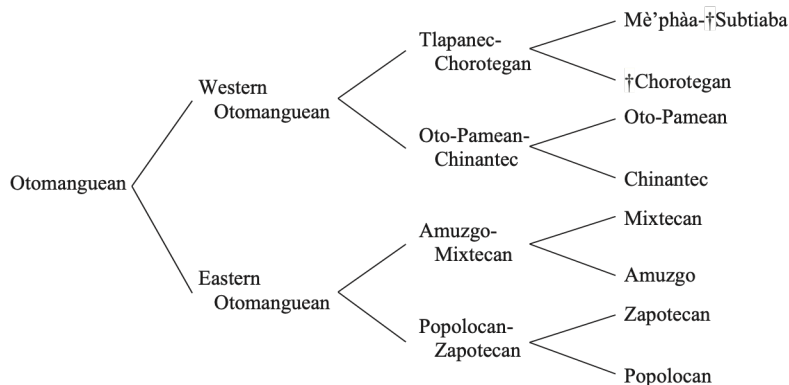


Proximate and Emphatic morphology in Itunyoso Triqui: accessibility or givenness?

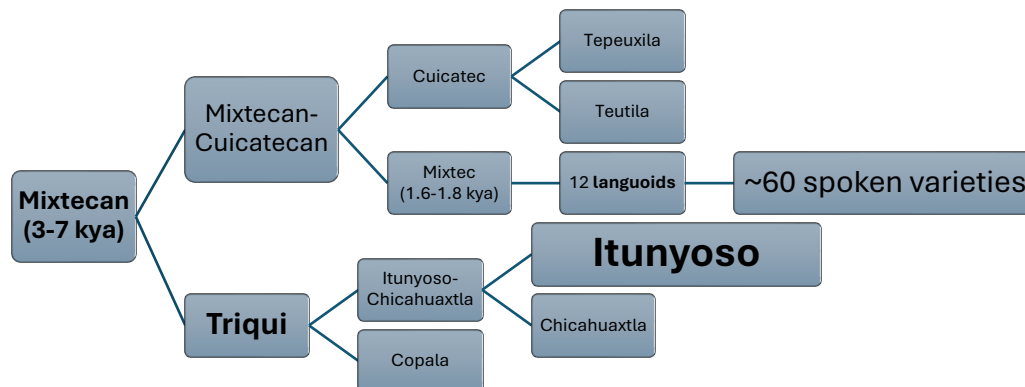
Fieldwork Forum
Christian DiCanio

I. Pronominal reference in Otomanguean

- (1) Pronominal systems differ greatly across different Otomanguean languages. There is also a great deal of morphophonological complexity associated with pronominal clitic pronouns.
- (2) Otomanguean languages by family: approximately 180 different varieties within many very old sub-families.



- (3) Mixtecan itself has vast diversity across families and sub-families



- (4) Two of the major sociolinguistic features that distinguish among different Otomanguean languages are pronominal systems and tonal systems. Each village/variety has their own set of pronouns and their own set of tones.

- (5) While different Otomanguean languages may have independent/free pronouns, the vast majority have (en)clitic pronouns which attach at the right edge of the word.
- (6) These are clitics since they are non-selective as to the part of speech they attach. In Mixtecan languages, they equally attach to nouns (marking possessors), verbs (marking subjects), prepositions, adjectives (in attributive constructions), etc.
- (7) Triqui pronouns by variety - Chicahuaxtla Triqui data from Hernández Mendoza (2017) and Copala Triqui data from López Espinoza (2022).

Basic pronouns tu ³ kwa ⁴ 'house.of'	Itunyoso Triqui	Chicahuaxtla Triqui	Copala Triqui
1S	tu ³ kwah ⁵	dukwa ³⁵	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =ʔũh ¹ tu ³ kwah ⁴
1.DU	tu ³ koʔ ⁴	du ³ kwoʔ ⁴	tu ³ kwa ⁴ roh ¹
1.DU.EXCL	---	---	tu ³ kwa ⁴ roh ⁵
1.EXCL	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =ũh ⁴	du ³ kwa ⁴ neʔ ⁴ jũh ⁴	tu ³ kwa ⁴ noh ⁵
1.INCL	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =neʔ ⁴ tu ³ koʔ ⁴	du ³ kwa ⁴ neʔ ⁴	tu ³ kwa ⁴ niʔ ⁴ tukwoʔ ⁴
2S.FAMILIAR	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =r tu ³ kwa ⁴ =reʔ ¹	du ³ kwa ⁴ =t du ³ kwa ⁴ =reʔ ¹	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =s tu ³ kwa ⁴ =soʔ ¹
2S.FORMAL	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =soʔ ¹	---	
2P	tu ³ kwa ⁴ = ⁵ hr tu ³ kwa ⁴ = ⁵ hreʔ ¹	du ³ kwa ³⁵³ =t	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =soh ³
3 (M/F)	---	du ³ kwã ³⁵³	tu ³ kwa ⁴ ni ³
3M	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =sih ³	du ³ kwa ⁴ =si ³ du ³ kwa ⁴ =soʔ ⁴	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =soʔ ⁴
3F	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =unj ³	du ³ kwa ⁴ =jũʔ ⁴ du ³ kwa ⁴ =ni ³	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =noʔ ⁴
3ANIM	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =tʃuh ³	du ³ kwa ⁴ =ʃu ³	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =ʃoʔ ³
3INANIM	---	---	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =joʔ ³
3P	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =neh ³	du ³ kwa ⁴ =neh ³	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =nih ³
PL.3M	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =ne ³ sih ³	du ³ kwa ⁴ =neh ³ si ³ /soʔ ⁴	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =nih ³ soʔ ⁴
PL.3F	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =ne ³ ũh ³	du ³ kwa ⁴ =neh ³ jũʔ ⁴ /ni ³	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =nih ³ noʔ ⁴
PL.3ANIM	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =ne ³ tʃuh ³	du ³ kwa ⁴ =neh ³ ʃu ³	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =nih ³ ʃoʔ ³
PL.3INAN	---	---	tu ³ kwa ⁴ =nih ³ joʔ ³

- (8) Clear cognates exist across these Triqui varieties, but the 1S, 1DU, 3M, 3F are all fairly different. There are also some categories that do not exist equally across varieties, like a dual exclusive (in Copala Triqui), a formal 2nd person (Itunyoso), a gender-neutral 3rd person (Copala and Chicahuaxtla), and a 3rd person inanimate (Copala).
- (9) In addition to other phonological differences across the varieties, the pronominal systems are all unique. This variation in clitic pronominal systems is found throughout Otomanguean languages.

- (10) Observe the stark differences between Mixtec varieties. Data from Yoloxóchitl Mixtec is from Castillo García (2007). Data from Chalcatongo Mixtec is from Macaulay (1996).

	Chalcatongo Mixtec	Yoloxóchitl Mixtec (Guerrero)
1s (polite)	=rí	---
1s (familiar)	=na	= ² / =ju ¹
1p.incl	=ʒó	=o ⁴ /e ⁴
1p.excl	---	=ndu ³ /ndu ¹
2.fam	=ro	=õ ⁴ /ũ ⁴
2.formal	=ní	---
2p	---	=ndo ⁴
3m	=ðe	=ra ³ /ra ¹
3f	=ɲa	=ã ⁴ /ẽ ⁴
3p	---	=na ³ /na ¹
3.polite.older	=to	---
3.younger/deceased	=ʒi	---
supernatural	=ʒa	=a ³ /e ³
animal	=ti	=ri ⁴
water	---	=ra ⁴
wood	---	=rũ ⁴
unmarked (inan)	=Ø	=ra ¹

II. Additional pronominal categories?

- (11) Pronouns in Otomanguean often distinguish person, number, and familiarity/respect. Additional *person* categories typically involve several non-human entities, including animals (distinct in most Mixtecan languages), the supernatural, or perhaps water/wood.
- (12) Information structure and the givenness of the entities involved in discourse is not typically a pronominal category that is considered, but obviously both impact the choice of whether to use a pronoun or not (but see Bueno Holle 2019).
- (13) In Itunyoso Triqui, there are two additional types of clitic pronouns that seem to be used to mark distinctions related to information perspective (n.b. now using orthography).

u⁴nanj⁴=sij³ 'he is running' (3SM clitic)

- a. proximate clitic e.g. u³nan³ 'the mentioned person is running'
- b. emphatic clitic e.g. u⁴nanj⁴=sih⁴ 'he (*pointing*) is running'

- (14) What is the form of these pronouns and can we elucidate their patterns of use? We will investigate this question mostly with data from the documentation corpus of Itunyoso Triqui (DiCanio 2019).

- (15) This **unrelated to focus**. Focus obligatorily involves full NP fronting or, with pronouns, the use of the Triqui word *ma²han³* 'self,' e.g. *ma²hanj⁵* 'I, myself'

Cnan⁴³	ki ³ -sij ⁴	ku ³ ki ³	Answer to:	Un ³ sin ³ ki ³ -sij ⁴	oh ¹ ?
brother.1S	PERF-arrive	yesterday		who PERF-arrive	WH.PART
'My brother arrived yesterday.'				'Who arrived?'	

Ki ³ -sij ⁴	cnan ⁴³	ku ³ ki ³	Answer to:	Un ³ sin ³ ka ³ -bin ³	oh ¹ ?
PERF-arrive	brother.1S	yesterday		what PERF-be	WH.PART
'My brother arrived yesterday.'				'What happened?'	

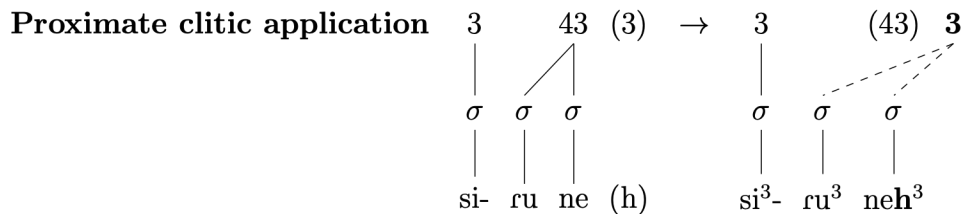
- (16) These additional categories *are* related to topicality in some way, but the exact nature of that relationship is not entirely clear. The names for these categories are not committal.

III. Proximate pronoun

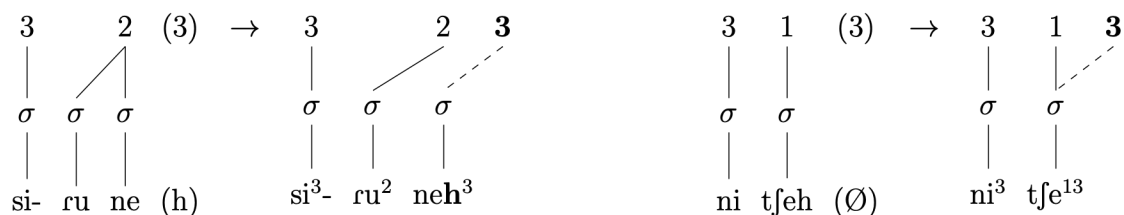
- (17) Certain clitic pronouns involve a change in the shape of the stem (1S, 2S, 1DU). The proximate does this as well.
- (18) Triqui words end with either no coda, a glottal stop coda, or a glottal fricative coda. The proximate involves either deletion of the /h/ coda if it is present or epenthesis of /h/ as the coda if /h/ is absent. This reversal is called a *morphophonological toggle* (DiCanio et al 2020).

Root	Possessed stem / verb stem	Gloss	PROX	3M 'he/his'
rẽ ³ ʔẽ ³	si ³ -rẽ ² ʔẽ ³	'mushroom'	si ³ -rẽ ² ʔẽh ³	si ³ -rẽ ² ʔẽ ³ =sih ³
ni ³ ʔjẽh ³	si ³ -ni ² ʔjẽh ³	'salsa'	si ³ -ni ² ʔjẽ ³	si ³ -ni ² ʔjẽh ³ =sih ³
ka ³ si ³ ʔ	si ³ -ka ² si ³ ʔ	'honey'	si ³ -ka ² sih ³	si ³ -ka ² si ³ ʔ=sih ³
ru ⁴ ne ⁴³	si ³ -ru ⁴ ne ⁴³	'avocado'	si ³ -ru ³ neh ³	si ³ -ru ⁴ ne ⁴³ =sih ³
a ⁴ tʃĩh ⁴	—	'to sneeze'	a ³ tʃĩ ³	a ⁴ tʃĩh ⁴ =sih ³
a ⁴ tʃĩ ⁴³	—	'to pass by'	a ³ tʃĩh ³	a ⁴ tʃĩ ⁴³ =sih ³
ni ³ kĩ ³ ʔ	—	'to be standing'	ni ³ kĩh ³	ni ³ kĩ ³ ʔ=sih ³
βa ² kẽh ¹	—	be + naked	βa ² kẽ ¹³	βa ² kẽh ¹ =sih ³
ʷga ¹	—	'with'	ʷgah ¹³	ʷga ¹ =sih ³

- (19) Tones change in a predictable way - tone /3/ either replaces the tone of the stem (for upper register tones) or it surfaces at the right edge (for lower register tones). Observe the form for /si³-ru⁴ne⁴³/ 'POSS'D-avocado' below.



- (20) Tonal replacement is blocked by a low tone. Observe the forms proximate-marked forms for the words /si³-ru²ne²/ 'POSS'D-bean' and /ni³tʃeh¹/ 'mother-in-law' below.



- (21) The proximate can be used to refer to a topical entity in discourse. The first line below establishes a topic (pre-verbal NP). When a new entity arrives, they get a basic pronoun instead. This is a common use of the proximate clitic.

- (22) Ngo² sinj⁵ ka³-ni²ki³ ta³ ni² nne³ nga¹ ni³kaj³ ni²
 one man NOM-poor this and sit with spouse.PROX and
 'This one poor man is sitting with his wife.'

Ni ² si ³ -na ³ bij ³ +ra ⁴³	maj ³	ta ³ ni ² ma ⁴³ 'compadre'
and PROG-conspire	compadre.PROX	then maj ³ 'compadre.PROX'

'And his compadre is conspiring.'

Ni ² a ³ taj ² =sij ³	rianj ³	rian ³² 'face'
and say=3M	face.PROX	rianj ³ 'face.PROX'

'And he says to him...'

Lines 2-4, *El hombre que fue mandado al sol*, Rosa Martinez Santiago

- (23) The proximate is also used in contexts where a generic, non-specific referent is needed or in where the gender of a specific referent is unknown. In this way, the proximate has a use akin to English singular 'they' or the Spanish impersonal *se*.
- (24) The two women are discussing the advantages of university education for women. Universities are the aboutness topic (w/*ni*²), but the proximate does *not* refer to it.

toj ³ skwe ⁴ la ⁴³ xi ³ toj ³ man ³	ni ² a ⁴ nin ⁴³ +raj ³ toj ³ ni ² na ³ -ni ³ hinj ³	
more school big more DEM.DISTAL and think.PROX	more and ITER-know.PROX	
toj ³ nu ³ kwanh ³ nej ³		
more word also		

'And in those bigger schools (universities), one thinks more and one recognizes more (bigger) words too.'

(Line 38, *Derechos de Mujeres Triquis*, 06/9/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López González)

- (25) The referent of the proximate in these examples is *non-specific*, referring to any person who attends a university. Given the topic of the discourse (women's rights), it is perhaps more appropriately understood to refer to any woman.
- (26) An example of a specific, but perhaps ungendered use of the proximate occurs in a text of how a spirit appeared to a priest behind the church in the town. In the text, the interlocutors name the spirit *ya³hanj³ li⁴³ ta³* 'that little deity', but then only refer to it with the proximate clitic.

Be⁴ ta³ bin³. Be⁴ ta³ k-a³bi³ hna³ ni²
 CONTR.TOP DEM be, CONTR.TOP DEM PERF-appear.PROX come.PROX and
 ki²-na³ chunh⁴, na²-ki³-taj¹³ chunh⁴ ni²
 POT-stay.PROX town.1P, ITER-PERF-be.on.top.PROX town.1P and
 'That, it was. This one, it appeared to come to stay in our town, to return back to
 our town.'

(Line 11, *Historia de la aparición de la virgen*, 10/6/2014; *Crescencio de la Cruz Ramírez and Wilfrido Cruz Martínez*)

- (27) Why call this a *proximate* clitic?
- (28) The split between proximate and obviative pronouns (or the topic of obviation, more generally) has mostly been studied in relation to head-marking languages spoken in North America (Aissen, 1997; Zúñiga, 2014; Dahlstrom, 2017).
- (29) In languages which make this distinction, proximate pronouns are typically those which are **more topical**, higher on an animacy scale, and higher on a definiteness scale (Zúñiga, 2014). Obviative pronouns are frequently those which are lower in topicality, lower in animacy/agentivity, and lower in terms of definiteness.
- (30) Is this enough?
- (31) Since obviation is typically studied in head-marking languages, the emphasis of the research is often on (a) a pattern of direct vs. inverse verbal alignment and (b) proximate or obviative agreement marking on nouns.
- (32) Triqui has neither of these things. There is no voice alternation on Triqui verbs and unpossessed nouns are all uninflected. Thus, it is primarily the **semantic/pragmatic context** that is important for the identification of the proximate-obviative alternation.
- (33) But this *does* have the effect of making the basic/default pronouns *obviative* (despite being most common) while the proximate is the marked category. That's the reverse of what is normally expected.

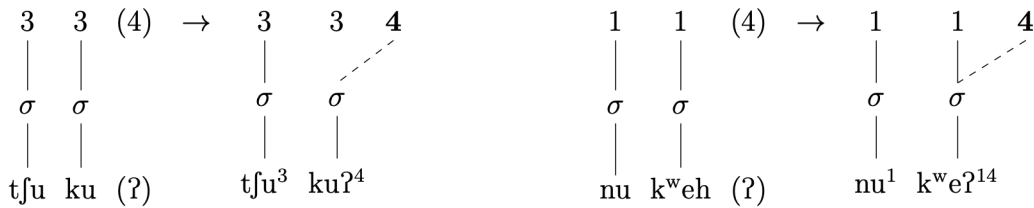
IV. The emphatic pronoun

- (34) The emphatic pronoun typically involves a process of modifying an existing noun or pronoun with emphatic morphology. As such, it is slightly distinct from other clitics in terms of the domain of application.
- (35) Also, forms with the emphatic are no longer clitics - they may be free and occur in isolation before a verb phrase (see below).
- (36) On nouns, the general shape of the emphatic is to replace the final mora of the stem with a glottal stop and replace the tone with high tone /4/.

Basic form	Emphatic form	Gloss	Basic form	Emphatic form	Gloss
sih ³	siʔ ⁴	=3M	ũh ³	ũʔ ⁴	=3F
tʃuh ³	tʃuʔ ⁴	=ANIM	neh ³	neʔ ⁴	=3P
jũr ¹	jũr ⁴	1P.OBJ	ta ³	taʔ ⁴	DEM
nẽ ³	nnẽʔ ⁴	'here'	sĩh ⁵	sĩr ⁴	'man'
ɰga ¹	ɰgaʔ ¹⁴	'with'	a ⁴ ɰgo ⁴³	a ⁴ ɰgoʔ ⁴	'another'
k ^w e ⁴ rku ⁴³	k ^w e ⁴ rkuʔ ⁴	'jerk'	tʃu ³ ku ³	tʃu ³ kuʔ ⁴	'animal'

- (37) Tone /4/ only replaces the tone of the final syllable, but just like with the proximate, low tones may not be delinked by the emphatic.

Emphatic clitic applied to stems with upper register and lower register tones



- (38) The word /nu¹kweh¹/ 'both' requires a possessor. Here the reading would be something like 'both of *them* (*pointing*).'
- (39) The primary use of the emphatic is to disambiguate between different 3rd person entities, but since it can be applied to clitics themselves, it appears to offer a more specific gendered disambiguation (this guy vs. *that* guy, this animal vs. *that* animal).
- (40) Consider the following few sentences from a narrative (*Frog, where are you?*)
- The deer_i began to run and he's still on top of the deer's horns. So, the deer ran then and so his dog_j began and it_j pursued it_i. It_j chased it_i, that deer, and he's still on the deer's horns.
- (41) Without the subscripts, is this clear?

(42) Now consider the Triqui form.

- a. k-a³chi¹hi¹ chu³taj³ ta³ k-u⁴nanj⁴=chuj³... be⁴+ke¹ ta³ ttaj⁵=sij³
 PERF-begin deer DEM PERF-run=ANIM... exactly DEM be.on.top=3M
 cha³¹ si³-kuj⁵ chu³taj³ ta³
 head POSS'D-horn deer DEM
 'The deer_i began to run and he's still on top of the deer's horns.'
- b. K-u⁴nanj⁴ chu³taj³ ta³ni² k-a³chi¹hi¹ tan⁴=sij³ chu³be³ ni²
 PERF-run deer then PERF-begin owner.of=3M dog and
 ni³koh¹=chuh⁴
 pursue=ANIM.EMPH
 'So, the deer ran then and so his dog_j began and it_j pursued (it_i).'
- c. Nga¹=chuh⁴ u⁴nanj⁴ ni³koh¹, chu³taj³ ta³ nej³, ni² ma²han³=sij³
 with/and=ANIM.EMPH run follow, deer DEM then, and self=3M
 cha³¹ si³-kuj⁵ chu³taj³ ta³ ttaj⁵=sij³
 head POSS'D-horn deer DEM be.on.top=3M
 'It_j chased (it_i), that deer, and he's still on the deer's horns.'

(Lines 67–69, *Rana, dónde estás?*; 6/3/2017; Wilfrido Cruz Martínez)

(43) Whereas the proximate appears to always target the most topical entity, the emphatic appears to be used in contexts requiring explicit disjoint reference among entities that are less topical.

(44) General disjoint reference (elicited examples)

Ma²han³=sij³ nga¹ Xwan⁴³ k-a³hmin³² nga¹ sih⁴
 self=3M with Juan PERF-speak with 3M.EMPH
 'He_i and Juan spoke with him_j'

Cha⁴³=unj³ si³-ne¹ unh⁴
 PERF.eat=3F POSS'D-meat 3F.EMPH
 'She_i ate her_j meat.'

(45) There is another use that appears unrelated to the disambiguation context. The emphatic may be used for foregrounded inanimate entities.

- (46) In the example (b), the speaker uses the emphatic to refer to the newly mentioned edible green (quintonil), which is specified as an aboutness topic in (a). Both ‘garlic’ and ‘chile’ are under focus in (b). In (c) the focused entities are now being marked with the emphatic since a newer edible green is mentioned.

- a. Ba² kkwej³² na⁴nun⁴³ ni²
 exist quelite quintonil and
 ‘There are quintonil greens (*Amaranthus hybridus*)...’
- b. Be⁴ nga¹ ya⁴ku⁴³ nej³ ya³haj³ hbi⁴ nej³ choh⁴ ngah¹⁴ nej³ ni²
 TOP with garlic also chile verde also PERF.eat.1P with.EMPH also and
 ‘We eat garlic and chile with *that/those* too.’
- c. Be⁴ ngo²yan² ta³cheh³ nu¹kweh¹⁴ kkwej³² cha³bi² nej³
 TOP together mix.1P both.EMPH quelite (unknown) also
 ‘we combine *both of these* together with *chabi* greens too.’

(Lines 57–59; Comida típica en Concepción Itunyoso; 06/14/2015; Elena Eugenia Martínez)

- (47) Note that Triqui normally does *not* mark given inanimate entities at all. They are dropped.

Ki³-ranj⁴=reh¹ a⁴sij⁴ ta³ yu³hbe³² nih⁴?
 PERF-buy=2S clothing DEM market SFP.POLAR
 ‘Did you buy that piece of clothing at the market?’

Yyej¹³ ki³-ran⁴³
 yes PERF-buy.1S
 ‘Yes, I bought it.’

- (48) Perhaps when inanimates need to be foregrounded, use of the emphatic accomplishes this.
- (49) There is an additional use which seems to be for highlighting a given entity, which might be translated with the use of a demonstrative.

“Ba¹ be⁴ ta³ k-a²taj²=sij³. Ni³taj² taj¹ k-a²taj²=sij³, si² an³² yunj¹
 already *top* DEM POT-say=3M neg.exist how POT-say=3M, but aha, 1S.ACC
 k-oh³ la³riah⁴” k-a²taj²=sij³. “Se⁴ ta³ bin³” a³taj²=sij³ rian³²=unj³ ni².
 PERF-hit jerk.EMPH POT-say=3M. NEG DEM be say=3M face=3F and.
 “ ‘That’s what I wanted to say. There is nothing to say, because uhuh, I hit (killed)
 that jerk’ he was saying, ‘It wasn’t like this.’ he says to her.”

(Lines 71–72; *Cuento de la señora que engañó a su esposo*; 06/10/2015; Marcelino Hernández Pérez and Wilfrido Cruz Martínez)

V. A cline of givenness or accessibility?

- (50) Both the proximate and the emphatic are used in contexts requiring disambiguation. Though, they differ in terms of their topicality.
- (51) We can usually evaluate what is topical on the basis of evaluating how *given* certain entities are in a given-ness hierarchy (Gundel et al 1993).

Center of attention (focused)	Activated	Familiar	Uniquely identifiable	Referential	Type identifiable
<i>it</i>	<i>that, this, this N</i>	<i>that N</i>	<i>the N</i>	<i>this N</i>	<i>a N</i>

- (52) Distinguishing the emphatic from the default pronouns is clear with the givenness hierarchy - it's a distinction between "focused" (most topical) and activated/familiar on the scale.
- (53) Default pronouns are at least familiar. *For familiar entities, the addressee is able to uniquely identify the intended referent because they already have a representation of it in memory (in long-term memory if it has not been recently mentioned or perceived, or in short-term memory if it has). This status is necessary for all personal pronouns and definite demonstratives.* (Gundel et al., 1993, 278)
- (54) Though, distinguishing between the proximate and the default pronouns appears harder just in terms of givenness. It seems like this is a distinction among already given entities.
- (55) An alternative is the accessibility hierarchy (Ariel 2001).

Least accessible	full name + modifier
	full name
	long definite description
	short definite description
	last name
	first name
	distal demonstrative + modifier
	proximate demonstrative + modifier
	distal demonstrative + NP
	proximate demonstrative + NP
	distal demonstrative - NP
	proximate demonstrative - NP
	stressed pronoun + gesture
	stressed pronoun
	unstressed pronoun
	cliticized pronoun
	verbal person inflection
Most accessible	zero

- (56) Accessibility is nuanced. Crucial here is the idea that global discourse topics are highly accessible, while local discourse topics have a relatively high degree of accessibility. Non-topics have a low degree of accessibility.
- (57) This roughly corresponds to recency of mention and is also useful for understanding the distinct categories of pronouns discussed here.
- (58) Related to this is the notion of **common ground** (c.f. Bohnemeyer and Tilbe 2021 for a discussion) - the set of shared information that has entered into the discourse between interlocutors.
- (59) The general idea of accessibility is more promising as a way to understand the distinction among these pronouns in Triqui, but the specific examples that Ariel lists are decidedly specific to certain languages (i.e. not all languages have verbal inflection for person and not all languages have stress).
- (60) Alternative notions:
- active vs. semi-active vs. inactive (Chafe 1994)
 - given vs. accessible vs. new (Baumann 2005)
- (61) The general understanding here though is that speakers will utilize full NPs for reference to things that are less accessible or new.
- (62) *"Discourse-active referring expressions often surface as pronouns, while less active referents are encoded in their full lexical form (see e.g. Ariel 1988, Gundel et al. 1993)."* (p.38 of Baumann)

- (63) In Itunyoso Triqui discourse, speakers tend to mention full NPs only at the beginning of a conversation or when a topicalization structure is used. Subsequently, pronouns are used for all future reference.
- (64) Perhaps we can not understand the uses of these pronouns looking at a single scale, but in terms of a set of properties that are required within the discourse.

Type	Used w/gendered referents	Used w/inanimate referents	Givenness category	Accessibility category
Default pronouns	Yes	No	Focused to Familiar	Medium accessibility
Proximate pronouns	Yes	Yes	Focused	High accessibility
Emphatic pronouns	Yes	Yes	Referential to Familiar	Lower accessibility

- (65) Open to any ideas.

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