

that to the bride's house with the gifts for the couple, and then they give those gifts when arriving at the house of the groom. At night when it's time to say goodbye to the godparents [at the godparents' house again], they give a jar of food (mole), a basket of tortillas, one or two turkeys, and a case of beer or soda, a little more or less depending on the possibility or will of the bride and groom. Oh, and a bottle of Mezcal. Like this is the giving of gifts to the godparents: a jar of mole, one basket of tortillas, one bottle of mezcal, and, if possible, one turkey, and if there's no turkey, a chicken. These gifts are given by the bride and groom to the godparents for the favor of sponsoring the wedding.

Giovani's description emphasizes the few types of gifts that are given to godparents, and of these types it is commonly *one* of each, with the exception that sometimes two turkeys are given. In the video though double the amount of turkeys (or four times depending on how one counts) created an incident where this moral norm itself became the object of an interactional side sequence. The temporal progress of the ritual was put on hold and the morality of the gift was brought to center stage in which the potential debt created in accepting this gift had to be negotiated. How this was done is telling about how language weaves its way through time and social relations in Lachixío. The groom's rhetoric involved discursively reducing the gift, previously formulated by Benné Òlla as "four," to two turkeys for the godfather and two turkeys for the godmother. More than a mere play with words, this creative accounting could enter into the common ground as a "true" state of affairs that all could feel matched the expectations of gifts to the godparents. This allows for another obligation to be met: the obligation to accept a gift and the social relation it entails.

How are moral constraints on the realization of relations and reputations negotiated in offers? In the first place, large enough violations of expectation are met with initiations of *repair*, marking the happening as an incident to be remedied. But we also see in the transcript that the obligation to accept is asserted ~~both~~ through repetition, as with the groom's rhythmic repetitions of the phrase "Yes, it is like this" that itself resonates with the godfather's sought-after ritual response of acceptance, "That it be this."

But rather than the sole mark of a moment, the language of offers and their acceptance is part to multimodal assemblages that develop in time and space. The passing and accepting to which grammatical constructions are connected are not necessarily performed at the same time with the words spoken. They can be but do not have to be simultaneous or strictly adjacent. We saw this clearly in the fact that before the godfather gave a formal verbal acceptance of the gift, he already began accepting turkeys passed from Benné Òlla and in turn passed them to the godmother. As accepting material gifts involves both talk and the material transfer of the object, there is not a single "synchronic" moment of acceptance, but rather we see acceptance taking place in a region of time assembled across the mutually elaborating semiotic modalities.<sup>6</sup> However, that speech in an assemblage may hold performative value that physical action does not is revealing of what Webb Keane (2005) has called "semiotic ideologies." The on-record acceptance that the interaction has been working toward is a verbal formulaic construction, though it is itself accompanied with ritual body

pragmatic actions. Sometimes these relate to contextualize each other, like in Chapter 2 where intermodal discordance embodied two contradictory responses to an offer as part of the same sequence. But in Angeles and Sofía's case the two actions belong to two entirely different sequences. Both are first-pair parts issued along separate modalities in temporal overlap: one a recruitment initiation and the other a pre-offer.

(3) LMSMVP24Jul0903 (6:43-6:54)

- 15 Angeles:        **A'á**  
|A holds pitcher in direction S  
**Here**
- 16                (0.6)  
|S turns gaze to A
- 17 Angeles:        **Odàkko lá [lò éttà la?**  
|A holding pitcher in direction S | thrusts pitcher  
slightly forward  
o-dàko=lá=lò        étà=la  
CMP-eat=already=2s tortilla=Q  
**Did you already eat?**
- 18 Sofía:                **[Stokko é la?**  
sH-tòko=é=la  
another-one=3o=Q  
**Another one?**
- 19 Sofía:                **Stokko é la?**  
|S takes pitcher from A holds gaze at end of question  
-----|A turns and walks back toward stove  
sH-tòko=é=la  
another-one=3o=Q  
**Another one?**
- 20                (0.7)
- 21 Angeles:        **Ràkko lá lò éttà la?**  
r-àko=lá=lò        étà=la  
HAB-eat=already=2s tortilla=Q  
**Are you eating tortillas?**
- 22                (0.9)
- 23 Sofía:                **Ràkko [lá á lé'e**  
-----|S walks out of frame swinging pitcher  
r-àko=lá=á        H\*-le'e  
HAB-eat=already=1s POT-like  
**I would like to be eating.**
- 24 Angeles:        **[Éttà konna yéxxo ràkko lò la?**  
étà        kona        yéxo        r-àko=lò=la  
tortilla with cheese HAB-eat=2s=Q  
**[Eat a tortilla with cheese?**
- 25                ((Sofía exits frame to left))

Not surprisingly, Sofía initiates repair in 18 by asking a question to check her understanding of the interaction: “Another one?” she says. This is in overlap with Angeles's question about having eaten, and in 19 Sofía immediately repeats her question as a second understanding check while at the same time accepting the pitcher being offered to her. Though Sofía's utterance is clearly a question marked by the Lachixío interrogative enclitic *la*, Angeles seems to consider Sofía taking the pitcher while saying “another one” as committing to fulfilling the recruitment sequence. She does not answer Sofía's question but **forwards** the second line of action asking if Sofía is going

recruitments both the unprompted practice and elicited metapragmatic description of Lachixío speakers demonstrate that the relationship between these grammatical forms is one in which the completive aspect additionally indexes that the directive is one being reissued. Corpora of unprompted practice are especially important for contrasts where introspecting speakers do not think of an example and decide the morphological choices are “the same.” This sequence supports arguments by both Craven and Potter (2010) and Curl and Drew (2008) that repeat directives make more explicit the entitlement of the issuing participant to the recipient’s compliance.

The next section also shows repeat recruitments, though in this case the social relations embodied in the participation formation are reversed. A child makes multiple recruitments attempts from adults and the sequence plays out quite differently.

### 3.5 A Child Requesting Soda

This section and section 3.6 could be alternatively titled “How to Ask for a Drink in Lachixío,” echoing Charles Frake’s article in the (1964) *American Anthropologist* special issue on the *Ethnography of Communication* where Frake argued that asking for a drink in *Subanun* requires knowledge of culture that goes well beyond sentence grammar (see also Irvine 1980, “How Not to Ask a Favor in Wolof”). This extract of a child’s multiple requests for a drink in Lachixío provides several insights into Lachixío family organization, age-grade rank hierarchy, work-reward ethic, and ideologies of language forms appropriate to requesting. These different social trajectories all intersect this dialogue that took place during a break from farmwork. The sequence forces us to complicate the generalization supported by the last extract that repeat recruitments show upgrading of entitlement. Because of the age-grade social relations present to the speech event, this example shows a shift in utterance form that is only successful when moving down on a scale of entitlement.

The participants in this video are seen in Figure 3.3. The little boy (Efraín ~ Ef), who repeatedly tries to initiate the recruitment of a cup of soda, is seated between the two women: Andrea, his grandmother, and Elvia, his aunt. This is Pedro the cameraman’s family. Pedro is the boy’s uncle and Pedro’s father Táolla (on the right) is the boy’s grandfather. The boy’s sister Laura is between Elvia and Táolla. The family is working in their milpa to do the second (and last) weeding of the season after which the corn and beans will be tall enough and the squash broad enough to shade out competing plants. The early summer is a time of intensive labor in Lachixío that involves the family working together in fields that can be more than a kilometer from their house. The youngest children accompany the family but do not generally work, though in this video Efraín, who is not expected to work in contrast to the older Laura, is invited to help his grandfather plow (see Chapter 5). This rank and gender difference is also seen in other videos of the family working where the older daughter works and the younger son plays. During playback interviews about this sequence, a custom was explained that workers are all offered food and drink before any nonworking individuals are. This rank difference enters into the way the recruitment sequence develops and illustrates for us that beyond grammatical forms, recruitments presuppose and performatively

- 6 (2.68)  
 -| I quick gaze to M then to bowl  
 -| M quick gaze to P then to bowl

In 1 of the transcript Pedro issues a declaration, “These tortillas got very toasted #ahh#,” which functions at one level as a critical assessment, especially with the harsh-voiced #ahh# with which he punctuates the utterance. After a four-second pause Inez (who made the tortillas) declares only that the stove got very hot. Her response claims no responsibility for overcooking the tortillas but rather locates the cause in the stove. The Zapotec utterance *Nezxeè xe’tta é* uses a third-person pronoun object, =é, and an intensifier *xe’tta* (very) on a stative inflected less-active predicate *-zxeè* (get hot). This is used by Inez rather than its more active pair *-txeè*, which would entail an agent. As such there is no causing subject (i.e., the cook) present in her sentence.

Pedro goes on to make an assertion in 5, “A little water will help one get it down,” using an instrumental suffix indicating water as a tool with which to swallow the dry tortillas (this is the same instrumental suffix Angeles used to categorize water as an instrument to soften the corn dough in example 4). In many families people do not drink until the end of the meal, so just suggesting a drink of water during the meal is potentially a criticism of the food. To both these turns, Pedro gets no response seen in the long pauses in lines 2 and 6. The expectation that the daughter should be offering water at either of these points can be read from the brother’s gaze to her in lines 2 and 5. The latter gaze he holds through 14. This is a very long time and stands as a clear sign-action to mobilize her response consistent with the analysis forwarded by Stivers and Rossano (2010) which argues that mobilizing response is an important social dynamic for gaze (see also Rossano, Brown, and Levinson 2009). The recruitment of water for Pedro goes through several iterations. The first is line 1, “These tortillas got very toasted,” which can be considered a “hint” as Pedro uses an assessment to make relevant an offer. In this way, it is a high entitlement act. It is also potentially face saving because he would not have to do the dispreferred action asking for it. Line 5 is the second iteration, “A little water will help one get it down,” which goes beyond the hint to specifically mention a solution using water as an instrument that would remedy the problem of the dry food. These turns also do criticizing, and in neither turn does Pedro specify that he be the beneficiary of the recruited action. Line 1 only mentions the tortillas, and in 5 the implied beneficiary could be everybody sharing the meal at the table. In the silent pause of 6 (the second time an offer would be relevant), the two women make quick glances to others at the table and then to their bowls: Mariana to Pedro and Inez to Mariana.

(12) LMSMVDP07Aug08 7:54–8:00

- 7 Mariana: Kyàà ínza we’ pa’ lò Rodríguez  
 -----|M gaze to R  
 -----|P reaches for cup and lifts  
 kyàà ínza we’ pa-’=lò Rodríguez-L  
 go.and water drink father-POS=2S NAME-CLAS  
**Go and get water for your father to drink, Rodrigo.**
- 8 (0.8)  
 -|P moves cup [toward I  
 -----|I smiles gaze toward M

The other case of an open-class repair initiation with a person reference occurs during a conversation where an adult addresses a boy as “my son” in a multiparty interaction. *Pâ* in the masculine and *Mâ* in the feminine are terms of affection used with children in a parallel way parallel to that in which honorific kin terms are used for respect to elders.<sup>6</sup> They are often appended to utterances of direct address. In the exchange in example (4), Efraín (about three years old) is using honorific vocabulary with Elvia. Like in the previous example, the formulation of a turn with a person reference after open-class repair is in moments of dialogic resonance like this where each participant has been referring to the other regularly by name or title in the ongoing conversation).

(4) LMSMVPD28Ju10901 00:35:33.250

- 1 Efraín: E’*nna* *tòko nóo me’e’ olàá nii á so’kko á Elvia a’á*  
 -El looking down rubbing her eyes  
 -Ef picks up corn ear holds out toward El  
 e’*na* *tòko nó me’e’ o-làá ni=á*  
 respected-mother one that small CMP-take.out say=1s  
 r-zo’kko=á Elvia a’á  
 HAB-shell=1s Elvia look  
*Respected mother I found one that’s small, I say, for me to shell, Elvia look.*
- 2 Elvia: Eé Pâ?  
 -----|El lifts gaze to Ef  
 Huh my son?
- 3 Efraín: Naà *tòkko nóo me’e’ skà’.*  
 -Ef turns gaze from ear to El, holds ear closer to El then starts to shell the corn into bucket  
*nà tòko nó me’e’ skà’*  
 mother one that small still  
*Mother here’s one that’s small still.*

#### 4.1.1.2 Formulaic Open-Class Repair: Xaa nii lò?

Consultants in elicitation have pointed to the formulaic question *Xaa nii lò?* (How did you say?) for repair rather than the interjection. This formulation is, however, rather rare in natural corpora. In 13.75 hours it occurred only five times, amounting to 2 percent of all repairs and 6 percent of open-class repairs. By contrast, there were seventy-nine interjections achieving open-class repair initiation. Of the five formulaic uses, four were by the same person in the same video, one was preceded by the open class *Eé?*, and two were preceded by *nóo*, the complementizer (that). In example (5), repair is initiated with *Nóo xaa nii lò?* (That what did you say?).

(5) LMSMVPD28Ju10901 00:31:26.500

- 1 Andrea: Xella *bicchi kaà íiña’a Xhiñña Dáññi nee nóo [xaa lèé neláa oriñña wà’ nèé’ nii á.*  
 -A looking down to bowl Elv fixing shawl on her head  
 r-zxela *bichi kà í#na’a xhina#dáni ne*  
 HAB-appear dry truly CLAS#milpa El.Rincón because  
*nó xa lèé ne-lá o-rina wà’ nèé’ ni=á*  
 that how name just CMP-arrive this now say=1s  
*It’s looking truly dry in the milpas of El Rincón because this (the rain) has just arrived now, I say.*

who move]). Sofia's restricted request *Tii?* makes clear that the person reference is the trouble source. In response, Mary becomes more specific, replacing the third-person pronoun *i* with a noun *olla*<sup>7</sup> that refers to Spanish speaking people of the city and replacing a rarely used Zapotec verb of motion *-re*<sup>8</sup> with a Spanish loan adjective *móobil* (*móvil*) meaning mobile in her remedy in 4, *beè olla móobil*.

The interrogative pronoun *tii* can also be used to question possession. Example (10) shows repair questioning for whom the tortillas are intended by asking, *Tii éttà?* (Whose tortillas?). Mary and Sofia are shelling corn facing the same direction with Mary slightly in front of Sofia. Sofia laments in the creaky voice register of commiseration declaring, "We're through making their tortillas." Mary requests clarification of whose tortillas in 2 and Sofia responds the tortillas of the authorities.

(10) LMSMVPD28Jul0902 00:16:59.220

- 1 Sofia:       ~La'xxò a'wa éttà' beè ì~  
 -----|M slight head turn toward S  
 '-laxò=a'wa éttà-'       bè=i  
 ACT-finish=1PLI tortilla-POS PL=3M  
*We're through making their tortillas.*
- 2 Mary:       Tii éttà?  
*Whose tortillas?*
- 3 Sofia:       Éttà' beè ostísyá bayya.  
 Éttà-'       bè ostísyá   baya  
 tortilla-POS PL authority go  
*The tortillas going to the authorities.*



Figure 4.6 Sofia (left) turns to Andrea saying, "Many spines here are getting on me."

The conversation proceeds to discuss what the dream is trying to say and makes associations between the goat and a deer that had been hunted at the time.

#### 4.1.2.5 Restricted Request: Kaa? (Where?)

Asking “Where?” was the second most common restricted request in the corpus. In example (13) repair is initiated because of missing the ground of deictic reference which we can see in the multimodal transcript, though not in the talk by itself. Mary and Sofia are shelling corn together. They have got through the ears that are of good quality and plan to feed the rejects to the animals. Mary asks which are left to do (Figure 4.7).

(13) LMSMVP28Jul0902 00:13:44.58

- 1 Mary: Taa kò' la nèé'?'  
 ta kò'=lá nèé'  
 which rub?=already now  
*Which to do now?*
- 2 Sofia: Noxxo rkyè' stokko é.  
 -|S head/gaze pointing (but M not looking)  
 noxo rkyè' sH-tòko=é  
 lying there another=3o  
*There's another lying there.*
- 3 Mary: Kaa?  
*Where?*
- 4 Sofia: Asta noxxo cho'.  
 -|S points (moving hand into M's peripheral vision) then  
 quickly returns hand to shelling corn.  
 asta noxo cho'  
 toward lying that  
*That lying over there.*
- 5 Mary: Reaches forward for a large ear of corn lying in front of her.

Sofia's reply in 2 is formulated using a deictic, *rkyè'* (there), in the phrase *Noxxo rkyè' stokko é* (There's another lying there), and she includes a head point since her



Figure 4.7 Trouble in unseen head/gaze point, Remedy with hand point into visual field.

- 7 Sabina: Áà.  
Yes.
- 8 Kacha: Tii txee kaà endò' nokwà'? Aà: endò' nokwà' Nélla.  
-----|K stands, turns gaze to photo  
in hand  
ti txe kà endò' nokwà' à endò' nokwà' Nélla-L  
who then truly child this oh child this Nélla-CLAS  
*Whose then is this child truly? Oh, that child's Nella's.*

In this extract, Sabina asks a question, “Whose is this? This little boy.” Kacha, who has been standing nearby, asks, *Taa endò' niyyo?* (Which boy?), and Sabina uses a definite reference to indicate a little boy in the photo. But then Sabina wonders aloud whether that is a girl. During Sabina’s turn, Kacha bends forward to put her gaze on the photo. **Kacha** holds and asks again *Taa?* (Which?) using a minimal form, the form having evolved now that “the boy” is firmly established in common ground. Responding to Kacha’s question, Sabina expands her reference by using a relative clause *Ennò nzokkó xombóllo* (The one in the sombrero), providing an indexical detail from the photo to ground Kacha’s attention. Incrementally moving forward in the joint activity of repair, Kacha now offers an understanding check. She points to a child in the photo and says, *Níngye' la?* (That one?), offering a candidate for confirmation or disconfirmation to which Sabina responds with a token with confirmation. Kacha repeats Sabina’s question from 1, as if thinking about it for a moment, and then issues a realization token *Aà* (oh) and states that the child is Nella’s.

This last example of extended repair shows both the evolution of a which-question across multiple iterations and a subsequent instance of an offer type of repair initiation. We turn to a detailed look at offering repair next.

## 4.2 Offering Repair

Open requests put the bulk of the agency for repairing trouble on the speaker of T-1, and restricted requests distribute the agency between the speaker of T0 (narrowing the trouble) and the speaker of T-1, who then moves to resolve the trouble. Offering repair distributes agency though in this case the speaker initiating repair in T0 formulates a candidate understanding as a repair initiation to which the other speaker (of T-1) only has to respond with a yes (confirmation) or no (disconfirmation). Repair offers are of two types: offering for confirmation or offering correction. The first type makes confirmation or disconfirmation relevant. The second type is what is considered a true “other-repair” where the remedy is offered in the next turn position. Other-repair is very rare in Lachixío, so I focus here on other-initiated self-repair.

### 4.2.1 Offering for Confirmation or Disconfirmation

#### 4.2.1.1 Offers that Repeat Prior Speaker with Polar Question Enclitic =*la*

Repetition of a part of T-1 with the addition of the polar question enclitic =*la* both ties the repair to some relevant part of T-1 and makes explicit that this is a request for

- 2 Sabina: Láтта?   
 láta   
 Can?
- 3 Kacha: Lá[тта ochekkò' a'a.   
 láta o-chekkò'=a'a   
 can CMP-cut=already   
 A can got cut already.
- 4 Flavio: [Tòkko biséera nó enta tetzo' ákkà txee.   
 tòko biséera nó enta te-tzo' ákà txe   
 one visor that come back tree then   
 A band that came around the the tree.
- 5 Sabina: Nya'á   
 '-ni=á   
 ACT-say-1s   
 I do say.

Kacha tells the story to Sabina of why Flavio is sharpening his chainsaw. She says that it was yesterday that his chainsaw cut a (metal) can. Sabina repeats “Can?” which makes confirmation relevant. Kacha affirms by saying it was a can that got cut. In overlap with Kacha, Flavio clarifies that it was a metal band around the tree. Sabina shows her appreciation of the event by the formulaic *Nyaá* (I do say). Then Kacha continues the story telling how sparks flew when he hit it and that’s when the chain lost its edge and why Flavio’s sharpening it.

#### 4.2.1.3 Offers that Do Not Repeat Prior Speaker with Polar Question Enclitic =la

Repair can be offered with new information rather than by building a turn with repeated information. Like with repeats these can be explicitly marked for confirmation or disconfirmation with the polar question enclitic or not marked as such. When not marked as an explicit polar question, confirmation may still be relevant if the repair is checking an understanding. Or confirmation may not be relevant if the repair is doing correction (other-repair).

Pronominal reference where the indexical link to prior discourse is not apparent can often prompt repairs where a speaker offers a candidate noun as the explicit reference of a pronoun from a prior turn.

(20) LMSMVP24Jul0901 00:26:11.99

- 1 Elvia: Entxè ra! Kállò kye' ello owàá í becchò níngye?   
 -E gaze forward-|E bend head forward gaze to lower structure   
 entxè=ra kállò ke' elo o-wàá=í becchò níngye   
 last.night=EXCL how.many this where CMP-remove=3ANIM turkey thing   
 Last night! How many turkey an animal pulled out from this side?
- 2 Roberto: Bichoò la?   
 -----|E raises gaze to R   
 bi-chò=la   
 CLAS-coyote=Q   
 Coyote?
- 3 Elvia: Mhmm.   
 -|E nods   
 Uhuh.

- 4 Jorge: Ndzee í xho'o í ni'í beè ì noo ndzee í ásta díkki enza  
laabe zé'e.  
-----|J head point to town  
center  
n-tze=í r-cho'o=í ni'í bè=ì no  
STA-walk=3ANIM HAB-go.OUT=3ANIM house PL=3o and  
n-tze=í ásta díki enza labe zé'e  
STA-walk=3ANIM toward whole direction center there  
*It walks out of their house and walks all the way to the  
town center there.*

Angeles and Elvia's synchronous response (lines 2 and 3) indicates a convergence of perspective on a turn that was both underspecified and surprising to them. Further synchronization is seen in Andrea's head turn at the same time as the repair initiations of the other two women. While the women were washing clothes, the three of them had been talking about a deer that a family had kept in a corral in the past. Angeles asked if the deer was still there and Elvia confirmed that it was. Jorge adds in 1, "They say that it roams about a lot!" Both Elvia and Angeles then issue, in the same moment, an open-class repair interjection *Eé?* (Huh?), and Jorge redoes his action of 1 in 4, expanding with details.

In a more complex example of multiparty repair, multiple repairs are issued by multiple speakers in example (23).

(23) LMSMVP07Jul09 00:44:58.90

- 1 Sofia: Nékka' báyya ríñña' oyàà arólla' bicchà nékka'.  
-A looking at S----|F head turn-R to S  
néka' báya rína' o-yàà a-róla' bichà néka'  
yesterday go work CMP-go measure-half day yesterday  
*Yesterday I went to work in the middle of the day, yesterday.*
- 2 Alfonsa: Aà::[::  
-A leans forward toward S  
Oh:::
- 3 Fabiola: [Xhii ríñña'?'  
xhi rína'  
what work  
*What work?*
- 4 Sofia: Ríñña' Káarà:  
rína' Kára-L  
work Kara-CLAS  
*Kara's work.*
- 5 Alfonsa: De zé'e xhi kaà ori'i lò txee?  
de zé'e xhi kà o-ri'i=lò txee  
of there what truly CMP-do-2s then  
*And there what truly did you do then?*
- 4 Fabiola: Aà. Nóo oyàà choxxhí lò yéttzà la?  
à nó o-yàà choxxhí=lò yéttzà=la  
oh that CMP-go husk=2s corn.ear=Q  
*Oh. You went to husk corn?*
- 5 Sofia: Entxè' oyàà choxxhí á yéttzà otxee lá oriñña loo óora kye' Entxè'.  
-----|S quick head turn L and back  
entxè' o-yàà choxxhí=á yéttzà o-txe=lá o-rina  
last.night CMP-go husk=1s corn.ear late=already CMP-arrive  
lo óora ke' entxè'  
face hour this last.night  
*Last night I went to husk corn I arrived later already than  
this time now, last night.*

through video and not as audio-only recordings to attend to a whole of which talk is an incomplete part.

In some of the repairs, it looked like something else was also going on, reminding us that repairs may be, and often are, multifunctional, accomplishing a simultaneous actions or functioning as the vehicle for another action. For example, we saw **Elvia** issue an open-class repair initiation as a go ahead to continue a conversation from a turn that was interrupted by a child. There are also other speech tokens that look like the open-class repair initiation *eé* being made of a similarly minimal phonetic form but serving different ends. Their minimal form may in fact be related to Goffman's imperative that some items must intervene in a conversation without derailing the conversation (Goffman 1967). Another interjection, *eè*, with falling tone is often translated to Spanish as *a poco*, a positive minimal response like "Really?". Its form may help show appreciation without taking the floor away from the other speaker. There is also *eé* used to pressure a response. It is not used after a turn to issue repair but may be issued as a minimal turn when having issued a first-pair part to another and not getting a response. Doing so pressures the other by saying *Eé?* as if a response was made but not audible and in need of repair. Like the directives discussed in Chapter 2, the moral imperative here is for the interlocutor to make a world that matches the words.

Another place to question whether repair is about an actual problem of hearing, speaking, or understanding is with some offers of understanding. We can question whether the routine of repair may here be serving other ends. In Chapter 5, we engage this question by looking at several functions for repetition across turns, including the building of public signs that diagram the developing knowledge shared in a conversation. As we look at how speakers jointly build resonance into sequences of interaction in Chapter 5, we should keep in mind how analyzing repair teaches us that a joint-action routine can serve ends at multiple scales.

An impressionistic description of a conversation in Lachixío Zapotec is that it rings with resonance. Consider an example from the 63-minute video with 218 dialogic repetitions: Regina, Aurelia, and Francisco are talking about a sickness experienced by a friend. Aurelia is affected by the description. In 5 she asks, *Xhii eenzeè?* (What's that?). The response to this question is syntactically parallel to the question formulation.

(2) LSMVDP28Ju10903 00:42:07.88

- 5 Aurelia: **Xhii eenze'e?**  
 xhi e#nze'e  
 what CLAS#there  
**What's that?**
- 6 Regina: **Iccha eenze'e ta.**  
 -R still looking to left (away from A)  
 icha e#nze'e=ta  
 sick CLAS#there=always  
**The sickness is that always.**

Diagramming lines 5 and 6 as a diagraph shows the alignments of the resonant formulation.

- |            |      |            |         |
|------------|------|------------|---------|
| 5 Aurelia: | xhi  | e#nze'e    |         |
|            | what | CLAS#there |         |
| 6 Regina:  | icha | e#nze'e    | =ta     |
|            | sick | CLAS#there | =always |

Regina did not have to use the word order she chose in 6. The sentence could have been *Eenzeè iccha tà*. Syntactic priming may play a part in such emergent constructions, and the relationship between priming and dialogic syntax has been acknowledged (Du Bois, Hobson, and Hobson 2014), but where priming is automatic and unconscious, the resonance-building action of dialogic syntax is about formulating syntactic choices that create engagement between speakers. Consider how this conversation continues with two pairs of resonant turn exchanges.

- 7 Aurelia: **%Eeliccha kàlla' eenze'e txee%.**  
 -A looking forward  
 e#l-icha kàla' e#nze'e txe  
 CLAS#NOM-sick truly CLAS#there then  
**%That's truly the sickness then%.**
- 8 Regina: **Eeliccha kàlla' eenze'e txee.**  
 -R turns head from left to forward (parallel to A)  
 e#l-icha kàla' e#nze'e txe  
 CLAS#NOM-sick truly CLAS#there then  
**That's truly the sickness then.**
- 9 Aurelia: **Lèkka eenze'e kossa nze'kka.**  
 lèka e#nze'e kosa nze'ka  
 not.be CLAS#there thing good  
**That's not a good thing.**
- 10 Regina: **Lèkka eenze'e kossa nze'kka.**  
 -----|A nods  
 lèka e#nze'e kosa nze'ka  
 not.be CLAS#there thing good  
**That's not a good thing.**

the indirectness of the offer. Over the next few turns of talk, three different people iterate this offer to Efraín, each of them resonating the frame of the grandfather. They are less indirect, formulating their turns explicitly as yes/no questions with the polar question enclitic. Beside the polar question enclitic, each shows minor additions, subtractions, and paradigmatic substitutions. For instance, Pedro adds a second-person pronoun to the verb *tanna'* (touch) (meaning “work with” here in a common Mesoamerican usage), and Marta substitutes a related but more specific verb *a'na* (plow) in 3. After Marta's turn Efraín initiates open-class repair *Eé?* (Huh?), and Pedro then resonates Marta's frame substituting the animal pronoun =*i* for the noun *ó'nà'* (oxen). Carla also resonates this frame with the same noun as Marta. After a couple of more turns of dialogue, the grandfather just gives the boy a directive “get up” and Efraín gets up and joins him.

This example of repetition in child-directed speech illustrates some aspects of the richness of dialogic stimulus for children learning a language. In just a few turns of talk we find nouns and pronouns being swapped and paradigmatically substitutable verbs being exchanged for each other. While the iterations are in a sense doing “the same” action, they do it with such active variation that the affordances of the grammar and lexicon are on display as in the diagraphic representation.

Táola:	tana'		to-me'	ó'nà'	
	touch		a.little	oxen.team	
Pedro:	tana'	=lò		ó'nà'	=la
	touch	=2s		oxen.team	=Q
Andrea:	a'na	=lò		ó'nà'	=la
	plow	=2s		oxen.team	=Q
Pedro:	a'na	=lò		=í	=la
	plow	=2s		=3anim	=Q
Elvia:	a'na	=lò		ó'nà'	=la
	plow	=2s		oxen.team	=Q

### 5.7.2.2 *Phrase-Final =ra*

We have seen the exclamative enclitic =*ra* mainly in first position (on first-pair parts) in Chapters 2 and 4. In example (15) we see it on a second pair-part. Mary and Sofia are making tortillas, and Mary makes an assessment about the cuff of her pant getting wet last night. Sofia makes a second assessment resonating much of the frame and adding the exclamative enclitic.

(15) LMSMVPD23Ju109 00:08:49.70

- 1 Mary: Lána' kye' ri'yya kyeè loo mangéà okwattxà li'i á entxè.  
 lána' ke' ri'ya#kè#lo mangéà o-kwatxà li'i=á entxè  
 pants DEF see#eye#face cuff CMP-make.wet PRO=1s last.night  
*These pants, I can see that I got the cuff wet last night.*
- 2 Sofia: Aà atti mangéà kàlla' okwattxà li'i=lò entxè ra!  
 -M looks at Mary's pants  
 à ati mangéà kàla' o-kwatxà li'i=lò entxè=ra  
 oh given cuff truly CMP=get.wet PRO=2s last.night=EXL  
*Oh, It's certain that you truly got the cuff wet last night!*

The dialogic syntactic relations are made clear in the diagraph representation. There is a paradigmatic relationship set up between Mary's *ri'yya kyeé loo* (see [with eyes of the face]) and Sophia's *atti* (given), which both have epistemic function. Sophia also adds

further epistemic marking with *kàlla'* (truly), and =*ra* takes scope over the resonating frame for exclamative function.

Mary:	ri'ya#kè#lo	mangéra	o-kwatxà	li'i =a	entxè	
	see#eye#face	cuff	CMP-make.wet	PRO =1s	last.night	
Sofia:	ati	mangéra kàla'	o-kwatxà	li'i =lò	entxè	=ra
	given	mangera truly	CMP=make.wet	PRO =2s	last.night	=EXL

### 5.7.2.3 Phrase-Final =*ri*

In example (16) we see a phrase-final enclitic that never showed up in elicitation interviews and never in monologic narratives: =*ri*. This enclitic has been described by community members as emphatic agreement, and through consideration of the sequences of spontaneous talk, we see it marks an epistemic stance where a responding speaker makes a claim of being committed to the proposition, often through prior knowledge as in example (3). I gloss this as *K+AF* indicating affirming from a positive knowledge state following Heritage and Raymond's use of *K+* and *K-* for greater and lesser knowledge in dyadic participation frames (2002, 2005) and use "indeed" as a free translation. Another way that Sofia indicates her commitment to the proposition is that she subsequently resonates Mary's frame two times (without =*ri*) in lines 4 and 5 with low intensity.

(16) LMSMVP23Ju109 00:15:00.14

- 1 Mary: Waxxhi beè endò' ndxò.  
 -----| **S** head turn-L to **M**  
 waxhi bè endò'=ndxò  
 much PL child=3F  
*She has many children.*
- 2 Sofia: Waxxhi beè endò' ndxò ri.  
 -----| **S** nods  
 waxhi bè endò'=ndxò=ri  
 much PL child=3F=*K+AF*  
*She has many children, indeed.*
- 3 (1.5) **S** presses tortilla
- 4 Sofia: ^Waxxhi beè endò' ndxò°.  
 -----| **S** head turn-L to **M**  
 waxhi bè endò'=ndxò  
 much PL child=3F  
*She has many children.*
- 5 Sofia: ^Waxxhi beè endò' ndxò°.  
 -----| **S** head turn-L to **M**  
 waxhi bè endò'=ndxò  
 much PL child=3F  
*She has many children.*

These are just a few examples that illustrate some of the most common morphemes used to contrast dialogically resonant frames.

## 5.8 Resonance Mediates Disagreement by Building on Agreement

In improvisation theater, there is a strategy for improvising that is referred to as "yes and . . . thinking" that is also often employed in classrooms to value answers by a

- 35 Francisco: #m´m` (7.1)  
 Fr puts down cinch1 on ground to his left moves his body along the bench closer to Fe and carefully puts a knife from that side of the bench on top of cinch1.  
 Fe holds cinch2 presenting to P with prepared fold toward him.
- 36 Felicita: Nii á ozzella tòkko nó me'e' láa loo níngyè' nii á.  
 Peèro kaa nzaa é toò lèkka tzyàà é loo xhílla nokkwe.  
 Fr takes rope end with r-hand and straightens rope to end  
 -----Fe points to ring-----  
 -----|Fe turns head to right, head point  
 -----Fr| follows Fe's gaze  
 ni=á o-zxela tòko nó me'e' lá lo níngè' ni=á  
 say=1s CMP-find one that small COMP face thing say=1s  
 pero ka nza=é tò lèka tzyàà=é lo xhíla nokwe  
 but where gone=3o rope scarce just=3o face seat this  
**I say I found one that was smaller than that I say. But where did it go. It's not here on the saddle.**
- 37 Felicita: Tò-burro' Bítò ra!  
 tò-burro-' Bító-L=ra  
 deceased-burro-POS Victor-CLAS=EXCL  
**(The saddle) of Victor's dead burro!**

With Felicita's presentation of the assembly to Francisco in 34, she says, "It's grabbed like this," "tie it's knot." Francisco is still holding the first cinch strap which still needs more work. This competing commitment constrains his accepting her offer. His acceptance moves forward in steps incrementally as he first looks right and left along the strap he holds and lifts it to then carefully put it down. He utters #M´m` in 35 (a positive affirmation), but does so with a harsh breathy voice that indicates some annoyance. He puts down the first cinch strap visibly backing out of the competing commitment he has to it. Francisco then moves along the bench to his right to get closer to Felicita and the assembly she's holding together (a move that he projected ten lines earlier with gaze to the right along the bench). He goes on to take the rope, which is an intrinsic sign of entering into the seizing activity with Felicita and the strap-ring assembly. Felicita makes a reference to the large metal ring that she folded into the strap and which they are trying to seize, noting that she saw a smaller one earlier but that she can't find it now. Like with the ropes before, the presence of material influences the decisions, troubles, and outcomes of their joint activity. Perhaps Felicita could have seized the strap herself with a smaller ring, and though she knows there is a smaller ring somewhere, she influences Francisco to help seize the strap now rather than stop the project's ongoing progress to start a search for another ring.

Over the next couple of minutes, in a canonical joint activity with reciprocal roles and emergent product, Felicita holds the strap assembly in place while Francisco seizes the fold capturing the metal ring (Figure 6.3). The seizing knot involves more than he indicated to Felicita in his gestures. After Felicita helps him get it started, he takes the strap-ring assembly himself and holds one end of rope with his teeth and the other with his hand and pulls very tight to crimp the strap. This technique provides great force to seize the assembly tight—so much that the creaking sound of the compressing materials were picked up by the microphone.

- 26 Felicita: **Laa yànnà' né zekka.**  
 Fe raises folded strap-loop assembly presenting to Fr  
 -----|Fr turns gaze to Fe's hands  
 la yànnà'=né zeka  
 NEG stay=ACT3o good  
**It won't stay good.**
- 27 Francisco: **Otza'nna (0.4) laa tzyàà níngye' zxe'nna é. (1.0)**  
 |Fe lowers assembly to lap pulls rope tight around fold  
 -----|Fe raises presenting to Fr again  
 -----|Fr r-hand I-point to fold rotates r-hand  
 beyond folded end, then back to fold  
 o-tza'na la tzyàà níngye' zxe'nna=é  
 CMP-leave NEG just thing a.little=3o  
**Leave (0.4) just a little bit of it. (1.0)**
- 28 Francisco: **A'á.**  
 |Fr turns r-hand to wrap two fingers through ring under strap  
 and squeezes against thumb on top.  
 -----|Fe gaze l to far end of strap  
 -----|Fr gaze r to far end of strap  
**See here.**
- 29 Francisco: **Paara nó txe txó'o né xlàkko í.**  
 Fr I-point l-r along strap length then to Fe's hands with  
 strap assembly  
 para nó txe H\*-g-yo'o=né x-làkko=í  
 for that then POT-CAUS-enter=ACT3o POS-belly=3ANIM  
**So that then it makes it stay on its belly.**

In 25 then Francisco says, “Just however it goes” taking a stance that Felicita can tie the knot but examining his embodied action he foreshadows what would be involved for him to do it. Francisco turns his gaze to the right side of the bench projecting the location he will move to in 36 to work along with Felicita to fasten the ring to the strap. At 26 Felicita presents the strap-ring assembly holding it up for Francisco to show how she formed it, and she says, “It won't stay good” in a negative assessment of what could be her potential seizing attempt. At 27 she returns the assembly to her lap, working the rope to mime the seizing procedure that will secure the strap around the ring, and then raises the assembly again to Francisco, offering the assembly to him as she did in the previous extract with the first cinch strap. Her miming shows that she



27. Francisco r-hand I-point to fold



28. Francisco turns r-hand to wrap two fingers through ring under strap and squeezes against thumb on top.

**Figure 6.2** Francisco's index finger points to fold saying, “Leave just a little bit” (27), and then he turns his hand to depict the cinching of the fold wrapping two fingers through ring and squeezing folded strap held by Felicita.

from each other by the corral wall. There we see the language game relying more on audible talk along with intrinsic actions with the rope since the participants are blind to each other's bodies but can see and feel the movement of the rope and through that channel can sense each other's action.

- 114 Pedro: Ka'a tzyáà [xhi'ka kò tzyáà wa' tòkko é kaà nèé'.  
P shifts footing  
ka'a tzyáà xhi'ka kò tzyáà wa' tòko=é kà nèé'  
here just tie knot just this one=3o knot now  
*Here just [tie one knot now.*
- 115 Elvia: [^Aà eske' kà?  
E gaze still on P's hands  
aa eske' kà  
oh like.this truly  
*[Oh truly like this?*
- 116 Pedro: Sollo nó txoo nzee rekkò' tzyáà é nèé'.  
P tying rope  
solo nó txo nze rekò' tzyáà=é nèé'  
only that then go cut just=3o now  
*It's only that then we'll go and just cut it now.*
- 117 Elvia: #Nzee rekkò' tzyáà né txee.#  
P tying rope -----|C moves head and torso for view of F  
behind corral wall  
nze rekò' tzyáà=né txe  
go cut just=ACT3o then  
*#Going to just cut it then.#*
- 118 Pedro: Nzee rekkò' tzyáà né.  
P tying rope  
nze rekò' tzyáà=né  
go cut just=ACT3o  
*Going to just cut it.*
- 119 Pedro: Asta stokko laabe kye' nèé' xhikka wa stokko nèé'. (0.2)  
P tying rope E looks back on M's side of wall and back to P  
M changes stance to stand with hand on hips  
asta sH-tòko laabe ke' nèé' r-chika=wa sH-tòko  
until another-one center this now HAB-insert=1PLI another-one  
nèé  
now  
*Toward another at this middle now we'll insert another now.*
- 120 Elvia: Mm:  
E rocks torso back slightly from hips shifts foot back
- 121 Elvia: Aà skwa' txee la?  
|P turns head gaze on C  
aà skwa' txe=la  
oh like.this then=Q  
*Oh like this then?*
- 122 Pedro: Skwa' nèé'.  
-----|P gaze to his hands  
skwa' nèé'  
like.this now  
*Like this now.*
- 123 Elvia: ^Mm:  
124 (1.2)
- 125 Pedro: Tòkko tzyáà (.) yakkà' koò ka'a.  
-----|C body torque to gaze inside corral  
tòko tzyáà yakà' kò ka'a  
one just tie knot here  
*Just tie one knot here.*