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**Studies in the  
Syntax of Mixtecan Languages  
3**

**C. Henry Bradley  
and  
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## Abbreviations

ADD	additive	INTS	intensifier
AFF	affirmative	KNO	known object
AML	animal	LIM	limiter
CAUS	causative	LIQ	liquid
CF	contrafactual	lit.	literally
cf.	compare	ME	male ego
CMP	complementizer	MS	man speaking
COL	collectivizer	NEG	negative
COM	completive	PERF	perfective
CON	continuative	PL	plural
DEI	deity	POT	potential
DER	derivational	Reg. Sp.	regional Spanish
DIR	directional	REP	repetitive
EX	exclusive	RES	respect
FAM	familiar	SG	singular
FE	female ego	Sp.	Spanish
GEN	general	SPEC	specifier
HAB	habitual	SPH	spherical
HORT	hortatory	TAG	tag question marker
IMP	imperative	UN	unspecified third person
IN	inclusive	WOD	wood
INAN	inanimate	WS	woman speaking
INC	incompletive	?	gloss unknown
INT	interrogative		

# **A Syntactic Sketch of Alacatlalzala Mixtec**

**Carol F. Zylstra**

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# Introduction

## 0.1 Orientation

Alacatlazala Mixtec is spoken by about 10,000 persons living in the mountains of Guerrero, Mexico, in the municipalities of Malinaltepec and Atlamajalcingo del Monte. The dialect variant represented in this sketch is that spoken in Alacatlazala, a village of about 1,000 persons, which is part of Malinaltepec. It is mutually intelligible with over ten surrounding villages, including Atlamajalcingo del Monte, Coatzacoquitengo, Tototepec, Mixtecapan, Plan del Guadalupe, Tenetzalcingo, Cahuatache, Tepecocatlán, Tlaxco, and Ocotepc. Each town has some dialectal variation from the others, and there is some dialectal variation among speakers in the same town, probably partly due to intermarriage among the towns within the dialect area.

The area remains fairly monolingual. Over ninety percent of the women do not speak or understand any Spanish, but about eighty percent of the men speak enough Spanish to “get by” in making trips to large Mexican cities to work and make purchases. Even though there has been an elementary school in town for the past ten years, bilingualism is increasing very slowly. Children use Mixtec exclusively in play and interaction with one another, and Mixtec is the only language spoken in their homes. The vast majority of children do not attend school regularly enough to become good readers, and few go past the first two years. Even so, education is becoming a value, and most children learn to read a little, at least enough to decipher the letters. Less than half of adults over thirty can read and write, but over half of those under thirty can read and write a little.

This study is based on fieldwork conducted by the author in Alacatlalzala beginning in 1978. The dialect variant represented in this paper is especially based upon the speech of three young men of that town: Juan Galindo Cano, Hipólito de los Santos Beltrán, and Rutilio Alejandro Reyes. Each of these men has one parent from a neighboring town in the dialect area so that each idiolect reflects minor differences in tone and lexicon. The text in chapter seven was recorded on magnetic tape and transcribed by Rutilio Alejandro Reyes in 1986; he was twenty-eight years old at that time.

I would like to express my appreciation to David Tuggy, who greatly aided me in preparing the first draft of this paper, and to Lynn Anderson, my co-worker, who proofread two later drafts.

## 0.2 Phonology

Alacatlalzala Mixtec has the following phonological units: voiceless stops and affricate *p* (Spanish loans) *t ch k kw*, voiced stops *b d g* (Spanish loans), prenasalized stops *mb nd*, voiceless fricatives *f* (Spanish loans) *s sh x*, voiced fricative *v*, nasals *m n ñ*, liquids *l r*, semivowel *y*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e a u o*, nasalized vowels *in an on un*, surface form tones high (written with acute accent), mid (written with macron), and low (unmarked). For details of the phonology of Alacatlalzala and that of neighboring Coatzacoquitengo, see Zylstra (1980) and Casiano Franco (1982).

## 0.3 Bibliography

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- Zylstra, Carol F. 1980. Phonology and Morphophonemics of the Mixtec of Alacatlalzala, Guerrero, *S.I.L.–Mexico Workpapers* 4:15–42.

# 1

## Basic Sentences

### 1.1 Statements

Verbs fall into three classes—content, equative, and stative. The first two are inflected for aspect, while stative verbs are not. Sentences with content verbs are impersonal, intransitive, or transitive; transitive and intransitive sentences optionally take various kinds of adjuncts. Equative sentences link a subject to a nominal complement by means of an equative verb. Stative sentences link a subject to a stative verb; sometimes this linkage is provided by another verb. Each of these sentence types may take peripheral elements of time or location. Also, any element within them may be fronted to indicate focus, and each type may be used as a sentential complement in another sentence.

**1.1.1 Impersonal sentences.** The minimal form of an impersonal sentence consists of only an impersonal verb with no subject or object. The verbs in the sentences below are the only impersonal verbs found to date; most refer to meteorological phenomena.

*tāān*

CON:quake

There is an earthquake.

*ni iivī*

COM dawn

It dawned.

*kūnāā*

POT:get:dark

It will get dark.

*káhndī*

CON:explode

It is exploding.

(See also sentences 7.10 and 7.24 of the text in chapter seven.)

**1.1.2 Intransitive sentences.** The minimal form of an intransitive sentence consists of an intransitive verb followed by its subject.

*vashī*

*ñá*

CON:come she

She is coming (is on her way).

*ni shahan rā*

COM COM:go he

He went (and is back).

*ndáhā rí*

CON:get:fat it:AML

The animal is getting fat.

*kūshū yó*

POT:eat we:IN

We all will eat.

*kánduhu nó*

CON:be:lying it:WOD

It (wooden object or machine) is lying down.

*kísīn ún*

CON:sleep you:SG

You are sleeping.

*ni shāa ndi*

COM arrive we:EX

We arrived.

(See also 7.2, 7.6, 7.9, 7.19, and various others.)

**1.1.3 Transitive sentences.** The minimal form of a transitive sentence consists of a transitive verb, its subject, and its object.

*kanī rā rí*  
 COM:hit he it:AML  
 He hit the animal.

*shíshī ñá sita*  
 CON:eat she tortilla  
 She eats tortillas.

*ndúkú rā síhún*  
 CON:look:for he money  
 He is looking for money. *or* He is asking for money.

*kwīsō rā tūton*  
 POT:carry he firewood  
 He will carry firewood (on his back).

*kāhmī nā mihí*  
 POT:set:fire they trash  
 They will burn trash.

*sháhmī rā kwino*  
 CON:set:fire he cigarette  
 He is smoking a cigarette.

(See also 7.16, 7.28, 7.34, 7.49, and various others.)

To express reflexive action, a special construction is used: the verb is followed by the preposition *shíhín* ‘with’, the specifier *mīi*, and a noun phrase, which refers to both subject and object.

*sháhdā shíhín mīi rā*  
 CON:cut with SPEC he  
 He’s cutting himself.

*shahnī shíhín mīi rā*  
 COM:kill with SPEC he  
 He killed himself.

This reflexive construction is rare; the preferred way of expressing reflexive action is to specify the body part which receives the action.

*sháhndā rā shaha rā*  
 COM:cut he foot his  
 He cut his foot.<sup>1</sup>

A few transitive verbs whose object is understood by cultural context do not require that the object be made explicit, as seen by comparing the sentences in each of the following pairs.

*ni shīshī rā*  
 COM COM:eat he  
 He ate.

cf. *ni shīshī rā sita*  
 COM COM:eat he tortilla  
 He ate tortillas.

*chīhī rā*  
 CON:plant he  
 He is planting.

cf. *chīhī rā yūtū*  
 CON:plant he cornfield  
 He is planting (his) cornfield.

*ndīkō ñá*  
 POT:grind she  
 She will grind.

cf. *ndīkō ñá sháhá*  
 POT:grind she boiled:corn  
 She will grind the boiled corn.

**1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts.** Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, referent, associative, and instrument. Adjuncts are frequently expressed by adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6) or by prepositional phrases (see §4.3), which usually follow the subject in intransitive sentences and the object in transitive sentences. The specific locative noun or preposition used depends on both the kind of adjunct and the specific verb.

---

<sup>1</sup>Alacatlalzala Mixtec pronouns do not distinguish grammatical function (see §5.4). It would therefore be more accurate to gloss them consistently by a single English form. I have, however, chosen to gloss them by the English form most appropriate in the context in order to help the reader understand the structure of the Mixtec examples more quickly.



The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location, depending on the meaning of the verb; it includes elements traditionally classified as indirect object. This adjunct is normally required with verbs that express change of possession, change of location, position, or placement.

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, and it usually has an animate referent. The adjunct is signaled by the locative nouns *noo* ‘face’ or *ndāha* ‘hand’; but *ndāha* is restricted to humans, deities, and monkeys, and signals source with only two verbs: *kihīn* ‘to get’ and *tūn* ‘to grab’.

*tāshī i tūtū ndāha sīhī ñá*  
 CON:give I paper hand mother her  
 I’m giving the paper to her mother.

*sīkō ñá noni ndāha i*  
 CON:sell she corn hand my  
 She’s selling corn to me.

*sīkō ñá noni noo i*  
 CON:sell she corn face my  
 She’s selling corn to me.

*chāhvī i ushu pésó noo sutu*  
 POT:pay I ten peso face priest  
 I’ll pay ten pesos (Sp.) to the priest.

*chāhvī i ushu pésó ndāha sutu*  
 POT:pay I ten pesos hand priest  
 I’ll pay ten pesos to the priest.

*sātā ñá noni noo i*  
 POT:buy she corn face my  
 She’ll buy corn from me.

*sīkō ñá noni noo i*  
 POT:sell she corn face my  
 She’ll sell corn to me.

*kihīn sīhī ñá tūtū noo mī i*  
 COM:get mother her paper face SPEC my  
 Her mother received a paper from me.

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, depending on the meaning of the verb; but destination is more frequent. These instances of the locative adjunct usually have inanimate referents and they are often

unmarked by any locative noun or preposition, though *nda* ‘until’ or ‘as far as’ sometimes occurs.

Source:

*ni kēē rā tōkiin*  
COM leave he Alacatlalzala  
He left Alacatlalzala.

*kishī ñá ñōkōhyō*  
COM:come she Mexico:City  
She came from Mexico City.

*kōyō yuku ndāha yūton*  
CON:fall:PL leaf hand tree  
The leaves are falling from the tree branches.

Destination:

*kwahan rā nda tandāhyī*  
CON:go he until Tlapa  
He is going (on his way) to Tlapa.

*kohon rā noyāhvī*  
FOR:go he market  
He will go to the market.

*ni shāa ñá yūku*  
COM arrive she mountain  
She arrived (away from home) at the mountains.

(See also 7.9, 7.28–29, 7.44, 7.81, and 7.96.)

Source and destination may also be expressed by a sentence combination; see §6.1.2.

With intransitive verbs that express position or existence, the locative adjunct expresses location. Its referent is usually inanimate, and it is sometimes expressed by an adverb.

*yóó sihún tishīn káxá*  
CON:exist money stomach box  
There is money inside the box (Sp. *caja*).

*kánduhu tīkoto noo yuu*  
CON:be:lying clothes face rock  
The clothes are lying on the rock.

*kānōō sāā sata yīton*  
 COM:perch bird back tree  
 The bird is perched on the tree trunk.

With transitive verbs that express placement, the locative adjunct expresses destination.

*chinōō nāā sita noo shiyo*  
 COM:place:on she tortilla face comal  
 She put the tortilla on the comal.

*chindúhū nāā nālōhō nōho*  
 COM:put:down she girl ground  
 She put the little girl down on the ground.

*tāān nāā sihún īnī káxá*  
 COM:put:in:PL they money insides box  
 They were putting money inside the box.

*chindōo rāā lōhō yītā noo búró*  
 COM:scatter he little straw face donkey  
 He places a little straw before the donkey (Sp. *burro*).

(See also 7.8 and 7.105.)

Locative adjuncts are often found in sentences that are metaphorical in nature; in such sentences they do not necessarily refer to a spatial entity, and the verbs are not limited to the classes mentioned above.

*tāshī rāā sini rāā ndāha i*  
 POT:give he head his hand my  
 He will give me his advice.

*chikāa nāā kwachī noo rāā*  
 COM:put:in:SG they blame face his  
 They blamed him. (lit. They put the blame on his face.)

*chikāa nāā kwachī sata rāā*  
 COM:put:in:SG they blame back his  
 They blamed him unjustly. (lit. They put the blame on his back.)

The referent adjunct is marked by the locative possessed nouns *shaha* 'foot' or *noo* 'face'; *shaha* may be translated 'for the benefit of', 'on behalf of', 'for', 'with reference to', or 'about', and *noo* may be translated 'in place of'.

For the benefit of:

*ni shikā ní i shaha ndó*  
 COM COM:walk much I foot your:PL  
 I walked a lot for you all.

*shakī rā vīko shaha ta xōsé*  
 COM:prepare he fiesta foot his Joe  
 He threw a fiesta for Joe (Sp. *José*).

*ni sātā ñá yāha shaha síhí rā*  
 COM buy she chili foot mother his  
 She bought chilies for his mother.

On behalf of:

*sāā rā shaha i*  
 CON:be:angry he foot my  
 He's angry on my behalf. (because I was wronged)

*tandāhā rā ñīī kártá shaha kīhva rā*  
 COM:send he one letter foot sister:ME his  
 He sent a letter (Sp. *carta*) on behalf of his sister.

*sikō ñá noni shaha i*  
 CON:sell she corn foot my  
 She's selling corn on my behalf.

*chāhvī i ushu pésó shaha sutu*  
 POT:pay I ten peso foot priest  
 I'll pay ten pesos on behalf of the priest.

For:

*chāhvī ún shaha tatan*  
 POT:pay you:SG foot medicine  
 You'll pay for the medicine.

*kónī ñá kwéntó shaha líbró*  
 CON:want she story foot book  
 She wants a story (Sp. *cuento*) for the book (Sp. *libro*).

With reference to:

*shákū ñá shaha ta ni shihi*  
 CON:cry she foot man COM COM:die  
 She's crying about the dead man.

*ní kahan rā shaha vēhē ún*  
 COM speak he foot house your:SG  
 He talked about your house.

In place of:

*kāsā chíñō ñānī i noo i*  
 POR:do work brother:ME my face my  
 My brother will work in my place.

Sentences with *noo* are sometimes ambiguous; the *noo* may signal either a locative or a referent adjunct.

*chāhvī i ushu pésó noo sutu*  
 POR:pay I ten peso face priest  
 I'll pay ten pesos to the priest. *or* I'll pay ten pesos in place of the priest's paying it.

A referent adjunct with *noo* is also used in sentences expressing comparison of degree, in which case the additive marker *ka* must occur in the verb phrase.

*ndēé ní ka shínō ta xwán noo ta xōsé*  
 strong INTS ADD CON:run he John face his Joe  
 John (Sp. *Juan*) runs more than Joe.

*kwaha ní ka noni satā ta xōsé noo ta kán*  
 many INTS ADD corn COM:buy he Joe face his that  
 Joe bought VERY MUCH MORE CORN than he.

*līvī ní ka shítā sāā yóhō noo tí / ĩnka kán*  
 pretty INTS ADD CON:sing bird this face its:AML another that  
 This bird sings much prettier than that other one.

*kāhvī vahā ka ñá mārīā noo ñá kán*  
 CON:study good ADD she Mary face her that  
 Mary (Sp. *Mariá*) studies harder than that other one.

The associative adjunct takes the preposition *shíhín* 'with'. It often adds a second participant to some other element of the sentence, usually the subject. When an associative adjunct immediately follows the element it expands, the combination of the two is ambiguous with an additive noun phrase (see §3.8).

*kwahan rā yūku shíhín tisúhū*  
 CON:go he mountain with goat  
 He is going to the mountain country with the goats.

*shíshī rā shíhín sāhya rā*  
 CON:eat he with child his  
 He's eating with his children. *or* He and his children are eating.

*kísā chíñō rā shíhín nāsíhī rā*  
 CON:do work he with wife his  
 He's working with his wife. *or* He and his wife are working.

*shíshī rá ndūshú shíhín yīkin*  
 CON:eat he chicken with squash  
 He's eating chicken along with squash. *or* He's eating chicken and squash.

(See also 7.43.)

The associative adjunct is also used to mark the addressee in verbs of speech (see §§1.1.9 and 6.3). Some examples of the addressee use are found in 7.1, 7.3–4, 7.6, 7.10, and many others; in 7.1 the associative adjunct precedes the direct object.

Instrument adjunct is also marked by the preposition *shíhín* 'with'.

*kísā chíñō rā shíhín kīhi rā*  
 CON:do work he with hand:hoe his  
 He's working with his hoe.

*shíshī rā shíhín sita*  
 CON:eat he with tortilla  
 He's eating with a tortilla. (as opposed to a spoon)

*sháhndā nā tūton shíhín yūchu*  
 CON:cut they firewood with machete  
 They're chopping firewood with a machete.

*chahvī ñá líbró shíhín síhún*  
 COM:pay she book with money  
 She paid for the book with money.

Some sentences with *shíhín* are ambiguous: they may contain an instrument or associative adjunct, or an additive noun phrase (see §3.8).

*shíshī rā ndūchu shíhín sita*  
 CON:eat he bean with tortilla  
 He's eating beans by means of tortillas. *or* He's eating beans together with tortillas. *or* He's eating beans and tortillas.

The preposition *shihín* may be omitted when instrument is expressed by a body-part noun or by the noun *sokō* ‘hunger’; a body-part noun expressing instrument precedes the direct object.

*kanī rí ndāha rí sata mónó*  
 COM:hit it:AML hand its:AML back doll  
 It hit the back of the doll (Sp. *mono*) with its hand.

*shihī rā sokō*  
 CON:die he hunger  
 He’s very hungry. (lit. He’s dying of hunger.)

(See also 7.18, 7.20, 7.22, 7.59–60, and 7.75–76.)

Sometimes a sentence contains two adjuncts; in such cases, there is no fixed order. If one of the two is a locative, however, it usually precedes the other one.

*chahvī rā yihī shaha líbró shihín bīyété káhnō*  
 COM:pay he me foot book with bill big:sg  
 He paid me for the book with a big bill (Sp. *billete*).

*káhan rā shaha sāhya rā shihín kōmbári rā*  
 CON:speak he foot child his with cofather his  
 He is speaking with his child’s godfather (Sp. *compadre*) on behalf of the child.

*chinōo ñá sita noo shiyó shaha yū ñá*  
 COM:place:on she tortilla face comal foot husband her  
 She put the tortillas on the comal for her husband.

In general, speakers prefer short basic sentences. Rather than use more than two or three constituents beyond the verb phrase, it is common to employ a sentence combination (see §6.1.2), which provides an extra verb to which constituents are attached.

**1.1.5 Equative sentences.** The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of an equative verb, a subject, and a nominal complement. The verbs that occur in equative sentences are limited to the equative verbs *kūkūū* ‘to be’, *kūnānī* ‘to be named’, and *ndūū* ‘to change into’. The completive aspect of the intransitive verb *kōō* ‘to exist’ also occurs in some equative sentences. The rare verb *sīvī* ‘to be’, which is not inflected for aspect, occurs in some sentences whose nominal complement is a kinship term.

Speakers avoid putting equative verbs first in a sentence, and so the preferred order is subject—equative verb—nominal complement. If, however, some preverbal element or prefix occurs (see §2.2), the verb phrase can be initial.

*ta k̄āa kūkūū sisō ún*  
 he that:visible POT:be father:in:law your:SG  
 He will be your father-in-law.

*“Miguel de la Madrid” kúú prēsīdénté*  
 Miguel de la Madrid CON:be president  
 Miguel de la Madrid is the president (Sp. *presidente*).

*shikūū ta pábló pólúsīā*  
 COM:be he Paul police  
 Paul (Sp. *Pablo*) was a policeman (Sp. *policía*).

*talōhō yōhō kūnānī lēxádró*  
 boy this POT:be:named Alexander  
 This boy will be named Alexander (Sp. *Alejandro*).

*ta k̄āa ndúū k̄ūi*  
 he that:visible CON:change:into animal  
 He changes into an animal.

*ta xōsé ni shiyō tachíñō*  
 he Joe COM COM:exist authority  
 Joe was the town authority.

*ta k̄āa sīvī yīvā ún*  
 he that:visible CON:be father your:SG  
 He is your father.

(See also 7.26–27, and 7.78.)

Equative sentences sometimes take a referent adjunct expressing comparison.

*lápí yōhō kúú ton kánī ka noo ĩnka nó*  
 pencil this CON:be it:WOD long:SG ADD face another its:WOD  
 This pencil (Sp. *lápiz*) is longer than the other.

*sita ndāā kúú ñā kwíkōn ka noo sita kwáán*  
 tortilla dark CON:be it:INAN thick ADD face tortilla yellow  
 The dark tortillas are thicker than the yellow ones.

**1.1.6 Stative sentences.** The minimal form of a stative sentence consists of a stative verb and its subject (which is usually a noun phrase, but may



be an adverb).<sup>2</sup> All such sentences are factual statements and continuative in meaning.

*līvī viko*  
pretty cloud  
The clouds are pretty.

*yichí yóhō*  
dry here  
It's dry here.

*kwíká nā*  
rich they  
They're rich.

To express an aspect other than continuative, usually the intransitive verb *kōō* 'to exist' is used to link the stative verb and the subject. (The continuative aspect of *kōō* is *yōō*, and the completive aspect is *ni shiyo*.) Occasionally other intransitive verbs, such as *nākāa* 'to be located' or *kūshāhān* 'to smell', link the stative verb and the subject.

*lātōn ni shiyo glóbó*  
beautiful COM COM:exist balloon  
The balloon (Sp. *globo*) was beautiful.

*káhnō kōō rí*  
big:SG POT:exist it:AML  
The animal will be big.

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<sup>2</sup>Some stative verbs occur only rarely as the predicate of independent stative sentences, but do occur freely in relative clauses (see §3.1.3). In such cases, an equative sentence in which the stative verb occurs as part of the nominal complement is used to express a stative idea. The first sentence in the following pair is less acceptable to native speakers than the second.

*līvī sỳó*  
pretty dress  
The dress is pretty.

*sỳó līvī kúú ñā*  
dress pretty CON:be it:INAN  
It's a pretty dress.

Sentence 7.18 of the text contains both an equative construction used to express a stative idea, and a simple stative sentence.

*kīnī ni shiyo tākwī*  
 dirty COM COM:exist water  
 The water was dirty.

*yātin nākāa ñōkóhyō*  
 near CON:be:located Mexico:City  
 Mexico City is close by.

*līvī sháhān yītā*  
 pretty CON:smell flower  
 The flowers smell pretty.

(See also 7.89.)

Subjective states are expressed by a stative verb followed by *kūnāhá* ‘to seem’ or *kāā* ‘to appear’. (The verb *kāā* does not have a potential aspect form.)

*káhnō náhā ndivi*  
 big:SG CON:seem egg  
 The egg seems big.

*yāā kāā ndīvahyí*  
 white CON:appear coyote  
 The coyote looks white.

*kīnī náhā kīni yóhō*  
 ugly CON:appear pig this  
 This pig appears ugly.

Stative sentences sometimes take a referent adjunct expressing comparison.

*káhnō ka yóhó noo yihi*  
 big:SG ADD you:SG face my  
 You’re bigger than I am.

*kwī ka yīton noo yītā*  
 green ADD tree face plant  
 The tree is greener than the plant.

*shikwaha ka ta kán noo ta yóhō*  
 old ADD he that face his this  
 That man is older than this one.

**1.1.7 Peripheral elements.** All sentence types may indicate time, location, and manner. Peripheral location describes the setting of an entire

predication and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs.

Time and location peripheral elements may be expressed by adverbs (see §5.5), adverb phrases (see §4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), prepositional phrases (see §4.3), or subordinate sentences (see §6.2.1). Peripheral manner is expressed by a very limited class of elements.

Peripheral time or location usually occurs as the last element in the sentence, and when both time and location occur in a single sentence, time usually follows location. Occasionally, time or location is followed by an associative adjunct or by the general marker *tīn* 'also' (which must occur last). Peripheral manner may occur as the first element in the sentence or at the end. When it is expressed by the general marker *tūkū* 'again', it obligatorily occurs as the first element in the sentence.

Time:

*nākōnā nā yéhē tākáhān kwūī*  
 POT:open they door ? short  
 They will open the door in just a minute.

*ndāsī tyéndá anda kaā ovi*  
 closed store until hour two  
 The store (Sp. *tienda*) is closed until two o'clock.

*ta kāa kúū prēsidenté vītīn*  
 he that:visible CON:be president now  
 He is president now.

*kōhō rā nīī pāstíyá ñōkáhñō*  
 POT:drink he one pill noon  
 He'll take one pill (Sp. *pastilla*) at noon.

(See also 7.2, 7.10, 7.15, 7.94, and others.)

Location:

*tásháhā rā yéhē vēhē ñohō*  
 CON:dance he door house blessed  
 He dances in front of the church.

*nakāvā nīī tūtū shaha rā*  
 COM:fall:SG one paper foot his  
 A sheet of paper fell at his feet.

*síkō nā kuñō shiki*  
 CON:sell they meat hill  
 They're selling meat on the hill.

*sátā rā kuñō vēhē ta xōsé*  
 CON:buy he meat house his Joe  
 He buys meat at Joe's house.

(See also 7.31 and 7.112.)

Manner:

*tūkū sandáhvi rā sīhí rā*  
 again COM:cheat he mother his  
 Again he cheated his mother.

*ni kīsā rā sāá*  
 COM do he thus  
 He did thus.

(See also 7.20 and 7.80.)

Time and location:

*shishī nā kehē kōnī*  
 COM:eat they outside yesterday  
 They ate outside yesterday.

*ni tāān nōkóhyō kōnī*  
 COM quake Mexico:City yesterday  
 There was an earthquake in Mexico City yesterday.

Manner, time, and location:

*ni kahan nā sāá vēhē rā kōnī*  
 COM speak they thus house his yesterday  
 They spoke thus at his house yesterday.

Associative adjunct following peripheral element:

*shishī rā vītīn shíhín sāhya rā*  
 CON:eat he now with child his  
 He's eating now with his children.

**1.1.8 Focus permutations.** In appropriate discourse contexts, any one element of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase

position. Throughout this sketch focused elements are indicated by CAPITALIZATION in the free translation. When the subject is focused, a clitic pronoun copy may also occur in normal subject position following the verb.

## Subject focus:

*ñá mārīā chīndēé ñá ndihi*  
 she Mary CON:help she US:EX  
 MARY is helping us.

*ñīī taā ndohō rā shīhín sāhya rā*  
 one man COM:fare he with child his  
 A MAN suffered along with his children.

*yīhi kohon i tandáhyī*  
 I POT:go I Tlapa  
 I will go to Tlapa.

*ndīhī īnā nindōō rí shiki*  
 all dog COM COM:Sit:PL hill  
 ALL THE DOGS stayed on the hill.

## Object focus:

*lōhō ka tí visi kāshī i*  
 little ADD it:SPH sweet POT:eat I  
 I'll eat A LITTLE MORE CANDY.

*tīton ndīsō i*  
 firewood CON:carry:on:back I  
 I'm carrying FIREWOOD (on my back).

(See also 7.5.)

## Adjunct focus:

*ndāha mū i tāshī ún vístá*  
 hand SPEC my POT:give you:SG viewmaster  
 You will give the viewmaster (Sp. *vista*) TO ME.

*shaha sīhī ñá sháku ñá*  
 foot mother her CON:cry she  
 She is crying FOR HER MOTHER.

*shíhín yūchu shaá sháhndā rā tūton*  
 with machete new CON:cut he firewood  
 He is cutting firewood WITH A NEW MACHETE.

*shíhín mígó rā ni shāa rā nōkóhyō*  
 with friend his COM arrive he Mexico:City  
 He arrived in Mexico City WITH HIS FRIEND (Sp. *amigo*).

(See also 7.10, 7.52, 7.71, 7.74, 7.97, 7.100, 7.102–103, and 7.105.)

Peripheral element focus:

*tāan kishī nā vēhē i*  
 tomorrow POT:come they house my  
 They'll come to my house TOMORROW.

*tandáhyī satā rā noni*  
 Tlapa COM:buy he corn  
 He bought corn IN TLAPA.

*ndāha nīī yūton ni kīsin nā*  
 hand one tree COM sleep they  
 They slept IN THE BRANCH OF A TREE.

*vahā yóō i*  
 good CON:sit:SG I  
 I am getting along FINE.

(See also 7.16, 7.32, 7.36, 7.45, 7.47, and various others.)

When a focused element is expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase (see §3.6), the locative noun may either be fronted along with the rest of the phrase or left in its original position.

*ndāha mī i tashī rā tūtū*  
 hand SPEC my COM:give he paper  
 He gave the paper TO ME.

*mī i tashī rā tūtū ndāha*  
 SPEC my COM:give he paper hand  
 He gave the paper to ME.

In equative sentences, either the subject or the nominal complement may be focused. In that the subject is normally initial anyway, subject focus is signaled by the use of a clitic pronoun copy. The order may be either subject—verb—clitic pronoun—nominal complement, or subject—nominal complement—verb—clitic pronoun.

*ta k̄āa kūkūū rā tachíñō*  
 he that:visible POT:be he authority  
 HE will be the head of the town council.

*ta k̄āa tachíñō kūkūū rā*  
 he that:visible authority POT:be he  
 HE will be the head of the town council.

To focus the nominal complement, the order is nominal complement—verb—subject.

*sisó ún kúū ta k̄āa*  
 father:in:law your:SG CON:be he that:visible  
 He's YOUR FATHER-IN-LAW.

*nā ndīvahā kúū nā*  
 they evil CON:be they  
 They are EVIL PEOPLE (OR EVIL SPIRITS).

Two elements may be focused.

*vītīn yū ún kúū rā*  
 now husband your:SG CON:be he  
 NOW he is YOUR HUSBAND.

(See also 7.4, 7.20, and 7.74.)

A somewhat stronger degree of focus can be expressed by placing the preposition *nda* 'until' before a fronted noun phrase, and the limiter *vā* 'just' after it.

*nda ndīvahyí vā ni ndētā*  
 until coyote LIM COM leave:SG  
 JUST THE COYOTE came out.

This kind of focus can take the place of the subject or object of two basic sentences in a complex sentence, as seen in 7.42.

**1.1.9 Sentential complements.** Basic sentences occur both as subject complements and as object complements within other sentences, though object complements occur more frequently.

Subject complements occur in both intransitive and stative sentences. In intransitive sentences, they immediately follow the main verb with no intervening complementizer, and they occur with a restricted set of intransitive verbs, including *ndīhī* 'to finish', *kīsháhā* 'to begin', *kīvī* 'to be possible', *kōnī ñóhō* 'to be necessary', and *kónī* 'to want'. Each of these

verbs requires that the complement verb be inflected for aspect, i.e., that it not be a stative verb alone.

When used with a subject complement, *ndihī* ‘to finish’ may occur in any aspect, but it requires agreement of aspect in the complement verb.

*ndihī*      *kisā*      *vahā*      *rā*      *sīni*  
 COM:finish    COM:do    good    he    hat  
 He finished making the hat.

*ndihī*      *kūshū*      *nā*      *tākāhān*      *kwītī*  
 POT:finish    POT:eat    they ?      short  
 They will finish eating in just a minute.

The verb *kīsháhā* ‘to begin’ occurs only in potential and completive aspects. In potential aspect, it requires a complement verb in potential aspect, but in completive aspect, it may occur with a complement verb in either continuative or completive aspect.<sup>3</sup>

*kīsháhā*      *kāsā*      *chīñō*      *rā*      *yūtū*  
 POT:begin    POT:do work    he    cornfield  
 He’ll begin working in his cornfield.

*kisháhā*      *káhan*      *rā*  
 COM:begin    CON:speak    he  
 He began to speak.

(See also 7.2, 7.63, and 7.75.)

The verb *kīvī* ‘to be possible’ is not inflected for aspect, and seldom takes any subject except a subject complement. The complement verb must be in potential aspect.

*kīvī*                      *sātā*      *ñá*      *stúfá*      *shaá*      *vītīn*  
 CON:be:possible    POT:buy    she    stove    new    now  
 It is possible for her to buy a new stove (Sp. *estufa*) now.

*kīvī*                      *kūsiki*      *nā*      *vītīn*  
 CON:be:possible    POT:play    they    now  
 It is possible for them to play now.

This verb occurs in the text in chapter seven only in 7.111, which contains an idiom, *nī vāsā nī kīvī*, which means ‘it was absolutely not possible’.

The verb *kōnī ñóhō* ‘to be necessary’ may occur in any aspect, but it requires a complement verb in potential aspect.

<sup>3</sup>In appropriate discourse contexts, *kīsháhā* ‘to begin’ can also mean ‘to continue’; see 7.110.



*shínī n̄óhō kūsūn rā*  
 CON:see CON:contain POT:sleep he  
 It is necessary that he sleep.

(See also 7.34.)

The verb *kónī* ‘to want’ appears only in continuative aspect when it is used with a subject complement, in which use it means ‘to be about to’. It requires a complement verb in potential aspect.

*kónī kīvī rā*  
 CON:want POT:die he  
 He’s about to die.

*kónī kōhō rā tatan*  
 CON:want POT:drink he medicine  
 He’s about to take the medicine.

(See also 7.48.)

When a subject complement occurs in a stative sentence, it is optionally introduced by the third person inanimate prestressed pronoun *n̄ā*, which functions as a complementizer. If the speaker is expressing an evaluation, the complementizer is optionally omitted, and the preverbal marker *ná* ‘hortatory’ occurs in the subject complement (see §2.1.2).

*ndíshā n̄ā ni shahan rā*  
 true CMP COM COM:go he  
 It is true that he went.

*ndíshā ni shahan rā*  
 true COM COM:go he  
 It is true he went.

*tāmī ní sháhān kīsā vahā ún*  
 good:smelling INTS CON:smell CON:do good you:SG

*ndivi shíhín tí komi*  
 egg with it:SPH ?  
 Your making of the egg with onion smells very good.

*vahā n̄ā ná kohon rā*  
 good CMP HORT POT:go he  
 It would be good that he go.

(See also 7.5, 7.35, and 7.108.)

Object complements are sometimes introduced by a complementizer, and sometimes show restrictions of subject or aspect between the matrix and complement sentences.

The verb *kónī* ‘to want (continuative)’ allows either coreferential or noncoreferential subjects, and *kúchíñō* ‘to be able (continuative)’ requires coreferential subjects. When the subjects are coreferential, the subject of the main verb may be unexpressed. These verbs require the complement verb to be in potential aspect. The complementizer is rare when the subjects are coreferential, and most speakers accept *kónī* and *kúchíñō* only in the continuative aspect, unless they are negated.

*kónī rā kohon rā*  
 CON:want he POT:go he  
 He wants to go.

*kónī rā ñā kohon rā*  
 CON:want he CMP POT:go he  
 He wants to go.

*kónī kohon rā*  
 CON:want POT:go he  
 He wants to go. *or* He is about to go.

*kóni ñá ñā kāhvī sāhya ñá*  
 CON:want she CMP POT:study child her  
 She wants her children to study.

*kónī rā sātā ñá noni*  
 CON:want he POT:buy she corn  
 He wants her to buy corn.

*kúchíñō kōkīhīn rā tūton vūīn*  
 CON:be:able POT:get he firewood now  
 He can go get firewood now.

*kúchíñō rā kākā rā vūīn*  
 CON:be:able he POT:walk he now  
 He can walk now.

The verbs *ndūkú* ‘to intend’, *sāndīhī* ‘to finish’, and *kīsháhā* ‘to begin’ require their subjects to be expressed when they occur with an object complement.

The subjects of *ndūkú* ‘to intend’ and its object complement may be coreferential or noncoreferential, and a complementizer is optional. It requires that the complement verb be in potential aspect.

*ndúkú rí kāshī rí rā*  
 CON:intend it:AML POT:eat it:AML him  
 The animal was intending to bite him.

*ndúkú nā ñā kīvī rā*  
 CON:intend they CMP POT:die he  
 They were intending that he die.

The verb *sāndihī* ‘to finish’ requires a coreferential subject in its object complement, a complementizer is optional, and the complement verb can be in either continuative or completive aspect.

*sandihī nā shishī nā tākáhān kwūī*  
 COM:finish they COM:eat they ? short  
 They finished eating just a minute ago.

*sandihī rā ñā kīsā vahā rā sīni*  
 COM:finish he CMP CON:do good he hat  
 He finished making a hat.

The verb *kisháhā* ‘to begin’ occurs only in potential and completive aspects. The aspect restrictions for its object complement verb are the same as those stated above for its subject complement verb.

*kisháhā rā sháhñī rā rí*  
 COM:begin he CON:kill he it:AML  
 He began to kill the animal.

(See also 7.76 and 7.77.)

Sentences with the causative verb *kāsā* ‘to do’ require the complementizer *ñā*, usually have noncoreferential subjects between the two parts, and follow certain aspect restrictions. If *kāsā* is in potential aspect, the complement verb must agree in aspect; if it is in continuative aspect, the complement verb may have either potential or continuative aspect; and if it is in completive aspect, the complement verb may have any aspect.

*kāsā ñá ñā kūshū sāhya ñá*  
 POT:do she CMP POT:eat child her  
 She will make her child eat.

*kīsā rā ñā chāhvī mīgó rā*  
 CON:do he CMP POT:pay friend his  
 He is making his friend pay.

*kisā rā ñā kohon ndi ñōyáhvī*  
 COM:do he CMP POT:go WE:EX market  
 He made us go to the market.

*kisā rā ñā kwahan inā sana rā kehe*  
 COM:do he CMP CON:go dog domestic:animal his outside  
 He made his dog go outside.

Other verbs that take object complements are mainly verbs of speech or mental process. They permit the subjects to be either coreferential or noncoreferential. The complement may have a verb in any aspect, and takes an optional complementizer *ñā*.

*káchí nā ni shihi rā*  
 CON:say they COM COM:die he  
 They say he died.

*káchí nā ñā ni shihi rā*  
 CON:say they CMP COM COM:die he  
 They say that he died.

*shínī i kīshāa tachíñō tāan*  
 CON:see I POT:arrive authority tomorrow  
 I know the town authority will arrive tomorrow.

*shínī i ñā kīshāa tachíñō tāan*  
 CON:see I CMP POT:arrive authority tomorrow  
 I know that the town authority will arrive tomorrow.

With speech verbs, the addressee is usually expressed by an associative adjunct that precedes the object complement.

*káchí rā shíhín ñá íyó sita*  
 CON:say he with her CON:exist tortilla  
 He was telling her there are tortillas.

*ni kahan rā shíhín nākwálí kūkwūn nā*  
 COM speak he with children POT:cease they  
 He told the children to be quiet.

An element within a complement sentence may be focused by fronting it either to the beginning of the complement sentence or to the beginning of the matrix sentence.

*shánī sini rā shíhín syérā káhndā rā yīton*  
 CON:hit head he with saw POT:cut he tree

*shaha mésar*  
 foot table

He thinks he will cut the wood for the table (Sp. *mesa*) WITH A SAW (Sp. *sierra*).

*inka ñā kónī rā káhan rā*  
 another it:INAN CON:want he POT:speak he  
 He wanted to tell ANOTHER STORY.

*vēhē shaá shánī īnī i kāsā vahā nā*  
 house new CON:hit insides I POT:do good they  
 I was thinking that they'd make a NEW HOUSE.

Sometimes an entire object complement is fronted for focus. No complementizer occurs.

*nī káchíñō ñá / ni shūn*  
 NOR POT:work she COM NEG:COM:want  
 She didn't even (Sp. *ni*) want TO WORK.

*ndísō rā ndā ovi siko ushu kílō /*  
 CON:carry:on:back he until two twenty ten kilogram

*kúchíñō rā*  
 CON:be:able he

He can CARRY (on his back) UP TO FIFTY KILOGRAMS (Sp. *kilo*).

*shíhín talōhō tatan / kīsā sīhí rā*  
 CON:drink boy medicine CON:do mother his  
 His mother makes THE BOY DRINK THE MEDICINE.

*tāān ní / kīsā nā ndīvahā*  
 CON:quake INTS COM:do they evil  
 Evil people caused THE EARTH TO QUAKE STRONGLY.

Object complements of speech or mental process verbs often occur in sentence-initial position, in which case no complementizer occurs. No special prominence is implied by this order.

*kíshī māéstró tāan / káhán i*  
 POT:come teacher tomorrow CON:think I  
 The teacher (Sp. *maestro*) will come tomorrow, I think.

*ndañóhō īnā / káchí nā*  
 COM:get:lost dog CON:say they  
 The dog got lost, they say.

*kūkū ta pédró sutu / shánī īnī rā*  
 POT:be he Peter priest CON:hit insides he  
 Peter (Sp. *Pedro*) will become a priest, he was thinking.

*tāan kohon rā / shínī i*  
 tomorrow POT:go he CON:see I  
 I know that TOMORROW he'll go.

## 1.2 Questions

**1.2.1 YES/NO questions.** Any basic sentence can be converted to a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative sentential marker *án* at the beginning.

*án kíhvi rā*  
 INT CON:hurt he  
 Is he having pain?

*án yūku ni shahan rā*  
 INT mountain COM COM:go he  
 Did he go TO THE MOUNTAIN?

*án shínī ún ñōō tandáhyī*  
 INT CON:see you:SG town Tlapa  
 Are you familiar with the town of Tlapa?

*án ñá kán kúū síhí rā*  
 INT she that CON:be mother his  
 Is she his mother?

*án shíhín yūton ni kánī rā īnā*  
 INT with stick COM hit he dog  
 Did he hit the dog WITH A STICK?

*án kúnī ún kōhō lōhō ka ún káfé*  
 INT CON:want you:SG POT:drink little ADD you:SG coffee  
 Would you like to drink a little more coffee (Sp. *café*)?

(See also 7.14, 7.17, 7.55, 7.67, 7.73, and others.)

The tag question marker *ra* and the general adverb *sāá* ‘thus’ occur at the end of YES/NO questions and other sentences, and are set off from them by pause. Both of these are used to express a question to which a positive answer is expected.

*sāvā nā vāsā ndōō nā kán / sāá*  
 half they NEG CON:sit:PL they there thus  
 Some of them don't live there, isn't that right?

*ni shahan ndó noyáhvi / ra*  
 COM go YOU:PL market TAG  
 You went to the market, right?

*án kisā kwíhnā rā / ra*  
 INT COM:do robbery he TAG  
 He committed the robbery, right?

**1.2.2 WH questions.** Subjects and objects are questioned by using *yō* 'who?', *yūkú* 'what?', *yūkía* 'what?', or an interrogative noun phrase (see §3.4).

Questioning subject:

*yō kisā vahā síni*  
 who COM:do good hat  
 Who made the hat?

*ndá nā ni shahan īnī ñōō*  
 which they COM go insides town  
 Who went to the town center?

*yūkú ñā līvī*  
 what it:INAN pretty  
 Which is the pretty one?

*ndá kīli kwehe*  
 which animal fierce  
 Which animal is fierce?

Questioning object:

*yūkía kúnī ún*  
 what CON:want you:SG  
 What do you want?

*yūkía ndōho ún*  
 what COM:fare you:SG  
 What happened to you?

*ndá tāyi sātā ún*  
 which chair POT:buy you:SG  
 Which chair will you buy?

*yūkū nā ndúkú ún*  
 what they CON:look:for you:SG  
 For whom are you looking?

(See also 7.31.)

If both subject and object are animate, the sentence is ambiguous.

*yūkú nā ni kānī ta xwán*  
 what they/them COM hit he/him John  
 Whom did John hit? *or* Who hit John?

By far the most usual way to question the subject, however, is to employ an equative sentence, composed of an interrogative word or noun phrase, an equative verb, and its subject, which often contains a relative clause.

*ndá tón kúū ton ni tiví*  
 which it:WOD CON:be it:WOD COM break:down  
 Which car is the one that broke down?

*yō kúú ta vātā*  
 who CON:be he dishonest  
 Who is the dishonest man?

Adjuncts and peripheral elements are usually questioned by using an interrogative adverb or certain fixed interrogative noun phrases.

*āmā kishāa ún*  
 when COM:arrive you:SG  
 When did you arrive?

*āmā nōho ndó*  
 when POT:return:home you:PL  
 When will you return home?

*ndá órá kīsháhā vīko*  
 which hour POT:begin fiesta  
 What time (Sp. *hora*) will the fiesta begin?

*míchí yóō sīhí rā*  
 where CON:sit:SG mother his  
 Where does his mother live?



*míkía kohon rā*  
 where POT:go he  
 Where is he going to go?

*ndāchún ni ndoō ndó*  
 why COM sit:PL YOU:PL  
 Why did you remain?

*ndāchún ni ndāhyī rā*  
 why COM become:angry he  
 Why did he become angry?

(See also 7.60.)

Some interrogative expressions can be expanded by adding either *kúū* ‘to be (continuative)’ plus a pronoun, or *kía* ‘it is’, which creates a structure similar to that of an equative sentence.

*ndá shaha kúū ñā kohon rā*  
 which foot CON:be it:INAN POT:go he  
 For what purpose will he go?

*ndá chíñō kía kwahan rā kán*  
 which work CON:be:GEN CON:go he there  
 Why is he going there?

(See also 7.11.).

The interrogative adverbs *ndāchún* ‘why?’ and *mí* ‘where?’ may be used rhetorically.

*ndāchún livī ní yūku*  
 why pretty INTS mountain  
 How lovely the mountains are!

*mí kánī savi*  
 where CON:hit rain:god  
 Where is it raining? (I don’t see it!)

(See also 7.46–47, 7.50, 7.61, and others.)

When the possessor of a locative noun or the object of a preposition expressing an adjunct or a peripheral element is questioned, the locative noun or preposition usually remains in the original order.

*ndá nā káhan nā shaha*  
 which they CON:speak they foot  
 Whom are they speaking about?

*yūkú nā shíshī rā sita shíhín*  
 what they CON:eat he tortilla with  
 With whom is he eating tortillas?

*yō kísā chíñō rā noo*  
 who CON:do work he face  
 In whose place is he working?

The locative noun can also, however, immediately follow a simple interrogative pronoun.

*yō noo ni sīkō ñá noni*  
 who face COM sell she corn  
 To whom did she sell corn?

*ndá noo chinōo rā káxá*  
 which face COM:place:on he box  
 On what surface did he put the box?

*yō shaha nakātā ñá tūkoto*  
 who foot COM:wash she clothes  
 For whom did she wash the clothes?

The nominal complement of an equative sentence is questioned by using *yūkú* ‘what?’

*yūkú kúū ta kāa*  
 what CON:be he that:visible  
 Who is he?

Stative verbs are questioned by using the interrogative adverb *ndāsāá* ‘how?’ A content verb must always occur in such questions.

*ndāsāá kōō viko*  
 how POT:exist fiesta  
 How will the fiesta be?

*ndāsāá káá ta kāa*  
 how CON:appear he that:visible  
 How does he appear?

*ndāsāá náhā ta kāa*  
 how CON:seem he that:visible  
 How does he seem?

Content verbs are questioned by *yúkía* ‘what?’, followed by *kāsā* ‘to do’ if the subject of the verb is agentive, or by *ndōhō* ‘to fare’ or ‘to happen to’ if the subject of the verb is not agentive.

*yūkía kīsā ñálōhō*  
 what CON:do girl  
 What is the girl doing?

*yūkía ndohō rā*  
 what COM:fare he  
 What happened to him?

**1.2.3 Indirect questions.** Both YES/NO questions and WH questions can occur as object complements of such verbs as *kāhan* ‘to speak’, *ndākā tōhon* ‘to ask’, *kāhán* ‘to think’, *kūndāā īnī* ‘to understand’, *kōnī* ‘to know’, *kōtō* ‘to look’, *kōnī sohō* ‘to hear’, and *kānī īnī* ‘to think’. In either case, the indirect question is indistinguishable in form from the corresponding direct question.

Indirect YES/NO questions:

*ndākā tōhon rā án nōhō ndi tāan*  
 CON:deliver word he INT POT:return:home we:EX tomorrow  
 He is asking if we’re returning home tomorrow.

*vāsā shínī ñá án ndóō nā vūūn*  
 NEG CON:see she INT CON:sit:PL they now  
 She doesn’t know if they’re at home now.

(See also 7.103.)

Indirect WH questions:

*ni kahan rā shíhín i āmā kishāa ñá*  
 COM speak he with me when POT:arrive she  
 He told me when she would arrive.

*vāsā shínī i ndá kotó ndíshín rā vūūn*  
 NEG CON:know I which shirt CON:wear he now  
 I don’t know what shirt (Sp. *cotón*) he’s wearing now.

*kūndāā īnī i yūkía kōnī rā*  
 CON:be straight:insides I what CON:want he  
 I know what he wants.

*shínī sohō rā mí kōō vīko*  
 CON:see ear he where POT:exist fiesta  
 He heard where the fiesta was going to be.

*ni kahan rā ndāsāá kāvā yó káró*  
 COM speak he how POT:turn we:IN vehicle  
 He told us how to drive a car (Sp. *carro*).

*shánī īnī i ndāsāá kāsā vahā yó vēhē shaá*  
 CON:hit insides I how POT:do good we:IN house new  
 I've been thinking about how to make a new house.

(See also 7.88.)

### 1.3 Commands

To form a second person singular command, a basic sentence in potential aspect with no subject is used.

*ndākoō*  
 POT:get:up  
 Get up! (familiar)

*tāshī nā ndāha i*  
 POT:give it:INAN hand my  
 Give it to me! (familiar)

These commands may be made more polite by adding a pronoun subject.

*ndākoō ún*  
 POT:get:up you:SG  
 Get up! *or* You will get up.

To form a second person plural command, a subject pronoun must be used.

*ndākoō ndó*  
 POT:get:up you:PL  
 Get up! *or* You all will get up.

Both singular and plural commands are often made more polite by the use of the preverbal marker *ná* 'hortatory' (see §2.1.2) and/or the stative verb *lōhō* 'little', which functions as a general quantifier in this construction.

*ná ndākoō ún*  
 HORT POT:get:up you:SG  
 Please get up!

*sātā lōhō ún noni noo rā*  
 POT:buy little you:SG corn face his  
 Please buy corn from him!

*ná kúndāā lōhō ndó rā*  
 HORT POT:take:care little you:PL him  
 Please take care of him!

*kūshū lōhō ndó*  
 POT:eat little you:PL  
 Please eat!

First and third person commands are formed by the hortatory marker *ná*, a verb in potential aspect, and its subject.

*ná kāsā chíñō yó*  
 HORT POT:do work we:IN  
 Let's work!

*ná kīvī rā*  
 HORT POT:die he  
 May he die!

*ná kāsā vahā i ñā*  
 HORT POT:do good I it:INAN  
 Let me make it! (lit. May I make it!)

(See also 7.99.)

Two motion verbs have special imperative forms (see §5.1.2). These special forms cannot take the hortatory marker.

*nāhā*  
 IMP:come  
 Come! (you:SG)

*kwáhán ndó*  
 IMP:go you:PL  
 Go! (you:PL)

(See also 7.54.)

There is also a special inclusive potential form of the verb *kohon* 'to go', which is used in commands.

*kohyo*  
 POT:go:we:IN  
 Let's go!

(See also 7.93 and 7.95.)

Negative commands (see §2.1.2) are identical in form to negative statements with the verb in potential aspect.

*on kāsā ndó sāá*  
 NEG POT:do you:PL thus  
 Don't do that! *or* You will not do that.  
 (See also 7.51, 7.71, and 7.92.)

#### 1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur most frequently in final position, but they can also occur in initial position, at pause breaks, or as independent utterances. Vocatives include certain kinship terms, other relational terms such as companion, classificatory terms such as young man, and second person free pronouns such as *yóhó* 'you (singular)'. Proper names are rarely used, except for children, because among adults this is considered a sign of disrespect. Some kinship terms have extended meanings. For example, *ñānī* 'brother' (of male) may be used vocatively among men with any close friend, or between husband and wife.

*sītō / nāhā yóhō*  
 uncle IMP:come here  
 Uncle, come here!

*án sīkō ún tatan / nānā*  
 INT CON:sell you:SG medicine ma'am  
 Do you sell medicine, ma'am?

*ndáhvi ní yóhó / ñānī*  
 poor INTS you:SG brother:ME  
 Poor you, Brother!

*nda maā kūnākāa yóhó / ta tiún*  
 until way:inside POT:be:located you:SG he turkey  
 Take the place WAY INSIDE, Mr. Turkey!

*nātāhān yó / yūkía kīsā ndó vītīn*  
 companion OUR:IN what CON:do you:PL now  
 Friends, what are you doing now?

*kāchīñō i / tātā / tā sāá kīshāa i*  
 POT:work I sir and thus POT:arrive I  
 I'll work, sir, and then return.

*mū ndó / yūkía káchí ndó*  
 SPEC you:PL what CON:say you:PL  
 You all, what do you say?

(See also 7.46, 7.54–55, 7.67, and others.)

### 1.5 Sentential Markers

The interrogative marker *án* occurs at the beginning of any basic sentence and converts it into a YES/NO question; see §§1.2.1 and 1.2.3 for examples of sentences containing *án*.

The tag question marker *ra* occurs at the end of YES/NO questions and other sentences to indicate that the speaker expects the addressee to agree. See §1.2.1 for examples containing *ra*.

The hearsay marker *che* occurs sentence finally, separated by pause. Its use makes it clear that the speaker is not the source of the information expressed in the sentence.

*ni shīnī sohō i kīvī i / che*  
COM see ear I POT:die I HEARSAY  
I heard I'm going to die, they say.

*siví ta vahā kúū rā / che*  
NEG he good CON:be he HEARSAY  
He's not a good man, she says.

The contrafactual marker *nīkúū* occurs sentence finally, separated by pause, and means that the stated activity did not take place.

*kōnī rā nōhō rā kōnī / nīkúū*  
CON:want he POT:go:home he yesterday CF  
He wanted to go home yesterday. (but he didn't)

*vahā ka ni kīsā rā sāá / nīkúū*  
good ADD COM NEG:do he thus CF  
It would have been better if he hadn't done that. (but he did)

(See also 7.48.)

The sentential marker *nih* expresses doubt or uncertainty about future events. It requires that the verb of the main sentence be in potential aspect, often with the hortatory marker *ná*. This word does not fit the normal phonological patterns of Alacatlalzala Mixtec because it ends in a glottal stop.

*ná kōtō yó tá kīshāa rā / nih*  
HORT POT:look we:IN if POT:arrive he DOUBT  
Let's see if he comes or not! (but he probably won't)

*vahā / ná sātā rā nīi káró kāvā rā / níh*  
 good HORT POT:buy he one vehicle POT:turn he DOUBT  
 Okay, let him buy a car to drive! (but I doubt if he will)

The sentential marker *kánvāhá* is used only in rhetorical questions, and it expresses surprise or amazement. It is optionally set off by pause.

*án nisháhan rā / kánvāhá*  
 INT NEG:COM:go he AMAZEMENT  
 Didn't he go? (I'm amazed that he didn't)

*yūkū kúū ta yóhō / kánvāhá*  
 what CON:be he this AMAZEMENT  
 Who in the world is this man?

(See also 7.17.)



## 2

# Verb Phrases

### 2.1 Content Verb Phrases

Content verb phrases consist of a nucleus, six optional preverbal elements, and five optional postverbal elements.

**2.1.1 Verb nuclei.** Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are frozen forms that consist of a verb followed by a noun, another verb, an adverb, or an indeterminate element.

A simple nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect. In the examples given in this chapter, each of which is a full sentence, the parts outside the verb phrase are enclosed in parentheses.

*shíshī* (*rā*)  
CON:eat (he)  
(He) is eating.

*ketā* (*ñá yīchi*)  
COM:leave:SG (she trail)  
(She) came out (on the trail).

*yóó* (*rā*)  
CON:sit:SG (he)  
(He) is sitting.

*nākāsī (nā yéhé)*  
 POT:close (they door)  
 (They) will close (the door).

(See 7.2, 7.10, 7.16, 7.19, 7.38, and various others.)

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a noun; the noun, which is often a body part, may be the logical instrument, object, manner, location, or part of the subject.

Instrument:

*kōnī sōho (rā yīvā rā)*  
 POT:see ear (he father his)  
 (He) will listen (to his father).

*kāchí sháhá (rā yuu)*  
 POT:say foot (he rock)  
 (He) will kick (the rock).

(See 7.17, 7.101, and 7.107.)

Object:

*ni ndākā tōhon (rā nā)*  
 COM deliver word (he her)  
 (He) questioned (her).

*kísā chíñō (rā yūū)*  
 CON:do work (he cornfield)  
 (He) is working (in the cornfield).

*ndísō chíñō (rā shíhín kwāchi)*  
 CON:carry:on:back work (he with problem)  
 (He) is responsible (for [resolving] problems).

(See also 7.31.)

Manner:

*vashī sháhá (nā)*  
 CON:come foot (she)  
 (She) is coming on foot.

*kākā tōsō (rā)*  
 POT:walk hump (he)  
 (He) will walk stooped over.

*kísā inā (rā)*  
 CON:do dog (he)  
 (He) acts without scruples.

*shíkā shūī (rā)*  
 CON:walk intestines (he)  
 (He) is begging God on his knees.

*shíkā noo (nā ñōō)*  
 CON:walk face (they town)  
 (They) are walking around (town).

## Location:

*kanī ndōsō (ñá tākwī)*  
 COM:hit flat:place (she water)  
 (She) placed (the water) on a flat place.  
 (See also 7.29.)

## Subject:

*kātā sikon (i)*  
 CON:itch throat (I)  
 (I) have a cough.

Reciprocal action is indicated by a verb plus *táhān* ‘companion’.

*shánī táhān (nā)*  
 CON:fight companion (they)  
 (They) are fighting each other.

*sháhnī táhān (rí)*  
 CON:kill companion (it:AML)  
 (The animals) are killing each other.

*kōnī táhān (yó)*  
 POT:see companion (we:IN)  
 (We) will see each other.

There are two kinds of verb-plus-content-verb nuclei. One type consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a verb in potential or continuative aspect. These nuclei are rare and occasionally highly idiomatic.

*ndákā ndētā (rā)*  
 CON:deliver POT:leave:SG (he)  
 (He) was running along, jumping up and down.

*ndíkō*                      *nīhī*                      (*rā*    *ñā*)  
 CON:turn:around    POT:hold                      (he    it:INAN)  
 (He) is turning (it) upside down. *or* (He) is returning (it).

*sháhān*                      *táhyí*                      (*ñā*)  
 CON:smell                      CON:spoil (it:INAN)  
 (It) smells rotten.

See also 7.5 and 7.8, which are slightly irregular in that the *kū-* prefix of the potential aspect has been deleted from the second verb; *kūndīchī* ‘to stand’ has become *ndīchī*.

The second type of verb-plus-content-verb nucleus occurs when Spanish verbs are borrowed. These nuclei usually consist of the Mixtec verb *kasa* ‘to do’ followed by a phonological adaptation of the Spanish infinitive.

*kísā*                      *kūsár*                      (*nā*    *rā*)  
 CON:do    accuse                      (they    him)  
 (They) are accusing (Sp. *acusar*) (him).

*kāsā*                      *mānēxár* (*ñá*)  
 POT:do    drive                      (she)  
 (She) will drive (Sp. *manejar*).

*kísā*                      *kānāā* (*nā*)  
 COM:do    win                      (they)  
 (They) won (Sp. *ganar*).

A verb-plus-stative-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a stative verb.

*shákū*    *ndáhví*                      (*rā*    *noo*    *nā*)  
 CON:cry    poor                      (he    face    their)  
 (He) is begging (them) for a favor.

*ndákā*                      *chíhñā*                      (*rā*    *sihún*)  
 CON:take    handicapped                      (he    money)  
 (He) is begging (for money).

*kísā*                      *vahā*                      (*nā*    *vēhē*)  
 CON:do    good                      (they    house)  
 (They) are making (a house).

*kōtō*                      *vahā*                      (*ún*)  
 POT:look    good                      (you:SG)  
 Be careful!

*tāshī vahā (rā sihún)*  
 POT:give good (he money)  
 (He) will store (the money) in a safe place.

*shíkā sūi (nā)*  
 CON:walk happy (they)  
 (They) are walking for the fun of it.

*kísā tóhō (rā ndyós)*  
 CON:do respectful (he God)  
 (He) worships (God [Sp. *Dios*]).

(See also 7.5 and 7.8.)

A verb-plus-adverb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by an adverb.

*kíndōō nāhā (ndi)*  
 CON:sit:PL continuing (we:EX)  
 (We) are staying for a while.

*kōtō ndāā (nā rā)*  
 POT:look adheringly (they him)  
 (They) will examine (him) carefully.

*nākāsī kūtū (rā yéhé)*  
 POT:close tight (he door)  
 (He) will lock (the door).

(See also 7.75 and 7.77.)

A verb-plus-indeterminate-element nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a word that occurs only in frozen phrases.

*shítō ndāhyá (nā vístá)*  
 CON:look ? (they viewmaster)  
 (They) are looking (at the viewmaster [Sp. *vista*]) for fun.

*shítō kāshīn (rā ta kāa)*  
 COM:look ? (he him that:visible)  
 (He) stared (at him).

(See also 7.34.)

**2.1.2 Preverbal elements.** There are six preverbal elements. Listed from the nucleus out to the beginning of the verb phrase they are: directional, completive aspect, near-time, manner, negative, and hortatory.

Directional is expressed by *kwan*, a reduced form of *kwahan* ‘to go (continuative)’. It occurs only with certain motion verbs, which can be in either potential or continuative aspect, and it means that the motion is progressive.

*kwan ndāā (rā yīton)*  
 DIR CON:climb (he tree)  
 (He) is climbing (the tree).

*kwan nōhō (rā vīīn)*  
 DIR CON:go home (he now)  
 (He) is going home (now).

*kwan ndākā (nā nākwālī)*  
 DIR POT:escort (they children)  
 (They) will be escorting (the children).

(See also 7.9, 7.28, and 7.30.)

In second preverbal position, the completive aspect marker *ni* occurs. With most verbs, completive aspect is optionally marked by tone only (see §5.1.2).

*ni sātā (rā sita)*  
 COM buy (he tortilla)  
 (He) bought (tortillas).

*ni tāhvī (rā kōnī)*  
 COM plow:with:oxen (he yesterday)  
 (He) plowed with oxen (yesterday).

(See also 7.2, 7.8, 7.18, 7.29, and others.).

There are two temporal markers: the general marker *sha* ‘near time’ and the verbal marker *shi* ‘remote time’. The marker *sha* occurs in any aspect but is rare with potential aspect. It means ‘about to’ or ‘already’, depending on the aspect. The marker *shi* occurs only with completive aspect.

Near-time marker:

*sha kīhīn (nā sihún)*  
 near:time POT:get (they money)  
 (They) are about to get (money).

*sha vashī (rā)*  
 near:time CON:come (he)  
 (He) is already coming.

*sha*            *ni*    *shīshī*    (*i*)  
 near:time    COM    eat    (I)  
 (I) already ate.

*sha*            *tīn*            (*rā yōho*)  
 near:time    CON:grab    (he rope)  
 (He) is already holding (the rope).

*sha*            *kōō*            (*rā yūhu yīchi*)  
 near:time    POT:sit:SG    (he mouth trail)  
 (He) was just about to sit (at the edge of the trail).

(See also 7.75, 7.90, 7.101, and 7.106–107.)

#### Remote-time marker:

*shi*            *kihīn*        (*rā sihún*)  
 remote:time    COM:get    (they money)  
 (They) already got (money) a while ago.

*shi*            *shishī*        (*i*)  
 remote:time    COM:eat    (I)  
 (I) already ate a while ago.

Some speakers do not differentiate between *sha* and *shi*, but use only *shi* for all the above uses.

While all other preverbal and postverbal elements comprise small closed classes, manner is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers. Stative verbs, stative verb phrases (see §2.3), adverbs, and adverb phrases (see §4.2) are the most common elements in this position, but quantifiers and quantifier phrases (see §4.1) have also been found.

#### With stative verbs or stative verb phrases:

*kīnī*    *kāhan*        (*rā*)  
 ugly    CON:speak    (he)  
 (He) speaks nastily.

*līvī*        *ní*    *sákáhā*        (*rā kītárá*)  
 pretty    INTS    CON:play    (he guitar)  
 (He) plays (the guitar [Sp. *guitarra*]) very prettily.

(See also 7.47.)

With adverbs or adverb phrases:

*sāá kīsā (rā)*  
 thus CON:do (he)  
 Thus (he) does.

*kwēē ní vā kāchīñō (rā)*  
 slowly INTS LIM POT:work (he)  
 (He) will work just very slowly.

(See also 7.65.)

With a quantifier phrase:

*kwaha ní sháshī (rí)*  
 much INTS CON:eat (it:AML)  
 (It) is eating a lot.

In fifth preverbal position, the negative markers *on* ‘not’, *tahān* ‘not yet’, and *vásā* ‘not’ occur. The markers *on* and *tahān* occur only with verbs in potential aspect, and *vásā* usually occurs with verbs in continuative aspect.<sup>4</sup> Following *on*, the first syllable of the verb changes its tone from mid to high, or rarely from low to mid. The complex verbal marker *on vásā* also occurs with verbs in any aspect and adds emphasis to the negation.

Negation of potential aspect:

*on táshī (nā ñā kūshū i)*  
 NEG POT:give (they it:INAN POT:eat I)  
 (They) will not give (me food).

*on kúndātī (nā)*  
 NEG POT:wait (they)  
 (They) won’t wait.

*tahān kohon (rā)*  
 not:yet POT:go (he)  
 (He) hasn’t gone yet.

*tahān chāhvī (nā nāchīñō)*  
 not:yet POT:pay (they authorities)  
 (They) haven’t yet paid (the town council).

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<sup>4</sup>The marker *vásā* also functions as an interjection meaning ‘it is not true’ or ‘that is not the case’. The marker use is probably a recent development from its use as an independent utterance.



*on vāsā kohon (rā)*  
 NEG NEG POT:go (he)  
 (He) will NOT go.

(See also 7.14, 7.51, 7.71, 7.83, and 7.87.)

Negation of continuative aspect:

*vāsā kúnāā (ñá)*  
 NEG CON:be:tired (she)  
 (She) is not tired.

*vāsā sándáhvī (rā yīvā rā)*  
 NEG CON:cheat (he father his)  
 (He) is not cheating (his father).

*on vāsā sháshī (rā)*  
 NEG NEG CON:eat (he)  
 (He) is NOT eating.

(See also 7.13 and 7.17.)

In completive aspect, verbs are negated by a tone change to high on the first syllable of the verb stem, which is obligatorily preceded by the completive aspect marker *ni*.

*ni sātā (rā sita)*  
 COM NEG:buy (he tortilla)  
 (He) didn't buy (tortillas).

To emphasize negation in completive aspect, the negative verb form may be preceded by *vāsā* or *on vāsā*. When either emphatic form is used, the high tone signaling negation is realized on the completive aspect marker *ni*.

*vāsā ní sándáhvī (rā yīvā rā)*  
 NEG COM:NEG cheat (he father his)  
 (He) did NOT cheat (his father).

*on vāsā ní shīshī (rā)*  
 NEG NEG COM:NEG COM:eat (he)  
 (He) did NOT eat.

(See also 7.64.)

In sixth preverbal position, the hortatory marker *ná* occurs. It occurs only with verbs in potential aspect. The marker *ná* indicates a strong desire on the part of the speaker that the action take place, and it may be used in

a polite command (see §1.3). It is also common in purpose and hypothetical condition sentences (see §6.2), and it may introduce the subject complement of a stative sentence (see §1.1.9).

*ná on kóndoo (nā)*  
 HORT NEG POT:sit:PL (they)  
 May (they) not stay!

*ná kōnī sohō (yó)*  
 HORT POT:see ear (we:IN)  
 May (we) listen!

*ná tāshī (ndó sihún ndāha nā)*  
 HORT POT:giv (you:PL money hand their)  
 May (you all) give (money to them)!

*ná kūshū (rā)*  
 HORT POT:eat (he)  
 May (he) eat!

*ná ndākā tohōn (i nānī i)*  
 HORT POT:deliver word (I brother:ME my)  
 Let (me) ask (my brother)! (lit. May I ask my brother!)

*ná yīchī (nó)*  
 HORT POT:dry (it:WOD)  
 May (it) dry out!

(See also 7.5, 7.12, 7.35, 7.54, 7.95, and others.)

**2.1.3 Postverbal elements.** There are five orders of elements following the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the end of the verb phrase they are: manner, repetitive, known object, quantifier/limiter, and locative.

The class of elements which may appear in postverbal manner position is quite restricted because manner most commonly occurs as a preverbal element (see §2.1.2). They include: the stative verbs *vahā* ‘good’, *ndēé* ‘strong’, and *lōhō* ‘little (singular)’, which functions as a general quantifier in this construction; the general quantifiers *ndīhī* ‘all’ and *kwaha* ‘much’; the adverbs *ndūsha* ‘surely’ and *nīhni* ‘here and there’; the specifier *mū*, used in this construction to mean ‘by itself’; and the intensifier *ní*, used in this construction to mean ‘much’. The intensifier *ní* is also common in short stative verb phrases and quantifier phrases that occur in postverbal manner position.

## With stative verbs:

*chíndēé vahā (i yóhó)*  
 CON:greet good (I you:SG)  
 (I) greet (you) thoroughly.

*káchíño ndēé (yó)*  
 CON:work strong (we:IN)  
 (We) are working hard.

(See also 7.35.)

## With general quantifiers:

*ná kūndīshīn lōhō (i)*  
 HORT POT:dress little (I)  
 Please let (me) dress! (lit. May [I] dress a little!)

*nī shāshī ndīhī (rī tehe rā)*  
 COM eat all (it:AML vine his)  
 (The animal) ate up all (his vines). *or* (The animal) ate (his vine) thoroughly.

(See also 7.22, 7.35, and 7.112.)

## With adverbs:

*táshī ndūsha (rā sihún ndāha nā)*  
 CON:give surely (he money hand their)  
 (He) will surely give (money to them). *or* (He) will obligatorily give (money to them).

*shíkā níhni (rā)*  
 CON:walk here:and:there (he)  
 (He) is flitting to and fro.

## With the specifier:

*nakāvā mī (ñā)*  
 COM:fall:SG SPEC (it:INAN)  
 (It) fell by itself.

## With the intensifier:

*ndóhō ní (ndi)*  
 CON:fare INTS (we:EX)  
 (We) are very sick. (lit. [We] are suffering much.)

*ni shūkā ní (i shaha ún)*  
 COM walk INTS (I foot your:SG)  
 (I) walked a lot (on your behalf).  
 (See also 7.69.)

With a stative verb phrase:

*ni shāhnī vahā ní (rā rí)*  
 COM kill good INTS (he it:AML)  
 (He) killed (it) very well.

With a general quantifier phrase:

*ni kahan lōhō ka (rā)*  
 COM speak little ADD (he)  
 (He) spoke a little longer.

Following manner is the repetitive, which is expressed by the general marker *tūkū* ‘again’.

*káchí tūkū (rí sīhā)*  
 CON:say REP (it:AML thus)  
 (The animal) speaks again (in the same fashion).

*ni shaa tūkū (rí yūku)*  
 COM arrive REP (it:AML mountain)  
 (The animal) arrived again (in the mountainous area).

*nakāvā tūkū (rí ñōho)*  
 COM:fall:SG REP (it:SPH earth)  
 (The spherical object) fell again (on the ground).  
 (See also 7.20 and 7.66.)

Following the repetitive is the known-object marker *ñahá*, which refers to an animate third person object whose identity is clear from the context. The use of *ñahá* rather than a free object serves to defocus the participant.

*ni ndākā tohōn ñahá (rí)*  
 COM deliver word KNO (it:AML)  
 (The animal) questioned him/her/it/them.

*sha ni shāhnī ñahá (rā)*  
 near:time COM kill KNO (he)  
 (He) already killed him/her/it/them.

*sháshī ndīhī nāhá (rí)*  
 CON:eat all KNO (it:AML)  
 (The animal) eats him/her/it/them all up.

(See also 7.80.)

Two elements occur in the fourth postverbal position, the limiter *vā* ‘just’ and the additive *ka* ‘more’.

*tákū vā (i)*  
 CON:live LIM (I)  
 (I) am just living.

*vásā kwahan ka (i akapúlkó)*  
 NEG CON:GO ADD (I Acapulco)  
 (I) am not going anymore (to Acapulco [Sp.]).

*shíshī vā (rā)*  
 CON:eat LIM (he)  
 (He) is just eating.

*kāshī ka (rí)*  
 POT:eat ADD (it:AML)  
 (The animal) will eat more.

*táa ka (ñá sita)*  
 CON:pat ADD (she tortilla)  
 (She) is making more (tortillas).

(See also 7.6, 7.30, 7.40, 7.58, and 7.83.)

The locative noun *īnī* ‘insides’ occurs in the fifth postverbal position. It occurs with a limited set of verbs, whose nucleus may be simple or complex, and the phrase usually describes an emotion or state of being.

*kāsā káhnō īnī (i shaha ún)*  
 POT:do big:SG insides (I foot your:SG)  
 (I) will forgive (you). (lit. [I] will make big insides [on your behalf].)

*kúsī ní īnī (yó)*  
 CON:be:happy INTS insides (we:IN)  
 (We) are very happy.

*kúndáhvī īnī (ndi)*  
 CON:be:poor insides (we:EX)  
 (We) feel humble.

*ñóhō*            *īnī*    (*rā shaha ndó*)  
 CON:contain    insides (he foot your:PL)  
 (He) holds (you) in remembrance.

(See also 7.83.)

**2.1.4 Combinations of elements.** The occurrence restrictions among preverbal elements are the following. The hortatory marker *ná* occurs only with a verb in potential aspect and does not occur with manner or with either of the temporal markers, manner does not occur with negative, and the near-time marker *sha* occurs with no negative except *vásā*. All other combinations of preverbal elements are possible up to three elements.

*vásā sha*            *kwan ndāā*            (*rā yiton*)  
 NEG near:time    DIR    CON:climb (he tree)  
 (He) is not already climbing (the tree).

*sha*            *on kókīhīn*    (*ún síni ún*)  
 near:time    NEG    POT:get (you:SG hat your:SG)  
 (You) are not right now going to go get (your hat).

*ná on kwan nōhón*            (*nā*)  
 HORT NEG    DIR    POT:go:home (they)  
 May (they) not go home!

*sha*            *kwan kīhvī*            (*rā vēhē nā*)  
 near:time    DIR    CON:enter (he house their)  
 (He) is already entering (their house).

The systematic occurrence restrictions among postverbal elements are that no more than three postverbal elements occur together, and that neither limiter nor additive directly follows manner. (Such sequences constitute a stative verb phrase expressing manner.) Also, *īnī* ‘insides’ occurs only with the limiter *vā* ‘just’, the additive *ka* ‘more’, and the intensifier *ní* ‘much’.

*nashāa lōhō tūkū ka*    (*rí*)  
 COM:arrive little    REP    ADD (it:AML)  
 (The animal) arrived for a little (while) longer again.

*nakāvā ndēé ní tūkū*    (*rā ñōho*)  
 COM:fall:SG strong    INTS    REP (he earth)  
 (He) fell very hard again (on the ground).

*kwahan yātin tūkū vā (rí)*  
 CON:GO near REP LIM (it:AML)  
 (The animal) is going just very near again.

*sháshī nīhnī tūkū ñāhá (rí)*  
 CON:eat here:and:there REP KNO (it:AML)  
 (The animal) is again eating him/her/it/them here and there.

*on kóon ka īnī (rā)*  
 NEG POT:produce ADD insides (he)  
 (He) won't have more diarrhea. *or* (He) won't produce lots of work anymore.

Preverbal and postverbal elements may occur in the same verb phrase, except where restricted by semantics. If both occur, complexity in either is rare.

*sha ni tāshī lōhō ñāhá (rā)*  
 near:time COM give little KNO (he)  
 (He) has already given him/her/it/them a little.

*ná on kwán kīhvī tūkū (rí vēhē rí)*  
 HORT NEG DIR POT:enter REP (it:AML house its:AML)  
 May (the animal) not enter (its house) again!

*sha shishī vahā tūkū ka (rā sita)*  
 near:time COM:eat good REP ADD (he tortilla)  
 (He) already ate well more (tortillas) again.

(See also 7.80.)

## 2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on the equative verbs *kūkūū* 'to be', *sīvī* 'to be', *ndūū* 'to change into', *kūnanī* 'to be named', and the completive aspect of the intransitive verb *kōō* 'to exist'. All preverbal elements except the directional can occur, but no more than two in one phrase. The only postverbal elements that occur are the stative verbs *vahā* 'good' and *lōhō* 'little (singular)', which functions as a general quantifier in this construction; the repetitive *tūkū* 'again'; the limiter *va* 'just'; and certain simple stative verb phrases. In general, speakers prefer simple equative verb phrases; few examples contain more than a combined total of three preverbal and postverbal elements.

(*ta kán*) *kúū lōhō (prēsídénté)*  
 (he that) CON:be little (president)  
 (He) is (president [Sp. *presidente*]) for a little (while). or (He) is  
 interim (president).

*ná on kúkūū tūkū (rā tachíñō)*  
 HORT NEG POT:be REP (he authority)  
 May (he) not become (the town authority) again!

*sha kúū tūkū vā (rā ta prēsídénté)*  
 near:time CON:be REP LIM (he he president)  
 (He) is already just (the president) again.

(*ñī taā*) *nindūū vahā (ndikāhā)*  
 (one man) COM:change:into good (jaguar)  
 (A man) changed thoroughly into (a jaguar).

*kūnānī vahā ní (rā xōsé)*  
 POT:be:named good INTS (he Joe)  
 (He) will be very well named (Joe [Sp. *José*]).

(*ta kán*) *sīvī (yīvā i)*  
 (he that) CON:be (father my)  
 (He) is (my father).

(*ta xōsé*) *nishiyo (ta kwiká)*  
 (he Joe) COM:exist (he rich)  
 (Joe) was (a rich man).

### 2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which are not inflected for aspect. These verbs do not form complex nuclei.

*káhnō (ndivi)*  
 big:SG (egg)  
 (The egg) is big.

*yātá (tikoto)*  
 old (clothes)  
 (The clothes) are old.

*līvī (ñá)*  
 pretty (she)  
 (She) is pretty.



Stative verbs occur with two preverbal elements: the negative marker *vásā* and the near-time marker *sha*.<sup>5</sup> Postverbal elements are the following: a limited manner, expressed by the stative verbs *lōhō* 'little (singular)', which functions as a general quantifier in this construction, and *vahā* 'good', which functions as an intensifying element in this construction; the intensifier *ní*; the locative noun *īnī* 'insides'; the limiter *vā*; and the additive *ka*.

*sha yātá ní (nó)*  
 near:time old INTS (it:WOD)  
 (It [the car]) is already very old.

*ndíshā ní vā (tohōn rā)*  
 true INTS LIM (word his)  
 (His speech) is just very true.

*ndēé īnī (ñá)*  
 strong insides (she)  
 (She) is strong-willed.

*sákā ní īnī (i)*  
 mixed:up INTS insides (I)  
 (I) am very confused.

*vītá vā īnī (yó)*  
 soft LIM insides (we:IN)  
 (We) are just gentle.

(See also 7.2 and 7.61.)

The negative marker *vásā* and the additive *ka* are used together to mean 'no longer'.

*vásā ndēé ní ka (nā)*  
 NEG strong INTS ADD (they)  
 (They) are no longer very strong.

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<sup>5</sup>Instead of negating a stative verb, it is usually preferable to recast the sentence as an equative sentence (see §1.1.5) with a negative emphatic noun phrase (see §3.5) in focus position serving as the nominal complement.

*siví ta vahā kúū rā*  
 NEG he good CON:be he  
 He is NOT a good man.

Stative verb phrases occur in the predicate of stative sentences, either alone, as in the above examples, or preceding an intransitive verb such as *náhā* ‘to seem’ (see §1.1.6).

*káhnō ní (náhā vēhē i)*  
big:SG INTS (CON:seem house my)  
(My house seems) very big.

*vásā káhnō ní (ni shīyō vīko)*  
NEG big INTS (COM COM:exist fiesta)  
(The fiesta was) not very big.

They also occur as preverbal or postverbal manner in content verb phrases (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3), or as manner within another stative verb phrase. In either function they take no preverbal elements and only three postverbal elements: the intensifier *ní*, the limiter *vā*, and the additive *ka*.

In preverbal manner position:

*līvī ní (sákáhā rā kītárá)*  
pretty INTS (CON:play he guitar)  
(He plays the guitar) very prettily.

In postverbal manner position:

*(káhan) līvī ní (rā)*  
(CON:speak) pretty INTS (he)  
(He speaks) very well.

*(chāhvī) vahā vā (rā)*  
(POT:pay) good LIM (he)  
(He will) just (pay) well.

As manner within another stative verb phrase:

*(yākwa) lōhō vā (tākwī)*  
(dirty) little LIM (water)  
(The water is) just a little (dirty).

*(shíká) vahā ní ka (yóó vēhē i)*  
(far) good INTS ADD (CON:sit:SG house my)  
(My house is) really very much (farther).

## 2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Both content and stative verbs may be repeated to indicate continued action or intensified state. A content verb (or complex nucleus) in continuative or completive aspect is repeated and followed by its subject. The only preverbal element that occurs is the completive aspect marker, and the only postverbal element that occurs is the intensifier *ní*.

*ndátī ndátī (ndi)*  
 CON:wait CON:wait (we:EX)  
 (We) were waiting and waiting.

*tāā tāā (ñá yūshan)*  
 CON:knead CON:knead (she corn:dough)  
 (She) keeps on kneading (tortilla dough).

*táshī táshī (i tatan ndāha nā)*  
 CON:give CON:give (I medicine hand their)  
 (I) keep on giving (medicine to them).

*shakū ní shakū ní (rā)*  
 COM:cry INTS COM:cry INTS (he)  
 (He) cried and cried a lot.

(See also 7.77.)

In all repetitive content verb phrases a clitic pronoun subject may be given twice, once between the two verbs and once following the second one.

*ndáhyī (rí) ndáhyī (rí)*  
 CON:cry:out (it:AML) CON:cry:out (it:AML)  
 (The animal) was crying out and crying out.

*ní kānī (rā) ní kānī (rā)*  
 COM hit (he) COM hit (he)  
 (He) hit and hit.

(See also 7.75.)

A stative verb in preverbal manner position is repeated to indicate intensification. Each instance is optionally followed by the intensifier *ní* or by the additive *ka*.

*līvī ka līvī ka (káhan nā)*  
 pretty ADD pretty ADD (CON:speak they)  
 (They speak) more and more prettily.

*vātá ní vātá ní (kísā ta kāa)*  
 dishonest INTS dishonest INTS (CON:do he that:visible)  
 (He acts) very very dishonestly.

## 3

# Noun Phrases

### 3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

Basic noun phrases consist of a noun or pronoun nucleus, two optional prenominal elements, and three optional postnominal elements.

**3.1.1 Noun nuclei.** Both simple and complex nuclei occur. A simple nucleus comprises only a noun or pronoun.

<i>vēhē</i>	‘house’
<i>yīlon</i>	‘tree’
<i>kīti</i>	‘animal’
<i>taā</i>	‘man’
<i>sita</i>	‘tortilla’
<i>yóhó</i>	‘you:sg’

A complex nucleus consists of a noun or pronoun followed by a modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral, or a stative verb. These sequences are lexical units except in the case of numerals. The noun or stative verb in this construction sometimes undergoes a tone change.

## Noun or pronoun plus noun:

*tīkivá yīton*  
butterfly tree  
wood shavings

*vēhē kaā*  
house metal  
jail

*vēhē chíñō*  
house work  
town hall

*ndūchú noó*  
bean face  
eye

*tohōn sávi*  
word rain:god  
Mixtec language

*yīki sini*  
bone head  
skull

*yīchi káró*  
trail vehicle  
road (Sp. *carro*)

*vīkó ndiū*  
fiesta cadaver  
All Saints' fiesta

*ndāhá chíñō*  
hand work  
tools of one's trade

*ta kwihná*  
he robbery  
robber

(See also 7.32.)

## Noun or pronoun plus numeral:

*sāhya ovi*  
 child two  
 second child

*kaā komi*  
 bell four  
 four o'clock

*kivi ushu*  
 day ten  
 tenth day

*ton uni*  
 it:WOD three  
 third wooden thing

## Noun or pronoun plus stative verb:

*sita vāhā*  
 tortilla good  
 bread

*ñá ndáhví*  
 she poor  
 widow

*vēhē káhnō*  
 house big:SG  
 mansion

*tá visi*  
 it:LIO sweet  
 soft drink

**3.1.2 Prenominal elements.** There are two elements that may precede the nucleus: specifier and quantifier.

There is one specifier, *mī* 'that very'.

*mī vēhē*  
 SPEC house  
 that very house

*mī rā*  
 SPEC he  
 him (that very one)

(See also 7.25, 7.27, and 7.45.)

Quantifiers comprise both numerals and general quantifiers.

Numerals:

*ñīī lēsōn*  
 one rabbit  
 one rabbit (Sp. *conejo*)

*ohon kivi*  
 five day  
 five days

*ovi taā*  
 two man  
 two men

General quantifiers:

*kwaha kūi*  
 many animal  
 many animals

*lōhō kivi*  
 little day  
 a few days

*sāvā ñáhā*  
 half woman  
 some women

*īnka yīchi*  
 another trail  
 another trail

(See also 7.19–7.21, 7.44, and 7.81.)

The numeral *ñīī* ‘one’ is often used simply as an indefinite article. The first example above could also be glossed ‘a rabbit’; see also 7.1–2 and 7.113.

**3.1.3 Postnominal elements.** Three elements follow the nucleus: deictic, limiter, and relative clause.

Four elements occur as deictics. All of them are locative adverbs: *yōhō* ‘here’, *kāa* ‘there’ (visible), *kán* ‘there’ (not visible), and *xaan* ‘there’ (known place). When they occur with nouns, *yōhō* is glossed ‘this’, *kāa* and



*kán* are glossed ‘that’, and *xaan* (which refers to a noun already introduced in the text) is glossed ‘that same’.

*vēhē yóhō*  
house this  
this house

*yūton kāa*  
tree that:visible  
that tree

*ñáhā kán*  
woman that  
that woman

*míshión xaan*  
cat that:same  
that same cat (old Sp. *mistón*)

(See also 7.31, 7.42, 7.52, 7.60, 7.95, and various others.)

The limiter *vā* ‘just’ follows the nucleus.

*īnā vā*  
dog LIM  
just the dog

*sīta vā*  
tortilla LIM  
just tortillas

(See also 7.42, 7.78, and 7.109.)

Relative clauses follow the nucleus. There are no relative pronouns; relative clauses are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or prestressed pronouns and by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. There is otherwise no change in the order of constituents within relative clauses.

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any noun or prepositional phrase within them. A locative noun or preposition associated with the head noun is retained in its original position in the relative clause. When the locative noun *noo* ‘face’ is the head of a relative clause, it means ‘place where’.

With subject as head:

*ta síkō mūñékó*  
 he CON:sell puppet  
 he who sells puppets (Sp. *muñeco*)

*ta íyó ñōyívī kán*  
 he CON:sit:SG world that  
 he who is in heaven

*ñá kōō shihín rā*  
 she POT:sit:SG with him  
 she who will marry him

*ñā nákaa tishīn ñá*  
 it:INAN CON:be:located stomach her  
 that which is in her womb

(See also 7.26–27.)

With object as head:

*ñā shíshī i*  
 it:INAN CON:eat I  
 that which I eat

*ñā kāsā vahā ñá*  
 it:INAN POT:do good she  
 that which she will make

*sita síkō nā*  
 tortilla CON:sell they  
 the tortillas which they sell

(See also 7.33 and 7.113.)

With adjunct as head:

*ta ni tāshī rā tūtū ndāha*  
 he COM give he paper hand  
 the man he gave the paper to

*ñá ni kahan ún shaha*  
 she COM speak you:SG foot  
 she on whose behalf you spoke

*noo kwahan rā*  
 face CON:go he  
 the place where he's going

*noo chinōō ñá sita*  
 face COM:place:on she tortilla  
 the place where she put tortillas

*noo iyó yūtū*  
 face CON:sit:SG cornfield  
 the place where the cornfield lies

(See also 7.8 and 7.31.)

With peripheral location as head:

*noo shishāhā tīsúhu*  
 face CON:graze goat  
 the place where goats graze

*noo nakūtāhān nā shihín taā*  
 face COM:meet they with man  
 the place where they met a man

Relative clauses based on peripheral time may be headed by a temporal noun or the noun *tāhān* 'companion', with the meaning 'time when'.

*kivi kākū sāhya ñá*  
 day POT:be:born child her  
 the day her child was to be born

*tyémpó ni shīnó kimī*  
 time COM appear star  
 the time (Sp. *tiempo*) the star appeared

*tāhān kánī savi*  
 companion CON:hit rain:god  
 the time when it was raining

*tāhān sha kwahan rā*  
 companion near:time CON:go he  
 the time when he was already on his way

Equative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

*ta kúū mārótómó*  
 he CON:be host  
 the man who is host (of a fiesta) (Sp. *mayordomo*)

*ta ni ndūū kīti*  
 he COM change:into animal  
 he who changed into an animal

Stative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

*yītā kwáhá*  
 flower red  
 red flower

*īnā māsó*  
 dog tame  
 tame (Sp. *manso*) dog

*yīchi kīnī*  
 trail ugly  
 bad trail

*tūtā visi*  
 atole sweet  
 sweet atole

(See also 7.19 and 7.62.)

A few stative verbs have suppletive forms for singular and plural referents (see §5.2). When these occur as simple relative clauses, the nouns they modify are singular or plural by virtue of the number of the stative verb form.

*vēhē káhnō*  
 house big:SG  
 big house

*vēhē náhnō*  
 house big:PL  
 big houses

*yīton nání*  
 tree long:PL  
 long sticks

*lášhá lōhō*  
 orange little:SG  
 little orange (Sp. *naranja*)

There are also sequences in which a noun modifies another noun that should probably be considered to be relative clauses with a deleted verb. The second noun often gives the material out of which the first is made,

or the topic of the first noun. These constructions are freely formed and are therefore not complex nuclei.

*mónó ñíma*  
doll wax  
wax doll (Sp. *mono*)

*vēhē yīton*  
house tree  
house made of wood

*kwéntó ndūshú*  
story chicken  
chicken story (Sp. *cuento*)

(See also 7.5.)

**3.1.4 Combinations of elements.** All possible combinations of elements occur in the order specifier, quantifier, nucleus, relative clause, deictic, and limiter, with the only restrictions involving postnuclear elements. Relative clause and deictic occur together only if the relative clause consists of nothing more than a stative verb. Also, a limiter cannot directly follow a relative clause without an intervening deictic.

*mū ovi īnā kwehe kán*  
SPEC two dog fierce that  
those same two fierce dogs

*sāvā vēhē vā yóhō*  
some house LIM this  
just some of these houses

*ñīī tísúhū lōhō kán*  
one goat little:SG that  
that one little goat

Under certain discourse conditions, the nucleus of a noun phrase may be unexpressed, leaving a quantifier or a deictic as the only manifestation of a noun phrase.

*inka*  
another  
another (one)

*yóhō*  
this  
this (one)

(See also 7.38, 7.54, 7.105, and 7.114.)

### 3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

Measurement noun phrases have a noun expressing a unit of measurement as their nucleus, and they must contain a quantifier. They also optionally include a short relative clause based on a stative verb. Measurement noun phrases occur only as quantifiers in other noun phrases, and in the following examples, the higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

*uni tihvī (nivī)*  
 three group (person)  
 three groups (of people)

*ñii kōhndō lōhō vā (láshá)*  
 one pile little:SG LIM (orange)  
 just one little pile (of oranges)

*ushu nōmī (yūtā)*  
 ten bunch (flower)  
 ten bunches (of flowers)

*ovi sīsó (tūton)*  
 two back:load (firewood)  
 two loads (of firewood)

### 3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. The specifier and quantifier may precede the nucleus, and a brief relative clause containing a stative verb may follow it. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to nouns that can be possessed. They are either inherently possessed nouns, which are largely body parts and kinship terms, or they are optionally possessed nouns. The possessor is a full noun phrase with no special genitive marking.

With inherently possessed nouns:

*sata rā*  
 back his  
 his back

*uni ñānī váli ta kán*  
 three brother:ME little:PL his that  
 his three little brothers

*ndiuni sãhya ñáhã*  
 all:three child woman  
 all three of the woman's children

*kwaha ní sãhya inã ni sīkō ta kán*  
 many INTS child dog COM sell he that  
 very many puppies of the dog that he sold

*ndãha yīñ sāvã nivī*  
 hand left half person  
 the left hands of some people

(See also 7.3, 7.18–7.21, 7.34, and others.)

With optionally possessed nouns:

*ñī vēhē rã*  
 one house his  
 a house of his

*kotó lōhō ñnka taã*  
 shirt little:SG another man  
 little shirt (Sp. *cotón*) of another man

*mī ovi yūchu ta xaan*  
 SPEC two machete his that:same  
 the same two machetes of that man

*vēhē káhnō rã*  
 house big:SG his  
 his big house

(See also 7.2, 7.4, 7.9, and others.)

When the possessor is a poststressed pronoun, a deictic may follow the possessor and refer to the nucleus.

*sīsī ún kãa*  
 aunt your:SG that:visible  
 that aunt of yours

(See also 7.60.)

A possessive noun phrase may occur as the possessor in another possessive noun phrase.

*īśi sinī rā*  
 hair head his  
 his hair

*ñīī taā ñōō i*  
 one man town my  
 a man of my town

*sūō yīvā rā*  
 uncle father his  
 his father's uncle

The inherently possessed noun *tāhān* ‘companion’ sometimes means ‘time’.

*tāhān yoo vikó ndīī*  
 companion moon fiesta cadaver  
 time of the month of the All Saints’ fiesta

The inherently possessed noun *noo* ‘face’, when preceded by a quantifier, often has the special meaning ‘kind of’.

*ndīīhī noo kūī*  
 all face animal  
 all kinds of animals

### 3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed by combining an interrogative word with a noun phrase. The interrogative is always initial in its noun phrase and, except for indirect questions, the interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence (see §§1.1.8 and 1.2.2). To ask which one, the nominal marker *ndā* ‘which?’ and the interrogative pronoun *yūkú* ‘what?’ are used; *yūkú* is restricted to animate referents.

*ndā kwáyí*  
 which horse  
 which horse (Sp. *caballo*)?

*ndā taā*  
 which man  
 which man?

*yūkú taā*  
 what man  
 which man?



*ndá yīchi*  
 which trail  
 which trail?

(See also 7.31.)

To question a quantifier, the interrogative adverb *ndāsāá* ‘how?’ is used.

*ndāsāá tāyi*  
 how chair  
 how many chairs?

*ndāsāá ñáhā*  
 how woman  
 how many women?

*ndāsāá tākwī*  
 how water  
 how much water?

To question a possessor, *yō* ‘who?’ precedes the noun. This construction is also used to question adjuncts which have the form of a possessive noun phrase (see §§1.1.4 and 1.2.2).

*yō vēhē*  
 who house  
 whose house?

*yō ndāha*  
 who hand  
 to whom? *or* whose hand?

*yō shaha*  
 who foot  
 for whom? *or* whose foot?

*yō noo*  
 who face  
 in place of whom? *or* to whom? *or* whose face?

### 3.5 Emphatic Noun Phrases

Emphatic noun phrases consist of both negative and affirmative subtypes, with the negative type being by far the more common. The affirmative

consists of the nominal marker *sīvī* followed by a noun phrase.<sup>6</sup> The negative consists of the nominal negative markers *siví* or *āmā* followed by a noun phrase. Emphatic noun phrases occur only in focus position. In the following examples, the portion of the sentence outside the emphatic noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

Affirmative:

*sīvī yīvā ún (kúū rā)*  
 AFF father your:SG (CON:be he)  
 (He is) REALLY YOUR FATHER.

*sīvī ta chíñō (kisā kwíhnā rā ñōō yóhō)*  
 AFF he work (CON:do robbery he town this)  
 THAT VERY TOWN AUTHORITY (robbed this town).

Negative:

*siví yīvā i (kúū rā)*  
 NEG father my (CON:be he)  
 (He's) NOT MY FATHER.

*siví ndūchu toōn (kónī i)*  
 NEG bean black (CON:want I)  
 (It's) NOT BLACK BEANS (I want).

*siví ndāha ñá (tashī ún tūtū)*  
 NEG hand her (COM:give you:SG paper)  
 NOT TO HER (did you give the book).

*āmā ñásihí rā (kúū ñá)*  
 NEG wife his (CON:be she)  
 (She's) NOT HIS WIFE.

(See also 7.78 and 7.109.)

### 3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Adverbial noun phrases are basic or possessive. The first subtype consists of a basic noun phrase with either a locative or temporal noun nucleus. They are used as locative adjuncts (see §1.1.4) and as location or time peripheral elements (see §1.1.7).

<sup>6</sup>The nominal marker *siví* is almost certainly derived from the equative verb *siví*, which now is rarely used (see §§1.1.5 and 2.2).

*yutā kwīl*  
 river green  
 green river

*yīchi ndahyi*  
 trail muddy  
 muddy trail

*kāa shitaan*  
 bell early  
 an early hour

The locative noun *yīchi* ‘trail’, when preceded by a quantifier or quantifier phrase, often has the special meaning ‘time’.

*kwaha ní yīchi*  
 many INTS trail  
 very many times

*īnka yīchi*  
 another trail  
 another time

The near-time marker *shā* optionally precedes the quantifier in this construction, as seen in 7.84 and 7.86.

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with an inherently possessed locative noun as nucleus. These nouns include a subset of body-part nouns, which are used with extended meanings (see §5.3.2). Adverbial possessive noun phrases are used in all noun-phrase positions, but they are especially common as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

*sata vēhē*  
 back house  
 outside the house

*yūhu nōō yóhō*  
 mouth town this  
 the edge of this town

*tishīn sēmáná yóhō*  
 stomach week this  
 within the week (Sp. *semana*)

*shaha yoo*  
 foot moon  
 the beginning of the month

*shaha ndūchú noó i*  
 foot bean face my  
 the base of my eyeball

*noo nivī*  
 face person  
 in front of the people

*sohō kisi*  
 ear pot  
 the handle of the pot

*ndāha nā*  
 hand her  
 to her

(See also 7.8, 7.53, 7.83, 7.89, and 7.105.)

### 3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun phrases in the same structural position joined without a conjunction. They occur in any noun-phrase position, and the second noun phrase often contains a relative clause. When one of the noun phrases is a personal name, it is often combined with a prestressed pronoun to show respect (see §3.10).

*yóhó / mígó i*  
 you:SG friend my  
 you, my friend (Sp. *amigo*)

*mū taā / ta ni shahan yūku*  
 SPEC man he COM go mountain  
 that same man, he who went to the mountain country

*nā mārīā / sīsī i*  
 she Mary aunt my  
 Mary (Sp. *Mariá*), my aunt

*tatan / nā kūtatan kihvā rā*  
 medicine it:INAN POT:cure sister:MEhis  
 the medicine, that which will cure his sister

*nōō / noo kīsā chíñō rā*  
 town face CON:do work he  
 the town, the place where he works

*kivi / táhān ni kākū sāhya ún*  
 day companion COM be:born child your:sg  
 the day, the time when your son was born

*órá / ñā ni shāa rā*  
 hour it:INAN COM arrive he  
 the hour (Sp. *hora*), the one he arrived

(See also 7.8 and 7.62.)

Appositional noun phrases have at least four specific functions. The first of these is to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified. Such appositional noun phrases often have a proper name or a pronoun as the nucleus of the first part.

*ta káhvi / ta xwán*  
 man CON:study he John  
 the student, John (Sp. *Juan*)

*ta xwán / ta ndísō chíñō*  
 he John he CON:carry:on:back work  
 John, the man who is in charge

*ñákán / ñá nani mārīā*  
 she she COM:be:named Mary  
 she, the one who is named Mary

A second function of appositional noun phrases is to give more information about a noun or pronoun than is allowed in one noun phrase. Each of the component noun phrases usually contains a relative clause.

*īnā káhnō / tí kwáán*  
 dog big:SG it:AML yellow  
 the big dog, the yellow one

*tiún chéē / tí yāā / tí nishāshī yihí*  
 turkey big:male it:AML white it:AML COM:eat me  
 the macho turkey, the white one, the one who bit me

*sāhya rā / ñá shíkwaḥa / ñá lívī*  
 child his she old she pretty  
 his child, the grown-up one, the pretty one

A third function of appositional noun phrases is to express the owner of a specific animal or spherical object. Because nouns referring to specific kinds of animals or spherical objects cannot occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase, they occur in apposition to a possessive noun

phrase with the inherently possessed noun *sana* ‘domestic animal’ or ‘spherical object’ as its nucleus.

*īnā* / *sana* *rā*  
 dog domestic:animal his  
 his dog

*ndūshú* / *sana* *ñá*  
 chicken domestic:animal her  
 her chickens

*nāñā* / *sana* *i*  
 tomato spherical:object my  
 my tomatoes

A fourth function of appositional noun phrases is to express ordinals. It consists of two noun phrases, the second of which is a complex noun nucleus formed by a prestressed pronoun and a numeral.

*sēmáná* / *ñā* *ovi*  
 week it:INAN two  
 the second week (Sp. *semana*)

*kwáyí* / *tí* *uni*  
 horse it:AML three  
 the third horse

*grābādórá* / *tón* *komi*  
 tape:recorder it:WOD four  
 the fourth tape recorder (Sp. *grabadora*)

### 3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Noun phrases may be linked in either a coordinate or a disjunctive relationship. Noun phrases may also be linked by repeating the verb; this is described in §6.1.2.

There are two ways of linking noun phrases in a coordinate relation. In the first type, noun phrases are linked by the preposition *shíhín* ‘with’.

*ta xwán shíhín ta pánchó*  
 he John with he Frank  
 John and Frank (Sp. *Pancho*)

*ñūī ta ndáhvī shíhín ñásíhī rā*  
 one he poor with wife his  
 a poor man and his wife

*ñá mārīā shíhín ta páncó shíhín ñī īnka tāa*  
 she Mary with he Frank with one another man  
 Mary and Frank and another man

*ndāha ta xwán shíhín ndāha ta pédró*  
 hand his John with hand his Peter  
 to John and Peter (Sp. *Pedro*)

If there are more than two noun phrases linked in a coordinate relation, *shíhín* can be omitted except before the final noun phrase.

*ta xwán ñá mārīā ta páncó shíhín nāvēhē nā*  
 he John she Mary he Frank with family their  
 John, Mary, Frank, and their families

When an additive noun phrase functions as the subject of an intransitive verb, it is sometimes ambiguous with a simple noun phrase subject followed by an associative adjunct (see §1.1.4).

*ni shīshī rā shíhín sāhya rā*  
 COM eat he with child his  
 He and his children ate. *or* He ate with his children.

Some additive phrases with *shíhín* show possession. These consist of a noun or prestressed pronoun with an animate referent linked by *shíhín* to a noun phrase that refers to an inanimate possessed object.

*ta shíhín vēhē*  
 he with house  
 he who owns the house

*ñālōhō shíhín ndūxan shaá*  
 girl with shoe new  
 the girl with new shoes

(See also 7.25 and 7.39.)

Some additive phrases with *shíhín* show attraction. The first phrase must contain a plural pronoun or quantifier, and the second phrase specifies some or all of the referents expressed by the first phrase. The more common type is appositional: the additive noun phrase expressing the second part has exactly the same set of referents as the first part.

*ndiuni nā / miī ñá shihín*  
all:three they SPEC she with

*kihvi ñá shihín kihvā ñá*  
sister:FE her with brother:FE her  
all three of them, she herself and her sister and her brother

*ndiuni nā / ta xwán ñá mārīā shihín ta pánchó*  
all:three they he John she Mary with he Frank  
all three of them, John, Mary, and Frank

*ndikomi nā / ta xwán ñá mārīā ta pánchó*  
all:four they he John she Mary he Frank

*shihín sāhyā rā*  
with child his  
all four of them, John, Mary, Frank, and his child

When the second part expresses only some of the referents of the first part, *shihín* ‘with’ can be translated ‘including’.

*ndiōvi ndi shihín kihvi i*  
all:two we:EX with sister:FE my  
both of us, including my sister

An example of this construction is found in 7.91; the first part consists of the inclusive pronoun *yó* fused to the verb (see §5.4).

A second way noun phrases may be linked in a coordinate relation is by use of the general marker *tín* ‘also’. The marker may be repeated after the second and each succeeding noun phrase in a series, or it may appear only after the final one.

*ta xwán ñá mārīā tín ta pánchó tín*  
he John she Mary also he Frank also  
John, Mary, and Frank

*búró kwáyí ndivahyí sindiki tín*  
donkey horse coyote cow also  
donkeys (Sp. *burro*), horses, coyotes, and cattle

Two or more noun phrases may be linked in a disjunctive relationship by placing the YES/NO interrogative marker *án*, which is used in this construction to mean ‘or’, before each noun phrase, or before all but the first.



*án láchá án ndahya*  
 INT orange INT peach  
 either oranges or peaches

*án vĕhĕ chíñō án ĩnka vĕhĕ*  
 INT house work INT another house  
 either the town hall or another building

*án sita án ndūchu án yāha*  
 INT tortilla INT bean INT chili  
 either tortillas or beans or chilies

*án ndūchu án sita án yāhā án ñii*  
 INT bean INT tortilla INT chili INT salt  
 beans or tortillas or chilies or salt

A negative disjunction is expressed by using *nī* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*) preceding each noun phrase.

*nī ñá māñā nī yū ñá*  
 nor she Mary nor husband her  
 neither Mary nor her husband

*nī yūchu nī yáchá nī kūchíyó*  
 nor machete nor ax nor knife  
 neither machete nor ax (Sp. *hacha*) nor knife (Sp. *cuchillo*)

### 3.9 Distributive Noun Phrases

Distributive noun phrases may be formed in one of three ways. The first subtype is formed by the repetition of a noun phrase which contains *ñīī* 'one' and a noun nucleus.

*ñīī ñōō ñīī ñōō*  
 one town one town  
 town to town

*ñīī vĕhĕ ñīī vĕhĕ*  
 one house one house  
 house to house

The second subtype is formed by the repetition of a noun phrase preceded by *táhān* 'companion' or its shortened form *tá*.

*táhān ñōō táhān ñōō*  
 companion town companion town  
 town to town

*tá vĕhĕ tá vĕhĕ*  
 companion house companion house  
 house to house

The third subtype is formed by a repetition of the general marker *tūkū* ‘again’, followed by a short noun phrase.

*tūkū tūkū ñōō*  
 REP REP town  
 town after town

*tūkū tūkū vĕhĕ*  
 REP REP house  
 house after house

### 3.10 Personal-Name Noun Phrases

Personal-name noun phrases consist of two elements: a gender marker and a nucleus. The prestressed third person pronouns *ta* ‘he’ and *ñá* ‘she’ mark gender in these phrases. The nucleus is a personal name that agrees in gender with the marker. These phrases occur as nuclei in other noun phrases, and are usually employed to refer to an adult by name, except as a vocative or as the nominal complement of *nānī* ‘to be named’.

*ñá mārīā*  
 she Mary  
 Mary

*ta xwán*  
 he John  
 John

Sometimes in folktales the prestressed third person animal pronoun is also used in this way, perhaps to indicate a tongue-in-cheek respect.

*tí lésón*  
 it:AML rabbit  
 Mr. Rabbit

(See also 7.8, 7.53, 7.73, and various others.)

## 4

# Other Phrases

### 4.1 Quantifier Phrases

**4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases.** In additive numeral phrases single numerals combine to form the numerals eleven through fourteen, sixteen through nineteen, twenty-one through thirty, thirty-five, and certain combinations involving hundred and thousand. The order of these numerals is fixed, and they form a close-knit unit.

*ushu ñĩĩ*  
ten one  
eleven

*ushu komi*  
ten four  
fourteen

*shahun komi*  
fifteen four  
nineteen

*oko shahun*  
twenty fifteen  
thirty-five

*syéntó oko*  
hundred twenty  
one hundred (Sp. *ciento*) twenty

*mīl*            *ushu*  
 thousand    ten  
 one thousand (Sp. *mīl*) ten

Additive numeral phrases may contain more than two elements to form the numerals thirty-one through thirty-four, thirty-six through thirty-nine, and other larger numerals.

*oko*    *ushu*   *ñīī*  
 twenty   ten   one  
 thirty-one

*oko*    *shahun*   *komi*  
 twenty   fifteen   four  
 thirty-nine

*syéntó*    *oko*        *shahun*    *ovi*  
 hundred   twenty   fifteen   two  
 one hundred thirty-seven

*mīl*            *oko*        *ohon*  
 thousand    twenty    five  
 one thousand twenty-five

**4.1.2 Attributive numeral phrases.** Multiples of twenty, one hundred, and one thousand are expressed by attributive numeral phrases, which have two parts in a quantifier-nucleus relationship. The larger numeral occurs second. A suppletive form of twenty, *siko*, is used as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases.

*ovi*    *siko*  
 two    twenty  
 forty

*komi*   *siko*  
 four    twenty  
 eighty

*ohon*   *syéntó*  
 five    hundred  
 five hundred

*ushu*   *mīl*  
 ten    thousand  
 ten thousand

Attributive numeral phrases combine with additive numeral phrases to form all the remaining nonsimple numerals.

*ovi siko shāhun ñīī*  
two twenty fifteen one  
fifty-six

*usha syéntó ushu komi*  
seven hundred ten four  
seven hundred fourteen

*īño mīl uni syéntó ovi siko uni*  
six thousand three hundred two twenty three  
six thousand three hundred forty-three

**4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases.** A numeral and either of two numeral classifiers combine to form aggregative numeral phrases. The numerical marker *mātóhōn* occurs only with the numeral one, and the combination means 'just one'; and the inherently possessed noun *táhān* 'companion' occurs with any number except one and means either 'parts of a whole' or 'item in a group'. These phrases occur as quantifiers in noun phrases and as nuclei in other numeral phrases. In the following examples, an entire noun phrase is given with the parts outside the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

*ñīī mātóhōn (yīton)*  
one only (tree)  
just one (tree)

*komi táhān (yīton)*  
four companion (tree)  
four sections (of a tree) or four (trees) in a group

**4.1.4 Expanded numeral phrases.** A simple numeral or an additive, attributive, or aggregative numeral phrase may serve as the nucleus of expanded numeral phrases. These phrases also include one optional prenuclear element and three optional postnuclear elements.

The prenuclear element is expressed by the numeral *ñīī* 'one', used in the sense of 'approximately'; the specifier *mīī* 'that very'; and the general quantifiers *īnka* 'another' and *ndī-*, a shortened form of *ndīhī* 'all'. The quantifier *ndī-* combines with simple numerals to form a set of quantifiers that function in a larger discourse context referring to previously mentioned numbers of items or people.

*ñīi oko (taā)*  
 one twenty (man)  
 about twenty (men)

*īnka ushu (tāyi)*  
 another ten (chair)  
 another ten (chairs)

*mūi ohon (sindikī)*  
 SPEC five (cattle)  
 the same five (cattle)

*ndīkomi (vēhē)*  
 all:four (house)  
 all four (houses)

*ndīovi (nā)*  
 all:two (they)  
 both (of them)

The first postnuclear element is a class of limiters that includes the stative verb *kwīī* ‘short’, used in this construction to mean ‘only’; the general marker *tūkū* ‘again’, used in this construction to mean ‘another’; and the numerical markers *ndaa* ‘exactly’ and *lāá* ‘only’.

*ushu kwīī (sita)*  
 ten short (tortilla)  
 only ten (tortillas)

*ovi tūkū (yīchi)*  
 two REP (trail)  
 another two (times) (lit. another two trails)

*ushu ndaa (tāyi)*  
 ten exactly (chair)  
 exactly ten (chairs)

*ñīi lāá (taā)*  
 one only (man)  
 only one (man)

The second postnuclear element includes the limiter *vā* ‘just’ and the additive *ka* ‘more’.

*uni vā (taā)*  
 three LIM (man)  
 just three (men)

*ñīī lāá vā (ñōō)*  
 one only LIM (town)  
 just only one (town)

*ovi lāá ka (kivi)*  
 two only ADD (day)  
 only two more (days)

*ohon kwīī vā (nivī)*  
 five short LIM (person)  
 just only five (people)

*ovi syéntó ka (sindiki)*  
 two hundred ADD (cattle)  
 two hundred more (cattle)

*ñīī lāá ka (sini)*  
 one only ADD (hat)  
 just one more (hat)

These two postnuclear elements may occur with each other and with the prenuclear element.

*ñīī ovi siko tūkū (rí)*  
 one two twenty REP (it:AML)  
 about forty more (animals)

*īnka ovi kwīī vā (sita)*  
 another two short LIM (tortilla)  
 just another two (tortillas)

The third postnuclear element comprises only the general quantifier *sāvā* ‘half’. This element usually follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the numeral phrase occurs, in which case the quantifier phrase is discontinuous. Postnuclear elements follow *sāvā* in discontinuous quantifier phrases.

*uni (kivi) sāvā kwīī vā*  
 three (day) half short LIM  
 just only three and a half (days)

When the nucleus of the numeral phrase contains *syéntó* ‘hundred’ or *mīl* ‘thousand’, however, the fraction follows the nucleus of the expanded numeral phrase.

*ñīī syéntó sāvā (pésó)*  
 one hundred half (peso)  
 one hundred fifty (pesos [Sp. *peso*])

*ovi mīl sāvā tūkū ka (taā)*  
 two thousand half REP ADD (man)  
 another two thousand five hundred more (men)

**4.1.5 General quantifier phrases.** Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases are similar in structure to expanded numeral phrases. They include a nucleus, expressed by a general quantifier, optionally preceded by the specifier *mū* or the negative *vāsā*, and optionally followed by two postmodifiers. The first is expressed by the intensifier *nī* ‘very’ and the general marker *tūkū* ‘again’, and the second by the limiter *vā* ‘just’ and the additive *ka* ‘more’.

*kwaha nī (lášhá)*  
 many INTS (orange)  
 very many (oranges [Sp. *naranja*])

*mū īnka (vēhē)*  
 SPEC another (house)  
 that same other (house)

*vāsā ndīhī ka (nivī)*  
 NEG all ADD (person)  
 not all the rest (of the people)

*sāvā tūkū vā (taā)*  
 half REP LIM (man)  
 just also some (men)

*lōhō ka (káfē)*  
 little ADD (coffee)  
 a little more (coffee [Sp. *café*])

(See also 7.84 and 7.86.)

**4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases.** There are two ways to form distributive numeral phrases. In the first, a grammatically simple numeral is repeated. This phrase expresses the meaning ‘one by one’, ‘two by two’, etc. The phrase may be repeated, with pause between the pairs, to indicate intensification.

*ñīī ñīī (vēhē)*  
 one one (house)  
 each (house)



*ovi ovi (taā)*  
 two two (man)  
 (the men) two by two

*ovi ovi / ovi ovi (kīti)*  
 two two two two (animal)  
 (the animals) two by two, two by two

In the second way, the noun *táhān* ‘companion’ occurs before each numeral.

*táhān komi táhān komi (īnā)*  
 companion four companion four (dog)  
 (the dogs) four by four

Compare these phrases with distributive noun phrases (see §3.9), which are often similar in meaning.

**4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases.** Two or more numerals of limited complexity, with the succeeding ones expressing a somewhat higher quantity, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The numerals may be simply juxtaposed, in which case they express an approximation.

*shahun oko (vēhē)*  
 fifteen twenty (house)  
 about fifteen to twenty (houses)

*ohon iño (sita)*  
 five six (tortilla)  
 five or six (tortillas)

*ovi uni komi (kivi)*  
 two three four (day)  
 two to four (days)

It is also possible to use the YES/NO interrogative marker *án* before each numeral, or before each except the first, in which case they express alternative quantities.

*uni án komi (tāyi)*  
 three INT four (chair)  
 three or four (chairs)

*án ovi án uni (tūū)*  
 INT two INT three (paper)  
 either two or three (papers)

*komi án ohon án iño (taā)*  
 four INT five INT six (man)  
 four or five or six (men)

## 4.2 Adverb Phrases

**4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases.** A nucleus, one optional prenuclear element, and two optional postnuclear elements combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus is expressed by a locative, temporal, or general adverb. The prenuclear element is the near-time marker *sha*. Postnuclear elements are manner, expressed by intensifying elements, and the limiter/additive position, expressed by *vā* ‘just’ and *ka* ‘more’, respectively.

With locative adverbs:

*chīkāa vā*  
 over:there LIM  
 just over there

*ninō ní ka*  
 up INTS ADD  
 much farther up

*nino ka*  
 down ADD  
 farther down

(See also 7.10.)

With temporal adverbs:

*sha shikwāā ní*  
 near:time late INTS  
 already very late

*vītīn ní vā*  
 now INTS LIM  
 just this very moment

*nahā ní*  
 continuing INTS  
 for a long time

(See also 7.2.)

With general adverbs:

*sāá vā*  
 thus LIM  
 just like that

(See also 7.101.)

**4.2.2 Appositional adverb phrases.** Any two of the following structures may be juxtaposed to form appositional adverb phrases: adverbs, adverb phrases, adverbial noun phrases, or prepositional phrases.

*chīkāa / sata vēhē rā*  
 over:there back house his  
 over there, behind his house

*ñōō yó / yóhō*  
 town our:IN here  
 our town here

*kōnī / lúné*  
 yesterday Monday  
 yesterday, Monday (Sp. *lunes*)

*chīkán / ĩnī vēhē*  
 over:there inside house  
 over there, inside the house

*shiká ní / noo kīshi nā*  
 far INTS face CON:come they  
 very far, where they come from

**4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases.** Two noncoreferential adverbs linked by *tā* ‘and’ form an additive adverb phrase. *tā* also optionally precedes the first adverb. The adverbs that combine in these phrases always show a close semantic relation.

*ñōó tā ndīví*  
 night and all:day  
 night and day

*yóhō tā kāa*  
 here and there:visible  
 here and there

*tā vīlīn tā tāan*  
 and now and tomorrow  
 today and tomorrow

**4.2.4 Repetitive adverb phrases.** The simple repetition of an adverb or of the repetitive marker *tūkū*, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. The limiter *vā* ‘just’ may follow the last adverb in the phrase.

*ndīkōn ndīkōn*  
 soon soon  
 immediately

*tūkū tūkū*  
 REP REP  
 again and again

*kwēē kwēē vā*  
 slowly slowly LIM  
 just very slowly

It is also possible to repeat a short general adverb phrase that includes the intensifier *ní*, or to repeat an idiomatic phrase.

*kāmā ní kāmā ní*  
 fast INTS fast INTS  
 very fast

*vīlīn tāan vīlīn tāan*  
 now tomorrow now tomorrow  
 day after day

Repetitive adverb phrases occur commonly in preverbal manner position in content verb phrases (see §2.1.2). Their structure often parallels that of repetitive stative verb phrases (see §2.4).

### 4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which is expressed either by a noun phrase or an adverb. The set of prepositions is small because prepositional function is carried largely by locative nouns (see §§5.3.2 and 3.6). It includes only *shihín* ‘with’, *anda* or *nda* ‘until’, *māhñó* ‘in the middle of’, and *tāñō* ‘among’. Prepositional phrases usually express adjuncts (see §1.1.4) and peripheral elements (see §1.1.7).

*shíhín tísúhū*  
with goat  
with the goats

*shíhín yūchu*  
with machete  
with a machete

*anda ñōō káhnō*  
until town big:SG  
as far as a big town

*māhñó viko*  
in:middle:of fiesta  
midway through the fiesta

*tāñō nivī*  
among person  
among the people

(See also 7.3, 7.10, 7.43–45, 7.81, 7.96, 7.102, 7.105, and 7.112.)

The subordinate conjunction *tá* ‘if’ occasionally functions as a preposition meaning ‘from’, as seen in 7.98. One locative adverb, *yātīn* ‘near’, also functions as a preposition.

*yātīn vēhē rā*  
near house his  
near his house

Compound prepositional phrases occasionally occur; they consist of two juxtaposed prepositional phrases with *anda* or *nda* ‘until’. They express the spatial or temporal scope of an action, with the first instance of *nda* translated ‘from’ and the second translated ‘as far as’ or ‘until’.

*nda tāndahyí anda tōkiin*  
until Tlapa until Alacatlatzala  
from Tlapa as far as Alacatlatzala

*nda kiū nda kōnī*  
until day:before:yesterday until yesterday  
from the day before yesterday until yesterday

One example has developed an idiomatic meaning.

*nda kāa nda kívī*  
until there:visible until mistake  
very confused *or* mixed-up



# 5

## Parts of Speech

### 5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

**5.1.1 Derivation.** Content verbs may be derived from other content verbs, from stative verbs, from nouns, or, in at least one case, from an adverb, by means of derivational prefixes. Unless otherwise stated, all examples are given in potential aspect.

The prefix *sā-* 'causative' frequently combines with content verbs to add an agent. Some of these content verbs may undergo a change in tone or reduction in segments. The tone of *sā-* indicates the aspect of the verb.

*sá-yáhā*

CON:CAUS-pass

to pass (something)

*sá-yihvī*

CON:CAUS-fear

to frighten

*sā-kākū*

POT:CAUS-escape

to rescue

*sá-ndūshūn*

CON:CAUS-be:buried

to bury

*sā-nāyāā*

CON:CAUS-become:dry  
to dry (something)

*sā-kūndīshīn*

POT:CAUS-be:dressed  
to dress (someone)

*sā-ndāhā*

POT:CAUS-be:healed  
to heal, to fix (cf. *ndūvāhā* ‘POT:be:healed’)

*sā-nīhi*

CON:CAUS-hold  
to give as a gift

*sā-tāū*

POT:CAUS-borrow  
to lend

The prefix *sā-* ‘causative’ sometimes also combines with a stative verb or a noun, either of which may undergo a tone change.

With a stative verb:

*sā-ndāhvī*

POT:CAUS-poor  
to cheat, to trick (cf. *ndāhvī* ‘poor’)

(See also 7.44.)

With nouns:

*sā-nānā*

POT:CAUS-image  
to draw (cf. *nāhnā* ‘image’)

*sā-kwāchī*

POT:CAUS-piece  
to divide into parts

Less common causative prefixes, which probably also are derived from *kāsā* ‘to do’, are *kā-*, *kī-*, and *kū-*. They create content verbs from stative verbs, nouns, and other content verbs. The verbs below are all in potential aspect.



With stative verbs:

*kī-ndāā*

POT:CAUS-straight  
to cease, to leave alone

*kū-vahā*

POT:CAUS-good  
to make

With nouns:

*kā-chīñō*

POT:CAUS-work  
to work

*kā-noo*

POT:CAUS-face  
to perch

*kū-tatan*

POT:CAUS-medicine  
to treat

With a content verb:

*kā-kōhōn*

POT:CAUS-POT;go  
to arrest (cf. *kohon* 'POT:go')

Another prefix *kū-* is a reduced form of *kūkūū* 'to be'. It combines with stative verbs and nouns to create content verbs.

With stative verbs:

*kū-ndeē*

POT:be-strong  
to endure

*kū-yii*

POT:be-holy  
to be holy

*kū-nāā*

POT:be-dark  
to be tired

With nouns:

*kū-chíñō*  
 POT:be-work  
 to be able

*kī-sháhā*  
 POT:be-foot  
 to begin (cf. *shaha* ‘foot’)

(See also 7.63.)

In some verbs, *kī-* appears to be a reduced form of *kīhīn* ‘to get’.

*kī-ndeē*  
 POT:get-strong  
 to rest

*kī-táhān* or *kū-táhān*  
 POT:get-companion  
 to meet

Some content verbs that begin with *kā-* or *kū-* have less transparent derivations; it is not clear whether the prefixes are derived from ‘to do’ or ‘to be’.

*kā-ndishā*  
 POT:?-true  
 to believe and obey

*kā-ndúhū*  
 POT:?-fat  
 to be lying down

*kū-mani*  
 POT:?-without:cost  
 to be lacking<sup>7</sup>

The prefix *ndū-* is a shortened form of the verb *ndūū* ‘to change into’. It combines with stative verbs to form content verbs.

*ndū-vahā*  
 POT:change:into-good  
 to become well

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<sup>7</sup>The verb *kūmani* ‘to lack’ has an alternative form *kāsā mani*, which has a complex nucleus, and is conjugated the same as the verb *kāsā* ‘to do’. The longer form has the additional meanings of ‘to do favors for’ or ‘to treat well’.

*ndū-yākwa*POT:change:into-dirty  
to become dirty*ndū-yāā*POT:change:into-white  
to become white*ndū-kwíká*POT:change:into-rich  
to become rich*ndū-vīshin*POT:change:into-cold  
to become cold*ndū-ndahyi*POT:change:into-muddy  
to become muddy

In a few frozen forms the repetitive prefix *nā-* has combined with content verbs and nouns to form content verbs.

With content verbs:

*nā-kātā*REP-POT:scratch  
to wash*nā-káhán*REP-CON:think  
to remember*nā-kāhmā*REP-POT:pound  
to sew*nā-kāvā*REP-POT:turn  
to fall (singular)*na-kāsī*REP-POT:cover:up  
to close

(See also 7.45 and 7.66.)

With a noun:

*nā-yāā*

POT:dust

to become dry

The prefix *chī-* ‘to place’ combines with stative verbs, nouns, and (rarely) with content verbs or adverbs.

With stative verbs:

*chī-ndeē*

POT:place-strong

to help, to greet

*chī-sēhé*

POT:place-hidden

to hide (cf. *sehē* ‘hidden’)

*chī-ndúhū*

POT:place-fat

to put down

With nouns:

*chī-noo*

POT:place-face

to place on (a surface)

*chī-ndáhā*

POT:place-hand

to push, to send (cf. *ndāha* ‘hand’)

With a content verb:

*chī-ndōō*

POT:place-POT:sit:PL

to scatter

With an adverb:

*chī-kāa*

POT:place-there:visible

to put in (one thing)

There are several other prefixes which create content verbs from nouns and other content verbs. These show limited productivity and are often

indeterminate in meaning. They probably developed by means of the fusion of a complex verb nucleus (see §2.1.1) into a single word. They are: *ndā-*, *tā-*, and *tō-*.

With nouns:

*ndā-tōhōn*

DER-word

to tell, to advise

*tā-ndāhā*

DER-hand

to send

*tō-ndāhā*

DER-hand

to marry

With content verbs:

*ndā-nihī*

DER-CON:hold

to lift up

*ndā-ñóhō*

DER-CON:contain

to lose, to get lost

*ndā-kīndōo*

DER-POT:stay:limited:time

to carry on the shoulder

All verb stems with more than two syllables are probably derived or fused forms, but the derivation is not always transparent.

*tō-ndāa*

DER-?

to touch

*ndā-kwiin*

DER-?

to reply

*tā-kāa*

DER-?

to be hanging

*ndá-koō*

DER-?

to get up

*sā-kwāhā*

CAUS-?

to study, to learn

A few intransitive verbs indicate a singular or plural subject by a stem change, and one transitive verb indicates a singular or plural object in this way. These verbs are:

*kūndīchī*

POT:stand:SG

to stand (one person)

*yīā*

POT:stand:PL

to stand (plural)

*kōō*

POT:sit:SG

to sit (one person)

*kūndōō*

POT:sit:PL

to sit (plural)

*nākāvā*

POT:fall:SG

to fall (one person)

*kōyō*

POT:fall:PL

to fall (plural)

*ndētā*

POT:leave:open:area:SG

to leave an open area  
(one person)

*ndikōyō*

POT:leave:open:area:PL

to leave an open area  
(plural)

*kētā*

POT:leave:closed:area:SG

to leave an enclosed area  
(one person)

*kikōyō*

POT:leave:closed:area:PL

to leave an enclosed area  
(plural)

*chikāa*

POT:put:in:SG

to put in (one thing)

*tāān*

POT:put:in:PL

to put in (more than one thing)

One verb is inherently negative.

*shūn* ‘to not want’

The verbs *kōō* ‘to exist’ or ‘to sit (singular)’ and *kīvī* ‘to be able’ have irregular negative forms, which are the same for all aspects. Both verbs are negated by a high tone on the last syllable.

<i>koó</i>	‘to not exist’
<i>kiví</i>	‘to not be able’

(See also 7.40 and 7.58.)

**5.1.2 Inflection.** Content and equative verbs are inflected for three aspects: potential, continuative, and completive. These three aspects are similar to future, present, and past tenses, but cannot be equated with them because, once a time frame has been established in the discourse context, all three aspects can occur to express time relative to that frame. For example, continuative aspect is often used for ongoing action in the past.

Potential aspect is the basic form of the verb. Continuative and completive aspects are best described by means of changes from the potential form.

Most two-syllable verb stems are regular and have a mid mid tone pattern in potential aspect. A few have a mid high or mid low tone pattern.

There are three major inflectional classes of verbs. In the first class, aspect inflection is carried only by tone, and in the remaining two, there are segmental changes as well.

In Class I, all three aspects have identical segments, and differ in tone only on the first syllable: potential aspect has mid tone, continuative aspect has high tone, and completive aspect has low tone. (Instead of a tone change, verbs in this class are optionally marked for completive by the preverbal element *ni* [see §2.1.2].)

	POT	CON	COM
grab	<i>tīn</i>	<i>tūn</i>	<i>tūn</i>
look for	<i>ndūkú</i>	<i>ndúkú</i>	<i>ndukú</i>
buy	<i>sātā</i>	<i>sátā</i>	<i>satā</i>
close	<i>nākāsī</i>	<i>nákāsī</i>	<i>nakāsī</i>
tie up	<i>kātón</i>	<i>kátón</i>	<i>katón</i>
get up	<i>ndākoō</i>	<i>ndákoō</i>	<i>ndakoō</i>
be born	<i>kākū</i>	<i>kákū</i>	<i>kakū</i>

Class II is a relatively small class of verbs which require the prefix *ku-* for potential aspect, and the prefix *shi-* for completive aspect. Verbs in this class are divided into two subclasses according to their continuative aspect form. Some verbs have the *shi-* prefix in continuative aspect, and others

show no prefix in continuative.<sup>8</sup> The tone patterns for verbs of Class II are the same as those for Class I.

	POT	CON	COM
stop	<i>kū-kwūn</i>	<i>shí-kwūn</i>	<i>shi-kwūn</i>
stomp on	<i>kū-ndōsō</i>	<i>shí-ndōsō</i>	<i>shi-ndōsō</i>
stomp around	<i>kū-nīhnī</i>	<i>shí-nīhnī</i>	<i>shi-nīhnī</i>
dress	<i>kū-ndīshīn</i>	<i>ndīshīn</i>	<i>shi-ndīshīn</i>
have	<i>kū-kōmī</i>	<i>kómī</i>	<i>shi-kōmī</i>
sit:PL	<i>kū-ndōō</i>	<i>ndóō</i>	<i>shi-ndōō</i>
contain	<i>kū-ñóhō</i>	<i>ñóhō</i>	<i>shi-ñóhō</i>
wait	<i>kū-ndātī</i>	<i>ndātī</i>	<i>shi-ndātī</i>
stand:SG	<i>kū-ndīchī</i>	<i>ñī-ndīchī</i>	<i>shi-ndīchī</i>
fit	<i>kū-nāni</i>	<i>nāni</i>	<i>shi-nāni</i>

In Class III, the tone changes are the same as for Class I, but each potential aspect form in Class III begins with *k* or *kw*, while continuative and completive aspect forms begin with *sh*.

	POT	CON	COM
set fire	<i>kāhmī</i>	<i>sháhmī</i>	<i>shahmī</i>
eat	<i>kāshī</i>	<i>sháshī</i>	<i>shashī</i>
eat	<i>kūshū</i>	<i>shīshī</i>	<i>shishī</i>
cry	<i>kwākū</i>	<i>shákū</i>	<i>shakū</i>
look	<i>kōtō</i>	<i>shítō</i>	<i>shitō</i>
sing	<i>kātā</i>	<i>shítā</i>	<i>shitā</i>
scratch	<i>kātā</i>	<i>shátā</i>	<i>shatā</i>

<sup>8</sup>The completive prefix *shi-* that occurs with Class II verbs is identical in shape to the remote time marker (see §2.1.2). They do not cooccur, and it is quite likely that the two are derived from the same source. They are distinct in present-day Alacatlazala Mixtec, however, as shown by the fact that the prefix occurs with some continuative aspect forms, but the marker never does.

According to data gathered after this study was substantially completed, there appears to be a third *shi* with the meaning 'perfective'. This *shi* differs from the remote time marker in that it occurs only with the potential aspect form of the verb, and it follows the completive marker.



walk	<i>kākā</i>	<i>shíkā</i>	<i>shúkā</i>
kill	<i>kāhnī</i>	<i>sháhnī</i>	<i>shahnī</i>
cut	<i>kāhndā</i>	<i>sháhndā</i>	<i>shahndā</i>
grow	<i>kwāhnō</i>	<i>sháhnō</i>	<i>shahnō</i>
burn	<i>kōkō</i>	<i>shishī</i>	<i>shishī</i>
swing	<i>kwīkō</i>	<i>shíkō</i>	<i>shikō</i>

For a few verbs in Class III the completive marker *nī* is obligatorily present or absent. This often reduces ambiguity with similar forms. For example, *ni shini* means ‘was intoxicated’, and *shinī* means ‘knew’.

	POT	CON	COM
die	<i>kīvī</i>	<i>shíhī</i>	<i>ni shihī</i>
see, know	<i>kōnī</i>	<i>shínī</i>	<i>shinī</i>

Some irregular verbs do not fit any of the above patterns.

	POT	CON	COM
carry on back	<i>kwīsō</i>	<i>ndísō</i>	<i>shindīsō</i>
be	<i>kūkūū</i>	<i>kūū</i>	<i>shikūū</i> or <i>ni kūū</i> <sup>9</sup>
go	<i>kohon</i>	<i>kwahan</i>	<i>ni shahan</i> or <i>kishāa</i>
come	<i>kīshī</i>	<i>vashī</i>	<i>kishī</i>
arrive (home)	<i>kīshāa</i>	<i>kíshāā</i>	<i>nashāa</i> or <i>kishāa</i>
arrive (away)	<i>shāa</i>	<i>sháa</i>	<i>nishāa</i>
sit:sg, exist	<i>kōō</i>	<i>yóō</i> or <i>íyó</i>	<i>nishiyo</i>
play	<i>kūsiki</i>	<i>sásiki</i>	<i>s:síkī</i>
bathe	<i>kūchū</i>	<i>chíchī</i>	<i>chichī</i>
be mounted on	<i>kōsō</i>	<i>yósō</i>	<i>yosō</i>
sleep	<i>kūsūn</i>	<i>kīsīn</i>	<i>kīsīn</i>
not want	<i>shūn</i>	<i>shūn</i>	<i>ni shūn</i>

<sup>9</sup>There are two alternative completive forms of *kūkūū* ‘to be’. For some speakers, *shikūū* is a perfective aspect, but for others there is no apparent difference in meaning.

The verbs *kónī* ‘to want’ and *kindōo* ‘to stay for a limited time’ are defective in that they occur only in continuative aspect for most speakers. The verb *nī ndōō* ‘to remain there’ occurs only in completive aspect.

Two motion verbs have special imperative forms.

*nāhā*  
IMP:COME  
come!

*kwáhán*  
IMP:GO  
go! (cf. *kwahan* ‘CON:go’)

The verb *kónī* ‘to want (continuative)’ is sometimes used with an object complement to express the aspectual notion ‘about to’ (see §1.1.9), and the verb *shikā* ‘to walk (continuative)’ is used in a juxtaposed construction to express continuing action (see §6.1.2).

## 5.2 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs differ from content and equative verbs in that they are not inflected for aspect. Stative verbs are either basic or derived from nouns. Rarely, derived stative verbs show a tone change from the nouns they are derived from.

Basic stative verbs:

<i>yatā</i>	‘old’
<i>līvī</i>	‘pretty’
<i>kwáán</i>	‘yellow’
<i>kīnī</i>	‘ugly’
<i>veē</i>	‘heavy’
<i>toōn</i>	‘dark’

Derived stative verbs:

<i>ndahyi</i>	‘muddy’ (cf. <i>ndahyi</i> ‘mud’)
<i>yuu</i>	‘rocky’ (cf. <i>yuu</i> ‘rock’)
<i>ñihma</i>	‘smoky’ (cf. <i>ñihma</i> ‘smoke’)
<i>ndēé</i>	‘strong’ (cf. <i>ndēe</i> ‘strength’)
<i>sāhán</i>	‘greasy’ (cf. <i>sahān</i> ‘grease’)
<i>kwehe</i>	‘fierce’ (cf. <i>kwehe</i> ‘sickness’)

A few stative verbs are similar in form and meaning to transitive verbs.

<i>ndásī</i>	‘closed’	(cf. <i>nākāsī</i> ‘to close’)
<i>tāhnō</i>	‘broken’	(cf. <i>kahnō</i> ‘to break’)
<i>tāhndā</i>	‘cut’	(cf. <i>kāhndā</i> ‘to cut’)

Three stative verbs have distinctive forms for singular and plural referents.

	SG	PL
long	<i>káni</i>	<i>náni</i>
big	<i>káhnō</i>	<i>náhnō</i>
little	<i>lōhō</i>	<i>váli</i> (refers to few); <i>kwáli</i> (refers to many)

The stative verb *lōhō* ‘little (singular)’ also functions as a general quantifier, and the stative verb *vahā* ‘good’ also functions as an intensifying adverb (see 7.19).

### 5.3 Nouns

**5.3.1 Derivation.** There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There are, however, some prefixes derived from generic nouns, which, when combined with another element, create new nouns. Often these prefixes are identical in form to prestressed pronouns (see §5.4). Nouns referring to names of animals, trees, and fruit are often formed in this way.

Animal names are often derived by the prefixes *tí-* and *ndi-*, both of which come from *kūi* ‘animal’. The meaning of the stem often cannot be determined.

<i>ti-yaká</i>	‘fish’
<i>tí-ñoño</i>	‘bee’ (cf. <i>ñoño</i> ‘honey’)
<i>tí-súhū</i>	‘goat’ (cf. <i>súhū</i> ‘beard’)
<i>ti-ndóō</i>	‘spider’
<i>ti-kivá</i>	‘butterfly’
<i>ndī-kāchī</i>	‘sheep’ (cf. <i>kāchī</i> ‘cotton’)
<i>ndī-kāmā</i>	‘fly’ (cf. <i>kāmā</i> ‘fast’)
<i>ndī-yohō</i>	‘hummingbird’
<i>ndī-yóchín</i>	‘wasp’

A few fruit and vegetable names are formed by using the prefix *ti-*. (There is no noun in the language now for 'fruit' or 'round object', but the presence of one in other Mixtec languages suggests that there was one in the past, from which this prefix was derived.)

<i>tí-kwáán</i>	'orange' (cf. <i>kwáán</i> 'yellow')
<i>ti-nānā</i>	'tomato'
<i>tī-kwiī</i>	'potato'
<i>ti-kōmī</i>	'onion, garlic'
<i>tí-kohndo</i>	'knee' (cf. <i>kōhndō</i> 'pile')

Tree names often have the derivational prefix *ton-*, from *yīton* 'tree'. It is identical in form to the prestressed pronoun *ton* 'it' (wood).

<i>ton-tíchi</i>	'avocado tree' (cf. <i>tíchi</i> 'avocado')
<i>ton-ndahyá</i>	'peach tree' (cf. <i>ndahya</i> 'peach')
<i>ton-vihndá</i>	'prickly pear cactus'
<i>ton-yoó</i>	'bamboo' (cf. <i>yoó</i> 'reed')

Other prefixes that sometimes occur are: *tá-* (from *ndūtá* 'liquid'), *ta-* (from *taā* 'man'), *ñá* (from *ñáhā* 'woman'), *nā-* (from *nāhā* 'they'), and *no-* (from *noo* 'face').

<i>tá-ndáyí</i>	'liquid from cooked beans'
<i>tá-visi</i>	'soft drink' (cf. <i>visi</i> 'sweet')
<i>ta-chiñō</i>	'town authority' (cf. <i>chiñō</i> 'work')
<i>ta-káhvī</i>	'student' (cf. <i>káhvī</i> 'CON:study')
<i>ñá-síhí</i>	'wife' (cf. <i>sihī</i> 'mother')
<i>nā-vēhē</i>	'family' (cf. <i>vēhē</i> 'house')
<i>no-ndáhā</i>	'fingertip' (cf. <i>ndāha</i> 'hand')
<i>no-sháhā</i>	'tip of toe' (cf. <i>shaha</i> 'foot')

A few other prefixes occur in only one or two forms, and their source cannot at present be determined.

<i>si-ndiki</i>	'cattle' (cf. <i>ndiki</i> 'horn')
<i>ñō-yívī</i>	'sky, world' (cf. <i>nivī</i> 'person')
<i>ñī-katón</i>	'knot' (cf. <i>katón</i> 'COM:tie')

*shi-tóhó* ‘owner’ (cf. *tohó* ‘respect’)  
*shi-nahña* ‘reflection’ (cf. *nāhná* ‘image’)

**5.3.2 Classification.** Nouns fall into several cross-cutting classifications: they may be divided according to gender, possessibility, distribution, or countability.

Nouns fall into seven gender classes according to the third person pronouns that can refer to them: masculine, feminine, animal/spherical, liquid, wood/metal, inanimate, and collective (human). A few nouns fall into two classes; for example, *kimī* ‘star’ is classified as animal by some speakers and as inanimate by others, *ánxēl* ‘angel’ (Sp. *ángel*) and some other spirits are classified as animal by some speakers and as masculine by others, and animal names may be classified as either animal or masculine when used in folktales.

Masculine nouns:

*taā* ‘man’  
*ndyós* ‘God’ (Sp. *Dios*)  
*sītō* ‘uncle’

Feminine nouns:

*sīhí* ‘mother’  
*ñáha* ‘woman’  
*sīsī* ‘aunt’  
*shitan* ‘grandmother’  
*ñálōhō* ‘girl’  
*sāndā rósá* ‘Saint Rose’ (Sp. *Santa Rosa*)

Animal/spherical nouns:

*kīni* ‘pig’  
*īnā* ‘dog’  
*yīsōn* ‘rabbit’ (Sp. *conejo*)  
*yoo* ‘moon’  
*glóbó* ‘balloon’ (Sp. *globo*)

## Liquid nouns:

<i>savi</i>	‘rain, rain god’
<i>tākwū</i>	‘water’
<i>ndūtá</i>	‘liquid’

## Wood/metal nouns:

<i>kaā</i>	‘metal, bell’
<i>yīton</i>	‘tree’
<i>káró</i>	‘vehicle’ (Sp. <i>carro</i> )
<i>tāyi</i>	‘chair’
<i>mākīnā</i>	‘machine, typewriter’ (Sp. <i>máquina</i> )

## Inanimate nouns:

<i>yuu</i>	‘rock’
<i>vēhē</i>	‘house’
<i>tūtū</i>	‘paper’
<i>siyō</i>	‘dress’
<i>ñohō</i>	‘sun’

## Collective nouns:

<i>nākwáli</i>	‘children’
<i>nāvēhē</i>	‘family’

Nouns may also be divided into those that cannot be possessed and those that can. Nouns that cannot be possessed are proper names, nouns which refer to topographical and meteorological phenomena, and wild animal names.

<i>māriā</i>	‘Mary’
<i>ñohō</i>	‘sun’
<i>yoo</i>	‘moon’
<i>tachi</i>	‘wind’
<i>savi</i>	‘rain, rain god’
<i>ndikāhā</i>	‘jaguar’

Nouns that can be possessed are either inherently possessed or optionally possessed. Nouns which are inherently possessed are mostly kinship terms and body parts, but they also include the nouns for 'family', 'name', and 'domestic animal'.

<i>sīsī</i>	'aunt'
<i>yīvā</i>	'father'
<i>ndāha</i>	'hand'
<i>shaha</i>	'foot'
<i>navēhē</i>	'family'
<i>kivi</i>	'name'
<i>sana</i>	'domestic animal, spherical object'

Optionally possessed nouns include all others.

<i>vēhē</i>	'house'
<i>lāpi</i>	'pencil' (Sp. <i>lápiz</i> )
<i>yata</i>	'plow'
<i>noni</i>	'corn'
<i>ndūchu</i>	'bean'
<i>tohōn</i>	'word'

The distribution classes of nouns include vocatives, proper nouns, locative nouns, temporal nouns, measurement nouns, and common nouns. Some nouns fall into more than one class.

Vocatives include personal names, kinship terms, and other terms of social relation. Personal names are rarely used as vocatives, except for children, because calling an adult by his name is not considered respectful. The exception to this rule is that an adult of recognized higher social status or age may call a younger adult by his first name.

<i>nānā</i>	'ma'am!'
<i>nānā</i>	'Mother!'
<i>tātā</i>	'sir!'
<i>ñānī</i>	'Brother (of male)!'
<i>sītō</i>	'Uncle!'
<i>mígó</i>	'friend!' (Sp. <i>amigo</i> )

<i>talōhō</i>	‘boy!’
<i>chíká</i>	‘Fran!’ (Sp. <i>Chica</i> )

(See also 7.46, 7.54–55, 7.67, and others.)

Proper nouns include personal and place names; personal names usually occur in personal-name noun phrases (see §3.10).

Personal names:

<i>xwán</i>	‘John’ (Sp. <i>Juan</i> )
<i>chávó</i>	‘nickname for Salvador’ (Sp. <i>Chavo</i> )

Place names:

<i>ñōkóhyō</i>	‘Mexico City’ (cf. <i>ñōō</i> ‘town’, <i>kohyo</i> ‘swamp’)
<i>tandáhyī</i>	‘Tlapa’ (cf. <i>tá-</i> ‘liquid’, <i>ndáhyi</i> ‘mud’)
<i>tōkīn</i>	‘Alacatlalzala’

Locative nouns occur as the nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes place names, names of topographical features, and some other nouns.

<i>sīnónī</i>	‘Tototepec’
<i>yīchi</i>	‘trail’
<i>shiki</i>	‘hill’
<i>ñōō</i>	‘town’
<i>yūku</i>	‘mountain country’

The second group includes mainly names for body parts that are used in an extended sense.

<i>sata</i>	back
	outside of, behind
<i>sini</i>	head
	top of



*shaha*

foot

on behalf of, about

*noo*

face

on, in the presence of, in front of, in place of

*tishin*

stomach

in the middle of

*inī*

insides

inside of, center of

*ndāha*

hand

to, from

*kaha*

buttocks

at the bottom of

*yūhu*

mouth

edge of

*sohō*

ear

handle of

The locative noun *noo* ‘face’ also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning ‘place where’, as seen in 7.8 and 7.31 (see also §3.1.3). In this function it sometimes occurs in the reduced form *no*. The locative noun *shaha* ‘foot’ occasionally functions as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘because’.

Temporal nouns are also divided into two groups. The first group includes names for units of time and calendric units.

<i>kivi</i>	‘day’
<i>yoo</i>	‘month’
<i>kwiya</i>	‘year’
<i>lúné</i>	‘Monday’ (Sp. <i>lunes</i> )

The second group includes a few inherently possessed nouns which are extended in a temporal sense.

*shaha*

foot

beginning of

*tishīn*

stomach

within

*tāhān*

companion

time of

The noun *tāhān* ‘companion’ also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning ‘time when’ and as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘when’.

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see §3.2).

*métró* ‘meter’ (Sp. *metro*)

*tīhvī* ‘group’

*nōmī* ‘bunch’

*kōhndō* ‘pile’

Common nouns are all those nouns that are not included in any of the above distribution classes.

*īnā* ‘dog’

*yīton* ‘tree’

*yóho* ‘rope’

*yītā* ‘flower’

*yūtū* ‘cornfield’

*taā* ‘man’

Nouns may also be classified as either mass or count. Mass nouns do not permit a numeral or numeral phrase as quantifier, whereas count nouns do.

## Mass nouns:

<i>tākwī</i>	‘water’
<i>kākā</i>	‘lime’
<i>yūshan</i>	‘corn dough’
<i>ñii</i>	‘salt’

## Count nouns:

<i>tūtū</i>	‘paper’
<i>sita</i>	‘tortilla’
<i>ndūchu</i>	‘bean’
<i>vēhē</i>	‘house’
<i>ñōō</i>	‘town’
<i>yéhé</i>	‘door’

## 5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns for first and second person show a contrast in number and also a distinction of free versus postclitic forms. The exception is first person plural inclusive, which has no free form. The free pronouns are:

	SG	PL
first EX	<i>yihī</i>	<i>ndihī</i>
second	<i>yóhó</i>	<i>ndóhó</i>

The corresponding clitic pronouns for first and second person are:

	SG	PL
first EX	<i>i</i>	<i>ndi</i>
first IN	—	<i>yó</i>
second person	<i>ún</i>	<i>ndó</i>

The first person plural inclusive pronoun is often used in soliloquy to refer to oneself (see 7.60–62). This pronoun fuses with *kohon* ‘to go (potential)’ to create an imperative form *kohyo* ‘let’s go!’

The two singular clitics affect the preceding stem in various ways. The clitic *ún* nasalizes stem-final oral vowels. When it follows a stem-final low or high tone *on* or *un*, there is no change in the stem; stem-final mid tone

*on* or *un* followed by *ún* changes to high tone. The clitic *i* causes the stress to shift to the final syllable of the stem.

If either singular clitic follows a dissimilar stem-final vowel, the two often fuse into a one-syllable diphthong, especially in fast speech. In the examples below, a diphthong is represented by attaching the clitic to the stem by a hyphen. In fast speech, in words whose final stem vowel is preceded by a glottal stop, the final vowel of the stem is replaced by the vowel of the clitic, and certain tone changes also occur (see Zylstra 1980).

Without medial glottal stop:

Basic	Fast speech
<i>kisī i</i> jar my my jar	<i>kisī</i>
<i>kisī ún</i> jar your:sg your jar	<i>kisīn-ún</i>
<i>kātón i</i> POT:tie I I will tie	<i>kātón-in</i>
<i>kātón ún</i> POT:tie you:sg you will tie	<i>kātón</i>

With medial glottal stop:

<i>ndāha i</i> hand my my hand	<i>ndāhi</i>
<i>ndāha ún</i> hand your:sg your hand	<i>ndāhun</i>
<i>vēhē i</i> house my my house	<i>vēhi</i>
<i>vēhé ún</i> house your:sg your house	<i>vēhún</i>

*kāhan*      *i*                      *kāhin*  
 POT:speak    I  
 I will speak

*kāhan*      *ún*                      *kāhun*  
 POT:speak    you:SG  
 you will speak

Both free and clitic forms occur in all syntactic environments, except that clitics occur sentence initially only when preceded by the specifier *mī̄*.

Personal pronouns for third person show eight different gender classes, but no contrast of number, except for the pronoun *nā* 'they', whose referent is plural and human. Clitic forms divide into two groups, prestressed and poststressed. Prestressed clitic pronouns are often followed by any of four locative adverbs (see §5.5) that function as deictics. These combinations function somewhat like free pronouns.

	Prestressed	Poststressed
masculine	<i>ta</i>	<i>rā</i>
feminine	<i>ñá</i>	<i>ñá</i>
animal/spherical	<i>í</i>	<i>rí</i>
liquid	<i>tá</i>	<i>rā</i>
wood/metal	<i>ton</i>	<i>nó</i>
inanimate	<i>ñā</i>	<i>ñā</i>
general	—	<i>ā</i>
collective (human)	<i>nā</i>	<i>nā</i>

Prestressed pronouns occur in noun phrases that include at least one postnominal element (see §3.1.3), and poststressed pronouns occur when they are final in their own noun phrase. Prestressed pronouns followed by a deictic may be focused, and poststressed pronouns can be focused when they are preceded by the specifier *mī̄*.

The prestressed inanimate pronoun *ñā* also functions as a complementizer (see §1.1.9), and sometimes as a conjunction meaning 'in order that' (see §6.2.1). In these functions it is glossed 'complementizer', rather than 'it (inanimate)'. Two locative nouns, *noo* 'face' and *táhān* 'companion', also function as prestressed pronouns.

The general pronoun *ā* may refer to someone or something that is known from the context, and it may refer to any gender. It fuses with *kūū* 'to be (continuative)' to form *kía* (see 7.98).

There are four interrogative pronouns.

<i>yō</i>	‘who?’
<i>yūkú</i>	‘what?’ (cf. <i>yō</i> ‘who?’, <i>kúū</i> ‘CON:be’)
<i>yūkía</i>	‘what?’ (cf. <i>yūkú</i> ‘what?’, <i>ā</i> ‘GEN’)
<i>yūkúti</i>	‘what animal?/what spherical object?’ (cf. <i>yūkú</i> ‘what?’, <i>tí</i> ‘it:AML, it:SPH’)

See §§1.2.2 and 3.4 for a description of the constructions in which these pronouns occur.

### 5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.

Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns; they occur as locative adjuncts and locative peripheral elements.

<i>yóhō</i>	‘here’
<i>kán</i>	‘there (not visible)’
<i>kāa</i>	‘there (visible)’
<i>xaan</i>	‘there (same place)’
<i>nino</i>	‘down’
<i>ninō</i>	‘up’
<i>chikāa</i>	‘over there (visible)’ (cf. <i>yīchi</i> ‘trail’, <i>kāa</i> ‘there [visible]’)
<i>chikán</i>	‘over there’ (cf. <i>yīchi</i> ‘trail’, <i>kán</i> ‘there’).
<i>yātin</i>	‘near’
<i>shiká</i>	‘far’

The first four adverbs in the above list have an additional function as deictics in noun phrases (see §3.1.3); in this use they are glossed as ‘this’, ‘that’, and ‘that same’, rather than as ‘here’ and ‘there’. Examples of the deictic use are seen in 7.31, 7.42, 7.52, 7.60, 7.95, and various others. Examples of the locative adverb use are seen in 7.10, 7.36, 7.52, 7.67–68, 7.71–72, 7.75, 7.96, and various others. In some cases either interpretation is possible, as seen in 7.25, 7.27, and 7.35. It is also possible for locative adverbs functioning as deictics to occur with no noun nucleus expressed,

in which case they appear to be functioning as demonstrative pronouns, as seen in 7.38, 7.54, 7.105, and 7.114.

The locative adverb *yātin* ‘near’ can also function as a preposition (see §4.3).

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns; one is complex. They occur as time peripheral elements.

Simple:

<i>vīūn</i>	‘now’
<i>yachi</i>	‘soon’
<i>kōnī</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>sakán</i>	‘just about to, just begun, just ended’
<i>shūtāan</i>	‘early’
<i>shikwāā</i>	‘later, afternoon’
<i>ndiví</i>	‘all day long’ (cf. <i>ndihī</i> ‘all’, <i>kivi</i> ‘day’).
<i>nahā</i>	‘continuing’
<i>sōndihī</i>	‘afterward’ (cf. <i>so</i> ‘but rather’, <i>ndihī</i> ‘COM:finish’)

Complex:

<i>takáhān</i>	<i>kwīī</i>
?	short
right away, in a minute	

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs.

<i>sāā</i>	‘thus’
<i>sīhā</i>	‘like this, thus’
<i>ndēā</i>	‘precisely’
<i>ndēkía</i>	‘precisely’
<i>vāvāa</i>	‘maybe’

There is only one intensifying adverb, and it most commonly occurs as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, and adverb phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, and 4.2.1).

<i>ní</i>	‘very’
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The stative verb *vaha* ‘good’ also functions as an intensifying element (see §5.2).

Interrogative adverbs occur in WH and indirect questions (see §§1.2.2 and 1.2.3). They are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>āmā</i>	‘when?’
<i>mí</i>	‘where?’
<i>míchí</i>	‘where?’ (cf. <i>yīchi</i> ‘trail’)
<i>míkía</i>	‘where?’ (cf. <i>kía</i> ‘CON:be:GEN’)
<i>ndāsāá</i>	‘how?, how much?’ (cf. <i>sāá</i> ‘thus’)
<i>ndāchún</i>	‘why?’ (cf. <i>chĩñō</i> ‘work’)

Complex:

<i>míkía</i>	<i>chĩ</i>
where	place
where?	

## 5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. These elements commonly occur as quantifiers in noun phrases (see chapter three, especially §§3.1.2 and 3.2) and as nuclei in various quantifier phrases (see §4.1). They also occur occasionally as manner in verb phrases (see §2.1.3) and as ordinals in complex noun nuclei (see §§3.1.1 and 3.7).

The simple numerals are:

<i>ñĩĩ</i>	‘one, a, approximately’
<i>ovi</i>	‘two’
<i>uni</i>	‘three’
<i>komi</i>	‘four’
<i>ohon</i>	‘five’
<i>ĩño</i>	‘six’
<i>usha</i>	‘seven’
<i>ona</i>	‘eight’
<i>ñii</i>	‘nine’
<i>ushu</i>	‘ten’



<i>shāhun</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>oko</i>	‘twenty’
<i>siko</i>	‘twenty’ (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
<i>syéntó</i>	‘hundred’ (Sp. <i>ciento</i> )
<i>mīl</i>	‘thousand’ (Sp. <i>mil</i> )

See §§4.1.1 and 4.1.2 for a description of phrases that express the remaining numerals.

Simple numerals combine with the general quantifier *ndī* ‘all’ to form complex quantifiers. See §§3.8 and 4.1.4 for examples.

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. The most common ones are:

<i>kwaha</i>	‘many’
<i>īnka</i>	‘another’ (cf. <i>ñīī</i> ‘one’, <i>ka</i> ‘more’)
<i>sāvā</i>	‘half’
<i>ndīhī</i> or <i>ndī</i>	‘all’
<i>vīhī</i>	‘much’

The stative verb *lōhō* ‘little (singular)’ also functions as a general quantifier meaning ‘a little bit’ or ‘a few’. In this use, it is glossed ‘little’, rather than ‘little (singular)’.

Rarely, no noun nucleus occurs, and a numeral or general quantifier appears to function as a noun.

<i>īnka</i>	<i>kónī</i>	<i>rā</i>
another	CON:want	he
He wants ANOTHER (ONE).		

## 5.7 Prepositions

There are only four prepositions.

<i>shihín</i>	‘with’
<i>anda</i> or <i>nda</i>	‘until’
<i>tāñō</i>	‘among’
<i>māhñó</i>	‘in the middle of’

Many prepositional functions are carried by noun phrases containing body-part nouns used in an extended sense (see §§3.6 and 5.3.2).

### 5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are coordinate or subordinate; subordinate conjunctions are simple or complex.

Coordinate conjunctions:

<i>tā</i>	‘and’
<i>so</i>	‘but rather’
<i>nī</i>	‘nor’ (Sp. <i>ni</i> )

Simple subordinate conjunctions:

<i>tá</i>	‘if, when, as’
<i>ñākán</i>	‘with the result that’ (cf. <i>ñā</i> ‘it:INAN’, <i>kán</i> ‘there’)
<i>ñāxaan</i>	‘with the result that’ (cf. <i>ñā</i> ‘it:INAN’, <i>xaan</i> ‘there:same’)
<i>kachī</i> or <i>chī</i>	‘because’
<i>kōtō</i>	‘lest’ (cf. <i>kōtō</i> ‘POT:look’).
<i>vanī</i>	‘even though’ (cf. <i>vā</i> ‘just’, <i>nī</i> ‘nor’)
<i>ndātáhān</i> or <i>ndatán</i>	‘somewhat like’ (cf. <i>ndá</i> ‘which?’, <i>táhān</i> ‘companion’)

Complex subordinate conjunctions:

<i>ñākán</i>	<i>kía</i>
with:the:result:that	CON:be:GEN
with the result that	
<i>chī</i>	<i>tá</i>
because	if
in case	

The interrogative adverb *āmā* ‘when?’ also functions as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘while’, and the locative noun *shaha* ‘foot’ occasionally functions as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘because’.

## 5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form parts of sentences or phrases that are not included in the previous eight parts of speech. Markers are verbal, nominal, numerical, general, or sentential.

Verbal markers occur as preverbal and postverbal elements in verb phrases (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3). They are:

<i>ni</i>	‘completive aspect’
<i>shī</i>	‘remote time’
<i>ná</i>	‘hortatory’
<i>on</i>	‘not’ (with potential aspect)
<i>tahān</i>	‘not yet’
<i>vásā</i>	‘not’ (with continuative aspect and stative verbs)
<i>kwan</i>	‘directional’
<i>ñāhá</i>	‘known object’

There are four nominal markers, which occur in interrogative and emphatic noun phrases (see §§3.4 and 3.5).

<i>ndá</i>	‘which?’
<i>sivī</i>	‘affirmative’
<i>siví</i>	‘not’
<i>āmā</i>	‘not’

Numerical markers occur in aggregative and expanded numeral phrases (see §§4.1.3 and 4.1.4). They are:

<i>mātóhōn</i>	‘only’
<i>ndaa</i>	‘exactly’
<i>lāá</i>	‘only’

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type. They are:

<i>miī</i>	‘specifier’
<i>sha</i>	‘near time’
<i>vā</i>	‘just’
<i>ka</i>	‘more’

<i>tūkū</i>	‘again’
<i>tín</i>	‘also’

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind indicates the mood or truth value of the sentence. These markers are:

<i>án</i>	‘YES/NO interrogative’
<i>ra</i>	‘tag question’
<i>che</i>	‘hearsay’
<i>níkúū</i>	‘contrafactual’ (cf. <i>nī</i> ‘nor’, <i>kúū</i> ‘CON:be’)
<i>nih</i>	‘doubt’
<i>kánvāhá</i>	‘amazement’

See §§1.2.1, 1.2.3, and 1.5 for examples of sentences using these markers. The YES/NO interrogative marker *án* also functions as a conjunction to mean ‘or’ (see §§3.8, 4.1.7, and 6.1.1).

The second kind of sentential marker relates a sentence to its discourse context. See §6.4 for examples of sentences using these markers.

*sāá tā*  
thus and  
therefore

*tā sāá tā*  
and thus and  
so, as a result

*tā sāá*  
and thus  
and then

*tā vītīn*  
and now  
and then

*sōndihī xaan*  
afterward that:same  
after the aforementioned event

*ndihī xaan tīn*  
COM:finish that:same also  
also after the aforementioned

*sāá kúū*  
 thus CON:be  
 thus it was

*tā sāá kúū*  
 and thus CON:be  
 and thus it was

*nī vāsā*  
 nor NEG  
 not even

*nda vīīn ndēkia*  
 until now precisely  
 now at last

*nda vīīn ndēā*  
 until now precisely  
 now at last

### 5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences to express emotion.

*vái* 'pain, distress, surprise'  
*oon* 'mild agreement, noncommittal'  
*ōhon* 'no'  
*chéé* 'look!'  
*eéi* 'okay!, right!'  
*áan* 'yes, what do you want?'  
*yahūn* 'pause form' (cf. *yāhā* 'to pass', *ún* 'you:sg')

The pause form is used whenever the speaker stops to consider what to say next.

*kwahan rā / kwahan rā / yahūn / nda yūku*  
 CON:go he CON:go he PAUSE until mountain  
 He went and went, uh, until (he arrived at) the mountain country.

*kōnī kōnī rā / yahūn / yahūn / sīsī rā*  
 CON:want POT:see he PAUSE PAUSE aunt his  
 He wants to see, uh, uh, his aunt.



## 6

# Intersentential Relations

### 6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some combinations of sentences are connected by conjunctions and some are not.

**6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions.** Coordinate relations between two sentences may be expressed by the conjunctions *tā* ‘and’, *sō* ‘but rather’, and *nī* ‘nor’ (Sp. *ni*), and by the YES/NO interrogative marker *án*, which is used to mean ‘or’.

Of these, *tā* is by far the most common. It appears to be the case that *tā* simply signals the break between two sentences, and carries no information about the specific relation between them, because the sentences linked by it show a variety of semantic relations. One of the most common uses is to link two or more sentences that refer to events in chronological or logical sequence.

*ni tiin inā rí / tā ni ndūkú*  
COM grab dog it:AML and COM look:for

*ndēé rí / tā ni sãñã rí*  
strong it:AML and COM escape it:AML

The dog grabbed it, and it struggled hard, and it escaped.

*ná tāū lōhō i nā /*  
 HORT POT:borrow little I it:INAN

*tā kishāa i shíhín ā takáhān kwūī*  
 and POT:arrive I with GEN ? short  
 May I please borrow it, and I'll come back with it shortly.

*kānī ndāā tākwū shaha vēhē / tā ndīvā nā*  
 POT:hit straight water foot house and POT:fall it:INAN  
 The water will pound the foundation of the house, and it will cave in.

*shikūū nā shikwaha sīhí ndi /*  
 COM:be she old mother our:EX

*tā on kúndeē ka nā kāsā chíñō nā*  
 and NEG POT:endure ADD she POT:do work she  
 Our mother is elderly, and she can't stand to work any more.

*chahvī rā noo kūi / tā ni káhnī nā rí*  
 COM:pay he face animal and COM NEG:kill they it:AML  
 He paid for the animals, and they didn't kill them.

*kisháhā ndēē ní sávi / tā chíū ndīhī rā*  
 COM:begin strong INTS rain:god and COM:get:wet all he  
 It began to rain very strongly, and he got all wet.

(See also 7.2, 7.5, 7.8, 7.18, 7.22, 7.29, 7.35, and various others.) .

Another semantic relation between sentences linked by *tā* is simultaneous action. In these, the verbs are almost always in the same aspect, which is usually continuative.

*shútū nīī taā yūtū rā /*  
 CON:weed one man cornfield his

*tā kákū sāhya rā vēhē rā*  
 and CON:be:born child his house his  
 A man was weeding his cornfield, and his child was being born at his house.

*kwahan rā nōō / nā shíká /*  
 CON:go he town it:INAN far

*tā shíhī ní rā sokō*  
 and CON:die INTS he hunger  
 He was going to a town far away, and he was very hungry.



(See also 7.10, 7.43, 7.54, 7.60, and 7.72.)

A subtype of simultaneous action is setting, which describes an ongoing state or action as background for another more punctiliar action. The verb in the sentence providing setting is usually in continuative aspect. The following sentence, introduced by *tā* ‘and’, usually has a verb in completive aspect.

*yóo ta bétó nīī nōō /*  
CON:sit:SG he Bob one town

*tā kishāa nīī taā ndéé ní ndóhō*  
and COM:arrive one man strong INTS CON:fare  
Bob (Sp. *Beto*) was in a town, and a man arrived who was very sick.

*kwahan káró / tā ni kīsīn rā*  
CON:go vehicle and COM sleep he

The truck (Sp. *carro*) was going along, and he fell asleep.

Note that, even though the above two examples are clearly coordinate because of the presence of the coordinate conjunction *tā* ‘and’, the setting might be more naturally translated in English by a subordinate clause.

The conjunction *tā* is also used before a sentence that is a partial restatement of the preceding one. This restatement serves to highlight an event.

*sákāhā rí kitárá / tā vahā ní sákāhā rí*  
CON:play it:AML guitar and good INTS CON:play it:AML

It was playing the guitar (Sp. *guitarra*), and it was playing very well.

*sháshī rí ndūshú / tā sháshī ndīhī nāhā rí*  
CON:eat it:AML chicken and CON:eat all KNO it:AML

It eats chickens, and it eats them all up.

The conjunction *tā* can also be used to link sentences that are in an antithetical relation.

*kanā lésón ndūshú chée /*  
COM:call rabbit chicken big:male

*tā ni shiīn rí kīshī rí*  
and COM NEG:want it:AML POT:come it:AML

The rabbit (Sp. *conejo*) called the rooster, but the rooster didn’t want to come.

*kónī kohon i ĩnka yīchi / tā ni sháhān i*  
CON:want POT:go I another trail and COM NEG:go I

I wanted to go another time, but I didn’t.

*kishāa ndi / tā ni kúchíñō kīhvī ndi*  
 COM:arrive we:EX and COM NEG:be:able POT:enter we:EX

*vēhē ndó*  
 house your:PL

We arrived, but we couldn't enter your house.

*ndáhví ní i vūīn / tā ñīī kivi*  
 poor INTS I now and one day

*kūkūū i ta kwiká*  
 POT:be I he rich

I'm very poor now, but ONE DAY I will be a rich man.

(See also 7.13, 7.43, and 7.47.)

The conjunction *tā* can also introduce a sentence that expresses cause.

*ni kúchíñō kīhvī rí / tā yóō īnā*  
 COM NEG:be:able POT:enter it:AML and CON:sit:SG dog  
 It couldn't enter, since there was a dog.

*yūkū ñā kāsā ndó / tā kwálí ní ndó*  
 which it:INAN POT:do you:PL and small:PL INTS you:PL  
 What will you do, since you all are so small?

The conjunction *sō* 'but rather' is infrequent and is used only when one of the contrasting sentences contains a negative noun phrase or a negated verb.

*siví késó kúū ñā / sō shinahñá yoo*  
 NEG cheese CON:be it:INAN but:rather reflection moon

*kúū ñā nākāa nda kaha tākwīī xaan*  
 CON:be it:INAN CON:be:located until buttocks water that:same  
 It WASN'T CHEESE (Sp. *queso*), but rather the thing that was at the very bottom of that water was THE REFLECTION OF THE MOON.

*siví ñānī rā ni shāhnī rā yūsū /*  
 NEG brother:ME his COM kill he deer

*sō yīvā rā shāhnī rā rí*  
 but:rather father his COM:kill he it:AML

It WASN'T HIS BROTHER who killed the deer, but rather HIS FATHER killed it.

*kónī kohon i tandáhyī / sō ni shiün yīvā*  
 CON:want POT:go I Tlapa but:rather COM NEG:want father

*i tāshī rā kohon i*  
 my POT:give he POT:go I

I wanted to go to Tlapa, but my father didn't want to give me (permission) to go.

(See also 7.78.)

A disjunctive relation between two or more sentences is expressed by an extended use of the YES/NO interrogative marker *án* to mean 'or', or by use of the conjunction *nī* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*). The marker *án* must precede each of the stated alternatives, and *nī* is obligatory before all but the first. Sentences linked by *nī* usually contain a negative verb or noun phrase. If the two parts have coreferential subjects, the second can be unexpressed.

With *án*:

*án shihí ún café / án shihí ún tākwii*  
 INT CON:drink you:SG coffee INT CON:drink you:SG water  
 Either you drink coffee (Sp. *café*), or you drink water.

*án chāhvī ún vūin / án tāan chāhvī ún*  
 INT POT:pay you:SG now INT tomorrow POT:pay you:SG  
 Either you will pay today, or you will pay TOMORROW.

With *nī*:

*nī kohon ñá ñoyáhvī / ni shiün ñá /*  
 nor POT:go she market COM NEG:want she

*nī káchíñō ñá / ni shiün*  
 nor POT:work she COM NEG:want

She neither wanted TO GO TO THE MARKET, nor did she want TO WORK.

*yóhō koó nā kahnī yihi /*  
 here NEG:CON:exist they POT:kill me

*nī koó ndivahyí yóhō*  
 nor NEG:CON:exist coyote here

HERE there aren't people that will kill me, nor are there coyotes here.

*vásā táā rā / nī vásā káhvī rā*  
 NEG CON:write he nor NEG CON:study he

He doesn't write, nor does he even read.

(See also 7.58.)

In some cases a sentence with *án* could be translated either as a statement or a question, since the basic function of *án* is as an interrogative marker. For example, the last example in the first block above could be translated, ‘Will you pay today or tomorrow?’ Context helps to resolve the ambiguity.

**6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions.** It is possible to simply juxtapose two independent sentences, often with a slight pause at the seam. This construction is very frequent and can link sentences that have several different semantic relations, including restatement, source and destination, generic-specific, and all of those relations between sentences that may be linked by the conjunction *tā*.

One important relation between juxtaposed sentences is restatement, which serves to highlight an event. Often part of the first sentence is repeated or paraphrased in the second one (which also may add information), and sometimes the two parts show a positive-negative relation.

*sháshī ní tiin / sháshī ndīhī rí noni*  
 CON:eat INTS mouse CON:eat all it:AML corn  
 The mouse is eating a lot; it is eating all the corn.

*kāmā ní ndīhī ñā / koó ka ñāha*  
 fast INTS POT:finish it:INAN NEG:CON:EXIST ADD thing  
 Very fast it will be gone; it will not exist anymore.

(See also 7.105.)

Sentences with motion verbs that have coreferential subjects are frequently juxtaposed. This is a common way to express source and destination, though source is often not stated when it is implicit in the context.

*keē rā vēhē rā / kwahan rā ñōyáhvi*  
 COM:leave he house his CON:go he market  
 He left his house, going to the market.

*kētā ñā / kwahan ñā yūku*  
 COM:leave:SG she CON:go she mountain  
 She left, going to the mountain.

Juxtaposition of sentences that have the same verb is the preferred way to express a series of items that form a list. (Other ways of conjoining noun phrases are described in §3.8.)

*búró kúū rí / kīni kúū rí / sindiki kúū rí*  
 donkey CON:be it:AML pig CON:be it:AML cow CON:be it:AML  
 They are donkeys (Sp. *burro*), pigs, and cattle.

*kānī rā lésón / kānī rā yūsū /*  
 POT:hit he rabbit POT:hit he deer

*kānī rā sāā / kānī rā ñokwī*  
 POT:hit he bird POT:hit he fox  
 He killed rabbits, deer, birds, and foxes.

*kwahan nāvalí / kwahan nā shikwaha*  
 CON:go children CON:go they old  
 The children and the adults went.

*kómī rā ñūī yata rā / kómī rā yūchu rā /*  
 CON:have he one plow his CON:have he machete his

*kómī ra kíhī rā*  
 CON:have he hand:hoe his  
 He has his plow, his machete, and his small hoe.

A generic-specific relation may also be expressed by juxtaposing two sentences.

*vahā ní nāhā síni ún / chéē ní síni ún*  
 good INTS CON:appear hat your:SG big:male INTS hat your:SG  
 Your hat looks very good; it's very big.

*yātin kōō viko / lúné kōō viko tōndāhā i*  
 near POT:exist fiesta Monday POT:exist fiesta POT:marry I  
 The fiesta is NEAR; MONDAY (Sp. *lunes*) will be the fiesta of my wedding.

*kīnī ní sháhān ún / sháhān táhyí ní ún*  
 ugly INTS CON:smell you:SG CON:smell CON:spoil INTS you:SG  
 You smell awful; (it) smells (as if) you're rotting.

Sentences in a contrasting relation to one another may be juxtaposed.

*siví yihí sakānā chikān noo ún /*  
 NEG I COM:throw prickly:pear face your:SG

*nakāvā mī rí*  
 COM:fall:SG SPEC it:SPH  
 It wasn't I who threw the prickly pear at you; the fruit fell by itself.

*yóō ní taā kīsā kwíhnā /*  
 CON:exist INTS man CON:do robbery

*yóō ní ta vahā ñoyívi yóhō*  
 CON:exist INTS he good world this

There are lots of robbers; there are lots of good men in this world.

*lésón kwahan rí / ni ndōō ĩnka kũi*  
 rabbit CON:go it:AML COM sit:PL another animal  
 The rabbit was going away; the other animals stayed.

*lōhō ní nāhā ta yóhō /*  
 little:SG INTS CON:appear he this

*chéē ní ñānī i*  
 big:male INTS brother:ME my

This man looks very small; my brother is very big.

(See also 7.103.)

Sentences that express simultaneous action may be juxtaposed. These sentences usually have coreferential subjects, and the main verbs are commonly in continuative aspect.

*kwēē kwēē kwahan rā / shīnī sohō rā*  
 slow slow CON:go he CON:see ear he  
 He was going very slowly, listening.

*kwahan rí / shāshī rí tehe rā*  
 CON:go it:AML CON:eat it:AML squash:vine his  
 It was going, eating his squash vines.

*kīsā vahā rā sīni / ndátōhōn rā shihín nā*  
 CON:do good he hat CON:tell he with them  
 He was making a hat (as) he talked with them.

Some of these sentences have main verbs that express simultaneous speech or motion. The verb in the first sentence usually describes a more specific type of the action expressed by the verb in the second sentence. The subjects are always coreferential.

*shinō rí / kwahan rí*  
 COM:run it:AML CON:go it:AML  
 It ran (as) it was going.

*ni ndākā tohōn rā nā / káhan rā*  
 COM deliver word he them CON:speak he  
 He asked them (as) he was speaking.

(See also 7.28, 7.30, 7.32, and 7.63.)

Another subtype of simultaneous action requires that one of the main verbs describe the position of the subject as he performs some action.

*kán yóō rā / ñíndīchī rā*  
 there CON:exist he CON:stand:SG he  
 THERE he was; he was standing.

*nákāa rí / sháshī rí noni*  
 CON:be:located it:AML CON:eat it:AML corn  
 It stayed; it was eating corn.

*yóhō yóō i / sánáhā i nākwālī*  
 here CON:sit:SG I CON:teach I children  
 HERE I sit; I'm teaching the children.

*ñīī ndīkáhā kándūhū rí / kīsīn rí*  
 one tiger CON:be:lying it:AML CON:sleep it:AML  
 A TIGER was lying down; it was sleeping.

(See also 7.10, 7.38, 7.52, 7.57, and 7.71.)

Occasionally the subject of the second sentence is unexpressed, as seen in 7.11. A noun phrase in focus position can serve as the subject of both sentences in such a construction, as seen in 7.42.

A third subtype of simultaneous action occurs when a sentence whose main verb is the continuative aspect of *kākā* 'to walk' is followed by a sentence containing another content verb. In these constructions, *kākā* usually means that the action of the following content verb occurs continuously over time.

*shíkā nā / sásīkī nā*  
 CON:walk they CON:play they  
 They are going around playing.

*ñīī rí shíkā / sháshī rí kūñō sindiki*  
 one it:AML CON:walk CON:eat it:AML meat cow  
 AN ANIMAL was continuing to eat beef.

*shíkā yó / kīchīñō yó vītīn*  
 CON:walk we:IN CON:work we:IN now  
 We are continuously working now.

(See also 7.50.)

A fourth subtype of simultaneous action consists of the juxtaposition of an emotion verb with *kōnī* 'to see'. This construction is used to express an object of an emotion verb.

*kúsīī*            *īnī*    *nā* / *shínī*    *nā*    *yihī*  
 CON:be:happy insides they    CON:see they me  
 They like me. (lit. They are happy; they see me.)

*kíhvī*            *ní*    *īnī*    *rā* / *shínī*    *rā*    *ta*    *ndáhvī*  
 CON:hurt INTS insides he    CON:see he him poor  
 He has a lot of compassion on the poor man. (lit. He hurts inside;  
 he sees the poor man.)

*sāā*                *rā* / *shínī*    *rā*    *sūtō*    *rā*  
 CON:be:angry he    CON:see he uncle his  
 He's angry with his uncle. (lit. He is angry; he sees his uncle.)

Events which are closely related in temporal or logical sequence may be expressed by juxtaposition. The main verbs may differ in aspect, but usually share the same subject. Motion verbs are especially common in these constructions.

*ni*    *shāa*    *rā* / *kayā*            *rā*    *sihún* / *ni*    *tāān*    *rā*    *kivi*    *nā*  
 COM arrive he    COM:gather he money COM write he name their  
 He arrived, collected the money, (and) wrote down their names.

*shishī*    *nā* / *ni*    *kīhīn*    *nā*    *ndāha*    *chīñō*    *nā* /  
 COM:eat they COM get they hand work their

*kwahan*    *nā*    *yūtū*  
 CON:go they cornfield  
 They ate, got their tools, (and) went to the cornfield.

*ndīhī*    *tí*            *shati*            *nakāyā*    *rí* /  
 all it:AML poisonous COM:gather it:AML

*nakutāhān*    *rí*            *noo*    *shiki*  
 COM:meet it:AML face hill  
 It gathered together ALL OF THE POISONOUS INSECTS, and it met (them)  
 on the top of the hill.

*kōnī*            *keē*            *rā* / *vūīn*    *kīshāa*    *rā*  
 yesterday COM:leave he    now POT:arrive he  
 YESTERDAY he left; TODAY he'll come back.

(See also 7.8–9, 7.20, 7.81, and 7.96.)



One type of temporal sequence may be expressed by juxtaposing two or more sentences, the first of which contains the verb *ndihī* 'to finish' and a subject complement. The main verbs in each sentence must agree in aspect.

*ndihī kīsā chíñō nā / nohō nā*  
 COM:finish COM:do work they COM:go:home they  
 They finished working, (and then) they went home.

*ndihī káhan rā / kīsháhā víko*  
 POT:finish CON:speak he POT:begin fiesta  
 He will finish speaking, (and then) the fiesta will begin.

Two sentences may be juxtaposed that have a shared noun phrase occurring between them. The first sentence must contain the verb *koó* 'to not exist'. The order of elements in these sentences is identical to that in simple sentences in which the subject is modified by a relative clause, but the structure of the two constructions is different. This is shown by the fact that sentence combinations with a shared noun phrase take poststressed pronouns, while relative clauses are introduced by prestressed pronouns. In the following three examples of the pivot construction, the solidus that signals the boundary between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase. The fourth example contains a relative clause; it is included to show the difference between the two constructions.

*koó sāhyā ñá / yóō*  
 NEG:CON:exist child her CON:exist  
 She doesn't have a child.

*koó ñāha / kāshī rā*  
 NEG:CON:exist thing POT:eat he  
 There wasn't anything that he could eat.

*koó rí / ñíndīchī*  
 NEG:CON:exist it:AML CON:stand:SG  
 There aren't any animals standing.

cf. *koó í ñíndīchī*  
 NEG:CON:exist it:AML CON:stand:SG  
 The animals which stand are not (there).

Rarely, the shared noun phrase is unexpressed.

*koó / kúchíñō sándáhā nó*  
 NEG:CON:exist CON:be:able POT:repair it:WOD  
 There isn't (anyone that) can fix it.

## 6.2 Subordinate Relations

**6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions.** Conjunctions are used to express cause, condition, possible future cause, concession, negative purpose, time, and comparison. The complementizer *ñā* functions as a conjunction to express purpose.

Cause sentences are introduced by the conjunction *kāchī* ‘because’, by its shortened form *chī*, or (rarely) by the locative noun *shaha* ‘foot’. Cause sentences usually follow the main sentence.

*kúsī*            *īnī*    *nā* / *shīnī*    *nā*    *yīhi* /  
CON:be:happy inside they    CON:see they me

*chī*            *līvī*    *nī*    *sohō* *i*  
because pretty INTS ear my

They like me because my ears are so lovely.

*vūīn kāshī* *i yóhó* / *chī*            *sandáhvī*    *nī*    *ún*    *yīhi*  
now POT:eat I you:SG    because COM:cheat INTS you:SG me  
NOW I'm going to eat you because you have cheated me a lot.

*vūīn nōhō*            *ún* /  
now POT:go:home you:SG

*chī*            *kónī*    *kīvī*    *sīhī*    *ún*  
because CON:want POT:die mother your:SG

NOW go home because your mother is about to die.

*ñā*    *kihvī*    *kísā*    *ún* / *chī*            *sini*    *ún*            *kúmānī*  
it:INAN stupid CON:do you:SG because head your:SG CON:lack  
You do STUPID THINGS because YOU lack SENSE.

*sandáhvī*    *nā*    *yīhi* / *shaha*    *vitá*    *kónī*            *i*  
COM:cheat they me    foot soft CON:sense I  
They cheated me because I was naive.

(See also 7.16, 7.34, 7.71, and 7.95.)

In some cases, a cause sentence is subordinate to a reduced main sentence that is expressed only by a simple stative verb (see 7.19, 7.21, and 7.26).

Result sentences follow the main sentence; they are introduced by the conjunctions *ñākán*, *ñāxaan*, or *ñākán kía*, all of which mean ‘with the result that’.

*kúchūchū*    *īnī*    *rā* / *ñākán*                    *shīhī*            *rā*  
CON:be:sad insides he    with:the:result:that CON:drink he  
He's sad with the result that he drinks.

*níkā rā kwaha ní sihún noo ta xōsé /*  
 CON:owe he many INTS money face his Joe

*ñāxaan ndūshā kāsā chinō rā shaha rā*  
 with:the:result:that surely POT:do work he foot his  
 He owes very much money to Joe (Sp. *José*) with the result that  
 obligatorily he will work for him.

*shikā ní nākwīnī yīchi vūin / ñākán*  
 CON:walk INTS enemy:PL trail now with:the:result:that

*kía yīhvī ní rā kohon rā*  
 CON:be:GEN CON:be:afraid INTS he POT:go he  
 Enemies are walking a lot on the trail now with the result that he is  
 very afraid to go.

(See also 7.34.)

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunction *tá* ‘if’. The subordinate sentence usually precedes the main sentence, in which case the main sentence is introduced by the coordinate conjunction *tā* ‘and’, translated here as ‘then’. The verb of the main sentence is usually in potential aspect.

*tá lōhō kūshū nā / tā ná ndōō sita*  
 if little POT:eat they and HORT POT:sit:PL tortilla  
 If they eat a little, then may some tortillas be left over.

*tá kwahan ndó / tā yóhō ndātī i ndóhó*  
 if CON:go you:PL and here POT:wait:for I you:PL  
 If you’re going, then HERE I’ll wait for you.

*tá tāshī ún ñono xaan /*  
 if POT:give you:SG hammock that:same

*tā on káshī i yóhó*  
 and NEG:POT eat I you:SG  
 If you give (me) that hammock, then I won’t eat you.

*ndyós kúsī īnī / tá yóō v:hā ún*  
 God CON:be:happy insides if CON:sit:SG good you:SG  
 GOD (Sp. *Dios*) is pleased if you are well.

(See also 7.19, 7.75, and 7.100.)

To express a hypothetical condition, the hortatory *ná* is used in the subordinate sentence (see §2.1.2). The main sentence is usually introduced by the coordinate conjunction *tā* ‘and’.

*tá ná sātā i sita váhā /*  
if HORT POT:buy I tortilla good

*tā yāchī ní ndīhī ñā*  
and SOON INTS POT:finish it:INAN

If I were to buy bread, then it would very soon be gone.

*tá ná kohon i shíhín ún /*  
if HORT POT:go I with you:SG

*tā koó nā kúndāā vehē i*  
and NEG:CON:exist they POT:guard house my

If I were to go with you, then there's no one to guard my house.

(See also 7.6 and 7.53.)

Contrafactual condition is also introduced by *tá* 'if'. The verb of the subordinate sentence must be in either completive or continuative aspect, and the verb in the main sentence is usually in potential aspect. Many speakers prefer to add *níkúū* 'contrafactual' to the end of either the conditional or the main sentence.

*tá shínī i ní shíhí rā /*  
if CON:KNOW I COM die he

*tā kohon i vehe rā / níkúū*  
and POT:go I house his CF

If I had known that he had died, I would have gone to his house.

*tá ní tāshī i tatan ndāha rā / níkúū /*  
if COM give I medicine hand his CF

*tā yóō rā vūūn*  
and CON:exist he now

If I had given him medicine, he would be alive now.

*tá ta shikwaha kúú rā / tā on kúchíñō rā*  
if he old CON:be he and NEG CON:be:able he

*kāsā rā sāá*  
POT:do he thus

If he were old, he wouldn't be able to do that.

The complex subordinate conjunction *chī tá* 'in case' or 'in the event that' introduces a sentence that expresses a possible future cause.

*nákātā i tīkoto i vīūn /*  
 CON:wash I clothes my now

*chī tá kīshāa sávi tāan*  
 because if POT:arrive rain:god tomorrow  
 I'm washing my clothes today in case it rains tomorrow.

*kūchū rā / chī tá tāvā nā nahnā rā*  
 POT:bathe he because if POT:take:out they image his  
 He's going to bathe in case they take his picture.

Concession sentences are introduced by the subordinate conjunction *vanī* 'even though'. The subordinate sentence normally follows the main sentence. If a subordinate sentence with *vanī* precedes the main sentence, the latter must be introduced by *tā* 'and'.

*ñā kihví kīsā nā /*  
 it:INAN stupid CON:do they

*vanī shínī nā ñā vahā kāsā nā*  
 even:though CON:know they it:INAN good POT:do they  
 They do STUPID THINGS even though they know the right things to do.

*ndúkú rā ĩnka ñáhā /*  
 CON:look:for he another woman

*vanī yóō ñāsīhí rā*  
 even:though CON:exist wife his  
 He's looking for another woman even though he has a wife.

*vanī ta táhān rā kúū rā /*  
 even:though he companion his CON:be he

*tā sándáhvī ní rā ta xaan*  
 and CON:cheat INTS he him that:same  
 Even though he was his friend, he was cheating that man a lot.

The coordinate conjunction *nī* 'nor' introduces some concession sentences. In this usage, it may be translated 'even though'. If the concession sentence precedes the main sentence, the latter must be introduced by *tā sāá nī* 'and then nor'.

*kohon i / chíhī i vīūn / nī tahān kōōn savi*  
 POT:go I POT:plant I now nor not:yet POT:produce rain:god  
 I'm going to plant today even though it hasn't yet rained.

*nī nīhī ún yávé /*  
 nor CON:hold you:SG key

*tā sāá nī ni shiīn ún kīhvī ún*  
 and thus nor COM NEG:want you:SG POT:enter you:SG  
 Even though you were holding the key (Sp. *llave*), you didn't want to enter.

*nī ni chíhī rā yūtū /*  
 nor COM NEG:plant he cornfield

*tā sāá nī yóó ñā shíshī rā*  
 and thus nor CON:exist it:INAN CON:eat he  
 Even though he didn't plant a cornfield, there was food for him to eat.

Purpose sentences are sometimes introduced by the complementizer *ñā* (see §1.1.9), which functions here as a subordinate conjunction. (This word is basically a prestressed pronoun; see §§3.1.3 and 5.4.) The purpose sentence always follows the main sentence, and its verb must be in potential aspect.

*kwahan rā akapulko / ñā nīhī rā lōhō síhún*  
 CON:go he Acapulco CMP POT:hold he little money  
 He went to Acapulco (Sp.) in order to earn a little money.

*vashī rā / ñā chíndēé rā ndihi*  
 CON:come he CMP POT:help he US:EX  
 He is coming to help us.

*tashī na yūchu ndāha ndó /*  
 COM:give they machete hand your:PL

*ñā kāhndā ndó tūton*  
 CMP POT:cut you:PL firewood  
 They gave you all machetes so that you will cut firewood.

A further example of this construction is found in 7.29, which also contains a juxtaposed purpose sentence (see §6.2.2).

Negative purpose sentences are introduced by *kotó* 'lest'. The verb must be in potential aspect. They normally follow the main sentence, but may precede to indicate focus, in which case the coordinate conjunction *tā* 'and' optionally introduces the main sentence.

*on kúshú ún yāha shíhín tatan yóhō /*  
 NEG POT:eat you:SG chili with medicine this

*kotó ndēē ní ndōhō ún*  
 lest strong INTS POT:fare you:SG  
 Don't eat chili with this medicine lest you get really sick.

*ni ndāā rā yīton lōhō kāa / kotó tāhnō nó*  
 COM NEG:climb he tree little:SG that lest POT:break it:WOD  
 He didn't climb that little tree lest it break.

*kwahan takāa yāchī ní / kōtō kōōn savi*  
 CON:go he soon INTS lest POT:produce rain:god  
 He's going very soon lest it rain.

*kotó kāshī rí mī yó / ná kohyo*  
 lest POT:eat it:AML SPEC US:IN HORT POT:go:WE:IN  
 Lest it eat us, let's go!

(See also 7.32.)

One kind of subordinate time sentence is introduced by the preposition *nda* 'until', which also functions as a conjunction meaning 'until' or 'since'. It normally follows the main sentence, but may be fronted for focus.

*ndátī rā / nda shaā yīvā rā*  
 CON:wait he until POT:arrive father his  
 He's waiting until his father arrives.

*tasháhā nā / nda tīvī tāan*  
 POT:dance they until POT:dawn tomorrow  
 They will dance until it dawns tomorrow.

*nda ni shīnō ñohō / kwahan rā yīchi*  
 until COM complete sun CON:go he trail  
 Since the sun rose, he's been going on the trail.

The subordinate conjunction *tá* is best translated 'when', rather than 'if', if the verbs in both the subordinate and main sentences are in complete or continuative aspects. This construction requires that the main sentence follow the subordinate sentence and that it be introduced by the coordinate conjunction *tā* 'and'.

*tá kánduhu rí / tā kisháha kánī savi*  
 when CON:be:lying it:AML and COM:begin CON:hit rain:god  
 When the animal was lying down, it began to rain.

*tá shahnī nā īnka yūsū /*  
 when COM:kill they another deer

*tā chinōō nā rí sata kwáyí*  
 and COM:place:on they it:AML back horse

When they had killed another deer, they placed it on the back of a horse (Sp. *caballo*).

(See also 7.101.)

The noun *táhān* ‘companion’ can also function as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘when’. The sentences observe the same restrictions described above with *tá* ‘if’, except that *tā* ‘and’ does not obligatorily precede the main sentence.

*táhān kání savi / yóō i īnī vēhē i*  
 companion CON:hit rain:god CON:sit:SG I insides house my  
 When it rains, I stay inside my house.

*táhān sakán ndihī ndatohōn rā nīī kwéntó /*  
 companion recent:time COM:finish COM:tell he one story

*tā tūkū īnka nā kónī rā kāhan rā*  
 and REP another it:INAN CON:want he POT:speak he  
 When he had JUST NOW finished telling one story (Sp. *cuento*), he wanted to tell ANOTHER also.

The interrogative adverb *āmā* ‘when?’ functions as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘while’ when it introduces a subordinate time sentence. The main sentence is optionally introduced by *tā* ‘and’.

*āmā shikā rā shaha sāhya rā /*  
 while CON:walk he foot child his

*ndañóhó tísuhū / sánā rā*  
 COM:get:lost goat domestic:animal his

While he was going around on behalf of his child, his goats got lost.

*āmā kwahan rā yūku / tā nī shihi yivā rā*  
 while CON:go he mountain and COM COM:die father his

While he was going to the mountain, his father died.

Comparison of likeness is expressed by two conjunctions: *tá* ‘if’, used in this construction to mean ‘as’, which expresses equality, and *ndatáhān* or its shortened form *ndatán*, which means ‘somewhat like’. The subordinate sentence usually precedes the main sentence, which must begin with *sāā*



'thus'. The two sentences must have the same main verb, and often have the same aspect, usually continuative.

*tá ndóō ñīī kīī / sāá ndóō nā*  
 if CON:sit:PL one animal thus CON:sit:PL they  
 As animals live, so they live.

*tá náhā yīvā rā / sāá náhā rā*  
 if CON:appear father his thus CON:appear he  
 As his father appears, so he appears.

*tá yóō ñīī ta kwiká / sāá yóō rā*  
 if CON:exist one he rich thus CON:exist he  
 As a rich man is, so he is.

*ndatáhān yóō tākwiī vīshin / sāá yóō rā*  
 somewhat:like CON:exist water cold thus CON:exist he  
 Somewhat like cold water, thus he is.

*ndatán yóō ñīī talōhō sohó ní /*  
 somewhat:like CON:exist one boy deaf INTS

*sāá yóō rā*  
 thus CON:exist he

Somewhat like a boy who refuses to listen, thus he is.

*ndatán kīsā chíñō yīvā rā / sāá kīsā chíñō rā*  
 somewhat:like CON:do work father his thus CON:do work he  
 Somewhat like his father works, so he works.

It is also possible for the subordinate sentence to follow the main sentence, in which case the two parts of the sentence often contain different verbs, and *sāá* 'thus' is omitted.

*káhan miī nā / ndātán kónī miī nā*  
 CON:speak SPEC they somewhat:like CON:want SPEC they  
 They speak as they themselves please.

Comparison of degree is expressed by a special use of the referent adjunct (see §1.1.4).

**6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions.** Result, cause, and purpose may be expressed by juxtaposing two or more sentences.

When result is expressed by juxtaposed sentences, the result sentence follows the main sentence.

*vásā shínī sohō nā / vásā vahā kwáhnó nā*  
 NEG CON:see ear they NEG good CON:grow they  
 They don't listen; they don't grow up well.

*sāvā nā vashī kwáhnó ndī /*  
 some they CON:come CON:grow clean

*koó kwehe kīhīn nā*  
 NEG:CON:exist sickness POT:get they  
 SOME OF THEM grow up in a clean manner; they don't get sick.

Cause sentences follow the main sentence. Often at least one of the sentences contains a negative.

*vásā yīhvī i noo tí kán /*  
 NEG CON:be:afraid I face its:AML that

*tahān kāshī rī yihī*  
 not:yet POT:eat it:AML me  
 I am not afraid of it; it hasn't yet bitten me.

*on kúndeē ka i shíhín ā /*  
 NEG POT:endure ADD I with GEN

*mātóhón miī i kichíñō ní i*  
 alone SPEC I CON:work INTS I  
 I can't stand it anymore; I am working very hard ALL BY MYSELF.

*shīn kōnī ñá ta kán /*  
 NEG:CON:want POT:see she him that

*ni shāhnī rā kihva ñá*  
 COM kill he brother:FE her  
 She hates him; he killed her brother.

*nda yóhō nda kíví kísā chíñō rā /*  
 until here until twisted CON:do work he

*vásā kúchíñō rā tīn rā yata*  
 NEG CON:be:able he POT:grab he plow  
 He was working IN A HAPHAZARD FASHION; he couldn't hold the plow.

*koó* / *kúchíñō* *sandáhā* *shaha ún* /  
 NEG:CON:exist CON:be:able POT:repair foot your:SG

*lūkū* *ní* *shaha ún*  
 twiglike INTS foot your:SG

There isn't (anyone) who can fix your foot; it's extremely twiglike (i.e., thin and brittle).

*ndākā* *i lōhō tūtā* *ndāha ta kán* /  
 POT:deliver I little corn:drink hand his that

*yivá* *ñohō* *i kúū* *rā*  
 father blessed my CON:be he

I will take a little corn drink to him; he's my godfather.

Purpose can be expressed by two juxtaposed sentences, which often have coreferential subjects. The purpose sentence follows the main sentence and must have its verb in potential aspect. It may also have the hortatory marker *ná* (see §2.1.2).

*kohon* *rā* / *kīhīn* *rā tūton*  
 POT:go he POT:get he firewood  
 He will go in order to get firewood.

*vashī* *rā vūīn* / *ná* *chīndéé* *ñahā* *rā*  
 CON:come he now HORT POT:help KNO he  
 He's coming now in order to help them.

*kayā* *nā* *sihún* / *kāsā* *vahā* *nā* *vēhē*  
 COM:gather they money POT:do good they house  
 They gathered money in order to build a house.

(See also 7.12, 7.25, 7.30, 7.34–35, 7.43, 7.54, 7.56, and 7.95.)

If the main sentence and the purpose sentence have coreferential objects, and *ná* 'hortatory' does not occur, a noun phrase at the boundary between the two sentences can function as part of both.

*nī* *tāshī* *ñá* *lōhō tūtā* / *kōhō* *rā*  
 COM give she little corn:drink POT:drink he  
 She gave him a little corn drink to drink.

*chīndōo* *rā* *lōhō yūtā* / *kāsháhān* *búró*  
 CON:scatter he little straw POT:graze donkey  
 He gives the donkey a little straw to eat.

(See also 7.35, 7.54, 7.56, 7.73, and 7.75.)

In 7.73 a shared noun phrase serves as the object of the first sentence and as the locative adjunct of the second one. In 7.78 a negative noun phrase in focus position serves as the object of both sentences. Occasionally a noun phrase that would be shared is left unexpressed, as seen in 7.47. A similar construction occurs in 7.72, except that the verb of the second sentence is in continuative aspect, rather than potential.

Sometimes two or more purpose sentences occur within a single sentence. In most examples, it appears that each purpose sentence is subordinate to the sentence that immediately precedes it.

*ni kãnĩ ndõsõ ñã tãkwĩ / sisõ rã /*  
COM hit flat:place she water POT:boil it:L1Q

*chĩhyõ lésón*  
POT:cook rabbit

She put the water on a flat place to boil in order to cook the rabbit.

*chihĩ ní rã / ná tãshĩ ñõho*  
CON:plant INTS he HORT POT:give land

*vĩhĩ ní ndãha rã / ná kũkũũ rã ta kwiká*  
much INTS hand his HORT POT:be he he rich

He plants a lot in order that the land produce a lot for him in order that he will become a rich man.

(See also 7.90.)

See §6.2.1 for a description of purpose sentences using the complementizer *ñã*.

### 6.3 Direct Quotations

Direct quotations consist of three parts: a quotation, an introducer, and a closer. The quotation is obligatory, and consists of one or more sentences or fragments. The introducer and closer are optional, and each consists of a verb of speech and its subject, plus optional information, such as an addressee, expressed as an associative adjunct. Both an opener and a closer may be present, but if there is just one, it is usually the closer. The speech verb most commonly used in the closer is *kãchĩ* ‘to say’, usually in continuative aspect. In the opener, the most common speech verb is *kãhan* ‘to speak’, usually in completive aspect.

*ni kahan ra / on kúnāhā i kohon i vītīn /*  
 COM speak he NEG POT:have:time I POT:go I now

*káchí rā shíhín nā*  
 CON:say he with her

He said, “I don’t have time to go now,” he said to her.

*yūkía ndóhō ún / káchí nā*  
 what CON:fare you:SG CON:say she  
 “What’s the matter with you?” she said.

*ndakwīn rí / kónī kīvī i / sāá káchí rí*  
 COM:reply it:AML CON:want POT:die I thus CON:say it:AML  
 It replied, “I’m about to die,” it said.

*káchí nā kán shíhín rā / nāhā / kūshū ún*  
 CON:say she that with him IMP:come POT:eat you:SG  
 She said to him, “Come and eat!”

There are no quotations with just a quotation introducer in chapter seven. Quotation closers are found in 7.5–7, 7.11–12, 7.15, 7.19, 7.46–50, 7.51–53, and various others. Quotations with neither introducer nor closer are found in 7.67–70. Quotations with both an introducer and a closer are found in 7.3–4, 7.16–17, 7.81–86, and various others.

#### 6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

There is a set of sentential elements that occur in initial position in the sentence and link it to the preceding discourse context. Most of these are conjunctions or adverbs in their primary function. These elements precede the interrogative sentential marker (see §1.2.1). Note that the text in chapter seven has few discourse connectives.

The adverb *sāá* ‘thus’ or a combination of the conjunction *tā* ‘and’ followed by *sāá* links sequential events in the discourse; they mean ‘then’ and ‘and then’.

*shíká ní kwahan rā / kíndoō rā //*  
 far INTS CON:go he CON:sit:PL he

*tā sāá keē yīvā rā / kwahan rā /*  
 and thus COM:leave father his CON:go he

*ndūkú rā shaha sāhyā rā*  
 POT:look:for he foot child his

He went very far; he was living there. And then his father left to go look for him.

*nashāa rā vēhē rā // sāá ndatohōn rā shíhín sāhya rā*  
 COM:arrive he house his thus COM:tell he with child his  
 He arrived home. Then he spoke with his children.

*vūin tāan vūin tāan kīsā chíño ní rā //*  
 now tomorrow now tomorrow CON:do work INTS he

*tā sāá kihvī ñálōhō skwélá / kāhvī ñá*  
 and thus COM:enter girl school POT:study she  
 DAY AFTER DAY he was working very hard. And then the girl entered  
 school (Sp. *escuela*) to study.

(See also 7.2–3, 7.30–33, 7.35–36, 7.38–39, 7.43–44, and 7.64–66.)

When the two words are used in reverse order, i.e., *sāá tā*, the combination means ‘therefore’. Sometimes the coordinate conjunction *tā* precedes this construction, with no apparent difference in meaning.

*ni kikōō tí yōko kwalí / ni kānī ñāha rí //*  
 COM swarm:out it:AML hive small:PL COM hit KNO it:AML

*sāá tā shinō ndīvahyí / kwahan rí*  
 thus and COM:run coyote CON:go it:AML

The insects swarmed out and stung the coyote. Therefore, he ran away.

*shikā rā / kīsā chíño rā //*  
 CON:walk he CON:do work he

*tā sāá tā kunāā ní rā*  
 and thus and COM:be:tired INTS he  
 He kept on working continuously. Therefore, he became very tired.

*ni shahan rā shiká vahā // tā sāá tā ndañōhō rā*  
 COM go he far good and thus and COM:get:lost he  
 He went very far. Therefore, he got lost.

(See also 7.8–9, 7.17–18, 7.42–43, and 7.111–112.)

The conjunction *tā* ‘and’ sometimes occurs alone in sentence-initial position, where it functions mainly to signal the sentence break. See 7.7, 7.10, 7.16, 7.20, 7.22, and various others.

The subordinate conjunctions *ñākán*, *ñāxaan*, and *ñākán kía*, all of which mean ‘with the result that’, also occur in sentence-initial position with the meaning ‘therefore’.

*vahā ní īnī ta xwán // chahvī rā noo ñānī rā /*  
 good INTS inside he John COM:pay he face brother:ME his

*kēē rā vēhē kaa // yáhvī ní*  
 POT:leave he house metal expensive INTS

*chahvī rā / ñā vahā ní kisā rā shíhín*  
 COM:pay he it:INAN good INTS COM:do he with

*ñānī rā xaan // ñākán kía*  
 brother:ME his that:same with:the:result:that CON:be:GEN

*ndūshā kāsā rā ñā vahā shíhín ta xwán vūtin*  
 surely POT:do he it:INAN good with him John now  
 John (Sp. *Juan*) has a very good heart. He paid for his brother, so  
 that his brother could get out of jail. It was a very big amount that  
 he paid, a very big favor that he did for his brother. Therefore, his  
 brother will surely do favors for John now.

The adverb *vūtin* ‘now’ and the complex sentential markers *tā vūtin* ‘and now’, *nda vūtin ndēkia* ‘now at last’, and *nda vūtin ndēā* ‘now at last’ occur in sentence-initial position. They introduce sentences that suggest an action or conclusion which is based on previous information in the discourse. (In some sentences, it is not clear whether the temporal meaning of *vūtin* is in focus, or if it is being used as a sentential marker.)

*ndúkú ndi chíñō kāsā ndi / káchí nā //*  
 CON:look:for we:EX work POT:do we:EX CON:say they

*vūtin yóhō kāsā chíñō ndó shíhín i /*  
 now here POT:do work you:PL with me

*káchí rā*  
 CON:say he

“We’re looking for work,” they said. “Now HERE you can work with me,” he said.

*koó ñā / kūshū sīhí yó //*  
 NEG:CON:exist it:INAN POT:eat mother OUR:IN

*tā vūtin lōhō kūnīhī yó / nōhō yó /*  
 and now little POT:hold we:IN POT:go:home we:IN

*kūshū ñá*  
 POT:eat she

There’s not anything for our mother to eat. And now let’s take a little and go home so that she can eat.

(See also 7.2–5, 7.25–26, 7.33–34, 7.48–51, 7.69–70, 7.81–82, and 7.84–85.)

The idiom *ndá tyémpó* ‘in the meantime’ (literally ‘which time [Sp. *tiempo*]?’) occurs in sentence-initial position and serves to switch the focus of the action to a different participant or place.

*kwahan ndihī sindiki // ndá tyémpó nashāa lésón*  
 CON:go all cow which time COM:arrive rabbit  
 All the cattle were going. In the meantime the rabbit arrived.

(See also 7.41.)

The temporal adverb *sōndihī* ‘afterward’ and the complex sentential markers *sōndihī xaan* ‘after the aforementioned event’ and *ndihī xaan tīn* ‘also after the aforementioned’ also occur in sentence-initial position. They are set off by pause and usually signal the introduction of a new event or topic, as well as providing chronological cohesion to the discourse.

*yóō rā īnka ñōō ovi yoo //*  
 CON:sit:SG he another town two moon

*sōndihī xaan / ni shānī tūkū rā*  
 afterward that:same COM dream REP he  
 He stayed in another town for two months. Afterward, he dreamed again.

*ndihī kīsā kūtū ndihī ndi kórá //*  
 COM:finish CON:do tight all we:EX fence

*sōndihī / ni tīn ndi kūi*  
 afterward COM grab we:EX animal

*kohon rí īnī kórá shaá xaan*  
 POT:go it:AML insides fence new that:same  
 We finished closing in the fence (Sp. *corral*). Afterward, we rounded up the animals to go inside it.

*ni shahan ndi ñōyáhvī káhnō //*  
 COM go we:EX market big:SG

*ndihī xaan tīn / ni shahan ndi*  
 COM:finish that:same also COM go we:EX

*noo shíkā trén*  
 face CON:walk train

We went to a big market. Also after that, we went to the place where the train (Sp. *trén*) comes and goes.



The conjunction *nī* ‘nor’, followed by the negatives *vásā* or *on*, occurs in sentence-initial position with the meaning ‘not even’. It usually introduces a comment about an event in the discourse which is contrary to expectation. (See §6.1.1 for examples of *nī* as a coordinate conjunction.)

*shíkā miī rā // nī vásā kúndāā rā sāhya rā*  
 CON:walk SPEC he nor NEG CON:care:for he child his  
 He goes around by himself. He doesn’t even care for his children.

(See also 7.62 and 7.64.)

When the subordinate conjunction *tá* ‘if’ is followed by *yóō* ‘to exist (continuative)’, it often means ‘for example’.

*vahā ná chīndēé yó nātāhān yó //*  
 good HORT POT:help we:IN neighbors our:IN  
*tá yóō nīī taā kómī rā ñā shíshī rā /*  
 if CON:exist one man CON:have he it:INAN CON:eat he  
*tā nīī rā koó ñā shíshī rā / tā*  
 and one he NEG:CON:exist it:INAN CON:eat he and  
*tāshī taā / ta kómī / lōhō noni*  
 POT:give man he CON:have little corn  
*ndāha taā koó ñā shíshī*  
 hand man NEG:CON:exist it:INAN CON:eat

It would be good that we help our neighbors. For example, one man (may) have something to eat, and ONE MAN doesn’t have anything to eat, and the man who has (should) give a little corn to the man who doesn’t have anything to eat.

The complex sentential marker *sāá kúū* ‘so (it) was’, often preceded by the conjunction *tā* ‘and’, also occurs in sentence-initial position. It occurs at breaks in the discourse, and it serves to bridge chronological events by indicating an indefinite time lapse between events, or to slow the pace of the narrative.

*koó ka sihún níhī rā / ndáhvi ní rā //*  
 NEG:CON:exist ADD money CON:hold he poor INTS he  
*sāá kúū / nakūtāhān rā shíhín nīī ta kwiká*  
 thus CON:be COM:meet he with one him rich  
 He didn’t have any more money; he was very poor. So (it) was, (and then) he met a rich man.

*keē mii talōhō / kwahan rā / kūsikī rā /*  
 COM:leave SPEC boy CON:go he POT:play he

*tā ndañóhō rā // tā sáá kúū /*  
 and COM:get:lost he and thus CON:be

*ni tīvī ĩnka kivi*  
 COM dawn another day

He left and went to play, and got lost. And so (it) was, (and then) the next day dawned.

(See also 7.57–58, 7.62–65, 7.101–102, and 7.105–106.)

# 7

## Text

7.1 *vahā vūīn / ná ndātóhón i shíhín ndó*  
good now HORT POT:tell I with you:PL

*ñīī kwéntó*

one story

Okay, now, let me tell you a story (Sp. *cuento*).

7.2 *sāá ndohō ñīī taā shīnāhā /*  
thus COM:fare one man long:ago

*chīhi rā yīvā chíchi rā / tā ni kīsháhā*  
COM:plant he plant ? his and COM begin

*ni ndūtā ñā / tā shā náhnō lōhō*  
COM sprout it:INAN and near:time big:PL little

*ñā / tā sāá nahā ní sháshī lésón ñā*  
it:INAN and thus continuing INTS CON:eat rabbit it:INAN

Thus fared a man long ago; he planted his bean plants, and they began to sprout, and already they were quite large, and then a rabbit (Sp. *conejo*) was eating them a long time.

- 7.3 *tā sāá káchí rā shíhín ñásíhí rā /*  
and thus CON:say he with wife his

*vīīn yūkía kōō*  
now what POT:exist

And so he said to his wife, “Now what shall we do? (lit. What will there be?)

- 7.4 *lésón nahā ní sháshī rí yīvā chíchi yó /*  
rabbit continuing INTS CON:eat it:AML plant ? OUR:IN

*káchí rā shíhín ñásíhí rā*  
CON:say he with wife his

THE RABBIT has been eating our bean plants a long time,” he said to his wife.

- 7.5 *tā vīīn án on vāhā mónó ñīma ná kāsā vahā*  
and NOW INT NEG good doll wax HORT POT:do good

*ún / ta kohon ún / kānī ndīchī ún*  
you:SG and POT:go you:SG POT:hit POT:stand:SG you:SG

“Now wouldn’t it be good for you to make A WAX DOLL (Sp. *mono*), and go to place (it) standing?”

- 7.6 *tá ná kīshāa rí / tá ná yīhvī rí /*  
if HORT POT:arrive it:AML if HORT POT:be:afraid it:AML

*on kāshī ka rí yīvā chíchī yó /*  
NEG POT:eat ADD it:AML plant ? OUR:IN

*káchí ñásíhí rā shíhín rā*  
CON:say wife his with him

If the rabbit were to arrive, if it were to be frightened, it would not eat our bean plants anymore,” said his wife to him.

- 7.7 *tā / vahā vā / káchí rā*  
and good LIM CON:say he  
“Okay, then,” he said.

- 7.8 *kisháhā rā kīsā vahā rā mónó ñīma / ta keē rā /*  
 COM:begin he CON:do good he doll wax and COM:leave he

*ni shahan rā / kanī ndīchī rā ñā noo*  
 COM go he COM:hit POT:stand:SG he it:INAN face

*yīvā chíchi rā / yīchi / noo kishī tí lésón /*  
 plant ? his trail face COM:COME it:AML rabbit

*sháshī rí yīvā chíchi ra*  
 CON:eat it:AML plant ? his

He began making the wax doll, and then he left, and went and put it standing in front of his bean plants, (along) the trail, where Mr. Rabbit had come eating his bean plants.

- 7.9 *sāá tā nandikō rā / kwan nōhō rā /*  
 thus and COM:return he DIR CON:go:home he

*nashāa rā vēhē ra*  
 COM:arrive he house his

Therefore he returned home and arrived at his house.

- 7.10 *tā ni tīvī īnka kivi / kishī rā /*  
 and COM dawn another day COM:come he

*kishī ra / kōtō rā yīvā chíchi rā /*  
 COM:come he POT:look he plant ? his

*tā sha kán ñīndīchī*  
 and near:time there CON:stand:SG

*tí lésón / káhan rí shihín mónó ñīma*  
 it:AML rabbit CON:speak it:AML with doll wax

When it dawned on another day, he came; he came to look at his bean plants, and Mr. Rabbit was ALREADY THERE standing talking to the wax doll.

- 7.11 *yūkū kúū ún / ñīndīchī yīchi*  
 what CON:be you:SG CON:stand:SG trail  
 “Who are you, standing in the trail?”

- 7.12 *kūtāhā ún / ná yāhā i /*  
 POT:step:aside you:SG HORT POT:pass I

*kohon i / kāshī i yīvā chíchi / káchí rí*  
 POT:go I POT:eat I plant ? CON:say it:AML

Step aside and let me pass so that I can go eat bean plants,” the rabbit said.

- 7.13 *vásā ndākwīn mónó ñīma /*  
 NEG CON:reply doll wax  
*tā sīn ñīndīchī ā*  
 and still CON:stand:SG GEN  
 The wax doll didn't reply, but just stood still.
- 7.14 *án on shīn ún ndākwīn ún*  
 INT NEG NEG:POT:want you:SG POT:reply you:SG  
 "Don't you want to answer?"
- 7.15 *tā kānī i yóhó takáhān kwūi /*  
 and POT:hit I you:SG ? short  
*káchī rí shīhín mónó ñīma*  
 CON:say it:AML with doll wax  
 And I'll hit you in just a minute," it said to the wax doll.
- 7.16 *tā káchī rí sāá / vūin kānī i yóhó /*  
 and CON:say it:AML thus now POT:hit I you:SG  
*chī shīn ún ndākwīn ún*  
 because NEG:CON:want you:SG POT:reply you:SG  
 And it said thus, "Now I'm going to hit you because you don't want to answer.
- 7.17 *án vásā shīnī sohō ún / kánvāhá /*  
 INT NEG CON:see ear you:SG AMAZEMENT  
*káchī rí shīhín mónó ñīma*  
 CON:say it:AML with doll wax  
 Can't you hear (is that it)?" said the rabbit to the wax doll.
- 7.18 *tā sāá tā / ni kānī rí ndāha rí sata mónó*  
 and thus and COM hit it:AML hand its:AML back doll  
*ñīma / tā ni tīn ndāha rí*  
 wax and COM stick hand its:AML  
 Therefore the rabbit hit with his hand on the back of the wax doll,  
 and his hand stuck fast.

7.19 *vahā / chī yóō īnka shaha i /*  
 good because CON:exist:SG another foot my

*yóō ndāha i / tá káchí*  
 CON:exist:SG hand my if CON:say

*īnī ún / tá taā vahā kúū ún /*  
 insides you:SG if man good CON:be you:SG

*tá téé vahā ún / káchí rí*  
 if manly good you:SG CON:say it:AML

“That’s okay, because there’s still my foot; there’s my hand if that’s what you want, if you’re A REAL MAN, if you’re really macho,” the rabbit said.

7.20 *tā vahā káchí rí / tūkū īnka ndāha rí ni*  
 and good CON:say it:AML REP another hand its:AML COM

*kānī rí / ni kānī tūkū rí īnka shaha rí*  
 hit it:AML COM hit REP it:AML another foot its:AML

And he completed talking; ALSO he hit it WITH HIS OTHER HAND; he hit it again also with his feet.

7.21 *vahā / chī yóō īnka sini i / káchí rí*  
 good because CON:exist another head my CON:say it:AML

“Okay, because there is also my head,” he said.

7.22 *tā kanī rí īnka sini rí /*  
 and COM:hit it:AML another head its:AML

*tā ni tīn ndīhī ā*  
 and COM stick all GEN

And he hit it also with his head, and he stuck completely.

7.23 *sāá kúū rí / tákandāā rí*  
 thus CON:be it:AML CON:hang:adheringly it:AML

Thus it was; it was hanging stuck.

7.24 *ni tīvī vā*  
 COM dawn LIM

It had just dawned.

- 7.25 *kishāa      ñásíhí    mī    ta    shíhín    yīvā    chíchī*  
 COM:arrive    wife    SPEC    his    with    plant    ?  
*xaan      /    ná      kōtō      ā      tákāndāā                      rí*  
 that:same    HORT    POT:look    GEN    CON:hang:adheringly    it:AML  
 The wife of the very owner of those same bean plants arrived to look at him hanging stuck (there).
- 7.26 *tā      vītīn      vahā      /    chí      yóhó      kúū*  
 and    now    good    because    you:SG    CON:be  
*ta    kómī      ní      máñá*  
 he    CON:have    INTS    vice  
 “So, now (it) is good because you are a man who has many vices (Sp. *maña*).
- 7.27 *yóhó      kúū      ta    sháshī      ní      yīvā      chíchi*  
 you:SG    CON:be    he    CON:eat    INTS    plant    ?  
*yóhō    /    káchī      ā      shíhín    mī    lésón    xaan*  
 this    CON:say    GEN    with    SPEC    rabbit    that:same  
 You are the man who has been eating these bean plants a lot,” she said to that very rabbit.
- 7.28 *nakīhīn      ā      rí      /    níhī      ā      /*  
 COM:take    GEN    it:AML    CON:hold    GEN  
*kwan    nóhō                      ā      vēhē      ā*  
 DIR    CON:go:home    GEN    house    GEN  
 She took the rabbit, and holding (it), returned home.
- 7.29 *nashāa      ñá      vēhē      ñá    /    tā    ni    kānī    ndōsō      ā*  
 COM:arrive    she    house    her    and    COM    hit    flat:place    GEN  
*tākwīi    /    sīsō      rā      /    ñā      chíhyō      lésón*  
 water    POT:boil    it:LIQ    CMP    POT:COOK    rabbit  
 She arrived at her house and put water on (a flat surface) to boil in order to cook the rabbit.
- 7.30 *tā    ketā                      ñá    /    kwahan    ñá    /*  
 and    COM:leave:SG    she    CON:go    she  
*kwan    kīhīn    ka    ñá    tākwīi*  
 DIR    POT:get    ADD    she    water  
 Then she left, going to get more water.



7.31 *tā sāá kishāa ñīī ndīvahyí noo yóō lésón /*  
and thus COM:arrive one coyote face CON:sit:SG rabbit

*tā ni ndākā tohōn rí lésón xaan / ndā*  
and COM deliver word it:AML rabbit that:same which

*chíñō kómī ún yóhō / káchí rí*  
work CON:have you:SG here CON:say it:AML

And then a coyote arrived where the rabbit was, and asked him, “What errand do you have here?” he said.

7.32 *tā ndakwīn lésón / káhan rí / yóhō ndāā i*  
and COM:reply rabbit CON:speak it:AML here CON:guard I

*vēhē nā / kōtó kīhvī ta kwihná vēhē nā*  
house their lest POT:enter he robbery house their

And the rabbit replied, saying, “HERE I guard the house lest a robber enter their house.

7.33 *tā sāá táshī nā ñā shíshī i /*  
and thus CON:give they it:INAN CON:eat I

*káchí rí shíhín ndīvahyí*  
CON:say it:AML with coyote

And so they give (me) what I eat,” said the rabbit to the coyote.

7.34 *tā vītīn shínī ñóhō kohon i / kōtō i*  
and now CON:see CON:contain POT:go I POT:look I

*shí i / chí ndēé ní ndóhō ñá /*  
mother my because strong INTS CON:fare she

*ñakán ndūnī ní i shaha ñá*  
so:that CON:worry INTS I foot her

“And now it is necessary that I go see my mother because she is very ill so that I’m very worried about her.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>The word *ndūnī* is a fusion of *ndthi* ‘to finish (continuative)’ and *ini* ‘insides’.

- 7.35 *vahā kūnākāā ún / ná kūdāā lōhō ún*  
 good POT:be:located you:SG HORT POT:guard little you:SG  
*vēhē nā yōhō /*  
 house their here  
*ta tāshī nā ñā / kūshū ún*  
 and POT:give they it:INAN POT:eat you:SG  
 It would be good if you would please take my place in order to guard their house here, and they'll give you things to eat.
- 7.36 *tā sāá takáhān kwūī kīshāa i yōhō /*  
 and thus ? short POT:arrive I here  
*káchí rí*  
 CON:say it:AML  
 And then in a little while, I'll come back here," said the rabbit.
- 7.37 *vahā vā / káchí ndīvahyí / ninō īnī rí*  
 good LIM CON:say coyote up insides it:AML  
 "Okay," said the coyote, being in agreement.<sup>11</sup>
- 7.38 *shikāndūhū rí / ndāā rí xaan*  
 COM:be:lying it:AML CON:guard it:AML that:same  
 It was lying down, guarding that (house).
- 7.39 *tā sāá kīshāa ñā shīhīn vēhē xaan*  
 and thus COM:arrive she with house that:same  
 And then the woman of that same house arrived.
- 7.40 *koó ka lésón*  
 NEG:CON:exist ADD rabbit  
 And the rabbit wasn't there anymore.
- 7.41 *ndá tyémpó kwahan rí*  
 which time CON:go it:AML  
 IN THE MEANTIME (Sp. *tiempo*) it had gone.
- 7.42 *nda ndīvahyí vā ni ndētā /*  
 until coyote LIM COM leave:SG  
*nākāā īnī lekā xaan*  
 CON:be:located insides straw:bag that:same  
 JUST THE COYOTE came out, being inside that straw bag.

<sup>11</sup>This sentence contains a construction in which a locative adverb, *ninō* 'up', serves as the nucleus of a stative verb phrase.

- 7.43 *sāá tā ni kētā ñá shihín yīton / kwahan ñá /*  
 thus and COM leave:SG she with stick CON:go she  
*sūkā ā ndivahyí xaan / tā ni kētā*  
 POT:beat GEN coyote that:same and COM leave:SG  
*rí / chikāā rí shaha / tā kwahan rí*  
 it:AML COM:put:in it:AML foot and CON:go it:AML  
 Therefore she came out with a stick and was going to beat that  
 coyote, but he got out, and really hit the trail.
- 7.44 *sāá ni shāa rí nda ĩnka yūku*  
 thus COM arrive it:AML until another mountain  
 Then the coyote went as far as another mountain.
- 7.45 *kán nakitāhān rí shihín mū lésón xaan*  
 there COM:meet it:AML with SPEC rabbit that:same  
 THERE it met with that very same rabbit.
- 7.46 *ñānī / ndāchún sandāhvī ún yihī*  
 brother:ME why COM:cheat you:SG me  
 “Brother, how you have tricked me!
- 7.47 *kán vahā ní shishī i / káchí ún /*  
 there good INTS CON:eat I CON:say you:SG  
*tā mí ni tāshī nā / kūshū i*  
 and where COM give they POT:eat I  
 THERE I would be eating very well, you said, but where did they give  
 me food?
- 7.48 *kónī kāhnī nā yihī / nīkúū*  
 CON:want POT:kill they me CF  
 They were about to kill me! (but they didn’t)
- 7.49 *tā vūin kāshī i yóhó*  
 and now POT:eat I you:SG  
 And now I’m going to eat you!
- 7.50 *vūin ndāchún shikā ún / sandāhvī ún yihī /*  
 now why CON:walk you:SG CON:cheat you:SG me  
*káchí ndivāhyí shihín rí*  
 CON:say coyote with it:AML  
 Now how you keep on cheating me!” said the coyote to the rabbit.

- 7.51 *vūīn on káshī ún yihi*  
 now NEG POT:eat you:SG me  
 “Now don’t you eat me!
- 7.52 *yóhō ñíndīchī i / úndāā i kāva yóhō*  
 here CON:stand:SG I CON:hold:up I vault this  
 HERE I stand, holding up this vault (Sp. *cava*).
- 7.53 *tá ná sãñã i ñã yóhō / tã takáhã kwūī*  
 if HORT POT:let:go I it:INAN this and ? short  
*ndīhī shaha ñōyivī / káchí tí lésón*  
 POT:finish foot world CON:say it:AML rabbit  
*shíhín ndī ahyí*  
 with coyote  
 And if I were to let go of this thing, in a minute it would be all over for the world,” said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.
- 7.54 *nãhã / úndāā ún yóhō / ñãní /*  
 IMP:come POT:hold:up you:SG this brother:ME  
*tã ná kohon i / ndūkú i ñã / kūshū yó /*  
 and HORT POT:go I POT:look:for I it:INAN POT:eat we:IN  
*tã kīshãa i / káchí rí shíhín ndīvahyí xaan*  
 and POT:arrive I CON:say it:AML with coyote that:same  
 “Come, hold this up, Brother, and I’ll go look for something for us to eat, and then I’ll return,” said the rabbit to that coyote.
- 7.55 *án ndīshã ñã kúū / ñãní yó / káchí ndīvahyí*  
 INT true it:INAN CON:be brother:ME our:IN CON:say coyote  
 “Is that true, Brother?” said the coyote.<sup>12</sup>
- 7.56 *takáhã kwūī kohon i / ndūkú i*  
 ? short POT:go I POT:look:for I  
*ñã / kūshū yó / káchí rí*  
 it:INAN POT:eat we:IN CON:say it:AML  
 “FOR JUST A LITTLE WHILE I’ll go look for something for us to eat,” the rabbit said.

<sup>12</sup>The construction *ndīshã ñã kúū* is difficult to analyze. The first two words have the structure of a stative sentence, but the equative verb *kúū* does not normally occur in stative sentences.

7.57 *sha tūkū xaan ni sāndáhvī rí tí ndīvahyí /*  
 near:time REP there:same COM cheat it:AML it:AML coyote

*ñīndīchī rí / tīndāā rí yuu xaan*  
 CON:stand:SG it:AML CON:hold:up it:AML rock that:same

It happened again that it cheated Mr. Coyote, who was standing holding up that rock.<sup>13</sup>

7.58 *sāá kúū / tā kwahan vā rí /*  
 thus CON:be and CON:go LIM it:AML

*koó ka rí / nī ndikó*  
 NEG:CON:exist ADD it:AML nor COM:return

So (it) was, and the rabbit just kept going; it wasn't there anymore, nor (Sp. *ni*) did (it) return.

7.59 *tā ndīvahyí shīhī ní rí sokō*  
 and coyote CON:die INTS it:AML hunger  
 But THE COYOTE was very hungry.

7.60 *míkía kwahan ní ñānī yó yóhō /*  
 where CON:go INTS brother:ME OUR:IN this

*ta shīhī ní yó sokō*  
 and CON:die INTS we:IN hunger

“Where has this brother of ours gone for so long, and we are dying of hunger?”

7.61 *ndāchún vātā ní ñānī yó*  
 why untruthful INTS brother:ME OUR:IN  
 How very untruthful our brother is!

7.62 *nī vāsā kīshī ndākā rā ñā / kūshū yó /*  
 nor NEG POT:come POT:deliver he it:INAN POT:eat we:IN

*káchí tí chéē / ndīvahyí*  
 CON:say it:AML big:male coyote

He isn't even bringing something for us to eat,” said the big old coyote.

<sup>13</sup>This sentence contains an idiom, *sha tuku xaan*, literally, ‘already again there’, which means ‘it happened again that’.

- 7.63 *sāá kúū / ni kīsháhā ni sāñā tí ndīvahyí*  
 thus CON:be COM begin COM let:go it:AML coyote  
*kāva / tā ni shūnō rí / kwahan rí*  
 vault and COM COM:run it:AML CON:go it:AML  
 Thus (it) was: Mr. Coyote began to let go of the vault, and he took off running.
- 7.64 *nī vāsā ní ndīvā ñā*  
 nor NEG COM:NEG fall it:INAN  
 The vault didn't even cave in.
- 7.65 *sāá kúū / kwahan rí / kwahan rí /*  
 thus CON:be CON:go it:AML CON:go it:AML  
*sāá kwahan rí*  
 thus CON:go it:AML  
 Thus (it) was: it was going and going and going like that.
- 7.66 *sāá nakūtáhān tūkū rí shihín lésón*  
 thus COM:meet REP it:AML with rabbit  
 And so it met the rabbit again.
- 7.67 *án yóhō shíkā ún / ñānī*  
 INT here CON:walk you:SG brother:ME  
 "Are you hanging out HERE, Brother?"
- 7.68 *yóhō shíkā i / ñānī*  
 here CON:walk I brother:ME  
 "I hang around HERE, Brother."
- 7.69 *ndāchún sandáhvī ní ún yihí / ñānī*  
 why COM:cheat INTS you:SG me brother:ME  
 "How you have constantly cheated me, Brother!"
- 7.70 *nda vūūn ndēā kāshī i yóhó / ñānī*  
 until now precisely POT:eat I you:SG brother:ME  
 Now at last I'm going to eat you, Brother."
- 7.71 *on kāshī ún yihí / chī yóhō kándúhū i /*  
 NEG POT:eat you:SG me because here CON:be:lying I  
*sánáhā i nākwalí yóhō vā*  
 CON:teach I children here LIM  
 "Don't eat me because HERE I lie teaching children just here.

7.72 *yóhō kishāa nākwali / sánáhā i /*  
 here CON:arrive children POT:teach I

*tā yóhō táshī nā / shíshī i /*  
 and here CON:give they CON:eat I

*káchí tí lésón shíhín ndīvahyí*  
 CON:say it:AML rabbit with coyote

HERE the children come for me to teach, and HERE they give me (what) I eat,” said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

7.73 *án tāshī ún lūgár xaan kōō i /*  
 INT POT:give you:SG place that:same POT:sit:SG I

*káchí tí ndīvahyí shíhín lésón*  
 CON:say it:AML coyote with rabbit

“Will you give (up) that place (Sp. *lugar*) for me to be in?” said Mr. Coyote to the rabbit.

7.74 *vahā vā / ñānī / vūtn yóhō kōō ún /*  
 good LIM brother:ME now here POT:sit:SG you:SG

*tā kishāa i*  
 and POT:arrive I

“Okay, Brother, NOW you stay HERE, and I’ll be back.

7.75 *tá sha kisháhā shíhī ún sokō / tá yóhō*  
 when near:time COM:begin CON:die you:SG hunger if here

*kāshā ñihnī ún kāshā*  
 POT:poke here:and:there you:SG POT:poke

*ñihnī ún yīton / tā kisháhā táshī nā*  
 here:and:there you:SG tree and POT:begin POT:give they

*ñā / kūshū ún / káchí lésón shíhín ndīvahyí*  
 it:INAN POT:eat you:SG CON:say rabbit with coyote

When you have already become very hungry, if HERE you keep on poking this wooden thing here and there, here and there, then they will begin to give you food,” said the rabbit to the coyote.

7.76 *kisháhā ndīvahyí shíhī rí sokō ñōkáhñō*  
 COM:begin coyote CON:die it:AML hunger noon

The coyote began to be very hungry about noon.

- 7.77 *kisháhā rí káshā nīhnī káshā*  
 COM:begin it:AML CON:poke here:and:there CON:poke  
*nīhnī rí yūton*  
 here:and:there it:AML tree  
 He began poking and swatting, poking and swatting all over the tree.
- 7.78 *āmā ñahā tāshī nā / kūshū rí /*  
 NEG thing POT:give they POT:eat it:AML  
*sō yoko vā kúū rí*  
 but:rather hive LIM CON:be it:SPH  
 It was NOT SOMETHING to (signal them to) give it something to eat,  
 but rather it was JUST A HIVE.
- 7.79 *tí tákāa xaan ni kánākoo rí /*  
 it:AML CON:hang there:same COM swarm it:AML  
*tā ni kāī rí tí ndīvahyí*  
 and COM swarm:and:bite it:AML it:AML coyote  
 THE INSECTS THAT WERE HANGING THERE left (the hive) and swarmed  
 onto and bit Mr. Coyote.
- 7.80 *ni shāhnī ní ñāhá rí / tā ni shīnō*  
 COM kill INTS KNO it:AML and COM run  
*ndīvahyí / kwahan rí sāá / kwahan rí sāá*  
 coyote CON:go it:AML thus CON:go it:AML thus  
 They stung him a lot, and the coyote ran, going and going thus for  
 a long time.
- 7.81 *ni shāa rí nda ĩnka yūku / nakūáhān rí*  
 COM arrive it:AML until another mountain COM:meet it:AML  
*shíhín lésón / káchí rí sāá /*  
 with rabbit CON:say it:AML thus  
*án yóhō shíka ún / ñānī*  
 INT here CON:walk you:SG brother:ME  
 The coyote went until he arrived at another mountain; he met the  
 rabbit, and he said, “Are you hanging out HERE, Brother?”
- 7.82 *nda vūīn ndēkía káshī i yóhó*  
 until now precisely POT:eat I you:SG  
 Now at last I will eat you!



- 7.83 *on kúkāhnō ka īnī i shaha ún*  
 NEG POT:be:big ADD insides I foot your:SG  
 I'll not forgive you anymore!
- 7.84 *shā kwaha ní yīchi sandāhvī ún yihi*  
 near:time many INTS trail COM:cheat you:SG me  
 ALREADY you have tricked me VERY MANY TIMES.
- 7.85 *nda vīīn ndēā kāshī i yóhó*  
 until now precisely POT:eat I you:SG  
 Now at last I'll eat you!
- 7.86 *shā kwaha ní yīchi sandāhvī ún yihi /*  
 near:time many INTS trail COM:cheat you:SG me  
*kāchī ndīvahyī shīhín lésón*  
 CON:say coyote with rabbit  
 ALREADY you have tricked me VERY MANY TIMES," said the coyote to the rabbit.
- 7.87 *tā sāá kúū / tā ni kahan tí lésón*  
 and thus CON:be and COM speak it:AML rabbit  
*shīhín rí / on kāshī ún yihi / ñānī*  
 with it:AML NEG POT:eat you:SG me brother:ME  
 And thus (it) was, and Mr. Rabbit said to him, "Don't eat me, Brother!
- 7.88 *yihi shīnī i mikía chī kohyo /*  
 I CON:know I where place POT:go:WE:IN  
*kūshū yó takāhān kwūī*  
 POT:eat we:IN ? short  
 I know where we can go eat in a little while.
- 7.89 *vīīn ndēé ní kōō vīko īnka shūīn ñā*  
 now strong INTS POT:sit:SG fiesta another side its:INAN  
 TODAY there's going to be a really big fiesta over on the other side (of the mountain).
- 7.90 *sha ni kahan nā shīhín i / kohyo i / sākāhā i*  
 near:time COM speak they with me POT:go I POT:play I  
 ALREADY they've told me to come and play (an instrument).
- 7.91 *tā kohyo shīhín i / tā kūshū yó*  
 if POT:go:WE:IN with me and POT:eat we:IN  
 If you go with me, then we'll eat.

- 7.92 *on káshí ún yíhi / káchí tí lésón*  
 NEG POT:eat you:SG me CON:say it:AML rabbit

*shíhín ndívahyí*  
 with coyote

Don't eat me," said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

- 7.93 *tā xaan ní kēē tí lésón / káchí rí*  
 and there:same COM leave it:AML rabbit CON:say it:AML

*sāá / vīūn kohyo / ñānī*  
 thus now POT:go:we:IN brother:ME

And Mr. Rabbit left from there, saying thus: "NOW let's go, Brother!"

- 7.94 *sha noo ní kīshī nā vīūn*  
 near:time face INTS POT:come they now  
 ALREADY VERY SOON they're going to come now.<sup>14</sup>

- 7.95 *tā ná kohyo / kōndōō yó /*  
 and HORT POT:go:we:IN POT:sit:PL we:IN

*chī yīchi kán yáhā nā / ná kīhīn*  
 because trail that CON:pass they HORT POT:get

*nā yíhi / káchí tí lésón shíhín ndívahyí*  
 they me CON:say it:AML rabbit with coyote

So let's go stay (there) because on that trail they're passing by to get me," said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

- 7.96 *ni shāa rí kán /*  
 COM COM:arrive it:AML there

*shikōhōn rí tāñō ton yoó*  
 COM:hide it:AML among it:WOD reed

They arrived there; they hid among some bamboo.

- 7.97 *káchí rí sāá / yóhō kōndōō yó / ñānī*  
 CON:say it:AML thus here POT:sit:PL we:IN brother:ME

The rabbit said thus, "HERE we'll stay, Brother.

- 7.98 *chī yóhō kīā sēhē tá yīchi*  
 place this CON:be:GEN hidden if trail  
 THIS PLACE is the one which is hidden from the trail.

<sup>14</sup>This sentence contains an idiom, *sha noo ni*, which means 'very soon'.

7.99 *ná kōndōō yó*

HORT POT:sit:PL WE:IN

Let's stay!

7.100 *tá kónī nā tākāa tashīn nā miī yó /*

if CON:want they POT:follow ? they SPEC US:IN

*tā kūhū yóhō vahā kōndōō yó*

and weed this good POT:sit:PL WE:IN

If they should want to attack us, then IN THESE WEEDS we'll stay well (hidden).

7.101 *tá sha shinī sohō ún káhndī ní /*

when near:time COM:see ear you:SG CON:explode INTS

*vashī nā / tā kāmā ní ndikōōyō yó /*

CON:come they and fast INTS POT:leave:PL WE:IN

*káchí tí lésón shíhín ndīvahyí*

CON:say it:AML rabbit with coyote

When you have already heard the explosions as the people come, then very quickly we'll leave," said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

7.102 *sāá kúū / kán nākāā*

thus CON:be there CON:be:located

*ndīvahyí tāñō ton yoó*

coyote among it:WOD reed

Thus (it) was; THERE was the coyote in place among the bamboo.

7.103 *yóhō kūnākāā ún / ñānī / ná kōtō i*

here POT:be:located you:SG brother:ME HORT POT:look I

*án sha vashī nā /*

INT near:time CON:come they

*káchí tí lésón shíhín ndīvahyí*

CON:say it:AML rabbit with coyote

"HERE you stay in place, Brother; let me go see if they're already coming," said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

7.104 *kwahan rí / kōtō rí / tā ni kētā rí*

CON:go it:AML POT:look it:AML and COM leave:SG it:AML

The rabbit went to look, and went out.

- 7.105 *ni chikāā rí ñōho / ni shīnō ndūū rí /*  
 COM put:in it:AML fire COM complete ? it:AML  
*ni chikāā rí ñōho shaha ton yoó /*  
 COM put:in it:AML fire foot it:WOD reed  
*tā māhñó kán nákāā tí ndīvahyí*  
 and in:middle:of that CON:be:located it:AML coyote  
 He set fire; he put (it) all around; he put fire at the base of the bamboo, and IN THE MIDDLE OF THAT (bamboo) was Mr. Coyote.
- 7.106 *sāá kúū / sha kisháhā káhdī ní*  
 thus CON:be near:time COM:begin CON:explode INTS  
 Thus (it) was; already a lot of loud cracking noise had begun.
- 7.107 *shínī sohō ndīvahyí vāvāa sha vashī nā*  
 CON:see ear coyote maybe near:time CON:come they  
 The coyote understands that maybe they're already coming.
- 7.108 *án vahā ná ndētā yó / kohyo /*  
 INT good HORT POT:leave:SG we:IN POT:go:WE:IN  
*káhan ndīvahyí*  
 CON:speak coyote  
 "Would(n't) it be good for us to leave?" said the coyote.
- 7.109 *āmā nivī vashī / ton yoó vā ni chikāā ñōho*  
 NEG person CON:come it:WOD reed LIM COM put:in fire  
*tí lésón kisháhā shīshī no*  
 it:AML rabbit COM:begin CON:burn it:WOD  
 (But) it WASN'T PEOPLE COMING; JUST THE BAMBOO MR. RABBIT HAD SET ON FIRE had begun to burn.
- 7.110 *tā ni kisháhā ni shīshī ñōho*  
 and COM begin COM burn fire  
 And the fire continued to burn.
- 7.111 *nī vāsā nī kīvī kōnō ndīvahyí*  
 NOR NEG NOR POT:be:possible POT:run coyote  
 It was absolutely not possible for the coyote to run.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup>This sentence contains an idiom, *nī vāsā nī kīvī*, which means 'it was absolutely not possible'.

7.112 *sāá tā ni shīshī ndīhī ndīvahyí*  
 thus and COM COM:burn all coyote

*māhñó ton yoó xaan*  
 in:middle:of it:WOD reed that:same  
 Therefore the coyote burned completely in the middle of that  
 bamboo.

7.113 *sāá káchí ñīī kwéntó shinī sohō i*  
 thus CON:say one story COM:see ear I  
 Thus says a story I heard.

7.114 *tā vūīn yóhō ndihī ā tīn*  
 and now here COM:finish GEN also  
 And now HERE it is finished also.