

Narrative Peak In Xanaguía Zapotec

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to look at the features of narrative peak in Xanaguía Zapotec.¹

Longacre (1983:xvii) states that "most discourses formally mark (often by a variety of devices) a discourse peak." He further describes peak as "any episode-like unit set apart by special surface structure features and corresponding to the Climax or Denouement in the notional structure" (p. 24). The peak of a discourse provides for a change of pace, a place to provide greater detail and elaboration. It keeps a discourse from being monotonous, i.e. maintaining the same pace all the way through. A discourse builds to a notional climax during its course or plot, and at peak displays a variety of surface forms that may differ considerably from what has been seen to that point in the discourse. After peak the discourse may maintain a "high" point through the post-peak episode (denouement) and then decrease in intensity on its way to a conclusion. Discourses show greater and lesser degrees of the marking of peak in the surface structure, depending on the type of discourse, the author/narrator and his purpose, etc.

Narrative discourses in Xanaguía Zapotec are clear examples of this notion of the existence and marking of peaks. Such peaks are discernible and marked by a variety of features in narrative discourses by different authors. This paper describes narrative peak in discourses by four different native authors/narrators, all speakers of Xanaguía Zapotec.²

2. General characteristics of narrative peak

Narrative peak in Xanaguía Zapotec is generally characterized by a *slowing down* or even a *stopping of the events* in the narration. The hearer/reader is momentarily pulled away from the progression of the story to consider the situation, to feel more completely with the participants in the story, to realize more fully the implications of an action, to see things through the eyes of the narrator. After a period of reflection the narration resumes speed and rolls on to the conclusion.

¹Xanaguía Zapotec is an Otomanguan language spoken in the town of Santa Catarina Xanaguía, in the southeast district of Miahuatlán, not far from the Pacific coast, in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. Santa Catarina Xanaguía has approximately 650 inhabitants. There are two neighboring towns, San Francisco Ozolotepec, and San José Ozolotepec that speak mutually intelligible varieties of the same language. Although there are a few vocabulary differences and tonal differences among the three towns, the native speakers claim that the language is the same. The total population of speakers is approximately 2500. The data referred to in this paper are supplied exclusively by speakers resident in Santa Catarina Xanaguía.

²The following corpus of 10 texts in Xanaguía Zapotec was used in this study of narrative peak: "The Rabbit and the Gum Figure," "The Bird Eggs," and "The Bees" (an oral text) by Adrián Carmona Cantera; "The Donkey and The Pig," "The Goat Story," "The Coyote and The Rabbit," and "The Toad and The Buzzard" by Catalina Vásquez Cruz; "The Donkey Who Fell Into A Landslide" and "The Ants and The Snake" by Apolonio Ruiz Rosas; and "The Donkey's Misfortune" by Avertano Carmona. "The Toad and The Buzzard" and "The Donkey and the Pig" are not quoted in this paper, but they were included in the frequency counts of verbs and nouns reported here.

Narrative peak in Xanaguá Zapotec consists of a peak episode of from one to three paragraphs, or of a section of compound dialogue, that is, several repeated interchanges between two participants. In the compound dialogues the changes of speaker are often preceded by a temporal expression such as *ornu* 'then' or *nana* 'now then', 'but now', which also are commonly used to introduce a new paragraph.³

Peak episodes are marked at the point corresponding to notional climax and may also, but more rarely, be marked at the point corresponding to notional denouement.

3. Diagnostic Peak

Within the peak episodes, a section of *diagnostic peak* may usually be isolated. Though a peak episode may begin at a paragraph break the section that can be thought of as diagnostic peak, or the nucleus of the peak episode, may be a smaller paragraph or even a sentence or two where the recognized features of narrative peak are more obvious. Before and after the diagnostic peak the features of a peak episode may blur and blend with those of the pre-peak and post-peak episodes. This shows that peak is a *zone* rather than a discrete portion of the text.

4. Characteristics of verbs in the peak episode

The main line of actions and events in Xanaguá Zapotec narratives are carried along by the use of verbs in the completive aspect. Completed actions are reported to keep the story moving. However in five out of ten narrative texts by four different authors, narrative peak was characterized by a noticeable *reduction* in the percentage of verbs used in the completive aspect out of the total number of verbs used in the peak episode, as compared with the preceding episode(s) in the narration. When only the diagnostic peak section of each text was examined the number rose to 7 out of the 10 texts that have a lower percentage of verbs in completive aspect in the peak as compared to preceding episodes of the text. The texts where the number of verbs in the completive aspect is over 50% of the total verbs used in the peak episode are texts where the peak episode consists of compound dialogues.

On the other hand, narrative texts in Xanaguá Zapotec tend to have a higher ratio of verbs (in all aspects) to non-verbs in or near the peak episode.⁴ Out of the ten texts studied, 4 texts had the

³The citations from Xanaguá Zapotec used in this paper are written in a practical orthography which distinguishes the following sounds: plosives p b t d ts[c] dz ch[č] dx[ǰ] k g; fricatives s z x[š] zh[ž]; sonorants m n ñ l y w; simple vowels a e í o u ë(æ); and glottalized vowels (vowel-glottal-echo) aa ee íi oo uu ëë. A u followed by an n represents a velar n [ŋ]. The fricative f occurs only in loan words from Spanish and is pronounced as a voiceless bilabial fricative. The sonorant r(ř) occurs only in loan words, though many of these have been permanently incorporated into the local language and are no longer recognized as loans. There are contrastive tones in Xanaguá Zapotec; however, they are not written since homographs are usually distinguishable from the context. Abbreviations used in morpheme glosses are explained in the appendix.

⁴The counting of verbs and nouns was done according to the following guidelines. Counting was done by phrases. All the constituents of a verb phrase were counted together as one verb, and all the constituents of a noun phrase were counted together as one noun. Prepositional phrases, quantifying phrases and locative phrases were all counted as nouns. Relative clauses were included with the noun phrase. A compound verb consisting of a verb plus a noun was counted only as a verb if the subject followed the whole, but was counted as one verb and one noun if the subject came between the two parts. Temporal expressions, connectives, question words and particles (*lëë*) were not part of the count. Subject and object clitics were not broken off and were counted with the word to

highest ratio of verbs to nouns in the peak episode. When the range was extended to include pre-peak and post-peak episodes, 7 of them showed an increase in the percentage of verbs in the vicinity of the peak. Only one text showed a decided *decrease* in the ratio of verbs to non-verbs in the peak episode.⁵ When the diagnostic peak section was considered separately as representative of the peak episode, 8 out of the 10 texts showed a marked increase in the percentage of verbs in the pre-peak, peak, and post-peak episodes. And when the one text that showed a decrease in the percentage of verbs in the peak episode was considered just for the diagnostic peak section, the percentage of verbs in the peak of that text went even lower. Longacre (1985) has rightly claimed that peak is a zone of turbulence where usual patterns of storyline development are disturbed.

5. Narrative peak marking

Here I borrow from Longacre (1990) the concepts of "augmented sequence," "immediacy," and "maximum interlacing of participant reference" as peak-marking devices. *Augmented sequence* may be explained as a change in the velocity of the action in the peak episode, either a feeling of speeded-up action or a sense of watching something in slow motion. *Immediacy* may be explained as the feeling the hearer/reader has of being put into the story himself, that the action and setting are here and now. *Maximum interlacing of participant reference* may be explained as a change in the number and types of references to participants in the story in the peak episode.

In terms of maximum interlacing of participant reference, it can be said that the peak episodes of narrative texts in Xanagúfa Zapotec contain references to all the main participants of the narration in a fronted, highlighted position preceded by the particle *lëë*, which is used to emphasize or mark pivotal, non-backgrounded, and contrastive or changing elements. The diagnostic peak section marks at least one, and commonly all, of the main participants with *lëë*.

In terms of augmented sequence, narrative peak in Xanagúfa Zapotec consists of various ways of suspending and slowing the action and the forward progression of the storyline.⁶ The suspension of a narration's progression at peak is accomplished by various means including:

1. The addition of extra detail so that the story necessarily moves more slowly;
2. The repetition of actions thereby retarding forward progression of the story;
3. A replacing of the verbs of motion and action by those of emotion, sensation, state of being and/or speech also preventing rapid progression of the storyline.

which they are phonologically bound. Different ways of counting gave slightly different results, but the overall percentages were almost the same. The method described here was the least complicated one.

⁵The text referred to here is "The Donkey and the Pig." While this text is also a narrative it is different from the other nine texts included in this study in that it is mostly a psychological study in which the donkey considers the good life of the pig until he sees that the pig has been butchered and decides that the life of a donkey isn't so bad after all. The majority of the action mentioned in the story is on the sidelines, either a back-reference or something that had happened before the story began and not a part of the main storyline.

⁶The suspending and slowing of the action in Xanagúfa Zapotec narrative peak is such that the term "augmented sequence" is a bit awkward to cover the data presented here. However, as is shown in this paper, the verbal sequence and the routine storyline *are* augmented by additions, repetitions and substitutions even if the *result* is the suspension and slowing of the action. Grimes (1975:42) refers to the Labov-Waletzky suspension point (what is here called "peak") as where English speakers "tend to inject evaluative comments or questions into a narrative." Perhaps the concept of suspension point is also somewhat relevant here.

In terms of immediacy, narrative peak in Xanagúfa Zapotec brings the hearer/reader into the story by the following means:

1. A reduction in the percentage of verbs used with the completive aspect and an increase in the verbs used in the present, habitual and stative aspects so that the hearer/reader must slow down and experience the ongoing action with the narrator instead of rushing on ahead;
2. In a first-person account, a shift of focus from 3rd person, the actions of other participants, to 1st person, the actions, thoughts and observations of the narrator, putting the hearer/reader in the narrator's shoes;
3. The insertion of dialogue so that action is suspended while the hearer/reader watches the participants interact;
4. The insertion of onomatopoeic words so that the hearer/reader may feel that he is on the scene;
5. Taking time to describe the surroundings and setting, again, so that the hearer/reader will feel that he is actually there.

We will now look at each of the above peak-marking devices one-by-one with examples from texts.

5.1. Augmented Sequence

Addition of extra detail. Things that could have been said simply are stretched out with added detail and description at peak, causing the storyline to advance more slowly.

Example (1) is taken from "The Rabbit and the Gum Figure" ("The Tarbaby") and consists of the peak episode of the story. The episodes prior to the peak describe the discovery by the owner of the bean field that a rabbit is eating the bean plants and his decision to make a gum figure which he places in the bean field to scare the rabbit away. When the rabbit comes face to face with the gum figure there is an increase in detail both in the rabbit's actions and by the addition of a monologue given by the rabbit.

Notice in sentence c the detail given in the way the rabbit makes a fist and takes a stance. Then in sentence f notice that rather than just saying 'the rabbit hit the gum figure' there is considerable detail given to the *way* the rabbit hit the gum figure. In addition, rather than saying, 'the rabbit hit the gum figure with both hands and feet and got stuck to the gum figure' each hand and each foot is mentioned separately interspersed with the rabbit's threats to the gum figure.⁷

⁷Verb aspects in Xanagúfa Zapotec need some explanation. The Completive, Potential (or Distant Future), and Irrealis aspect markers occur on all verbs and have a constant meaning. The Immediate Future (F), Habitual (H) and Stative (S) aspect markers do not occur on all verbs, and when they do occur they can vary in meaning. For the majority of verbs the F aspect means 'will surely happen' and/or 'will imminently happen', the H aspect means 'habitually happens' or 'is presently happening', and the S aspect means 'is currently in the state of being...'. There are some notable exceptions, however.

The two motion verbs *tsia* 'go' and *guiaad* 'come' have both a F form and a H form. However,

- (1) a. Ñë or lëë konej uwiy lo ngol guin dxap konej: --¿Kwaan
and when * rabbit C-see to figure gum C-say rabbit what

dxunaa neeg?
H-do=2s here
- b. Ñë dze nak ngol guin, nkëbda ngol guin.
and quiet S-be figure gum Ir-answer-Neg figure gum
- c. Ornu ulëë dux guik konej dxuun nkëbda ngol guin
C-become.angry much head rabbit because Ir-answer-Neg figure gum

ñë uyunxkwaa konej pañet ñë dxak na konej zhik dxak
and C-make rabbit fist and H-become hand rabbit like H-become

na meñ zia kits pañet lo xpañer ñë zdzebak ñë
hand person F-go P-strike fist to companion and F-fear-still and

nondaa dxooŵ niy konej zu konej lo ngol guin.
just H-dance foot rabbit F-stand rabbit to figure gum
- d. Ornu lëë konej dxap stib: --¿Pa lë'1?
then * rabbit C-say another what name=2s
- e. Ñë nkëbda ngol guin.
and Ir-answer-Neg figure gum
- f. Ornu lëë konej utsuk guik pañet ñë lëë uguitsla konej
then * rabbit C-spit head fist and * C-strike-already rabbit

tibo lëësa guik ngol guin ga, ñë lëë zobak
one=3inan the.very.one head figure gum there and * F-sit-still

na konej guik ngol guin ga.
hand rabbit head figure gum there
- g. Ornu lëë konej dxap: --Tibo ga uyunaa gan per zob
then * rabbit C-say one=3inan there C-do=2s win but F-sit

the F aspect form always means 'is presently happening', one of the meanings designated by the H aspect in most other verbs, and the H aspect form of these two verbs always means 'habitually happens'. This is also true for all the verbs derived from 'go' and 'come', such as 'go look for', 'go fetch', 'go with', 'go sliding', 'go gathering', 'come with', 'come fetch', etc.

For verbs whose paradigm includes a S aspect form as well as the F and H aspect forms, the F aspect form always means 'will surely happen', and the H aspect form always means 'habitually happens'.

For verbs whose stem begins with z, such as zob 'sit', zë 'walk', zdzeb 'fear', the F aspect marker, which is also z, cannot be added. The result is that verbs whose stems start with z appear to have only the C, P, and Ir aspect forms, since verbs with a stem beginning with z do not have a S aspect form. In this case the stem alone, i.e. without C, P or Ir aspect markers, can mean either 'will surely happen', 'habitually happens', and 'is currently happening'.

stibo.
another=3inan

- h. Ornu lëë konej uguits stibo lëëg guik ngol guin
then * rabbit C-strike another=3inan that.same head figure gum
- ñë lëë zobak idxop na konej guik ngol guin ga.
and * F-sit-still both hand rabbit head figure gum there
- i. Ornu lëë konej dxap: --Idxop na'n ga uyuna gan per
then * rabbit C-say both hand=1s there C-do=2s win but
- zob schop niy'n.
F-sit another-two feet=1s
- j. Ornu lëë konej uguits tib patad guid.lën ngol guin. Ñë
then * rabbit C-strike one kick belly figure gum and
- lëë zobak niy konej lën ngol guin ga.
* F-sit-still foot rabbit waist figure gum there
- k. Ornu lëë konej dxap: --Xnee'l tser lëë udxëw ga.
then * rabbit C-say H-say-2s maybe * C-all.gone-3inan there
- Zob stibo.
F-sit another-3inan
- l. Ornu lëë konej uguits stib patad guid.lën ngol guin ñë lëë
then * rabbit C-strike another kick belly figure gum and *
- zobak idxop niy konej ga.
F-sit-still both foot rabbit there
- m. Lëë kangaala konej laz ngol guin ga.
* S-hang-already rabbit chest figure gum there

'(a) And when the rabbit saw the gum figure he said, "What are you doing here?" (b) And the gum figure is quiet, he didn't answer. (c) Then the rabbit became very angry because the gum figure didn't answer. And the rabbit made fists and his hands become like the hands of someone who is going to hit his companion but is still a bit afraid and the rabbit's feet are just shuffling as he stands in front of the gum figure. (d) Then the rabbit said again, "What's your name?" (e) And the gum figure didn't answer. (f) Then the rabbit spit on the top of his fists and struck the gum figure right in the head and the rabbit's hand is staying on the gum figure's head. (g) Then the rabbit said, "You won one that time, but there's another." (h) Then the rabbit struck another time right on the gum figure's head and both hands are staying on the gum figure's head. (i) Then the rabbit said, "You won both of my hands but there are still my two feet." (j) Then the rabbit struck the gum figure with a kick in the belly. And the rabbit's foot is staying on the gum

figure's waist. (k) Then the rabbit said, "You are saying that maybe it's all over now. There's another yet." (l) Then the rabbit struck the gum figure's belly with another kick and both of the rabbit's feet are staying there. (m) The rabbit is hanging on the gum figure's chest.'

Example (2) is from "The Bird Eggs." It consists of 3 sentences from the middle of the peak episode, including the diagnostic peak, describing the experience of a boy with some bird eggs in his pocket who has been sent to fetch his grandmother's donkey from the field.

Notice the detail given in the donkey's reaction to the boy's approach in sentence a: 'he looked', 'his ears stood upright', and 'he struck the ground with one hoof, "paa, paa" it went.' Then in sentence c notice the detailed action described as the boy approached the donkey: 'I went up very slowly', 'I bent over to untie', 'the donkey bit me'; and the detail in the location phrases: 'close to the donkey', 'from the bottom of the tree', 'the very side where the eggs were'. All this could have been said simply as 'The donkey looked at me. I went up to untie the rope and the donkey bit me.'

- (2) a. Ñë zhik udzin'n lo ma lëë lëëma wiy lo'n
and as.soon.as C-arrive=ls face animal * *=animal C-see face=ls
- ñë idxop diag ma uzoobli ñë uguits ma tib kwa
and both ear animal C-be.put.upright and C-strike animal one side
- niy ma lyu, "paa, paa," zets.
foot animal ground, * * F-sounds
- b. Ornu uza ldoo'n: --Nap iloozh bur ki ngow guun
then C-be.complete heart=ls later P-destroy donkey that egg that
- yu kwa'n.
S-exist side=ls
- c. Ornu nawan, nawan, uzë'n udzin gax'n lo ma ñë
then slowly slowly, C-walk=ls C-arrive close=ls face animal and
- zhik lëë naa uguits zia ixak duu guun ñaag zhan
as.soon.as * I C-bend.over F-go P-untie rope that S-tied below
- yag lëë lëëma ukaalay lëësa kwa'n det yu ngow.
tree * *=animal C-bite the.very.one side=ls where S-exist egg

'(a) As soon as I arrived to where he was, he looked at me and both his ears stood upright and he struck the ground with one hoof: "paa, paa" it went. (b) Then I thought, "In a moment that donkey will destroy the eggs in my side pocket." (c) Then I went up very, very slowly close to the donkey and just as I bent over to untie the rope from the bottom of the tree that animal bit me on the very side where the eggs were.'

Repetition of actions. A single action or state is mentioned over and over in different ways resulting in wordiness and slowing the progression of the storyline and adding a sense of suspense at

peak.

Example (3) is from "The Bees." It consists of the first half of the peak episode of an oral text in which a man describes a time, when as a child, he and a friend went to gather some wild honey late in the evening, were stung badly and then were caught by darkness. Not having flashlights, they were unable to return and spent the night on a bare hillside, covered with melted beeswax, honey and bee stings. As is typical of an oral text there are a number of false starts and verbal stumblings, but these alone do not account for the many repetitions.

Notice that the verb *ibinoo/nbinoo* 'go back' is repeated 6 times (sentences a, c, h, i, j); the verb *uyak* 'became' is used 3 times with 'waxy', 'dirty', and 'sticky' to describe the boys' condition (sentences a and e); the verb *uyaxnoo* 'we lay down' is used 3 times (sentences h and k); the verb *ñeydanoo, neydanoo* 'we did/do not carry' is used 3 times (sentences b, c, and h); and the verb *nkay xna* 'looks dark' is used twice (sentences a and c). The repetition is not necessary since it all refers to the same event; e.g., even though 'we lay down' is repeated 3 times in two different sentences, it all refers to the same act.

- (3) a. Nana, or *ibinoo* *gakda* *ibinoo*,
 now.then when P-go.back=lpEx P-be.able.Neg P-go.back=lpEx,

nkay xna ñë idib nanoo idib guiknoo, guun cheen,
 S-dark H-look and entire hand=lpEx entire head=lpEx thing this

uyak ser or uyunoo zhan.
 C-become wax when C-be=lpEx below
- b. *Idibsa lo'n, idib neeg, neëd ñë guent guun*
 entire face=ls, entire here, S-sticky and S-not.exist thing

idëëb nanoo; ñeydanoo nis.
 P-be.scrubbed hands=lpEx; Ir-carry-Neg=lpEx water
- c. Nana, *niga ibinoo neydanoo fok*
 now.then not.even P-go.back=lpEx S-carry-Neg=lpEx flashlight

nkë xni lonoo, ga guent mëë, ornu nkay
 Ir-turn.on light face=lpEx there S-not.exist moon, then S-dark

xna ñaz ñë nak fwer.
 H-look road and S-be far
- d. *Ornu guun uyun'n, ornu uzen'n yu xne'n nguëb'n na'n*
 then thing C-do=ls, then C-take=ls dirt H-say=ls Ir-scrub=ls hand=ls

ñak mbi na'n.
 Ir-become S-clean hand=ls
- e. *Idibsa neeg uyak beed, niga bëkda... niga kwaanoo...*
 entire here C-become dirty not.even nothing not.even P-take.off=lpEx.

gok zhabnoo, zak sen ma
P-put.on clothing=lpEx F-be.able P-take 3indef

niga zhab ma, nondaa nëəd uyak nanoo, idib
not.even clothing 3indef only, S-sticky C-become hand=lpEx, entire

guiknoo, ñë xkag uyak mdoo.
head=lpEx and thus C-become child

f. Mdoo nter lo neeg udzë dxow, gakda inee wen.
child entire face here C-fill mouth, P-be.able-Neg P-speak well

g. Xkag nak ngud.lo'n, ndiib, yu ki lal neeg nak.
thus S-be eye=ls, S-be.sewn, S-exist swelling like this S-be

h. Ñakda nbinoo ornu, xkisa uyaxnoo ñë
Ir-be.able-Neg Ir-go.back=lpEx then, simply C-lie.down=lpEx and

ñeydanoo chamar.
Ir-carry-Neg=lpEx blanket

i. Xguilzhgabnoo nak ñoolo nbiaanoo dzin ornu
thought=lpEx S-be Ir-finish Ir-take.out=lpEx honey then

nbinoo kwxiñ.
Ir-go.back=lpEx night.

j. Ñakda nbinoo.
Ir-be.able-Neg Ir-go.back=lpEx

k. Xkisa uyaxnoo, bëkda ñoknoo uyaxnoo.
simply C-lie.down=lpEx nothing Ir-put.on=lpEx C-lie.down=lpEx

'(a) Now then, when we will go back we won't be able to go back, it is dark, and all over our hands and our heads, this here, had become wax when we were below (the cave with the honey). (b) All over our faces, all over here, is sticky and there isn't anything to scrub our hands with, we didn't bring any water. (c) And we don't even have a flashlight to light the way to go back, there isn't moonlight there, at that time the road is dark and it is a long way. (d) Then what I did, then I took some dirt thinking I would scrub my hands clean. (e) All over here became dirty, not even anything...we will not even take off...will put on our clothing, one will (not even) be able to take hold of one's clothing, our hands were just sticky, all over our heads, and the other boy was the same way. (f) The boy's entire face, here, his mouth became full (puffy), he will not be able to speak well. (g) Thus it is with my eye, it is "sewn" shut, it is swollen like this. (h) We couldn't go back then, we simply lay down and we didn't have a blanket. (i) Our thought had been that we would finish getting the honey, then go back in the night. (j) We couldn't go back. (k) We simply lay down, we didn't cover ourselves with anything.'

Replacing the verbs of action and motion with verbs of emotion, sensation, state of being and speech. The lack of verbs of motion also has the effect of retarding the forward motion of the storyline.

Example (4) is taken from "The Ants and The Snake." It consists of the first half of the peak episode in which some hungry ants begin to feed upon an apparently-dead snake only to discover that the snake is actually alive. When the verbs used here are compared with the verbs in the pre-peak and post-peak episodes one can see the change from verbs of action to verbs of emotion, sensation, state of being and speech. Though only half of the peak episode is included here the remainder of the peak episode contains no other unique verbs. The verbs enclosed in the dialogue are not included as they do not represent actual actions taken.

In the pre-peak episode we find the following verbs: 'went, arrived, saw, is lying down, thought, returned, told, went en masse, climbed up en masse'. In the peak episode we find the verbs: 'cried out, said, raised up, realized, is alive, is lying there'. In the post-peak episode we again find verbs of action: 'released, got down, raised, lay down, crossed over en masse, finished going over, said.' The only action verb in the peak episode--'raised up'--is in a subordinate clause (sentence c).

- (4) a. Ornu lëë maaŵ ukëë dxedz: --iAy, ay! --dxap maaŵ
 then * snake C-put.on shout ay ay C-say snake
- b. Gowdato naa --dxap maaŵ lo mdxe.
 P-eat-Neg-2p 1s C-say snake to ants
- c. Or uyas guik maaŵ gadxaa uyen'n mdxe mban maaŵ
 when C-raise head snake only.then C-realize=Poss ants S-live snake
- nax maaŵ ga.
 S-lie.down snake there
- d. Ornu unee tib mdxe lo xpañer mdxe: --Ilaalëdzdan maaŵ
 then C-say one ant to companions ant P-release-Neg=lpIn snake
- cheen. Gown maaŵ cheen.
 this P-eat=lpIn snake this
- e. Ornu lëë maaŵ dxap na: --Gowdato naa dxuun venen nak'n.
 then * snake C-say now P-eat-Neg=2p 1s because poison S-be=1s
- f. Ñë guent biall lëd'n, nondaa dzit nak'n.
 and S-not.exist meat body=1s only bone S-be=1s
- g. Ña'n xkib guun gow'n, guunnu nax'n neeg.
 also=1s H-look.for thing P-eat=1s therefore S-lie.down=1s here
- h. Zdzialda guun gow'n.
 F-be.found-Neg thing P-eat=1s
- i. Stib kwa gueew yi xwiy'n kë guixyë guun
 another side river there H-see=1s S-be.put.on green.grass thing

wen gowto,
good P-eat=2p

j. mas wen tedto gueew.
more good P-cross=2p river

k. Ornu lëë mdxe dxap lo maañ na: --Naor gownoo luuy dxuun
then * ants C-say to snake now now P-eat=1pEx 2s because

gakda tednoo gueew.
P-be.able-Neg P-cross=1pEx river

l. Ornu lëë maañ ukëëgaa dxedz: --iAy, Ay! --dxapгаа maañ
then * snake C-put.on-again shout ay ay C-say-again snake

m. iKoñ bin libr'n, iguëtdato naa!
2pImp Imp-do free=1s P-kill-Neg=2p 1s

'(a) Then the snake *cried out*, "Ay, ay," *said* the snake. (b) "Don't eat me!" *said* the snake to the ants. (c) Only when the snake's head *raised up* did the ants *realize* that the snake *is alive* and *lying* there. (d) Then one ant *said* to his companions, "We will not let this snake go. We will eat this snake." (e) Then the snake *said*, "Don't eat me because I am poisonous. (f) And there is no meat on me, I am only bones. (g) I, too, am looking for something to eat and that's why I am lying here. (h) I am not finding anything to eat. (i) On the other side of the river I can see that there is green grass that would be good for you to eat. (j) It would be better for you to cross the river." (k) Then the ants *said* to the snake, "We will eat you now because we can't cross the river." (l) Then the snake *cried out again*, "Ay, ay," *said* the snake again. (m) "Let me go free. Don't kill me!"'

Example (5) is taken from "The Goat Story" and consists of the diagnostic peak of the text in which the owners of some goats are finally realizing the truth of the accusation by another man that their goats have eaten his corn and are now tied up at his house.

In the pre-peak episode we find the verbs 'left, fell, saw, said, arrived, led, went home, tied up, is going, is eating, exists', and 'is'. The peak episode is almost entirely dialogue and has one instance of 'arrived', one of 'went', and one of 'ate' which is in a complement clause. There are repeated occurrences of 'said' and 'became'. Then in the diagnostic peak below we see a slightly wider variety of verbs but still with no action verbs 'heard', 'are tied up', 'didn't know', and 'became'.

(5) a. Or lëë xbixwan chib uyon lëë chib kaduu dxow lidz men,
when * owners goats C-hear * goats S-tie.up in.front home person

nanda xbixwan chib kwaan gun.
S-know-Neg owners goats what P-do.

b. Nondaa pchoozh uyak lo.
only tomato C-become faces

'(a) When the goats' owners *heard* that the goats are *tied up* in front of the person's house they didn't know what to do. (b) Their faces just *became* tomato red.'

5.2. Immediacy

Reduction in the percentage of verbs used with the Completive aspect and an increase in verbs used in the Immediate Future, Habitual and Stative aspects. This has the effect of causing the hearer/reader to experience the action as it happens along with the narrator, seeing and feeling as he/she does. (This count of verbs in the completive aspect does not include the verbs used in dialogues or monologues which can be very diversified, but rather takes account of the verbs used in the framework of the story.)

Examples (6) and (7) are taken from "The Donkey Who fell Into a Landslide." This text is a true, first-person account of a man who was going with a borrowed donkey to fetch some boxes in another town when the donkey, who was walking ahead of the man on the trail, took a wrong turn and ended up stuck on the edge of a drop-off where the road had washed out. This text shows peak features at both notional climax and notional denouement; the diagnostic peak sections of both are included here.

Although this story was recounted several years after the actual incident, at the peak episodes the story switches into almost exclusively present tense (represented by both Immediate Future and Habitual aspects depending on the nature of the verb). The percentage of verbs in the completive aspect goes from 67% in each of the first two episodes of the text to 28% at climax peak, back up to 50% between peak and denouement, back down to 27% at denouement peak and back up to 78% after the denouement.

Notice that in example (6) below the only verb in completive aspect is 'already jumped' in sentence c.

- (6) a. Ornu zia'n san'n duu guun yu yan bur par
 then F-go=1s P-grab=1s rope that S-exist neck donkey in.order.to
 goobidxe lo bur.
 P-turn.back face donkey
- b. Ñakdxat ñoobidxe lo bur.
 Ir-be.able-more-Neg Ir-turn.back face donkey
- c. Lëë uyasla bur dxow yaa.
 * C-jump-already donkey edge washout
- d. Lëë zadxudzla na niy bur ga.
 * F-go.sliding-already hand foot donkey there
- e. Lëë naa zdzeb'n ñë zhiz'n zu'n dxow yaa xwiy'n
 * 1s F-fear=1s and H-tremble=1s F-stand=1s edge washout H-see=1s
 lëë bur zadxudz.
 * donkey F-go.sliding

f. Xne'n na: --Naor na ikwaan nak guun gun'n?
H-say=ls now Now now what S-be thing P-do=ls

g. iÑena nakda yi dabur'n!
and.now S-be-Neg there Poss-donkey=ls

'(a) Then I *am going to grab* the rope that *is* around the donkey's neck in order to *turn* the donkey back. (b) The donkey *could no longer turn back*. (c) He *already jumped* on the edge of the washout. (d) His forefeet and hind feet *are already going sliding* there. (e) I *am afraid* and I *am trembling, standing* on the edge of the washout *seeing* the donkey *sliding*. (f) I *say* now, "Now what will I do? (g) And that is not even my donkey!"'

In example (7) below, the peak at notional denouement, there is not even one verb in the completive aspect.

(7) a. Ornu lëë men xkoobmdxa duu idibsa xguilndxooy'n men.
then * people H-pull rope entire Poss-strength=Poss people

b. Lëë naa zu lad guet xwiy'n lëë bur zaakë lo me.
* ls F-stand side below H-see=ls * donkey F-hover in air

c. Ñë zdzeb'n deeñ ilaalëdz men duu ñë guiab bur lëd'n
and F-fear=ls if P-let.go people rope and P-fall donkey body=ls

'(a) Then the people *are pulling* the rope with all their might. (b) I *am standing* below *watching* the donkey *hovering* in the air. (c) And I *am afraid* if the people *will let go* of the rope the donkey *will fall* on me.'

In a first-person account, a shift in focus from 3rd person to 1st person. Again, this causes the hearer/reader to experience what the narrator experienced, putting the hearer/reader into the narrator's shoes.

Example (8) is taken from "The Donkey's Misfortune." It is a true, first-person account of a time when the narrator's donkey slid off the trail while carrying a load of coffee. The portion of text given in (8) includes the inciting incident episode followed by the first 8 sentences of the peak episode, and then by the denouement episode.

Notice that in sentences a-e, which is the inciting incident episode, of the six verbs, only 1, xkë ldoo'n, has first person as the subject in Zapotec (17%). In sentences f-j, which form the peak episode, there are 22 verbs of which 11 have first-person subjects (50%), showing a shift in participant focus from 3rd to 1st person at peak. In sentences k-r, which is the denouement episode, there are 19 verbs of which only 5 have the first person as their subject (26%), showing a shift back to a higher focus on 3rd person.

(8) a. Ñe na uzakzinoo idxopnoo bur.
and now C-suffer=lpEx both=lpEx donkey

- b. Udziⁿnoo bet zhdxol ñaz Gueew Guiaa.
C-arrive=lpEx where H-halve road Flower River
- c. Wen wen zaanedx bur lo'n.
well well F-go.ahead donkey face=ls
- d. Xkë ldoo'n bur.
H-be.put.on heart=ls donkey
- e. Ñe na tibsä lëë niy bur udeed.kia dxow ñaz
and now all.at.once * feet donkey C-fall.off.sharply edge road

par guet lëⁿ guix.ki.
toward below in straw.grass
- f. Ornu uguix'n moral lyu, lëë'n zia xwiy'n gan pa lad
Then C-put.down=ls bag ground, *=ls F-go H-look=ls P-see which side

zob duuguid kwa bur.
F-sit strap side donkey.
- g. Or wiy'n lëë bur uyoolola ubix
when C-see=ls * donkey C-finish-already C-fall.over
- h. Lëë bur zia zhdiibxta lëⁿ guix.ki, dxiu bie zia bur.
* donkey F-go H-tumble in straw.grass H-exist noise F-go donkey
- i. Ornu udzeb'n, nlas dxak ldoo'n.
then C-fear=ls S-thin H-become heart=ls
- j. Xne'n nana: --Uyoolow ga nana.
H-say=ls now.then C-finish=3inan there now.then
- k. Bur nak ma ndxoob ldoo'n isëë kafe na idibsa
donkey S-be animal S-great heart=ls P-drive coffee now entire

pisk.
picking.season
- l. Ulozho ga na --xne'n--, ziala bur ga na.
C-be.destroyed=3inan there now H-say=ls F-go-already donkey there now
- m. Uzë zhuu'n, ñe uzë zhuudxa'n, uyacha^w'n ñazyu.
C-walk swiftly=ls and C-walk swiftly-more=ls C-go.around=ls main.road
- n. Ornu udziⁿ'n zhib ñaz, lëë tib sak nax lo guix.ki ga.
then C-arrive=ls knee road * one sack S-lie.down on straw.grass there
- o. Udziⁿ'n par guet, lëë idxësa zhab bur zob ngud
C-arrive=ls toward below * all clothing donkey F-sit ball

- lën ñaz ndziaal siy.
in road together.with seat
- p. Nondaa blë uyak siy.
only pieces C-become seat
- q. Lëë bur uyusche lën ñaz ga, nawan zë bur zia bur
* donkey C-get.up in road there slowly Pr.walk donkey F-go donkey
- r. Ornu uchaw'n lo'n lëë stib sak kafe nax lën
then C-turn=ls face=ls * another sack coffee S-lie.down in
- guix.ki axta guia.
straw.grass until above
- s. Ñada ldoo'n idxë guunnu udziñ'n lo bur.
Ir-go-Neg heart=ls all things-those C-arrive=ls to donkey
- t. Ndxoob dxow xkee bur udxop.guid lo ita.
much edge rump donkey C-be.peeled on rock
- Dxow ngud.lo bur në zu dxen.
edge eye donkey S-hurt F-stand blood
- u. Nlas dxak bur, nondaa zhiz bur udziñ zu lo
S-thin H-become donkey only H-tremble donkey C-arrive F-stand on
- pat
patio

'(a) And then the donkey and I suffered a mishap. (b) We arrived at the half-way point of the Flower River road. (c) The donkey is walking ahead of me well. (d) I care about the donkey. (e) And then, all at once the donkey's feet fell sharply off the edge of the trail down through the straw grass. (f) Then I put my bag down on the ground, I am going, I am looking to see which side the donkey's cinch is on. (g) When I looked over, the donkey had already fallen. (h) The donkey is going tumbling through the straw grass making noise as he goes. (i) Then I was afraid; I become sad. (j) I say now, "It is all over now. (k) The donkey is the one I depend on to drive (transport) the coffee all during the picking season. (l) It is all ruined now," I say; "the donkey is gone now." (m) I ran, and I ran faster, and I turned on to the main road. (n) Then I arrived at the curve in the road, a coffee sack was lying in the straw grass there. (o) I arrived below, all the donkey's blankets are sitting in a pile in the road together with the saddle. (p) The saddle had become only pieces. (q) The donkey got up there in the road, slowly walking; the donkey is going. (r) Then I turned my head, another coffee sack is lying in the straw grass way up above. (s) I didn't pay any attention to all those things; I arrived at the donkey. (t) Much of the donkey's rump had been skinned up on the rocks; the edge of the donkey's eye is hurt and bleeding. (u) The

donkey is sad, just trembling he arrived to stand on the patio.

The insertion of dialogue. This causes the hearer/reader to watch the participants of the story interact while waiting for the progression of the storyline to resume.

The change from narrated story to dialogue at peak is common. See also examples (1) and (4).

Example (9) is taken from "The coyote and the Rabbit." Sentences a-b are the stage/setting, Sentences c-e are the inciting incident episode, and sentences f-s are the entire peak episode. The dialogue starts 5 sentences into the peak episode and continues through the entire peak episode. The peak episode (and the dialogue) ends with the elimination of one of the speakers when the coyote eats the rabbit.

In the pre-peak episodes the storyline moves along more quickly. At peak, with the insertion of the dialogue, the forward progression basically comes to a halt while the participants interact. In the last sentence of the peak (Sentence s) action resumes when the coyote eats the rabbit. The post-peak episode is back up to full speed to the conclusion of the story.

- (9) a. Tib inëë zundzë tib coyot dën xlaan'n xkib
 one time F-wander one coyote countryside H-hungry=Poss H-look.for
 guun gow.
 thing P-eat
- b. Ñë ña udxaa tib conej gol kë tib xkwid yan.na
 and also C-go.out one rabbit old S-be.put.on one basket wrist
 zia zaatop guun gow.
 F-go F-gather thing P-eat
- c. Ñë conej nu uded gax det zë coyot.
 and rabbit that C-go.by near where F-walk coyote
- d. Ñë or uwiy coyot lëë tib conej zhded mban zia coyot
 and when C-see coyote * one rabbit H-go.by quickly F-go coyote
 zënkë zhits conej.
 F-follow back rabbit
- e. Ñë uyen'n conej zënkë coyot zhits conej.
 and C-realize rabbit F-follow coyote back rabbit
- f. Nana, lo gol la conej udzëbdux conej dxuun nan
 now.then since old already rabbit C-fear-much rabbit because S-know
 conej gakda së conej mban xoon conej lo coyot.
 rabbit P-be.able-Neg P-walk rabbit quickly P-flee rabbit from coyote
- g. Ornu uyuslëdz conej gax ga kë tib lo ngud guun
 then C-remember rabbit near there S-is.put.on one kind fruit that

- ntseeb gow coyot.
S-dangerous P-eat coyote
- h. Ornu ukaali conej zia uzēēb zhid guix nu kē
then C-straighten rabbit F-go C-go.in among plants those S-is.put.on
- xtop ngud zhgu lēn xkwid.
H-gather fruit H-put.in in basket
- i. Ornu lēē coyot uyabla lo conej.
then * coyote C-fall-already on rabbit
- j. Ornu dxap conej lo coyot: --¿Be ña'l ziaad ziaadxi ngud
then C-say rabbit to coyote ? also=2s F-come F-come.fetch fruit
- cheen?
this
- k. Xnee men wen ngud cheen gow ma.
H-say people good fruit this P-eat 3indef
- l. Ornu lēē coyot dxap: --Naa ziel senaa ñē gow'n luuy.
then * coyote C-say ls F-come P-grab=2s and P-eat=1s 2s
- m. Ornu lēē conej ndxoobdxaa udzeb ñē uzaalo uyoon ñē dxap lo
then * rabbit much-more C-fear and C-begin C-cry and C-say to
- coyot:
coyote
- n. --Gowdaa naa; gol la'n ñē nad nak biaal lēd'n, ñē
P-eat-Neg=2s ls old already=1s and tough S-be meat body=1s and
- ña kēña'n tib guidz ntseeb.
also S-have=1s one sickness S-dangerous
- o. Zhiyla xche guēt'n ñē deeñ gowaa naa igaa'l
little.bit-already H-lack P-die=1s and if P-eat-2s ls P-catch=2s
- guilguidz guun kēña'n.
sickness that S-have=1s
- p. Ornu dxap coyot lo conej: --Nlida idxē guun xnee'l.
then C-say coyote to rabbit S-true-Neg all thing H-say=2s
- q. Nondaa zdzebaa ñē xkeedia'l naa.
only F-fear=2s and H-deceive-2s ls
- r. Ñē xlaan'n naa ndxoob ñē gakda ilaalēdz'n luuy
and H-hungry=poss ls much and P-be.able-Neg P-release=1s 2s

zia'l dxuun yula'l lēn na'n.
 F-go=2s because S-exist-already=2s in hand=1s

- s. Ñë lëë uyabla coyot ga uzen coyot conej, uyow
 and * C-fell-already coyote there C-grab coyote rabbit C-eat
- coyot conej.
 coyote rabbit

'(a) One time a coyote is wandering in the countryside, hungry and looking for something to eat. (b) And also an old rabbit with a basket on his arm is going collecting something to eat. (c) And that rabbit went by near where the coyote is walking. (d) When the coyote saw a rabbit going by he is quickly going following the rabbit. (e) And the rabbit realized that the coyote is following him. (f) Now then, since the rabbit is already old he became very frightened because he knows he cannot walk fast to flee from the coyote. (g) Then the rabbit remembered that nearby there is a kind of fruit that is dangerous for coyotes to eat. (h) Then the rabbit straightened himself and going he went in among those plants and set himself to gather the fruit and put it in the basket. (i) Then the coyote came upon the rabbit. (j) Then the rabbit said, "Have you also come to get this fruit? (k) They say this fruit is good to eat." (l) Then the coyote said, "I have come to get you and I will eat you." (m) Then the rabbit was even more frightened and began to cry and said to the coyote: (n) "Don't eat me; I am already old and my meat is tough and also I have a dreadful disease. (o) It won't be long before I die, and if you eat me you will catch the disease that I have." (p) Then the coyote said to the rabbit, "Everything you are saying is not true. (q) You are only afraid and lying to me. (r) And I am very hungry and I cannot release you to go, because I already have you in my hands." (s) And the coyote leapt upon the rabbit and grabbed him and ate him.'

The insertion of onomatopoeic words. This provides for heightened vividness for the hearer/reader at peak and helps the hearer/reader feel that he/she is on the scene.

For examples of onomatopoeic words in a peak episode see example (2) above, where the narrator describes the sound of the donkey stamping on the ground, and example (4) above where the author inserts the actual cries of the snake into the dialogue to add to the vividness.

The extra description of the surroundings and setting. This also helps the hearer/reader have a sense of being on the scene at the peak of the story.

Example (10) is taken from "The Bees" and consists of the entire diagnostic peak. Notice the verbs and adjectives describing the surroundings and the atmosphere there; it is a bare place, there is nowhere to hide, the wind is blowing, it is very cold, the owl is hooting, it is scary looking. From another part of the text in example (3) the hearer/reader also knows that it was dark. One is almost forced to stop and imagine the setting before the story resumes and goes to its conclusion.

- (10) a. Or lëë noo nax xkisa ornu uwiynoo lo dawent,
 when * 2pEx S-lie.down bare then C-see-2pEx to elves

uwinyoo chop mdoo dik diizh nak guik zu lonoo.
 C-see-2pEx two child tiny messy S-be head F-stand in.front=2pEx

- b. Ornu udxaa mkaaŵ lonoo udzebnoo, xkisa nak, guent
 then C-go.out sleep face=2pEx C-fear=2pEx bare S-be S-not.exist

lad ikëtsnoo ñë nak tib dën xkisa zhoob me ñë
 place P-hide=2pEx and S-be one countryside bare H-set wind and

dxak naŵ dxo, ñë xkëë mgu dxedz, mbiŵ xna.
 H-become cold great and H=put.on owl cry S-scary H-look

'(a) When we were lying there uncovered then we saw some elves, we saw two tiny people with messy hair standing before us. (b) Then we woke up and we were afraid, it is a bare place, there isn't anywhere to hide and it is a bare countryside with the wind blowing and, it is very cold, and the owl is hooting; it looks scary.'

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to show some of the features seen at narrative peak in discourses by speakers of Xanaguá Zapotec. In spite of the various ways of marking narrative peak the overall effect in all the texts is the retardation of the forward progression of the storyline at peak. In addition, many texts show a heightened sense of vividness and bring the hearer/reader into the story at peak.

Further study can be done on differences in peak episodes between oral and written narrative discourses and in different types of genre used in this language.

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Abbreviations

C	completive aspect
F	immediate future aspect
H	habitual aspect
Ir	irrealis aspect
Imp	imperative
Neg	negative
P	potential aspect (distant future)
Poss	possessive morpheme
S	stative aspect
1s	first person singular
2s	second person singular
1pEx	first person plural exclusive
1pIn	first person plural inclusive
2p	second person plural
3inan	third person inanimate (it)
3indef	third person indefinite (one, someone)
?	interrogative word
=	phonologically bound clitic
*	non-glossable particle