January 2018

Some Features Of Participant Reference In Xochapa Mixtec

Laura J. Cline

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SOME FEATURES OF PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN XOCHAPA 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.

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Linda Humnick, Chair
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J. Albert Bickford
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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
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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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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.

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. 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

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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:
Nîñí rə tixî lo’o rə kuẫn rə.
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.  

(3) PRON subject and object:
Saá si̱kâku rā yeꞌe ra, silo'o kuvi i.  
thus PFV:save 3SG.M PRON.1SG PAUSE almost die 1SG
That's how he saved me; I almost died.  

(4) Complement clause, NP subject and object:
Ta ku̱ꞌa̱n tuku rā inka kíví tuku va ná'ą yağıxí  
and PROG:go again 3SG.M another day again just IPFV:look.like IPFV:eat
ré mií ré kití ikán iva chíchí lo'o rą  
3.ANML/SPH DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH animal that bean.plant small 3SG.M
xíꞌín itu lo'o rą.  
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.  

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 nāveꞌe i ku’vi ra.  
one family.member 1SG PFV:hurt PAUSE
One of my family members got sick.  

When the special object pronoun ŋa'á appears, the usual constituent order is VOS, as in example (6). The pronoun ŋa'á 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 ndikíꞌin ŋa’á ną  
then PFV-PFV-get 3 3.GNRL.HUM
So they got him.  

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 kúni̱ 1SG tu 1SG kaṉ̱̃n 1SG (xí̱̱n na) (xágá thus IPFV:want also 1SG talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM about
na 3.GNRL.HUM nána nga 3.GNRL.HUM ndíḵ̱núú -float nga 3.GNRL.HUM 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 ŋa ‘and then’ at the beginning, and example (9) demonstrates the adverb phrase in the pre-nuclear slot.

(8) Ta ŋa ra, xáá kuná’nú 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 ndíḵ̱núú i ŋú rá.
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, \(^1\) as in example (10), which has a preposed subject. (In examples (10) - (14) the preposed constituents appear in bold.)

(10) \text{In nəv'e i ku'vi ra.} \\
\hspace{2em} \text{one family.member 1SG PFV:hurt PAUSE} \\
\hspace{2em} \text{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 kūg ‘it is’. Within the complement clause, we find the order OVS; the object xù'ú'n ‘money’ is preposed and precedes the verb táxí ‘give’, followed by the subject, the pronoun clitic nə. Interestingly, the complement clause, functioning as subject of the main clause, is also preposed.

(11) [iin xù'ú'n táxí tu nə nda'á nə ikán] kūg. \\
\hspace{2em} \text{one money IPFV:give also 3.GNRL.HUM to 3.GNRL.HUM that it.is} \\
\hspace{2em} \text{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 \textit{particular ‘(to) private doctors’} in example (12).

(12) \text{Particular va ku'a'n nə kutátán nə ra.} \\
\hspace{2em} \text{Private just PROG:go 3.GNRL.HUM be.treated 3.GNRL.HUM PAUSE} \\
\hspace{2em} \text{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."

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

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.)

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

---

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).
(16) **Sava ná ra kóó xiín ná ky'ün**
Some 3.GNRL.HUM PAUSE NEG IPFV:not.want 3.GNRL.HUM go
ná kutátán ná hospital. 3.GNRL.HUM be.treated 3.GNRL.HUM hospital
Some of them don't want to go to be treated at the hospital.  
**Proser:1.20**

(17) **Chi sava ná ra kóó xiín'ú ná yá.**
because some 3.GNRL.HUM PAUSE NEG use 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL
Because some of them don't use it.  
**Proser:1.23**

(18) **Ta ŋáá, ye'ẽ ra, kóó ndikúchíníú vā'a ī.**
and then PRON.1SG PAUSE NEG NEG:PFV-be.able well 1SG
And I, I couldn't do it.  
**Swimming:5.1**

(19) **Ta ŋá, ná maestro ikán, vā'a ní sínlá'ã ná**
and PAUSE 3.GNRL.HUM teacher they well very IPFV:teach 3.GNRL.HUM
ikán chi ná xã íyo preparado kúú ndi'i there because 3.GNRL.HUM already PROG:be prepared IPFV-be all
ná. 3.GNRL.HUM
The teachers there, they teach very well, because all of them are [well] prepared.  
**Swimming:3.4**

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

(20) **Ná kaku uun ná, chi ikán ra kóó kíí'n**
HORT be.born free 3.GNRL.HUM because there PAUSE NEG IPFV:charge
ná xù'tú'n. 3.GNRL.HUM money
Let them give birth for free, because there, they don't charge money.  
**Proser:1.27**

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.)
(21) "Ta ná kō'q kuxi yá yó chi kâ'ún ní ini and HORT 1PL.INCL:go eat 3.GNRL 1PL.INCL because IPFV:burn very inside yó," kâ'án tuku rā so'va mií rā leko ñkán. 1PL.INCL IPFV-think again 3SG.M like.that DEF/REFL 3SG.M rabbit that

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

Rabbit-Cornfield:5.3

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

(22) Saá ra, kèè ná kjsxà ná ve'e chíñú thus PAUSE PFV:go.out 3.GNRL.HUM PFV-arrive 3.GNRL.HUM town.hall ra, "Tiká'án kixi rā che, káchi rā," káchi PAUSE right.now come 3SG.M they.say IPFV-say 3SG.M IPFV-say ná so'va xi'ìn mií ná, ná nùù 3.GNRL.HUM like.that with DEF/REFL 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL.HUM town ve'e chíñú. town.hall

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.

Rabbit-Town Hall:5

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, tiku‘ ‘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.)

"Nda̱chu kúa kùví nditaku rí yó'ó kj'vi rí xíꞌín rí conejo," ká'án nà. "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.

ve'e kàà house metal prison

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

Xìnù mìí leko ikán ku'án rí nyú mìí táta PFV:run DEF/REFL rabbit that PROG:go 3.ANML/SPH from DEF/REFL man xaq ka'ní ŋa'á ikán. arrive kill 3 that The rabbit fled, running from the man who had come to kill him. Rabbit-Cornfield:7.2

Saá satá yó ñuv chivo koo sàna 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
(28) Ñaá Ḣyà prometée ṭya satá Ḣi in ré conejo koo
then do promise 1SG that buy 1SG one 3.ANML/SPH rabbit be
ᵸa na
domestic.animal 3.GNRL.HUM

Then I promised them that I would buy a rabbit to be their pet. Pet Owl:1.12

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 iin ‘one’ preceding and the adjective phrase lo’o ‘short/small’ following the nucleus.³

(29) Iin 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. Rabbit-Town Hall:1

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 mií tání ká’nú ‘the very important chair’ juxtaposed with another noun phrase, tání chée ikán ‘that big chair’.

(30) Xàà rà ndikándú’tú rà sátá mií tání ká’nú, tání
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 most important seat (lit. the very important chair, the big chair there). Rabbit-Town Hall:6.4

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 pá’a ví ‘just very little’, precedes the head noun ñii ‘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’.

That's why they say about him, "His head is not just (only) a big head." Rabbit-Town Hall:10.1

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.

Then we went to Tlapa, and I bought their two pet rabbits. Pet Owl:6.1

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.’

---

4 The limiter also occurs in the pre-nuclear as well as post-verbal adverb phrase slots.
...because when those little animals have arrived...

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.

(36) Ikán cuento lo’o rí tìnà sana i tí [ndaŋũú’ú
tika nga]tña dog domestic 1SG 3.ANML/SPH PFV:get.lost
tau’an].
PROG:go

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

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).

(37) ná [íyo (nà se’e válí) (nà sika]n
3PL.F PROG:be 3.GNRL.HUM children small.PL 3.GNRL.HUM just
kàkù)]
PFV-be.born

those [that have (small children) (those just born)]

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 xu’ůn ‘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 *iin* '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.)

This is a short story, it's not a long story.
A man planted bean plants; he planted his bean plants and his corn.

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/that (in sight)’, ikán/kán ‘there/that (out of sight)’, and ŋáá ‘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>
<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>rə 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.
  there PFV-learn 1SG
  There I studied.  

(43) Ikán chiri rə iva chichi ra, ta ikán ndíkáa
  there PFV-sow 3.GNRL.HUM bean.plant PAUSE and there IPFV-be.inside
  rə, xáxí rə iva chichí.
  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) Ndĩꞌi ndikaꞌan ra ra, kētā tuku ra kuꞌan va PFV-finish PFV-talk 3SG.M PAUSE PFV-out again 3SG.M PROG-go just ra kāchi ną ndītúꞌūn ną cuento xañá ra 3SG.M IPFV-say 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV-chat 3.GNRL.HUM story about 3SG.M conejo ñañá. rabbit that

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

(45) Ta kuꞌan tuku ra inka kįvį tuku va nāꞌa yáxí and PROG-go again 3SG.M another day again just IPFV-look IPFV-eat rį mií rį kití ikán iva chíchí loꞌo rą 3.ANML/SPH DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH animal that bean.plant small 3SG.M xîꞌin itu loꞌo rą. 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) Xa kuꞌuꞌa ꞌá nį kǔnjí sindíꞌí va rį 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 chiñú ì ra, ndjitutí ì nỳú na
Q now only PROG:be work 1SG PAUSE PFV-exist 1SG to 3.GNRL.HUM
ve'e chiñú ńąá.
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]?"

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, ńũu ndjxání mií rí leko kán.
then PAUSE night PFV:dream DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH rabbit that
Then, that night the rabbit had a dream.

(49) Ká'añ mií xañi ikán xi'ín ra, "Iin kuta'nu ndaa ún, ta
IPFV:talk DEF/REFL dream that with 3SG.M very hang 2SG and
iin kuta'nu ndaa ta iin kunůú 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.

In example (50) the demonstrative adjective is omitted:

(50) Xinú mií leko ikán ku'a'añ rí nỳú mií táta
PFV:run DEF/REFL rabbit that PROG:go 3.ANML/SPH from DEF/REFL man
xaq ka'ní ńąá ikán.
arrive kill 3 that
The rabbit fled, running from the man who had come to kill him.
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 ra ndìkwəndů’ú ra sàtá *mií* tai ká’nú, tai chée ikán ra. important there PAUSE

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 *nà* to form a reflexive pronoun.

(52) 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

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>
<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>nde</td>
<td>ndëë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular</td>
<td>ún</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 yq sutá ndó," ká'án ra.
learn 2PL so.that swim 2PL IPFV:talk 3SG.M
"You will learn to swim," he said.  Swimming:4.2

(54) Ta náá, ye'e ra, kóó ndíkúchíñú vq'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) ká'án ra xí'ín 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) Chindâá nga ivá i ye'e kua'án i chîkán.
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
As for me, I couldn't do it well.

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>ra̱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular feminine</td>
<td>yá, ñá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural masculine</td>
<td>nda̱</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>rú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, machine</td>
<td>nú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General thing (that doesn't fit in another category)</td>
<td>ya̱, ña</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(59) xáꞌan  na  xínį  na  rí  
HAB:go  3.GNRL.HUM  IPFV:see  3.GNRL.HUM  3.ANML/SPH
they go and see the animal

Like the dependent first and second person pronouns, they are also used to indicate possession (60) and as objects of a preposition (61):
And every animal, let there be every kind of little animal in their house, they say.
Pet Owl:12.2

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>yã, ñã</td>
<td>yã, ñã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural masculine</td>
<td>ndã</td>
<td>ndã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural feminine</td>
<td>nã</td>
<td>nã</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>rã</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, ñã</td>
<td>ya, ñã</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.)
"What animal is eating it up?" he thought.

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

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 \textit{natación} ‘swimming’ in example (64).

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 \textit{maestro} ‘teacher’ in example (65).

Stark notes that the pronouns starting with ‘t’ (\textit{ta}, \textit{tí}, and \textit{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, *ta* appears to come from *táta* ‘sir, man’, *tı* from *kití* ‘animal’, and *tínu* from *itín* ‘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) *Iin* 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’ín* se'e i, xákú nág xá'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._

(67) *Iin* *rí* *kití* timí kèè *rí* *ikú* xág one 3.ANML/SPH animal owl PFV:go.out 3.ANML/SPH hill arrive

*ra.* 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE

_An owl came from the fields and arrived._

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* *tı* *tinà* *saña* i.
story 3.ANML/SPH 3.ANML/SPH dog domestic 1SG

_The story of my pet dog._

(69) *Ta* ndí’i ra, tixű’ú *ikán* ra, *tátu* sātā i *sátá* i *iin* and afterward PAUSE goat that PAUSE if NEG-buy 1SG buy 1SG one

*rí* *tı* *sàà* gōó *saña* nág *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._

In these cases, *rí* always precedes *tı*, in the same order as when the when the whole general category noun *kití* appears instead of *tı* (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)  nà  ŋùù
3.GNRL.HUM  town
the townspeople  

Rabbit-Town Hall:10.2

(71)  nà  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  tāku
3.ANML/SPH  alive
a live animal  

My Pet Dog:3.2

(73)  "Ū'un  chi  xà  rí  ndixi'ī  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  ndifixá'ni  i  kú  rí  chi  comida  kōō
not 3.ANML/SPH  NEG:PFV- 1SG be 3.ANML/SPH  because  food  NEG
ndíxińi  i  inkúgü  kuxi  rí  ra,  ndixi'ī
NEG:PFV-IPFV:see 1SG what eat 3.ANML/SPH  PAUSE  PFV:die
rí.
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 ŋuñú means either 'honey' or 'bee', while the word tíñûñú 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 tíñûñú.
(75) kití tìndóó ná'nú
3.ANML/SPH tarantula
tarantula

The proclític pronouns can precede verbs, creating a relative clause, as in examples (76) and (77).

(76) nà nána, nà [ndìkí'ín xù'ún Prospera]
3.GNRL.HUM lady 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV-receive money Prosper
the ladies, those who receive money from Prosper
Prosper:1.1

(77) rà [ndìkà'än]
3SG.M PFV-talk
he who said
Swimming:4.1

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

(78) Ikán cuento lo'o rí tinà sàna i tí ndàñú'ú'
that story little 3.ANML/SPH dog domestic 1SG 3.ANML/SPH PFV:get.lost
kuà'än.
PROG:go
That is the little story of my pet dog that went and got lost.
My Pet Dog:3.8

2.4.4 The special pronoun ŋa'á

Besides the dependent third person pronouns listed above, there is one other third person pronoun, the special pronoun ŋa'á. 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, ŋa'a, 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, ſaťa is used as the direct object of the verb ndįkį̂n ‘get’ in place of the masculine pronoun ra, while ra later appears in the second clause, as subject of the verb kįxàà ‘arrive’.

(79) Ta saá ndįkį̂n ſaťa ną kįxàà ra ra.
then PFV-PFV-get 3 3.GNRL.HUM PFV-arrive 3SG.M PAUSE
So they got him [ſaťa] and he [ra] arrived.

Rabbit-Town Hall:3.1

Another interesting feature of the pronoun ſaťa 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 ſi in example (80) refers to the mother, and is the subject of kasi ‘stop’.)

(80) Ta kōó ndįkúchį́nų sį́f ya kasi ſaťa ſi.
and NEG NEG:PFV-be.able mother 3.GNRL stop 3 3.ANML/SPH
And its mother could not stop it [ſaťa].

Gato-ratoncito:1.16

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

(81) Rąkú̱vį̂ kū rąlo’o sè’e yá; xákú ní ra. Tąchį̂ ki’ın
sick is little.one offspring 3SG.F IPFV-cry a.lot 3SG.M spirit PFV-catch
ſaťa.
3
Her little son is very sick; he’s crying a lot. A spirit got him [ſaťa]. (Stark, Johnson & González 2013:53, English translation mine)

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

(82) Ta kōó ndįkúchį́nų ka sikákų sį́f ſaťa chindeé ſaťa
and NEG NEG:PFV-be.able more save mother 3 help 3
ři, chi xą ndiyą’ą ní va tiempo.
3.ANML/SPH because already PFV-pass very just time
And the mother couldn’t any more save it [ſaťa] or help it [ſaťa], because it was already too late (lit. the time had already far passed).

Gato-ratoncito:1.18

31
In addition to its use in independent clauses, the pronoun ſñaʔá can also appear within a relative clause, as in example (83), where the relative clause is in brackets.

(83) Xinù mií leko ikán kuʔan rí nyú mií táta PFV:run DEF/REFL rabbit that PROG:go 3.ANML/SPH from DEF/REFL man
[xaŋ kaʔni ſñaʔá ikán].
Arrive kill 3 that
The rabbit fled, running from the man who had come to kill him [ʔñaʔá]. 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 unkúa koo niʔí yó ra yóʔó," káchi nā 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 him?"
Rabbit-Town Hall:3.3

(85) Ya yóʔó kuú ndíi va ya ra.
3.GNRL this IPFV-be all just 3.GNRL PAUSE
This is everything.
Swimming:10.3

(86) Ya ikán kuía ndòɓò ɪ 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.
"Ndàchu kúŋ kùví nditaku rí yó’ó k’vi rí why it.is NEG:IRR.be.able revive 3.ANML/SPH this enter 3.ANML/SPH xi’ín rí conejo,” ká’än ná.
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 NEG:IRR.be.able ka more chi because 3.ANML/SPH that PAUSE already tí xàà ndíxi’í kú rí ra, kóó ka kùñù 3.ANML/SPH PFV-do dead be 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE NEG more meat rí k’anda ka rí k’á’än 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.

Ná kundaa ná mií ná. 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).

Xáá tu mií ñ xákú ñ xi’ín ná.. 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’e 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 rā* educación física kúú rā
and there PAUSE one teacher 3SG.M education physical IPFV-be 3SG.M

ndika’an...
PVF-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 rī* kití timí kèè rī ikú xqā
one 3ANML/SPH animal owl PFV:go.out 3ANML/SPH hill arrive

rī ra.
3ANML/SPH PAUSE

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 sínáꞌa ‘teach’.

(94) Ta ña, na maestro ikán, v'la ní sínáꞌa na and PAUSE 3.GNRL.HUM teachers there well very IPFV:teach 3.GNRL.HUM ikán chí na ña íyo preparado kúú ndiꞌí there because 3.GNRL.HUM already PROG:be prepared IPFV-be all na. 3.GNRL.HUM And the teachers there, they teach very well, because all of them are [well] prepared.

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.

(95) "Inkú rí kití yáxí ní yá," kátán r̃a 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 thus.

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.¹ 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,

¹ This is a term which occurs in Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:23, 50), but the original idea was developed by Johnson-Laird (1983:370), using the term "mental model".
as in example (95). This is also the case in example (91), where the teacher is introduced with a preposed NP even though 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 ndònò rà 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 (ʻparents' in example (97)), or as objects, and sometimes in a phrase outside the nucleus (ʻwith his children’ in example (98)).

(97) Chíndàꞌá na ivá i ye'e kua'àn i chìkán.  
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 ya kana ya kuxi rà xi'in se'e rà kúà káchi  
and so.that produce 3.GNRL eat 3SG.M with son 3SG.M it.is 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. 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) Níꞌí ra tixīi lo'o ra kuטan ra.  
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

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

(100) Xíní ɣa'a ndéé ra kixàà ra.  
hat good IPFV-put 3SG.M PFV-arrive 3SG.M  
He arrived wearing a good [nice] hat.  
Rabbit-Town Hall:6.5

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) Ndįkàvà ra, iin saá kàá toto ra, iin saá kàá ɣa'a  
PFV-fall 3SG.M one thus look.like clothes 3SG.M one thus look.like thing  
ndóꞌní itin ra, billete kúɣ ndįlì ya 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.  
Swimming:7.2

(102) Xàà ra ndįkundú'ú ra sàtá mií taj ká'nú, taj  
PFV-do 3SG.M PFV-sit.SG 3SG.M on DEF/REFL chair big chair  
chéé ikán ra.  
important there PAUSE  
He arrived and sat in the most important seat.  
Rabbit-Town Hall:6.4

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 iin kíví káči maestro, "Chikáa yö ndikava ndó ndá and then one day IPFV-say teacher put.in 1PL.INCL fall 2PL until njnú nyú rá," káči 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 ndjxäa mií rä táta kän xítō rä.
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.)

so'va.
like.that
"What animal is eating it up?" he thought.

b. Ta kuə'än tuku rä inka kíví tuku va ná'ä yáxí and PROG:go again 3SG.M another day again just IPFV:look IPFV:eat
rí mií rí kití ikán iva chíchí lo'o 3.ANML/SPH DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH animal that bean.plant small
rä xí'ìn itu lo'o rä. 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 ra táta] chiꞌi ra [iva chíchí] ra; chiꞌi ra
one 3SG.M man PFV-sow 3SG.M bean.plant PAUSE PFV-sow 3SG.M
iva chíchí ra xiꞌín [itu ra].
bean.plant 3SG.M and cornfield 3SG.M

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

b. Ta ya kana ya kuxi ra xiꞌín [se'e ra] kúa
and so.that produce 3.GNRL eat 3SG.M with offspring 3SG.M it.is
káchi ra so'o chiꞌi ra ya.
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 between 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, kixàa na₁, ve'e chíñú thus PAUSE PFV:go.out 3.GNRL.HUM PFV-arrive 3.GNRL.HUM town.hall ra, "Tikálán kixi rà che, káchi rà," káchi PAUSE right.now come 3SG.M they.say IPFV-say 3SG.M IPFV-say na₁ so'va xi'n míí na₂, [na₂] à nùù 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.

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 xìnù ikán ‘the one who had fled’ to clarify the identity of the main rabbit.

(108) a. Ñaá xàá ndixáni tuku rí, "Kú'un 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, chí ñani chí vā'a ka tiempo," 
NEG-go more 2SG because brother because NEG-good more time
káchí inka mií rí leko ikán xifín mií
IPFV-say another DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH rabbit that with DEF/REFL
rí leko, [mií rí 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.

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 rí throughout the
story. However, in (109a), she uses the same pronoun rí to refer to the "little animals"
she is going to buy (rí 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 rí loꞌo, tí tìmí ikán ‘the little it, that
owl’), before again using the pronoun rí in reference to the other little animals.

(109) a. Ta yakán satá i ndi'í yaa kití válí kâ'án
and that's why buy 1SG all completely animal small.PL IPFV:talk
ná xa'á ra," ndjkuin ŵi ra, "Kúkuée satá
3.GNRL.HUM about PAUSE PFV:answer 1SG PAUSE slowly-slowly buy
ši rí."
1SG 3.ANML/SPH
And that's why I will buy all the little animals they ask for, I answered, "Little by
little I will buy them.

b. Ndikuu nuú tuku mií rí lo'ó, tí tìmí ikán,
be.replaced again DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH small 3.ANML/SPH owl that
ya ndjnuu rí nduku'aá rí che.
3.GNRL ** 3.ANML/SPH multiply 3.ANML/SPH they.say
The little animal, that owl, will be replaced, and the animals will multiply.

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 ndō'ò ra conejo che.
    thus PFV-suffer 3SG.M rabbit they.say
    This is what happened to a rabbit, they say.

    b. Saá ndō'ò conejo xinaá 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) In cuento lo'o kití timí sana s'ë'e i, cuento
    one story small animal owl domestic.animal son 1SG story
    rí ikán xi'ín s'ë'e i, xákú ná xañá 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) "Ná ra ndixjí va leko," káchí ra 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.

(114) a. Íyo kuá’á ná compañera ta xákù va ñ chi yá PROG:be many 3PL.F classmate and PFV:cry just 1SG because 3.GNRL núñú nú kuá kétà i nyú ivá i, nyú si’il ñ EMP-first it.is PFV:out 1SG from father 1SG from mother 1SG
There were many classmates, and I cried because it was the first time I had gone away from my father and mother.

b. Ta ndijxağı i chikán ta íyo ná compañera and PFV:arrive 1SG that.way and PROG:be 3.GNRL.HUM classmates xáá ná xákù ná ra xáá tu IPFV:begin 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV:cry 3.GNRL.HUM PAUSE IPFV:begin also mií i xákù i xifín ná. DEF/REFL 1SG IPFV:cry 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM
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 ndjik’in tuku rɑŋ kuɑ’an rɑŋ, kuɑ’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 ndixɑa 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
    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 givenness 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 (iìn), 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 kí’in kue’e ná ra. HORT NEG-get illness 3.GNRL.HUM PAUSE
        Let an illness not catch them.
        Prosper:1.4

In example (117), the noun xíní 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) Ndjkundú’ú râ ra, xíní va’a ndéé râ kijàà râ. 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:6.5

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,

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) Ñáá iin kuití kétà leko ndâvà rí, kuq'ân va rí, xinù tuku rí, kuq'ân va rí.
3.ANML/SPH PFV:run again 3.ANML/SPH PROG:go just

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

(119) Saá kúni tu i ka'ân i xif'ín ná xááá
thus IPFV:want 1SG also 1SG talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM about
ná nána ná ndik'in xù'un Prospera, ka'ân
3.GNRL.HUM lady 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV:receive money Prosper IPFV:talk
ná xif'ín programa yá táxí gobierno de la republica
3.GNRL.HUM with program that IPFV:give government
yá nála na
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 *inin* frequently occurs when introducing something or someone. In these cases, the form is clearly referential, as in example (120).

(120) *inin* rí kití timí kèè rí ikú xág
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.  

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) *Ndixiyo inin tiempo ndixá'an í 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) *Ya yó'ó kúą, ya yó'ó kúų inin cuento lo'o ndixiyo í
tá lo'o í tá ndixá'an í escuela Cuernavaca.
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)’, *ńgá* ‘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.

Prosper:1.17

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.

Prosper:1.18

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

Prosper:1.14

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.
That [is] the little story of my pet dog that went and got lost. My Pet Dog:3.8

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 kaá is used in non-reported speech when referring to participants that are familiar or activated. I have no examples of kaá 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 (xùꞌún) 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 [ikan] 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 [ikan] insurance to be treated at the hospital.

The deictic words ñaá and yöó 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 ñaá 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 yöó 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 *ña̱á* 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 mií cuento lo'o 1.
3.GNRL this IPFV-finish just DEF/REFL story small 1SG
This [yóꞌó] ends my little story. Swimming:10.4

(134) Ya̱ ñáá 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 yóꞌó, kaá, and ŋágá. (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 yóꞌó 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.
Notice that in the example above, \textit{yóꞌó} ‘this’ is used, even though it is referencing someone the speakers cannot literally see, someone who is out of sight.

Sometimes \textit{yóꞌó} is used of a participant that is already in focus (given), to show contrasting emphasis. In example (141), the deictic \textit{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 \textit{yóꞌó} is only used when speaking of the owl, the primary animal of the text.

(141) Ta kọ́o kúñí nde sindúxín ndó rí kúꞌún rí and NEG IPFV:want 1PL.EXCL bury 2PL 3.ANML/SPH go 3.ANML/SPH tji̱n ŋuú chí rí yóꞌó ra, iin kívi ra, nditaku under land because 3.ANML/SPH this PAUSE one day PAUSE revive rí kíxi rí káꞌan ná sol'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 \textit{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 \textit{yóꞌó}, while example (143) contains their mother’s reply, where she refers to the owl with the deictic \textit{ña̱á}.

(142) "Ndàchu kúã kúvi nditaku rí yóꞌó kívi rí why it.is NEG:IRR.be.able revive 3.ANML/SPH this enter 3.ANML/SPH xí'fn rí conejo," ká'án ná. 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.able more because 3.ANML/SPH that PAUSE already
tí xàà ndixí'i xú ri ra, kóó ka kùñù
3.ANML/SPH PFV-do dead be 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE NEG more meat
rí kàndà ka ri kàpan ka ri.
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) "Rá kaá va kúú rá vaxí rá kúni rá ka'ní
3SG.M that just IPFV-be 3SG.M IPFV.come 3SG.M IPFV:want 3SG.M kill
rá 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'tá ná ya kúvį
IPFV-give DEF/REFL government to 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL IPFV:hurt
ini rá xínį rá 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.

58
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.

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

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.

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 *ngá*. 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).
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).

(152) *Ya* *yó’ó ndí’i* va *mií* *cuento lo’o* 1SG this IPFV-finish just DEF/REFL story small

This is the end of my little story.

### 3.3 The use of pronouns

Pronoun clitics are by far the most common form of reference in XM. Beyond the initial introduction or activation of a participant, clitics comprise the overwhelming majority of referring forms. Due to XM’s rich pronoun system, relatively few nouns are required even
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 ŋñiñá.

### 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 rā ndjxąŋ mií y rā táta kán xîtó rā.  
    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 vąxi rā.  
    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 ndąchu kǔ ńgō ndǐxání ŋ̃n rí," káchi mií  
    and why it.is NEG NEG:PFV-kill 2SG 3ANML/SPH IPFV:say DEF/REFL  
    yá ńfį rā.  
    3SG.F wife 3SG.M  
    "And why didn't you kill it?" his wife said.

b. "Kōō ndǐxání jí rí saá či listo ní rí  
    NEG NEG:PFV-kill 1SG 3ANML/SPH because quick very 3ANML/SPH  
    xinu rí kuaŋ̃ rí," káchi ra 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 *ra* in last clause of example (155) was mentioned in the object position of the preceding clause, where *na* is the subject. The subject of each clause is highlighted.

(155) *Kua’an tuku na nú iva chí chí nda xikuá kuí saá níí.*

PROG:go again 3.GNRL.HUM to bean.plant 3PL.M late then find

*na rà ndíkáà rà.*

3.GNRL.HUM 3SG.M IPFV-be.inside 3SG.M

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) *Ikán chí chí na iva chí chí ra, ta ikán ndíkáà rà, xáxí rà iva chí chí.*

there PFV-sow 3.GNRL.HUM bean.plant PAUSE and there IPFV-be.inside 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 ŋáá ra saá ká’án ra tin, ”Án xáni xíká
and then PAUSE thus IPFV-think 3SG.M also Q dream IPFV:walk
mí va kúŋ,” ká’án 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.

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 ndjikundú'ú ra sàtá mii tāi ká'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. Ndjikundú'ú ra ra, xíní va'a ndéé ra kjuxàa 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 ndi̱kìꞌìn tuku ra kua’an ra, kua’an mii
    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. "Ṟ ̱kaá va kúú ṟa vəx̱i ṟa kúñí ṟa ḵa'ní 3SG.M that just IPFV-be 3SG.M IPFV-come 3SG.M IPFV:want 3SG.M kill ṟa m̱ií 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," káán ṟa 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 ṟa xínù ṟa kuág'an ṟa. then PAUSE PFV:run 3SG.M PROG:go 3SG.M

So he took off running.

d. Xínù m̱ií leko ikán kuág'an rif nuú m̱ií PFV:run DEF/REFL rabbit that PROG:go 3ANML/SPH from DEF/REFL tátə xáq ka'ní ṉá'tá 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) "Ra̱ kaá va kúú rą vaxi rą kúñi rą ka'ní
3SG.M that just IPFV-be 3SG.M IPFV.come 3SG.M IPFV:want 3SG.M kill
ra̱ míí 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

The general human pronoun na̱ 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 na̱ instead of rí. One woman even referred to her grains of corn using na̱ instead of ya̱ʻit. 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 na̱, and in fact this use does not appear in my corpus of texts at all.

The general inanimate pronoun ya̱ is used for angels and other supernatural beings. In some stories, there is also alternation between the pronoun ya̱ 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 ya̱ (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 ndjikuità ya̱ 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. "¡
N\text{á}chu luvi ní ún ta táí k\text{ú}ni ún," káchi iin
why pretty very 2SG and ** IPFV-feel 2SG IPFV-say one

\textit{rí} vilú xí\text{Í}n \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 ndi\text{á}k\text{á}n xí\text{Í}n \textit{ya} xí\text{Í}n \textit{ya}; "Kú\text{é}un ún n\text{ú} vilú ñ\text{á}á,"
and PFV-talk mother 3.GNRL with 3.GNRL NEG-go 2SG to cat then

káchi \textit{rí} xí\text{Í}n \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\text{á} nóña ya kú\text{é}vi
IPFV-give DEF/REFL government to 3.GNRL.HUM 3.GNRL IPFV:hurt

ini \textit{ra} xí\text{Í}n \textit{ra} nóña.
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 ſñaꞌá

As described in section 2.4.4, the special third person pronoun ſñaꞌá 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 ſñaꞌa 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. However, the use of ſñaꞌá 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, ſñaꞌá 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 ſñaꞌá. Examples (165)-(167) illustrate its use where there is a change of subject (each pair of coreferent pronouns is in bold).

(165) Ta saá káchí ra saá, ya ndakan tu'un ſñaꞌá na, then PFV-say 3SG.M thus so.that ask word 3 3.GNRL.HUM

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

Then he said, because they had asked him [ňaťá], "You, Mr. Rabbit," they called him.
Rabbit-Town Hall:7.1

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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).
(166) Va’a ní yáṣ’í i; xáchíňú kú chi yá, yakán kúŋ kúŋ i ní
good very wife 1SG IPFV-work very 3SG.F that’s why it is IPFV:want very
í xíní ŋatá ıntı.
1SG IPFV:see 3 1SG

My wife is very good; she works very hard, that’s why I love her [ŋa‘á]. (Stark, Johnson & González 2013:49, English translation mine)

(167) Rakúví kú ralo’o sè’e yá; xákú ní rá. Táchí kín
sick is little one offspring 3SG.F IPFV-cry a lot 3SG.M spirit IPFV-catch
ŋa‘á.
3

Her little son is very sick; he’s crying a lot. A spirit got him [ŋa‘á]. (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 rá ‘3SG.M’ is the subject of the first clause, rí ‘3.ANML/SPH’ is the subject
of the two following clauses, and then rá is again the subject of the fourth clause, with rí
as the direct object (subject pronouns are in bold). However, even with the changes of
subject, no special object pronoun occurs in (168b).

(168) a. Saá ra ŋaá kúŋ, iin sjikändí rá tin ŋaá ra ndikavà
thus PAUSE then it is one IPFV:explode 3SG.M also then PAUSE IPFV-fall
rí kúŋa rí.
3.ANML/SPH PROG:go 3.ANML/SPH

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

b. Ndixá’ní rá rí.
PFV-PFV:kill 3SG.M 3.ANML/SPH

He killed it [rí]. 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 ſna'á when it occurs as DO rather than subject. Such an explanation is not contradicted by examples like (166) and (167) where ſna'á does appear.

Although there is a change of subject in nearly all the occurrences of ſna'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 ſna'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 ſna'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: si'í ya 'its mother' is the subject of kóó ndíkúchíñú ‘could not’, and rí ‘it [the mother]’ is the subject of kasi ‘stop’.)

(169) a. "Kúní i koto ndosó i iin ſna'ňu lo'o queso," káchí ya-
IPFV:want 1SG see try 1SG one piece little cheese IPFV-say 3.GNRL
 shines lo'o xí'ín si'í ya.
mouse little with mother 3.GNRL
"I want to try a little piece of cheese," said the little mouse to its mother.

b. Ta kóó ndíkúchíñú si'í ya kasi ſna'á rí.
and NEG NEG:PFV-be.able mother 3.GNRL stop 3 3.ANML/SPH
And its mother could not stop it [ňa'á].

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

(170) Siţikáá ná rã nda'á itún, kúní ná ka'ní
PFV-hang 3.GNRL.HUM 3SG.M branch tree IPFV:want 3.GNRL.HUM kill
 ámb a ná.
This 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.
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, ŋa’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 ŋa’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 ŋa’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.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

Variations in order of post-nuclear clausal constituents

(171) PP, PP:
Saá kúni̱ i tu i ḳa̱ɬan i (xi̱'ín nə) (xə'lá thus IPFV:want 1SG also 1SG talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM about nə nána nə nádikilin xù'ún 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:
Vəxi ya (nda'ta nə) ya kuŋũú nə (xi̱'ín IPFV:come 3.GNRL to 3.GNRL.HUM so.that use 3.GNRL.HUM with sə'e váli nə) tin ya kuŋũú nə (xi̱'ín ya son small.PL 3.GNRL.HUM also so.that use 3.GNRL.HUM with that ve'e nə) ya və'a ná koo nə. 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:
Tə ná kaka ná (xi̱'ín sə'e nə) (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 kuỵu̱n nə (xi̱'ín yə) (hospital) kutátán nə. 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:
Ná ku̱ꞌu̱n go 3PL.F with DEF/REFL insurance that hospital
ná kutátán uun sé'e ná.
HORT be.treated free child 3PL.F
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:
"Ta ná ko'q kuxi yá yó chi kâ'un ní ini
and HORT 1PL.INCL:go eat 3.GNRL 1PL.INCL because IPFV:burn very inside
yó," ká'án tuku rã (so'va) (mií rã leko ikán).
1PL.INCL IPFV-think again 3SG.M like.that DEF/REFL 3SG.M rabbit that
"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:
"Ta ndîxáꞌní ún rí ra kuxi yó rí va'a
and NEG:PFV- 2SG 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE eat 1PL.INCL 3.ANML/SPH good
ní kuxi yó rí kuâ'a rí ñã sî'vã kuxi
very eat 1PL.INCL 3.ANML/SPH be.made 3.ANML/SPH 3.GNRL seed eat
yó," káchi yá (so'va) (xíꞌín rã).
1PL.INCL IPFV-say 3SG.F like.that with 3SG.M
"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:
Saá ká'án rã xi'ín yá sî'i rã tin, "Xa̱a va rí
thus IPFV:talk 3SG.M with 3SG.F wife 3SG.M also arrive just 3.ANML/SPH
(xi'ín j) (vitin) (ra).
with 1SG now PAUSE
Then he said to his wife, "I brought the animal (with me) (this time) (*). Rabbit-
Cornfield:20.1
APPENDIX B

Interlinear texts

The Rabbit in the Cornfield
Estela Ramírez Lopez

Rabbit-Cornfield:1.1
lin ra tata chi'li ra iva chi'chi' ra, chi'li ra iva chi'chi' ra
one 3SG.M man PFV-sow 3SG.M bean.plant PAUSE PFV-sow 3SG.M bean.plant 3SG.M
xii'iiitu ra.
and cornfield 3SG.M
A man planted bean plants; he planted his bean plants and his corn.

Rabbit-Cornfield:1.2
Ta yag kana yag kuxi ra xii'in se'e ra kua kachi ra
and so.that produce 3.GNRL eat 3SG.M with son 3SG.M it.is IPFV-say 3SG.M
so'o chi'li ra ya.
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 nga ra, xaa kunanu lo'o ya.
and then PAUSE PFV:begin PFV:grow little 3.GNRL
And so it began to grow a little.

Rabbit-Cornfield:2.2
Ta xaa xaan ra xito ra ya.
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
Ta xaa ra ra.
when IPFV:arrive 3SG.M PAUSE
When he arrived,

Rabbit-Cornfield:2.4
"Inku ri kiti yaxi ni ya," kai'an ra 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.

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

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?"

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.
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.
yá so'va xí'in rã.
3SG.F like.that with 3SG.M

"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
"Kundíꞌi ini ÜN chi _KP tuku va ʒı," káchí rã 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 rã ku'γañ rã xkuáá tin ñáñ ndíxãñ rã xkuáá 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
Ñáñ rã ndíñkág tuku míí 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 ra, saá kálán rã tin," "Míchí kúñ vág'a kundú'ú yó
then PAUSE thus IPFV-think 3SG.M also where it.is good IRR-be.sitting 1PL.INCL

kání yó rí," kálán rã 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 ñáñ ndíxãñ rã tin ñáñ saá ra.
and then PFV:arrive 3SG.M also then thus PAUSE

There he arrived.

Rabbit-Cornfield:14.2
Ñáñ rã, iin kúñtí kálañ míí leko ikán saá káñí rã 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
Lin saá ra, xínú tuku leko ku'qañ 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
Ndíxãñ tuku rí tin ñáñ xáñ ndíñkxíñí rí 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
Ñáñ xáñ ndíñxáñí tuku rí," "Kúñ ƙa ƙún, nýù xá'guñ ƙún
then PFV:begin PFV again 3.ANML/SPH NEG-go more 2SG where HAB:go 2SG
ra.

PAUSE

Then it began to dream again: "Don't go where you've been going."

Rabbit-Cornfield:15.3

Kùꞌun ka ún, chi ñani chi vaꞌa ka tiempo," káchi inka NEG-go more 2SG because brother because NEG-good more time IPFV-say another mií rí leko ikán xíꞌín mií rí leko, mií DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH rabbit that with DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH rabbit DEF/REFL rí xínù ikán.

"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 ndikòò tuku rí naꞌa kuaꞌan 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

"Ku̱ꞌu̱n va yó kuxi yó chi kâꞌun ní ini yó," káán go just 1PL.INCL eat 1PL.INCL because IPFV:burn very inside 1PL.INCL IPFV-think rí so'va kète tuku rí ku̱g'án 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 kú̱ ndjáa 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 ñá a ra, kâꞌán mií rã táta ikán," "Ta inkú̱a koo kuni ñí and then PAUSE IPFV:talk DEF/REFL 3SG.M man that and what be see 1SG rí chi, kúví mií kuni ví ñí 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

Xá kukuàá ni kúñ ñi sindsí ti va rí iva chíchí yóó 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.

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.
Rabbit-Cornfield:23.2
Ta ku'g'an va leko mii ri ku'g'an va ri.
and PROG:go just rabbit DEF/REFL 3.ANML/SPH PROG:go just 3.ANML/SPH

And the rabbit went away.

Rabbit-Cornfield:23.3
Ri taku va ku ri, suvir ri ndij'i ki ku ri.
3.ANML/SPH IPFV:live just be 3.ANML/SPH not 3.ANML/SPH PFV:die be 3.ANML/SPH

It was alive, it was NOT a dead animal!

Rabbit-Cornfield:23.4
"Ti taku va ku ri, ku'g'an tuku va ri, xinu.
3.ANML/SPH IPFV:live just be 3.ANML/SPH PROG:go again just 3.ANML/SPH PFV:run
ri nyu i," kachi tuku yá.
3.ANML/SPH from 1SG IPFV-say again 3SG.F

It was a live animal! And it ran away again and escaped from me," she said again.

Rabbit-Cornfield:24.1
"Ta ná ku'y'n ri kundii ini ri chi ku'y'n tuku va i."
and HORT go 3.ANML/SPH NEG- 3.ANML/SPH because go again just 1SG
kachi mii tata ikán, këtà tuku ra ku'g'an ra.
IPFV-say DEF/REFL man that PFV:go.out again 3SG.M PROG:go 3SG.M

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

Rabbit-Cornfield:24.2
Saá ndixa tuku ra mii ta'nu itu ra tin ndiká
thus PFV:arrive again 3SG.M DEF/REFL among cornfield 3SG.M also IPFV:be.inside
tuku ri.
3.ANML/SPH

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

Rabbit-Cornfield:24.3
Ná ka ndjik'in ra ri.
then it.is PFV:PFV-get 3SG.M 3.ANML/SPH
That's how he got the animal.

Rabbit-Cornfield:24.4
Ná xa'ní v'a ra ri.
then PFV:kill good 3SG.M 3.ANML/SPH
So he killed it for real.

Rabbit-Cornfield:24.5
Tin saá xa'de ri xif'ín ra ra.
also thus arrived 3.ANML/SPH with 3SG.M PAUSE
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.

"So, the rabbit died," he said.
Diabetes
Anonymous

Diabetes:1.1
Ye'g kúni ká'án i xgá kue'ë diabeti yá ndò'o i xi'í in PRON.1SG IPFV:want talk 1SG about illness diabetes that PFV-suffer 1SG with one ná tálán i.
3.GNRL.HUM relative 1SG

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

Diabetes:1.2
KuíPFV:ná kue'ë diabeti ra... yá kue'ë diabeti ra ku'á PFV:hurt 3.GNRL.HUM illness diabetes PAUSE 3.GNRL illness diabetes PAUSE many ní kóó... kachi yó... kóó tátán yá kutátán ná ma'.
very NEG say 1PL.INCL NEG medicine that be.treated 3.GNRL.HUM then

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

Diabetes:1.3
Iín nave'e i kuíPFV:ra.
3.GNRL.HUM

One of my family members got sick.

Diabetes:1.4
Ndí'i ndíxikà i xi'ín ná ra, kóó ndíkúchíñú ndíva'a all PFV:walk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM PAUSE NEG NEG:PFV-be.able get.better ná.
3.GNRL.HUM

I went everywhere with them, but they couldn't get better.

Diabetes:1.5
Kóó tátán mií kue'ë ikán che.
NEG medicine DEF/REFL illness that they.say

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

Diabetes:1.6
Iín táxí ná tátán ra, iín control lo'o kuití yá kuá very IPFV:give 3.GNRL.HUM medicine PAUSE one control small only 3.GNRL it.is ra.
PAUSE

They give a lot of medicine, but it's only a control [of the symptoms].

Diabetes:1.7
Tá xá ki'ín mií kue'ë ikán yó ra, kóó ndíva'a when already PFV-get DEF/REFL illness that 1PL.INCL PAUSE NEG NEG:PFV-get.better yó ni'í yá yó saá kuvi va yó che.
1PL.INCL PFV:carry.in.hand 3.GNRL 1PL.INCL thus die just 1PL.INCL they.say

When that illness gets us, we don't get better; we have it and so we just die, they say.
That's why I talk to the people of our town or wherever this message goes, that they should take care of themselves.

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

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

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.

It's a tragic illness.

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

Then let everyone in this whole world see.

**Diabetes: 1.15**

Let them take care of themselves with regard to this illness.

**Diabetes: 1.16**

Because there's no cure for this illness.

**Diabetes: 1.17**

It's only a little way to control it so that people can feel a little better as they go about.

**Diabetes: 1.18**

We can feel a little better, but as for getting completely better, we will not get better with this illness, they say.

**Diabetes: 1.19**

That's all.
An owl came from the fields and arrived.

Pet Owl:1.2


My children liked it lot.

Pet Owl:1.3


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

Pet Owl:1.4


They were very happy with it.

Pet Owl:1.5


They went out and played with it.

Pet Owl:1.6


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

Pet Owl:1.7


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

Pet Owl:1.8


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 and 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.

Thus I promised them that I would buy a rabbit to be their pet.
So they talked, and I said to them, "It won't revive."

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

Pet Owl:4.1
"Áá, nditaku va bí nduchí núú bí xító v'ar'í nduchí núú bí," káꞌán ná.
"Yes, it will revive, because its eyes, they are open [lit. they are looking]," they said.

Pet Owl:4.2
Saá ra, xíká ná xító ná bí ra, saá  
thus PAUSE IPFV:walk 3.GNRL.HUM IPFV:see 3.GNRL.HUM 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE thus  
káꞌán ná,"  "Këꞌe ún bí.
IPFV:talk 3.GNRL.HUM NEG-grab 2SG 3.ANML/SPH

And they went about looking at it, and said, "Don't take it."

Pet Owl:4.3
Ná chinúú ndé bí stá ve'e yóó kás'ú̱ lá'í va  
HORT put.above 1PL.EXCL 3.ANML/SPH on house this fry DEF/REFL just  
bí,"  káꞌán ná 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
Ḵḻin ná bí stá ve'e chinúú ná bí 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 yáa bí tiká'án va.  
IPFV:be still 3.ANML/SPH right.now just

It's still there right now.

Pet Owl:5.3
Íín yáa bí ra, ndá tů̱mí bí ra, so káá  
IPFV:be still 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE which feather 3.ANML/SPH PAUSE like.that look.like  
nda'á bí, kánúú lá'í mií bí.
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 bí táku bí núú ná káꞌán ná,  
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.

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

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

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

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

"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.

Then they said to me, "Then buy us another goat to be our pet," they said thus.

We want [it. there will be] a pet goat too," they said thus.

Let's look for money, then we will buy two goats to be our pets, one female and one male, because this animal, we'll never forget it, because it died.
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," káꞌañ i xi'ín 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 ndi'i ra, tixú'ú ikán ra, tátu sătá i satá i iín
and afterward PAUSE goat that PAUSE if NEG-buy 1SG buy 1SG one
ría tí săà koo săná ná
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 ndi'i rí ra, ná koo ndi'i 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
Kútóó ní ná koo săná ná 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 káꞌañ i xi'ín ná tin, ná nj'i yó xú'tún ra, ta
and IPFV:talk 1SG with 3.GNRL.HUM also HORT find 1PL.INCL money PAUSE and
koo ndi'i... sătá yó ñg'a válí nú kundo'ni rí chi
be all buy 1PL.INCL thing small.PL where IRR-be.enclosed 3.ANML/SPH because
xà rá 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
ría kusún rí tá kuvá íyo 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 kusón ndó kusún 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 have to 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 rá kán mií ná.

IPFV:live 3.ANML/SPH IPFV:talk DEF/REFL 3.GNRL.HUM

It's alive, they say.

**Pet Owl: 15**

lin cuento lo'o kití timí sáná se'e i, cuento rá ikán xí'n

one story small animal owl domestic.animal son 1SG story 3.ANML/SPH that with

se'e i, xákú ná xá'á rá.

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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