, which is quite early in the total narrative, the father and the Thunderman become the major participants. It soon
becomes obvious to the audience that the father and the Thunderman are the major participants because they are on stage throughout many scenes of the story, and furthermore, they are the actors in most of the significant actions and the speakers of most of the significant speeches.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented a number of important patterns of participant reference in Mazatec. It seems very probable that some of the constructions discussed here, along with their discourse functions in regard to participant reference, may characterize other languages as well.
Notes

1 Mazatec of Jalapa de Diaz is a Popolocan language of the Otomanguean family, spoken by about 8,000 people in the district of Tuxtepec, Oaxaca, Mexico. The eight texts on which this article is based were collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics on field trips to San Felipe Jalapa de Diaz during 1976 and 1977 and at field seminars during 1978. The narrators of most of the texts prefer to remain anonymous. Genaro Zarate García told the story of "The Rabbit" and helped in the analysis of the other texts at a field seminar. We are very grateful for his help. Analysis of the data was done jointly by Schram and Jones.

2 The term ambiguity here does not mean ambiguity to a Mazatec. It simply means potential ambiguity to an outsider, especially if in the outsider's language subjects and objects are always specified by explicit NPs. In particular, ambiguity refers to subject-less clauses not handled by the semantic and contextual rules of Section 1.5. Of course, for a Mazatec, these clauses are unambiguous as well, since the SCR applies.

3 The phonemes of Jalapa de Diaz Mazatec are as follows (orthographical symbols, where different, are given in parentheses): t, c (ts), ñ (ch), k (qu before front vowels, c before back vowels), kw (cu), ñ, j (dz), j (dy), g, gw (gu), s, z (x), m, n, ñ, l, r, w (v), y, h (j), ? ('); i (i only when meaning 'second person singular' or 'first person plural exclusive'), a (e), u, o, Ñ (a); high tone ('), mid tone (unmarked), low tone (_); nasalization (n syllable finally); ballistic versus controlled (unmarked); sequence hw (w before front vowels, ju before back vowels).

4 Hereafter, we will not always use the terms overt or explicit to describe noun phrases that are present in the surface structure of the clause. All uses of the term noun phrase refer to surface structure.

5 We take the term script from Schank et al. 1975.

6 It may be that this is simply a further aspect of the larger social context just discussed.

7 We are using topicalization here as a generic term to cover a set of special constructions in Mazatec, although our use of the term fits the usual meaning in the linguistic literature. All topicalization constructions in Mazatec are characterized by special word order, with one or more NPs moved before the verb, thereby lending special prominence to that NP(s). Fronting is the simplest type of topicalization since it involves only a shift in word order and just one NP is involved. Other types of topicalization in Mazatec are more complex: two NPs are fronted, or a pronoun echo is left in the main clause, or some other
change is made. Only fronting is discussed here; it is hoped that an
analysis of other topicalization constructions in Mazatec and their
functions in discourse may be given in a later paper.

8 It appears that when pronouns are involved there may be a fourth
function involved, that of marking contrast.

9 Recent work by various linguists (Tomlin 1977, Bayless and Tomlin
1977, and Bayless and Johnson 1975, and others) has demonstrated that
sentential word order in many languages conforms to a rule that old
information is ordered before new information. Mazatec, however, may
have the opposite situation, since one of the important functions of
fronting in Mazatec is to present significant new information. Tomlin
(personal communication) has suggested that this fits with patterns
observed in certain other verb-first languages.

10 One example of fronting in our data seems to be an idiomatic ex-
pression and needs further investigation:

Tu 'animal-y t'ejehajin-nl nqu'langa 'an cuasetecjoo-coo.
just heart-2s IMP/keep-2s when I PRC-meet with I/you

'Just keep in mind the time I met you.'

11 Mazatec doublets seem to us strikingly similar to Old Testament
Hebrew doublets, as found especially in the Psalms and Proverbs.

12 Longacre has suggested (personal communication) that the doublet is
a type of local overlay structure. For a description of overlays in
texts, see Grimes 1972.

13 This use of more words is a type of rhetorical underlining of peak.
For a further discussion of rhetorical underlining as a marking of
peak, see Longacre 1976a.217ff.

14 The noun 'Thunderman' is preceded by a deictic pronoun 'that' rather
than an indefinite article. This is because his appearance is expected
(Section 4.1.2), given the larger social context of storytelling: the
narrator had been asked to tell the story about the Thunderman.

15 This clause is unusual in that the subject 'rabbit' follows the
object. For a discussion of this construction see a forthcoming paper
on special constructions in Mazatec.

16 Further analysis of free pronouns needs to be done. The three
functions we have identified thus far are: (1) in vocatives, (2) in
hortatory materials, and (3) in materials highlighting a contrast
(cf. footnote 8). The free pronouns in hortatory materials may be a
characteristic of more formal speech.