

YOU CAN SAY THAT AGAIN: REPETITION IN ALACATLATZALA MIXTEC

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1. Introduction

Repetition is used frequently in Alacatzala Mixtec (AM)¹ discourse. It is seen in parallelism between episodes in some narratives. It is crucial in controlling the flow of information. Different semantic effects can be produced by repetition. It is also useful for discourse cohesion and as a rhetorical device.

Repetition in AM resembles Biblical parallelism as discussed by Jakobson (1966). It is the restating of some or all of the propositional content of a previous clause in one or more ways. It can be in the form of verbatim repetition with or without expansion, or it can take the form of what Longacre (1983:116-124) calls *equivalence paraphrase*, *negated antonym paraphrase*, or *generic specific paraphrase*.

The texts studied so far in this regard are narratives. As AM speakers have no current written tradition, the majority of these narratives were told orally and recorded, then later transcribed. However, a few of the texts were merely written down without oral transmission at the first time of telling. These show fewer instances of repetition than the oral texts, perhaps because they were written down and therefore purposely kept shorter and less repetitive by the writer. Another reason for less repetition in the written texts could be the lack of immediate feedback experienced when writing a story as opposed to when telling it orally before an audience. Along these lines it has been suggested that there is a "consistently higher lexical redundancy of English texts from situations where there is feedback from the hearers as opposed to a higher rate of information injection in situations without feedback" (Jean Ure, cited in Grimes 1975:298).

There are times, however, when repetition does occur in the written texts in ways that are very similar to the oral texts. There are written examples of repetition being used for control of the information flow, as well as for semantic effect and as a rhetorical device. It is, of course, possible that there will be a move away from the use of repetition if there should be a shift from an oral to a written tradition.

2. Repetition in Conversation

AM narratives contain many direct quotes, to such an extent that some stories have little else going on besides dialogue. The *Pig and Burro Story* is an example where, apart from the brief opening and closing sentences, all of it is dialogue between the two animals. These dialogues in narratives employ a lot of repetition, reflecting the cultural norm to repeat oneself as in the case of asking for something, promising to do something, or describing something. Also in these dialogues there are emotional exchanges, and these are also characterized by a lot of repetition. Examples of trying to convince or persuade someone, of denying something, or

¹A short description of this language is given in the appendix.

of showing anger are common in the narratives that have been studied. However, there isn't much of the kind of repetition where one speaker echoes what the other speaker has just said to show that he has heard it or is in agreement with him (Brown and Levinson 1987:112-113). There are, however, examples where a question receives a positive or negative repetition of part or all of the question instead of a yes or no answer (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:191). This is common in AM, as shown in (1).²

- (1) A. Ñani, án yó'o yóo ún?
 brother INTER here CONT-exist 2s
 'Brother, are you here?'
- B. Yó'o yóo i. Án yóo chiño vaxi ún?
 here CONT-exist 1s INTER CONT-exist work CONT-come 2s
 'I'm here. Have you come on business?'
- A. Yóo chiño vaxi va i.
 CONT-exist work CONT-come LIM 1s
 'I've come on business.'

3. Parallelism Between Episodes

A feature of some AM narratives is the repetition of whole episodes several times over with only slight variation. The *Burro and Snake Story* has five episodes similar in structure and language. In the *Possum and Coyote Story* the possum tricks the coyote in five similar episodes. The big bird hits the little bird in three episodes in the *Rabbit and Birds Story*. The coyote gets tricked by the rabbit in two episodes in the *Tarbaby Story*. In each case one episode, usually the final one, stands out by its difference and brings the narrative to a close. Apparently this kind of parallelism between episodes is not seen as boringly redundant by AM speakers, but rather as an acceptable and even enjoyable narrative style.

4. Repetition Used in Information Flow

Short clauses seem to be preferred in AM. As there may be only a limited load of new information per clause such as one or two participants following the verb, repetition often occurs as a result. In examples (2) and (3) the motion verb is repeated, probably to keep the amount of new information per clause lower and to keep the sentence from becoming too cumbersome.

- (2) Nixa'an i Malina, nixa'an i xintaka i sita
 COM-go 1s Malina COM-go 1s COM-take 1s tortillas
- xíxi siso i tanákaa ve'e kaa.
 CONT-eat father-in-law 1s MASC-CONT-be-located jail

²Abbreviations used in morpheme glosses are listed at the end of the paper.

'I went to Malina; I went to take torts to my father-in-law in jail.'

- (3) Ta nitivi inka kivi kixi ra, kixi ra
and COM-dawn another day COM-come MASC COM-come MASC

koto ra yiva chíchi ra.
POT-look MASC beanplant MASC

'Another day dawned and he came; he came to look at his beanplants.'

Thus repetition is helpful in supplying new information. In the second clause the new information is hooked onto the old information in the first clause, e.g. nixa 'an in (2) and kixi in (3). This is in keeping with the findings of Tannen (1987:582). Although her study was in the area of conversation, what she reports is relevant due to the oral nature of AM narratives. She states:

If some words are repetitious, comparatively less information is communicated than if all words uttered carried new information. This redundancy in spoken discourse allows a hearer to receive information at roughly the rate the speaker is producing it.

This is similar to what Grimes (1975:259, 317) calls linkage in discourse cohesion. He writes about a more involved system in various languages around the world where there's a series in which the previous verb is repeated, whereas in AM it is simpler, with just one repetition of a previous verb.

5. Repetition for Semantic Effect

Some words are repeated for semantic effect. The repeated word may take on a slightly different shade of meaning. For example, in (4) the repeated lexical item comes to mean 'each', a phenomenon also reported for Jamiltepec Mixtec (Bradley and Hollenbach 1988:88-89).

- (4) Ñii kivi kee ra kua'an ra ñii ñoo ñii ñoo.
one day COM-leave MASC CONT-go MASC one town one town
'One day he left and went to each town.'

The exact repetition of an adjective or adverb can result in the intensified meaning of that word, also as reported for Jamiltepec Mixtec (Bradley and Hollenbach, 1988:63).

- (5) Kuee kuee kua'an ñá.
slow slow CONT-go FEM
'She went very slowly.'

- (6) Xikuaa xikuaa nátoon ño'ḡ.
 afternoon afternoon REP-CONT-turn-on light
 'Afternoon after afternoon a light turned on.'

Also continuous action or action over time, as well as iterative action or repeated action, may be expressed through the repetition of a verb (Bradley and Hollenbach 1988:63). Doris Bartholomew (ms) reports a similar use of repetition in Otomí of San Felipe and Santiago, in the State of Mexico:

The couplet can repeat the same verb and the same arguments. The reduplication indicates either the intensity of the event or the durative nature of the event.

In the following examples, (7) through (9) show continuous action and (10) through (12) show iterative action.

- (7) Kuá'an na saá kuá'an na saá.
 CONT-go 3p thus CONT-go 3p thus
 'They kept on going.'
- (8) Xíno rí saá, xíno rí saá.
 CONT-run AML thus CONT-run AML thus
 'It kept on running.'
- (9) Ntóo tuku na, ntóo na yuku jaan.
 CONT-stay again 3p CONT-stay 3p mountain that-same
 'They kept on staying on that mountain.'
- (10) Kaxa ni'ni ún kaxa ni'ni ún yiton.
 POT-poke here-there 2s POT-poke here-there 2s wood
 'Keep on poking the wood here and there.'
- (11) Chintoo chintoo na noni kuá'an na.
 CONT-drop CONT-drop 3p corn CONT-go 3p
 'They kept on dropping corn where they were going.'
- (12) Tín nitiin yó'o, tín nitiin yó'o.
 also COM-grab here also COM-grab here
 'They (dogs) kept on grabbing (him) here and there.'

The negated antonym paraphrase is another form of repetition used for semantic effect. Since there is no distinct word in AM meaning 'but', this construction can be used for counterexpectation. In (13) through (17) a negative clause and a positive clause with the same basic meaning are juxtaposed.

- (13) Siví a ntaa kía to'on, ki'va
 NEG-emphasis GEN true CONT-be-GEN word plan

santá'vi ña'á rí.
 POT-deceive KNO AML

'(But) his (fox's) word wasn't true; it was his plan to deceive him (coyote).'

- (14) Ni xá'ni na rí, ñikaku rí.
 NEG NEG-COM-kill 3p AML COM-escape AML
 '(But) they didn't kill it; it escaped.'

- (15) Vása nteé i, vita ní i.
 NEG strong 1s weak INTS 1s
 '(But) I'm not strong; I'm very weak.'

- (16) Siví ñii noo kuú nti'i xáko. Kua'a ní
 NEG-emphasis one kind CONT-be lex possum many INTS

noo kuú nti'i.
 kind CONT-be lex

'(But) there isn't just one kind of us possums; there are many kinds of us.'

- (17) Ta koó tina'no. Yóo nina
 and NEG-exist AML-big-PL CONT-exist purely

tikuali yóo.
 AML-little-PL CONT-exist

'(But) there aren't any big ones (fish); there are only little ones.'

6. Repetition as a Rhetorical Device

6.1. Repetition in Setting

One function of repetition may be to establish a component of the background which provides the reason for key events in the story. In all but one of the eleven longer texts studied, there is repetition at the beginning to provide the setting which Grimes (1975:51) defines as "the where, when and under what circumstances actions take place" in the story. I will use the term *setting* in this broader sense with emphasis on the circumstances behind the events, as well as place and time. Judith Schram (1979:280) describes a similar use of doublets, where the second member elaborates on, repeats, or paraphrases the first member in the setting or descriptive paragraphs of Mazatec of Jalapa de Diaz narratives.

This repetition doesn't move the story line along but gives time for the hearer to get into the story's setting and thus start off together with the story teller (Tannen 1987:582). For example, in the *Burro and Snake Story* the repetition in the form of exact repetition and positive-negative paraphrase describes the work of the burro and the fact that he hasn't eaten.

The burro is then taken to the mountain to graze and it's there he encounters the snake and begins his adventure. (18) is an example of positive-negative paraphrase.

- (18) Xí'i ní rí soko, ni xíxa'an rí.
 CONT-die INTS AML hunger, NEG MEG-COM-graze AML
 'He's (burro) very hungry, he hasn't grazed.'

The repeated description of 'no food' in verbatim repetition, and the generic-specific paraphrase at the beginning of the *Hansel and Gretel Story*, sets the stage for the father to abandon his children in the mountains where their survival is the theme of the rest of the narrative. Their mother in two similar episodes tries to save them but fails and is not mentioned again until the end of the story when she receives her reward. The beginning of the story provides the background for understanding this reward. The father, on the other hand, is rejected at the end of the story, and the beginning background also supplies the reason why. (19) is an example of generic-specific paraphrase.

- (19) Ta ntá'ví ní ra, koó a kuxu ra.
 and poor INTS MASC NEG-exist GEN POT-eat MASC
 'He was very poor, there was nothing for him to eat.'

The shorter *Poor Man Story* has lots of exact repetition about the light on the mountain at the beginning, and it is under the circumstances of investigating this light, excerpted in (20), that the poor man overhears those who turn on the light talking with each other. He carries out their plan and becomes a rich man.

- (20) 1. Ta taa yoo ra ve'e ra, ta xito ra
 and man CONT-exist MASC house MASC and COM-look MASC
 ñii yuku. 2. Xikuaa xikuaa nátoon ño'o
 one mountain afternoon afternoon REP-CONT-turn-on light
 ta nika'an ra xí'in ñásí'í ra: 3. «Ntá ño'o
 and COM-speak MASC with wife MASC which light
 kía tóon yuku kaq?» káchí ra
 CONT-be-GEN CONT-turn-on mountain there-near CONT-say MASC
 xí'in ñásí'í ra. 4. «Ta ná ko'on i koto i ntá
 with wife MASC and HORT POT-go 1s POT-look 1s which
 ño'o kía tóon» káchí ra xí'in ñásí'í
 light CONT-be-GEN CONT-turn-on CONT-say MASC with wife
 ra. 5. Ta keta ra kua'an ra ñii xikuaa
 MASC and COM-leave MASC CONT-go MASC one afternoon

nixaa ra noo na'a nátoon ño'o jaan,
COM-arrive MASC face often REP-CONT-turn-on light that-same

ta na'a nátoon ño'o jaan. 6. Ta saá
and often REP-CONT-turn-on light that-same and thus

ntaa ra nta'a yiton noo na'a nátoon
COM-climb MASC branch tree face often REP-CONT-turn-on

ño'o jaan 7. Kánoo ra nta nino nta'a yiton
light that-same CONT-perch MASC until above branch tree

ña koto ra yukú na kixaa nátoon
CMP POT-look MASC who 3p POT-arrive REP-CONT-turn-on

ño'o jaan.
light that-same

'1. A man was in his house and he looked at a mountain.
2. Each afternoon a light turned on. 3. He said to his wife,
«What light is it that turns on on the mountain there?» he
said to his wife. 4. «I'm going to see what light it is turns
on.» 5. And he left and went one afternoon, and arrived where
often the light kept turning on. 6. And so he climbed into the
branch of a tree where the light often turned on there. 7. He
perched up in the branch of the tree to see who would arrive
and turn on the light there.'

In the shorter of the eleven longer narratives there are only a couple of sentences to give the setting. The amount of repetition is relative to the length of the story. The longer texts have longer segments of repetitive setting information at the beginning.

6.2. Repetition To Frame Background Information

"Events, participants and settings are normally the primary components of narrative, while explanations and comments about what happens have a secondary role" (Grimes, 1975:56). Grimes labels this secondary role background. In AM this background information, or information not essential to the event line but helpful to its understanding, may be marked by the use of repetition of an event line clause before and after, to bracket or frame it. Des Derbyshire (1977:177) reports the same use of repetition in a Carib language of Brazil:

A special function of redundancy in Hixkaryana is to signal an interpolation of background material. An item on the main event line will be repeated in a later clause, and all that comes between the two occurrences of that item is background material.

An example of this phenomenon for AM is given in (21).

- (21) 1. Nixa'an ra nisata ra ñii ntíso burro
 COM-go MASC COM-buy MASC salt CONT-carry burro
- sana ra. 2 .Naxaa ra ñikunaa ní burro sana
 domestic MASC COM-arrive MASC COM-tire INTS burro domestic
- ra, nixa'an rí xí'in ra ntá'ví ní ra, kóó
 MASC COM-arrive AML with MASC poor INTS MASC NEG-exist
- a chinteé ña'á. 3. Ta saá naxaa ra, káchí
 GEN POT-help KNO and thus COM-arrive MASC CONT-say
- ra saá xí'in sa'ya ra talo'o
 MASC thus with child MASC MASC-little

'1. He went to buy salt his burro would carry (home). 2. He arrived home, the burro was very tired, (because) he went with him, poor him there was no one to help him. 3. He arrived home and said to his son...'

This story could also be told by deleting from the first *naxaa ra* to *ña'á* (sentence 2) without losing any of the event line. The material between the two occurrences of *naxaa ra* adds background information only. It should be noted this example is taken from the longer beginning portion of the *Burro and Snake Story* which provides the background for the setting.

Another example is from the *Hansel and Gretel Story* is given in (22).

- (22) 1. Nikuaa saá xikontoo tuku na yuku
 COM-become-later thus COM-stay-PL again 3p mountain
- jaan. 2. Xito na nákaa ñii ñoo nta
 that-same COM-look 3p CONT-be-located one town until
- yaátin, ta saá «ve'e yó kúu ña. 3. Yukía kisa
 NEG-near and thus house lin CONT-be INAN what CONT-do
- si'í yó yóo a? 4. Yukía kisa ví yiva yó
 mother lin CONT-exist GEN what CONT-do even father lin
- yóo ra?» káchí mii navalí jaan,
 CONT-exist MASC CONT-say SPEC child-PL that-same
- ño'o na yuku. 5. Ta saá «ve'e yó kúu ña.
 CONT-dwell 3p mountain and thus house lin CONT-be INAN
6. Yukía koo no'o yó? 7. No'o yó
 what POT-exist POT-go-home lin POT-go-home lin

nta xitaan ví?» káchí na, xikontoo tuku na
 until morning even CONT-say 3p COM-stay-PL again 3p

yuku jaan, nikisin na.
 mountain that-same COM-sleep 3p

'1. It became late so they stayed again on that mountain.
 2. They saw a town located far away and said, «that's our house. 3. What is our mother doing there? 4. What is even our father doing there?» said those children, dwelling on the mountain. 5. They said, «that's our house. 6. What prevents us from going home? 7. We will be home by morning,» they said, staying again on that mountain they slept.'

This example of verbatim repetition has *xikontoo tuku na yuku jaan* 'they stayed again on that mountain' at the opening of the paragraph as well as at its closure. The framed material describes the children's thoughts and intentions while they're staying on that mountain, but it doesn't add anything to the event line. In the overall picture of the story this is background material, a comment on their situation stuck on the mountain.

The example in (23) from the *Origin Story* begins with the closing quote margin *káchí ra xí'in yusu* 'he said to the deer' after the old man has been telling the deer what to do to fit into his plan to steal lightning from his sister. The section between 'he said to the deer' and 'so he spoke to that deer' is commentary by the narrator providing background explanatory material which lets us in on the old man's plan to help these two beings who have come asking for tools to work. This part gives the motivation for his actions. Previous to his conversation with the deer the beings have tried unsuccessfully to work with a dull axe, and the termites have made a tunnel for him to arrive at his sister's house unnoticed, so this part is background of two previous events repeated by the narrator.

(23) 1. káchí ra xí'in yusu, chí xiyoo modo
 CONT-say MASC with deer because COM-exist way

kua'an ra xa'a na savi ntíi na savi ñoka'an.
 CONT-go MASC behalf 3p rain killer 3p rain tempter

2. Kua'an ra ki'in ra ráyó ña láa ñá
 CONT-go MASC POT-get MASC lightning INAN tongue FEM

chí ñakán kúu ráyó. 3. Ta ñakán
 because INAN-there CONT-be lightning and INAN-there

kuni'i na ña kachiño na, chí ni kúchiño na
 POT-get 3p INAN POT-work 3p because NEG CONT-be-able 3p

kachiño na yáchá ntu'u. 4. Ta saá nixino yichí
 POT-work 3p axe dull and thus COM-finish trail

kisa tu'u, yavi nō nixā'an ra. 5. Ta' saá
 COM-do termite hole where COM-go MASC and thus

nika'an ra xí'in yusu jaan.
 COM-speak MASC with deer that-same

'1. he said to the deer, because this was the way he was going on behalf of the killer rain and tempter rain (two beings hatched from eggs). 2. He was going to get lightning, her (sister's) tongue because that was lightning. 3. They would get it to work with, because they couldn't work with the dull axe. 4. So the trail the termite made was finished, the hole where he went. 5. And thus he spoke to that deer.'

6.3. Repetition in Thematic Sentence

Just as the opening sentence of a story gives the theme of the story, such as *saá ntó'o ñii taa* 'this is what happened to a man' and the last sentence may recap this 'thus happened to a man', so too some quotes or first person accounts may have what I call an opening and a closing thematic sentence. This is in similar to the bracketing function just discussed, but in this case the bracketed information is the detailed account of what is referred to in the thematic sentence.

The direct quote advice of the coyote to the dog in sentence 2 of example (24) is the description of his plan for the dog as outlined by the thematic sentence *ntumani ún nōo xito'o ún* 'be reinstated with your owner' before and after it.

(24) 1. Ñani tíina ná ka'an i xí'in ún ntasaá
 brother AML-dog HORT POT-say 1s with 2s how

koo ntumani ún nōo xito'o ún. 2. Ná
 POT-exist POT-reinstate 2s face owner 2s HORT

no'o ún kantu'u ún yatin nōo ntóo ntuxú ta
 POT-go-home 2s POT-lie 2s near face CONT-exist chicken and

xaa i ki'in i ñii ntuxú, ta keta ún
 POT-arrive 1s POT-take 1s one chicken and POT-leave 2s

nta'yi ún xaa ún sata i ta santakoo i
 POT-bark 2s POT-arrive 2s back 1s and POT-release 1s

ntuxú ta kití ta ntumani ún xito'o ún.
 chicken and POT-dawn and POT-reinstate 2s owner 2s

'1. Brother dog, let me tell you how to be reinstated by your owner. 2. Return home and lie down near where the chickens are, and I'll come and take a chicken and you'll come out barking after me, and I'll release the chicken and by dawn you'll be reinstated with your owner.'

In the *Goat Story* the uncle supplies some comic information by telling of his dream of an acrobat. His dream has come true in the form of his nephew caught in a tree. He introduces and recaps the description of what he dreamed with *tivi nixani i* 'at dawn I dreamed'.

- (25) 1. «Saá *tivi* *nixani* *i* ñii yuku *nixa'an* *i*
 thus COM-dawn COM-dream ls one mountain COM-go ls
- kuiso* *i* *titon*, ta kán *tákantaa* ñii maroma
 POT-carry ls firewood and there CONT-hang-stick one acrobat
- xini* *i*. 2. *Nixaa* *i* kán, *xini* *i* ñii maroma
 COM-see ls COM-arrive ls there COM-see ls one acrobat
- tákantaa* nta'a *yiton*. 3. *Tivi* *nixani* *i*»
 CONT-hang-stick branch tree COM-dawn COM-dream ls
- káchí* ra.
 CONT-say MASC

'1. «At dawn I dreamed I went to a mountain to carry back firewood, and there a hanging acrobat I saw. 2. I arrived there and I saw an acrobat hanging from the branch of a tree. 3. At dawn I dreamed (this)» he said.'

6.4. Repetition to Maintain the Main Point in View

Some repetition is a means of keeping the point of the story in view. This makes sense since these are orally delivered narratives. As Johnstone (1987:208) states, "presentation...through repetition, makes things believable by forcing them into the affective field of the hearer and keeping them there."

AM speakers often repeat a word or words verbatim or with only minimal change or additional information. Such clauses may occur juxtaposed, or there may be several intermediary clauses between repetitions, as in (26), taken from the short *Bee Story*, where one clause 'they stung him' is repeated several times. This seems to be the point of the story.

- (26) 1. *Talo'o* *yó'o* *niki'vi* ra *noo* *xíka* *yoko*
 MASC-little here COM-enter MASC face CONT-walk bee

ta n̥ikani ña'á rí. 2. Ta n̥inta'yi ra chi
and COM-sting KNO AML and COM-scream MASC because

n̥ikani ní ña'á rí. 3. Ta n̥ixino ra kua'an ra
COM-sting INTS KNO AML and COM-run MASC CONT-go MASC

chi kí'vi ní n̥ikani ña'á rí.
because CONT-hurt INTS COM-sting KNO AML

'1. This boy entered where there were bees and they stung him. 2. He screamed because they stung him so much. 3. He ran away because it hurt that they stung him.'

Another example is the *Goat Story* where ña nt̥o'o i 'what I suffered; what happened to me' is liberally sprinkled throughout the narration. The story is about the narrator getting caught up in a tree. This experience takes up a relatively short part of the story. The rest of the story is relating how others find out about his experience and react to what had happened to him. This is different from the framing of background material in that, rather than framing a section, the repetition occurs throughout the section.

As mentioned in the discussion of setting, the repetition of 'no food' at the beginning of the *Hansel and Gretel Story* sets the stage for the father getting rid of his children so he himself could eat. This 'no food' theme is also carried throughout the story in various forms: verbatim repetition, equivalence paraphrase, and generic specific paraphrase. This serves to keep in view the reason behind every action, whether it be the father's, at the beginning, or the children's, in the middle, or both parents', at the end, namely the struggle for food. (27) is a generic-specific example from this story.

(27) K̥oó a kuxu na, vása yóo s̥ita
NEG-exist GEN POT-eat 3p NEG CONT-exist tortillas

kuxu na.
POT-eat 3p

'There was nothing for them to eat, there weren't any tortillas for them to eat.'

6.5. Repetition in Listing

There is much repetition in listing things in AM, as in example (27) where the relative pronoun and verb is repeated.

(28) 1. Ta n̥itaxi na s̥i'ún nta'a ra. 2. Na n̥itaxi noni,
and COM-give 3p money hand MASC 3p COM-give corn

na n̄itaxi ntuchy, na n̄itaxi ntuxú, na n̄itaxi tisú'u
 3p COM-give beans 3p COM-give chicken 3p COM-give goat

xí'in sintiki, n̄ikee na n̄ixá'an x̄inantaka ña'á na
 with cattle COM-leave 3p COM-go COM-take KNO 3p

ve'e ra. 3. N̄ikee kit̄i t̄intiso noni,
 house MASC COM-leave animal AML-CONT-carry corn

t̄intiso ntuchy, t̄intiso si'ún, t̄intiso
 AML-CONT-carry beans AML-CONT-carry money AML-CONT-carry

ntuxú, na ñoo sintiki.
 chicken 3p CONT-lead cattle

'1. And they gave money to him. 2. Those giving corn, those giving beans, those giving chickens, those giving goats and cattle, left and went to take these to his house. 3. Animals left carrying corn, animals carrying beans, animals carrying money, animals carrying chickens, those leading cattle.'

An interesting suggestion put forward by Tannen (1987:583) is that listing may carry important evaluative weight, greater than the actual listing itself:

The repetition of the phrases establishes a list-like rhythm giving the impression that [the things listed] constitute a long list longer even than the one given. Furthermore, and crucially, the evaluative effect of the list is to communicate that the speaker finds the length of the list impressive and so should the listener.

Example (28) is from a story about a poor man who becomes rich and his riches are described in detail, perhaps to create an even greater impression of richness.

In example (29), which talks about all the animals the sister killed and ate, it's more an impression of her great strength--and perhaps revulsion because her house smells of the animal meat--that results as an effect of the listing. Here the verb and subject are repeated.

(29) 1. Kue'e ní ñá. 2. Vása káku nta ñii kit̄i, ta
 wild INTS FEM NEG CONT-escape even one animal and

n̄i n̄ivi vása xá'an na ve'e ñá. 3. Tí xa'ni ñá
 neither people NEG HAB-go 3p house FEM AML COM-kill FEM

kúu nti'i kit̄i, yusu kúu rí, lésón kúu rí,
 CONT-be all animal deer CONT-be AML rabbit CONT-be AML

ntika'a kúu rí, sintiki kúu rí.
 tiger CONT-be AML cattle CONTbe AML

'1. She was very wild 2. Not one animal escaped, and neither did people go to her house. 3. The animals she killed were all (kinds of) animals, they were deer, they were rabbits, they were tigers, they were cattle.'

(29) is also an example of a generic-specific listing. The listings in (30) and (31) are both specific-generic. In the *Hansel and Gretel Story* these two listings appear fairly close together, impressing the hearer with the brother's hunting prowess, first without a weapon and then with a rifle.

(30) X̄a'ni ra saa, x̄a'ni ra nti'i saá kit̄i,
COM-kill MASC bird COM-kill MASC all thus animal

nákaa ra yuku jaan.
CONT-be-located MASC mountain that-same

'He killed birds, he killed every kind of animal, while he was located on that mountain.'

(31) N̄isata ra t̄on xiin kani ra lésón, kani ra
COM-buy MASC rifle POT-hit MASC rabbit POT-hit MASC

yusu, kani ra, nákaa ra yuku
deer POT-hit MASC CONT-be-located MASC mountain

jaan.
that-same

'He bought a rifle to hunt rabbits, to hunt deer, to hunt, while he was located on that mountain.'

Appendix A Short Description of Alacatlazala Mixtec

Alacatlazala Mixtec (AM) is spoken by about 10,000 people living in the mountains of Guerrero, Mexico in the municipalities of Malinaltepec and Atlamajalcingo del Monte. The dialect variant represented in this paper is spoken in Alacatlazala, a village of about 1,000 people, which is part of Malinaltepec. The phonology and syntax of AM have been described by Zylstra (1980, 1991).

The area remains largely monolingual. Over ninety percent of the women do not speak or understand Spanish, but about eighty percent of the men speak enough Spanish to get by in making trips to larger Mexican towns to work or make purchases. Even though there has been an elementary school in town for ten years, bilingualism is increasing very slowly. Children use AM exclusively in play and interaction with each other, and AM is the only language spoken in their homes. The majority of children do not attend school regularly enough to

become good readers. Even so, education is becoming a value, and most children learn to read a little, at least enough to decipher the letters. Less than half of adults over thirty can read and write, but over half of those under thirty can read and write a little.

This paper is based on 70 unpublished texts acquired in Alacatlazala by Carol Zylstra since 1978 and by the author since 1986. This paper was prepared at a Discourse Workshop held in Mexico in the spring of 1990, directed by James Watters. I am very grateful for his guidance and helpful suggestions in writing this paper.

The orthography developed for the Mixtec area by the Mexican Government has been used in the examples in this paper. Alacatlazala Mixtec has the following phonological units: voiceless stops p (only in Spanish loans) t k ku, affricate ch, voiced stop g (only in Spanish loans), prenasalized stops mp nt, voiceless fricatives f (only in Spanish loans) s x j, voiced fricative v, nasals m n ñ, liquids l r, semivowel y, glottal stop ', oral vowels i e a u o, nasalized vowels in an un on, and surface tones: high (written with acute accent), mid (unmarked), and low (written with underline).

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Abbreviations

AML	animal
CMP	complement
COM	completive aspect
CONT	continuative aspect
DIR	directional
FEM	female
GEN	general
HAB	habitual aspect
HORT	hortatory
INAN	inanimate
INTER	interrogative
INTS	intensifier
KNO	known direct object
LIM	limiter
MASC	male
NEG	negative
POT	potential aspect
REP	repetitive marker
1s	1st person singular
1ex	1st person plural exclusive
1in	1st person plural inclusive
2s	2nd person singular
2p	2nd person plural
3p	3rd person plural