January 2018

Some Features Of Participant Reference In Xochapa Mixtec

Laura J. Cline

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SOME FEATURES OF PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN XOCHAPE MIXTEC

by

Laura J. Cline
Bachelor of Arts, Crown College, 2009

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the
University of North Dakota
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota
December
2018
This thesis, submitted by Laura J. Cline in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

___________________________________________________________________
Linda Humnick, Chair

___________________________________________________________________
J. Albert Bickford

___________________________________________________________________
Janet Allen

This thesis is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.

___________________________________________________________________
Grant McGimpsey
Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

___________________________________________________________________
Date
PERMISSION

Title Some Features of Participant Reference in Xochapa Mixtec
Department Linguistics
Degree Master of Arts

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Signature Laura J. Cline

Date 11/27/18
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have been possible if it were not for the Mixtec people in the town of Xochapa who offered me amazing hospitality, invited me into their homes, befriended me, fed me traditional foods, and taught me about their language and way of life during the years I worked and lived among them. I am so grateful for those who welcomed me and patiently corrected my mistakes (both linguistic and cultural). Thank you for sharing your lives with me. ¡Tixa’vi ni ndo!

In my studies of the Xochapa Mixtec language, I am greatly indebted to the work of Audrey Johnson and Sharon Stark, my SIL colleagues who shared with me files and files of their unpublished research from the last twenty or thirty years. Without the opportunity to build upon their work and the many relationships they had with people in the Xochapa Mixtec community, my own work would have taken much longer and been significantly more difficult.

I am extremely grateful for the dedication and many hours of work from the members of my thesis committee, each of whom played a special role in helping me to write this thesis. Albert Bickford worked with me from the early stages of research, discussing possibilities and giving me many helpful comments. Linda Humnick, my committee chair, helped me to take my scattered notes about Mixtec and turn it into a thesis, always giving freely of her time and encouraging me with each step of progress. And Janet Allen gave many valuable comments and insights throughout the editing process that helped to make this thesis much better.

Many thanks to Inga McKendry, who read an early draft of this thesis and gave helpful insights from her extensive knowledge of Mixtec languages.

I would also like to thank my family, and especially my parents, who taught me to love learning. Thank you for always encouraging me, celebrating each milestone with me, and expecting that I would strive for excellence in everything.
I could not have written this thesis without the help and support of my wonderful husband, Kevin. Thank you for always encouraging me to work hard and for believing I could do it, even as our family grew and life became more complex. Thank you for reading my thesis draft and for your helpful comments. Thank you for allowing me the many child-free hours needed to write and edit. Thank you also to our daughter, who willingly played with Daddy so that Mommy could finish writing. And thank you to our soon-to-be-born baby, who provided the last push of motivation I needed to finish and a deadline to help me work efficiently these last several months.

Finally, thank you to my King, Jesus, who gave me a love for languages and who has used this project to teach me many lessons in diligent perseverance and faithfulness with the abilities and opportunities he has provided me. I am so grateful for your help and strength and patience in teaching me along the way. Above all, may the work of my hands (and mind) bring honor to you!
**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>first person</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
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<td>ANML/SPH</td>
<td>animal/sphere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF/REFL</td>
<td>definite/reflexive</td>
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<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNRL</td>
<td>general</td>
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<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>habitual</td>
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<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
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<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortative</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
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<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
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<tr>
<td>LIQ</td>
<td>liquid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>masculine</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation, negative</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAUSE</td>
<td>pause</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
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<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
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<td>question particle/marker</td>
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SG singular
ABSTRACT

Many works have been published about the grammar and phonology of Mixtecan languages, but relatively little has been written about the discourse features of these languages. One of these areas of discourse where relatively little research has been done is that of participant reference.

This thesis explores the features of participant reference in one Mixtec language, Xochapa Mixtec, by examining the use of nouns, pronouns, and deictic phrases in eight Xochapa Mixtec texts. The texts used in this research were transcribed from audio recordings and then analyzed with respect to the participant reference forms they employed. The thesis begins with a description of several relevant aspects of Xochapa Mixtec grammar before describing in detail the different categories of participant reference and how they are used. The analysis of participant reference forms employs ideas and terminology from several different discourse methodologies, especially Givón (1983), Levinsohn (1994), and Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski (1993).

This research reveals that Xochapa Mixtec uses noun phrases for activation and reactivation of discourse participants, for disambiguation, and for highlighting. Determiners and deictic phrases are used in continuing reference to activated participants, though use of both the indefinite article and the definite particle is optional. Pronouns are also used in further reference to activated participants, and some pronouns can be used outside their usual noun class category in certain discourse contexts. There is sometimes alternation between the use of animal and human pronouns for the same participant in a text. Finally, Xochapa Mixtec has a special pronoun that is used for third person direct objects that play the role of local VIP.
CHAPTER 1
Introduction

1.1 The Xochapa Mixtec language and people

Alcozauca Mixtec (ISO 639-3 code: xta) is a Mixtecan language belonging to the Otomanguean language family, and is spoken by about 10,000 people from around a dozen towns in the eastern part of the state of Guerrero, Mexico (Simons & Fennig 2018). Each town in the Alcozauca Mixtec language area displays slight dialectal differences. Because all of the data for this thesis originates from the town of Xochapa, I will use the name Xochapa Mixtec (or Mixteco de Xochapa), rather than the name Alcozauca Mixtec, to refer to this specific dialect.

Xochapa is a community of around 1500 people (INEGI 2010), and the primary work is agricultural, though many families operate small storefronts out of their homes as well. While bilingualism in Spanish is common, especially among the younger generations who have attended school, many of the population who are either above middle age or younger than school age are monolingual Mixtec speakers. About half of the town are monolingual Mixtec speakers, according to Mexico’s 2010 census (INEGI 2010). Mixtec is the preferred language used for nearly all of community life.

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1 See figure 1. The map is from https://www.ethnologue.com/map/MX_wc. Used with permission.
2 The autonym for the Mixtec language is actually Tuꞌun Savi, the ‘language of the rain’. This is how the Mixtec people refer to themselves in their own words. Recently, a few items have been published using the name Tuꞌun Savi. However, due to the great volume of academic works already in existence that use the name “Mixtec”, I will continue to do so as well, to avoid confusion.
1.2 Previous literature

Much has been written about many different Mixtec languages and dialects, including about the Xochapa Mixtec language (hereafter abbreviated XM) in particular. However, relatively little has been discussed regarding Mixtec discourse features. Several articles and papers have been published delving into a few discourse related topics, but much remains yet to be discovered and documented.

Previous research on XM includes the *Diccionario Básico* (Basic Dictionary) by Stark, Johnson & González (2013) and several published short stories in Mixtec, as well as much unpublished material by Johnson and Stark spanning a couple of decades. Where relevant, I have cited these materials as "personal communication" or as unpublished manuscripts. The wealth of information they have documented is invaluable in the study of Mixtec languages. In addition to these, an article has been published analyzing free relative clauses in two Mixtec languages (Caponigro, Torrence, & Cisneros 2013), one of which is
that spoken in Melchor Ocampo, Xochapa's closest neighbor town (and one of the towns that comprises the Alcozaucua Mixtec language area). Lastly, Mendoza (2016) has written a master's thesis on the phonology and tone system of Alcozaucua Mixtec.

Many grammars of Mixtec languages have been published, providing much material with which to contrast and compare XM. Especially notable among these are the four volume series of grammars edited by Bradley & Hollenbach (1992), Hollenbach's (2013) very thorough popular (non-technical) grammar of Magdalena Peñasco Mixtec, and the popular grammar of Alacatlatzala Mixtec by Zylstra (2012), which is one of two Mixtec languages most closely related to XM.

With regard to discourse analysis of Mixtec, a few papers about other Mixtec varieties are especially insightful. Particularly relevant are North's (1987) short paper on participant tracking and Shields' (1997) paper on information flow, both about Silacayoapan Mixtec. Both observed devices I discovered to be very similar in XM, as detailed later on in Chapter 3. In addition, L. Harris (1995) writes about discourse features in Santiago Nuyoo Mixtec that also give insight into similar features in XM.

1.3 Subject of this thesis

As Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski (1993:274) have so well stated, "One of the more interesting facts about human language is that we can use different forms to refer to the same thing, and the same form can be used to refer to many different things. Yet people somehow manage to understand one another." In a very basic sense, participants can be referenced in a discourse with various forms ranging from very small (such as a pronoun), to very large (such as a full noun phrase). The study of participant reference explores how certain reference forms are chosen rather than other forms, and what principles guide their usage. Therefore, this thesis aims to give insight into several interesting features of participant reference in XM by examining three categories of reference and the discourse contexts in which they occur: noun phrases, deictic phrases, and pronoun phrases.

The remaining sections of this introductory chapter will describe my methodology and the theoretical basis for this study. Section 1.4 explains the methods I have used for obtaining and analyzing XM texts and gives a description of those texts. Section 1.5
summarizes the theoretical basis for this study by giving an overview of the important discourse literature I have incorporated into my research. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the basic aspects of XM grammar, including the order of clause constituents, variations from the basic order, a description of noun phrase structure, an explanation of available determiners and deictics, and a description of the complex XM pronoun system. Chapter 3 goes on to analyze the various features of participant reference in XM, first with regard to the use of noun phrases, second with regard to the use of determiners, and third with regard to the use of pronouns. Finally, Chapter 4 states the conclusions of my research and discusses unresolved questions that remain for further study.

1.4 Methodology

The analysis of participant reference in this thesis is based on a corpus of nine Mixtec texts. Most of the data for this study was obtained by recording oral texts in the town of Xochapa and transcribing them with my Mixtec colleague, Benita González González. After transcription, González translated the texts into Spanish, and I then translated them into English and glossed the texts in both Spanish and English, using the interlinearizing tools of the FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx) program.3

From the thirteen texts originally recorded, I selected the eight most useful, and these texts were analyzed using text charting tools in the FLEx program in order to discover various features of participant reference. The chosen texts represent six speakers, aged approximately from twenty to seventy and including both genders. Each of the texts used in this study is a narrative monologue. Two are folk tales (Rabbit-Town Hall; Rabbit-Cornfield), two are discussions of a chosen topic (Diabetes; The Program Prosper), and four are personal stories (Swimming; Pet Dog; Pet Owl; Store). The full interlinearized text of three of these narratives is included in Appendix B.

In addition to these texts from my own research, I have also cited a few examples from a short folktale published in XM, the Cat and Mouse story (González & González 2006). While the text is from González and González, the glossing and English translation

---

3 This program is available for download at https://software.sil.org/fieldworks/.
are my own work. Occasionally I will also cite examples from data outside these texts. The source of such examples will be cited where it occurs.

1.5 Theoretical basis

This research incorporates significant ideas from the literature on the discourse function of participant reference forms. Rather than follow one method or theory in detail, I have combined ideas from several theories, as they each help to illuminate in different ways the unique patterns of participant reference in XM. Specifically, I use these ideas to examine both how participants are introduced and what are the patterns of continuing reference to already activated participants. Thus, the concepts I have incorporated include the relationship between form and degree of givenness described by Givón's Iconicity Principle (1983:18) and the correlation between form and activation states introduced by Chafe (1976). Other scholars, such as Levinsohn (1994) and Kibrik (1999), also discuss factors that affect the amount of coding material required for activated participants, such as the grammatical role and distance from a previous mention of that participant. In addition, I have included ideas and terminology from Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski's Givenness Hierarchy (1993), which provides finer distinctions in givenness than Chafe's work. In this section, I will give a brief summary of the three most important approaches that I have incorporated into my analysis of XM: Givón's Topic Continuity approach, Levinsohn's Sequential-Default methodology, and Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski's Givenness Hierarchy.

In his Topic Continuity approach to participant reference, Givón (1983) describes a coding scale with the smallest forms such as zero anaphora and bound pronouns at one end (demonstrating the lowest amount of coding), followed by independent pronouns in the middle, and full noun phrases at the other end (demonstrating the highest level of coding). He explains this scale with what he calls the Iconicity Principle (1983:18): "The more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous, or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it." According to the Iconicity Principle, the introduction of a new discourse participant will call for more coding because of its surprising or hard to
process nature, while continuing reference to that participant will require less coding due to the continuity of the topic and the resulting ease of processing.

Levinsohn (1994) sets forth a method of participant reference analysis where one establishes a set of default encoding values for subject and non-subject references based on the continuity of a topic and its distance from other references to the same participant. Levinsohn proposes four distinct contexts for references to subjects: (1) where the subject is the same as the preceding sentence, (2) where the subject is addressee of speech reported in the preceding sentences, (3) where the subject has some non-subject role in the preceding sentence, and (4) where there is some other change of subject other than those described in (1-3) (Levinsohn 1994:115). Each of these contexts would have a default form of reference associated with it, such as use of a noun phrase or a pronoun, and texts are coded to discover and assign these default (most common) patterns. Occurrences of other referring forms outside these established defaults are then analyzed as marked forms, and examined to discover what other discourse factors are present that help to explain their occurrence.

As part of my analysis process, I applied Levinsohn's method of coding subject references to several of the texts in my corpus, in order to discover any patterns that might occur in XM. These discoveries are discussed primarily in sections 3.1 and 3.3. Since this is not the only method I have utilized, however, my findings are not laid out in a systematic way according to each of the steps of Levinsohn's method, but are presented as they pertain to the wider discussion. In addition, I have followed Levinsohn in using the terms "activation" and "activated" in reference to the introduction of participants, which is distinct from the sense in which the term "activated" is employed within the Givenness Hierarchy.

Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski (1993) propose that different types of referring forms, including pronouns, noun phrases with determiners, and deictic expressions, correlate with different levels of givenness that are related in an implicational hierarchy called the Givenness Hierarchy. They refer to these levels of givenness as "six cognitive statuses": in focus, activated, familiar, uniquely identifiable, referential, and type identifiable (1993:275). Each type of referring form available in a language correlates with one
of these levels of givenness, in the sense that its use at a particular point in a text signals that the referent has met the conditions for at least that level of givenness.

As a part of my research, I have not used the set coding guidelines to create a complete inventory of XM forms within the Givenness Hierarchy, but have nevertheless used terminology employed by Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski and have used the coding protocol to some extent to describe referring forms in XM (Gundel et al. 2006). The terminology of the Givenness Hierarchy is utilized primarily in section 3.2, in my discussion of the discourse uses of determiners and deictic expressions.
CHAPTER 2

Relevant aspects of Xochapa Mixtec grammar

In order to aid in the understanding of the examples and analysis, this chapter will describe some of the relevant aspects of XM grammar, including the basic clause structure and its variations, the structure of the noun phrase, and the systems of deictics and pronouns. The majority of this chapter is limited to description of XM grammar, while most of the discussion about discourse is delayed until Chapter 3. However, section 2.1.2, in describing the variations in basic order of sentence constituents, goes somewhat beyond description and posits discourse motivated reasons for what is observed. This is because such information, while relevant to this study, does not readily fit with the observations concerning participant reference contained in Chapter 3, since Chapter 3 is organized primarily according to categories of referring forms.

2.1 Order of clause constituents

Section 2.1.1 describes the basic order of constituents in XM, and section 2.1.2 details some of the possible variations to the basic order.

2.1.1 Basic order

The usual order of constituents in Xochapa Mixtec is VSO. This is true whether noun phrases or pronouns are used in the roles of subject and object. Examples (1) through (4) demonstrate this basic order with both pronouns and noun phrases.

(1) PRON subject, NP object:
Nǐří rā tixīi lo'o rā kuŋ'än rā.
IPFV:carry.in.hand 3SG.M rifle small 3SG.M PROG:go 3SG.M
He was carrying his rifle in hand as he went. Rabbit-Cornfield:3.7
(2) NP subject, PRON object:
Ná kíꞌin kueꞌe ná ra.
HORT NEG-get illness 3.GNRL.HUM PAUSE
Let an illness not get them.  
Proper:1.4

(3) PRON subject and object:
Saá sîkâku ra yeꞌe ra, sîloꞌo kuvi ọ.  
thus PFV:save 3SG.M PRON.1SG PAUSE almost die 1SG
That's how he saved me; I almost died.  
Swimming:7.4

(4) Complement clause, NP subject and object:
Ta kuaꞌan tuku ra inka kîví tuku va náꞌa yáxí  
and PROG:go again 3SG.M another day again just IPFV:look.like IPFV:eat
rí mií rí  
3.ANML/SPH DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH animal that  
kití ikán iva chíchí  
and cornfield small 3SG.M
Another day he went again, and again [it] appeared the same animal was eating his  
Rabbit-Cornfield:2.5
little bean plants and his corn plants.

Under certain circumstances either the subject or the object can precede the verb,  
resulting in the the order SVO or OVS, as below. Reasons for preposing are discussed in  
section 2.1.2. In example (5), the subject is preposed, creating the order SV.

(5) Iin náveꞌe ọ i kuꞌvi ra.  
one family.member 1SG PFV:hurt PAUSE
One of my family members got sick.  
Diabetes:1.3

When the special object pronoun ŋaꞌá appears, the usual constituent order is VOS, as  
in example (6). The pronoun ŋaꞌá is used to indicate an object already referred to in the  
immediate context. (For further discussion of this pronoun, see sections 2.4.4 and 3.3.4.)

(6) Ta saá ndikiꞌin ŋaꞌá ná  
then PFV-PFV-get 3 3.GNRL.HUM
So they got him.  
Rabbit-Town Hall:3.1

Post-nuclear constituents occur in the following order: (PP/AdvP)*discourse marker)(tail).  
Three is the greatest number of post-nuclear constituents I have observed together in the
same clause. The order is relatively fixed, although the PP and AdvP can alternate; this 
alternation probably depends on the type or semantics of the AdvP. In example (7), each 
peripheral constituent is in parentheses.

(7) Saá kúnį́ i tu i kąꞌan i (xíꞌín ną́) (xą̱á

thus IPFV:want 1SG also 1SG talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM about

ną́ nána ną́ ndíkį́n xùꞌún Prospera).

3.GNRL.HUM lady 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV-receive money Prosper

I also want to talk (to them) (about the ladies who receive money from Prospera).

Prosper:1.1

Further examples of the relative order of post-nuclear constituents are given in Appendix

A.

Pre-nuclear elements include introducers and certain adverb phrases, as well as left-
dislocated items. Example (8) contains the introducer ta ñą́́ ʼand thenʼ at the beginning, 
and example (9) demonstrates the adverb phrase in the pre-nuclear slot.

(8) Ta ñą́́ ra, xàá kúną́nú lo'o ya.

and then PAUSE PFV:begin PFV:grow little 3.GNRL

And so it began to grow a little. 

Rabbit-Cornfield:2.1

(9) Lo'o ní va ndíkúńńů́ i nų́rá.

little very just IPFV-float 1SG on 3.LIQ

I only floated a little bit above the water. 

Swimming:5.2

Left-dislocated items are discussed further in section 2.1.2.

2.1.2 Variations in order

This section will discuss both variations in basic word order and sentence elements 
that appear outside the clause (left or right-dislocated elements). In XM, most variations 
in word order are due to preposing certain elements, such as subjects or objects, and these 
variations are usually motivated by the discourse context.
Subjects and objects can be preposed to give prominence to a focal constituent, as in example (10), which has a preposed subject. (In examples (10) - (14) the preposed constituents appear in bold.)

(10)  **Iin nàve'e ɪ ky'vi ra.**
    one family.member 1SG PFV:hurt PAUSE

    One of my family members got sick.

In example (11), there is a complement clause (in brackets) that functions as the subject of the verb *kúa* ‘it is’. Within the complement clause, we find the order OVS; the object *xù'ún* ‘money’ is preposed and precedes the verb *táxí* ‘give’, followed by the subject, the pronoun clitic *nà*. Interestingly, the complement clause, functioning as subject of the main clause, is also preposed.

(11)  **[iin xù'ún táxí tu nà nda'á nà ikán] kúa.**
    one money IPFV:give also 3.GNRL.HUM to 3.GNRL.HUM that it.is

    It's [a little money they also give them].

Note that these preposed focal elements are not doubled by pronoun clitics following the verb. Also, since the subject and object cannot both be in focus at the same time, the orders SOV and OSV do not occur.

Locative phrases can also be preposed as focus, as is *particular* ‘(to) private doctors’ in example (12).

(12)  **Particular va ku'ān nà kutátán nà ra.**
    Private just PROG:go 3.GNRL.HUM be.treated 3.GNRL.HUM PAUSE

    They just go [to] private [doctors] to be treated.

Finally, question words such as the interrogative pronoun *inkú* are also preposed as focal constituents, as in examples (13) and (14).

---

1 The term "focus", as used here, refers to new, important, or contrastive information (see Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:62).
Then he thinks, "And now, let's watch what animal is eating our cornfield and what's happening to it."

As described above, preposed elements occur within the clause; but in XM certain elements can also appear outside the clause, in both the left-dislocated and right-dislocated positions. Left-dislocated elements occur frequently as points of departure. This is illustrated by examples (15) through (19). Points of departure are often, but not always followed by ra, a spacer, as in examples (16), (17), and (18). Examples (15) and (19) show a point of departure with no spacer. In each of these examples, the left-dislocated element mentions the participant who is also the subject of the clause, and a resumptive pronoun clitic appears after the verb. (In each of the following examples, the left-dislocated participant is highlighted in bold.)

(15) Ye'e kúniŋ kañ'än i xa'tá ku'ę́ diabeti ya ndō'ō i PRON.1SG IPFV:want talk 1SG about illness diabetes that PFV-suffer 1SG xi'fn iin nā tál'ān i. with one 3.GNRL.HUM relative 1SG

As for me, I want to talk about the illness diabetes, that I went through with one of my relatives.

Diabetes:1.1

---

2 A point of departure is an element that is often left-dislocated or preposed to the beginning of a sentence and "cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:68).
Some of them don't want to go to be treated at the hospital.  

Prosper:1.20

Because some of them don't use it.  

Prosper:1.23

And I, I couldn't do it.  

Swimming:5.1

The teachers there, they teach very well, because all of them are [well] prepared.  

Swimming:3.4

Locative phrases such as *ikan* 'there' in example (20) can also occur as left-dislocated points of departure. (*Ikan* is identified as a point of departure because it is followed by the pause word *ra.*)

Right-dislocated elements are generally tails, which occur following the regular post-nuclear constituents for clarification or emphasis. In example (21), the subject is expressed by the pronoun clitic *ra*, followed by an adverb of manner, and then a tail emphasizing the identity of the subject. (The clitic pronoun and the tail are in bold.)
"I'm going to eat it, because I'm very hungry," he thought again like that, that same rabbit.

In example (22), a tail gives further detail about the identity of the object, directly following it.

So they left and arrived at the town hall. "He says he'll come right away," they said to them, to those at the town hall.

Tails are discussed further in section 3.1.3.

2.2 The noun phrase

The Xochapa Mixtec noun phrase consists of the nucleus, plus two optional elements preceding the nucleus and five optional elements following the nucleus. (Compare Zylstra 1991:68.) The nucleus of the noun phrase consists of a simple head noun or a complex noun (a noun with a pronoun clitic preceding it, or a compound noun).

The following diagram shows the possible elements of a NP, which will be described in more detail below. Optional elements are in parentheses, and elements that appear in the same "slot" are grouped together in parentheses:

(quantifier/determiner) N (AdjP) (limiter/GenP/deictic) (relative clause)

Example (23) illustrates the least complex type of NP: a simple noun, tikuũ ‘water’.
Example (24) demonstrates a NP nucleus that is a complex noun, consisting of the noun and its corresponding initial pronoun clitic. (For further discussion of these pronoun clitics, see section 2.4.3.)

(24) "Nda̱chu kúa kuví nditaku rí yó'ó kj'vi rí xi'ín rí conejo," ká'án nã.  
"Why can't this animal revive and go in with the rabbits?," they asked.  
Pet Owl:7

Finally, example (25) illustrates a compound noun, where two words together have formed a single noun with a unique meaning.

(25) ve'e kàà  
house metal  
prison

The NP nucleus can be preceded by the specifier/definite particle mií, as in example (26), or a quantifier or determiner, as in examples (27) and (28) respectively.

(26) Xinù mií leko ikán ku'ân rí nyú mií táta  
PFV:run DEF/REFL rabbit that PROG:go 3.ANML/SPH from DEF/REFL man  
xaq ka'ní ňa'a ikán.  
arrive kill 3 that  
The rabbit fled, running from the man who had come to kill him.  
Rabbit-Cornfield:7.2

(27) Saá satá yó ŭvij chivo koo saña ndó.  
Thus buy 1PL.INCL two goats be domestic.animal 2PL  
Then we will buy two goats to be your pets.  
Pet Owl:10.1
As stated above, the NP nucleus can be followed by five optional elements: an adjective phrase, (a limiter, a genitive phrase, a deictic word), and a relative clause. Three is the maximum number of post-nuclear elements I have observed in one NP. (In my corpus of texts, the data does not demonstrate the possible relative ordering of the three elements in parenthesis, as there are no examples where they appear together.)

Example (29) shows a NP including the determiner $i\!\!i$ ‘one’ preceding and the adjective phrase $lo\!'o$ ‘short/small’ following the nucleus.\(^3\)

Multiple adjectives cannot appear in the same phrase. Rather, two noun phrases will be juxtaposed, one with each adjective. Example (30) contains the noun phrase $mi\!\!i$ t$\!\!a\!\!i$ k$\!\!a\!\!n$ú ‘the very important chair’ juxtaposed with another noun phrase, t$\!\!a\!\!i$ ch$\!\!é$e ik$\!\!a\!\!n$ ‘that big chair’.

Similar to other constituents already described, adjective phrases can be preposed from their usual place following the head noun. In example (31), the adjective phrase in parenthesis, $lo\!'o$ p$\!\!a\!\!t$’a ví ‘just very little’, precedes the head noun $n$’i$\!\!i$ ‘salt’ (in bold).

\(^3\) Because many XM adjectives can function as predicates in a clause, some would analyze the word $lo\!'o$ ‘small’ as a stative verb being used as a relative clause, rather than calling it an adjective. (See Zylstra 1991:110.) However, in this paper such words will be analyzed as adjectives.
You put just very little salt in the beans; they’re not even salty. (Stark, Johnson & González 2013:59, English translation is mine)

The limiter optionally follows the adjective phrase. In example (32), the limiter ví ‘only’ follows the adjective phrase chée ‘big’.

If a genitive phrase appears, it follows the head noun or the optional adjective phrase within the NP. In example (33) the pronoun na, used here as a genitive, follows an adjective phrase.

Genitive phrases can be embedded within one another, as in example (34) below.

A deictic word can follow the NP, also following the adjective phrase, if an adjective phrase occurs. Deictic words are further discussed in section 2.3.2. In example (35), the deictic word ikán ‘that’ follows the adjective válí ‘small.’

---

The limiter also occurs in the pre-nuclear as well as post-verbal adverb phrase slots.
Relative clauses can directly follow the NP nucleus. As Caponigro, Torrence, & Cisneros (2013:70) similarly observe of Melchor Ocampo Mixtec, XM has headed relative clauses that are introduced by an element outside the relative clause which behaves as the head of the clause. That head element is generally a noun or a pronoun clitic. Example (36) contains a relative clause (in brackets) introduced by the pronoun clitic tí.

Example (37) demonstrates a NP headed by the pronoun ná, with a relative clause (in brackets) following the pronoun nucleus. Within the relative clause, there are two noun phrases (in parentheses).

A relative clause can also follow a deictic word within the NP. Example (38) contains a NP (in bold) with a deictic word following the nucleus xù’ún ‘money’, followed by a relative clause (in brackets).
That's why they send that money that comes, so they can buy things to eat, so they can buy fruit to eat.

However, the deictic word can sometimes follow the relative clause instead, as we can see in the last phrase of example (39): *mií rí xinù ikán* ‘the [animal] who fled’, where the deictic *ikán* is the final word of the phrase, coming after the relative clause (in brackets).

"Don't go any more, brother, because it's not a good time anymore," said another rabbit to the rabbit, the one [who fled].

### 2.3 Determiners and deictics

#### 2.3.1 The indefinite article

The number *iín 'one'* is used as an optional indefinite article. Examples (40) and (41) illustrate noun phrases both with and without the article. (Each noun phrase is in bold.)

(40) *Iín cuento lo'o kúá, súví cuento kání kúá.*

One story small it.is not story long.SG it.is

This is a short story, it's not a long story.
Further information about the indefinite article, including the discourse contexts in which it is used, is given in Chapter 3.

2.3.2 The four deictic words

In XM, there are four deictic words that function both as locative adverbs and as demonstrative determiners: *yó’ó* ‘here/this’, *kaá* ‘there/those (in sight)’, *ikán/kán* ‘there/that (out of sight)’, and *ňáá* ‘there/that (near the addressee)’. These four words also combine with pronouns to form demonstrative pronouns. See Table 1 for examples of the demonstrative forms.

Table 1. Demonstrative Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form:</th>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>Gloss:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>ikán</td>
<td>‘there (out of sight)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP + demonstrative</td>
<td>iva chichi yó’ó</td>
<td>‘these bean plants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun + demonstrative</td>
<td>ᵃ yó’ó</td>
<td>‘this one (3SG.M)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In examples (42) and (43), the deictic word *ikán* is used as a locative adverb.

(42) **Ikán sikuá’á i.**
where PFV-learn 1SG
There I studied.  

Swimming:1.2

(43) **Ikán chíi ną iva chíchí ra, ta ikán ndíkáa**
there PFV-sow 3.GNRL.HUM bean.plant PAUSE and there IPFV-be.inside
ra, xáxí ra iva chíchí.
3SG.M IPFV:eat 3SG.M bean.plant
There they had planted bean plants, and there he was eating the bean plants.  
Rabbit-Town Hall:2.5
Examples (44) through (46) contain deictic words being used as demonstrative determiners.

(44) Ndîꞌi ndîkaꞌan râ ra, kêtà tuku râ kuâŋ va PFV-finish PFV-talk 3SG.M PAUSE PFV-out again 3SG.M PROG:go just râ káchí nâ ndîtúꞌún nâ cuento xâꞌá râ 3SG.M PFV-say 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV-chat 3.GNRL.HUM story about 3SG.M conejo ŋãá. rabbit that

After he finished talking, he went out again and left, goes the story they tell about that ŋãá rabbit. Rabbit-Town Hall:11

(45) Ta kuâŋ tuku râ inka kijí tuku va náꞌâ yáxí and PROG:go again 3SG.M another day again just IPFV-look IPFV-eat rí mií rí kití ikán iva chíchí loꞌo râ 3.Anml/SpH DEF/REFL 3.Anml/SpH animal that bean.plant small 3SG.M xîꞌín itu loꞌo râ. and cornfield small 3SG.M

Another day he went again, and again it appeared that ikán same animal was eating his little bean plants and his little corn plants. Rabbit-Cornfield:2.5

(46) Xá kuúkuůá ní kúñi sindîꞌí va rí iva chíchí already PFV-multiply very IPFV-want finish just 3.Anml/SpH bean.plant yóꞌó ra. this PAUSE

That animal is already finishing off these yóꞌó bean plants. Rabbit-Cornfield:17.2

The four deictic words also combine with third person pronouns to form demonstrative pronouns. This is described in section 2.4.5.

In some contexts, it is unclear whether the deictic is functioning as a locative or a demonstrative. Notice the similar, but different readings possible in the free translation of example (47).
(47) Án vitin ví íyo chiñu i ra, ndíyvi i nűu ná
Q now only PROG:be work 1SG PAUSE PFV-exist 1SG to 3.GNRL.HUM

ve'e chiñú ŋáá.
town.hall there

"Only now they have work for me [lit. my work exists], and I exist to [them of the
town hall there/those of the town hall]?"

Rabbit-Town Hall:4.2

2.3.3 The particle mií

In Xochapa Mixtec there is a particle, mií, which can be added to the beginning of
a noun phrase with several different meanings. One of the common uses of mií is to
make a noun phrase definite. North, in her description of Silacayoapan Mixtec, calls the
cognate particle mí a definite particle (1987:104). In XM, there is no definite article used
exclusively as such. Rather, to make a reference to a noun definite, a noun phrase is
formed with the definite particle mií preceding the noun, and an optional deictic word
(functioning as a demonstrative adjective) following it. Examples (48) and (49) illustrate
this construction.

(48) Ta saá ra, ñűu ndjxáni mií rí leko kán.
then PAUSE night PFV:dream DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH rabbit that

Then, that night the rabbit had a dream.

Rabbit-Cornfield:4.1

(49) Káꞌa ŋá mií xañi ikán xiꞌín ra, "Iin kutaꞌnu ndaa ún, ta
IPFV:talk DEF/REFL dream that with 3SG.M very hang 2SG and

iin kutaꞌnu ndaa ta iin kunűú ndixin ún.
very hang and one be pierced 2SG

The dream said to him, "You will hang, you will hang and you will be pierced.

Rabbit-Cornfield:4.2

In example (50) the demonstrative adjective is omitted:

(50) Xinú mií leko ikán kuꞌaŋ rí nűu mií táta
PFV:run DEF/REFL rabbit that PROG:go 3.ANML/SPH from DEF/REFL man

xaŋ kaꞌní ŋá ikán.
arrive kill 3 that

The rabbit fled, running from the man who had come to kill him.

Rabbit-Cornfield:7.2
In her description of the related language Alacatlatzala Mixtec, Zylstra (1991:67) refers to *mií* as a specifier, with the gloss 'that very'. Stark describes this particle as adding emphasis (2010:5). In example (51), *mií* precedes *tai* ‘chair’ to form this type of emphatic noun phrase.

(51) Xàà ðà ndik'undú'û ðà sàtà mií tai kâ'nú, tai chée ikán ra.  
He arrived and sat in the very most important seat.  
Rabbit-Town Hall:6.4

Finally, the particle *mií* can also be used reflexively. In example (52), *mií* combines with the third person pronoun *ña* to form a reflexive pronoun.

(52) Ná kundaa ñà mií ñà.  
Let them take care of themselves.  
Diabetes:1.10

Reflexive pronouns are described in section 2.4.6.

### 2.4 The pronoun system

#### 2.4.1 First and second person pronouns

In the first person, Xochapa Mixtec has pronouns that distinguish between singular, plural inclusive, and plural exclusive. Second person pronouns are divided between singular and plural. First and second person pronouns are also divided between dependent and independent pronouns, which will be explained below.

Table 2. First and Second Person Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person:</th>
<th>Dependent Pronoun</th>
<th>Independent Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ye'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 plural inclusive</td>
<td>yó</td>
<td>yóó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 plural exclusive</td>
<td>ndë</td>
<td>ndë'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular</td>
<td>ùn</td>
<td>yó'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>ndó</td>
<td>ndó'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dependent pronouns appear as subject enclitics on the verb, as in example (53) or attach to other parts of speech, as in example (54) where $i$ attaches to the adverb $vq'a$ ‘well’. (In the practical orthography the clitics are written as separate words, even though they are phonologically attached to what precedes them.)

(53) "Sikuáꞌá ndó yga sutá ndó,“ káḻán ra. learn 2PL so.that swim 2PL IPFV:talk 3SG.M
"You will learn to swim," he said. Swimming:4.2

(54) Ta ſñaá, ye'ei ra, kóó ndikúchíñú v'a i. and then PRON.1SG PAUSE NEG NEG:PFV-be.able well 1SG
And I, I couldn't do it. Swimming:5.1

The dependent pronouns can also indicate possession when used in a NP, as in example (55).

(55) se'e i
son/daughter 1SG
my child(ren) Pet Owl:15

Finally, dependent pronouns can be used as objects of a preposition, as in example (56).

(56) káḻán ra x'ní i.
IPFV:talk 3SG.M with 1SG
he said to me. Swimming:8.5

In contrast, independent pronouns are used in any other position that is not available to a dependent pronoun, or for emphasis. Example (57) contains an independent pronoun as the object of the verb, while example (58) demonstrates an independent pronoun used for emphasis.

(57) Chindáꞌá ná ivá i ye'ei kúa'án i chá'kán.
PFV:push 3.GNRL.HUM father 1SG PRON.1SG PROG:go 1SG that.way
My parents pushed me and I went there. Swimming:1.3
(58) Ta ye'ę kōó kúchíñú va'á ́.
and PRON.1SG NEG IPFV-be.able well 1SG
As for me, I couldn't do it well. Swimming:5.6

2.4.2 Third person pronouns

In addition to the first and second person pronouns discussed above, there are nine different third person pronouns to reflect the different noun classes of Xochapa Mixtec. These are based mainly on semantic noun categories. Unlike first and second person pronouns, there are no independent third person pronouns. Rather, third person pronouns are all clitics. Following is a table of the third person pronouns. (Where two pronouns are listed together, they are alternate pronunciations of the same pronoun.)

Table 3. Third Person Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular masculine</td>
<td>rä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular feminine</td>
<td>yá, ñá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural masculine</td>
<td>ndä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural feminine</td>
<td>ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General human (masculine and/or feminine)</td>
<td>ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal, fruit, or spherical object</td>
<td>rí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>rá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, machine</td>
<td>nú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General thing (that doesn't fit in another category)</td>
<td>ya, ñã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As example (59) demonstrates, the third person pronouns can be used either as subjects (ŋg) or objects of the verb (ř).

(59) xá’án na xínį ná rí
HAB:go 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV:see 3.GNRL.HUM 3.ANML/SPH
they go and see the animal
Pet Owl:14.4

Like the dependent first and second person pronouns, they are also used to indicate possession (60) and as objects of a preposition (61):
(60) Ta ndiꞌí rí ra, ná koo ndiꞌí kití válí ve'e and all 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE HORT be all animal small.PL house
ná che.
3.GNRL.HUM they.say
And every animal, let there be every kind of little animal in their house, they say.
Pet Owl:12.2

(61) Ta kǒó kúchíñú j, ŋá, sutá və'a j nyú rá.
and NEG IPFV-be.able 1SG PAUSE swim good 1SG on 3.LIQ
And I couldn't swim above it [the water]. Swimming:5.3

2.4.3 Initial third person pronouns

In addition to the nine third person pronoun enclitics, there is a similar set of proclitics that attach to the beginning of nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Stark describes these as "initial pronouns" (2010:5). In table 4, they are listed along with their enclitic counterparts; many are identical in form to the enclitics.

Table 4. Initial Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class:</th>
<th>Proclitic pronouns/ noun classifiers</th>
<th>Enclitic pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular masculine</td>
<td>tã, rã</td>
<td>rã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular feminine</td>
<td>yá, ŋá</td>
<td>yá, ŋá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural masculine</td>
<td>ndã</td>
<td>ndã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural feminine</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General human (masculine and/or feminine)</td>
<td>nã</td>
<td>nã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal, fruit, or spherical object</td>
<td>tí, rí</td>
<td>rí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>rá</td>
<td>rá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, machine</td>
<td>tún, nú</td>
<td>nú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General thing (that doesn't fit in another category)</td>
<td>ya, ŋa</td>
<td>ya, ŋa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These proclitics often precede nouns and indicate which gender or noun class the noun is from, as in examples (62) and (63), and thus could also be analyzed as noun classifiers. (Note that in the practical orthography the proclitics, as well as the enclitics, are written as separate words, but they are phonologically attached to what follows them.)
This is especially true of borrowed nouns. They often appear with an initial pronoun to help identify the "foreign" noun, as is the case of the borrowed Spanish word *natación* ‘swimming’ in example (64).

(64) "Ku'yun yó alberca, sikuátá ndó yà *natación,* káchi rà.  

"We're going to go to the pool and you will learn swimming," he said. Swimming:4.1

However, this is not always the case with some commonly borrowed nouns, which can appear without the proclitic, as is the case with the Spanish noun *maestro* ‘teacher’ in example (65).

(65) Ta ñâá iin kiví káchi *maestro,* "Chikàq yó ndikava ndó ndá  

and then one day IPFV-say teacher put.in 1PL.INCL fall 2PL until  
ninú nú ru rá," káchi rà.  

below to 3.LIQ IPFV-say 3SG.M  

And then one day the teacher said, "We're going to jump in. You're going to fall/dive in under the water," he said. Swimming:6.1

Stark notes that the pronouns starting with 't' (*tå, tí, and tún*) only appear before the word they attach to (as proclitics), and are never used as subjects, objects, or to show possession, the way the enclitics are (2010:5). However, the rest of the third person pronoun clitics can appear before or after the word they attach to. Each of the three initial pronouns that start with 't' could be analyzed as a shortened form of the noun that
represents that gender category or noun class. For example, *tq* appears to come from *táta* ‘sir, man’, *tí* from *kití* ‘animal’, and *tún* from *itún* ‘tree’.

Sometimes, especially in the introduction of a participant or in closing a story, either the proclitic pronoun or the entire "category" noun (as in example 111), and sometimes both (as in 67), are added before the noun.

(66) *In* cuento lo‘o *kití* timí saña se’e i, cuento rí
one story small animal owl domestic.animal son 1SG story 3.ANML/SPH
ikán xí’in se’e i, xákú nà xāl’á rí.
that with son 1SG IPFV: cry 3.GNRL.HUM for 3.ANML/SPH
A story of my children's little pet owl, the story of that owl and my children, how
they cried about it. Pet Owl:15

(67) *In* rí *kití* timí kèè rí ikú xāq
one 3.ANML/SPH animal owl PFV: go.out 3.ANML/SPH hill arrive
rí ra.
3.ANML/SPH PAUSE
An owl came from the fields and arrived. Pet Owl:1.1

Occasionally, both forms of the initial pronoun, the one that begins with 't' and the
one that does not, will appear together before a noun, as in examples (68) and (69).

(68) Cuento rí *tí* tinà saña i.
story 3.ANML/SPH 3.ANML/SPH dog domestic 1SG
The story of my pet dog. My Pet Dog:1.1

(69) Ta ndi‘i ra, tixū‘ú ikán ra, tátu sātā i satā i iin
and afterward PAUSE goat that PAUSE if NEG-buy 1SG buy 1SG one
rí *tí* sàà koo saña nà che.
3.ANML/SPH 3.ANML/SPH bird be domestic.animal 3.GNRL.HUM they.say
Afterward, if I don’t buy a goat, I will buy a bird for them. Pet Owl:12.1

In these cases, *rí* always precedes *tí*, in the same order as when the when the whole general
category noun *kití* appears instead of *tí* (see example (67)).

The proclitic pronouns can attach to nouns or adjectives and form derived nouns with
a new meaning. See examples (70) and (71).
(70) ną ñùù
3.GNRL.HUM town
the townspeople
Rabbit-Town Hall:10.2

(71) ną ndá'vi
3.GNRL.HUM poor
the poor people
Prosper:1.2

Note that both the 't' and non 't' proclitics can be used to form derived nouns, as in examples (72) through (74).

(72) rí tâku
3.ANML/SPH alive
a live animal
My Pet Dog:3.2

(73) "U'ún chi xa rí ndíx'i va kú rí."
no because already 3.ANML/SPH PFV:die just be 3.ANML/SPH
No, because it's already a dead animal.
Pet Owl:3

(74) Sùví rí ndíxá'ni i kú rí chi comida kòó
not 3.ANML/SPH NEG:PFV-1SG be 3.ANML/SPH because food NEG
ndíxíni i inkúa kuxi rí ra, ndíx'i
NEG:PFV-IPFV:see 1SG what eat 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE PFV:die
rá.
3.ANML/SPH
I didn't kill it (lit. It's not an animal I killed), because I didn't know what it eats, and it died.
Pet Owl:1.10

Some nouns seem to be in the process of fusing with the clitic. For example, the word ñuñú means either 'honey' or 'bee', while the word tíñuñú is also used for 'bee'. One can tell that the morpheme 'tí' is part of the noun by whether or not the word kití or tí can also appear before it. Note that when the classifier/pronoun clitic morpheme has become part of the noun, the tones of the derived word may also be affected. For example, in (75), the morpheme tí - carries a low tone, rather than high tone found in kití and tíñuñú.
The proclitic pronouns can precede verbs, creating a relative clause, as in examples (76) and (77).

(76) na 3.GNRL.HUM lady nána, na 3.GNRL.HUM [ndikí'íń 3.PFV-receive xù'ún 3.PFV-Prospera] the ladies, those who receive money from Prosper

(77) ra 3.SG.M [ndika'án] he who said

Again, both ri and tí can appear alone before a noun or introduce a relative clause, as in example (78).

(78) Ikán cuento lo’o ri 3.ANML/SPH that story little tí 3.ANML/SPH i 1.SG saña 3.ANML/SPH ndañú'ú 3.PFV:get.lost ku'ú'úan. PROG:go

That is the little story of my pet dog that went and got lost.

2.4.4 The special pronoun ñatlá

Besides the dependent third person pronouns listed above, there is one other third person pronoun, the special pronoun ñatlá. This pronoun is only used as a direct object, and occurs in place of any third person pronoun. It refers to something or someone that has already been mentioned (Stark 2010:5).

In Magdalena Peñasco Mixtec, there is a similar pronoun, ñatlá, which Hollenbach (2013:58) calls a known complement because it can be used for first, second, or third person. This is also true in Tezoatlán Mixtec (Williams 2006:55). However, in Xochapa Mixtec, it can only be used for third person (Stark 2010:5).
In example (79) below, ña'á is used as the direct object of the verb ndikí'in ‘get’ in place of the masculine pronoun ra, while ra later appears in the second clause, as subject of the verb kixàà ‘arrive’.

(79) Ta saá ndikí'in ña'á nà kixàà ra ra. then PFV-PFV-get 3 3.GNRL.HUM PFV-arrive 3SG.M PAUSE
So they got him [ña'á] and he [ra] arrived. Rabbit-Town Hall:3.1

Another interesting feature of the pronoun ña'á is that it usually changes the normal VSO word order, coming directly after the verb instead of after the subject (Stark 2010:5). This is demonstrated by example (79) above and example (80) below. (The final rí in example (80) refers to the mother, and is the subject of kasi ‘stop.’)

(80) Ta kóó ndíkúchíñú si'í ya kasi ña'á rí. and NEG NEG:PFV-be.able mother 3.GNRL stop 3 3.ANML/SPH
And its mother could not stop it [ña'á]. Gato-ratoncito:1.16

However, other sentence orders can occur with ña'á as well. In example (81) below, the subject tachí is preposed and comes before the verb, so the order is SVO.

(81) Rákú'vi kú ralo'o se'ë ya; xákú ni rà. Táchí ki'in sick is little.one offspring 3SG.F IPFV-cry a.lot 3SG.M spirit PFV-catch ña'á.
3
Her little son is very sick; he’s crying a lot. A spirit got him [ña'á]. (Stark, Johnson & González 2013:53, English translation mine)

In example (82) about the mother cat and her kitten, ña'á appears twice, first in a clause with the order VSO, and then in a clause with the order VOS.

(82) Ta kóó ndíkúchíñú ka sikákù si'í ña'á chindeé ña'á and NEG NEG:PFV-be.able more save mother 3 help 3 rí, chi xa ndiy'a ní va tiempo. 3.ANML/SPH because already PFV-pass very just time
And the mother couldn't any more save it [ña'á] or help it [ña'á], because it was already too late (lit. the time had already far passed). Gato-ratoncito:1.18
In addition to its use in independent clauses, the pronoun ňaꞌá can also appear within a relative clause, as in example (83), where the relative clause is in brackets.

(83) Xinù mií leko ikán kuŋ'an rí nyú mií táta
PFV:run DEF/REFL rabbit that PROG:go 3.ANML/SPH from DEF/REFL man
[xãa ka'ní ňaꞌá ikán].
arrive kill 3 that

The rabbit fled, running from the man who had come to kill him [ńaꞌá]. Rabbit-Cornfield:7.2

2.4.5 Demonstrative pronouns

The four deictic words can be combined with the third person pronoun proclitics to form demonstrative pronouns, as in examples (84) through (86). Similar to what Zylstra (1991:121) observes in Alacatlatzala Mixtec, these demonstrative pronouns can function syntactically like independent or free pronouns. In examples (85) and (86) the demonstrative pronouns take a fronted position that is not allowed for the pronoun clitics alone.

(84) "Ta unkúŋ koo ni'i yó ra yóꞌó," káchi ná sa'va
and what be find 1PL.INCL 3SG.M this IPFV-say 3.GNRL.HUM like.that
ra.
PAUSE

And they said, "How will we find him?" Rabbit-Town Hall:3.3

(85) Ya yóꞌó kúú ndi'i va ya ra.
3.GNRL this IPFV-be all just 3.GNRL PAUSE

This is everything. Swimming:10.3

(86) Ya ikán kúŋ ndòꞌò i saá.
3.GNRL that it.is PFV-suffer 1SG thus

That is what happened to me. Swimming:10.2

Both tí and rí (that is, the proclitic pronouns beginning with 't', as well as the others) can combine with the deictic words to form demonstrative pronouns. Examples (87) and (88) demonstrate both of these constructions.
"Ndąchu kúa kùví nditaku rí yó'ó kį'vi rí
why it.is NEG:IRR.be.able revive 3.ANML/SPH this enter 3.ANML/SPH
xí'ín rí conejo," kàľan nà.
with 3.ANML/SPH rabbit IPFV:talk 3.GNRL.HUM

"Why can't this animal revive and go in with the rabbits?," they asked. Pet Owl:7

Kùví ka chi tí ñåá ra, xa
NEG:IRR.be.able more because 3.ANML/SPH that PAUSE already
tí xàà ndix'i kú rí ra, kóó ka kùñù
3.ANML/SPH PFV-do dead be 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE NEG more meat
rí kàndà ka rí kàľan ka rí
3.ANML/SPH move more 3.ANML/SPH talk more 3.ANML/SPH

It can't anymore, because this animal, it's already dead. It doesn't have any more
flesh to move any more or talk any more. Pet Owl:8.1

2.4.6 Reflexive pronouns

As noted briefly in section 2.3.3, reflexive pronouns are formed by adding the particle
mií before a pronoun enclitic, as example (89) demonstrates.

(89) Ná kundaa nà mií nà.
HORT IRR-care.for 3.GNRL.HUM DEF/REFL 3.GNRL.HUM
Let them take care of themselves. Diabetes:1.10

North (1987:104) also documents this reflexive use of the particle mií in Silacayoapan Mixtec.

In a number of languages, reflexive forms can also have an emphatic function. In XM,
the particle mií can also be used to create emphatic pronouns, as in example (90).

(90) Xáá tu mií ñ xákù ñ xí'ín nà..
IPFV-begin also DEF/REFL 1SG IPFV:cry 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM
I also began to cry with them. Swimming:2.3

Interestingly, as North (1987:105) observes, when mií precedes a pronoun clitic, it
forms a free pronoun. This is also true in Xochapa Mixtec. In the example (90), the bound
pronoun ñ appears with mií in a context where otherwise the free 1SG pronoun ye'ë would
be required.
CHAPTER 3

Features of participant reference in Xochapa Mixtec

As described in the previous chapter, Xochapa Mixtec has several different devices for referring to participants. The choice between these referring devices is largely guided by what Givón (1983:18) calls the Iconicity Principle: "The more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous, or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it." Thus, as Givón's coding scale would suggest for XM, pronoun enclitics demonstrate the lowest level of coding, independent pronouns fall in the middle, and full noun phrases demonstrate the highest level of coding. Beyond these general categories, XM also uses combinations of elements, such as a noun phrase or a pronoun along with one or more determiners, to expand the possibilities in referring forms. Each of the sections below examines one of these categories of reference and its use in discourse.

3.1 The use of noun phrases

Noun phrases have several different uses in XM. Some occurrences of particular categories of referring forms can be considered default for particular types of contexts, while others are marked occurrences; this will be discussed further in the sections below. As might be expected following Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:113) and Chafe (1976:31), noun phrases are commonly used in Mixtec as a form of introduction or activation of participants. Noun phrases also appear as necessary for re-activation of participants and to disambiguate referents when the context is not sufficient to support a lower level of encoding. Marked noun phrases can occur in order to highlight a major participant. Finally, one of the unique and interesting situations where noun phrases appear involves the use of Mixtec repetitive devices. In this section I will discuss the use of noun phrases including bare nouns and noun phrases with and without determiners. Note that determiners and deictics will be covered more thoroughly in section 3.2.
3.1.1 Activation of participants

The introduction of a participant in a narrative often requires a marked type of sentence or form of reference (Levinsohn 2015:120-121). In XM, different types of participants are introduced (or activated) using different syntactic patterns of reference, but all types utilize a noun phrase. This provides evidence for what Chafe (1976:31) notes in his discussion on givenness, that is, that noun phrases are frequently used to introduce ideas that are new, while information that is given is communicated with a weaker form, such as a pronoun. He also observes that indefiniteness and newness tend to correlate (1976:42).

Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:119) describe three types of participants: major participants, minor participants, and props. Accordingly, XM has a different reference pattern for each of these categories of participant, especially in relation to activation of participants. Similar to other varieties of Mixtec (see North 1987:101), major participants in Xochapa Mixtec are frequently introduced by a noun phrase that includes the indefinite article iin. In example (91), that NP is in an equative clause.

(91) Ta ikán, ña, iin maestro rä educación física kúú rä
and there PAUSE one teacher 3SG.M education physical IPFV-be 3SG.M
ndika'an...
PFV-talk...
There a physical education teacher is the one who said... Swimming:4.1

Often, a major participant is introduced through a left-dislocated noun phrase. In examples (92) and (93), the NP occurs before the verb, and a resumptive pronoun clitic also occurs in the usual subject position following the verb.

(92) Iin rí kití timí këè rí ikú xåg
one 3ANML/SPH animal owl PFV:go.out 3ANML/SPH hill arrive

An owl, it came from the fields and arrived. Pet Owl:1.1
In example (94), a major participant is introduced as part of a left-dislocated point of departure. Again, the resumptive pronoun na appears after the verb síná’s ‘teach’.

Occasionally a major participant is introduced using a NP and a different device, such as a question. Notice that in example (95) the NP inkú rí kití ‘what animal’ is still preposed in the question, but the verb yáxí ‘eat’ carries no resumptive enclitic pronoun.

In this example, it is also interesting that the specific identity of the animal, a rabbit, is not mentioned in the context before, nor for several sentences after this introductory question. This could be due to the fact that sometimes, even when a participant is introduced, they are already part of an existing mental representation. That is, the concept is already familiar to the hearer (Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski 1993). In example (95), Mixtec listeners may simply assume the animal is a rabbit, because "Mr. Rabbit" is a very common character in Mixtec folktales.

Even when a new participant is already part of the mental representation, allowing some degree of givenness before introduction, the introductory NP may still be preposed,
as in example (95). This is also the case in example (91), where the teacher is introduced with a preposed NP even thought the teachers at the school had already been mentioned. However, the fact that this reference to the teacher is preposed could also be due to the fact that the teachers collectively are not the major participant; only this one teacher is.

Sometimes when major participants are part of an existing mental representation the NP is not preposed in the usual style for introductions. In the example (96), the NP introduction is not preposed even though Mr. Rabbit is a major participant, because the genre itself is enough to serve as an introduction for this common character. (Example (96) is the second line in the text, and the first mention of the rabbit.)

(96) Saá ndòꞌò rä conejo che.
    thus PFV-suffer 3SG.M rabbit they.say
    This is what happened to Mr. Rabbit, they say. Rabbit-Town Hall:2.1

In contrast to major participants, minor participants are introduced as subjects/topics in a comment-topic sentence (‘parents’ in example (97)), or as objects, and sometimes in a phrase outside the nucleus (‘with his children’ in example (98)).

(97) Chīndàꞌá na ivá 1 yeꞌe kuaꞌan i cháfkán.
    PFV:push 3.GNRL.HUM father 1SG PRON.1SG PROG:go 1SG that.way
    My parents pushed me and I went there. Swimming:1.3

(98) Ta yá kana yá kuxí rä xiꞌín seꞌe rä kúŋ káčhi
    and so.that produce 3.GNRL eat 3SG.M with son 3SG.M it.is IPFV-say
    rä soꞌo chá ŋi rä yá.
    3SG.M like.that PFV-sow 3SG.M 3.GNRL
    It was so that it would produce and that he would eat it with his children, he said
    [when] he planted it. Rabbit-Cornfield:1.2

Chafe (1976:48) points out that there is not necessarily a correlation between the status of subject and that of givenness. However, it is worth noting that in both these examples, one could argue that the participants already have the status of given, because they are family members already part of one's mental representation (see Givón 1983:10).
Interestingly, in my corpus of texts, I could not find any minor participants that did not in some way already fit into the mental framework when they were introduced in the story.

Props in a story can be introduced as a NP subject or object, or in a peripheral element such as a prepositional phrase. It is most common for props to be objects. In five texts that I analyzed with respect to props, the prop was introduced 12 times in the object position, as in example (99).^2

(99)  Níꜱí rã tixíi lo'o rã kua'ﰲ rã.  
IPFV:carry.in.hand  3SG.M rifle  small  3SG.M PROG:go  3SG.M  
He was carrying his rifle in hand as he went.  

Three of those introductions (25%) involved a preposed object, as in (100):

(100)  Xîní vã'a ndéé rã kixâã rã.  
hat  good  IPFV-put  3SG.M PFV-arrive  3SG.M  
He arrived wearing a good [nice] hat.  

In contrast, props were introduced as subjects only four times and within prepositional phrases also four times. In total, props were mentioned as subjects 8 times, as in (101), and within PP's 10 times, as in (102).

(101)  Ndíkàvà rã, iin saá káá tóto rã, iin saá káá ña'ã  
PFV-fall  3SG.M one  thus  look.like  clothes  3SG.M one  thus  look.like  thing  
ndó'ní itin rã, billete kúá ndíлибо yá ra.  
IPFV:be.enclosed pocket  3SG.M bills  it.is  all  3.GNRL PAUSE  
He dove in just like that, with his clothes and everything in his pockets, bills and all.  

(102)  Xàà rã ndíkJûndú'ù rã satá mií taj ká'nú, taj  
PFV-do  3SG.M PFV-sit.SG  3SG.M on  DEF/REFL chair  big  chair  
chéé ikán rã.  
important there  PAUSE  
He arrived and sat in the most important seat.  

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^2 Interestingly, beyond introductions, in continuing reference these activated entities were mentioned in the object position a further 13 times (25 total including introductions).
3.1.2 Re-activation of participants

In addition to the activation of new participants, a noun phrase is often used to help identify a participant that has not been mentioned recently, as a form of re-activating that participant. Kibrik (1999) demonstrates through statistical measurement that the greater the rhetorical distance between a reference and its antecedent, the lower its activation in working memory, requiring a more full or complete referential form (a NP rather than a pronoun, for example). In the Givenness Hierarchy coding guidelines, a participant is considered to have the cognitive status "activated" if they are mentioned in the two sentences immediately preceding, and after that they drop to the lower givenness level of familiar (Gundel et al. 2006). The term "activation" is used somewhat differently by these different approaches, with Kibrik discussing degrees of activation, while Gundel et al. discuss levels of givenness. However, both agree that lower levels of activation or givenness require higher levels of coding. This also corresponds to Levinsohn's expectation of more coding for a subject that plays no role in the previous sentence (1994:115).

In the Swimming text, the PE teacher is introduced and subsequently referred to twice with the masculine pronoun ra. However, six sentences follow, in which the teacher is not mentioned at all, until example (103), where the teacher is re-activated with a noun phrase. Notice that in the speech orienter after the reported speech, having been re-activated, the teacher is once again referred to with the pronoun ra.

(103) Ta ñáá i in kívi káchi maestro, "Chikaa yó ndikava ndó ndá and then one day IPFV-say teacher put.in 1PL.INCL fall 2PL until njú nyú rá," káchi ra. below to 3.LIQ IPFV-say 3SG.M

And then one day the teacher said, "We're going to jump in. You're going to fall/dive in under the water," he said. Swimming:6.1

Another related motivation for the use of noun phrases involves re-activation after some type of discontinuity. As mentioned in section 1.5, discontinuous or disruptive elements are more difficult to process and will require more coding (Givón 1983:18). Thus, due to discontinuity of subject, a noun phrase is used in example (104) to refer to the
man. Although the man was introduced earlier in the text, the rabbit has been the center of attention as the subject for the seven sentences previous to this one, and the man has not been referred to again until this sentence.

(104) Ta saá ra ndjxą̱ mií ra táta kán xító ra.
   then PAUSE PFV:arrive DEF/REFL 3SG.M man that IPFV:see 3SG.M
   Then the man arrived to see.

Similar to re-activation, renewal after a discontinuity can also motivate the use of a NP, even if the participant has been mentioned in the recent context. For example, in the Rabbit-Cornfield text, the bean plants and corn plants are introduced in lines 1.1 and 1.2, and then referred to with a pronoun in three of the four following sentences. However, in the next line (example (105b)) the bean plants and corn plants are again mentioned with a noun. This occurrence of a NP is likely due to a discontinuity of time (‘another day’) and a switch from reported speech in 2.4 to non-reported speech in 2.5. (See Appendix B to read the full context.)

(105) a. "Inkú̱ ri̱ kití̱ yáxí̱ ní̱ ya̱" káťán ra
   what 3.ANML/SPH animal IPFV:eat a.lot 3.GNRL IPFV:think 3SG.M
   so'va.
   like.that
   "What animal is eating it up?" he thought.

b. Ta kuááṉ tuku ra̱ i̱nka kiví̱ tuku va ná'ág̱ yáxí̱
   and PROG:go again 3SG.M another day again just IPFV:look IPFV:eat
   ri̱ mií̱ ri̱ kití̱ ikán i̱va chíchí lo'o
   3.ANML/SPH DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH animal that bean.plant small
   ra̱ xi'í̱n itu lo'o ra.
   3SG.M and cornfield small 3SG.M
   Another day he went again, and again it appeared the same animal was eating his little bean plants and his corn plants.

3.1.3 Disambiguation

As discussed later in section 3.3, in XM, once participants have been introduced and if there is no need for re-activation, the default form of reference is to use pronoun enclitics
following the verb. This is evident even in a short span of XM text. In example (106) from
the beginning of the Rabbit-Cornfield story, the introductions of participants (the man, his
children) and props (the bean plants and the corn) are in brackets, while the subsequent
mentions with pronouns are in bold (genitive pronouns are not in bold).

(106) a. [lin rə táta] chìꞌi rə [iva chíchí] rə; chìꞌi rə
one 3SG.M man PFV-sow 3SG.M bean.plant PAUSE PFV-sow 3SG.M
iva chíchí rə xíꞌin [itu rə].
bean.plant 3SG.M and cornfield 3SG.M

A man, he planted bean plants; he planted his bean plants and his corn.

b. Ta yə kana yə kuxi rə xíꞌin [se̱e rə] kúə
and so.that produce 3.GNRL eat 3SG.M with offspring 3SG.M it.is
káchi rə so'o chìꞌi rə yə.
IPFV-say 3SG.M like.that PFV-sow 3SG.M 3.GNRL

It was so that it would produce and that he would eat it with his children, he
said [when] he planted it. 

Sometimes long stretches of text occur where references are made exclusively with
pronouns, and due to the large number of distinct pronoun categories available in XM,
chances for confusion or ambiguity are fewer than would occur in many languages. As
Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:56) reason, "The semantic part of the referring task predicts
that the amount of coding material in a referring expression increases with the danger of
ambiguity." However, even though Mixtec provides fewer opportunities for ambiguity in
pronominal references, noun phrases do at times become necessary to disambiguate be-
tween two participants who would otherwise take the same pronoun. As Givón indicates,
in these situations heavier coding (such as noun phrases) may be used in order to make
identifying the referent easier due to "potential interference from other topics" (1983:11).

In XM, this type of disambiguation becomes necessary when two participants of the
same noun class that are both activated in the context are referred to in close proximity.
Interestingly, disambiguation in XM often takes the form of using a noun phrase tail, as
is the case with example (107). Here, one referent is the subject (those who carried the
message about the rabbit) and the other is a non-subject (those at the town hall who
received the message). In example (107), both participants are first referenced with the
same plural pronoun \( na \) ‘they’, but then a noun phrase tail (in brackets) is used to clarify the referent of the final \( na \). Interestingly, this is also the first time those at the town hall are mentioned. (Note that in example (107) the subscript '1' is used when \( na \) refers to the first group of participants, while the subscript '2' is used when \( na \) refers to the second group of participants.)

(107) Saá ra, kèè na₁ kixàà na₁ ve'e chíñú thus PAUSE PFV:go.out 3.GNRL.HUM PFV-arrive 3.GNRL.HUM town.hall
ra, "Tikáꞌán kixi rà che, káchi rà," káchi PAUSE right.now come 3SG.M they.say IPFV-say 3SG.M IPFV-say
na₁ so'va xi'ín mií na₂, [na₂ ñùù 3.GNRL.HUM like.that with DEF/REFL 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL.HUM town
ve'e chíñú].
town.hall
So they₁ left and they₁ arrived at the town hall. "He says he'll come right away," they₁ said them₂, (to) those₂ at the town hall. Rabbit-Town Hall:5

The two lines below from the Rabbit-Cornfield text (108) present another case where two participants would have required the same pronoun. Both participants are mentioned or implied in the first line, (108a): the main rabbit by the pronoun \( rí \), and the dream rabbit by the verb \( ndixáni \) ‘dream’ and the dream-speech. Then, in (108b), both the main rabbit who dreamed, and the dream rabbit who spoke in the dream are referenced with noun phrases. However, since both are referenced by the noun \( leko \) ‘rabbit’, more complex noun phrases are required to disambiguate the referents. This is accomplished by adding the word \( inka \) ‘another’ and the demonstrative \( ikán \) ‘that’ to describe the dream rabbit, and by adding the tail with a relative clause \( mií rí xinù ikán \) ‘the one who had fled’ to clarify the identity of the main rabbit.

(108) a. Ňáá xàá ndixáni tuku rí, "Kúꞌun ka ún, núú then PFV:begin PFV:dream again 3.ANML/SPH NEG-go more 2SG where
xá'an ún ra.
HAB:go 2SG PAUSE

Then it began to dream again: "Don't go where you've been going."
b. Kūꞌun ka ún, chi ŋani chi vă'a ka tiempo,“
NEG-go more 2SG because brother because NEG-good more time
káchí inka mií ré leko ikán xf'ín mií
IPFV-say another DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH rabbit that with DEF/REFL
ré leko, [mií ré xinù ikán].
3.ANML/SPH rabbit DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH PFV:run that

"Don't go any more, brother, because it's not a good time anymore," said another rabbit to the rabbit, the one who had fled.

Rabbit-Cornfield: 15.2-15.3

In one final example from the Pet Owl text (109), the owl is a major participant, and the narrator has referred to it many times with the animal pronoun ré throughout the story. However, in (109a), she uses the same pronoun ré to refer to the "little animals" she is going to buy (ré does not specify singular or plural). Therefore, in order to be clear in (109b), when she desires again to mention the owl, she uses a combination of first the pronoun and then a full appositional noun phrase (mií ré lo'ō, tí timí ikán ‘the little it, that owl'), before again using the pronoun ré in reference to the other little animals.

And that's why I will buy all the little animals they ask for, I answered, "Little by little I will buy them.

The little animal, that owl, will be replaced, and the animals will multiply. Pet Owl: 14.1-14.2

3.1.4 Highlighting and other marked uses of noun phrases

Repetition is a very common device in Mixtec discourse, especially in oral discourse, as Anderson (1993:38) notes. Some of the types of repetition that Anderson observes
include repetition in dialogue, repetition for semantic effect, and repetition that helps maintain the main point in view. While repetition serves many purposes in XM and other Mixtec languages, here I will examine how it relates specifically to the repetition of noun phrases for purposes of participant reference. Marked occurrences of noun phrases are often due to the repetitive devices of Mixtec discourse, including repetition for the effect of emphasis or highlighting.

Sometimes the repeated and marked use of a noun phrase occurs, for greater emphasis, at the beginning of a story. This is appears in example (110) from the Rabbit-Town Hall story.

(110) a. Saá ndòꞌò r̃a conejo che. thus PFV-suffer 3SG.M rabbit they.say
   This is what happened to a rabbit, they say.

   b. Saá ndòꞌò conejo xina’á ra. thus PFV-suffer rabbit years.ago PAUSE
   This is what happened to a rabbit years ago. Rabbit-Town Hall: 2.1-2.2

A full noun phrase may also appear instead of a pronoun at the end of a story, in summary, as in examples (111), (112), and (113). L. Harris (1995:84) also documents this use of noun phrases in Santiago Nuyoo Mixtec.

(111) Iin cuento lo’o kití timí sàna se’e i, cuento one story small animal owl domestic.animal son 1SG story
   rí ikán xíꞌín se’e i, xákú nà xà’á rí. 3.ANML/SPH that with son 1SG IPFV:cry 3.GNRL.HUM for 3.ANML/SPH
   A story of my children's little pet owl, the story of that animal and my children, how they cried about it. Pet Owl:15

(112) "Ñàá ra ndixi’ì va leko," káchi r̃a so’va. then PAUSE PFV:die just rabbit IPFV-say 3SG.M like.that
   "So, the rabbit died," he said. Rabbit-Cornfield:25.3
After he finished talking, he went out again and left, goes the story they tell about that rabbit.

This use of "extra" or marked noun phrases at the beginning and end of a text is related to the fact that in some Mixtec languages repetition can be used in sentences that introduce and refer to the discourse theme at the beginning and end of a text (Anderson 1993:47).

Repetition of a noun phrase may occur as part of a larger repetitive sequence that is used, as Anderson (1993) observes, to frame background information and slow information flow. In example (114), in describing the school setting she was in at the beginning of the Swimming text, the narrator uses two nearly identical existential clauses with full noun phrases to introduce her classmates in two adjoining sentences/paragraphs, even though the plural female pronoun would technically have been enough to identify them in the second sentence.

There were many classmates, and I cried because it was the first time I had gone away from my father and mother.

And I arrived there, and there were the classmates, and they began to cry, and I also began to cry with them.
A noun phrase may also be used to highlight a major participant, especially near the climax of a story. Levinsohn (1994:118) predicts this marked use of noun phrases, stating that increased coding can occur with the purpose of highlighting information, even if it is already given. In the Rabbit-Cornfield story, a noun phrase is used five times when the subject is the same as in the immediately preceding clause. Notably, every time this occurs the subject is the rabbit, a major participant in the story. In example (115), these repetitive noun phrases occur preceding a climax where the rabbit is in danger of being killed. (The bold pronouns and noun phrases all refer to the rabbit, and both NP's occur where there is no change in subject and no need for re-activation.)

(115) a. Saá ndiği’ín tuku râ kuğ’an râ, kuğ’an mií then PFV-PFV-get again 3SG.M PROG:go 3SG.M PROG:go DEF/REFL rí leko ikán kuxi tuku rí. 3.ANML/SPH rabbit that eat again 3.ANML/SPH

Then he got up again and went; the rabbit went to eat again.

b. Ta saá ra ndixá mií rí leko ikán ra, then PAUSE PFV:arrive DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH rabbit that PAUSE xàá xíxí rí iva chíchí, ta xíxí rí PFV:begin IPFV:eat 3.ANML/SPH bean.plant and IPFV:eat 3.ANML/SPH itu. cornfield

So the rabbit arrived and he began eating the bean plants and the corn plants. Rabbit-Cornfield: 5.4-6.1

Thus, in XM, a noun phrase might be chosen despite a seemingly high level of given-ness because of the overriding use of repetition as a discourse device.

3.2 The use of determiners and deictic expressions

As described in section 2.3, XM has an indefinite article (iin), a definite particle (mií) and four deictic words. In this section, I describe how these forms are used in participant reference and what significance they convey. In my discussion of the four deictic words, I will focus especially on their use as determiners.
In their Givenness Hierarchy, Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski (1993:286-287) describe how demonstratives and determiners in different languages fit into different categories with different requirements of givenness. This section will explore the givenness requirements of each type of determiner and deictic expression in XM and will describe the specifics of how they are used. I will use terminology from Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski (1993), including the terms type identifiable, referential, uniquely identifiable, familiar, activated, and in focus. The following examples that illustrate the Givenness Hierarchy terminology all have NPs without determiners to demonstrate both the concepts and the fact that determiners are optional.

Starting at the lower end of the hierarchy, a referent is type identifiable when the addressee can identify the general type of thing referred to (such as a type of animal), but not necessarily a specific referent (Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski 1993:276). In XM, both noun phrases with the indefinite article and noun phrases without determiners can be used to refer to referents that are at most type identifiable. In example (116), the noun kue’e ‘illness’ is type identifiable, because the addressee does not know which illness is being referred to.

(116) Ná kli’iŋ kue’e nà ra.
HORT NEG-get illness 3.GNRL.HUM PAUSE
Let an illness not catch them.
Prosper:1.4

In example (117), the noun xiní va’a ‘hat’ is both type identifiable and referential, because it is the first mention of a hat in the story, and it is referring to a specific hat.

(117) Ndikündú’ú rà ra, xîní va’a ndéé rà kjxàa rà.
PVF-sit.SG 3SG.M PAUSE hat good IPFV-put 3SG.M PFV-arrive 3SG.M
He sat down; he arrived wearing a good [nice] hat.
Rabbit-Town Hall:6.5

Referents that are uniquely identifiable are those where the addressee can identify the specific referent being mentioned on the basis of the nominal alone (Gundel, Hedberg,

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3 Note that Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski (1993) use the term "in focus" in a sense distinct from the common discourse use of the term to indicate new or contrastive information. In the Givenness Hierarchy, the term "in focus" refers to the highest level of givenness. In this section, I will follow Gundel in using the term "in focus" to indicate this highest level of givenness, and will include the word "given" in parenthesis to make sure this meaning is clear.
This is true whether the referent already exists in the mental representation of the addressee, as in example (118), or simply because of the descriptive content in the noun phrase, as in example (119).

(118) ṇáá iin kuití kétà leko ndàvà rí, kuaŋ va rí, then one only PFV-go.out rabbit PFV:jump 3.ANML/SPH PROG:go just
rí, xinù tuku rí, kuaŋ va rí. 3.ANML/SPH PFV:run again 3.ANML/SPH PROG:go just 3.ANML/SPH

Then suddenly the rabbit jumped out and went running again and went away. Rabbit-Cornfield:23.1

(119) Saá kùnj i tu i káŋ i xií:ìn nà xa:á thus IPFV:want 1SG also 1SG talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM about
nà xií:ìn programa ya táxí gobierno de la republica 3.GNRL.HUM with program that IPFV-give government
ya ná:á nà. 3.GNRL to 3.GNRL.HUM

I also want to talk to them about the ladies who receive money from Prosper, [that's what] they call the program the government of the republic gives them. Prosper:1.1

The following sections demonstrate that the indefinite article is used for both referential and non-referential expressions, including the introduction of new participants. Once a participant is introduced, subsequent references to that participant usually include the definite particle mií or the deictic word ikán, and most often both. The four deictic words and the definite particle mií are used for referring to participants that are activated or familiar, as described in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 below.

3.2.1 The use of the indefinite article

As noted above, type identifiable noun phrases in XM do not necessarily require an article. However, in many places indefinite articles do occur. Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski (1993:276) note that an indefinite article usually indicates that the noun phrase is type
identifiable, but languages differ (especially languages where the indefinite article is optional) as to whether the use of the indefinite article requires the referent to have the higher status of referential (that is, referring to a particular object rather than the general type of object). In XM, when the indefinite article does occur, it can be with referents that are either referential or non-referential, though the referential cases are more frequent.

As described in section 3.1.1, the indefinite article iin frequently occurs when introducing something or someone. In these cases, the form is clearly referential, as in example (120).

(120) lín ́rí kití timí kèè́ ́rí ́ikú xaá one 3.ANML/SPH animal owl PFV:go.out 3.ANML/SPH hill arrive
   ́rí ra.
3.ANML/SPH PAUSE
An owl came from the fields and arrived. Pet Owl:1.1

Following are two more general examples of the indefinite article being used with a referent that is referential. In example (121), the narrator is referring to a specific time, while in (122) the narrator is referring to a specific story, the one she has just finished telling.

(121) Ndíxiyo iin tiempo ndíxáan ŋí escuela secundaria Cuernavaca, Morelos.
PFV:be one time PFV:go 1SG school Cuernavaca Morelos
There was a time when I went to junior high school in Cuernavaca, Morelos. Swimming:1.1

(122) Yá ́yó'ó ́kúá, ́yá ́yó'ó kuú iin cuento lo'o ndíxiyo ŋí
tá lo'o ŋí tá ndíxáan ŋí escuela Cuernavaca.
3.GNRL this it.is 3.GNRL this IPFV-be one story small PFV:be 1SG when small 1SG when PFV:go 1SG school Cuernavaca
This is it, this is a little story of what happened to me when I was little when I went to school in Cuernavaca. Swimming:10.1

In my corpus, the majority of examples of the indefinite article are examples where it is used with a referent whose status is referential. There is evidence, however, that this is not always the case. In some cases, the indefinite article appears to be used in a non-referential expression, as in example (123).
Afterward, that goat, if I don't buy it, I will buy a bird for them.

In summary, referring forms associated with entities that are type identifiable may be noun phrases either with or without the indefinite determiner. While the use of the indefinite determiner does not require a referent that is referential, the majority of cases are referents that are referential.

3.2.2 The use of the four deictic words

As described in section 2.3.2, the four deictic words in XM are: yóꞌó ‘here/this’, kaá ‘there/that (in sight)’, ŋágá ‘there/that (near the addressee)’, and ikán/kán ‘there/that (out of sight)’. The deictic words are used to refer to participants that are "familiar" (that is, uniquely identifiable to the addressee from short term memory or long term memory). At this point in the research, I have not yet determined whether any of the deictic words require the higher status of "activated" (in the current short term memory) or "in focus" (Gundel et al. 2006).

Some of the deictic words occur more frequently in regular narrative (non-reported) speech, while others occur most often within direct reported speech. The uses of deictic words in non-reported speech tend to be special discourse uses, while the use of these words in reported speech tends to parallel the basic non-discourse deictic function of these words.

Section 2.3.2 described how deictic words can occur either with a noun phrase as demonstrative determiners (as in examples (124) and (125)) or with a pronoun phrase as demonstrative pronouns, as in example (126).
That's why they send that [ikán] money that comes, so they can buy things to eat, so they can buy fruit to eat.

Let them buy medicine to treat themselves if they are sick, and if not, let them go with that [ikán] insurance to be treated at the hospital.

There is also a little support that comes, it's a little money they also give them [ikán].

The four deictic words can very rarely appear without a noun or pronoun, apart from their use as locative adverbs. Following are the only two examples in any of my texts where this occurs, both with the word ikán. Note that in both example (128) and possibly example (127), a predicate (verb) seems to be missing where one would normally appear.

And that [is what] I want to tell the people of every town, let them take care of themselves.
Although these "simple" demonstrative pronouns are infrequent as a referential strategy in my corpus of narrative texts, it is possible they occur more often in other genres. Interestingly, one of the two occurrences in my texts, example (127), in fact appears in the non-narrative portion of that text.

3.2.2.1 Within non-reported speech

Each of the deictic words except *káq* is used in non-reported speech when referring to participants that are familiar or activated. I have no examples of *káq* being used except in the basic sense of ‘that (over there)’, and it usually occurs within reported speech, when the speaker is referencing something in sight (see further description in section 3.2.2.2). In some cases, as described further below, the choice of deictic word appears to depend upon the narrator's desire to distance themselves from a topic or to identify with one participant rather than another. The remainder of this section provides examples from my corpus of each of the deictic words and their discourse uses in non-reported speech.

The deictic word *ikán* is used very frequently in non-reported speech. Examples (129) and (130) both demonstrate a participant that has been activated in the discourse being referred to with the deictic determiner *ikán*. In example (129), the money (*xù́tán*) is being referred to explicitly for the second time, after being introduced three sentences previously. In example (130), the insurance is mentioned with the deictic *ikán* after having been introduced ten sentences previously and not mentioned at all in the nine intervening sentences. In each of these cases, the referents would be at most familiar.
That's why they send that [ikán] money that comes, so they can buy things to eat, so they can buy fruit to eat.

Let them buy medicine to treat themselves if they are sick, and if not, let them go with that [ikán] insurance to be treated at the hospital.

The deictic words ņágá and yó’ó can also be used similarly in non-reported speech to reference a participant that has already been introduced, but they are not common. Interestingly, the example of ņáá in (131) is closely related to indirect reported speech; this may have affected the form chosen here. Example (132) demonstrates the use of the deictic yó’ó to reference the illness diabetes, the topic of that text.

After he finished talking, he went out again and left, goes the story they tell about that rabbit [near the hearer].

Let them take care of themselves with regard to this illness.
The deictic word *yóꞌó* is sometimes used to reference the narrative itself, in summarizing or wrapping up a story. When this occurs it is generally used in combination with a pronoun, rather than a noun. In addition, both *ikán* and *ńgá* can also be used in this way. The choice between deictic words here likely depends on how much the speaker is mentally distancing themself from the narrative. Examples (133) and (134) demonstrate two of these deictic words being used in this way.

(133) Ya̱ yóꞌó ndíꞌí va míí cuento lo'o ̣.

3.GNRL this IPFV-finish just DEF/REFL story small 1SG

This [yóꞌó] ends my little story.

Swimming:10.4

(134) Ya̱ ńáá kúú va ya̱.

3.GNRL that IPFV-be just 3.GNRL

That's it.

Store:1.18

North (1987:107) observes a similar choice between demonstratives in Silacayoapan Mixtec, stating that the words *yóꞌo* ‘this/there’ and *kán* ‘that/there’ (cognates of those in XM) can have different functions in relation to indicating participant prominence. She maintains that *kán* is used to put a participant in the background, while *yóꞌo* is used to bring a participant to the foreground. However, she also notes that in episodes involving multiple participants where none are more prominent, *kán* is chosen instead of *yóꞌo* (1987:107-108). This is similar to the fact that in XM *ikán* is more frequent than *yóꞌó* in non-reported speech.

Occasionally, in XM, two different deictic words can be used to reference the same noun within one discourse. This is somewhat different than the use that North observed, where one deictic is used to bring a participant into the foreground with relation to or in contrast with another participant. In the XM text about the illness diabetes, the narrator uses both the deictic words *ikán* ‘that’ (135), and *yóꞌó* ‘this’ (136), when referring to the illness.

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4 In example (128) where *ikán* is used in summary, it occurs alone, without a noun or pronoun. This seems to be a unique example.
They say that there isn't a cure for that [ikán] illness.

So that this [yóꞌó] illness won't get them.

In fact, the narrator begins the discourse using *ikán* and part way through switches to *yóꞌó*, and then continues to use *yóꞌó* until the end of the discourse. This is a complex narrative, where the narrator begins with a personal story describing how one of her family members had suffered from diabetes. Then she continues describing the illness and its effects on people in more general terms. Finally, the text takes a hortatory turn as the narrator begins to exhort her listeners about the illness and how they should take care of themselves so that they won't get it. The switch to the demonstrative *yóꞌó* does not occur immediately after the hortatory section of the text begins, but rather occurs after several sentences, including a repetition of the statement "It's a tragic illness" (Diabetes 1.11 and 1.12). It is possible that the change in demonstrative occurs as the narrator continues to speak on the topic and begins to view it as more immediate or applicable to her listeners, even though she never goes so far as to directly address her audience in the second person. This is similar to the use of *yóꞌó* in another text (example 137), where the narrator wraps up by turning to the audience.

This [yóꞌó] ends my little story.

Another factor that can affect the use of determiners, as Levinsohn (1994:111, 1978:69) observes, is the desire of a narrator to associate themselves more closely with one participant as opposed to another. In the example below, a deictic word appears in the same clause as its antecedent *particular* 'private doctors', which is in a left-dislocated position.
In comparison, it is possible to have such a construction (a participant introduced in a left-dislocated phrase, followed by a second reference in the main clause) without the deictic word, as in example (139). This strengthens the idea that it was an intentional choice to use a deictic word in example (138), rather than using the simple pronoun.

Following Levinsohn's observation, one possible reason for the appearance of the deictic word *ikán* in (138) is to disassociate from the participant mentioned (in this case, the private doctors who do charge money) in contrast to the other doctors mentioned earlier whose services are covered by insurance.

### 3.2.2.2 Within reported speech

Within reported speech, one can find the deictic words *yó'ó*, *kádá*, and *ńgá*. (It may be possible for *ikán* to occur also, but I have no examples in my corpus.) These deictic words usually appear following an initial pronoun clitic, rather than with a noun phrase, creating a demonstrative pronoun (see section 2.4.5).

The proximal deictic word *yó'ó* occurs when the referent has already been introduced, although not necessarily introduced within previous reported speech. Example (140) is one example of this type of occurrence.

(138) Ra particular ra, ra kí'ín va ná ikán xù'ún.  
PAUSE private.doctors PAUSE PAUSE IPFV-get just 3.GNRL.HUM that money  
Private doctors, they charge money.  
Prosper:1.28

(139) Ndióxi ra kúni ra xíñí ra ye'e, vitin ra  
God PAUSE IPFV-feel 3SG.M IPFV:see 3SG.M PRON.1SG now PAUSE  
ndítàvá ra ye'e.  
PVF:get.out 3SG.M PRON.1SG  
God, he loves me, and even now He got me out.  
Swimming:9.5

(140) "Ta unkúá koo njí'í yó ra yó'ó," káchi ná so'va  
and what be find 1PL.INCL 3SG.M this IPFV-say 3.GNRL.HUM like.that  
ra.  
PAUSE  
And they said, "How will we find [this yó'ó] him?"  
Rabbit-Town Hall:3.3
Notice that in the example above, *yóꞌó* ‘this’ is used, even though it is referencing someone the speakers cannot literally see, someone who is out of sight.

Sometimes *yóꞌó* is used of a participant that is already in focus (given), to show contrasting emphasis. In example (141), the deictic *yóꞌó* references the owl, in contrast to several other animals mentioned in the text. Other deictic words are used to refer to those other animals, but *yóꞌó* is only used when speaking of the owl, the primary animal of the text.

> (141) Ta kōó kúńį ndę sindúxįn ndó rí kuꞌun rí and NEG IPFV:want 1PL.EXCL bury 2PL 3.ANML/SPH go 3.ANML/SPH tjińt ŋuú chí rí yóꞌó ra, iin kįví ra, nditaku under land because 3.ANML/SPH this PAUSE one day PAUSE revive rí kixi rí káꞌa̱n na ná so'va. 3.ANML/SPH come 3.ANML/SPH IPFV:talk 3.GNRL.HUM like.that And we don't want you to bury it and for it to go under the earth, because this [yóꞌó] animal, one day it's going to revive and come," they said thus. Pet Owl:10.2

Within a reported conversation, the deictic *ña̱á* is used at least once for a referent that was activated by the other speaker in a closed conversation. In the following examples (also from the Owl text), example (142) has the children asking about the owl using the deictic *yóꞌó*, while example (143) contains their mother's reply, where she refers to the owl with the deictic *ña̱á*.

> (142) "Ndąchu kú̱a kúví nditaku rí yóꞌó kįví rí why it.is NEG:IRR.be.able revive 3.ANML/SPH this enter 3.ANML/SPH xi'iń rí conejo," ká̱ał ná. 3.ANML/SPH with 3.ANML/SPH rabbit IPFV:talk 3.GNRL.HUM "Why can't this animal revive and go in with the rabbits?," they asked. Pet Owl:7
(143) Kùví ka chi tí ñáá ra, xa
NEG:IRR.be.able more because 3.ANML/SPH that PAUSE already
tí xàà ndixi’í kú rí ra, kóó ka kùñù
3.ANML/SPH PFV-do dead be 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE NEG more meat
rí kàndà ka rí kàñàn ka rí.
3.ANML/SPH move more 3.ANML/SPH talk more 3.ANML/SPH
It can't anymore, because this animal, it's already dead. It doesn't have any more
flesh to move any more or talk any more.

Pet Owl:8.1

The deictic word kaá is used within reported speech only once in my corpus, where
it holds the basic meaning of ‘that (over there)’. In example (144), the rabbit is talking to
himself about the man he sees coming.

(144) "Ra̱ kaá va kúú rà vàxi rà kúñí rà ka’ní
3SG.M that just IPFV-be 3SG.M IPFV.come 3SG.M IPFV:want 3SG.M kill
rà mií yó.
3SG.M DEF/REFL 1PL.INCL
That guy there is the one who's coming and wants to kill me! Rabbit-Cornfield:6.4

3.2.3 The use of the definite particle mií

The particle mií is added to a noun phrase to indicate it is definite. This is almost
always after that participant has already been introduced in a text, as in example (145).

(145) Táxí mií gobierno nda’á ná yá kù’ví
IPFV-give DEF/REFL government to 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL IPFV:hurt
ini rà xìní rà ná.
inside 3SG.M IPFV:see 3SG.M 3.GNRL.HUM
The government gives to them because it loves them. Prosper:1.15

The definite particle is common, but not required for referents that are at least uniquely
identifiable. In example (146), the teacher has already been introduced, yet is mentioned
again with a simple noun and no determiner.
And then one day the teacher said, "We're going to jump in. You're going to fall/dive in under the water," he said.

The definite particle often appears together with one of the deictic words, most frequently *ikán*, when referencing a participant that is familiar, as in examples (147) through (149). This use is much more common than the use of the definite *mií* alone.

(147) Chi ya kutátán uun ná kúá tí'ví gobierno because that be.treated free 3.GNRL.HUM it.is PFV:send government

mií seguro popular ikán váxi ya ra. DEF/REFL insurance popular that IPFV:come 3.GNRL PAUSE

Because that's why the government sends the insurance and it comes-- so they can go and be treated for free.

Prosper:1.19

(148) Ta in kuiyá kúá ndó'ó i saá, inka kuiya segundo grado, ta and one year it.is PFV-suffer 1SG thus another year second grade and xà xáá káan va í ta kóó ndíkúni already PFV:begin IPFV:get.used.to just 1SG and NEG NEG:PFV:IPFV:want ka í, ñáá vá'a xíká í, vá'a xíká í ta vá'a va more 1SG then well IPFV:walk 1SG well IPFV:walk 1SG and well just ñáá ndíxíyo í mií escuela ikán. then PFV:be 1SG DEF/REFL school that

And I went through that one year, and another year, second grade, and I began to adjust, and I didn't want any more...and then I was going along well and I was fine being at the school there.

Swimming:3.1

(149) Tú ya ná kí'in mií kué' e yó'ó ná. Also that HORT NEG-get DEF/REFL illness this 3.GNRL.HUM

So that this illness won't get them.

Diabetes:1.16

Another use of the definite *mií* is to help disambiguate between participants when referring to participants already mentioned. In example (150), a noun phrase with *mií* helps to clarify the referent of the pronoun *ng*. Again, in (151), *mií* is used to help identify both the main rabbit in the story (subscript 1) the rabbit in the dream (subscript 2).
His head looks very small, but his head is very intelligent,” they, the very townspeople, said about him.

"Don't go any more, brother, because it's not a good time anymore," said another rabbit₂ to the rabbit₁, the one who fled.

For a discussion of the use of tails for disambiguation, along with another example of mií being used for this purpose, see example (107), in section 3.1.3.

Unlike in Silacayoapan Mixtec (North 1987:104), in XM the definite particle mií is usually used in noun phrases, but is rarely used in pronoun phrases. (But this is not true when mií is used as a reflexive; then it can appear in a pronoun phrase (see example 52).) Example (107) is the only example that appears in my texts where the definite mií is used with a pronoun in a non-reflexive sense, and it is followed closely by a clarifying noun phrase.

Interestingly, in XM, possessives can co-occur with mií, as in example (152).
to avoid ambiguity. Another interesting feature this pronoun system provides is the ability to confer special meaning by using a pronoun outside of its usual noun class boundaries to refer to members of another noun class. This section will explore the various discourse uses of XM pronoun clitics, as well as the use of the special pronoun ŋa'á.

3.3.1 Further reference to activated participants

Once a participant has been activated in a text, the usual way to refer to them is with a simple enclitic pronoun. As Levinsohn (1994:115) predicts, this is especially true for references where the subject is the same as the previous sentence. For example, in (153) from the Rabbit-Cornfield text, the man is mentioned with a noun phrase, and then the following two clauses refer to him with the pronoun enclitic ra̱.

(153) a. Ta saá rã ndjxãa mií rã táta kán xító rã. then 3SG.M PFV:arrive DEF/REFL 3SG.M man that IPFV:see 3SG.M
Then the man arrived to see.

b. Ta saá ra vaxí rã. then PAUSE IPFV.come 3SG.M
He was coming. Rabbit-Cornfield: 6.2-6.3

This is also a common strategy in cases where the subject is the addressee of previous reported speech. This is true for the man in example (154b), where he answers the question his wife asks in example (154a).

(154) a. "Ta ndåchu kúá kóó ndíxáꞌí ún rí," káchi mií and why it.is NEG NEG:PFV-kill 2SG 3ANML/SPH IPFV-say DEF/REFL
yá sî'î rã. 3SG.F wife 3SG.M
"And why didn't you kill it?" his wife said.

b. "Kóó ndíxáꞌí i rí sá chi listo ní rí NEG NEG:PFV-kill 1SG 3ANML/SPH because quick very 3ANML/SPH
xinù rí kua'ån rí," káchi rã so'va. PFV:run 3ANML/SPH PROG:go 3ANML/SPH IPFV-say 3SG.M like.that
"I didn't kill it because it was very quick, and it went running," he said. Rabbit-Cornfield: 9-10
When the subject has some other non-subject role in the previous clause, it is expressed with an enclitic a little over half of the time in the Rabbit-Cornfield text, and every time in the Rabbit-Town Hall text. The ‘3SG.M’ subject pronoun ṛa in last clause of example (155) was mentioned in the object position of the preceding clause, where ṛa is the subject. The subject of each clause is highlighted.

(155) Kua’än tuku ṛa 3GNRL.HUM nuń iva chíchí nda xikuàá kuí saá n̄į́í PROG:go again to bean.plant 3PL.M late then find
   ṛa ndíkàa 3SG.M IPFV-be.inside ṛa.

Again they went to their bean field, late in the afternoon. Then they found him; he was there.

Rabbit-Town Hall:3.4

Even when the subject has no role in the previous sentence or clause, it is expressed over half the time with an enclitic in the Rabbit-Cornfield text (10/17) and in all 10 examples from the Rabbit-Town Hall text. Example (156) is one example, and again each subject is highlighted.

(156) Ikän chíchí ṛa 3GNRL.HUM iva chíchí ra, ta ikän ndíkàa there PFV-sow bean.plant PAUSE and there IPFV-be.inside
   ṛa, xáxí ṛa 3SG.M IPFV:eat 3SG.M bean.plant

There they had planted bean plants, and there he was eating the bean plants.

Rabbit-Town Hall:2.5

One reason for such an infrequent occurrence of noun phrases overall is the large number of different noun classes which require different pronouns. This makes it easy to distinguish participants over an extended discourse using only pronouns without confusion, especially in texts where each of the participants is referred to with a unique pronoun. In a narrative with only two participants or groups of participants, where each requires a different pronoun, very few NPs are used (as in the Rabbit-Town Hall story). Thus, it seems that most noun phrases, when they appear, are marked occurrences that are motivated by specific discourse contexts.
3.3.2 Alternation between animal and human pronouns

In his article on animacy and ontology, Dahl (2008) writes about the metaphorical process where inanimate entities can be referenced as though they were animate. In the same way, one could say it is a type of metaphorical process that allows a creature to be referenced with a form that usually refers to humans. This certainly appears to be the case in XM examples such as (157), where dreams and advanced thought are also attributed to an animal, as though it were human. While in a number of languages animals can be personified in certain genres of literature and represented with personal pronouns, what is most interesting about the XM reference pattern is that it allows for the use of both animal and human pronouns to refer to the same participant within a text.

(157) Ta ŋaá ra saá káťán ra tin, "Án xáni xíká and then PAUSE thus IPFV-think 3SG.M also Q dream IPFV-walk
mií va kúá," káťán ra míí ra leko ikán.
DEF/REFL just it.is IPFV-think 3SG.M DEF/REFL 3SG.M rabbit that
Then he also thought, "Is this just a dream flying around by itself?" the rabbit thought.
Rabbit-Cornfield:5.2

In XM, it is fairly common to refer to animals using a human pronoun. However, this use is limited to certain situations. Human pronouns are generally only used for animals in fictional narratives, with the exception of pronoun ng (see the separate discussion of this pronoun in section 3.3.3). In the two texts Pet Dog and Pet Owl, the narrator never uses a human pronoun to refer to animals, most likely because they are true stories about real animals, rather than tales about personified animals. I have found no examples of animals being referred to with a female pronoun; in all of the cases that occur in my data, the masculine singular pronoun ra is used, as in example (157) above.

In some texts, a human pronoun is the only referring form used for an animal, while in other texts there is pronoun alternation. For example, in the Rabbit-Town Hall story, the rabbit is always personified and referred to with the human pronoun throughout. There is no alternation, and no distinction between animal and human participants. In fact, there is no clarifying information in the text regarding whether the other participants are also
personified animals or whether they are human; exclusively human pronouns are used. Other human properties are also attributed to the rabbit in this text. In example (158a) he is addressed as "sir", in (158b) he sits in a chair, and in (158c) he is wearing a hat. Example (158c) contains three instances of the rabbit being referred to with the masculine pronoun ra̱.

greeting 2SG father IPFV-say 3.GNRL.HUM like.that
"Good afternoon, sir," they said.

b. Xàà ra ndijkundúꞌú ra sàtá mìí tāi kā'nú, tāi 
PFV-do 3SG.M PFV-sit.SG 3SG.M on DEF/REFL chair big chair
chée ikán ra, important there PAUSE
He arrived and sat in the big chair, the important seat.

c. Ndi̱kundúꞌú ra ra, xíní va'a ndéé ra ki̱xàà ra. 
PFV-sit.SG 3SG.M PAUSE hat good IPFV-put 3SG.M PFV-arrive 3SG.M
He sat down; he arrived wearing a good [nice] hat. Rabbit-Town Hall: 6.3-6.5

In contrast, the Rabbit-Cornfield story has both human and animal participants. The man is the first participant introduced, and is presumably the main participant between the major participants. The rabbit is then introduced as an animal, but the narrator immediately switches to using the human male pronoun for him, in the context of telling what he dreamed (line 4.2). The human pronoun continues to be used as the rabbit's thoughts are described in the following lines. In line 5.4 (example (159) below), as the rabbit goes back to the cornfield, there is a verb that is repeated, first with the male pronoun, and then with the animal pronoun as the narrator switches back to using the animal pronoun.

(159) Saá ndjikîꞌin tuku ra kua'an ra, kua'an mìí 
then PFV-PFV-get again 3SG.M PROG:go 3SG.M PROG:go DEF/REFL
rí leko ikán kuxi tuku rí. 
3.ANML/SPH rabbit that eat again 3.ANML/SPH
Then he got up again and went; the rabbit went to eat again. Rabbit-Cornfield:5.4
Alternation between human and animal pronouns is likely related to point of orientation, but other factors such as the overall prominence of a participant seem to influence it as well. After the pronoun switch in example (159), the rabbit is still the subject for a few more clauses, with the animal pronoun, and then the man arrives on the scene again. However, then there is an abrupt switch to describing the rabbit's thoughts, and it switches back to using the human pronoun for the rabbit in lines 6.4-7.1 (example (160a) through (160c)). In 7.2 (example (160d)), there is again a repetition, this time of two sets of parallel clauses using the same verbs, to switch back to the animal pronoun.

(160) a. "Rə kaá va kúú rə vəxi rə kú̃ní rə ka'ní 3SG.M that just IPFV-be 3SG.M IPFV.come 3SG.M IPFV:want 3SG.M kill rə mií yó. 3SG.M self 1PL.INCL

That guy there is the one who's coming and wants to kill me!

b. Ta vá'a ná kunu va yó," ká́n rə so'va. and NEG-good HORT run just 1PL.INCL IPFV-think 3SG.M like.that "Not good! I'd better run," he thought.

c. Ta saá ra xínú rə kuá'án rə. then PAUSE PFV:run 3SG.M PROG:go 3SG.M

So he took off running.

d. Xínú mií leko ikán kuá'án rí nụ́ mií PFV:run DEF/REFL rabbit that PROG:go 3.ANML/SPH from DEF/REFL tátə xáŋ ka'ní ná tá'á ikán. man arrive kill 3 that

The rabbit fled, running from the man who had come to kill him. Rabbit-Cornfield: 6.4-7.2

Except for one other place where the narrator appears to correct herself (line 7.4), this is the last pronoun switch, even though later on the text again describes what the rabbit is dreaming (line 15.2) and what the rabbit is thinking (line 16.2). It is possible that the narrator continues to use the animal pronoun throughout the second half of the story simply because the man is a more prominent character overall than is the rabbit.
3.3.3 Special uses of pronouns

In XM, some pronouns have special discourse uses. As noted also by Stark (2010), the first person plural is generally used when one is talking to oneself, as in example (161).

(161) "Ra₃ kaá va kúú r₃ vaxi r₃ kúŋį r₃ ka'ni. R₃ mif yó. That guy there is the one who's coming and wants to kill me!  

The general human pronoun *na* is sometimes used when speaking endearingly of something, even if it would usually belong to a different gender. For example, one might talk about their baby chicks using *na* instead of *rí*. One woman even referred to her grains of corn using *na* instead of *yaʻ it*. This usage is interesting, as Costello (2014:39) notes the existence of a separate noun class for small/young/cute people or things in Jicaltepec Mixtec. I do not think this use is necessarily a personification tool, particularly because it can be used for both animate and inanimate entities, and the context does not generally indicate an attribution of any other human properties to what is being referenced (as in the kernels of corn). Much remains yet to be discovered about this special use of *na*, and in fact this use does not appear in my corpus of texts at all.

The general inanimate pronoun *ya* is used for angels and other supernatural beings. In some stories, there is also alternation between the pronoun *ya* and the animal pronoun *rí*, especially when talking about animals who display supernatural properties. Again, this specific alternation between pronouns does not occur in my corpus of texts, but it does occur in the text "El Pobre y el Zopilote" from Stark and Johnson. In examples (162a) and (162b), the vulture is referred to by the pronoun *ya* (usually inanimate), while in examples (162c) and (162d), the same vulture is referred to with the animal pronoun *rí*. (All pronouns referring to the vulture in (162a) through (162d) are highlighted in bold.)

(162) a. Saá ndjűkità ya tin. Then PFV:rise 3.GNRL and

Then it(vulture) rose.
Another interesting use of pronouns occurs in the Cat and Mouse story, where the pronoun \textit{ya} is used for the little mouse (the major participant) and \textit{rí} for the other animals (see example (163)).

(163) a. "¡Ndáchu luvi ní ún ta táí kúni ún," káchi iin why pretty very 2SG and ** IPFV-feel 2SG IPFV-say one
    \textit{rí}, vilú xí'ín \textit{ya} tiín lo'o.
    3.ANML/SPH cat with 3.GNRL mouse little
    "Why, you are so pretty and look so brave!" said the cat to the little mouse.

b. Ta ndjka'an si'í \textit{ya} xí'ín \textit{yá}: "Kú'ún ún nụ́ vilú ñáá," and PFV-talk mother 3.GNRL with 3.GNRL NEG-go 2SG to cat then
    káchi \textit{rí} xí'ín \textit{ya}.
    IPFV-say 3.ANML/SPH with 3.GNRL
    And its mother said to it, "Don't go to the cat there," said the animal to it. Cat-
    Mouse: 1.3-1.4

Finally, it is also possible to personify collective entities with a singular human pronoun. In example (145), the federal government is referenced with the third singular male pronoun \textit{ra}. 

(164) Táxí mií gobierno nda'á na yá kú'vi
    IPFV-give DEF/REFL government to 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL IPFV:hurt
    ini \textit{ra} xíni \textit{ra} na.
    inside 3SG.M IPFV:see 3SG.M 3.GNRL.HUM
    The government gives to them because he loves them. Prosper:1.15
3.3.4 The use of ṇaꞌá

As described in section 2.4.4, the special third person pronoun ṇaꞌá is used to refer to a participant that has already been mentioned in a discourse. It is only used to refer to a participant mentioned as a direct object, and it only appears under certain conditions. It appears often with clearly transitive verbs like 'hit' and 'kill', but can also occur with more abstract verbs like 'love'.

In Southeastern Nochixtlán Mixtec, the cognate pronoun ṇaꞌa is similarly used as a direct object, and McKendry & Hugghins (2014) have analyzed it as a VIP reference strategy. That is, it occurs whenever the VIP of a text is mentioned as a direct object.\(^5\) However, the use of ṇaꞌá in XM does not seem to follow this pattern. It can be used to refer to a participant in a text, even where the mention of that participant is limited to a small section of the text and could not be called a major participant.

Frequently, ṇaꞌá occurs when there is a change of grammatical subject from one clause to the next, where the subject of the first clause is coreferent with the object of the second clause. This could be a way not only to emphasize the change of subject, but also to keep the references to that participant structurally parallel, due to the change in word order when using ṇaꞌá. Examples (165)-(167) illustrate its use where there is a change of subject (each pair of coreferent pronouns is in bold).

(165) Ta saá kàchì ra saá, ya ndaƙan tu'un ṇaꞌá nà, then PFV-say 3SG.M thus so.that ask word 3 3.GNRL.HUM

"Yóꞌo táta, án Soléjo án Conejo," káchi nà xífín ra.
PRON.2SG man or Solejo or Rabbit IPFV-say 3.GNRL.HUM with 3SG.M

Then he said, because they had asked him [ṇaꞌá], "You, Mr. Rabbit," they called him.

Rabbit-Town Hall:7.1

\(^5\) This differs somewhat from how Dooley and Levinsohn describe VIP strategies, in that the VIP pronoun is used only in references where the VIP occurs as a direct object, and there is no special VIP pronoun or strategy for subject references (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:119).
My wife is very good; she works very hard, that's why I love her. (Stark, Johnson & González 2013:49, English translation mine)

Her little son is very sick; he's crying a lot. A spirit got him. (Stark, Johnson & González 2013:53, English translation mine)

However, ŋa'á is not always used in these situations. Subjects often change without provoking the use of the special object pronoun. This includes cases where a direct object is the subject of the previous clause (Pet Dog 2.3) and where the new subject is DO of the previous clause (see Cornfield 22.4-23.1). In example (168) from the Rabbit-Cornfield text, the pronoun ra '3SG.M' is the subject of the first clause, rá '3.ANML/SPH' is the subject of the two following clauses, and then ra is again the subject of the fourth clause, with rá as the direct object (subject pronouns are in bold). However, even with the changes of subject, no special object pronoun occurs in (168b).

So then he fired [his gun], and then the animal fell [lit. it fell it went].

He killed it. (Rabbit-Cornfield: 19.3-19.4)

Thus, the use of the pronoun ŋa'á is clearly motivated by factors other than a mere syntactic change of subject. A better explanation for cases like this is that ŋa'á is used where it refers to the thematic subject of a sentence or section of discourse (which could
alternatively be called a local VIP). This hypothesis fits with the wider context of example (168), where the man is the subject of several clauses, but the rabbit is only the subject of a couple clauses, and the man seems to be a much more thematic participant than the rabbit, so that the rabbit does not require the special pronoun ſña’á when it occurs as DO rather than subject. Such an explanation is not contradicted by examples like (166) and (167) where ſña’á does appear.

Although there is a change of subject in nearly all the occurrences of ſña’á in my corpus, I will present example (169) from the Cat-Mouse story. The mouse is the subject of the first sentence (169a), while its mother is the subject of the next clause, and ſña’á appears in the last clause of example (169b), referring to the little mouse. Thus, even though the subject change has already happened in the first clause of (169b), the DO still appears as the pronoun ſña’á in the following clause. (Note that in the Mixtec of example (169b), unlike the English, there is a separate expressed subject for each verb: sifi ya ‘its mother’ is the subject of kóó ndíkúchíñú ‘could not’, and rí ‘it [the mother]’ is the subject of kasi ‘stop’.)

(169) a. "Kúni IPFV:want i̱ 1SG koto see ndosó 1SG i in ſña’á nu lo’o queso,” káchí ya_ IPFV-say 1SG ti’n one piece lo’o little mouse, xí’in with si’í mother ya. 3.GNRL

"I want to try a little piece of cheese," said the little mouse to its mother.

b. Ta and kóó NEG ndíkúchíñú PFV:be.able si’í mother ya kasi ſña’á rí. 3.GNRL stop 3 ANML/SPH
And its mother could not stop it [ña’á]. Cat-Mouse: 1.15-1.16

In one final example from another source outside my own corpus, example (170), ſña’á occurs where there is no change of subject pronoun at all.

(170) Siṭjikáá PFV-hang ná 3.GNRL.HUM rã 3SG.M nda’á branch itú’n, IPFV:want kúnj ná 3.GNRL.HUM ka’ní tree kill ſña’á ná. 3 3.GNRL.HUM

They hung him in a tree, wanting to kill him [lit. they want they will kill him]. (Unpublished dictionary example from Stark, personal communication.)
These examples further support my hypothesis that the occurrence of ña'á is due to discourse factors rather than a simple syntactic change of subject.
CHAPTER 4
Conclusion and questions for further research

This thesis has explored various aspects of participant reference in Xochapa Mixtec, including the particular discourse uses of noun phrases, deictic phrases, and pronoun phrases. In addition, the thesis has also included descriptions of some other aspects of XM grammar that were previously unexplored in published literature, especially the detailing of XM word order and the description of XM noun phrase structure.

In the previous chapters, I have presented evidence that XM noun phrases are used for activation and re-activation of participants, for purposes of disambiguation, and for highlighting a participant. The use of repetitive noun phrases especially for highlighting is an important and unique reference strategy in XM.

I have also demonstrated how determiners and deictics are used. The indefinite article can be used in either referential or non-referential references, and the particle mií is used to show definiteness in references to activated participants. It is interesting that use of both the indefinite article and the definite particle is optional. The four deictic words are used in both reported and non-reported speech to reference participants who are already familiar to the addressee. There is contrast between the use of the deictic word yó’ó ‘this’ and the use of ikán ‘that’ as a means for the narrator to distance themselves from a referenced participant. It is also fascinating that the definite particle can occur in combination with other determiners (such as a deictic word), creating rich options for referring to participants in a discourse. These nuances should be explored even more deeply in future research.

Lastly, I have discussed the complex uses of different pronouns within the XM pronoun system. The large number of pronoun categories and forms available in the language
provides for a rich system of reference where opportunities for ambiguity are reduced. Because of this multiplicity of pronoun forms and the resulting reduction of possible ambiguity, enclitic pronouns are the most common form of reference for activated participants. In XM, pronoun use is more common than in many languages, especially in contexts with more than one activated participant. XM also allows for special uses of pronouns outside their usual noun class, including alternation of human and animal pronouns in some discourse contexts. Finally, there is also the special object pronoun, ña'á, that is used to identify local VIP's.

Despite the discoveries presented in this thesis, many related research questions remain to be explored. First, this research has only just begun to examine the special uses of pronouns outside their usual noun class category, including the alternation of animal and human pronouns or animate and inanimate pronouns for the same referent in a text. In addition, this paper has not explored the limited situations where either a free pronoun or a clitic pronoun would be acceptable and why one would be chosen over the other. My text corpus does not present enough contrasting examples to provide a definitive description of this part of the XM reference system.

Finally, important questions remain regarding the use of the special third person pronoun ña'á. Indeed, the use of this unique pronoun is similar, but also markedly different from documented examples of its cognate in other Mixtec languages, where its use is more broad. In at least two languages, the pronoun is used not only for third person references, but also for first and second. In another language, the pronoun is used for the text-level VIP, instead of simply a local VIP as in XM. Neither of these uses is found in XM. Beyond these observations, the text corpus used for this thesis research does not provide enough examples to demonstrate whether the ña'á pronoun is syntactically motivated in some contexts (such as when it occurs in dependent clauses), and whether the word order is different or remains the same compared to its uses in main clauses.

The participant reference system of Xochapa Mixtec is very rich and fascinating, and I hope that this research will inspire even more investigation into the beautiful complexity of discourse features in the Mixtecan languages.
APPENDIX A

Variations in order of post-nuclear clausal constituents

(171) PP, PP:
Saá kúni̱ i tu i kə'ān i (xíꞌín nā) (xə'á thus IPFV:want 1SG also 1SG talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM about nā nāna nā ndíki'ín xùꞌún Prospera). 3.GNRL.HUM lady 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV-receive money Prospera

I also want to talk (to them) (about the ladies who receive money from Prospera).

Prosper:1.1

(172) PP accompaniment, AdvP locative:
Vəx̣i ya (nda'ā nā) ya kuñū'ú nā (xíꞌín IPFV:come 3.GNRL to 3.GNRL.HUM so.that use 3.GNRL.HUM with se'e váli nā) tin ya kuñū'ú nā (xíꞌín ya son small.PL 3.GNRL.HUM also so.that use 3.GNRL.HUM with that ve'e nā) yā vála ná koo nā. house 3.GNRL.HUM that good HORT live 3.GNRL.HUM

It comes (to them) so that they use [it] (with their children) and that they use [it] (with their households), so that they live well.

Prosper:1.3

(173) PP accompaniment, AdvP locative:
Ta nā kaka ní nā (xíꞌín se'e nā) (clinica). and HORT go a.lot 3.GNRL.HUM with son 3.GNRL.HUM clinic

Let them go often (with their children) (to the clinic).

Prosper:1.7

(174) PP accompaniment, AdvP locative:
ná kyu'ún nā (xíꞌín yā) (hospital) kutátán nā. HORT go 3.GNRL.HUM with 3.GNRL hospital be.treated 3.GNRL.HUM

They should go (with it) (to the hospital) to be treated.

Prosper:1.22
(175) PP accompaniment, AdvP locative:

Let them go (with their insurance) (to the Hospital of the Mother), that their children be treated for free.

Prosper:1.26

(176) AdvP, tail:

"I'm going to eat it, because I'm very hungry," the rabbit thought again (like that) (that same rabbit).

Rabbit-Cornfield:5.3

(177) AdvP manner, PP accompaniment:

"If you had killed it, we could eat it. We would eat so well, it would be cooked with pumpkin seed sauce and we would eat it," she said (like that) (to him).

Rabbit-Cornfield:11

(178) PP accompaniment, AdvP time, discourse marker:

Then he said to his wife, "I brought the animal (with me) (this time) (*)."
The Rabbit in the Cornfield

Estela Ramírez Lopez

Rabbit-Cornfield:1.1

lin r₃ táta chi'li r₃ iwa chichí r₃ chi'li r₃ iwa chichí r₃
one 3SG.M man PFV-sow 3SG.M bean.plant PAUSE PFV-sow 3SG.M bean.plant 3SG.M
xibun itu r₃.
and cornfield 3SG.M

A man planted bean plants; he planted his bean plants and his corn.

Rabbit-Cornfield:1.2

Ta và kana y₃ kuxi r₃ xibun se'e r₃ kúá káchi r₃
and so.that produce 3.GNRL eat 3SG.M with son 3SG.M it.is IPFV-say 3SG.M
so'o chi'li r₃ y₃.
like.that PFV-sow 3SG.M 3.GNRL

It was so that it would produce and that he would eat it with his children, he said [when] he planted it.

Rabbit-Cornfield:2.1

Ta ñá rá, xáá kyná'nú lo'o y₃.
and then PAUSE PFV:begin PFV:grow little 3.GNRL

And so it began to grow a little.

Rabbit-Cornfield:2.2

Ta xáá xá'gan r₃ xitó r₃ y₃.
and PFV:begin HAB:go 3SG.M IPFV:see 3SG.M 3.GNRL

And he began to go and see [check on] it.

Rabbit-Cornfield:2.3

Tá xáá r₃ r₃.
when IPFV:arrive 3SG.M PAUSE

When he arrived,

Rabbit-Cornfield:2.4

"Inkú rí kití yáxí ní y₃," ká'án r₃ so'va.
what 3.ANML/SPH animal IPFV:eat a.lot 3.GNRL IPFV-think 3SG.M like.that

"What animal is eating it up?" he thought.
Another day he went again, and again it appeared the same animal was eating his little bean plants and his corn plants.

"What animal is eating it?" he thought.

He arrives at his house and tells his wife.

Then he gets up and goes again to see about it.

Then he thinks, "And now, let's watch what animal is eating our cornfield and what's happening to it."

"This is what we eat with our children to satisfy our hunger," he thought.

Then he went another day to see.
He didn't see anything, and then he went again.

"Let's go again," he thought, and again he went out at night.

He was carrying his rifle in hand as he went.

That night the rabbit had a dream.

And it will smell like burnt fur," the dream said.

Then Mr. Rabbit thought to himself, "What is this that I dreamed? What kind of dream is this?" he thought.

Then he also thought, "Is this just a dream flying around by itself?" the rabbit thought.
"I'm going to eat it, because I'm very hungry," the rabbit thought again [to himself].

Then he got up again and went; the rabbit went to eat again.

So the rabbit arrived and began eating the bean plants and the corn plants.

Then the man arrived to see.

He was coming.

That guy who's coming wants to kill me!

"Not good! I'd better run," he thought.

So he took off running.
The rabbit fled, running from the man who had come to kill him.

So he couldn't kill him.

So the rabbit went running, and the man returned.

He arrived and told his wife, "I found out what animal is eating our cornfield and bean plants. I found it," he said.

"And why didn't you kill it?" his wife said.

"I didn't kill it because it was very quick, and it went running," he said.
"If you had killed it, we could eat it. We would eat so well, it would be cooked with pumpkin seed sauce and we would eat it," she said to him.

Rabbit-Cornfield:12
"Kundį ꒚ ini ᓂ ᐅ ᐋ chi ᐑ ᐓ ᐐ tu uu ᐊ j," ᐊ káchí ᐅ ra ᐒ so'va.
NEG-worry 2SG because go again just 1SG IPFV-say 3SG.M like.that
"Don’t worry, because I’m going again," he said.

Rabbit-Cornfield:13.1
Kèè tuku ᐑ ra ᐑ ku'اغ ᐑ ᐋ r æ xkuåå ᐒ tin ᐑ ᐉ ndíxág ᐐ r æ xkuåå tin.
PFV:go.out also 3SG.M PROG:go 3SG.M late also there PFV:arrive 3SG.M late also
He went out again, and arrived there again late [in the afternoon].

Rabbit-Cornfield:13.2
Ndírá ᐑ ndíkág tuku mií leko ikán.
then 3SG.M IPFV-be.inside again DEF/REFL rabbit that
And the rabbit was there again.

Rabbit-Cornfield:13.3
Ta saá ᐑ ra, saá ká'ág ᐑ ᐑ ᐒ tin," "Míchí kú'اغ ᓂ kundú'ȗ yó
then PAUSE thus IPFV-think 3SG.M also where it.is good IRR-be.sitting 1PL.INCL
kani yó rí," ᐁ kálán ᐑ ræ so'va.
hit 1PL.INCL 3.ANML/SPH IPFV-think 3SG.M like.that
Then he thought, "Where is good to sit and kill it?" he thought.

Rabbit-Cornfield:14.1
Ta ᓄ nga ndíxág ᐑ ᐑ ᐐ ᐑ tin ᓄ nga saá ᐑ ra.
and then PFV:arrive 3SG.M also then thus PAUSE
There he arrived.

Rabbit-Cornfield:14.2
Ndírá ᐑ iín kú'ág ᐑ mií leko ikán saá kani ræ rí.
then PAUSE one only IPFV-think DEF/REFL rabbit that thus hit 3SG.M 3.ANML/SPH
Then the rabbit thought that in a moment the man would kill him.

Rabbit-Cornfield:14.3
liín saá ᐑ ra, xinú tuku leko ku'اغ tuku rí.
very thus PAUSE PFV:run again rabbit PROG:go also 3.ANML/SPH
So in an instant the rabbit ran away again.

Rabbit-Cornfield:15.1
Ndíxág tuku rí ᓄ tin ᓄ nga xág ndíkxíg rí ᓄ tin.
PFV:arrive again 3.ANML/SPH also then PFV:begin PFV:sleep 3.ANML/SPH also
It arrived again, and began to sleep.

Rabbit-Cornfield:15.2
Ndírá xág ndíxágí tuku rí," "Kú'un ka ᓂ ᐅ, nyú xá'aghan ᓄ un
then PFV:begin PFV again 3.ANML/SPH NEG-go more 2SG where HAB:go 2SG
Then it began to dream again: "Don't go where you've been going."

Rabbit-Cornfield: 15.3

Kũ'ũn ka ún, chí ŋani chí vā'a ka tiempo," káchi inka NEG-go more 2SG because brother because NEG-good more time IPFV-say another

mií rí leko ikán xī'ún mií rí leko, mií DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH rabbit that with DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH rabbit DEF/REFL

rí xīnù ikán.

3.ANML/SPH PFV:run that

"Don't go any more, brother, because it's not a good time anymore," said another rabbit to the rabbit, the one who had fled.

Rabbit-Cornfield: 16.1

Ta saá ra, saá ndjkòò tuku rí na'a kūgan tuku then PAUSE then PFV-get.up again 3.ANML/SPH early.morning PROG:go again

rí.

3.ANML/SPH

So then the rabbit got up again, early, and went on its way.

Rabbit-Cornfield: 16.2

"Kũ'ũn va ó kuxi yó chí kâ'ũn ní ini yó," kâ'án go just 1PL.INCL eat 1PL.INCL because IPFV:burn very inside 1PL.INCL IPFV-think

rí so'va këè tuku rí ku'gan rí.

3.ANML/SPH like.that PFV:go.out again 3.ANML/SPH PROG:go 3.ANML/SPH

"Let's go eat, because we're very hungry," he thought to himself, and he went out again.

Rabbit-Cornfield: 16.3

Saá kū ndjàa tuku rí.

thus it.is PFV:arrive again 3.ANML/SPH

So that's how it happened that he arrived again.

Rabbit-Cornfield: 17.1

Ta ŋá ra, kâ'άn mií rã táta ikán," "Ta inkuá koo kuni Ĭ and then PFV:talk DEF/REFL 3SG.M man that and what be see 1SG

rí chi, kûví mií kuni vî Ĭ rí ra.

3.ANML/SPH because NEG:IRR.be.able DEF/REFL see only 1SG 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE

So then that man thought to himself, "How will I see the animal, since I sure haven't been able to see it?"

Rabbit-Cornfield: 17.2

Xà ku'kua'ά ní kúnj sindí'ì va rí iva chíchí yó'ó ra. already PFV:multiply very IPFV:want finish just 3.ANML/SPH bean.plant this PAUSE

That animal is already finishing off these bean plants.
"How am I going to see the animal?" he said again to his wife.

There's no other way for you to see it, because you'll go again in the afternoon," she said to him.

"Then I'll be going," he said, and he went out again and took his rifle and left.

He arrived again, and again the animal was there.

So then he fired, and then the animal fell.

He killed it.

So he retrieved the animal, and arrived with it at his house.

Then he said to his wife, "I brought the animal with me this time."
"Prepare the animal, put on water and get the animal ready, because I brought it with me," he said.

"I killed it," he said, as he arrived carrying the animal.

Then his wife said, "Then I'll put on water and prepare the animal for us to eat," she said.

She put [it] in the water, she thought.

Then suddenly the rabbit jumped out and went running again and went away.
And the rabbit went away.

It was alive, it was NOT a dead animal!

"Let it go, no worries, because I'm going again," said the man. And he went out again.

Then he arrived again in his cornfield, and the rabbit was there again.

That's how he got the animal.

So he killed it for real.

Then he arrived [home] with the animal.
That's how the animal died for real.

Only then did his cornfield grow his bean plants grow.

And then he took it and ate with his wife and his children.
I want to talk about the illness diabetes, that I went through with one of my relatives.

They got sick with diabetes, the illness diabetes... many, there isn't...[what do] we say....well, there isn't medicine to cure it.

One of my family members got sick.

They say that there isn't a cure for that illness.

They give a lot of medicine, but it's only a control [of the symptoms].
Diabetes:1.8
Yakán kágan 1 xifín ná ná nùù yö tin án kóó that's.why IPFV:talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL.HUM town 1PL.INCL also or NEG ndá ka míí kuy'un míí tuy'un yö'ó ra, ná kundaa which more DEF/REFL go DEF/REFL word this PAUSE HORT IRR-care.for ná míí ná ná 3.GNRL.HUM DEF/REFL 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL.HUM

That's why I talk to the people of our town or wherever this message goes, that they should take care of themselves.

Diabetes:1.9
Ná káhí 1 ní ná ná'a vixì chi ya yáxí ná HORT NEG-eat very 3.GNRL.HUM thing sweet because 3.GNRL IPFV:eat 3.GNRL.HUM ná'a vixì ra, án refresco ra yakán tává ya kue'e diabeti thing sweet PAUSE or soda.pop PAUSE that's.why IPFV:get 3.GNRL illness diabetes ikán xifín ná kágan ná that with 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV:talk 3.GNRL.HUM

They should not eat many sweets, because eating sweets or soda pop is why you get that illness diabetes, they say.

Diabetes:1.10
Ta ikán, kúni 1 ndítú'un 1 xifín ná ndi'i nùù tin ná and that IPFV:want 1SG chat 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM all town also HORT kundaa ná míí ná IRR-care.for 3.GNRL.HUM DEF/REFL 3.GNRL.HUM

And that is what I want to tell the people of every town, let them take care of themselves.

Diabetes:1.11
Ná kí'in ya kue'e ikán ná chi súví ya kue'e ya'a HORT NEG-get 3.GNRL illness that 3.GNRL.HUM because not 3.GNRL illness good kúá tin iin kue'e ya suchí ini kúá ta xa kí'in ya iin it.is also one illness 3.GNRL sad inside it.is and already PFV-get 3.GNRL one ná familia yö án míí yö án kóó ndá ka ná ve'e 3.GNRL.HUM family 1PL.INCL or DEF/REFL 1PL.INCL or NEG which more relative yö kí'in ya ra 1PL.INCL PFV-get 3.GNRL PAUSE

Let that illness not get them, because it's not a good illness, it's a tragic illness when it's gotten one of our family or ourselves or it's gotten any of our relatives.

Diabetes:1.12
In kue'e suchí ini kúá.
one illness sad inside it.is

It's a tragic illness.

Diabetes:1.13
Ta yakán ndítú'un 1 xifín ná ná nùù yö tin án and that's.why IPFV-chat 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL.HUM town 1PL.INCL also or
And that's why I'm telling everyone in our town or wherever people might be or live who are sick with this illness.

Diabetes:1.14
Ta saá ná kuní ná ndi'í nyú íyo ná ñùù ívi yó’ó.
Then let everyone in this whole world see.

Diabetes:1.15
Ná kundaa ná mií ná xífín ya kue' e yó’ó.
Let them take care of themselves with regard to this illness.

Diabetes:1.16
Tú ya ná k'l’in mií kue’ e yó’ó ná.
Also that NEG-get DEF/REFL illness this 3.GNRL.HUM
So that this illness won't get them.

Diabetes:1.17
Chi kó tátán mií kue’ e yó’ó íyo ra.
because NEG medicine DEF/REFL illness this PROG:be PAUSE
Because there's no cure for this illness.

Diabetes:1.18
Control lo'o kuití k’á ni tuku yá íyo v’a lo’o ini ná xíká control little only it.is ** again 3.GNRL. be.good little inside 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV:walk va ná.
just 3.GNRL.HUM
It's only a little way to control it so that people can feel a little better as they go about.

Diabetes:1.19
An koo v’a l'o ini yó koo va yó ta yá nduv’a v’a or be well little inside 1PL.INCL be just 1PL.INCL but that get.better completely yó ra, nduv’a yó xífín mií kue’ e yó’ó che.
1PL.INCL PAUSE NEG-get.better 1PL.INCL with DEF/REFL illness this they.say
We can feel a little better, but as for getting completely better, we will not get better with this illness, they say.

Diabetes:1.20
Ya yó’ó kúú ndi’í yá.
3.GNRL this IPFV-be all 3.GNRL
That's all.
An owl came from the fields and arrived.

My children liked it lot.

They wanted it very much for a pet; I took it and made its house.

They were very happy with it.

They went out and played with it.

I couldn't feed it. What [should] I give for the animal to eat, I only gave it corn dough.

And afterward I gave it water, and it couldn't grow, because it only lives in the field [in the wild].

I didn't know what it eats.
So then it died. My two children cried a lot for it, because it died. Why did I kill it, they said.

I didn't kill it, because I didn't know what it eats, and it died.

Afterward I said to them, "Don't cry, because let's go to Tlapa and I'll buy an animal to be your pet."

Then I promised them that I would buy a rabbit to be their pet.

Time passed after the animal died, and they didn't want me to go and bury it, because it was going to revive, they said to me.
So they talked, and I said to them, "It won't revive."

Pet Owl:3
"U̱ꞌun chi xá rí ndijxįį va kú rí." No, because it's already a dead animal.

Pet Owl:4.1
"Áá, nditaku va rí chi nduchí nṳ́ rí xító va'a nduchí nṳ́ rí," ká'gn ną.
"Yes, it will revive, because its eyes, they are open [lit. they are looking]," they said.

Pet Owl:4.2
Saá ra, xíká ną xító ną rí ra, saá thus PAUSE IPFV:walk 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV:see 3.GNRL.HUM 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE thus ká'gan ną," "Kě'ę́ ún rí. And they went about looking at it, and said, "Don't take it."

Pet Owl:4.3
Ná chinúú nde rí stá ve'e yó'ó kąšun mií va HORT put.above 1PL.EXCL 3.ANML/SPH on house this fry DEF/REFL just rí," ká'gan ną so'va. 3.ANML/SPH IPFV:talk 3.GNRL.HUM like.that
"Let us put it on the roof here so that it can toast (dry up) by itself," they said thus.

Pet Owl:5.1
Kólín ną rí chinúú ną rí stá ve'e PFV-get 3.GNRL.HUM 3.ANML/SPH PFV:put.above 3.GNRL.HUM 3.ANML/SPH on house ra. PAUSE
They took the animal and put it on the house.

Pet Owl:5.2
Íín yaŋ rí tiká'án va. IPFV:be still 3.ANML/SPH right.now just
It's still there right now.

Pet Owl:5.3
Íín yaŋ rí ra, ndá tūmí rí ra, so káá IPFV:be still 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE which feather 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE like.that look.like nda'á rí, kánųů mií rí. hand 3.ANML/SPH IPFV:be.above DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH
It's still there with all its feathers like that, and its wings, up there by itself.

Pet Owl:5.4
Ta rí táků rí nṳ́ ną ká'gan ną, and 3.ANML/SPH IPFV-live 3.ANML/SPH to 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV:talk 3.GNRL.HUM
For them, it's alive. They don't cry, because they say it's alive.

Pet Owl:6.1

Then we went to Tlapa, and I bought their two pet rabbits.

Pet Owl:6.2

And they looked, and our animal is with them, it didn't die.

Pet Owl:6.3

And the little rabbits, they arrived alive and we have animals again.

Pet Owl:6.4

They feed it, they put food in its mouth, because they like very much to have a pet.

Pet Owl:6.5

So then I said to them,

Pet Owl:7

"Why can't this animal revive and go in with the rabbits?" they asked.
It can't anymore, because this animal, it's already dead. It doesn't have any more flesh to move any more or talk any more.

Pet Owl:8.2

"Koto kú, neg:irr:able ka more chi tí 3.anml/sph xa̱ already tí 3.anml/sph xàà PFV:do dead be 3.anml/sph PAUSE NEG more meat 3.anml/sph move more ri̱ ka'än ka ri̱ 3.anml/sph talk more 3.anml/sph

Pet Owl:9.2

"Koo be tuku also tixúꞌú goat sa̱na̱ domestic animal ndó, 2Pl inka one female sa̱na̱ domestic animal nde̱, 1Pl.excl then kú̱ni̱ IPFV:want 1Pl.excl sindúxi̱n bury ndó ri̱ 2Pl 3.anml/sph go 3.anml/sph under nditaku ri̱ kixi land because 3.anml/sph this PAUSE one day PAUSE revive 3.anml/sph come
And we don't want you to bury it and for it to go under the earth, because this animal, one day it's going to revive and come,” they said thus.

Pet Owl:11
Ndítaku ka rí," káꞌan i xiɬin ná.
NEG-revive more 3.ANML/SPH IPFV:talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM
It won't revive any more," I said to them.

Pet Owl:12.1
Ta ndíꞌi ra, tixúꞌú ikán ra, tátu sátá i satá i iin
and afterward PAUSE goat that PAUSE if NEG-buy 1SG buy 1SG one
ría tí sàà koo sàna na.
3.ANML/SPH 3.ANML/SPH bird be domestic.animal 3.GNRL.HUM they.say
Afterward, if I don't buy a goat, I will buy a bird for them.

Pet Owl:12.2
Ta ndíꞌi rí ra, ná koo ndíꞌi kití válí ve'e ná
and all 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE HORT be all animal small.PL house 3.GNRL.HUM
che.
they.say
And every animal, let there be every kind of little animal in their house, they say.

Pet Owl:12.3
Kútóo ni ná koo sàna na che.
IPFV:like very 3.GNRL.HUM be domestic.animal 3.GNRL.HUM they.say
They like very much to have pets, they say.

Pet Owl:12.4
Ta káꞌan i xiɬin ná tin, ná njíꞌí yö xúɬún ra, ta
and IPFV:talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM also HORT find 1PL.INCL money PAUSE and
koo ndíꞌi... sàta yö ɲaɬa válí nú kundoꞌi rí chi be all buy 1PL.INCL thing small.PL where IRR-be.enclosed 3.ANML/SPH because
xà rí kití válí ikán ra, ta ve'e rí ndee PFV-do 3.ANML/SPH animal small.PL that PAUSE and house 3.ANML/SPH put
rí kusuŋ rí tá kúɬvà yö mií ndó.
3.ANML/SPH sleep 3.ANML/SPH like PROG:be DEF/REFL 2PL
And I said to them, when we have money....let's buy something small where the animals will be enclosed, because when those little animals have arrived, they will be put in their house to sleep, just like you.

Pet Owl:12.5
Ta cama ndó kuŋ'áŋ ndó kusuŋ ndó.
and bed 2PL PROG:go 2PL sleep 2PL
And you go to your beds to sleep.
And then those animals will live there," I said to them.

Then they say, "We will have every type of animal with us, because of there was one owl, every type of animal there is will become our pet; we cried a lot for it," they say to me.

And that's why I will buy all the little animals they ask for, I answered, "Little by little I will buy them.

The little animal will be replaced, that owl, and the animals will multiply.

They will have all the small animals they want to be their pets.

That's why now, they don't cry because they go and see the animal sitting there.
There it sits with its feathers, it's hanging on the side of something.

**Pet Owl:14.6**

Táku ré ká'gh níí ná.
IPFV-live 3.ANML/SPH IPFV:talk DEF/REFL 3.GNRL.HUM

It's alive, they say.

**Pet Owl:15**

Iin cuento lo'ó kití timí säng sē'e i̱, cuento ré ikán xí'ín
one story small animal owl domestic.animal son 1SG story 3.ANML/SPH that with
sē'e i̱, xákú ná xā'á ré.
son 1SG IPFV:cry 3.GNRL.HUM for 3.ANML/SPH

A story of my children's little pet owl, the story of that owl and my children, how they cried about it.
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