

## Some Features Of Narrative Discourse In Santiago Nuyoo Mixtec<sup>1</sup>

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### 1. Introduction

This paper describes various features of narrative discourse in Santiago Nuyoo Mixtec (SNM):<sup>2</sup> aspect in section 2, participant reference in section 3, fronting in section 4, repetition in section 5 and special features of the peak in section 6. Section 7 provides a summary.

### 2. Aspect

As Longacre (1981) describes for various languages, the different types of information expressed through narratives are marked by different aspects in SNM. These include the event line, background or setting, narrator comments, and dialogue, all of which is described in the following subsections.

#### 2.1. Event line

The event line in SNM is marked by the perfective aspect of all but one verb, as illustrated in the episode in example (1).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Santiago Nuyoo Mixtec (SNM), also called Southwestern Tlaxiaco district Mixtec, is an Otomanguean language spoken by several thousand inhabitants of the town of Santiago Nuyoo and several nearby towns in the district of Tlaxiaco in the western part of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico.

<sup>3</sup>The SNM citations in this paper are written using a practical orthography, except for the tone which is represented by numbers. There are four phonetic tones, the highest represented by <sup>1</sup> and the lowest by <sup>4</sup>. SNM phonemes include stops t t<sup>1</sup>(t<sup>2</sup>) k ku(k<sup>w</sup>); fricatives x(š) j(h) j<sup>1</sup>(h before e or i) v(w manifested as β in oral morphemes); affricate ch(č); liquids l r; nasals m(w in nasal morphemes) n ñ(y in nasal morphemes); the glide y; and the vowels i e a u o ɨ i<sup>1</sup>(i<sup>2</sup>) e<sup>1</sup>(e<sup>2</sup>) a<sup>1</sup>(a<sup>2</sup>) u<sup>1</sup>(u<sup>2</sup>) o<sup>1</sup>(o<sup>2</sup>) ɨ<sup>1</sup>(ɨ<sup>2</sup>). The n at the end of a word denotes morpheme nasalization. If a glottalized vowel occurs at the end of a nasalized morpheme, the n marking nasalization is written between the vowel and it's glottalization marking (except for those pronouns cited below), as in kɨ<sup>1</sup>ɨ<sup>4</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ɨ<sup>4</sup> 'go'. However, in the first and second person pronoun clitics n<sup>1</sup> 'I' and n 'you', the first person plural exclusive pronoun ran<sup>1</sup> (ra<sup>2</sup>=n<sup>1</sup>), and the second person plural pronoun ran<sup>2</sup> (ra<sup>2</sup>=n), the n is pronounced. This is because the full forms of these pronouns end in a vowel that is often dropped when spoken. Abbreviations used in morpheme glosses are listed at the end of the paper.

- (1)a. nni<sup>3</sup>so<sup>3</sup> ru<sup>3</sup> i<sup>3</sup>su<sup>1</sup>3 sa<sup>3</sup>a<sup>1</sup>3  
 PER.carry ? deer bird  
 'The deer carried the bird.'
- b. yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> nke<sup>3</sup>nta<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=a<sup>3</sup>  
 there PER.arrive pl =3p  
 'There they arrived.'
- c. Je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> i<sup>2</sup>ñi<sup>2</sup> i<sup>3</sup>in<sup>3</sup> te<sup>4</sup>e<sup>3</sup>  
 and IMP.stand one man  
 'And there was a man.'
- d. Je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> nti<sup>3</sup>v<sup>3</sup>i<sup>3</sup> =i<sup>3</sup> ru<sup>3</sup> i<sup>3</sup>su<sup>1</sup>3  
 And PER.shoot=3p ? deer  
 'And he shot the deer.'

In this example, sentences a, b, and d report the events of the episode and are marked by the perfective aspect. Sentence c does not report an event, but rather background information, which is marked by the imperfective aspect, as described in section 2.2.

The event line may sometimes be marked by the negative of the perfective aspect, as in example (2).

- (2) so<sup>3</sup>o<sup>3</sup> sa<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> nni<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup> =n<sup>1</sup> ntu<sup>3</sup> nna<sup>4</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>3in<sup>3</sup>=n<sup>1</sup> ña<sup>3</sup> chi<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>3</sup>  
 but when PER.return=1p neg PER.find =1p 3p(f) because already
- kua<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>4 ña<sup>3</sup> jin<sup>2</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>1  
 IMP.go 3p(f) with pl.3p(a)
- 'But when I returned, I didn't find her, because she had already left with the animals.'

In this example, the negative of the perfective aspect is on the story line. It is a pivotal event in the story because not finding her mother is the inciting incident: throughout the rest of the story she is looking for her mother.

The SNM verb 'to go' is an exception to this general scheme, since it must be used in the imperfective aspect if the participant has gone but has not yet completed his trip at that point in the story--i.e. if he has not yet come back. Therefore at least some uses of 'go' in the imperfective aspect are on the event line, such as in example (3).

- (3) ni<sup>3</sup>ka<sup>3</sup> vi<sup>1</sup>2i<sup>2</sup>=n<sup>1</sup> je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> kua<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>4=n<sup>1</sup> ra<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>4</sup>ji<sup>3</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>  
 PER.walk much =1p and IMP.go =1p pl below mountain  
 'I walked a lot and went to the base of the mountains.'

Quotation formulas as part of the event line are often marked by the perfective aspect, particularly in true accounts, as in example (4) which is from a first person account.

- (4) nka<sup>3</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>3=ñ<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup> na<sup>4</sup>chi<sup>3</sup> nku<sup>4</sup>kue<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup> vi<sup>1</sup>2i<sup>2</sup>=n<sup>1</sup>  
 PER.say =3p(f) why PER.delay much =2p  
 'She said: Why did you take so long?'

In folk tales, however, a speaker may choose to mark the quotation formula with the imperfective aspect as a sort of historical present, as in the example (5).

- (5) ki<sup>3</sup>na<sup>4</sup>ka<sup>3</sup> =ni<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup> =i<sup>3</sup>  
 IRR.come bring=lp IMP.say =3p  
 'I'll bring it, he says.'

## 2.2. Background information

Background information is marked by the imperfective aspect with the exception of some preposed temporal dependent clauses, postposed dependent clauses, and some dialogue. We already have seen an example of background information marked by the imperfective aspect in example (1c) above. Example (6) illustrated the use of the imperfective aspect to mark the setting of that same discourse, and example (7) illustrates the use of the imperfective aspect to mark non-setting background information.

- (6) i<sup>2</sup>ñi<sup>2</sup> ru<sup>3</sup> sa<sup>3</sup>a<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>3</sup> =ti<sup>1</sup>  
 IMP.stand ? bird IMP.dig=3p(a)  
 'There was a bird digging.'
- (7) ra<sup>2</sup>re<sup>3</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>ñi<sup>2</sup> =ti<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>tie<sup>1</sup>e<sup>2</sup> =ti<sup>1</sup>  
 then there IMP.stand=3p(a) IMP.dance =3p(a)  
 'Then there it was dancing.'

Background information in preposed temporal dependent clauses can be marked with the perfective aspect, as in the example (8).

- (8)a. je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> nni<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup> =n<sup>1</sup>  
 and PER.return=lp  
 'And I returned'
- b. so<sup>3</sup>o<sup>3</sup> sa<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> nni<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup> =n<sup>1</sup> ntu<sup>3</sup> nna<sup>4</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>in<sup>3</sup> =n<sup>1</sup> ña<sup>3</sup> chi<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>3</sup>  
 but when PER.return=lp neg PER.find =lp 3p(f) because already
- kua<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> ña<sup>3</sup> jin<sup>2</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 IMP.go 3p(f) with pl.3p(a)
- 'But when I returned, I didn't find her, because she had already left with the animals.'

These clauses are back references that connect the new event with what went on before. In (8b), the preposed dependent clause serves as a back reference to the returning, and also as a setting to not finding her mother. If a speaker uses one of these clauses, it occurs at the beginning of a new episode.

A previous event can be marked by the perfective aspect, although it is removed from the story line and presented as background information by putting it in a postposed dependent clause. This indicates a cause. In example (9) the narrator wanted to give prominence to the fact that the horse was defecating money over the way Peter did it, because it was the enticement for the priest to buy his own horse.

(9) ku<sup>2</sup>xi<sup>1</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>3</sup>tɨ<sup>3</sup> va<sup>2</sup> xu<sup>1</sup>un<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>=u<sup>3</sup>  
 IMP.defecate again horse that.one money IMP.do again =3p

chi<sup>3</sup> nko<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>3</sup>tɨ<sup>3</sup> va<sup>2</sup> xu<sup>1</sup>un<sup>2</sup> nsa<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>=a<sup>3</sup>  
 because Per swallow horse that.one money PER.do =3p

'He was making that horse defecate money, because he made that horse swallow money.'

### 2.3. Narrator comments

Narrator comments may be in any aspect, depending on the content of the comment, as illustrated in examples (10b) and (11b) and (11c). In this way it resembles dialogue.

(10)a. te<sup>2</sup> nku<sup>3</sup>vi<sup>1</sup>=o<sup>2</sup> re<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>3</sup>vi<sup>1</sup>=o<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>1</sup> ru<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=a<sup>3</sup>  
 if PER.die =lpl(inc) it's.that IRR.die =lpl(inc) IMP.say ? pl =3p  
 'If we die we die,' they said.'

b. na<sup>4</sup>chi<sup>3</sup> ku<sup>3</sup>vi<sup>1</sup>=i<sup>3</sup>  
 why IRR.die=3  
 'Why would one die?'

(11)a. ki<sup>3</sup>na<sup>4</sup>ka<sup>3</sup> =ni<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>=i<sup>3</sup>  
 IRR.come bring=lp IMP.say =3p  
 'I'll bring it,' says he.'

b. ne<sup>2</sup>vi<sup>2</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> ña<sup>4</sup>na<sup>4</sup>ka<sup>3</sup> =a<sup>3</sup> va<sup>2</sup>  
 never PER.go take=3p that.one  
 'He never took it.'

c. su<sup>2</sup>ne<sup>2</sup> ña<sup>4</sup>na<sup>4</sup>ka<sup>3</sup> =a<sup>3</sup> va<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>3</sup> i<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>2</sup> va<sup>2</sup> kua<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> =a<sup>3</sup>  
 actually PER.go take=3p that.one because way that IMP.go =3p

jin<sup>2</sup> va<sup>2</sup>  
 with that.one

'Actually he took it and was gone with it.'

The comment in sentence (10b) is marked with irrealis, and those in sentences (11b) and (11c) are marked with perfective aspect. However, (11b-c) is a border line case. Sentence (11c) is a paraphrase of the previous sentence and they could both be story line. The episode that immediately follows is the peak of the story in which the narrator recounts what he does instead of bringing back the horse.

### 2.4. Dialogue

It is not in the scope of this paper to thoroughly analyze the discourse of dialogue in SNM. Suffice it to say that dialogue can contain all three aspects, depending on the context. In example (4) above, the quoted verb is marked with the perfective aspect. In example (12) below, the quoted verbs are marked with the imperfective and irrealis aspects.

- (12) ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>11</sup> tu<sup>3</sup> su<sup>12</sup>un<sup>11</sup> nu<sup>14</sup> ko<sup>4</sup>ku<sup>4</sup>vi<sup>3</sup> kɨ<sup>14</sup>ɨn<sup>14</sup>=nu<sup>2</sup> ve<sup>13</sup>i<sup>3</sup> paloma  
 IMP.say ? roadrunner to whippoorwill IRR.go =2p house dove
- je<sup>3e3</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> kɨ<sup>14</sup>ɨn<sup>14</sup>=n i<sup>2</sup>yo<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>13</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=ña<sup>3</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>  
 and there IRR.go =2p IMP.exist clothes pl =3p(f) there because
- ji<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>11</sup> n' ya<sup>4</sup> i<sup>2</sup>yo<sup>2</sup> kue<sup>14</sup>e<sup>14</sup> sa<sup>13</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=a<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>11</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>=u<sup>3</sup>  
 IMP.know lp that IMP.exist many clothes pl =3p IMP.say ? =3p
- ko<sup>4</sup>ku<sup>4</sup>vi<sup>3</sup>  
 whippoorwill

'Says the roadrunner to the whippoorwill: "Go to the dove's house and there you will go. They have clothes there, because I know that they have many clothes," it says to the whippoorwill.'

### 3. Participant reference

In SNM the narrator may refer to participants by noun phrases when he feels a need to distinguish between them. However, usually SNM reduces the marking of participants from noun phrase, i.e. noun or name, to either a pronoun clitic or deictic expression, or to vowel reduplication that functions as a third person indefinite pronoun clitic.

Participants, whether major or minor, after being initially introduced once or twice by a name or a noun, are then tracked by pronoun clitics when no further distinction is needed. This is illustrated in example (13). Pronoun clitics are marked off with an equal sign when phonologically bound to a verb phrase, noun or preposition.

- (13)a. sa<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> lu<sup>2</sup>li<sup>2</sup> =ni<sup>14</sup> kua<sup>4</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>mi<sup>2</sup> =n' ra<sup>2</sup> la<sup>3</sup>nchi<sup>3</sup> jin<sup>2</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>  
 when IMP.be little=lp IMP.go care for=lp pl sheep and pl
- xi<sup>4</sup>ni<sup>4</sup>kɨ<sup>14</sup> jin<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>an<sup>11</sup>=n'  
 cow with mother =lp
- 'When I was little, I went to care for the sheep and cows with my mother.'
- b. ya<sup>3</sup> kua<sup>14</sup>an<sup>14</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=n<sup>11</sup> jin<sup>2</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=ti<sup>11</sup> je<sup>3e3</sup> kui<sup>2</sup>re<sup>3</sup> nna<sup>4</sup>ku<sup>14</sup>un<sup>3</sup>  
 already IMP.go pl =lp with pl =3p(a) and later PER.remember
- na<sup>2</sup>an<sup>11</sup>=ni<sup>14</sup> ya<sup>4</sup> ntu<sup>3</sup> nke<sup>13</sup>en<sup>3</sup>=ña<sup>3</sup> tu<sup>4</sup>ya<sup>4</sup>ta<sup>2</sup>=ña<sup>3</sup>  
 mother =lp that neg PER.get =3p(f) strap =3p(f)
- 'We already went with the animals and then my mother remembered she did not get her strap.'
- c. Je<sup>3e3</sup> nte<sup>4</sup>ti<sup>2</sup>ñu<sup>2</sup>=ña<sup>3</sup> kɨ<sup>14</sup>ɨn<sup>14</sup> ke<sup>13</sup>en<sup>3</sup>=n' ma<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup> ve<sup>13</sup>i<sup>3</sup>  
 and PER.send =3p(f) IRR.go IRR.get=lp 3p(obj) house
- 'And she sent me to go get it at the house.'

d. je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> nni<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup> =n'  
and PER.return=lp  
'And I returned.'

e. so<sup>3</sup>o<sup>3</sup> sa<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> nni<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup> =n' ntu<sup>3</sup> nna<sup>4</sup>ni<sup>3</sup>in<sup>3</sup>=n' ña<sup>3</sup> chi<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>3</sup>  
but when PER.return=lp neg PER.find =lp 3p(f) because already  
  
kua<sup>4</sup>an<sup>4</sup>=ña<sup>3</sup> jin<sup>2</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=ti<sup>1</sup>  
IMP.go =3p(f) with pl =3p(a)

'But when I returned, I didn't find her, because she already left with the animals.'

In this example, the speaker refers to her mother by a noun phrase in sentence (13a), which is the setting. In sentence (13b), which is the inciting incident, she again refers to her as 'my mother' to clarify who forgot the strap. After that, she refers to her mother exclusively with the third person feminine pronoun clitic ña<sup>3</sup> throughout the bulk of the story. At the end, at the denouement, when she finally finds her mother again, she refers to her once more as 'my mother', as shown in example (14).

(14) je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> kua<sup>4</sup>an<sup>4</sup> nne<sup>4</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>=n' je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>ñi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>an<sup>1</sup>=n'  
and IMP.go PER.look=lp and there IMP.stand mother =lp  
'And I went to look and there was my mother.'

With this, her mother, for whom she has been looking though most of the discourse, is brought back on stage. Then she continues referring to her mother with ña<sup>3</sup> for four more sentences. There is also the need to reintroduce her mother at this point to distinguish her from another woman encountered in the previous episode who is also referred to with ña<sup>3</sup> for two sentences.

In example (15), after the main character is introduced in the setting, he is thereafter referred to by the third person indefinite clitic, which is reduplication of the last vowel of whatever it follows and carries a mid low tone (3). However it is significant that no other major participant comes on the scene in either this story or the one from which example (14) above was taken.<sup>4</sup>

(15) yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> nni<sup>3</sup>in<sup>3</sup>=i<sup>3</sup> chi<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>3</sup> nni<sup>1</sup>kan<sup>3</sup> =a<sup>3</sup> va<sup>2</sup>  
that PER.get =3p because already PER.(doubt) request=3p that.one  
  
nu<sup>4</sup> su<sup>4</sup>tu<sup>4</sup>  
to priest

'He got that because he already asked the priest for it.'

Except for one quotation formula, the participant is referred to in this way until the end, where he is again referred to by name in a short summary statement.

The vowel reduplication occurs mainly with the subject, as in example (15), because it is a pronoun clitic which follows the verb in the subject position. However, if a main or thematic participant needs to be distinguished from another major participant, and the thematic participant is the

<sup>4</sup>However, this vowel reduplication can occur at the end of adverbs following the verb, on prepositions, and on the end of nouns to show possession, as well as on the end of verbs.

subject of what the narrator has just said, it is the one referenced by vowel reduplication, regardless of whether it is the subject or the object in a quotation formula. Examples (16) and (17) illustrate this when the thematic participant is the subject of the clause.

- (16) ni<sup>3</sup> xia<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>2 ru<sup>3</sup> va<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> sa<sup>3</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ñi<sup>3</sup>ñi<sup>3</sup> je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> nna<sup>3</sup>va<sup>3</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>=u<sup>3</sup>  
 while IMP.cut ? coyote plants slowly and PER again =3p  
 kua<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>4=a<sup>3</sup>  
 IMP.go =3p

‘While the coyote was cutting plants slowly, he (rabbit) jumped again and left.’

- (17)a. ña<sup>3</sup>ja<sup>2</sup>re<sup>3</sup> nka<sup>3</sup>nta<sup>3</sup> =a<sup>3</sup> nu<sup>1</sup>4 yi<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>3</sup>vi<sup>3</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>=u<sup>3</sup> nu<sup>1</sup>4 yu<sup>4</sup>u<sup>1</sup>4  
 then PER.arrive=3p place IMP.lean ? =3p to rock  
 ‘Then it (rabbit) arrived at a place where it leaned against a rock.’  
 b. je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> su<sup>3</sup>vi<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>3</sup> va<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> nka<sup>3</sup>nta<sup>3</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>  
 and also coyote PER.arrive again  
 ‘And also the coyote arrived again.’

Although there are two major participants, in both cases, the rabbit is the main participant. Thus the rabbit is referred to by vowel reduplication and the coyote by a noun. Example (17b) is actually a reintroduction of the coyote.

Referencing by vowel reduplication of the thematic participant in the object position of a quotation formula is illustrated in examples (20) and (21) below, in the paragraphs describing participant reference in quotation formulas.

This tendency to reduce the marking of participants holds true also in quotation formulas. Example (18) is the series of quotation formulas in a dialogue that is the major part of the setting for a series of stories. Peter is referred to by the pronoun clitic re<sup>1</sup>4 ‘3rd person masculine’, because the speaker had been talking about the story before he began and in his mind Peter was already introduced.

- (18)a. ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>1 eternu<sup>1</sup> nu<sup>1</sup>4=re<sup>1</sup>4 ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>1=i<sup>3</sup>  
 IMP.say eternal to =3p(m) IMP.say =3p  
 ‘Says the eternal to him. Says He: ...’  
 b. ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>1 tu<sup>3</sup> su<sup>3</sup>vi<sup>3</sup> eternu<sup>1</sup> nu<sup>1</sup>4 pedru va<sup>2</sup>  
 IMP.say ? Nmkr eternal to Peter that.one  
 ‘Says the eternal to that Peter....’  
 c. ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>1 tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>=u<sup>3</sup> nu<sup>1</sup>4 eternu<sup>1</sup>  
 IMP.say again =3p to eternal  
 ‘He (Peter) says again to the eternal....’  
 d. ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>1=i<sup>3</sup> a<sup>2</sup>  
 IMP.say =3p this  
 ‘He (eternal) says this....’

- e. chi<sup>1</sup> =i<sup>3</sup>  
 IMP.say=3p  
 'He (eternal) says...'
- f. nni<sup>4</sup>kan<sup>1</sup> =a<sup>3</sup>  
 PER.request=3p  
 'He (Peter) requested....'

In this example, once the participants are introduced in the first two sentences, the third person participant reference in the quotation formula is reduced to vowel reduplication. Who is speaking is determined from the content of the speech.

If there has been intervening information introduced between successive parts of a dialogue or between two dialogues, the narrator may again refer to the participants in the quotation formula by noun phrases, as in example (19). This quotation formula precedes dialogue which comes after several clauses of background information that occur after the previous dialogue.

- (19) nka<sup>3</sup>chi<sup>1</sup> tu<sup>3</sup> Pedru<sup>1</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> nu<sup>1</sup> Juan  
 PER.say ? Peter again to John  
 'Said Peter again to John.'

If a new participant is introduced or reintroduced and immediately speaks to a thematic participant that the narrator has been referencing by vowel reduplication, the thematic participant will continue to be so referenced in the object position of the first quotation formula. This is illustrated in examples (20b) and (21b).

- (20)a. yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> re<sup>3</sup> nne<sup>3</sup>nta<sup>3</sup> ña<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>3</sup> Juan  
 there and PER.arrive brother John  
 'And there brother John arrived....'
- b. nka<sup>3</sup>chi<sup>1</sup> ña<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>3</sup> =i nu<sup>1</sup> =u<sup>3</sup>  
 PER.say brother=3p to =3p  
 'Said his brother(John) to him(Peter)...'
- c. nka<sup>3</sup>chi<sup>1</sup> =i<sup>3</sup>  
 PER.say =3p  
 'He(John) said.'
- (21)a. ku<sup>3</sup>ne<sup>3</sup> nu<sup>2</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>ve<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup>  
 IRR.open 2p door  
 'You open the door.'
- b. ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup> su<sup>4</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> nu<sup>1</sup> =u<sup>3</sup>  
 IMP.say priest to =3p  
 'Says the priest to him(Peter).'

Peter is thematic and has mostly been referred to by vowel reduplication. Each of these examples is the first time the new or reintroduced participant speaks, and in (20b) and (21b) Peter is still referred to by vowel reduplication in the object of the quotation formula.

Minimal marking of participants is also maintained within dialogue, as illustrated in example

(22).

- (22) i<sup>4</sup>ña<sup>4</sup>je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> su<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>4</sup>si<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>3</sup> =n ma<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup> re<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup> =n  
 then although IRR.go.caus.bathe=2p 3p(obj) if IRR.want=2p
- na<sup>4</sup>te<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> ntu<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup> te<sup>2</sup>te<sup>2</sup> =e<sup>3</sup> xu<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup>un<sup>2</sup> re<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>4</sup>si<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>3</sup> =n  
 then neg more IMP.defecate=3p money if IRR.go.caus.bathe=2p
- ma<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>'<sup>1</sup> ru<sup>3</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> pedru nu<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup> su<sup>4</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup>  
 3p(obj) IMP.say ? again Peter to priest

'Well even if you go bathe it if you want then it won't defecate money anymore if you bathe it. Says Peter to the priest.'

In this example, the priest to whom Peter is talking is marked by the fused second person pronoun clitic n<sup>2</sup>. The vowel reduplication after the verb 'defecate' actually refers to a prop that has been elevated to a minor participant, as discussed below.

If there are several props in a discourse, they are referred to by nouns and noun phrases. In the story from which examples (9), (15) and (22) are taken, the money and the priest are always referred to using nouns. The money is mentioned in close proximity to another prop, the horse, so it is referred to with a noun, as is the horse. The priest is only mentioned twice, once as being spoken to and once as the possessor noun modifying the horse. The priest neither does nor says anything, so he also functions as a prop.

However, if there is only one prop, or there is little difficulty in distinguishing between them, after a prop is introduced, it may be referred to with a pronoun as in (13c) and (13e) above or by a deictic as in example (23b-c) below.

- (23)a. i<sup>4</sup>ña<sup>4</sup>ja<sup>2</sup>re<sup>3</sup> nni<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup>in<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup>=i<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>3</sup>tɨ<sup>3</sup> su<sup>4</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup>  
 then PER.get =3p horse priest  
 'Then he got the priest's horse.'
- b. yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> nni<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup>in<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup>=i<sup>3</sup> chi<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>3</sup> nni<sup>1</sup>kan<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup> =a<sup>3</sup>  
 that PER.get =3p because already PER.(doubt) request=3p
- va<sup>2</sup> nu<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup> su<sup>4</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup>  
 that.one to priest
- 'He got that because he already asked the priest for it.'
- c. i<sup>4</sup>ña<sup>4</sup>re<sup>3</sup> ntu<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>3</sup>i<sup>3</sup> kua<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup>an<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup>=a<sup>3</sup> jin<sup>2</sup> va<sup>2</sup>  
 then in.reality IMP.go =3p with that.one  
 'Then he actually is gone with that one.'

In example (13) the listener will not confuse the plural animal pronoun ra<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>'<sup>1</sup> with the indefinite object pronoun ma<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup>, which refers to tu<sup>4</sup>ya<sup>4</sup>ta<sup>2</sup> 'strap', or either of them with ve<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup>i<sup>3</sup> 'house'. In example (23) there are no other props but the priest that owns the horse, so there will be no confusion of props. Therefore the horse, after its introduction, is referred to with the deictic va<sup>2</sup> 'that one'.

However, if a prop does something, it is elevated to the position of a minor participant and its references reduced to vowel reduplication as well, since it is the subject of the verb. This is illustrated by both example (24) below and in the quote in example (22) above, which immediately follows example (24) in the same story.

(24)a. ku<sup>2</sup>xi<sup>1</sup>            tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>3</sup>tɨ<sup>3</sup> va<sup>2</sup>            xu<sup>1</sup>⁴un<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>²a<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>=u<sup>3</sup>  
 IMP.defecate again horse that.one money IMP.do again =3p

chi<sup>3</sup>      nko<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup>            ki<sup>3</sup>tɨ<sup>3</sup> va<sup>2</sup>            xu<sup>1</sup>⁴un<sup>2</sup> nsa<sup>1</sup>⁴a<sup>2</sup>=a<sup>3</sup>  
 because PER.swallow horse that.one money PER.do =3p

'He was making that horse defecate money, because he made that horse swallow money.'

b. ku<sup>2</sup>xu<sup>1</sup>            =u<sup>3</sup>  
 IMP.defecate=3p  
 'It was defecating.'

#### 4. Fronting

SNM has fairly rigid VSO word order. Fronting of post-verbal elements is used either as a device to provide cohesion or to mark prominence. Fronting of dependent clauses is used as a connective device. Each of these fronting strategies are described in the following subsections.

##### 4.1. Fronting for cohesion

As a cohesive device, fronting often functions as back reference to a location or to an object. In the case of back reference to a location, it is preceded by a motion verb ('go' or 'arrive'), as illustrated in example (25).

(25) je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> kua<sup>1</sup>⁴an<sup>1</sup>⁴ nne<sup>1</sup>⁴ya<sup>2</sup>=n<sup>1</sup> je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>ñɨ<sup>2</sup>            na<sup>2</sup>an<sup>1</sup>¹=n<sup>1</sup>  
 and IMP.go PER.look=lp and there IMP.stand mother =lp  
 'And I went to look and there was my mother.'

Because such a change of scene often begins a new episode, this fronting of the locative adverb often occurs at the beginning of a new episode.

Sentence (23b) is an example of the fronting of an object deictic (yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> 'that') which functions as a back reference to the object in (23a), i.e. the priest's house.

Fronting also often occurs at the peak of a story, as is the case with example (25). Peak features are explained further in section 6.

##### 4.2. Fronting for prominence

Prominence, which is shown by fronting of the subject or object, usually occurs in the peak. Examples of subject fronting are given in section 6.

The object fronting in example (26) serves to give prominence to the counter-expectation that instead of weeding the field, he cut the corn down. This is an example of object fronting occurring elsewhere than in the peak.

- (26) se<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> vi<sup>4</sup>ya<sup>2</sup> vi<sup>4</sup>ya<sup>2</sup> nkua<sup>3</sup>chi<sup>3</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>=u<sup>3</sup>  
 and corn corn PER.cut again =3p  
 'And he cut the corn.'

This kind of fronting tends to occur in the peak episode or in the transition between episodes. In dialogue, however, the object of a content question has a natural prominence wherever it occurs, and is therefore always fronted, as in example (27).

- (27) ka<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>'1=i<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>4</sup> na<sup>4</sup>kuan<sup>1</sup>'1 na<sup>4</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>ñu<sup>3</sup> ku<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>'1 =nu<sup>2</sup>  
 IMP.say =3p that which type work IMP.want=2p  
 'Says he that: "What kind of work do you want?"'

### 4.3. Preposed dependent clauses

Except in dialogue, there are very few preposed dependent clauses. When they occur, they mark the setting of the story or the beginning of the next episode. They also serve as back reference to connect the two episodes, as in the following examples from a story about a young girl who went around the countryside looking for her mother.

- (28) sa<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> lu<sup>2</sup>li<sup>2</sup> =ni<sup>1</sup>'4 kua<sup>4</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>mi<sup>2</sup> =n' ra<sup>2</sup> la<sup>3</sup>nchi<sup>3</sup> jin<sup>2</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>  
 when IMP.be little=lp IMP.go care for=lp pl sheep and pl  
 xi<sup>4</sup>ni<sup>4</sup>kɛ<sup>1</sup>'4 jin<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>an<sup>1</sup>'1=n'  
 cow with mother =lp

'When I was little, I went to care for the sheep and cows with my mother.'

- (29)a. je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> nni<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup> =n'  
 and PER.return=lp  
 'And I returned.'
- b. so<sup>3</sup>o<sup>3</sup> sa<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> nni<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup> =n' ntu<sup>3</sup> nna<sup>4</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>'3in<sup>3</sup>=n' ña<sup>3</sup> chi<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>3</sup>  
 but when PER.return=lp neg PER.find =lp 3p(f) because already  
 kua<sup>1</sup>'4an<sup>1</sup>'4 ña<sup>3</sup> jin<sup>2</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>'1  
 IMP.go 3p(f) with pl.3p(a)

'But when I returned, I didn't find her, because she already left with the animals.'

- (30)a. je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>nu<sup>3</sup> vi<sup>1</sup>'2i<sup>2</sup>=n' nni<sup>4</sup>ko<sup>2</sup> =n'  
 and IMP.run much =lp PER.return=lp  
 'And running a lot I returned.'

- b. je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> sa<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> nne<sup>3</sup>nta<sup>3</sup> =n' ve<sup>1</sup>i<sup>3</sup>=n' ni<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup> =n' ya<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>xin<sup>2</sup>  
 and when PER.arrived=lp house =lp PER.perceived=lp that IMP.ring  
 ka<sup>4</sup>a<sup>3</sup> li<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>4</sup>ji<sup>3</sup> ve<sup>1</sup>i<sup>3</sup>=n'  
 metal goat side below house =lp

'And when I arrived back at the house, I heard the goats bell ringing below the house.'

The preposed clause in example (28) is the setting of the narrative. Then, in the inciting incident, her mother discovers she's forgotten her carrying strap and sends her to the house to get it. In (29a) she returns. The preposed clause in (29b) serves as a back reference to that and begins the next episode which recounts her search for her mother. In (30a) she returns home and the preposed clause in (30b) serves as a back reference to that and begins the final episode where she finds her mother there.

## 5. Repetition

Repetition is also used either as a device to provide cohesion or to mark prominence. As a cohesive device it serves to remind the listener of some information the narrator wants them to keep in mind. The information in example (26) above was repeated two more times in the episode in which it was found.

If, after stating the situation, the narrator has given some other information, he may restate the situation before continuing the story, as in example (24) above.

Repetition can be used to mark prominence, as in example (31) below. In this story, Peter has killed his sick mother through his own stupidity and insensitivity. He props her body up on the inside of the door in a scheme to put the blame on the priest. He goes to the priest and asks him to come and bless her and see if she will get well. Then the narrator says the following.

- (31) ja<sup>2</sup>re<sup>3</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> na<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>' va<sup>2</sup> ya<sup>4</sup> nñani<sup>3</sup>.ni<sup>3</sup>chi<sup>3</sup>=i<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>4</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup>  
 and there and mother that that PER.stand.up =3p back  
 tu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup> nsu<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>v<sup>3</sup>i<sup>3</sup> te<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>' ka<sup>1</sup>'<sup>4</sup> vi<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup>i<sup>1</sup>'<sup>3</sup>=i<sup>3</sup>  
 board neg person IMP.live more be because already PER.die=3p  
 je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> nña<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>3</sup>.ni<sup>3</sup>chi<sup>3</sup>=i<sup>3</sup> va<sup>2</sup>  
 and PER.stand.up =3 that.one

'And that mother that he stood up behind the board (door) is not a living person, because she already died and he stood her up.'

This is all information the listener has already been told. It is repeated here to give a very marked contrast to what Peter had just said to the priest. This is also the beginning of the peak, which is discussed in the following section.

## 6. Peak

As Longacre (1985) describes for a number of unrelated languages, various features can mark

the peak of a narrative in SNM. Example (32) is a peak episode which we will use to illustrate those features. In the first episode the whippoorwill has gone to the house of the roadrunner to borrow clothes so he can go to a party. The roadrunner tells him he doesn't have any to spare and tells him to go ask the dove who has a lot of clothes.

- (32)a. nta<sup>4</sup>ji<sup>2</sup> ru<sup>3</sup>=u<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>4</sup>ku<sup>4</sup>vi<sup>3</sup> kua<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>=ti<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup>i<sup>3</sup> paloma  
 PER.sent ? =3p whippoorwill IMP.go ? =3p(a) house dove  
 'He sent the whippoorwill to the dove's house.'
- b. i<sup>4</sup>ña<sup>4</sup>ra<sup>3</sup>re<sup>3</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> re<sup>3</sup> nni<sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup>=ti<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=a<sup>3</sup>  
 then there and PER.get =3p(a) clothes pl =3p  
 'Therefore there it got their clothes.'
- c. ña<sup>4</sup>je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> kua<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>=ti<sup>1</sup> fandangu<sup>1</sup>  
 then IMP.go =3p(a) party  
 'Then it went to the party.'
- d. I<sup>4</sup>ña<sup>4</sup>ra<sup>2</sup>je<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup> kua<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>=ti<sup>1</sup> fandangu<sup>1</sup>  
 then IMP.go =3(a) party  
 'Then it went to the party.'
- e. ra<sup>2</sup>re<sup>3</sup> yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>ñi<sup>2</sup> =ti<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>tie<sup>1</sup>e<sup>2</sup>=ti<sup>1</sup>  
 then there IMP.stand=3p(a) IMP.dance =3p(a)  
 'Then there it was dancing.'
- f. nchu<sup>1</sup>un<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=a<sup>3</sup> ñu<sup>1</sup>un<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>3</sup>=ti<sup>1</sup>  
 PER.put in pl =3p fire clothes=3p(a)  
 'They put it's clothes in the fire.'
- g. i<sup>4</sup>ña<sup>4</sup>ja<sup>3</sup>re<sup>3</sup> nki<sup>4</sup>jie<sup>1</sup>e<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>yu<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>3</sup>  
 then PER.begin IMP.burn clothes  
 'Then the clothes began to burn.'
- h. sa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> ke<sup>2</sup>nu<sup>2</sup>un<sup>2</sup> =ti<sup>1</sup>  
 clothes IMP.borrow=3p(a)  
 'The clothes it was borrowing.'
- i. re<sup>3</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> paloma vi<sup>2</sup>  
 it's.that clothes dove be  
 'It's that it's the dove's clothes.'
- j. ta<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>2</sup> vi<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>2</sup> vi<sup>2</sup>  
 IMP.borrowed be IMP.borrowed be  
 'It's borrowed! It's borrowed!'
- k. xi<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>a<sup>2</sup>=a<sup>3</sup> nka<sup>4</sup>na<sup>3</sup>jin<sup>2</sup> xi<sup>4</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>2</sup> ya<sup>4</sup>cho<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>yu<sup>1</sup>  
 first Nmkr =3p PER.shout about IMP.borrowed that IMP.burn  
 sa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> va<sup>2</sup>  
 clothes that

'First he shouted about those borrowed clothes that were burning.'

- l. ña<sup>4</sup>ja<sup>2</sup>re<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>3 ra<sup>2</sup> paloma ya<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>yu<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>3ma<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>=ti<sup>1</sup>4  
 then PER pl dove that IMP.burn clothes pl =3p(a)  
 'Then the doves saw that their clothes were burning.'
- m. i<sup>4</sup>ña<sup>4</sup>va<sup>3</sup> nki<sup>4</sup>jie<sup>1</sup>2'e<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>3yu<sup>1</sup>3=ti<sup>1</sup>4 ya<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>yu<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>3ma<sup>3</sup>=ti<sup>1</sup>4  
 then PER.begin PER.cry =3p(a) that IMP.burn clothes=3p(a)  
 'Then it began to cry that it's clothes were burning.'
- n. i<sup>2</sup>yo<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>3</sup> kue<sup>3</sup>ntu<sup>1</sup>1 vi<sup>2</sup>  
 IMP.exist ? story be  
 'That's the story.'

Referring to this peak episode, we now discuss the devices that may mark a peak episode.

### 6.1. Additional background information

There is a tendency to have more background information in the peak episode to heighten the tension. This is marked by the imperfective aspect as in sentences (32e) and (32h). The episode before the before the peak has one aside by the narrator explaining how they say roadrunner in Mixtec. Other than that, the entire previous episode is marked by either the perfective aspect, the imperfective form of the verb 'go', or the historical present of 'say' in the quotation formulas--all story line aspects.

Another example of the use of background information in the peak episode is seen in example (24) above. Those sentences plus two more, also marked with the imperfective, occur in the peak of a story that is otherwise almost entirely marked by the perfective.

Sentences with stative verbs tend to occur in the peak episode as in sentence (32i). The normal order of a stative clause is noun followed by stative verb.

### 6.2. Frequent fronting

As discussed in section 4, fronting is much more frequent at the peak where it is used to mark prominence and heighten the tension. In sentences (32b) and (32e) above, the locative adverb *yu<sup>3</sup>kuan<sup>2</sup>* 'there' is fronted. Used in conjunction with the motion verb 'go', it provides cohesion. However, sentences (32b-d) may be a very brief episode to get whippoorwill from the roadrunner's house to the party with the dove's clothes. In which case, these sentences are not part of the peak, and the fronted adverbs in (32b) and (32e) serve only as cohesive devices marking the beginning of the short episode and the peak episode respectively (see section 4).

Objects may also be fronted as in sentence (32h), where the object *sa<sup>1</sup>3ma<sup>3</sup>* 'clothes' is fronted.

Subjects may be fronted, as in sentence (32k) where the subject *ma<sup>3</sup>a<sup>2</sup>=a<sup>3</sup>* 'it' is fronted. There it is also modified by *xi<sup>1</sup>2na<sup>3</sup>* 'first', which requires it to be fronted. This all works together to give the whippoorwill some prominence, to set him off in contrast to the doves who subsequently see their clothes burning and begin to cry.

### 6.3. Repetition

To heighten the tension at the peak, the narrator may employ repetition of sentences or phrases. It's uncertain whether the narrator just happened to repeat himself in sentences (32c) and (32d) or whether he may have used repetition deliberately. But in sentences (32k), (32l), and (32m) the repetition is clear: they shouted, saw, and began to cry that their clothes were burning.

### 6.4. Thematic props

If a prop is thematic, it tends to continue to be referred to by a full noun or noun phrase. Throughout the peak episode (32), the clothes--which are thematic--are referred to only by nouns and noun phrases. However, it is hard to contrast this with the previous episode because there the clothes are referred to only in dialogue and only with nouns and noun phrases as in example (12). We will now look at another example to illustrate it further.

In the story from which examples (5), (9), (15), (18), (22), (23), (24), (28), and (30) are taken, the horse is thematic. The deceiver Peter gets the horse from the priest, paints it, makes it defecate money by feeding it money, and sells it to the priest pretending it is another horse. In the first episode, after introducing the horse, it is then referred to by deictics, as in example (23). In the next episode which is the peak, the horse is referred to by a noun or noun phrase six times out of the nine non-dialogue references, as in example (24).

### 6.5. Particles

In SNM the particle  $ru^3$  or its variant  $tu^3$  sometimes occurs between the verb and the following subject. I haven't yet been able to assign it a meaning. It may be dropping out of the language, since different villages in the area use this particle to varying degrees. In those villages where it is used less, it seems to be used less often by the younger people than the by older people.

In stories where this particle occurs, it will drop out at the peak and will not be used. For example, in the story from which the peak episode (32) is taken,  $tu^3$  and  $ru^3$  occur throughout the first episode. Then at the peak, it occurs in the first sentence but does not occur again.

### 6.6. Stories without peak

These devices outlined above for marking peak may or may not occur in a given story. The story from which examples (1), (6), and (7) are taken is told in a flat non-climatic style with almost none of these peak marking features. A bird is scratching in the dirt. A deer comes along and convinces it that that work is too hard and it should come with him to get its food where man has planted seeds. Upon arrival there, the deer is shot by a man. Rather than using peak marking devices, the "punch" of the story is produced by the stark contrast between the deer's philosophy of getting its food the easy way and the abrupt ending when a man shoots it.

## 7. Summary

The event line in SNM narrative is marked on verbs by the perfective aspect, by the imperfective aspect of the verb 'go', by the imperfective aspect of the verb 'say' in some quotation

formulas, and in a few instances by the negative of the perfective aspect.

Background and setting information is usually marked by the imperfective aspect. It can also be marked by the perfective aspect in some preposed temporal dependent clauses and postposed clauses and in stative clauses.

Narrator comments and dialogue can be in any aspect.

After their introduction, participants references are reduced from a noun phrase, i.e. noun or name, to either a pronoun clitic or deictic, or to vowel reduplication that functions as a third person indefinite pronoun clitic, when no further distinction is needed.

If there are several props in a discourse, they are usually referred to by nouns and noun phrases. However, if there is only one prop or there is little difficulty in distinguishing between them, after a prop is introduced, it may be referred to with a pronoun or a deictic. If a prop does something, it is promoted to a minor participant and its references are subject to reduction as are other participant references.

Fronting of post-verbal elements is used either to provide cohesion or to mark prominence, including counter-expectation.

Preposed dependent clauses mark the setting or the beginning of the next episode, serving as back reference to connect the two episodes.

Repetition is also used either as a device to provide cohesion or to mark prominence. It is used in the peak to heighten the tension of the story.

At the peak a narrator may increase the tension by adding more background information, by fronting post-verbal elements, by repetition, by marking props thematic with nouns or noun phrases, or by the discontinuing the use of the particle *ru*<sup>3</sup>.

Conjunctions have not yet been thoroughly analyzed. Further work needs to be done on them.

## References

- Longacre, Robert E. 1981. A spectrum and profile approach to discourse analysis. Text 1: 337-359.
- , 1985. Discourse peak as zone of turbulence. In Wirth, Jessica R. (ed.) Beyond the Sentence: Discourse and Sentential Form, pp. 83-105. Ann Arbor: Karona.

**Abbreviations**

IMP	imperfective aspect
IRR	irrealis aspect
neg	negative
Nmkr	noun marker
PER	perfective aspect
pl	plural
=	clitic boundary
?	unanalyzed morpheme
1p	first person
1ppl(inc)	first person plural inclusive
2p	second person
3p	third person
3p(a)	third person animal
3p(f)	third person feminine
3p(m)	third person masculine
3p(obj)	third person object pronoun