

# STUDIES IN THE SYNTAX OF MIXTECAN LANGUAGES

Volume 3



Edited by  
C. Henry Bradley and Barbara E. Hollenbach



**Studies in the  
Syntax of Mixtecan Languages**

**Volume 3**

**Summer Institute of Linguistics and  
The University of Texas at Arlington  
Publications in Linguistics**

Publication 105

**Editors**

Donald A. Burquest  
University of Texas  
at Arlington

William R. Merrifield  
Summer Institute of  
Linguistics

**Assistant Editors**

Rhonda L. Hartell

Marilyn A. Mayers

**Consulting Editors**

Doris A. Bartholomew  
Pamela M. Bendor-Samuel  
Desmond C. Derbyshire  
Robert A. Dooley  
Jerold A. Edmondson

Austin Hale  
Robert E. Longacre  
Eugene E. Loos  
Kenneth L. Pike  
Viola G. Waterhouse

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

**C. Henry Bradley  
and  
Barbara E. Hollenbach  
Editors**

**A Publication of  
The Summer Institute of Linguistics  
and  
The University of Texas at Arlington  
1991**

© 1991 by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.

Library of Congress Catalog No.: 88-60931

ISBN: 0-88312-109-3

ISSN: 1040-0850

All Rights Reserved

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means—electronic, mechanical, photocopy, recording, or otherwise—without the express permission of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, with the exception of brief excerpts in journal articles or reviews.

Cover design by Ruth Hara

Copies of this and other publications of the Summer Institute of Linguistics may be obtained from

International Academic Bookstore  
Summer Institute of Linguistics  
7500 W. Camp Wisdom Road  
Dallas, TX 75236

# Contents

Preface . . . . .	vii
Abbreviations . . . . .	ix
A SYNTACTIC SKETCH OF ALACATLATZALA MIXTEC . . . . .	1
<i>Carol F. Zylstra</i>	
A SYNTACTIC SKETCH OF DIUXI-TILANTONGO MIXTEC . . . . .	179
<i>Albertha Kuiper and Joy Oram</i>	
A PRELIMINARY SYNTACTIC SKETCH OF CONCEPCIÓN PÁPALO CUICATEC . . . . .	409
<i>David P. Bradley</i>	





## Preface

This volume constitutes the third installment of a four-part collection containing syntactic sketches of languages in the Mixtecan family of Otomanguean. These languages are spoken in southern Mexico in the states of Oaxaca and Guerrero.

The present volume contains sketches of two Mixtec languages. Alacatlazala Mixtec belongs to the Guerrero subgroup of lowland languages, and Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec belongs to the Eastern Highlands group. It also contains a description of Cuicatec, a language closely related to Mixtec and spoken in the area immediately northeast of it. The Cuicatec sketch is somewhat shorter than the Mixtec sketches because it is based solely on an analysis of published material, rather than on fieldwork carried out by the author.

These sketches follow closely the outline used in the two earlier volumes (Bradley and Hollenbach 1988, 1990).<sup>1</sup> The structure of each language is presented with a minimum of theory, numerous examples, and illustrative text material at the end.

BEH

December 1990

---

<sup>1</sup>These volumes, entitled *Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages 1* and *Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages 2*, were published as Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics 83 and 90.



## 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**



# Contents

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	7
0.1 Orientation . . . . .	7
0.2 Phonology . . . . .	8
0.3 Bibliography . . . . .	8
1 BASIC SENTENCES . . . . .	9
1.1 Statements . . . . .	9
1.1.1 Impersonal sentences . . . . .	9
1.1.2 Intransitive sentences . . . . .	10
1.1.3 Transitive sentences . . . . .	10
1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts . . . . .	12
1.1.5 Equative sentences . . . . .	19
1.1.6 Stative sentences . . . . .	20
1.1.7 Peripheral elements . . . . .	22
1.1.8 Focus permutations . . . . .	24
1.1.9 Sentential complements . . . . .	27
1.2 Questions . . . . .	34
1.2.1 YES/NO questions . . . . .	34
1.2.2 WH questions . . . . .	35
1.2.3 Indirect questions . . . . .	39
1.3 Commands . . . . .	40
1.4 Vocatives . . . . .	42
1.5 Sentential Markers . . . . .	43

2	VERB PHRASES . . . . .	45
2.1	Content Verb Phrases . . . . .	45
2.1.1	Verb nuclei . . . . .	45
2.1.2	Preverbal elements . . . . .	49
2.1.3	Postverbal elements . . . . .	54
2.1.4	Combinations of elements . . . . .	58
2.2	Equative Verb Phrases . . . . .	59
2.3	Stative Verb Phrases . . . . .	60
2.4	Repetitive Verb Phrases . . . . .	63
3	NOUN PHRASES . . . . .	65
3.1	Basic Noun Phrases . . . . .	65
3.1.1	Noun nuclei . . . . .	65
3.1.2	Prenominal elements . . . . .	67
3.1.3	Postnominal elements . . . . .	68
3.1.4	Combinations of elements . . . . .	73
3.2	Measurement Noun Phrases . . . . .	74
3.3	Possessive Noun Phrases . . . . .	74
3.4	Interrogative Noun Phrases . . . . .	76
3.5	Emphatic Noun Phrases . . . . .	77
3.6	Adverbial Noun Phrases . . . . .	78
3.7	Appositional Noun Phrases . . . . .	80
3.8	Additive Noun Phrases . . . . .	82
3.9	Distributive Noun Phrases . . . . .	85
3.10	Personal-Name Noun Phrases . . . . .	86
4	OTHER PHRASES . . . . .	87
4.1	Quantifier Phrases . . . . .	87
4.1.1	Additive numeral phrases . . . . .	87
4.1.2	Attributive numeral phrases . . . . .	88
4.1.3	Aggregative numeral phrases . . . . .	89
4.1.4	Expanded numeral phrases . . . . .	89
4.1.5	General quantifier phrases . . . . .	92
4.1.6	Distributive numeral phrases . . . . .	92
4.1.7	Alternative numeral phrases . . . . .	93
4.2	Adverb Phrases . . . . .	94
4.2.1	Basic adverb phrases . . . . .	94
4.2.2	Appositional adverb phrases . . . . .	95
4.2.3	Additive adverb phrases . . . . .	95
4.2.4	Repetitive adverb phrases . . . . .	96



4.3	Prepositional Phrases . . . . .	96
5	PARTS OF SPEECH . . . . .	99
5.1	Content and Equative Verbs . . . . .	99
5.1.1	Derivation . . . . .	99
5.1.2	Inflection . . . . .	107
5.2	Stative Verbs . . . . .	110
5.3	Nouns . . . . .	111
5.3.1	Derivation . . . . .	111
5.3.2	Classification . . . . .	113
5.4	Pronouns . . . . .	119
5.5	Adverbs . . . . .	122
5.6	Quantifiers . . . . .	124
5.7	Prepositions . . . . .	125
5.8	Conjunctions . . . . .	126
5.9	Markers . . . . .	127
5.10	Interjections . . . . .	129
6	INTERSENTENTIAL RELATIONS . . . . .	131
6.1	Coordinate Relations . . . . .	131
6.1.1	Coordinate relations with conjunctions . . . . .	131
6.1.2	Coordinate relations without conjunctions . . . . .	136
6.2	Subordinate Relations . . . . .	142
6.2.1	Subordinate relations with conjunctions . . . . .	142
6.2.2	Subordinate relations without conjunctions . . . . .	149
6.3	Direct Quotations . . . . .	152
6.4	Relations Across Sentence Boundaries . . . . .	153
7	TEXT . . . . .	159



# 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

- Casiano Franco, Vicente Paulino. 1982. *Análisis Sintáctico del Mixteco de Coatzacoquitengo, Guerrero*. Etnolingüística, 11. Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública–Instituto Nacional Indigenista.
- 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*  
 POR:carry he firewood  
 He will carry firewood (on his back).

*kāhmī nā mihí*  
 POR: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>Alacatlazala 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: *kīhīn* ‘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.

*kīhīn 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 ñōkóhyō*  
COM:come she Mexico:City  
She came from Mexico City.

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

Destination:

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

*kohon rā noyáhvī*  
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.

*chindōō 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.

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

*chikāā 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 nā 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 kōmbárí 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.

---

<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 prēsídénté 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 véhē 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 ñōkóhyō 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*).

*ínka 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 / sáá*  
 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?

*ndáhvī 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!

*nātáhān 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*            *chihñā*            (*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).

---

<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* (*prēsīdénté*)  
 (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* *tachīñō*)  
 HORT NEG POT:be REP (he authority)  
 May (he) not become (the town authority) again!

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

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

*kūnānī* *vahā* *nī* (*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* (*tíkoto*)  
 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.

---

<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 kánī (rā) ní kánī (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 váhā*  
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 mārťómó*  
 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 ñīma*  
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 yĩĩn sãvã nivĩ*  
 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:

*ñĩĩ vĕhĕ rã*  
 one house his  
 a house of his

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

*mũ ovi yũchu ta xaan*  
 SPEC two machete his that:same  
 the same two machetes of that man

*vĕhĕ kãhnō 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.

*sĩsĩ 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 pánchó 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 pánchó 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 mārĭā 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*            *vēhē*    *tá*            *vēhē*  
 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*    *vēhē*  
 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*    *māriā*  
 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*   *nīī*  
 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 (sindiki)*  
 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

---

<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)*kīkōyō*

POT:leave:closed:area:PL

to leave an enclosed area  
(plural)*chīkāa*

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-kwün</i>	<i>shí-kwün</i>	<i>shi-kwün</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>ndōō</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>ndēé</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>yūton</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’
-----------	--------

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>chíñō</i> ‘work’)

Complex:

<i>míkía</i>	<i>chī</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>ñīī</i>	‘one, a, approximately’
<i>ovi</i>	‘two’
<i>uni</i>	‘three’
<i>komi</i>	‘four’
<i>ohon</i>	‘five’
<i>iño</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>míl</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 ndēkía*  
 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 tǎū 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 tǎkwū 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 tākwiī 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 sīni ún / chéē ní sīni 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 vīko / lúné kōō vīko 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.

*kīni ní shāhān ún / shāhān 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 / shĩnī 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 / kichíñō 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.

*kúsī*            *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

*nakutáhān*    *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 vīko*  
 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 kihví* *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 chīnō 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 yōhō 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 shīnī 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 / chīhī 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 / sānā 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 shihín 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 kivi kīsā 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 chīndēé 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 kǎnī ndōsō ñā tākwī / sisō rā /*  
COM hit flat:place she water POT:boil it:L1Q

*chīhyō lésón*  
POT:cook rabbit

She put the water on a flat place to boil in order to cook the rabbit.

*chihī ní rā / ná tāshī ñōho*  
CON:plant INTS he HORT POT:give land

*vīhī ní ndāha rā / ná kūkūū rā 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 *ñā*.

### 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 *kāchí* ‘to say’, usually in continuative aspect. In the opener, the most common speech verb is *kāhan* ‘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 chíñō 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 kīi*  
 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 mīi 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 īnka 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 kisháhā*  
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  
*nákāā 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 takáhãn 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?”<sup>12</sup>
- 7.56 *takáhãn 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 yihī*  
 near:time many INTS trail COM:cheat you:SG me  
 ALREADY you have tricked me VERY MANY TIMES.
- 7.85 *nda vītīn 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 yihī /*  
 near:time many INTS trail COM:cheat you:SG me  
*káchī ndīvahyī shíhín 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  
*shíhín rí / on káshī ún yihī / 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 *yihī shínī i mikía chī kohyo /*  
 I CON:know I where place POT:go:WE:IN  
*kūshū yó takáhān kwūī*  
 POT:eat we:IN ? short  
 I know where we can go eat in a little while.
- 7.89 *vītīn ndēé ní kōō vīko īnka shūín 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 shíhín 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 shíhín 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 yihí / 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 / víūn 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 víūn*  
 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 yihí / 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 yóó*  
 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 ní*, 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 káhdī 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 nákāā*

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.



# **A Syntactic Sketch of Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec**

**Albertha Kuiper and Joy Oram**





# Contents

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	185
0.1 Orientation . . . . .	185
0.2 Phonology . . . . .	186
0.3 Bibliography . . . . .	187
1 BASIC SENTENCES . . . . .	189
1.1 Statements . . . . .	189
1.1.1 Impersonal sentences . . . . .	189
1.1.2 Intransitive sentences . . . . .	190
1.1.3 Transitive sentences . . . . .	190
1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts . . . . .	192
1.1.5 Equative sentences . . . . .	199
1.1.6 Stative sentences . . . . .	200
1.1.7 Peripheral elements . . . . .	204
1.1.8 Focus permutations . . . . .	206
1.1.9 Sentential complements . . . . .	212
1.2 Questions . . . . .	215
1.2.1 YES/NO questions . . . . .	216
1.2.2 WH questions . . . . .	217
1.2.3 Indirect questions . . . . .	222
1.3 Commands . . . . .	223
1.4 Vocatives . . . . .	226
1.5 Sentential Markers . . . . .	227

2	VERB PHRASES . . . . .	229
2.1	Content Verb Phrases . . . . .	229
2.1.1	Verb nuclei . . . . .	229
2.1.2	Preverbal elements . . . . .	232
2.1.3	Postverbal elements . . . . .	243
2.1.4	Combinations of elements . . . . .	253
2.2	Equative Verb Phrases . . . . .	257
2.3	Stative Verb Phrases . . . . .	258
2.4	Repetitive Verb Phrases . . . . .	263
2.5	Additive Stative Verb Phrases . . . . .	264
2.6	Appositional Verb Phrases . . . . .	265
3	NOUN PHRASES . . . . .	267
3.1	Basic Noun Phrases . . . . .	267
3.1.1	Noun nuclei . . . . .	267
3.1.2	Prenominal elements . . . . .	269
3.1.3	Postnominal elements . . . . .	270
3.1.4	Combinations of elements . . . . .	276
3.2	Measurement Noun Phrases . . . . .	277
3.3	Possessive Noun Phrases . . . . .	278
3.4	Interrogative Noun Phrases . . . . .	281
3.5	Truth-Value Noun Phrases . . . . .	282
3.6	Adverbial Noun Phrases . . . . .	284
3.7	Appositional Noun Phrases . . . . .	286
3.8	Additive Noun Phrases . . . . .	287
3.9	Repetitive Noun Phrases . . . . .	290
3.10	Personal-Name Noun Phrases . . . . .	291
4	OTHER PHRASES . . . . .	293
4.1	Quantifier Phrases . . . . .	293
4.1.1	Additive numeral phrases . . . . .	293
4.1.2	Attributive numeral phrases . . . . .	294
4.1.3	Aggregative numeral phrases . . . . .	295
4.1.4	Expanded numeral phrases . . . . .	295
4.1.5	General quantifier phrases . . . . .	299
4.1.6	Distributive numeral phrases . . . . .	303
4.1.7	Alternative numeral phrases . . . . .	304
4.1.8	Repetitive quantifier phrases . . . . .	304

Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec	183
4.2 Adverb Phrases . . . . .	305
4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases . . . . .	305
4.2.2 Appositional adverb phrases . . . . .	307
4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases . . . . .	308
4.2.4 Alternative adverb phrases . . . . .	309
4.2.5 Repetitive adverb phrases . . . . .	309
4.3 Prepositional Phrases . . . . .	310
5 PARTS OF SPEECH . . . . .	313
5.1 Content and Equative Verbs . . . . .	313
5.1.1 Derivation . . . . .	313
5.1.2 Inflection . . . . .	325
5.2 Stative Verbs . . . . .	332
5.3 Nouns . . . . .	333
5.3.1 Derivation . . . . .	333
5.3.2 Classification . . . . .	335
5.4 Pronouns . . . . .	341
5.5 Adverbs . . . . .	345
5.6 Quantifiers . . . . .	347
5.7 Prepositions . . . . .	349
5.8 Conjunctions . . . . .	349
5.9 Markers . . . . .	351
5.10 Interjections . . . . .	354
6 INTERSENTENTIAL RELATIONS . . . . .	357
6.1 Coordinate Relations . . . . .	357
6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions . . . . .	357
6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions . . . . .	361
6.2 Subordinate Relations . . . . .	368
6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions . . . . .	368
6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions . . . . .	382
6.3 Direct Quotations . . . . .	388
6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries . . . . .	391
7 TEXT . . . . .	401



# Introduction

## 0.1 Orientation

Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec is spoken by about 5,000 people living in and around two municipal centers, San Juan Diuxi and Santiago Tilantongo, in the District of Nochixtlán, Oaxaca, Mexico. Large colonies of speakers of this language are also found in Mexico City, the city of Puebla, and the city of Oaxaca. The speech of Tilantongo differs in minor ways from that of Diuxi; for example, Tilantongo forms are often less contracted than those of Diuxi. This sketch is based on the variety spoken in Diuxi.

According to Caso (1979a, 1979b), based on his study of the *Codex Nuttall* (1902), Tilantongo was the capital of a vast Mixtec city-state. Eight Deer, an eleventh century ruler, subdued one town after another until he controlled almost all of the Mixteca. After his death, however, the empire he built was dissolved, and it never regained its past glory. For more about the history of the Mixtec kings, see Smith (1973) and Spores (1967).

Because both Diuxi and Tilantongo are situated in badly eroded land, at least one member of each family unit spends six or more months each year working in Oaxaca City or Mexico City to supplement the family income; the life of migrants from Tilantongo in Mexico City has been described by Butterworth (1962, 1975). Also, primary schools have been in the area for perhaps five decades. Consequently, many of the men and some of the women have a working knowledge of Spanish. Among themselves, however, they speak Mixtec by preference, and children continue to learn Mixtec as their first language.

This sketch is based on data gathered by the authors during fieldwork in Diuxi beginning in 1965 for Oram and in 1971 for Kuiper. All examples have been checked by Oram with Amelia Martínez de Matías or by Kuiper with Ysauro Martínez Pablo. Both were born in Diuxi and grew up there. The text in chapter seven was dictated to Oram by Arturo Martínez Cruz, also from Diuxi. He learned the story from his grandfather, who had been one of the village storytellers, and dictated it in 1972, when he was sixteen years old. Part of the data base for this sketch consists of a collection of eighty-two texts dictated by Amelia Martínez de Matías and thirty-six texts dictated by Arturo Martínez Cruz (Oram n.d.). These texts were dictated to Oram along with a Spanish translation, and they contain literal and free English translations in the same form as the examples in this sketch.

The preparation of this sketch was aided by a concordance prepared by computer in 1968 at the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, supported by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

In this sketch Kuiper was responsible for chapters two, three, and five, and Oram for chapters one, four, six, and seven, and also this introduction. Because of differing analytical perspectives, the parts of this sketch do not always dovetail the way they would if a single author had composed the entire sketch. Without Barbara Hollenbach's excellent work as teacher, writer, and friend, the drawing together of this material into a "finished whole" would not have been possible.

## 0.2 Phonology

Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec has the following segmental phonological units: voiceless stops and affricate *t ch k kw*, voiced stops *d g* (only after *n*), voiceless fricatives *s sh x xw*, voiced fricatives *v* (bilabial) *ɟ y*, nasals *m n ñ*, liquids *l r*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e ɨ a u o*, and nasalized vowels *in en* (rare) *in an un on*. In Spanish loanwords some of the above phonemes have a wider distribution, and the following additional phonemes occur: *p b gw f* (bilabial fricative; some speakers only). The segmental phonemes are described more fully in Oram and Pike (n.d.).

Two analyses have been proposed for the tone system of this language, one by Pike and Oram (1976), and one by Daly (1978). In the Pike and Oram system, there are two levels of tone, high and low, and also a contrastive stress. In the Daly system, there are two tone features, [High] and [Modified], which define four tones in underlying forms. These underlying features undergo a variety of rules that produce the surface tones.

In the chapters for which Kuiper is responsible, surface tone is written, based on a modified version of the Daly analysis. An acute accent is used

for high tone, a macron for mid tone, a circumflex for a high downglide, and a vertical stroke for stress; low tone is unmarked. In the chapters for which Oram is responsible, basic tones are written, using the Pike and Oram system. An acute accent is used for high tone, and a vertical stroke for stress; low tone is unmarked.

Completive aspect is written as *n* followed by a hyphen. Following this proclitic, a number of consonants undergo phonological changes. Voiceless consonants except *t* and *ch* become voiced; *sh*, which is often somewhat retroflexed, becomes a voiced retroflexed alveopalatal affricate; *x* and *xw* become *g* and *gw*; and *y*, which is a voiced alveopalatal fricative, becomes a voiced alveopalatal affricate. In this sketch, however, the underlying forms are written.

Five postclitic pronouns are also written with a hyphen: *-ř* 'I (familiar)', *-ñ* 'you (respect)', *-n* 'you (familiar, man speaking)', *-s* 'he (man speaking)' and *-t* 'it (animal)'. The two second-person forms differ in tone (high versus low) in the analysis used by Kuiper. In the analysis used by Oram, however, the two pronouns both have high tone in their basic forms, but belong to different sandhi classes; both are written *-ñ*.

### 0.3 Bibliography

- Butterworth, Douglas S. 1962. A Study of the Urbanization Process Among Mixtec Migrants from Tilantongo in Mexico City, *América Indígena* 22:257–74.
- . 1975. *Tilantongo: Comunidad Mixteca en Transición*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista y Secretaría de Educación Pública.
- Caso, Alfonso. 1979a. *Reyes y Reinos de la Mixteca I*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- . 1979b. *Reyes y Reinos de la Mixteca II: Diccionario Biográfico de los Señores Mixtecos*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Codex Nuttall*. 1902. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum. Reprinted 1974. Mexico City: La Estampa Mexicana.
- Daly, John P. 1978. Notes on Diuxi Mixtec Tone, *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics*, University of North Dakota 22:98–113.
- Kuiper, Albertha. n.d. The Wedding of Ñutilu, manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Tucson, Arizona.
- Kuiper, Albertha, and William R. Merrifield. 1975a. Diuxi Mixtec Verbs of Motion and Arrival, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 41:32–45.

- . 1975b. Verbos de Movimiento en el Mixteco de Diuxi, *Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, XIII Mesa Redonda, Antropología Física, Lingüística, Códices*, pp. 251–58. Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.
- Kuiper, Albertha, and Velma Pickett. 1974. Personal Pronouns in Diuxi Mixtec, *S.I.L.–Mexico Workpapers* 1:53–58.
- Macaulay, Monica. 1985. On the Semantics of ‘Come’, ‘Go’, and ‘Arrive’ in Otomanguean Languages, *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics: Studies in Native American Languages* IV 10.2:56–84.
- Oram, Joy. 1970. A Sketch of Mixtec Grammar: Sentence, Clause, and Phrase. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Columbia Bible College, Columbia, South Carolina.
- . 1981. Diuxi Mixtec Kinship Terms, in *Proto Otomanguean Kinship*, edited by William R. Merrifield, pp. 163–65. International Museum of Cultures Publication 11. Dallas: International Museum of Cultures.
- . n.d. Diuxi Mixtec Texts, manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Tucson, Arizona.
- Oram, Joy, and Eunice V. Pike. n.d. The Phonemes of Diuxi Mixtec, manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Tucson, Arizona.
- Oram, Joy, and Terry Todd. n.d. “Couplet,” A New Level Between Sentence and Paragraph in Diuxi Mixtec, manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Tucson, Arizona.
- Pike, Eunice V., and Joy Oram. 1976. Stress and Tone in the Phonology of Diuxi Mixtec, *Phonetica* 33:321–33.
- Smith, Mary Elizabeth. 1973. *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico: Mixtec Place Signs and Maps*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Spores, Ronald. 1967. *The Mixtec Kings and Their People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.



# 1

## Basic Sentences

### 1.1 Statements

Verbs fall into three classes—content, equative, and stative. Sentences with content verbs are impersonal, intransitive, or transitive; transitive and intransitive sentences may 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 an equative or content verb. Each of these sentence types may take a peripheral location or time element. They may also have any element within them fronted to indicate focus. In addition, each of these types may be used as a sentential complement within another sentence.

**1.1.1 Impersonal sentences.** The minimal form of an impersonal sentence consists of an impersonal verb with neither subject nor object. Such verbs are limited to a small set and express meteorological and related concepts.

*n-tnaá*

COM-quake

There was an earthquake.

*n-tú 'ú*

COM-dawn

It dawned.

*ñini*  
 CON:be:late  
 It's late.

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

*kíshí dá*  
 POT:come I:RES  
 I will come.

*kí'dí ún*  
 CON:sleep you:FAM:WS  
 You are sleeping.

*káá-s*  
 CON:lie-he:MS  
 He is lying down.

*kaná dá'ú*  
 CON:call rain  
 It is thundering.

*nda'hí ñá'ñá*  
 CON:cry coyote  
 The coyote is howling.

*kíshí dú'tú*  
 POT:come priest  
 The priest will come.

*n-shí'hí vilú*  
 COM-die cat  
 The cat died.

*inúndáha nga'lú*  
 POT:marry Charles  
 Charles will marry.

*n-shitá ñádihí*  
 COM-sing woman  
 The woman was singing.

(See also 7.7, 7.19, 7.30, 7.32, 7.39, 7.58, 7.64–65, and 7.72.)

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

*shihí t̃ ndúté*  
 CON:drink it:AML water  
 The animal is drinking water.

*shán 'hnú té yútnú*  
 CON:break he:ws tree  
 He breaks the pole.

*ǎíkó ñá nú 'ní*  
 CON:sell she corn  
 She sells corn.

*ndoñúhú ǎá tvíní*  
 CON:need I:RES money  
 I need money (Sp. *tomín*).

*ǎándéché ró triú*  
 CON:winnow we:IN wheat  
 We are winnowing wheat (Sp. *trigo*).

*ǎákee mushú í 'tú*  
 POT:harvest hired:hand cornfield  
 The hired-hands (Sp. *mozo*) will harvest the cornfields.

*káǎá vá 'há alvañíí véhé*  
 POT:do good mason house  
 The mason (Sp. *albañil*) will build the house.

(See also 7.1, 7.13–14, 7.26, 7.28, 7.47, and others.)

Some verbs have two sense discriminations, one transitive and the other intransitive, as seen by comparing the following pairs of sentences.

*shashí té*  
 CON:eat he:ws  
 He is eating.

cf. *shash konexú ndúchí*  
 CON:eat rabbit bean  
 The rabbit (Sp. *conejo*) is eating the bean plants.

*kunú té*  
 CON:weave he:ws  
 He is weaving.

cf. *kunú té ñadió*  
 CON:weave he:ws strength:belt  
 He is weaving a strength belt.

*kahú dá*  
 CON:read I:RES  
 I am reading.

cf. *kahú dá livrú*  
 CON:read I:RES book  
 I am reading the book (Sp. *libro*).

*kí'kú dí'hí-í*  
 CON:sew mother-my:FAM  
 My mother is sewing.<sup>1</sup>

cf. *kí'kú ñá shá'tú tá'á-í*  
 CON:sew she pants father-my:FAM  
 She is sewing my father's pants.

The sentence level direct object interacts in complex ways with the verbal marker *ñáha* 'known object' (see §2.1.3); in compounds this word has a variant form *áhan* following *i*.

To express reflexive object, the specifier *mée* is used before a compound free pronoun of the *mee* series (see §5.4).

*ndehá-í mée mée-í*  
 CON:look:at-I:FAM SPEC SPEC-me:FAM  
 I look at myself.

**1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts.** Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, associative, instrument, and referent. In addition, transitive verbs may take an indirect object adjunct. Adjuncts follow the subject in intransitive sentences and usually follow the object in transitive sentences.

The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location; this adjunct is normally required with verbs that express placement, position, or change of location.

With transitive verbs that express placement (or occasionally position), the locative adjunct follows the direct object. With intransitive verbs that express position, it follows the subject.

---

<sup>1</sup>Diuxi-Tilantongo 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 enable the reader to understand the structure of the Mixtec examples more quickly.

With placement verbs:

*shaxán té dānhmá íchí*  
 CON:spread:out he:ws cloth road  
 They spread clothes out on the road.

*n-chítúú-s í shí'ú ñúnú*  
 COM-put:in-he:MS it:AML stomach net  
 He put it (the rabbit) inside the net carrying bag.

*n-shodó ní-s nté ínhní yá'tá ñá'ñá*  
 COM-pour LIM-he:MS it:LIQ hot back coyote  
 He poured the hot water down the coyote's back.

*dáke'é ní yekó chí'kí íñú*  
 CON:put:in LIM Yeco prickly:pear:fruit thorn

*yúhu ñá'ñá*  
 mouth coyote

Yeco (the mythical opossum) puts a thorny prickly-pear in the coyote's mouth.

*ndádá kútú ñá í'tá tndó'hó vēñu'hú*  
 CON:do:again tied she flower vase church  
 She is putting flowers in the church vases.

*ñúhú té koroná dī'kí té*  
 CON:wear he:ws crown head his:ws  
 They wear crowns (Sp. *corona*) on their heads.

(See also 7.29.)

With position verbs:

*íó dá yúkú*  
 CON:exist I:RES mountain  
 I live in the mountains. *or* I live on the mountain.

*túú ñá véhé*  
 CON:be she house  
 She is at home.

*yíhí dá'hyá dá shkwelá*  
 CON:be:in child my:RES school  
 My child is in school (Sp. *escuela*).

*íó kwé'hé. í'tá yá'tá véhé dá*  
 CON:exist many flower back house my:RES  
 There are many flowers (growing) behind my house.

*túú-s véshkwelá*  
 CON:be-he:MS schoolhouse  
 He is at school.

(See also 7.69.)

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct occurs after the subject. There is no syntactic distinction between locative adjuncts that refer to source and those that refer to destination. Sometimes the verb makes it clear which is intended, and sometimes the larger context.

*xwándishí ñá ñúkóhyo*  
 INC:return:coming she Mexico:City  
 She is returning from Mexico City.

*xé'hín té ñútnúu*  
 POT:go he:ws Tilantongo  
 He is going to Tilantongo.

*shinó té yúkú*  
 CON:run he:ws mountain  
 He is running from the mountain. *or* He is running to the mountain.

*n-ké'ú ñá'ñá kúralí*  
 COM-enter coyote corral  
 The coyote entered the corral (Sp. *corral*).

*n-ké'é í dó'hó í'dú*  
 COM-enter it:AML ear deer  
 It (the cricket) entered the deer's ear.

*n-kéé dá metrú*  
 COM-leave I:RES subway  
 I left the subway (Sp. *metro*).

The indirect object adjunct usually follows the direct object, and it is usually marked by the locative noun *nú'ú* 'face'.

*díkó té nú'ní nú'ú mariá*  
 CON:sell he:ws corn face Mary  
 He is selling corn to Mary (Sp. *María*).

*n-túndaha ñá telegramá nú'ú kú'hú ñá*  
 COM-send she telegram face sister:FE her  
 She sent a telegram (Sp. *telegrama*) to her sister.

*ká'xán-s yí nú'ú tá'á í*  
 POT:ask-he:MS UN face father UN

He will ask her father for her (hand in marriage). (lit. He will request her from her father.)

There are, however, a number of cases in which *nú'ú* does not occur. In one such case, the absence of *nú'ú* is conditioned by the fact that both subject and indirect object are pronouns. In these sentences the indirect object immediately follows the subject.

*chiyá'hú ðá yá ú'ú sientú*  
 CON:pay I:RES DEI two hundred  
 I pay the priest two hundred (Sp. *ciento*) (pesos).

In other cases, the absence of *nú'ú* is conditioned by the verb. For example, with the verb *ðashá* 'to give', it does not occur.

*ðashá té ñú'ú ñá'yíu*  
 CON:give he:ws palm people  
 He gives palm branches to the people (on Palm Sunday).

Several verbs of giving and speaking are compounds that have the known-object marker *ñáha*, or its variant *áhan*, as their second element (see §5.1.1). Sentences containing these verbs do not need to have an overt indirect object.

*xúñáha ró tkóo*  
 POT:give we:IN tamale  
 We will give him/her/them tamales.

*shía'hán ñá xó'ón*  
 CON:speak she yes  
 She says yes (to someone).

Occasionally they do have an overt indirect object, but in such cases, *nú'ú* does not occur.

*n-shía'hán té ínó tá'á té*  
 COM-give he:ws tobacco father his:ws  
 He gave tobacco to his father.

*n-shiá'hán* *đá tá ndáá marduán*  
 COM-give I:RES it:flower all steward  
 I gave them (the flowers) to all those in charge of the fiesta (Sp. *mayordomo*).

Occasionally an indirect object occurs in the absence of a direct object.

*shiá'hán ñá* *đá'hyá ñá*  
 CON:speak she child her  
 She speaks to her children.

The indirect object is not expressed in a sentence with *tá'shí* (or its reduced form *tá'á*) 'to give', which is used only when the indirect object refers to first or second person.

*tá'á* *đá* *đí'tá*  
 POT:give I:RES tortilla  
 I will give you the tortillas.

*n-tá'shí* *tá'á-r* *đánhmá*  
 COM-give father-my:FAM cloth  
 My father gave me/you/us the clothes.

The associative adjunct is marked by the preposition *shihín* 'with'. The function of this adjunct is to double some other element of the sentence; in most cases this element is the subject.

*n-shehén* *nshú'á* *núndúa* *shihín* *róbér'tó*  
 COM-go John:ws Oaxaca:City with Robert  
 John went to Oaxaca City with Robert (Sp. *Roberto*).

*n-kisheé* *đá* *ñúkóhyo* *shihín* *đá'hyá* *đá*  
 COM-arrive I:RES Mexico:City with child my:RES  
 I arrived in Mexico City with my child.

*kiáá* *vá'há* *đá* *véhé* *shihín* *ñá'ní* *đá*  
 CON:do good I:RES house with brother:ME my:RES  
 I am building a house with my brother.

When the associative adjunct is contiguous to the subject, the construction is ambiguous; it could be considered to contain an additive noun phrase (see §3.8) as the subject, rather than a subject followed by an associative adjunct.

*xahán* *maría* *shihín* *kú'hú* *ñá*  
 CON:speak Mary with sister:FE her  
 Mary is talking to her sister. *or* Mary and her sister are talking.



*shashí té shíhín áá'hyá té*  
 CON:eat he:WS with child his:WS  
 He is eating with his children. *or* He and his children are eating.

*shikonúú sú'á shíhín nínáhá séyî sí*  
 CON:walk:around John:MS with every man:MS his:MS  
 John is walking around with all his companions. *or* John and all his companions are walking around.

The following example shows an associative adjunct doubling the object, which is in sentence-initial position to indicate focus (see §1.1.8).

*ú'ní ní peshú néhé ró shíhín áí'tá ní*  
 three LIM peso CON:carry we:IN with tortilla LIM  
 We're taking ONLY THREE PESOS (Sp. *peso*) and only tortillas.

The instrument adjunct usually precedes the verb (see §1.1.8). In intransitive sentences, however, it may follow the subject, and in transitive sentences, it may follow the object or come between the subject and the object. This adjunct is normally not marked by any preposition or locative noun.

*kaná ñá'yú ndantú'hú fversá í*  
 CON:shout people all force UN  
 The people shout with all their might (Sp. *fuerza*).

*áákú'chí í ñá'yú nduté*  
 CON:wash it:AML people water.  
 It (the elephant) showers the people with water.

*kuhú-í kwéshitá*  
 CON:be:sick-I:FAM sickness:sing  
 I am sick with singing sickness (caused by the “earth-people”).

*n-téé ñáha té ú'ú tirú pistolá*  
 COM-cast KNO he:WS two shot pistol  
 He shot someone with two shots (Sp. *tiro*) from a pistol (Sp. *pistola*).

*n-kaní ñadú'hú máchítí áí'ké ndáhá-s*  
 COM-hit thief machete head hand-his:MS  
 The thief hit his fingers with the machete (Sp. *machete*).

*n-kaní ñá ndáhá ñá shí'tí í*  
 COM-hit she hand her stomach its:AML  
 She hit the animal in the stomach with her hand.

*n-tétné'í-s kádená í'ná-s*  
 COM-tie-he:MS chain dog-his:MS  
 He tied his dogs up with chains (Sp. *cadena*).

Note that in some of the above examples the semantic instrument is in the position where the direct object normally occurs. (An alternative analysis would be to say that these are direct objects rather than instrument adjuncts, and that the following elements are locative adjuncts rather than direct objects.)

The referent adjunct has a wide variety of meanings: 'on behalf of' or 'on account of', 'for' (by proxy), 'extent', 'in exchange for', and 'than'. Usually, but not always, it is signaled by the complex preposition *shá shé'hé* 'on behalf of' or 'on account of', or by *shá*, which in this context means 'for' (by proxy) or 'in exchange for'. (The word *shá* is basically a prestressed inanimate third person pronoun [see §5.4], but it has a number of special functions. One of the most important is that it serves as a complementizer [see §1.1.9], and it is glossed 'complementizer' in this sketch whenever its function is nonpronominal.) The referent adjunct also occurs with no marker, in which case it means 'extent'.

With *shá shé'hé*:

*má kádá-s ní ñn shá shé'hé tá'á-s*  
 NEG POT:do-he:MS LIM one CMP foot father-his:MS  
 He won't do one (thing) for his father.

*díko té nú'ní shá shé'hé tá'á té*  
 CON:sell he:ws corn CMP foot father his:ws  
 He sells (his) corn on account of his father's need.

*néhé tí tkólelu shá shé'hé kwéchi okei*  
 COM:carry it:AML lamb CMP foot sin Okay  
 The coyote carried off a lamb on account of Okay's (Sp. *okey*, English *okay*) (the dog's) fault (that he was not watching the corral).

*n-xátnáhá té shá shé'hé terenú yúkú*  
 COM-fight he:ws CMP foot land mountain  
 They were fighting over the mountain land (Sp. *terreno*).

With *shá*:

*díko té nú'ní shá tá'á té*  
 CON:sell he:ws corn CMP father his:ws  
 He sells (his father's) corn for his father.

*túndaha dá saludó shá xwání'tó*  
 CON:send I-RES greeting CMP Johnny  
 I am sending (you) greetings (Sp. *saludo*) from Johnny (Sp. *Juanito*).

*xwéén ró ná'má shá ñn peshú*  
 POT:buy we:IN soap CMP one peso  
 We'll buy soap for a peso.

*xwéén ró ñn kiló ashuká shá ú'ú peshú*  
 POT:buy we:IN one kilogram sugar CMP two peso  
 We'll buy one kilogram (Sp. *kilo*) of sugar (Sp. *azúcar*) for two pesos.

With no marker:

*n-ká dákkaka-s barkú ó'hón kiló'métro*  
 COM-PL POT:make:walk-he:MS boat five kilometer  
 They rowed the boat (Sp. *barco*) five kilometers (Sp. *kilómetro*).

The comparative subtype of the referent adjunct is introduced by the general adverb *dá* 'thus', used here in the sense of 'than'. It occurs only when the additive *ká* occurs in the verb phrase (see §§2.1.3 and 2.3). (Note that the main verb of the sentence cannot be repeated after *dá*, and so this construction clearly constitutes an adjunct and is not a sentence combination.)

*yá'hú ká vilú yá dá í'ná*  
 CON:cost ADD cat this thus dog  
 This cat costs more than a dog.

*vá'há ká shíní méé-ñ dá méé-dá*  
 good ADD CON:know SPEC-you:RES thus SPEC-I:RES  
 You know better than I (do).

**1.1.5 Equative sentences.** The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of a nominal complement followed by an equative verb inflected for aspect and its subject. The two verbs commonly used in equative sentences are *kúú* 'to be' and *nání* 'to be named'. A third verb, *ndúu* 'to become', is very restricted in its use and requires the order verb—subject—nominal complement.

With *kúú* and *nání*:

*í'ná kúú tí*  
 dog CON:be it:AML  
 It's a dog.

*đú'tú kúú té*  
 priest CON:be he:ws  
 He is a priest.

*káreti'ná nání ñá*  
 Kathryn CON:be:named she  
 Her name is Kathryn (Sp. *Catarina*).

(See also 7.24 and 7.41.)

With *ndúu*:

*ndúu-ń chó'kó*  
 COM:become-YOU:FAM:MS turkey:vulture  
 You became a turkey vulture.

A third person inanimate subject may be unexpressed if no specific pronoun corresponds to its gender class (see §5.4), as seen in the second sentence of the following pair.

*ndúté kúú té*  
 water CON:be it:LIQ  
 It is water.

*shá luchi kúú*  
 it:INAN small:SG CON:be  
 (It) is a small thing. *or* (It) is small.

This occasionally happens in intransitive sentences as well, especially in those that contain position verbs, which often have inanimate subjects.

**1.1.6 Stative sentences.** Stative sentences contain a stative verb and may contain another verb as well. The minimal form of a stative sentence consists of a stative verb and its subject. All such sentences are continuative in meaning.

*kánhnú tí*  
 big:SG it:AML  
 The animal is big.

*kánhnú ñá*  
 big:SG she  
 She is fat.

*nyí ñá*  
 very:old she  
 She is very old.

*kaní dú'hán tí*  
 long:SG tail its:AML  
 Its tail is long.

*kwishí shí'tí tí*  
 white stomach its:AML  
 Its underside is white.

(See also 7.33.)

Occasionally a stative verb is used as the predicate of an impersonal sentence, in which case no subject occurs.

*kándá*  
 visible  
 (It) is light.

An equative or content verb is sometimes used to link the stative verb to its subject. These verbs are *kúú* 'to be', *káá* 'to appear', and rarely *íó* 'to exist'. The verb *kúú* tends to convey an intrinsic quality, whereas *káá* tends to convey an external attribute. Many stative verbs, however, conventionally select one, rather than the other.

*vá'há kúú ñá*  
 good CON:be she  
 She is pretty.

*ndahú kúú-s*  
 poor CON:be-he:MS  
 He is poor.

*vilí káá tá*  
 pretty CON:appear it:flower  
 It (the flower) is pretty.

*vilí káá*  
 pretty CON:appear  
 (It) is pretty.

*tukú káá té*  
 different CON:appear he:ws  
 He is different (not the same one).

*kwihá káá-s*  
 ugly CON:appear-he:MS  
 He is ugly.

*ndóó káá ñá*  
 clean CON:appear she  
 She is clean.

In a few cases, a stative verb can occur with any of the three content or equative verbs with no apparent meaning difference.

*kánhnú kúú tá*  
 big:SG CON:be it:flower  
 It (the flower) is big.

*kánhnú káá tá*  
 big:SG CON:appear it:flower  
 It (the flower) is big.

*kánhnú íó tá*  
 big:SG CON:exist it:flower  
 It (the flower) is big.

When a stative verb occurs both with and without a content or equative verb, however, there are usually two distinct sense discriminations involved.

*vá 'há ñá*  
 good she  
 She is good. *or* She is kind.

*vá 'há kúú ñá*  
 good CON:be she  
 She is pretty.

*ndahú té*  
 poor he:ws  
 Poor thing! (lit. He [is] poor.)

*ndahú kúú té*  
 poor CON:be he:ws  
 He is poor.

*kánhnú té*  
 big:SG he:ws  
 He is fat.

*kánhnú kúú tá*  
 big:SG CON:be it:flower  
 It (the flower) is big.

At an earlier stage in the history of the language, the verb *kúú* could apparently precede the stative verb. At the present time, however, such forms have fused, creating derived intransitive verbs (see §5.1.1).

In order to express an aspect other than continuative, it is necessary to inflect the content or equative verb since stative verbs are not inflected for aspect.

*kánhnú n-káá tá*  
big:SG COM-appear it:flower  
It (the flower) was big.

*kánhnú n-kúú í*  
big:SG COM-be it:AML  
The animal was big.

*kánhnú kúkúú í*  
big:SG POT:be it:AML  
The animal will be big.

*kánhnú vásh kúú í*  
big:SG INC:come CON:be it:AML  
The animal is getting big.

The last example above has progressive aspect, formed by using the directional *vásh* (see §§2.1.2 and 5.1.2).

There are two transitive verbs, *shashí* 'to eat' and *shehén* 'to sniff', that have a second sense discrimination, in which they link a nonagentive subject with a stative verb.

*á'đí shash í*  
tasty CON:eat it:SPH  
They (the tamales) are delicious.

*vá'há shashí tí'lá*  
good CON:eat bread  
The bread tastes good.

*vilí shehén tá*  
pretty CON:sniff it:flower  
It (the flower) has a lovely perfume.

There is one further equative verb used in stative sentences, *ndúu* 'to become'.

*vá'há ndúu triú ñá*  
good COM:become wheat her  
Her wheat was good (a good crop).

Stative sentences occasionally occur with adjuncts. In the following example, a referent adjunct occurs, and the additive *ká* occurs in the verb phrase.

*duxún ká dá dá méé-ń*  
 tall ADD I:RES thus SPEC-YOU:RES  
 I'm taller than you.

**1.1.7 Peripheral elements.** All sentence types may indicate time and location. Peripheral location describes the setting of the entire predication and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements may be adverbs or adverb phrases (see §4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), prepositional phrases (see §4.3), or subordinate sentences (see §6.2). Peripheral elements follow subject, object, and adjuncts.

Time:

*n-tú'ú ká'á í'ńú*  
 COM-dawn metal six  
 Dawn was at six o'clock.

*n-sheé í ikú*  
 COM-arrive UN yesterday  
 He arrived yesterday.

*kíshí-s shá ńíni*  
 POT:COME-he:MS it:INAN late  
 He will come in the afternoon.

*n-kahndí tí ká'á kó'ón*  
 COM-explode it:AML metal four  
 They (the "fire bulls") went off at four o'clock.

*néhé dá íí yarné'shí*  
 CON:carry I:RES candle Friday  
 I took candles (to the church) on Fridays (Sp. *viernes*).

*ńá nání'hí ńá ndí'yé ndé vítná*  
 NEG CON:find she corpse until now  
 She still hasn't found the body.



## Location:

*kídá tníú dá yúkú*  
 CON:do work I:RES mountain  
 I work in the mountain fields.

*tiú té shí'tí véñu'hú*  
 CON:play:instrument he:ws stomach church  
 They are playing inside the church.

*kídá vá'há té véhé té átóxón*  
 CON:do good he:ws house his:ws Nochixtlán  
 He is building his house in Nochixtlán.

*kídá tníú té vétniu*  
 CON:do work he:ws town:hall  
 He is working at the town hall.

(See also 7.31 and 7.68.)

Even though manner is usually expressed in the verb phrase (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3), a peripheral manner sometimes occurs. The word that most frequently serves in this function is the general quantifier *ítáhú* 'a little'. When *ítáhú* occurs with an intensifier, it loses its basic meaning and serves to further intensify the intensifier.

*shánhnú ká í ítáhú*  
 CON:be:mature ADD UN a:little  
 She is a little older.

*yó ví'shí ítáhú*  
 INTS cold a:little  
 It's cold!

The following sentences show various combinations of peripheral elements and adjuncts.

*nditó yá vítná ándiu*  
 CON:be:alive DEI now heaven  
 He is alive now in heaven.

*kutuú í véhé í shíhín fámiliá í k'í: vakasioón*  
 POT:be UN house UN with family UN day vacation  
 He will be at home with his family (Sp. *familia*) during his vacation (Sp. *vacación*).

*n-kinéhé ñáha í shíhín kúrushi íchí ní'ú*  
 COM-take:out KNO UN with cross road middle:of:night  
 They took it (the image) and the cross (Sp. *cruz*) out to the road at  
 midnight.

**1.1.8 Focus permutations.** In appropriate discourse contexts, one, or occasionally two, elements (subject, object, adjunct, or peripheral element) may be focused by permuting them to pre-verb-phrase position. Focus position is used to introduce new material into the discourse. If the subject of an equative sentence is focused, the nominal complement is moved to a position immediately following the verb. Throughout this sketch focused elements are indicated by CAPITALIZATION in the free translation.

Subject focus:

*ḏá'hyá kwechí ḏá yó ká kuhú*  
 child small:PL my:RES INTS PL sick  
 MY LITTLE CHILDREN are very sick.

*mée ñá n-kí'kú ḏí'ó ñá*  
 SPEC she COM-sew skirt her  
 SHE HERSELF made her skirt.

*ḏá'hyá ḏá n-sheén tá ndé ñúkóhyo*  
 child my:RES COM-buy it:flower until Mexico:City  
 MY DAUGHTER bought them (the flowers) in Mexico City.

*nlí'pé n-túndaha telegramá nú'ú ḏí'hé í*  
 Philip:WS COM-send telegram face mother UN  
 PHILIP sent a telegram to his mother.

*bruxú yíhí shí'tí-ń*  
 witch CON:be:in stomach-your:FAM:MS  
 You are sick BECAUSE OF A CURSE. (lit. A WITCH [Sp. *brujo*] is in your stomach.)

*nú'ní yá'hú ú'shí peshú*  
 corn CON:cost ten peso  
 CORN costs ten pesos.

*nshú'á n-shehen nú'ndúa shíhín róber'tó*  
 John:WS COM-go Oaxaca:City with Robert  
 JOHN went to Oaxaca City with Robert.

*méé dá kídá vá'há véhé shíhín ñá'ní dá*  
 SPEC I:RES CON:do good house with brother:ME my:RES  
 I am building the house with my brother.

*ḁañá nání sélí'á*  
 I:RES CON:be:named Celia  
 MY name is Celia (Sp. *Celia*).

*méé té kúú ḁú'tú*  
 SPEC he:WS CON:be priest  
 HE is the priest.

(See also 7.25, 7.49, 7.60, and 7.62.)

### Object focus:

*tríú chídyúú ró*  
 wheat CON:pound we:IN  
 We are pounding out THE WHEAT.

*kwé'hé ngúú n-shó'dó té*  
 many bull COM-ride he:WS  
 They rode MANY BULLS.

*kwé'hé ḁí'tá téé dá*  
 many tortilla POT:cast I:RES  
 I will make MANY TORTILLAS.

*kúrushí néhé kantóór kampoón*  
 cross CON:carry cantor cemetery  
 The cantor (Sp. *cantor*) is carrying THE CROSS to the cemetery (Sp. *panteón?*).

*ḁn ḁn tndáku xán shiá'hán tḁ chíliḁáá kwechí*  
 one one worm that CON:give it:AML bird small:PL  
 The mother bird gives EACH OF THOSE WORMS to the baby birds.

*shínxán xwétniu ró ñíhí*  
 that:thing POT:use we:IN sweatbath  
 We will use THAT (BUCKET) in the sweatbath.

### Locative adjunct focus:

*ínxán n-sheé níú*  
 over:there COM-arrive Christ:child  
 The Christ child (Sp. *niño*) arrived OVER THERE.

*yěñu 'hú xwándíshí té shíhín noviá*  
 church:door INC:return:coming he:ws with bride  
 He and his bride (Sp. *novia*) return TO THE DOOR OF THE CHURCH.

*kahá tótó yí'hí í*  
 hip boulder CON:be:in it:AML  
 It (the lizard) lives UNDER THE BIG ROCK.

*ñíhí n-ká'ú-ń*  
 sweatbath COM-enter-you:RES  
 You entered THE SWEATBATH.

*shúká íó-ń*  
 far CON:exist-you:RES  
 You live FAR AWAY.

*ndaá yá ndúkútú í'tá*  
 all DEI CON:become:tied flower  
 The flowers are tied to ALL THE CROSSES.

#### Indirect object focus:

*fámiliá ñá n-shiá'hán ñá í'tá*  
 family her COM-give she flower  
 She gave flowers TO HER FAMILY.

#### Instrument adjunct focus:

*yú'chí shanhní nshú'á ngútú*  
 knife CON:kill John:ws bull  
 John kills the bull WITH A KNIFE.

*ká'á káchí sú'á tútnú*  
 axe CON:chop John:MS firewood  
 John is chopping firewood WITH AN AXE.

*yóhó dú'kú ró ndáha í*  
 rope POT:tie we:IN hand its:AML  
 We'll tie its hoofs WITH ROPE.

*tnúshū xátnáhá té*  
 gun CON:fight he:ws  
 They are fighting WITH GUNS.

*shínxán kée ñn dún'hnú*  
 that:thing CON:leave one shirt  
 One shirt will be made WITH THAT (PIECE OF CLOTH).

## Referent adjunct focus:

*shá shé'hé ró n-yá'há yá pasioón*  
 CMP foot US:IN COM-pass DEI passion  
 He suffered (Sp. *pasión*) FOR US.

*shá shé'hé ñíhí n-sheé-ř shá kwaá*  
 CMP foot sweatbath COM-arrive-I:FAM it:INAN blind  
 I arrived at night BECAUSE OF THE SWEATBATH (I HAD TAKEN).

Focused associative adjunct does not occur. However, when at discourse level it is necessary to focus what would ordinarily be the associative adjunct, subject and associative adjunct are reversed; the associative adjunct becomes the focused subject and the subject becomes the associative adjunct. In the discourses from which the following sentences were taken, the topic of the first discourse is I, and the topic of the second discourse is he, but they appear as associative adjuncts rather than as subjects.

*ó'hón mushú dá kídá níú shíhín dá*  
 five hired:hand my:RES CON:do work with me:RES  
 MY FIVE HIRED HANDS work with me.

*radiú ínxán xé'hín shíhín té*  
 radio over:there POT:go with him:ws  
 THAT RADIO (Sp. *radio*) will go with him. (The radio that he stole is to appear with him before the judge.)

Because both time and location are so important in paragraph and discourse linkage, both occur frequently in focus position.

## Location focus:

*nú'ú í'tú dá nátní dá ndí'chí*  
 face cornfield my:RES POT:grasp:again I:RES green:bean  
 I will harvest the green beans IN MY CORNFIELD. (The corn and beans and squash all grow together.)

*yútnú ínxán n-kídá vá'há chilidáá tá'ká té*  
 tree over:there COM-do good bird nest its:AML  
 The bird built her nest IN THE TREE OVER THERE.

(See also 7.52 and 7.70.)

## Time focus:

*vítaná n-shiní dá víkó*  
 now COM-see I:RES fiesta  
 NOW I have seen the fiesta.

*martéshí n-shó' dō té ngútú*  
 Tuesday COM-ride he:ws bull  
 TUESDAY (Sp. *martes*) they rode the bulls.

*shá kwaá kóó ngútú ñú'hú*  
 it:INAN blind POT:exist bull fire  
 AT NIGHT there will be fire bulls (men dancing with cane frameworks of fireworks resembling bulls).

*íkú n-shé xéhén ró tnú*  
 yesterday COM-go POT:carry we:IN it:WOD  
 YESTERDAY we brought it (the table) (back to the village).

*ká'á ú'shí dá'tné shá n-kúhínhni*  
 metal ten morning already COM-be:hot  
 AT TEN O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING it was already hot.

*ká'á shhú'ú n-kúhínhni ndehé*  
 metal twelve COM-be:hot strong  
 AT NOON it was exceedingly hot.

*ká'á ú'ní ká'á shá ñini ñá'tú ká ínhni*  
 metal three metal it:INAN late NEG ADD hot  
 AT THREE O'CLOCK it was no longer hot.

*dómingú kutuú ró ú'shá avrúíl*  
 Sunday POT:be we:IN seven April  
 SUNDAY (Sp. *domingo*) it will be the seventh of April (Sp. *abril*). (lit. SUNDAY we will be at the seventh of April.)

(See also 7.24 and 7.45.)

Note that, in the last example given, *ú'shá avrúíl* 'the seventh of April' is the locative adjunct of the verb *túú* 'to be', even though it refers to time.

Because of its use in paragraph linkage, location may occur twice in the same basic sentence, once in focus position and once in unfocused position.

*ínxán dákwahá í shkwelá*  
 over:there CON:learn UN school  
 THERE he is learning at school.

Occasionally two elements may be focused in a single basic sentence.

*ndaá país ndaá ñádihi kídá tnúú*  
 all country all woman CON:do work  
 IN ALL THE COUNTRY (Sp. *país*) ALL THE WOMEN WORK.

*yúú ú'shá peshú yá'hú*  
 palm:mat seven peso CON:COST  
 PALM MATS COST SEVEN PESOS.

(See also 7.42.)

It is possible to focus a subject more strongly by inserting a pause after the fronted subject and a coreferential clitic pronoun in the normal subject position.

*tkólinchí / ío tí*  
 lizard CON:exist it:AML  
 As for the lizard, it exists.

*mée té / néhé té pañú ñá*  
 SPEC he:WS CON:carry he:WS shawl her  
 As for him (the bridegroom), he brings (her) her shawl (Sp. *pañó*).

*dá'hyá dá / ñúnuú í tkáchi*  
 child my:RES CON:care:for UN sheep  
 As for my daughter, she herds the sheep.

It is also possible to focus any element more strongly by using a pause after the fronted constituent and the subordinate conjunction *chí* 'because' after the pause. In two of the following examples, all of which come from text material, more than a single basic sentence is included in order to provide a fuller context for this use of *chí*.

*mée dá / chí ndváha dá*  
 SPEC I:RES because CON:become:good I:RES  
 As for me, I am indeed fine again.

*ndaá k'ú káá ró // kó vtná / chí ñá'há*  
 all day POT:eat we:IN but now because NEG  
 EVERY DAY we will eat (meat) (after Lent). But NOW indeed not.

*ñá túú dí'tá vtná // kó tné'é / chí kóó*  
 NEG CON:be tortilla now but tomorrow because POT:exist  
 There aren't (any) tortillas now. But TOMORROW indeed there will be.

**1.1.9 Sentential complements.** Basic sentences occur both as subject complements and as object complements within other sentences, but object complements occur more frequently and with a greater number of verbs. Frequently object complements occur in indirect quotation sentences with verbs of speaking, hearing, thinking, knowing, feeling, or believing. They are often introduced by the prestressed inanimate pronoun *shá*, which functions as a complementizer.

*shání í'ní dá shá n-tnaá*  
 CON:stand insides I:RES CMP COM-quake  
 I think there was an earthquake.

*shání í'ní-ř shá kishí nshú'á*  
 CON:stand insides-I:FAM CMP POT:come John:ws  
 I think John will come.

*n-shiní-ř shá yó ndoñúhú tnuyú'tú yáú*  
 COM-see-you:RES CMP INTS CON:be:necessary stalk maguey  
 You have seen that the stalk of the maguey (century plant) is very useful.

*xahán í shá n-sheén í í'tá*  
 CON:speak UN CMP COM-buy UN flower  
 She says she bought the flowers.

*xahán ñá shá kwechí í*  
 CON:speak she CMP small:PL UN  
 She says they (the “earth-people”) are small.

Sometimes an object complement contains another object complement embedded within it.

*shání í'ní dá shá méé ñá shía'hán méé*  
 CON:stand insides I:RES CMP SPEC she CON:speak SPEC

*té shá má kishí ñá*  
 him:ws CMP NEG POT:come she

I think SHE is telling him that she won't come.

When the object complement occurs with a set of verbs that includes *xwíní* ‘to want’, *kishehé* ‘to begin’, *kwahá* ‘to be able’, or *kunú* ‘to want’ (restricted to occurrence with *kí'dí* ‘to sleep’), the verb within the complement must be in potential aspect. All of these verbs except *xwíní* require that the subject of the complement sentence be coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence.



*xwíni dá shá kááá dá ñn mishá*  
 CON:want I:RES CMP POT:do I:RES one mass  
 I want to have a mass (Sp. *misa*) said.

*xwíni dá shá kú-ń*  
 CON:want I:RES CMP POT:come-you:RES  
 I want you to come.

*n-kishehé té shá kááá vá'há té véhé*  
 COM-begin he:ws CMP POT:do good he:ws house  
 He began to build the house.

*ñá kwahá dá shá xahán dá*  
 NEG CON:be:able I:RES CMP POT:speak I:RES  
 I am not able to speak.

*kunú-ř shá kí'dí-ř*  
 CON:want-I:FAM CMP POT:sleep-I:FAM  
 I want to go to sleep.

With at least one main verb, *xwíni* 'to want', a construction is possible in which a single noun phrase follows either *xwíni* or the main verb and serves as subject of both.

*ñá xwíni káhní ndí'kó ñáha*  
 NEG CON:want fever POT:leave KNO  
 She still has a fever. (lit. The fever doesn't want to leave someone.)

*ñá xwíni táhú yú'ú dé*  
 NEG CON:want POT:break rock that  
 That rock won't break. (lit. That rock doesn't want to break.)

Sentences containing object complements show three distinct kinds of focus. First, it is possible to focus an element within the complement sentence itself.

*n-tekú tnú'hú-ř shá ikú n-kíshí nshú'á*  
 COM-hear word-I:FAM CMP yesterday COM-come John:ws  
 I heard that YESTERDAY John came.

It is also possible to focus an element other than the object complement in the matrix sentence.

*méé ñá shíhín yí ñá shíhín tadi'dó ñá /*  
 SPEC she with husband her with father:in:law her

*nahá té shá n-tní ñá radiú*  
 CON:know he:ws CMP COM-grasp she radio

As for her and her husband and her father-in-law, they know that she took the radio.

*íkú n-tekú tnú'hú-ř shá n-kíshí nshú'á*  
 yesterday COM-hear word-I:FAM CMP COM-come John:ws  
 YESTERDAY I heard that John came.

Note that these devices serve to eliminate the ambiguity in sentences like the following.

*n-tekú tnú'hú-ř shá n-kíshí nshú'á íkú*  
 COM-hear word-I:FAM CMP COM-come John:ws yesterday  
 I heard that John came yesterday. *or* I heard yesterday that John came.

The third kind of focus, which is rare, is to front the entire complement sentence, in which case the complementizer is deleted.

*káshí tē chú'ún xwíní tē*  
 POT:eat it:AML chicken CON:want it:AML  
 It (the coyote) wants TO EAT THE CHICKENS.

When an equative sentence serves as an object complement, the order of elements is usually verb—subject—nominal complement rather than nominal complement—verb—subject (see §1.1.5 above).

*ñá'ú tnáhíní tá'á ñá shá kúú ñá ñadú'hú*  
 NEG CON:be:pleased father her CMP CON:be she thief  
 Her father is not pleased that she is a thief.

Subject complements occur most frequently in stative sentences; the complementizer always occurs.

*vá'há shá n-shehén nshú'á*  
 good CMP COM-go John:ws  
 It is good that John went.

*vá'há n-kúú shá n-ké'ú-ř ñéhé*  
 good COM-be CMP COM-enter-I:FAM sweatbath  
 It's good that I took a sweatbath.

*ndá'á shá ñúhú ñú'ú kúú*  
 true CMP land town CON:be  
 It's true that (it) is town land.

*ñá'tú ú'hú shá káđá vá'há ró tí'lá triú*  
 NEG bad CMP POT:do good we:IN bread wheat  
 It's not difficult to make bread.

Subject complements also occur with several intransitive verbs, including *kíshehé* 'to begin', *ndíhi* 'to be finished', *ndoñúhú* 'to be necessary', and *kwahá* 'to be possible'. No complementizer occurs except with *ndoñúhú*.

*ndíhi shahndé đá*  
 CON:be:finished CON:cut I:RES  
 I've finished harvesting.

*ndíhi n-kúndoo*  
 CON:be:finished COM-be:clean  
 (It [the wheat]) has been threshed well.

*ká'á ú'shí đá'tné n-kíshehé sháshí'áhán kwé'hé đá'hyá*  
 metal ten morning COM-begin CON:hurt sickness child  
 AT TEN O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING labor began.

*ndoñúhú shá ká'đí ñá ndá'kú nú'ú yó'đó*  
 CON:be:necessary CMP POT:grind she dough face metate  
 She has to grind the dough on a metate.

*ñá kwahá kúndéhá ró tú'tú*  
 NEG CON:be:possible POT:look:at we:IN paper  
 It is not possible for us to look at the paper.

Occasionally an element of the complement sentence is focused within its own sentence.

*ndíhi tí'lá káhya ká'á ú'shí ñn*  
 CON:be:finished bread CON:be:toasted metal ten one  
 At eleven o'clock THE BREAD will finish baking.

## 1.2 Questions

There are three types of questions: YES/NO questions, WH questions, and indirect questions.

**1.2.1 YES/NO questions.** Any basic sentence may be made into a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative marker *á* at the end of the sentence (*ú* is used instead of *á* following a word ending in *a*).<sup>2</sup>

*n-tnaá ú*  
COM-quake INT  
Was there an earthquake?

*kíshí té á*  
POT:come he:WS INT  
Is he coming?

*ni 'hí-ń á*  
COM:gain-you:FAM:MS INT  
Did you get it?

*kásh ká-ń í á*  
POT:eat ADD-you:FAM:MS it:SPH INT  
Will you eat another one (prickly pear fruit)?

*í 'ná kúú-t á*  
dog CON:be-it:AML INT  
Is it a dog?

*ndohó kúú ñadú 'hú á*  
YOU:FAM:MS CON:be thief INT  
Are you a thief?

*ndó 'yó á*  
CON:be:wet INT  
Is (it) wet?

*kánhnú ñá ú*  
big:SG she INT  
Is she fat?

*vá 'túka shá kádá ú 'hú ró-s á*  
right CMP POT:do bad we:IN-him:MS INT  
Is it right that we punish him?

<sup>2</sup>A YES/NO question is occasionally marked by a tone change, rather than by the use of *á* or *ú*, but a precise description of this change awaits further analysis. Furthermore, in alternative questions in which the second part consists simply of *á ñá 'há* 'or not', the *ú* is often omitted, as seen in the examples found in §6.1.1.

*sé yáhá, kúú-s dá'hyá-ń á*  
 he:MS here, CON:be-he:MS child-your:FAM:MS INT  
 As for this man, is he your son?

*mée-ń xahán shá ndááá*  
 SPEC-you:FAM:MS CON:speak CMP POT:do:again

*vá'há-ń nú'ú ú'ní ká'ú á*  
 good-you:FAM:MS face three day INT  
 Do you say you will build it again in three days?

*ká kitihí'ń-ń shá shé'hé tnú'hú-ř á*  
 PL CON:be:angry-you:FAM:MS CMP foot word-my:FAM INT  
 Are you angry because of what I said?

*n-shíá'hán řn ñá'yú shá n-shásh yá ú*  
 COM-give one people it:INAN COM-eat DEI INT  
 Did someone give him something to eat?

*xwíni-ń shá ndváha-ń á*  
 CON:want-you:FAM:MS CMP POT:become:good-you:FAM:MS INT  
 Do you want to be well again?

(See also 7.12, 7.18, and 7.21.)

**1.2.2 WH questions.** Any element of a sentence may be questioned by using an appropriate interrogative pronoun, adverb, or noun phrase (see §§5.4, 5.5, and 3.4) in focus position. Occasionally the interrogative marker *ú* used on YES/NO questions occurs together with an interrogative word or phrase.

The interrogative pronoun *xú'ndú* 'who?' is used alone to question subject or object. Sentences in which the object is questioned are invariably ambiguous; they also have a reading in which the subject is questioned.

Questioning subject:

*xú'ndú kishí*  
 who POT:come  
 Who is coming?

*xú'ndú kúú presidenté*  
 who CON:be president  
 Who is the town president (Sp. *presidente*)?

*xú'ndú xwáhán shíhín t'í*  
 who INC:go with it:AML  
 Who went with the animals?

*xú'ndú shánhnú ká*  
 who CON:be:mature ADD  
 Who is older?

*xú'ndú kwahá shá kádá í*  
 who CON:be:able CMP POT:do UN  
 Who is able to do (it)?

*xú'ndú n-tashnuni shá kídá-ń sháhá*  
 who COM-rule CMP CON:do-you:RES this:thing  
 Who told you to do this?

#### Questioning object:

*xú'ndú n-shanhni nshú'á*  
 who COM-kill John:ws  
 Whom did John kill? *or* Who killed John?

To question human adjuncts, *xú'ndú* is used together with a following preposition or locative noun.

*xú'ndú shíhín xí'hín-ń*  
 who with POT:go-you:RES  
 With whom are you going?

*xú'ndú nú'ú n-shiá'hán té í'tá dé*  
 who face COM-give he:ws flower that  
 To whom did he give those flowers?

*xú'ndú nú'ú xí'hín kóyó dá*  
 who face POT:go PL I:RES  
 To whom shall we go?

The interrogative pronoun *násh* 'what?' is used to question subject, object, or nominal complement.

#### Questioning subject:

*násh n-kúú*  
 what COM-be  
 What happened?

## Questioning object:

*násh kááá ró vítná*  
 what POT:do we:IN now  
 What shall we do now?

*násh nêhé sú 'á*  
 what CON:carry John:MS  
 What is John carrying?

*násh xwéén-ń tné 'é*  
 what POT:buy-you:RES tomorrow  
 What will you buy tomorrow?

*násh xahán-ń shá shé 'hê-ń*  
 what CON:speak-you:FAM:MS CMP foot-your:FAM:MS  
 What do you have to say for yourself?

(See also 7.9, 7.31, and 7.41.)

## Questioning nominal complement:

*násh kúú sháhá*  
 what CON:be this:thing  
 What is this?

*násh nání-ń*  
 what CON:be:named-you:RES  
 What is your name?

*násh kúú shá ndó 'yó xán*  
 what CON:be it:INAN CON:be:wet that  
 What is that wet thing?

(See also 7.9.)

The interrogative pronoun *ndásh* 'which one?' is used alone to question a noun phrase, which is usually the object.

*ndásh xwíni-ń*  
 which:one CON:want-you:RES  
 Which one do you want?

The interrogative adverb *ná 'ndá* 'how?' questions a stative verb; it also questions the nominal complement of *nání* 'to be named' when its subject is inanimate.

*ná'ndá kúú ánú-ń*  
 how CON:be heart-your:RES  
 How are you (Sp. *ánima*)?

*ná'ndá nání ñú'ú-ń*  
 how CON:be:named town-your:RES  
 What is the name of your town?

The interrogative adverb *ndeshú* or *ndé* 'where?' is used to question locative adjunct and peripheral location.

*ndeshú vá'shí*  
 where INC:come  
 Where is (it) coming from?

*ndeshú xé'hín*  
 where POT:go  
 Where is (it) going?

*ndé xwáhán té*  
 where INC:go he:WS  
 Where did he go?

*ndé íó*  
 where CON:exist  
 Where is (it)?

*ndé íó-n ú*  
 where CON:exist-you:FAM:MS INT  
 Where do you live?

*ndé íó-s*  
 where CON:exist-he:MS  
 Where does he live?

*ndeshú túú-s*  
 where CON:be-he:MS  
 Where is he?

*ndeshú tavá-ń ndúté vá'há xán*  
 where CON:draw:out-you:FAM:MS water good that  
 Where did you get that good water?

*ndeshú n-đákwhá sé yáhá ndáá sháhá*  
 where COM-learn he:MS here all this:thing  
 Where did this man learn all these things?



*ndeshú xwíni-ń shá xé'hín kóyó dá*  
 where CON:want-you:RES CMP POT:go PL I:RES  
 Where do you want us to go?

Interrogative noun phrases such as *ná k'é'ú* and *ná orá* (Sp. *hora*), both of which mean 'when?', are used to question peripheral time.

*ná k'é'ú nú'hú té*  
 what day POT:return:going he:ws  
 When will he go back?

*ná k'é'ú n-tekú-ř shá n-kíshí nshú'á*  
 what day COM-hear-I:FAM CMP COM-come John:ws  
 When did I hear that John came? *or* I heard that John came when?

*ná orá xé'hín-ń*  
 what hour POT:go-you:RES  
 What time are you going?

*ná k'é'ú n-tnaá ú*  
 what day COM-quake INT  
 When was the earthquake?

(See also 7.34.)

The interrogative adverbs *núda* or *nú* 'why?' and the interrogative noun phrase *ná kwendá* 'why?' question referent adjuncts and subordinate cause and purpose sentences (see §6.2.1).

*nú n-sheé ún*  
 why COM-arrive you:FAM:WS  
 Why have you come?

*núda xúún ní'ńé ún*  
 why CON:be:produced blood your:FAM:WS  
 Why are you bleeding?

*nú ñá xahán-n ú*  
 why NEG CON:speak-you:FAM:MS INT  
 Why won't you talk to me?

*ná kwendá néhé nshú'á ndúté*  
 what account CON:carry John:ws water  
 For whom (Sp. *cuenta*) is John carrying water? *or* Why is John carrying water?

(See also 7.10 and 7.15.)

An equative structure containing the sequence *násh kúú shá* is also used to question referent adjuncts and subordinate cause and purpose sentences. This construction is also used to express displeasure.

*násh kúú shá ndó'yó*  
 what CON:be CMP CON:be:wet  
 Why is (it) wet? (annoyed)

*násh kúú shá kásh ñáha-ń*  
 what CON:be CMP POT:eat KNO-you:FAM:MS  
 What do you mean you're going to eat me?

(See also 7.10 and 7.51.)

Sometimes both an interrogative and another element are focused in the same sentence.

*núda ruhú ñá n-shí'áu*  
 why I:FAM NEG COM-be:tired  
 Why is it that I am not tired?

(See also 7.15.)

**1.2.3 Indirect questions.** Any WH question may occur as the object complement with verbs of speaking, knowing, seeing, or hearing. When an interrogative word introduces the object complement, the complementizer *shá* does not occur.

*shíní dá xú'ndú vá'shí*  
 CON:see I:RES who INC:come  
 I know who is coming.

*shíní da xú'ndú kúú ñá'yíu vá'shí*  
 CON:see I:RES who CON:be people INC:come  
 I know who the person is who is coming.

*n-tekú dá násh n-xahán té*  
 COM-hear I:RES what COM-speak he:ws  
 I heard what he said.

*kúndéhá ró násh íó*  
 POT:look:at we:IN what CON:exist  
 We will see what there is.

*shíní dá násh kídá í*  
 CON:see I:RES what CON:do UN  
 I know what she is doing.

*ñá shini dá nash kúú*  
 NEG CON:see I:RES what CON:be  
 I don't know what it is.

*ñá shini dá ná kwé'hé tnahá ñá*  
 NEG CON:see I:RES what sickness CON:struggle she  
 I don't know what illness she has.

*ñá shini dá ná kwendá n-kidá í*  
 NEG CON:see I:RES what account COM-do UN  
 I don't know why he did it.

*nahá dá nash kúú shá xwáhán í*  
 CON:know I:RES what CON:be CMP INC:go UN  
 I know why he went away.

*shini dá ndeshú xwáhán í*  
 CON:see I:RES where INC:go UN  
 I know where he went.

Indirect disjunctive questions may be expressed by means of a sentence combination (see §6.1.1).

### 1.3 Commands

Any basic sentence type except impersonal may be made into a command.

To form a second person familiar positive command, a basic sentence with its verb in potential aspect and no subject is used.

*ndónéhé ñáha*  
 POT:raise KNO  
 Lift me up!

*chití'yí shé'hé-í*  
 POT:double:up foot-my:FAM  
 Bend my knees!

*kwedí-t yerú vítná*  
 POT:press-it:AML iron now  
 Brand it with the iron (Sp. *hierro*) now!

*kúndehá kóyó*  
 POT:look:at PL  
 All of you look!

To form a second person respect command, the subject pronoun is expressed.

*táá-ń*                    *livrú*  
 POT:give-you:RES    book  
 Give (me) the book!

*káá-ń*                    *favoór*  
 POT:do-you:RES    favor  
 Please (Sp. *favor*) do (it)!

A few verbs take the imperative prefix *tá-* (see §5.1.2).

*tákáne*  
 IMP:POT:get:out  
 Get out!

*tánúú*                    *vítná*  
 IMP:POT:descend    now  
 Get down now!

A few verbs have an imperative form that is entirely distinct from the potential aspect of the verb.

*né'hé*  
 IMP:come  
 Come here!

*xwán nahí*  
 IMP:GO INTENT  
 Go on!

*xúhún*    *ndátníú-ń*                    *yá*  
 IMP:take    utensil-your:RES    this  
 Take these things of yours.

A more subtle command is formed by using *íó shá* 'exists that' before a basic sentence with its verb in potential aspect. One of the special imperative verb forms may also be used. In this construction *íó* is the main verb and *shá* introduces a subject complement; *íó shá* is very similar to Spanish *hay que* and may be a loan translation from it.

*íó*                    *shá*    *xí'hín-ń*                    *vítná*  
 CON:exist    CMP    POT:go-you:RES    now  
 You must go now!

*íó*                    *shá*    *xwán*    *nú'hú*                    *ún*                    *vítná*  
 CON:exist    CMP    IMP:go    POT:return:going    you:FAM:WS    now  
 You must go home now!

*íó shá kúníni-ń*  
 CON:exist CMP POT:listen-YOU:FAM:MS  
 You must listen!

To express a negative command, the negative hortatory marker *mash 'kú* precedes the verb. The familiar second person pronoun *ún* 'you (familiar, woman speaking)' does not occur, but the other second person pronouns do.

*mash 'kú ďándoó ñáha*  
 NEG:HORT POT:leave KNO  
 Don't leave me!

*mash 'kú káďá kóyó ká-ń*  
 NEG:HORT POT:do PL ADD-YOU:FAM:MS  
 Don't do that anymore!

First and third person commands are formed by using the hortatory *ná* or the negative hortatory *mash 'kú* with the potential aspect of the verb.

*ná ďáke 'é-ř yúhu-ń*  
 HORT POT:put:in-I:FAM mouth-YOUR:FAM:MS  
 Let me put it in your mouth! (said rabbit to coyote).

*ná n ká 'á-ř ďé 'kí-ń*  
 HORT POT:go POT:climb-I:FAM head-YOUR:FAM:MS  
 Let me climb up on your head! (said cricket to deer).

*ná xín ndukú-ř shá káá-ř*  
 HORT POT:go POT:look:for-I:FAM it:INAN POT:eat-I:FAM  
 Let me go look for something to eat!

*ná xé 'hín ró*  
 HORT POT:go WE:IN  
 Let's go!

*vítná yóhó ná ďúkú ró ndáhá tí*  
 NOW rope HORT POT:tie WE:IN hand its:AML  
 NOW let's tie its hoofs WITH ROPE!

*ná kúndoo triú*  
 HORT POT:be:clean wheat  
 Let the wheat be clean (from winnowing)!

*ná kundi 'xún vá 'há tí*  
 HORT POT:be:tied good it:AML  
 Let them (the mules and burros) be well tied!

*ná káshí kítí*  
 HORT POT:eat animal  
 Let the animals eat!

*mash 'kú xwéén ró dí'tá*  
 NEG:HORT POT:buy we:IN tortilla  
 Let's not buy tortillas!

*mash 'kú kishí dá'ú ndehé*  
 NEG:HORT POT:come rain strong  
 May the heavy rains not come!

(See also 7.38, 7.67, 7.74, and 7.76.)

A command may occur as the object complement of certain verbs.

*mée té shiá'hán shá ná kú'ú dá'hyá té*  
 SPEC he:WS CON:speak CMP HORT POT:die child his:WS  
 HE says let his child die!

#### 1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur sentence initial, sentence final, and occasionally between major constituents of a complex sentence. They are separated from the rest of the sentence by pause.

*yekó / nash kidá-n ú*  
 Yeco what CON:do-you:FAM:MS INT  
 Yeco (mythical opossum), what are you doing?

*sí'nú / ná'dá díkó-ń dé'hén*  
 Tino:MS how:much CON:sell-you:FAM:MS grease  
 Tino, how much do you sell lard for?

*kádá-ń favoór / dí'dí*  
 POT:do-you:RES favor aunt  
 Please do (it), ma'am!

*víná ndó'ó-ń / ná'ná*  
 NOW POT:stay-you:RES Mama  
 NOW you will stay here, Mama (said the sun and moon to the spirit of the sweatbath).

*ndé ío-ń / dí'dí*  
 where CON:exist-you:RES aunt  
 Where do you live, ma'am?

*násh kíáá-n*                      *ú / í'đú*  
 what CON:DO-YOU:FAM:MS INT deer  
 What are you doing, deer? (mythical)

*mash 'kú ndú 'híni-ń*                      / *ná 'ná / shá kuhú-ń*  
 NEG:HORT POT:be:anxious-you:RES Mama CMP CON:be:sick-you:RES  
 Don't be anxious, Mama, that you're sick (said the sun and moon to  
 the spirit of the sweatbath).

(See also 7.9, 7.31, and 7.74.)

An initial vocative is occasionally doubled.

*shákwe'e / shákwe'e / né'hé né'hé*  
 Shakwee Shakwee IMP:COME IMP:COME  
 Shakwee, Shakwee (name of mythical deer), come, come!

### 1.5 Sentential Markers

The interrogative marker *á* occurs at the end of any basic sentence and converts it into a YES/NO question; see §1.2.1 for examples. When a vocative occurs at the end of a YES/NO question, it follows the interrogative marker.

*túú-ń*                      *á / dí'dí*  
 CON:be-you:RES INT aunt  
 Are you at home, ma'am?

The solidarity marker *ví* occurs at the end of statements in potential aspect; it indicates either a suggestion or agreement with someone else's suggestion.

*xí'hín ró*                      *ví*  
 POT:GO we:IN SOLIDARITY  
 We'll go then (said the deer to the cricket in agreement).

*kátá-ń*                      *ví*  
 POT:sing-you:FAM:MS SOLIDARITY  
 You sing then (suggested the deer to the cricket).

*ná*    *xí'hín ró*                      *nú'ú n-shítá-ń*  
 HORT POT:GO we:IN face COM-sing-you:FAM:MS

*xán*                      *ví*  
 over:there SOLIDARITY  
 Let's go over there where you sang then (suggested the cricket to  
 the deer).

The quotative marker *né* occurs at the end of statements, questions, and commands that repeat something that someone else has just said. When it occurs with YES/NO questions, it follows the interrogative marker.

*yá'hú tnú ó'hón peshú né*  
 CON:cost it:WOD five peso QUOTATIVE  
 It (the chair) costs five pesos, (she) says.

*íó tuhá-ñ á né*  
 CON:exist ready-you:RES INT QUOTATIVE  
 Are you ready? (she) says.

*kíi-ñ semaná / xí'hín ró né*  
 POT:come-you:RES week POT:go we:IN QUOTATIVE  
 Come in a week (Sp. *semana*), (and) we will go, (he) says.



## 2

# Verb Phrases

### 2.1 Content Verb Phrases

Content verb phrases consist of a nucleus, eight optional preverbal elements, and seven optional postverbal elements.

**2.1.1 Verb nuclei.** Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are idioms composed of a verb plus a modifying word, which may be a noun, a content verb, a stative verb, a general adverb, a locative adverb, an idiom, or a word whose class cannot be determined.

A simple nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect. In the examples given in this chapter, the part of each sentence not included in the verb phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

*tekū*        (*áá*)  
CON:hear (I:RES)  
(I) hear.

*ndutê*        (*i*)  
CON:disperse (UN)  
(The people) are dispersing.

*shashī*      (*áá*)  
CON:eat (I:RES)  
(I) eat.

*shuhā* (ǎá)  
 CON:wipe (I:RES)  
 (I) wipe.

*ndoyô* (ǎá)  
 CON:get:wet (I:RES)  
 (I) get wet.

*xahân* (ǎá)  
 CON:speak (I:RES)  
 (I) speak.

*nihî* (ǎá)  
 CON:receive (I:RES)  
 (I) receive.

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a noun. The noun is often the logical direct object, but it may also correspond to some other role, such as a locative adjunct.

*kidā* *tníu* (ǎá)  
 CON:do work (I:RES)  
 (I) work.

*tnî* *ndáhá* (ǎá)  
 CON:take hand (I:RES)  
 (I) shake hands.

*xahân* *ǎóho* (ǎá)  
 CON:speak ear (I:RES)  
 (I) exhort.

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by another verb; both verbs may undergo a tone change as part of the process of idiom formation.

*shaxân* *kidî* (ǎá)  
 CON:lay sleep (I:RES)  
 (I) lay (somebody) down. (cf. *shaxân* 'CON:lay', *kidî* 'POT:sleep')

*nêhê* *tnî* (ǎá)  
 CON:carry take (I:RES)  
 (I) carry on the custom. (cf. *nêhê* 'CON:carry', *tnî* 'POT:take')

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

*kidā adí (da)*  
 CON:make tasty (I:RES)  
 (I) make tasty.

*nēhē túhâ (da)*  
 CON:carry prepared (I:RES)  
 (I) carry something extra in case of need.

*ñinī kwū*  
 CON:be:late green  
 (It) becomes dark.

*shinō kúdí (ñá)*  
 CON:run:away lazy (she)  
 (She) runs away from work.

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

*kanā shiün (ñá)*  
 CON:cry:out in:pain (she)  
 (She) cries out in pain.

*shashī ndēē (ñá)*  
 CON:eat around:the:edges (she)  
 (She) eats while walking.

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

*tnaā níhnó (dá)*  
 CON:twist within (I:RES)  
 (I) knead.

*shitō nihni (da ñá)*  
 CON:examine inside (I:RES her)  
 (I) visit (her).

*ḍakā níhnó (dá)*  
 CON:mix within (I:RES)  
 (I) mix (something inside something with an opening at the top).

A verb-plus-idiom nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by two or more words with a lexically specialized meaning. Only one example has been found to date; it requires a plural subject.

*kiḏā ïn núú (ro)*  
 CON:do one face (we:IN)  
 (We) do the same thing.

A verb-plus-indeterminate-element nucleus consists of a verb followed by a word whose meaning is not known. Because these words occur in only a few frozen forms, it is not possible to determine their meanings.

*ḏakā yuhâ (ḏa)*  
 CON:cause:to:open ? (I:RES)  
 (I) yawn.

**2.1.2 Preverbal elements.** There are eight orders of preverbal elements; from the nucleus out they are: directional, habitual, plural, completive aspect, truth value, hortatory, manner, and temporal.

There are four directionals, which are reduced forms of four verbs of motion and arrival. Three of these verbs occur in a variety of aspect forms. They indicate movement in relation to a base. A fuller description of these verbs and their function is found in Kuiper and Merrifield (1975) and in Macaulay (1985). Directionals occur only with the potential aspect form of the verb nucleus. Prefixes that help to signal potential aspect do not, however, occur following a directional (see §5.1.2). The following table lists the directionals, their meanings, the full forms of the motion verbs that served as sources for them, and their glosses.

Marker		Full form	
<i>ndi</i>	'will return'	<i>ndishi</i>	POT:return
<i>ndī</i>	'returns'	<i>ndishī</i>	CON:return
<i>ndí</i>	'returned'	<i>ndishi</i>	COM:return
<i>xín</i> or <i>n</i>	'will go (away)'	<i>xîhîn</i>	POT:go
<i>shē</i>	'goes (and returns)'	<i>shéhên</i>	CON:go
<i>n-shé</i>	'went (and returned)'	<i>n-shéhên</i>	COM-go
<i>xwān</i>	'went (away)'	<i>xwâhân</i>	INC:go
<i>ki</i>	'will come (and go)'	<i>kishi</i>	POT:come
<i>kī</i>	'comes (and goes)'	<i>kishī</i>	CON:come
<i>n-kí</i>	'came (and went)'	<i>n-kishi</i>	COM-come
<i>vāsh</i>	'is coming'	<i>vâshî</i>	INC:come
<i>nú</i>	'will go home'	<i>núhû</i>	POT:go:home

All except *nú* occur as simple directionals; *nú* occurs only in compound directionals. The following examples show simple directionals used in sentences.

*ndī kotō (ñā chūún ñā)*  
 CON:return POT:examine (she chicken her)  
 (She) returns to look after (her chickens).

*ndí kata (ñā)*  
 COM:return POT:sing (she)  
 (She) returned to sing.

*xín néhe (đā tu'tu)*  
 POT:go POT:carry (I:RES paper)  
 (I) will go and take (the paper).

*n-she ndéhâ (đā)*  
 COM-go POT:look:at (I:RES)  
 (I) went to look at (it) and came back.

*xwān ndéhâ (ñā)*  
 INC:go POT:look:at (she)  
 (She) went to look at it.

*ki kwēkā ñáha(-s)*  
 CON:come POT:get KNO(-he:MS)  
 (He) comes to get someone.

*n-kí kutu (te itû)*  
 COM-come POT:plow (he:ws cornfield)  
 (He) came to plow (the cornfield) and returned.

(See also 7.2, 7.47, 7.67, and 7.69.)

Compare the reduced potential aspect form of 'to carry' and 'to look at' in the above examples with the full forms with prefixes.

*kanehe (đā tu'tu)*  
 POT:carry (I:RES paper)  
 (I) will carry (the paper).

*kundeha (đâ)*  
 POT:look:at (I:RES)  
 (I) will look at (it).

In addition to its directional meaning, *vāsh* 'is coming' has also developed the aspectual meaning 'progressive' when it occurs with some verb nuclei. In these verbs *vāsh* plus the potential aspect form expresses

progressive action, and the simple continuative form expresses only habitual action. The construction with *vāsh* is also used to signal continuative aspect in verbs that otherwise have homophonous potential and continuative forms.

*vāsh kwenhnu (ḍā)*  
 INC:COME POT:grow (I:RES)  
 (I) am growing.

*vāsh ndīhi (trū)*  
 INC:COME POT:finish (wheat)  
 (The wheat [Sp. *trigo*]) is being consumed.

*vāsh kútnunī ini (ḍá)*  
 INC:COME POT:be:marked insides (I:RES)  
 (I) am advancing in understanding.

The directional *xwān* ‘went’ (away) has developed the aspectual meaning ‘already begun’. It is used in this meaning only with verbs that refer to some kind of movement.

*xwān núu(-s)*  
 INC:go POT:descend:again(-he:MS)  
 (He) entered descending again (and is still inside).

*xwān ndīu(-s)*  
 INC:go POT:enter:again(-he:MS)  
 (He) entered again (and is still inside).

*xwān kââ(-s)*  
 INC:go POT:ascend(-he:MS)  
 (He) went up (and is still up).

In addition to the simple directionals already described there are also four kinds of compound directionals. The first kind contains a simple directional followed by *ndi*. These are: *ki ndī* and *vāsh ndī*. The second kind contains a directional based on the verb ‘to go’ followed by *nú*: *xān nu*, *she nu*, *n-shé nu*, and *xwān nū*. The third kind contains only *vāsh kí*. The fourth kind of compound directional has three parts; it consists of *vāsh kí ndī*. The directional that occurs farthest to the left carries the aspect; other directionals in the compound appear to be in potential aspect, but the aspect of the underlying form is often obscured by tone sandhi.

With directionals followed by *ndi*:

*ki ndī nehe (ñā kíđí da)*  
 POT:come POT:return POT:carry (she pot my:RES)  
 (She) will return and bring (my pot) back.

*ki ndī nakate (da dánhma)*  
 POT:come POT:return POT:wash (I:RES clothing)  
 (I) will come back and wash (clothes).

*vāsh ndí nehe (dá tu 'tu)*  
 INC:come POT:return POT:carry (I:RES paper)  
 (I) am coming and bringing (the paper) back.

*vāsh ndí kwíđo (ñā ndatníu ñā)*  
 INC:come POT:return POT:carry:on:back (she thing her)  
 (She) is coming back to get (her things).

*vāsh ndí kúshî(-s) dāhyá(-s)*  
 INC:come POT:return POT:bury(-he:MS child-his:MS)  
 (He) is returning to bury (his child).

With directionals followed by *nú*:

*xān nū néhe (da ndēyu vehe dá)*  
 POT:go POT:go:home POT:carry (I:RES food house my:RES)  
 (I) will go home to take (the food back).

*n-shé nu kíkû (ñā)*  
 COM-go POT:go:home POT:sew (she)  
 (She) went home to sew and returned.

*xwān nū káhnde (te triū te ñúú te)*  
 INC:go POT:go:home POT:cut (he:ws wheat his:ws town his:ws)  
 (He) went home (to his town) to cut (his wheat).

With *vāsh kí*:

*vāsh kí nēhe (da tu 'tu)*  
 INC:come POT:come POT:carry (I:RES paper)  
 (I) am coming to bring (the paper).

*vāsh kí koto nīhnī ñaha (dá)*  
 INC:come POT:come POT:examine inside KNO (I:RES)  
 (I) am coming to visit you.

*vāsh*      *kí*              *kachūnúhū*      *ñaha* (ǎá)  
 INC:COME POT:COME POT:inform KNO (I:RES)  
 (I) am coming to inform you.

With *vāsh kí ndī*:

*vāsh*      *kí*              *ndī*              *nēhe*      (*ǎa*      *tu 'tu*)  
 INC:COME POT:COME POT:return POT:carry (I:RES paper)  
 (I) am coming back to return (the paper).

*vāsh*      *kí*              *ndi*              *koto*              *nīhnī*      *ñaha* (ǎá)  
 INC:COME POT:COME POT:return POT:examine inside KNO (I:RES)  
 (I) am returning to visit you.

*vāsh*      *kí*              *ndi*              *kachūnúhū*      *ñaha* (ǎá)  
 INC:COME POT:COME POT:return POT:inform KNO (I:RES)  
 (I) am returning to let you know.

The second order of preverbal elements comprises the habitual markers: *sho* 'completive', *ku* 'potential', and *shko*, *sh*, or *shka* 'continuative'. The markers *sh* and *shka* are each restricted to a few distinct classes of verbs, and *shko* occurs with all other continuative verbs. All habitual markers except *sh* agree in aspect with the verb nuclei with which they occur; *sh* occurs with potential nuclei but has continuative meaning. Habitual can express either continuing or habitual action.

*n-shó*              *kikú* (ǎa)  
 COM-COM:HAB sew (I:RES)  
 (I) kept on sewing.

*kū*              *kaka* (ǎá)  
 POT:HAB POT:walk (I:RES)  
 (I) will walk habitually.

*shkó*      *tuū*              (ǎá)  
 CON:HAB CON:exist (I:RES)  
 (I) keep on being here.

*sh*              *kāndaha*              (ǎá      *tvīni*)  
 CON:HAB POT:be:in:charge:of (I:RES money)  
 (I) habitually am in charge of (the money).

*sh*              *kwinhnô* (*ǎa*      *ǎanhma* *kwe 'hé*)  
 CON:HAB POT:wear (I:RES clothing red)  
 (I) habitually wear (red clothing).



*sh kineē (ti nuu itu)*  
 CON:HAB POT:be:inside (it:AML face cornfield)  
 (The animal) is in (the cornfield) habitually.

*shká nehe (dá)*  
 CON:HAB CON:carry (I:RES)  
 (I) habitually carry (it).

The form *sho*, but not the potential or continuative habitual forms, may be repeated to put the action in a larger span of time.

*n-shó sho nēhe (te ití)*  
 COM-COM:HAB COM:HAB carry (he:ws candle)  
 (He) used to habitually carry (candles).

Also, *sho* has developed a use as a completive aspect marker with two classes of verbs (see §5.1.2).

The third order of preverbal elements comprises the plural markers *sh* (continuative) and *ka* (nonpotential), which pluralize the subject. *sh* occurs with verbs that mark potential with a prefix and with some verbs that show segmental changes for aspect. It is the appropriate plural only when no other prenuclear elements occur; *ka* occurs with verbs of all classes, but it occurs with verbs that can occur with *sh* only when other prenuclear elements occur.

*sh ndéha (dá)*  
 PL CON:look:at (I:RES)  
 (We) are looking at (it).

*sh yindushí(-s)*  
 PL CON:be:buried(-he:MS)  
 (They) are buried.

*kā shiitā (dá)*  
 PL CON:sing (I:RES)  
 (We) are singing.

*kā shéhên (ñā inxân)*  
 PL CON:go (she over:there)  
 (She) goes (over there).

*kā kishī (ñá)*  
 PL CON:come (she)  
 (She) comes.

If the subject is a series of nouns, the plural pluralizes each one, except for proper nouns.

*n-ká kahu* (*ñāđihê / téyü / đichī kwéchéi*)  
 COM-PL study (woman man child little:PL)  
 (Women, men, and children) studied.

*kā shūtā* (*nshúâ*)  
 PL CON:sing (John)  
 (John and others) sing.

*kā shūtā* (*nshúâ shihin nchíkû*)  
 PL CON:sing (John with Francis)  
 (John and Francis) sing.

Preverbal plurals do not occur with the motion verbs *xwáhân* ‘to go (incompletive)’ or *váshî* ‘to come (incompletive)’. In these cases the postverbal plural *koio* must be used (see §2.1.3).

The fourth order of preverbal elements comprises only the completive aspect marker *n-*; it occurs with the completive aspect form of the verb (see §5.1.2). (Even though this marker always attaches to the following word, it is treated here as a preverbal element, rather than as a prefix, because any of the preverbal elements already described may occur between *n-* and the verb nucleus.)

*n-xáhân* (*đá*)  
 COM-speak (I:RES)  
 (I) spoke.

*n-shóđô* (*đá*)  
 COM-sprinkle (I:RES)  
 (I) sprinkled.

*n-shíta* (*đá*)  
 COM-sing (I:RES)  
 (I) sang.

(See also 7.3, 7.13, 7.15, 7.22, 7.26, 7.39, 7.45, 7.55, 7.57–58, 7.60, 7.64, and 7.66.)

The fifth order of preverbal elements comprises truth-value markers, which include both the negatives and *na* ‘affirmative’.

The negative markers are *mā*, *ñā*, *ñatū*, *ñāđu*, and *ta*. The negative *mā* precedes verbs in potential aspect, and *ñā* and *ñatū* precede verbs in continuative and completive aspects. The negative *ñāđu* precedes verbs in all aspects, and it contrasts two activities by negating the first one and affirming the second one. The negative *ta* precedes verbs in potential aspect, and must occur together with the postverbal additive marker *ka* (see §2.1.3); the combination means ‘not yet’.

*mā kadaváhâ* (te vĕhe 'te)  
 NEG POT:make (he:ws house his:ws)  
 (He) won't build (his house).

*ñā kidaváhâ* (te vĕhe 'te)  
 NEG CON:make (he:ws house his:ws)  
 (He) isn't building (his house).

*ñā n-kíðaváhâ* (te vĕhe 'te)  
 NEG COM-make (he:ws house his:ws)  
 (He) didn't build (his house).

*ñā xandísha* (ðá tnúhû-ń)  
 NEG CON:believe (I:RES word-your:RES)  
 (I) don't believe (what you say).

*ñatū xandísha* (ðá tnúhû-ń)  
 NEG CON:believe (I:RES word-your:RES)  
 (I) don't believe (what you say).

*ñāðu kidā tnú* (ðá / chi ðadíki ðá)  
 NEG CON:do work (I:RES because CON:play I:RES)  
 (I) don't work; (I play).

*ta kádâ kâ* (ðá)  
 not:yet POT:do ADD (I:RES)  
 (I) haven't done (it) yet.

*ta kutnúni ká*  
 not:yet POT:be:marked ADD  
 (It) is not yet known.

(See also 7.10 and 7.61.)

There is a fuller form of *ñā*, *ñáha*, which is used alone as a response to a question or in a reduced sentence (see §6.1.1).

The affirmative marker is *ná*, and it occurs in positive sentences under special discourse conditions, such as in answer to a question regarding the location of an entity. This marker occurs only in sentence-initial position, and the sentence usually contains the locative adverb *yáha* 'here' (or its reduced form *ya*) or is a part of a sentence combination containing a shared noun phrase (see §6.1.2).

*ná yoō* (ðá yáhâ)  
 AFF CON:exist (I:RES here)  
 (I) am (here).

*ná yoō* (ūú yúchí / iō yâ)  
 AFF CON:exist (two knife CON:exist here)  
 (Here) are (two knives). *or* (There) are (two knives here).

*ná yoō* (ḏa / túū yā)  
 AFF CON:exist (I:RES CON:exist here)  
 (I) am (here).

*ná yoō(-n* / *n-kíḏaváhâ vêhe-s xan)*  
 AFF CON:exist(-you:RES COM-make house-his:MS that)  
 It is (you, who built that house of his).

The sixth order of preverbal elements comprises the hortatory markers *na* and *mashku*, which occur only with verbs in potential aspect: *na* is used to create nonsecond person commands, and to make a second person command more polite.

*na xihîn* (rô)  
 HORT POT:go (we:IN)  
 Let (us) go!

*na nuhū náhi* (ḏá)  
 HORT POT:go:home INTENT (I:RES)  
 Let (me) continue to go!

*na kaḏa tniū* (té)  
 HORT POT:do work (he:ws)  
 Let (him) work!

(See also 7.38, 7.67, 7.74, and 7.76.)

The marker *na* is also used in object complements that express a request or an indirect command, in subordinate purpose sentences, and in other subordinate sentences when the speaker does not wish to commit himself to the certainty of a potential event.

The hortatory marker *mashku* is used in negative sentences when the speaker assumes that the actor wishes to or has begun to carry out the action of the verb. When the speaker assumes that the actor does not wish to carry out the action of the verb, *na* is used instead, followed by the negative *ñáha*.

*mashku nduá(-ní)*  
 NEG:HORT POT:fall(-you:RES)  
 Don't fall!

*nā ñáha nduá(-ń)*  
 HORT NEG POT:fall(-you:RES)  
 Don't fall!

*mashku kayú(-ń)*  
 NEG:HORT POT:burn(-you:RES)  
 Don't get burned!

*nā ñáha kayú(-ń)*  
 HORT NEG POT:burn(-you:RES)  
 Don't get burned!

In one example the negative marker following *na* appears to have been deleted, leaving its high tone on the *na*.

*ná ndúa(-n)*  
 HORT POT:fall(-you:RES)  
 Don't fall!

The seventh order of preverbal elements is manner, which is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers; they include stative verbs and stative verb phrases (see §2.3) and also adverbs and adverb phrases (see §4.2). There is also a postverbal manner position. Most modifiers can occur in either position, but intensifying elements and some adverbs are restricted to preverbal position, and some other modifiers are restricted to postverbal position. See §2.1.3 for further discussion of the difference between the two.

With stative verbs:

*ndehe n-yúhú(-s)*  
 fierce COM-be:afraid(-he:MS)  
 (He) was very much frightened.

*ndichi xahân (ǵa)*  
 profound CON:speak (I:RES)  
 (I) speak profoundly.

*nunu kikú (ñá ǵió ǵa)*  
 wide CON:sew (she skirt my:RES)  
 (She) sews wide (skirts for me).

*kanda ndehā (té)*  
 visible CON:see (he:WS)  
 (He) sees clearly.

*kanda kiða trnú (té)*  
 visible CON:do work (he:ws)  
 (The viewer can see) clearly (that he) is working.

*yútnú nukóō (mesha áá)*  
 treelike CON:sit (table my:RES)  
 (My table [Sp. *mesa*]) is standing firmly.

*áānā n-kíáaváhá(-s vēhe-s)*  
 distinct COM-make(-he:MS house-his:MS)  
 (He) made (his house) distinct.

*úhú ndūndēē (ti)*  
 evil COM:become:fat (it:AML)  
 It was hard to fatten (the animal).

(See also 7.57.)

With adverbs:

*sheē shitā (ñá)*  
 fast CON:sing (she)  
 (She) sings at a fast pace.

*níhí áukú (shūi 'ti)*  
 tightly CON:be:tied (stomach its:AML)  
 (The animal's stomach) is bound tightly.

*kahú n-trukwéhe (ndāha-s)*  
 seriously COM-be:wounded (hand-his:MS)  
 (His hand) was severely wounded.

*īnī kāndódo (toto)*  
 precariously CON:lie:on:top (rock)  
 (The rock) lies precariously on (something).

*áaná n-kíshi (te)*  
 suddenly COM-come (he:ws)  
 (He) came all of a sudden.

*ku xihîn(-rí)*  
 first POT:go(-you:RES)  
 (You) go first!

(See also 7.2, which contains an adverb phrase.)

The eighth order of preverbal elements is temporal, expressed only by *shá*, which means ‘about to’ or ‘already’, depending on the aspect of the verb.

*shā kashdénhñu (dá)*  
 about:to POT:eat:dinner (I:RES)  
 (I) am about to eat dinner.

*shā shashdénhñú (dá)*  
 already CON:eat:dinner (I:RES)  
 (I) just started to eat dinner.

*shā n-sháshdénhñu (dá)*  
 already COM-eat:dinner (I:RES)  
 (I) have just eaten dinner.

**2.1.3 Postverbal elements.** There are seven orders of postverbal elements. These occur in the following order starting from the nucleus and going to the right: manner, object, intent, scope, plural, repetitive, and incorporated noun.

Postverbal manner is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers. They are: stative verbs, nouns, noun phrases, locative adverbs, temporal adverbs, various other kinds of adverbs, and general quantifiers.

With stative verbs:

*ndikō ndáhú (dá)*  
 CON:grind poor (I:RES)  
 (I) grind in exchange for food because of financial necessity.

*shikā tihí (tí)*  
 CON:walk hump-backed (it:AML)  
 (The animal) walks hump-backed.

*xahān déén (te)*  
 CON:speak sharply (he:ws)  
 (He) speaks sharply.

*shikā yakwa (tí)*  
 CON:walk crippled (it:AML)  
 (The animal) is crippled.

*xahán shehíni (té núū dá)*  
 CON:speak disrespectful (he:ws face my:RES)  
 (He) speaks disrespectfully (to me).

*xahān úhú (te)*  
 CON:speak evil (he:ws)  
 (He) curses (people).  
 (See also 7.44.)

With nouns:

*shikā shehe (ro)*  
 CON:walk foot (we:IN)  
 (We) go by foot.

*xahān dínhni(-s)*  
 CON:speak nose(-he:MS)  
 (He) talks through his nose.

With noun phrases:

*shashī diko tkwēē (tílâ)*  
 CON:eat flavor citrus:fruit (bread)  
 (The bread [Sp. *Castilla* 'Castile']) has the flavor of citrus fruit.

With locative adverbs:

*xundii ndéyú(-s)*  
 CON:slide prone(-he:MS)  
 (He) slides headfirst on his stomach.

*kikú kanduā (ñâ)*  
 CON:sew reverse (she)  
 (She) sews on the wrong side of the cloth.

With temporal adverbs:

*n-shéhén núu (te)*  
 COM-go first:time (he:ws)  
 (He) went for the first time.

*kikú ndúú (ñâ)*  
 CON:sew daytime (she)  
 (She) sews during the day.

*nakaka niū (yôô)*  
 CON:walk:again at:night (moon)  
 (The moon) travels at night.



With general adverbs:

*shidō lākwa (nduchī tnūū)*  
 CON:boil with:heavy:plops (legume black)  
 (The black beans) are boiling hard.

*nukóō yōho (mēsha)*  
 CON:sit crooked (table)  
 (The table) is standing crooked.

With general quantifiers:

*n-tée kwehe (ñā díta)*  
 COM-pat many (she tortilla)  
 (She) patted many (tortillas).

*n-shíhi kwehe (ñā ndūte)*  
 COM-drink much (she water)  
 (She) drank a lot (of water).

*kída đává (đá shihin te tnú)*  
 CON:do half (I:RES with he:ws work)  
 (He and I) are (each) doing half (of the work).

*shahndē đáva(-s tviní)*  
 CON:cut half(-he:MS money)  
 (They) divided (the money [old Sp. *tomín*]) into two parts.

Note that the quantifier refers to the direct object of a transitive sentence, even though it occurs as manner in the verb phrase.

Sometimes two elements occur in manner; the order is often fixed. The modifiers in the following examples must occur in the order given below.

*n-sháxan ndodo ndēyu (ñā đahyá ñā)*  
 COM-lay on:top prone (she child her)  
 (She) lay (her child) down prone on top of (something).

*n-sháxan tuu ndeyū(-s lélú-s)*  
 COM-lay on:ground prone(-he:MS hat-his:MS)  
 (He) lay (his hat [Sp. *sombrero*]) on the ground with the brim touching the ground.

*n-sháxan tuu nuū (te véhé té)*  
 COM-lay on:ground borrowed (he:ws house his:ws)  
 (He) built (his house) on rented land.

Many modifiers, such as stative verbs and various kinds of adverbs, can occur in either the preverbal (see §2.1.2) or the postverbal manner position with no apparent change in meaning. Consider the following pairs of sentences.

With stative verbs:

*xahān kóxon (te)*  
 CON:speak thick (he:ws)  
 (He) has a low voice.

cf. *kóxon xahān ('te)*  
 thick CON:speak (he:ws)  
 (He) has a low voice.

*xahān neñúū ('te)*  
 CON:speak false (he:ws)  
 (He) is telling absurd lies.

cf. *neñúū xahān ('te)*  
 false CON:speak (he:ws)  
 (He) is telling absurd lies.

*kikû nunu (ñā ðíó ða)*  
 CON:sew wide (she skirt my:RES)  
 (She) sews wide (skirts for me).

cf. *nunu kikû (ñā ðíó ða)*  
 wide CON:sew (she skirt my:RES)  
 (She) sews wide (skirts for me).

*ndehā kándá (té)*  
 CON:look:at visible (he:ws)  
 (He) sees clearly.

cf. *kanda ndehā (té)*  
 visible CON:look:at (he:ws)  
 (He) sees clearly.

*nukóō yutnu (mēsha ða)*  
 CON:sit treelike (table my:RES)  
 (My table) is standing firmly.

cf. *yútnû nukóō (mesha ðá)*  
 treelike CON:sit (table my:RES)  
 (My table) is standing firmly.

With temporal adverbs:

*n-kíkû niu (ñâ)*  
COM-sew at:night (she)  
(She) sewed at night.

cf. *niu n-kíkû (ñâ)*  
at:night COM-sew (she)  
(She) sewed at night.

*kee nehe (rô)*  
POT:leave early (we:1N)  
(We) will leave early.

cf. *nehe kéē (ro)*  
early POT:leave (we:1N)  
(We) will leave early.

With general adverbs:

*shítā shéé (ñá)*  
CON:sing loud (she)  
(She) sings loudly.

cf. *shēe shítā (ñâ)*  
loud CON:sing (she)  
(She) sings loudly.

*shikā chuchi (te)*  
CON:walk with:little:steps (he:ws)  
(He) walks taking small steps.

cf. *chuchi shikā (té)*  
with:little:steps CON:walk (he:ws)  
(He) walks taking small steps.

*dukū níhí (shítí í)*  
CON:be:tied tightly (stomach its:AML)  
(The animal's stomach) is bound tightly.

cf. *níhí dukú (shítí 'í)*  
tightly CON:be:tied (stomach its:AML)  
(The animal's stomach) is bound tightly.

Some modifiers have different sense discriminations depending on whether they occur as preverbal or postverbal manner. Sometimes the

meaning is dependent on the verb that occurs with the modifier, as well as on its position. Compare the following pairs of sentences.

*chiyáhu kweē ('te)*  
 CON:pay slow (he:ws)  
 (He) waits to pay.

cf. *kweē chiyahû (te)*  
 slow CON:pay (he:ws)  
 (He) uses slow movements (when he) pays.

*ndündéē úhû (tí)*  
 COM:become:fat evil (it:AML)  
 (The animal) became too fat and is ugly.

cf. *úhú ndündéē (tí)*  
 evil COM:become:fat (it:AML)  
 It was hard to fatten (the animal).

*xahān ndáā (te)*  
 CON:speak straight (he:ws)  
 (He) speaks the truth. *or* (He) testifies truly.

cf. *ndáā xahān (te)*  
 straight CON:speak (he:ws)  
 (He) speaks the truth.

*nšee nēē (ñā)*  
 POR:arrive dark (she)  
 (She) will arrive when it is dark (with no artificial lights).

cf. *nēé nšée (ñā)*  
 dark POR:arrive (she)  
 (She) will arrive when it is dark (at night).

*kidā tníu kándá (té)*  
 CON:do work visible (he:ws)  
 (He) does his work in the open (not secretly).

cf. *kanda kidā tníu (té)*  
 visible CON:do work (he:ws)  
 (The viewer can see) clearly (that he) is working.

*kaḍaváhá kanhnu (ro vēhe ró)*  
 POR:make big:SG (we:IN house our:IN)  
 (We) will build (our house) together.

cf. *kanhnu kaðaváhá (ro vêhe ró)*  
 big:SG POT:make (we:IN house our:IN)  
 (We) will make (our house) large.

There are two object markers: the noun *tnáha* ‘companion’ and the verbal marker *ñáha* ‘known object’. Either object marker can refer to first, second, or third person, depending on the context. The marker *tnaha* is used to express reciprocal.

*shemani tnáhâ (ro)*  
 CON:love companion (we:IN)  
 (We) love each other.

*chindee tnáhâ(-ñ shīhin te)*  
 CON:help companion(-you:RES with he:ws)  
 (You and he) help each other.

*chindēē tnaha (te)*  
 CON:help companion (he:ws)  
 (They) help each other.

*chindēē tnāha (ða shíhín-s)*  
 CON:help companion (I:RES with-he:MS)  
 (He and I) help each other.

The marker *ñáha* ‘known object’ must occur if the direct object of a nonreflexive sentence is either first or second person. It always denotes first person when the subject is second person and second person when the subject is first person. When the subject is third person, the object may be expressed by *ñáha*, rather than by a sentence-level element, and *ñáha* can denote any person. The context usually makes the referent of *ñáha* clear, but a sentence-level object may also occur. This is discussed further in §3.1.3.

*n-dākikú ñáha(-ñ ðānhma)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew KNO(-you:RES clothing)  
 (You) made me sew (clothing).

*n-dākikú ñáha (ða ðānhma)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew KNO (I:RES clothing)  
 (I) made you sew (clothing).

*n-dākikú ñáha (ña ðanhmá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew KNO (she clothing)  
 (She) caused someone to sew (clothing).

(See also 7.49–51, 7.57, 7.60, 7.68, and 7.71.)

The modifier of intent, *náhi*, means ‘as planned’ or ‘anyway’ if the action has not yet started, and ‘still’ or ‘continue’ if the action has already started. The meaning depends on the context and is indeterminate in isolated sentences.

*xihîn náhi (te)*  
 POT:go INTENT (he:WS)  
 (He) is going as (he) planned (to do).

*na ndíko náhi (ñá)*  
 HORT POT:grind INTENT (she)  
 Let (her) continue grinding!

Scope comprises the limiters and the additive. The limiters are *ni* ‘no more’ or ‘just’ and *nga*, which has various meanings, depending on the verb it occurs with and the context. Among its meanings are: ‘without motivation’, ‘without any purpose’, ‘in addition to’, ‘just’, ‘anyway’, and ‘as a gift’. The additive, which extends the scope of an action, is *ka* ‘more’.

With *ni*:

*ndishi ni (dá)*  
 POT:return LIM (I:RES)  
 (I) will just go (and not loiter).

*n-sháshi ni (ñá)*  
 COM-eat LIM (she)  
 (She) just ate (without taking the situation into account).

(See also 7.14, 7.23, 7.43, and 7.56.)

With *nga*:

*kíkû nga (dá)*  
 POT:sew just (I:RES)  
 (I) will sew (but it doesn’t make any difference to me whether or not I do it).

*xwini ngā (dá sha xini dá)*  
 CON:want just (I:RES CMP POT:see I:RES)  
 (I) just want (to see). (I have no other purpose or motive.)

*naxinī ngā (dá tráshiti)*  
 CON:wash just (I:RES dish)  
 In addition (I) wash (dishes [Sp. *traste*]).

*kūndehā*    *ngā* (*ǎá*    *lívru*)

POT:look:at    just    (I:RES    book)

(I) will look at (the book [Sp. *libro*]) (since there isn't anything better to watch).

*xíhîn*    *nga* (*ǎa*)

POT:go    just    (I:RES)

(I) shall go anyway.

*nihî*            *nga* (*ǎa*    *tilâ*)

CON:receive    just    (I:RES    bread)

(I) receive free (bread).

With *ka*:

*kíkû*    *ka*    (*ǎa*)

POT:sew    ADD    (I:RES)

(I) will sew longer.

(See also 7.18 and 7.73.)

When the negative markers *ñá* or *ñatû* occur with *nga*, the combined meaning is 'not very'.

*ñatû*    *kóxon*            *nga* (*ǎa*)

NEG    CON:be:hungry    just    (I:RES)

(I) am not very hungry.

When the negative marker *ta* and a verb in potential aspect occur with *ka* 'more', the combined meaning is 'not yet'.

*ta*            *katâ*            *ka*    (*te*)

not:yet    POT:sing    ADD    (he:ws)

(He) hasn't sung yet.

*ta*            *kíkû*            *ka*    (*ǎá*)

not:yet    POT:sew    ADD    (I:RES)

(I) haven't sewn yet.

When other negative markers occur with *ka*, the combined meaning is 'no longer'.

*ñā*    *shāshi*    *ka*    (*te*    *ǎtâ*)

NEG    CON:eat    ADD    (he:ws    tortilla)

(He) doesn't eat anymore.

*ma kāshi ka ('te)*  
 NEG POT:eat ADD (he:ws)  
 (He) will not eat anymore.

The postverbal plural is *koio*. Unlike the preverbal plurals, which do not occur with potential, *koio* occurs with verbs in any of the three aspects.

*kundeha koiō (dā)*  
 POT:look:at PL (I:RES)  
 (We) shall look at it.

The plural *koio* can occur with a preverbal plural, and when both occur, they give emphasis to the plural subject of a sentence.

*ka kishī koiō (té)*  
 PL CON:come PL (he:ws)  
 (They) are coming.

*n-ká kishī koiō (te)*  
 COM-PL come PL (he:ws)  
 Many (of them) came.

*sh ndeka koiō(-s tē)*  
 PL CON:take:care:of PL(-he:MS it:AML)  
 (They) take care of (the animals).

*n-ká sho kādoko koiō (da kīē)*  
 COM-PL COM:HAB carry:on:shoulder PL (I:RES animal)  
 (We) carried (the animals) on our shoulders.

With the motion verbs *xwāhān* 'to go (incomplete)' and *vāshī* 'to come (incomplete)', *koio* occurs instead of a preverbal plural.

*xwāhān koiō (te)*  
 INC:GO PL (he:ws)  
 (They) went.

*vashī koiō (te)*  
 INC:come PL (he:ws)  
 (They) are coming.

The repetitive is *ntuku* 'again', which expresses action that is repeated.

*nakatē ntúkú (ñá)*  
 CON:wash REP (she)  
 (She) is washing (clothes) again.



The seventh order of postverbal elements is incorporated noun, expressed mainly by *ini* ‘insides’ and *anu* ‘heart’ (Sp. *ánima* ‘soul’). This element and the verb nucleus together form a potentially discontinuous lexical unit.

*kutnuni*            *ini*        (*ǎá*)  
 POT:be:marked insides (I:RES)  
 (I) am advancing in understanding.

*kukweǎi*           *ini*        (*ǎa*)  
 POT:be:jealous insides (I:RES)  
 (I) am jealous.

*kukaxān*          *ini*        (*ǎá*)  
 POT:ask:for insides (I:RES)  
 (I) desire (it).

*ǎákukōhyo*        *ini*        (*ñá-s*)  
 POT:make:damp insides (she-him:MS)  
 (She) causes (him) to be sad.

Examples of stative verb phrases containing *anu* are given in §2.3.

**2.1.4 Combinations of elements.** Six of the eight preverbal elements combine freely. They are: directional, habitual, plural, completive aspect, truth value, and manner.

*ñā ndahu kēē n-ká sho shē kikú (ñā)*  
 NEG poor ? COM-PL COM:HAB CON:go POT:sew (she)  
 (They) did not habitually go away to sew with serious intent.

(See also 7.56–57.)

Hortatory occurs with truth value, with directional, with directional and manner, or with habitual and manner.

*nā ñáha tñukwéhe(-ñ)*  
 HORT NEG POT:get:hurt(-you:RES)  
 Don’t get hurt!

*néhé na xīn kátâ (ro)*  
 early HORT POT:go POT:sing (we:IN)  
 Let (us) go early and sing!

*koxon nā ku katâ (ró)*  
 thick HORT POT:HAB POT:sing (we:IN)  
 Let (us) habitually sing low!

(See also 7.67.)

Temporal occurs with directional, habitual, and plural; with directional, plural, and completive aspect; or with manner, completive aspect, and plural.

*shā ka shkó she kátâ (ǎa)*  
 already PL CON:HAB CON:GO POT:sing (I:RES)  
 (We) already have habitually gone and sang.

*shā n-ká she kátâ (ǎa)*  
 already COM-PL CON:GO POT:sing (I:RES)  
 (We) already went and sang.

*shā kunú n-ká shate(-s)*  
 already deep COM-PL dig(-he:MS)  
 (They) already began to dig deeply.

Some items that express various elements show cooccurrence preferences. Habitual does not occur with directionals that express one-way trips. Nonpotential plural does not occur with the directionals *vāsh* and *xwān*, and only a few elements that express manner occur with temporal.

Negative occurs with preverbal manner only when manner is expressed by an intensifying element. When negative is expressed by the simple form *ñā*, it follows manner, but when negative is expressed by a compound like *ñatū*, manner follows negative. (The reason for this difference is that compound negative forms contain an existential verb and are used to express a cleft construction.)

*ndēhē ña yuhú(-s)*  
 fierce NEG CON:be:afraid(-he:MS)  
 (He) isn't very much afraid.

*ñatū ndēhē yuhú(-s)*  
 NEG fierce CON:be:afraid(-he:MS)  
 (He) isn't very much afraid.

Lengthy combinations of postverbal elements can, but rarely do, occur. Common speech uses no more than three elements in the same utterance.

*n-dākíkū vahá ñaha nahi ni ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew good KNO INTENT LIM REP (she)  
 (She) caused someone to just continue to sew well again.

*n-dākíkū vahá ñaha nahi koiō ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew good KNO INTENT PL REP (she)  
 (They) caused someone to continue to sew well again.

Some items show cooccurrence restrictions. Quantifiers that express manner do not occur with plural. The marker *nga*, which expresses scope, is compatible with only a limited number of elements that express manner.

The basic order of the postverbal elements as given in §2.1.3 above is manner, object, intent, scope, plural, repetitive, and incorporated noun, but the following orders also occur. Intent can directly follow manner, plural can directly follow object, and object can directly follow the verb nucleus. The following examples show intent either between manner and object or between object and limiter.

*n-dākíkú*            *vahá nahi ñaha ni ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew good INTENT KNO LIM REP (she)  
 (She) caused someone to continue to just sew well again.

*n-dākíkú*            *vahá ñaha nahi ni ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew good KNO INTENT LIM REP (she)  
 (She) caused someone to continue to just sew well again.

The following examples show plural either between intent and repetitive or between object and intent.

*n-dākíkú*            *vahá ñaha nahi koiō ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew good KNO INTENT PL REP (she)  
 (They) caused someone to continue to sew well another time.

*n-dākíkú*            *vahá ñaha koiō nahi ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew good KNO PL INTENT REP (she)  
 (They) caused someone to continue to sew well another time.

The following examples show object either between a stative verb expressing manner and intent or between the verb nucleus and a stative verb expressing manner.

*n-dākíkú*            *vahá ñaha nahi ni ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew good KNO INTENT LIM REP (she)  
 (She) caused someone to continue to just sew well again.

*n-dākíkú*            *ñaha váha nahi ni ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew KNO good INTENT LIM REP (she)  
 (She) caused someone to continue to just sew well again.

*n-dākíkú*            *kanda ñaha nahi ni ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew visible KNO INTENT LIM REP (she)  
 (She) just continued to make someone sew in plain sight again.

*n-dākíkú            ñaha kanda nahi ni ntúkú (ñá)*  
 COM-cause:to:sew KNO visible INTENT LIM REP (she)  
 (She) just continued to make someone sew in plain sight again.

There are few systematic restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements. The interaction of preverbal and postverbal plural markers has been discussed in §2.1.3 above, and a few semantically specialized combinations have also been discussed in §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3.

*na xān nūtnĩ            ñáha koió(-s)*  
 HORT POT:go POT:arrest:again KNO PL(-he:MS)  
 Let (them) go and arrest someone again!

*n-ká she nūtnĩ            tnáha koió(-s)*  
 COM-PL go POT:arrest:again companion PL(-he:MS)  
 (They) went and arrested one of their members again.

*n-ká she kweka ñáha vahá(-s)*  
 COM-PL go POT:get KNO good(-he:MS)  
 (They) went and picked up someone in a welcoming manner.

*n-ká sho kíkú vaha kōio (ña)*  
 COM-PL COM:HAB sew good PL (she)  
 (They) used to sew well.

*váhá n-ka ðakíkú            ñáha koiō (ñá)*  
 good COM-PL cause:to:sew KNO PL (she)  
 (They) used a good method to show someone how to sew.

*váhá n-ka ðakíkú            ñáha ntúkú (ñá)*  
 good COM-PL cause:to:sew KNO REP (she)  
 (They) used a good method to again show someone how to sew.

*ñatū shko chíyahu ñáha vahá kōio(-s)*  
 NEG CON:HAB CON:pay KNO good PL(-he:MS)  
 (They) haven't paid someone well.

*shā xān ñaha ntúku(-s)*  
 already COM:hit KNO REP(-he:MS)  
 (He) already hit me again.

*n-ká sho kíkú nāhi koiō (ñá)*  
 COM-PL COM:HAB sew INTENT PL (she)  
 (They) used to keep on sewing.

*ka shāsh nīhno tnāha (yuhú-s shihin*  
 PL CON:eat inside companion (mouth-his:MS with

*ñadñh̄-s)*  
 woman-his:MS)

(They) kiss (their wives).

(See also 7.57.)

## 2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on the equative verbs *kuu* ‘to be (potential)’, *nduu* ‘to become (potential)’ or ‘to be again’, and *kunani* ‘to be named (potential)’. The verb *kuu* occurs with all the preverbal elements that occur with content verbs, except directional and manner, and with all the postverbal elements, except manner and the object marker *tnāha* ‘companion’. These elements occur in the same order as in content verb phrases.

With *kuu*:

*(yĩ ñá) kuū (té)*  
 (husband her) CON:be (he:ws)  
 (He) is (her husband).

*(ita ndékâ) kúū (ta)*  
 (flower purple) CON:be (it:flower)  
 (It) is (a purple flower).

*(nshúâ) kuū (té)*  
 (John) CON:be (he:ws)  
 (He) is (John).

*(tē tūha vâhâ) kuū (té)*  
 (he:ws knowledgeable good) CON:be (he:ws)  
 (He) is (a knowledgeable person).

*kuū (té 'té tūha vâhâ)*  
 CON:be (he:ws he:ws knowledgeable good)  
 (He) is (a knowledgeable person).

*kuū (í yûû)*  
 CON:be (UN stone)  
 (It) is (a stone).

With *nduu*:

*ndúu* (te taā ñúū)  
COM:become (he:ws father town)  
(He) became (a leader of the town).

*ndúu* (te té vahá)  
COM:become (he:ws he:ws good)  
(He) became (a good man).

(té vahá) *ndúu* (te)  
(he:ws good) COM:become (he:ws)  
(He) became (a good man).

With *nani*:

(*sndóñú*) *nání(-s)*  
(Antonio:MS) CON:be:named(-he:MS)  
(His) name is (Antonio). *or* (Antonio) is (his) name.

### 2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases have simple stative verbs as their nuclei.

*kweē* (té)  
slow (he:ws)  
(He) is slow.

*kohyō* (*ndôhō*)  
damp (adobe)  
(The adobe bricks) are damp.

*víñí* (*ñôô*)  
warm (blanket)  
(The blanket) is warm.

*nunu* (*shehe véstído*)  
wide (foot garment)  
(The hem of the garment [Sp. *vestido* 'dress']) is wide.

*kānda*  
visible  
(There) is light.

*kwiñā* (*ñâ*)  
jealous (she)  
(She) is a jealous person.

Stative verbs occur with the following preverbal elements, although members of classes show cooccurrence restrictions: the directional *vásh*, habitual, plural, negative, and manner.

The directional *vásh* 'to come (incomplete)' is used to signal progressive meaning (see §2.1.2); it occurs with only a few stative verbs.

*vásh kwāan (ñā)*  
INC:come yellow (she)  
(She) is becoming pale.

*vásh víđí(-s)*  
INC:come gray(-he:MS)  
(He) is getting gray (hairs).

The habitual marker is limited to the continuative aspect form.

*shkō veē (đā ūđiko kiló)*  
CON:HAB weigh (I:RES forty kilo)  
(I) have been weighing (forty kilos [Sp. *kilo*]).

*shkó kwaan (trūú yōō mársu)*  
CON:HAB yellow (wheat month March)  
(The wheat) always ripens (in the month of March [Sp. *marzo*]).

The plural is *ūnū*; it is distinct from the plural which occurs with content verbs.

*ūnū nánhnú anū (ñā)*  
PL big:PL heart (she)  
(They) are unafraid.

*ūnū kōhyo (ndôhō)*  
PL damp (adobe)  
(The adobe bricks) are damp.

*ūnū đhíni(-s)*  
PL happy(-he:MS)  
(They) are happy.

*ūnū ínhní(-s)*  
PL hot(-he:MS)  
(They) are braggarts.

The negatives *ñā* or *ñatū* may occur.

*ñatū vetê (te)*  
 NEG untruthful (he:ws)  
 (He) doesn't tell lies.

*ñatū vishî*  
 NEG cold  
 (It) isn't cold.

*ñā vâhâ (te)*  
 NEG good (he:ws)  
 (He) isn't a good man.

*ñatū kwîña (ñâ)*  
 NEG jealous (she)  
 (She) is not jealous.

Manner comprises intensifying adverbs and a few stative verbs that function as intensifying elements.

With intensifying adverbs:

*yó ndayu (yuchi tríû)*  
 INTS coarse (powder wheat)  
 (The wheat flour) is very coarse.

*vîchi ðēén (ñâ)*  
 INTS sharp (she)  
 (She) is a harsh scolder.

*yó vēé(-s)*  
 INTS heavy(-he:ms)  
 (He) weighs a lot.

With stative verbs:

*kwihá vēte (te)*  
 ugly untruthful (he:ws)  
 (He's) a vicious liar.

*ndēhe ðoho(-s)*  
 fierce naughty(-he:ms)  
 (He) is very naughty.



The following combinations of preverbal elements occur: negative and plural; negative and habitual; negative, manner, and habitual; negative and the directional *vāsh*; and manner and plural.

*ñatū unu nánhnú anū (ñá)*  
 NEG PL big:PL heart (she)  
 (They) are not all brave.

*ñatū unu lehvā(-s)*  
 NEG PL missing:teeth(-he:MS)  
 (They) are not missing teeth.

*ña shko uhā (ndeyū ñá)*  
 NEG CON:HAB thick (food her)  
 (Her food) is not usually thick.

*ñatū yo shko uhá (ndeyū ñá)*  
 NEG INTS CON:HAB thick (food her)  
 (Her food) is not usually very thick.

*ñátu vāsh ndíkô (te ā)*  
 NEG INC:COME cold (it:LIQ INT)  
 Isn't (it) getting cold(?)

*vichi ūnū nánhnú anū (ñá)*  
 INTS PL big:PL heart (she)  
 (They) are very brave.

*yó unu ñhíni(-s)*  
 INTS PL happy(-he:MS)  
 (They) are very happy.

The following postverbal elements occur with stative verbs: manner, intent, scope, repetitive, and incorporated noun.

With manner:

*kanda vahá*  
 visible good  
 The visibility is good. *or* (One) can see (it) well.

*kohyō ka (ndóhō)*  
 damp ADD (adobe)  
 (The adobe bricks) are still damp.

With intent:

*kanda náhi*  
visible INTENT  
(It) is still light (outdoors).

*kani náhi (yóhó)*  
long INTENT (rope)  
(The rope) is still long, anyway.

With scope:

*yivídi nga (ndúte)*  
lukewarm just (water)  
(The water) is just lukewarm.

*lehva ngā(-s)*  
missing:teeth just(-he:ms)  
(He) is just missing teeth.

*kanda ká*  
visible ADD  
(It) is still light (outdoors).

With repetitive:

*koxon ntūku (áitá io vítina)*  
thick REP (tortilla CON:exist today)  
Again (today the tortillas) are thick. *or* (The tortillas that there are today) are thick again.

*kanu ntūkū (vīhndé)*  
slimy REP (nopal)  
(The prickly pear cactus leaves) are slimy again.

With incorporated noun:

*kanhnu anū (ñâ)*  
big:SG heart (she)  
(She) is brave.

Very few combinations of postverbal elements occur. Those that occur with a very limited number of nuclei are: intent and the additive marker *ka*, and intent and repetitive.

*kanda nāhī ká*  
 visible INTENT ADD  
 (It) is still light.

*koxon nāhī ntūku (dítâ)*  
 thick INTENT REP (tortilla)  
 (The tortillas) are thick again, as before.

Some preverbal elements occur with postverbal elements. Preverbal manner and plural occur with postverbal intent, and the preverbal negative *ñatū* and plural occur with the postverbal additive marker *ka*.

*lokō únu kānū nāhi (vīhndê)*  
 crazy PL slimy INTENT (nopal)  
 (The prickly pear cactus leaves) were still very (Sp. *loco*) slimy.

*ñatū únu lehvā ká(-s)*  
 NEG PL missing:teeth ADD(-he:MS)  
 (They) are no longer liars. (lit. [They] are no longer missing teeth.)

*ñā kanda vahá*  
 NEG visible good  
 (It) is not very light (outdoors).

*ñatū ađí vahá (ndēyu)*  
 NEG tasty good (food)  
 (The food) is not very tasty.

Stative verb phrases occur both as the predicate of stative sentences (see §1.1.6) and as manner in content verb phrases (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3).

## 2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Repetitive verb phrases are based on either content or stative verbs. This construction indicates repeated or intensified actions or states.

Repetitive verb phrases based on content verbs repeat a simple content verb nucleus; the limiter *ni* optionally follows the second part.

*shikā shika (kái)*  
 CON:walk CON:walk (day)  
 (Many days) passed.

*nuxwīñi nuxwīñi ni (te)*  
 CON:stand CON:stand LIM (he:ws)  
 (He) stood for a long time.

(núḏaa) vee vĕé(-n)  
 (how) CON:weigh CON:weigh(-YOU:FAM:MS)  
 (How) heavy (you) are!

Repetitive verb phrases based on stative verbs are of two types. A simple stative verb may be repeated with the limiter *ni* optionally following the second part, or two instances of a stative verb may be linked by the complementizer *sha*. The first type occurs only as a preverbal manner in content verb phrases, and the second type occurs also as the predicate of stative sentences.

ndāā ndāā ni (xwáhân te)  
 straight straight LIM (INC:go he:WS)  
 (He went) straight.

kānhnu kānhnu (kōō anû-ń)  
 big:SG big:SG (POT:exist heart-you:RES)  
 Be brave! (Don't grieve anymore!)

(núḏaa) ñāmā ñāma(-n)  
 (how) light light(-YOU:FAM:MS)  
 (How) light in weight (you) are!

vahā sha vahá (te)  
 good CMP good (he:WS)  
 (He) is very good. *or* (He) is a very good person.

## 2.5 Additive Stative Verb Phrases

Additive stative verb phrases comprise two short stative verb phrases linked by *te* 'and'.

(ḏanhma) kaní te kwińí  
 (clothing) long:SG and narrow  
 (clothing) that is long and narrow

(kídí) kóxon te ndāyu  
 (pot) thick and rough  
 (pot) that is thick and rough in texture

naní te unu ndíka (ḏanhma ḏa)  
 long:PL and PL wide (clothing my:RES)  
 (My clothing) is long and wide.

*ndââ te nanī (yútnú)*  
 true and long:PL (tree)  
 (The poles) are long and straight.

## 2.6 Appositional Verb Phrases

Appositional verb phrases consist of two semantically related parts. The first words of the two parts are usually identical, and the second words are different.

*xwān ndée xwān ndú(-s)*  
 INC:go POT:leave:again INC:go POT:enter:again(-he:MS)  
 (He) went in and out repeatedly.

Sometimes these phrases consist of two derived or compound verb stems (see §5.1.1), the first parts of which are identical.

*kulokō kudúha(-s)*  
 CON:be:crazy CON:be:in:vain(-he:MS)  
 (He) acts ridiculously.

*xanndāa xankwíi(-s)*  
 CON:speak:straight CON:speak:short(-he:MS)  
 (He) speaks only the truth.

*xankēe xanndá 'hú(-s)*  
 CON:speak:humble CON:speak:poor(-he:MS)  
 (He) pleads over a period of time.

This construction is common in everyday speech, but occurs with even greater frequency in formal and ritual speech.



# 3

## Noun Phrases

### 3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

Basic noun phrases have a noun or pronoun nucleus, which may be expanded by the pronominal quantifier and by the postnominal scope, deictic, and relative clause.

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

<i>đítâ</i>	‘tortilla’
<i>yóđô</i>	‘metate’
<i>núni</i>	‘corn’
<i>tnúhû</i>	‘word’
<i>kîti</i>	‘animal’
<i>ndohó</i>	‘YOU:FAM:MS’

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that comprises a noun followed by a frozen modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral, a stative verb, or a content verb.

## Noun plus noun:

*nduchi nûû*  
legume face  
eyes

*ndute nûû*  
water face  
tears

*ita vîlu*  
flower cat  
a kind of orchid

*ini ndáha*  
insides hand  
palm of the hand

## Noun plus numeral:

*kaa ushî*  
metal ten  
ten o'clock

*kûú óko*  
day twenty  
the twentieth day

## Noun plus stative verb:

*tkwee vídî*  
citrus:fruit sweet  
sweet lime

*áahyá ndahú*  
child poor  
orphan

## Noun plus content verb:

*makí kíkû*  
machine CON:sew  
sewing machine (Sp. *máquina*)

Occasionally a complex nucleus has three parts.



*ɖichi lūchi ỹ*  
 child small:SG male  
 small boy

*ñua ñuñu kwéchi*  
 wax bee small:PL  
 beeswax

*kaā iñú yódo*  
 metal six CON:be:on:top  
 six thirty

**3.1.2 Prenominal elements.** Only the quantifier occurs in prenominal position. Three kinds of quantifiers occur: general quantifiers, numerals (and numeral phrases), and specifiers.

General quantifiers:

*itáhu ndeyú*  
 little food  
 a little bit of food

*ɖava téỹ*  
 half man  
 some men *or* half the men

*kwehe kítí*  
 many animal  
 many animals

Numerals:

*ɸ̃n kítú*  
 one day  
 one day

*ũú tútú*  
 two paper  
 two pieces of paper

The numeral *ɸ̃n* ‘one’ is often used simply as an indefinite article.

*ɸ̃n ɖúnhnú*  
 one shirt  
 one shirt *or* a shirt

Specifiers comprise *mee* ‘same’ or ‘self’, *tūku* ‘a distinct’, and *đū* ‘the aforementioned’.

*mēē té tashnuni*  
 SPEC he:ws CON:rule  
 the very man who governs

*tūku ñayú*  
 distinct people  
 another person (from outside the group)

*đū té*  
 the:aforementioned he:ws  
 the aforementioned

The word *kwēhe* ‘many’ sometimes occurs in the verb phrase even when it refers to a noun phrase (see §2.1.3).

**3.1.3 Postnominal elements.** Three optional elements follow the noun nucleus: scope, deictic, and relative clause.

Scope comprises the limiters and additive. The limiters are *ni* ‘just’ and *nga* ‘just’ (refers to what remains). The additive is *ka* ‘more’.

*tūtū ní*  
 paper LIM  
 just paper

*kandū ngá*  
 soup just  
 just soup (Sp. *caldo*)

*tūtū kâ*  
 paper ADD  
 more paper

(See also 7.25.)

Three locative adverbs function as deictics: *yaha* or *ya* ‘here’, *điān* ‘there’ (near addressee), and *ínxan* or *xan* ‘over there’. These words are glossed ‘this’, ‘that’ (near addressee), and ‘that’, respectively, when they function as deictics. There is also a nominal marker that functions only as a deictic, *de* ‘that’. The deictic *điān* refers to objects near the addressee, and it often contrasts one referent to some other one, while *de* refers to objects near the addressee, but it does not contrast one object with another. The deictic *de* is also used for an object previously referred to in the discourse context.

The deictic *inxan* or *xan* refers to objects distant from both speaker and addressee.

*vēhē inxān*  
house that  
that house

*ñayíu yāha*  
people this  
these people

*te xān*  
he:ws that  
that man

*tūtū díān*  
paper that:near:addressee  
that paper

*tūtū dé*  
paper that  
that paper

Restrictive relative clauses follow the noun or pronoun nucleus. Relative clauses are usually marked as such by their distribution following nouns or pronouns and by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. In the case of relative clauses based on a locative adjunct, or on a location or time peripheral element, the locative noun *nūú* ‘face’ and the subordinate conjunction *na* ‘when’ function as relative pronouns.

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject, the object, an adjunct, or a peripheral element.

The head can be coreferential with the subject or the object. The head is coreferential with the subject when the verb of the relative clause is intransitive or when the only nominal of the relative clause is the verbal marker *ñāha* ‘known object’ (see §2.1.3).

*té n-kuhú*  
he:ws COM-be:sick  
the man who was sick

*té n-shánhni ñāha*  
he:ws COM-kill KNO  
the man who killed someone

*té kundáhu*  
 he:ws CON:be:poor  
 the man who is poor

*ndēyu n-kúhvâ*  
 food COM-be:bitter  
 food that was bitter

(See also 7.41.)

The head is coreferential with the object when the subject of the relative clause is a first or second person pronoun.

*téyĩ ndukū dá*  
 man:ws CON:look:for I:RES  
 the man for whom I'm looking

*téyĩ nduku-ń*  
 man:ws CON:look:for-you:RES  
 the man for whom you are looking

(See also 7.67.)

When the relative clause contains a noun phrase or a third person pronoun, the resulting construction is ambiguous. The head may be coreferential with either the subject or the object. The discourse and/or cultural context, however, usually clarifies the meaning.

*ńá ďakwaha nshúâ*  
 she CON:teach John  
 the woman who teaches John *or* the woman whom John teaches

*sé chindihú ñaďíhê*  
 he:MS CON:put:in:jail woman  
 the man who is putting the woman in jail *or* the man whom the woman is putting in jail

*séyĩ chindihú ña*  
 man:MS CON:put:in:jail she/her  
 the man who is putting her in jail *or* the man whom she is putting in jail

*sé ďakwaha ñā*  
 he:MS CON:teach she/her  
 the man who teaches her *or* the man whom she teaches

If the nominal that functions as a subject of the relative clause is a full noun phrase, rather than a pronoun, and if the speaker wishes to indicate

that the head is coreferential with the object, he uses the verbal marker *ñáha* in the relative clause. Compare the following examples with the first two in the above block of examples.

*ñá ðákwaha ñāha nshúâ*  
 she CON:teach KNO John  
 the woman whom John teaches

*sé chindihú ñāha ñadthí*  
 he:MS CON:put:in:jail KNO woman  
 the man whom the woman is putting in jail

*ñadthí n-dandoō ñāha yñ ña*  
 woman COM:leave KNO husband her  
 the woman whose husband left her

The head may also be coreferential with an adjunct. The locative noun *nūú* 'face' optionally follows the head noun and functions as a relative pronoun.

*yūkū nuu shko shehên ro*  
 mountain face CON:HAB CON:go we:IN  
 the mountain where we habitually go

*ñūú n-shéhên te*  
 town COM-go he:WS  
 the town he went to

(See also 7.59.)

The head may also be coreferential with a peripheral element. When the peripheral element is location, the locative noun *nūú* 'face' optionally follows the head and functions as a relative pronoun. When the peripheral element is time, the subordinate conjunction *na* 'when' optionally follows the head and functions as a relative pronoun.

*ñayú nuu tashnúni ianshūsh*  
 people face CON:rule God  
 people in the place where God reigns

*ñá nuu shīnō kwéchi ða*  
 she face CON:run errand I:RES  
 the woman in the place where I serve

*kāú n-shéhên te nūndúa*  
 day COM-go he:WS Oaxaca  
 the day he went to Oaxaca

*kāú nā n-shéhên te nūndúa*  
 day when COM-go he:ws Oaxaca  
 the day he went to Oaxaca

Sentences with equative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject or a peripheral element.

*té kuū díto dá*  
 he:ws CON:be uncle my:RES  
 the man who is my uncle

*té kuū yĕ ĩa*  
 he:ws CON:be husband her  
 the man who is her husband

*té kuū präsidenté*  
 he:ws CON:be president  
 the man who is president (Sp. *presidente*)

*té kuū musikâ*  
 he:ws CON:be music  
 the man who is a musician (Sp. *música*)

*kwĭá n-kúu nshŭá präsidenté*  
 year COM-be John president  
 the year John was president

Stative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

*té ðuxún*  
 he:ws tall  
 the tall man

*yŭshā luhlē*  
 corndough thick  
 thick dough

(See also 7.9 and 7.28.)

In relative clauses numerals function like stative verbs to express ordinals; they follow the equative verb *kuū* 'to be'.

*kiū kuū unĭ*  
 day CON:be three  
 the third day

(See also 7.24.)

There are also sequences in which a noun (or complex noun nucleus) modifies another noun that should probably be considered to contain relative clauses with a deleted verb. The second noun may give the material out of which the first is made, the topic of the first noun, what is contained in the first noun, or a specifying characteristic of the first noun.

*dúndú ñuâ*

doll wax

wax doll

*ñunu yohó*

net rope

net made of rope

*vehe ndóhó*

house adobe

an adobe brick house

*vehe tküyêê*

house maguey:leaf

a house made of maguey (century plant) leaves

*ñuhu trüü*

land wheat

wheat (Sp. *trigo*) field

*kwentü konéxó*

story rabbit

a story (Sp. *cuento*) about a rabbit (Sp. *conejo*)

*tnúhú ianshúsh*

word God

the word of God

*shítóho ñúhu*

owner land

owner of the land

*shítóho véhe*

owner house

owner of the house

*yíka tilâ*

basket bread

a basket in which to store bread (Sp. *Castilla* 'Castile')

*yīka ndondohó*  
 basket handle  
 a basket with a handle

(See also 7.6.)

**3.1.4 Combinations of elements.** All four nonnuclear elements (quantifier, relative clause, scope, and deictic) combine freely, although scope and deictic are rare following long relative clauses. Also, subclasses of words and individual words show cooccurrence restrictions. For example, the specifier *mee* does not occur with *nī* 'just' or *nga* 'just'. The order of postnominal elements is: relative clause, scope, and deictic.

*ḍichi lúchí nī*  
 child small:SG LIM  
 just the smaller child

*ñâ n-kíshí xan*  
 she COM-come that  
 that woman that came

*mee ñadíhí n-shéhên xan*  
 self woman COM-go that  
 that very woman who went

*kwēhē ñá ka kundáhú xân*  
 many she PL CON:be:poor that  
 those many poor women

*úú ḍichi lúchí nī xan*  
 two child small:SG LIM that  
 just those two small children

*kwēhē ñá ka kuū maéstrá xân*  
 many she PL CON:be teacher that  
 those many women who are teachers (Sp. *maestra*)

*ñá ka kuū maéstra nī xan*  
 she PL CON:be teacher just that  
 those women who are just teachers

In the last example the limiter forms part of the noun phrase within the relative clause, but the deictic modifies the head noun.

It is also possible for a noun to be modified by two relative clauses. Both may be based on stative verbs, or one may be based on a stative verb and the other on a content verb. When there are two stative verbs, the order



is usually determined by convention. For example, color precedes size, and size precedes gender.

*đanhma kwishí kánhnû*  
 clothing white big:SG  
 large white clothing

*ȳka kwechi tkúte*  
 basket small:PL round  
 small round baskets

A relative clause based on a stative verb always precedes one based on a content verb.

*kwēhē sé kwechi kahū lívrú*  
 many he:MS small:PL CON:read book  
 many boys who are reading books (Sp. *libro*)

*kwēhē té vahá n-ká kuu prisidenté*  
 many he:WS good COM-PL be president  
 many good men who were president

A quantifier such as *ĩn* 'one' may occur in noun phrases with no nucleus expressed; examples are found in 7.12–13, 7.18, and 7.21–22.

### 3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

Measurement noun phrases consist of a noun phrase expressing a unit of measurement, usually modified by a preposed quantifier and occasionally by a short postposed relative clause. They occur only as quantifiers in other noun phrases, and in the following examples, the higher noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

*lítrú (petroleú)*  
 liter (kerosene)  
 a liter (Sp. *litro*) (of kerosene [Sp. *petroleo*])

*úní táyu (ndíshâ)*  
 three pair (sandal)  
 three pairs (of sandals)

*úú lítru (petroleú)*  
 two liter (kerosene)  
 two liters (of kerosene)

*ĩn nuhne kánhnú (ĩĩ kwíshí)*  
 one bundle big:SG (candle white)  
 a large bundle (of white candles)

### 3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a possessed noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. The nucleus is either an inherently possessed noun, such as a kinship term or a body part, or an optionally possessed noun. The possessor is a full noun phrase.

*ndáhá ñá*  
 hand her  
 her hand

*đanhma maríá*  
 clothing Mary  
 Mary's (Sp. *María*) clothing

(See also 7.14–15, 7.23–24, 7.27, 7.52, 7.62, and 7.74.)

The citation form for an inherently possessed noun is a short possessive noun phrase with *ro* 'first person plural inclusive' as the possessor.

*ndaha ro*  
 hand our:IN  
 hand *or* our hands

*kúhú ro*  
 sister:FE our:IN  
 our sister

This pronoun is also used idiomatically in many vocative forms.

*taā ro*  
 father our:IN  
 father! (lit. 'our father', used to address both God and one's own father)

The possessive noun phrase plus the verb *iō* 'to exist' is one of the chief devices of the language to convey possession of any entity.

*iō vehe đá*  
 CON:exist house my:RES  
 I have a house.

Possessive noun phrases may be expanded by optional elements. A quantifier may precede the nucleus; and a short relative clause, the nominal marker *ka* 'own', the plural marker *koio*, or the limiter *ni* may come between the nucleus and the possessor.

*úú lívru kwéhe nshúâ*  
two book red John  
John's two red books

*taā ka te*  
father own his:ws  
his own father

*đíkí kōio ña*  
head PL her  
their heads

*ñĩ ni t̃*  
skin LIM its:AML  
just the animal's skin

*đanhma ni ñad̃íhí*  
clothing LIM woman  
just clothing for women

A longer relative clause occasionally follows the possessor and refers to the nucleus.

*tnúhú ianshúsh yod̃ōtnúni*  
word God CON:be:written  
the word of God which is written down

*vēhe solndádo n-shānu-s*  
house soldier COM-destroy-he:MS  
the soldier's house which he destroyed

The limiter may follow the possessor and be ambiguous as to whether it refers to the nucleus or to the possessor.

*ndatnú ñad̃íhí ní*  
thing woman LIM  
just things for women *or* things for just women

*ñĩi kíĩ ní*  
skin animal just  
just skins of animals *or* skins of just animals

When the full form of a deictic immediately follows a possessor expressed by a noun, the deictic refers to the possessor.

*úú lívru kwéhe nshúâ yaha*  
two book red John this  
two red books of this John

*úú lívru ðíchī yā inxân*  
two book child male that  
that boy's two books

*tihína ðichi kwēchi inxân*  
dog child small:PL that  
the dog of those small children

*tihína ðichi kwēchi shkwéla inxân*  
dog child small:PL school that  
the dog of the little children of that school (Sp. *escuela*)

*tihína ðichi kwēchi shkwéla yáhâ*  
dog child small:PL school this  
the dog of the little children of this school

When the shortened form of the deictic immediately follows a noun that is a possessor, it is ambiguous as to whether the deictic is part of the possessor or whether it is part of the possessive noun phrase.

*ðitō ñadíhí xân*  
uncle woman that  
that woman's uncle *or* that uncle of the woman

*lívru kwéhe nshúâ ya*  
book red John this  
the red books of this John *or* these red books of John

*shtoho ngútu ndóyo xan*  
owner ox com:be:lost that  
the owner of that lost ox *or* that owner of the lost ox

When a postnuclear element follows a possessor that is expressed by a pronoun, however, there is no ambiguity. If the possessor is a poststressed pronoun (see §5.4), the postnuclear element refers to the noun nucleus; if the possessor is a prestressed pronoun, it refers to the possessor.

With poststressed pronouns:

*chūún ña inxân*  
 chicken her that  
 that chicken of the woman

*ngutu té xán*  
 ox his:ws that  
 that ox of his

*vehe te iō yáha*  
 house his:ws CON:exist here  
 his house which is here

*chūún ña ni*  
 chicken her LIM  
 just her chicken

With a prestressed pronoun:

*chuūn ñá inxân*  
 chicken her that  
 that woman's chicken

The possessor may itself be a possessive noun phrase.

*đahyá đilō đihí đa*  
 child uncle mother my:RES  
 child of my mother's uncle

*livrū ñani đá*  
 book brother:ME my:RES  
 my brother's book

### 3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed by preposing one of the following interrogative words to a noun phrase: *na* 'what?', *nadáá* 'how many?', *xūndu* 'who?', or *ndēđáá* 'which?'. The interrogative word is always initial in its noun phrase, and an interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence.

*na đichi*  
 what child  
 what child? (what kind of child?)

*nadáā te*  
 how:many he:ws  
 how many of them?

*xūndu vehé*  
 who house  
 whose house?

*ndéááā iin te*  
 which one he:ws  
 which one of the two?

Certain fixed interrogative phrases function like single-word interrogative pronouns or adverbs. They are:

*na shā*  
 what it:INAN  
 what?

*na hōra*  
 what hour  
 what time (Sp. *hora*)? or when?

*na kīú*  
 what day  
 what day? or when?

*na kwēnda*  
 what account  
 why (Sp. *cuenta*)?

*xūndu nūú*  
 who face  
 to whom?

### 3.5 Truth-Value Noun Phrases

Truth-value noun phrases affirm the locative existence or nonexistence or the presence or absence of an entity. They can be affirmative or negative. They occur only in focus position in the sentence and occur only with nonpotential aspects.

An affirmative truth-value noun phrase comprises *ná* 'affirmative' plus a noun phrase. The locative adverb *yāha* 'here' or its reduced form *ya* usually occurs with *ná*.

*na-r* ( *túū* *ya* )  
 AFF-I:FAM (CON:exist here)  
 (Here) I (am). *or* I (am here).

*ná-s* ( *vashī* *kóio* )  
 AFF-he:MS (INC:COME PL)  
 They (are coming).

*na véhe te* ( *iō* *yáhâ* )  
 AFF house his:WS (CON:exist here)  
 (Here is) his house. *or* His house (is here).

Occasionally, the verb of existence is unexpressed.

*nā tátná* ( *yáhâ* )  
 AFF medicine (here)  
 (Here is) the medicine.

A negative truth-value noun phrase comprises a compound negative plus a noun phrase; compound negatives are *ñatū*, *ñayō*, *mayō*, and *ñāđu*. Sometimes the interrogative pronoun *na* 'what?' follows the negative marker and is used in this construction to mean 'any'.

The marker *ñatū* is derived from *ñā* 'nonpotential negative' and *tuū* 'to exist' (in space); *ñatū* occurs when the following noun phrase has an inanimate referent.

*ñatū livru té* ( *néhe té* / *vashī á* )  
 NEG book his:WS (CON:hold he:WS INC:COME INT)  
 (Did he) not (bring) his books(?)

*ñatū na livru té* ( *néhe té* )  
 NEG what book his:WS (CON:hold he:WS)  
 (He does) not (have) any of his books (with him).

*ñatū ndishā ña* ( *iō á* )  
 NEG sandal her (CON:exist INT)  
 (Does she) not (have) any sandals(?)

*ñatū ndáá danhma ro* ( *vashī* )  
 NEG all clothing our:IN (INC:COME)  
 Not all of our clothing (is coming).

The markers *ñayō* and *mayō* are derived from *ñā* 'nonpotential negative' or *mā* 'potential negative' and *iō* 'to exist (continuative)'. These two forms occur when the following noun phrase has an animate referent.

*ñayō te (sháshi)*  
 NEG he:ws (CON:eat)  
 None of them (is eating). *or* No man who exists (is eating).

*ñayō te (túū)*  
 NEG he:ws (CON:exist)  
 None of them (is here).

*mayō te (kūtúū)*  
 NEG he:ws (POT:exist)  
 None of them (will be here).

*mayō te (káshi)*  
 NEG he:ws (POT:eat)  
 None of them (will eat). *or* No man who exists (will eat).

The marker *ñādu* negates a noun and implies that an alternate noun could substitute for it; *ñādu* is derived from *ñā* ‘nonpotential negative’ and *kuū* ‘to be’.

*ñādu díó (kúú / chi vestidō kúu)*  
 NEG skirt (CON:be because dress CON:be)  
 ([It] is) not a skirt (because [it] is a dress [Sp. *vestido*]).

*ñādu díó (n-kúu / chi vestidō n-kúu)*  
 NEG skirt (COM-be because dress COM-be)  
 ([It] was) not a skirt (because [it] was a dress).

### 3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Adverbial noun phrases are either basic or possessive. The first subtype consists of a basic noun phrase with a locative or temporal noun or pronoun nucleus. They function as locative adjuncts and as location or time peripheral elements.

With a locative noun nucleus:

*ichī kānhnu*  
 road big:SG  
 a big road

*īñ nuu naní yúku kánhnú*  
 one face CON:be:named mountain big:SG  
 a place called Large Mountain



With a temporal noun nucleus:

*kiū kánhnû*  
day big:SG  
an important day

*kiū ii*  
day holy  
a holy day

*kiū ndiyê*  
day dead  
the day of the dead (All Saints' Day)

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with an inherently possessed locative noun as nucleus. These nouns are mainly body-part nouns used with extended meanings, but the Spanish loanword *kwenda* 'account' also occurs. These phrases do not usually contain prenuclear elements or postnuclear elements other than possessor. They function as adjuncts (see §1.1.4) and as peripheral elements (see §1.1.7).

*nūú ña*  
face her  
her face

*đikĩ yúku*  
head mountain  
top of the mountain

*shiti sēmánâ*  
stomach week  
during the week (Sp. *semana*)

*điki yōó*  
head moon  
the end of the month

*nuu ñúhu*  
face ground  
on the ground

*nuu mésha*  
face table  
on the table (Sp. *mesa*)

(See also 7.69.)

When the body-part nouns *nūú* ‘face’ and *shiti* ‘stomach’ have specialized meanings, they may be modified by a quantifier.

*ĩn nuu kóhó*  
one face plate  
on a plate

*ɖava shūi véhe*  
half stomach house  
in the middle of the house

### 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.

*kúhú ɖa / líndá*  
sister:FE my:RES Linda  
my sister, Linda (Sp. *Linda*)

*ñūū / nuu n-shátashehe te*  
town face COM-dance he:ws  
the town, the place where he danced

*te tashnuni / te kuū prisidenté /*  
he:ws CON:rule he:ws CON:be president

*te xahān tnúhúñuɖāu*  
he:ws CON:speak Mixtec  
he who rules, he who is president, he who speaks Mixtec

*ɖa'ñá / se yakwa*  
I:RES he:MS crippled  
myself, a crippled man

*ɖító-s / sé kuhú*  
uncle-his:MS he:MS sick  
his uncle, the one who is sick

Appositional noun phrases, like appositional verb phrases (see §2.6), often serve as a literary device. The nucleus is repeated, and when it is modified twice, the modifiers are different, but often semantically related.

*ɖanhma váhâ / ɖanhma víta*  
clothing good clothing soft  
fine, soft clothing

*đitā kéē / đitā ndáhu*  
 tortilla humble tortilla poor  
 a poor man's tortillas

*itáhu nūú / itáhu yátâ*  
 little face little back  
 a little in the front and a little in the back

*nuu ñúhu / nuu ndehyú*  
 face land face mud  
 in the mud

*ĕĕn sha vī / ĕĕn sha vahá*  
 one it:INAN gentle one it:INAN good  
 a good and pleasant thing

### 3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are coordinate or disjunctive.

There are three ways of coordinating noun phrases within the bounds of a single sentence. They may be linked by *shihin* 'with' or 'along with', by *đu* 'also', or by pause.

Additive noun phrases with *shihin* occur in all noun phrase positions. These phrases function as a unit. For example, animate subjects linked by *shihin* perform the action of the verb at the same time in the same place, and inanimate nouns linked by *shihin* often refer to substances mixed together. An additive noun phrase that functions as a subject often occurs with a plural marker in the verb phrase (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3). The preposition *shihin* may occur after each item in a series, except the last, it may occur only after the first item in a series, or it may occur only before the last item in a series. No change in meaning is associated with any of these variants.

*(n-shéhên) te shihin đahyá te*  
 (COM-go) he:ws with child his:ws  
 He and his child (went).

*(n-ká kida triū) te shihin ñadíhí tē shihin đahyá te*  
 (COM-PL do work) he:ws with woman his:ws with child his:ws  
 He and his wife and child (worked).

*(n-ká kida triū) te shihin ñadíhí tē / đahyá te*  
 (COM-PL do work) he:ws with woman his:ws child his:ws  
 He and his wife and child (worked).

(*xwáhân*) *tāā i / dīhî i / kúhâ i*  
 (INC:go) father UN mother UN sister:ME UN

*shihin ñanî i*  
 with brother:ME UN

His father, mother, sister, and brother (went).

(*xahân te*) *nuu nshúâ shihin mariâ*  
 (CON:speak he:ws) face John with Mary  
 (He is talking) to John and Mary.

(*n-káda tniū te*) *sha shēhe nshúâ shihin mariâ*  
 (COM-do work he:ws) CMP foot John with Mary  
 (He worked) for John and Mary. *or* (He worked) instead of John and Mary.

(*iō véhe*) *xusēé shihin mariâ*  
 (CON:exist house) Joseph with Mary  
 Joseph (Sp. *José*) and Mary (have a house).

(*n-shíhî dīhî*) *yōó shihin ngándii*  
 (COM-die mother) moon with sun  
 (The mother of) the moon and the sun (died).

(*n-shíhi ña*) *kafeē shihin ashúka*  
 (COM-drink she) coffee with sugar  
 (She drank) coffee (Sp. *café*) and sugar (Sp. *azúcar*).

In some cases an additive noun phrase could be reinterpreted as a simple noun phrase followed by an associative adjunct (see §1.1.4). For example, the first sentence above could also be translated, 'He went with his child.'

Additive noun phrases with *shihin* show attraction when the second of two component noun phrases permits the interpretation that its referent is included in the first one; that is, these phrases are partially coreferential. The first component is a noun phrase with a quantifier.

*ndūú-s shihin ñanî-s*  
 the:two-he:MS with brother:ME-his:MS  
 he and his brother

Some additive noun phrases that are linked with *shihin* have an idiomatic meaning.

*vēhe shihin vehé*  
 house with house  
 from house to house

The marker *đu* 'also' links noun phrases which function as subjects or objects in a series; *đu* follows the last item in a series of nouns. When it links subjects, it links them to a single plural marker in the verb phrase. Nouns linked by *đu* perform the action of the verb at the same time in the same place, but the actions do not need to be as closely related as those where the nouns are linked by *shihin*.

(*n-ká káhu*) *ñadthí* / *téyü* / *đichi kwé'chí* *đu*  
 (COM-PL study) woman man child small:PL also  
 The women, men, and children (studied).

(*nduku ñá*) *gayétá* / *nduchi tnúú* / *ndiu chūún* *đu*  
 (CON:look:for she) cookie legume black egg chicken also  
 (She looked for) cookies (Sp. *galleta*), black beans, and chicken eggs.

(*n-ká sheen ñayú*) *íí* / *ínu* / *ndīđi kwíshi* *đu*  
 (COM-PL buy people) candle cigarette liquor white also  
 (The people bought) candles, cigarettes, and pulque.

Noun phrases linked by pause do not necessarily perform the action of the verb at the same time or in the same place.

(*n-ká káhu*) *ñadthí* / *téyü* / *đichi kwé'chí*  
 (COM-PL study) woman man child small:PL  
 Women, men, and small children (studied).

(*ka shāshi te*) *víhndé* / *nduchi / chāka /*  
 (PL CON:eat he:ws) nopal legume fish

*tílá / đúhân / đítá*  
 bread chocolate tortilla

(They eat) prickly pear cactus leaves, beans, fish, bread, chocolate, and tortillas.

(*shkō đandē* *táhú te*) *ñíhi* /  
 (HAB CON:put:in:again gift he:ws) sweatbath

*yuté / nuu n-káku-s*  
 river face COM-be:born-he:MS

(He places offerings) in the sweatbath, in the river, and where he was born.

A fourth way to link noun phrases involves repeating the verb.

Additive noun phrases that show disjunction are linked by a 'or' or *ni* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*). Any number of noun phrases may be linked by *a* or *ni*: *a* occurs before the last item, and *ni* occurs before each item.

With *a*:

(*káúū tē*) *kwéhé yuchi a kwehe bála*  
 (POT:die he:ws) sickness knife or sickness bullet  
 (He will die from) a knife wound or from being shot (Sp. *bala*).

(*ka tné'né*) *ǀdichi kwéchî / té shanhnu / ñá shanhnu /*  
 (PL CON:drown) child small:PL he:ws old she old

*ngūtu / a tkāchi*  
 ox or sheep

Children, old men, old women, oxen, or sheep (drown in the current).

With *ni*:

*ni ǀǀhi te / ni ǀahyá te / ni ñani 'té*  
 nor mother his:ws nor child his:ws nor brother:ME his:ws  
 neither his wife, his child, nor his brother

*ni mée-s / ni mée ña*  
 nor SPEC-he:MS nor SPEC she  
 neither he nor she

### 3.9 Repetitive Noun Phrases

Repetitive noun phrases comprise a repeated noun or a repeated numeral plus noun. The limiter *ni* optionally follows the second noun.

*pēshu pēshu*  
 peso peso  
 in denominations of pesos (Sp. *peso*)

*hōra hōra*  
 hour hour  
 by the hour

*yoho yoho ní*  
 root root LIM  
 only at the roots

*shēhe shéhê ni tnu*  
 foot foot LIM its:WOD  
 only at the foot of the trees

*ĩn shío ĩn shío íchi*  
 one side one side road  
 each on a side of the road

In the above two examples, the repetitive noun phrase contains a possessed noun, and the two repetitions share a single possessor.

### 3.10 Personal-Name Noun Phrases

Personal-name noun phrases consist of one of four markers that indicate respect followed by a noun nucleus. These markers are: *đi* ‘aunt’ preceding a woman’s name, *to* ‘uncle’ or *ta* ‘father’ preceding a man’s name, and *ndi* ‘deceased’ preceding a name or a kinship term.

*đi tmárta*  
 aunt Martha  
 Mrs. Martha

*to spédrú*  
 uncle Peter:MS  
 Uncle Peter

*to smáarkú*  
 uncle Mark:MS  
 Mr. Mark

*to nmáarkú*  
 uncle Mark:ws  
 Mr. Mark

*ta pédrú*  
 father Peter  
 Mr. Peter

*ndi pédrú*  
 deceased Peter  
 the late Peter

*ndí taā đa*  
 deceased father my:RES  
 my deceased father





## 4

# Other Phrases

### 4.1 Quantifier Phrases

**4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases.** In additive numeral phrases simple numerals combine to form the numerals eleven through fourteen, sixteen through nineteen, twenty-one through thirty, and thirty-five. The larger numeral always occurs first. When the numeral *shá'hún* 'fifteen' occurs as the nonfinal numeral in additive numeral phrases, a reduced form, *sháún*, occurs.

*ú'shí* *ú'ú*  
ten two  
twelve

*sháún* *ín*  
fifteen one  
sixteen

*ó'kó* *ú'shí*  
twenty ten  
thirty

*ó'kó* *shá'hún*  
twenty fifteen  
thirty-five

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

ó 'kó    ú 'shí    ú 'ú  
 twenty ten    two  
 thirty-two

ó 'kó    shá 'hún    kó 'ón  
 twenty fifteen    four  
 thirty-nine

**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. When the numeral twenty occurs as the nucleus of an attributive numeral phrase, a suppletive allomorph, *ǎi 'kó*, occurs.

kó 'ón    ǎi 'kó  
 four twenty  
 eighty

ú 'ná    sientú  
 eight hundred  
 eight hundred (Sp. *ciento*)

ú 'ní    míl  
 three thousand  
 three thousand (Sp. *mil*)

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

ú 'ú    ǎi 'kó    sháún    ǎn  
 two twenty fifteen one  
 fifty-six

ú 'shá    sientú    ú 'ní    ǎi 'kó    ú 'shí    ǎn  
 seven hundred three    twenty ten    one  
 seven hundred seventy-one

ǎn    míl    é 'ǎn    sientú    ú 'ní    ǎi 'kó    sháún    ú 'ní  
 one thousand nine hundred three    twenty fifteen three  
 one thousand nine hundred seventy-eight

**4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases.** A numeral (or short numeral phrase) and the numeral classifier *tnáhá* 'companion' combine to form aggregative numeral phrases, which are relatively rare. In this construction *tnáhá* means 'together'; it does not occur with the numeral one. In the following example, an entire noun phrase is given with the part outside the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

*ú'ní tnáhá (té)*  
 three companion (he:ws)  
 the three (of them) together

Aggregative numeral phrases may be questioned.

*ná'dá tnáhá(-ń)*  
 how:many companion(-you:RES)  
 How many (of you) (are there)?

**4.1.4 Expanded numeral phrases.** A simple numeral, an additive numeral phrase, or an attributive numeral phrase may serve as the nucleus of expanded numeral phrases.

*í'ñú (véhé)*  
 six (house)  
 six (houses)

*sháún ú'ní (véhé)*  
 fifteen three (house)  
 eighteen (houses)

*ú'ú dí'kó (véhé)*  
 two twenty (house)  
 forty (houses)

*ú'ní dí'kó ú'shí ñn (véhé)*  
 three twenty ten one (house)  
 seventy-one (houses)

*đává (kiló)*  
 fraction (kilogram)  
 half (a kilogram [Sp. *kilo*])

*đává (nú'ú ndúté)*  
 fraction (face water)  
 midway (across the river)

There is one prenuclear position, which comprises the following elements: *ní* 'not even' (Sp. *ni*); *váá* 'approximately'; *ná'shá* 'what?', used in

this context to mean 'about'; *níná* 'every'; and *ndaá* 'all'. The conjunction *ní* 'not even' occurs only with the numeral nucleus *ńn* 'one'. The general quantifier *ndaá* 'all' fuses with *ú'ú* 'two' and *ú'ní* 'three' to form *nduú* 'both' and *ndruní* 'the three'. In combination with other numerals, *ndaá* is usually reduced to *nh* before a vowel and *n* before a consonant. The combination of *ndaá* and a following numeral functions in the larger discourse context to refer to a previously mentioned number of items or people.

*ní ńn*  
nor one  
not even one

*váá ú'shí (d́á)*  
approximately ten (I:RES)  
approximately ten (of us)

*váá kó'ón (yútnú)*  
approximately four (tree)  
approximately four (trees)

*ná'shá ó'kó (ńá'yíu)*  
what twenty (people)  
about twenty (people)

*ntná ú'ná (kí'ú)*  
every eight (day)  
every eight (days)

*nduú (té)*  
both (he:ws)  
both (of them)

*nduú (tnáhá té)*  
both (companion he:ws)  
both (of them together)

*nduú (yá shíhín ńá'ní yá)*  
both (DEI with brother:ME DEI)  
both (of them, the holy one and his brother)

*ndruní (ró)*  
the:three (we:IN)  
the three (of us)

*nkó 'ón(-s)*  
 all:four(-he:MS)  
 all four (of them)

*nshá 'hún (í)*  
 all:fifteen (UN)  
 all fifteen (of them)

*nhó 'kó (ñá)*  
 all:twenty (she)  
 all twenty (of them)

*nhú 'ní dí'kó ú'shí (tí)*  
 all:three twenty ten (it:AML)  
 all seventy (of the animals)

There are two postnuclear positions. The first is expressed by four elements. One of these is the verb *yodó* 'to be on top', which in this context means 'another half'.

*í'ñú yodó (dí'tá)*  
 six CON:be:on:top (tortilla)  
 six and a half (tortillas)

*ñn yodó (orá)*  
 one CON:be:on:top (hour)  
 one and one half (hours [Sp. *hora*])

*ñn yodó (kwiá)*  
 one CON:be:on:top (year)  
 a (year) and a half

*ñn yodó (sientú)*  
 one CON:be:on:top (hundred)  
 one (hundred) fifty (pesos)

*(ká'á) í'ñú yodó*  
 (metal) six CON:be:on:top  
 half past six (o'clock)

In the above example, the expanded numeral phrase follows the noun nucleus because it serves as an ordinal.

The remaining three elements that express the first postnuclear position are the limiter *ní* 'only', the additive *ká* 'more', and *ngá* 'just more'. When the numeral *ñn* 'one' occurs with *ní* or *ngá*, the suppletive allomorph *í'dí* is sometimes used.

*i'đí ní*

one LIM  
only one

*i'đí ngá*

one just:more  
just one more

*ní ñn ká*

nor one ADD  
not even one more

*ñn ká (véhé)*

one ADD (house)  
another (house)

*ñn ká (ñá'yíu)*

one ADD (people)  
other (people)

*ú'ní ní*

three LIM  
only three

*i'ñú ngá*

six just:more  
just six more

*ñn ká (ueltá)*

one ADD (time)  
another (time [Sp. *vuelta*]) or one more (time)

*ñn ká (kí'ú)*

one ADD (day)  
another (day)

*ñn ká (ladú)*

one ADD (side)  
the other (side [Sp. *lado*])

*i'đí ní (véhé xéró'ñú)*

one LIM (house Jerry)  
only (at Jerry's [Sp. *Gerónimo*] house)

*i'đí ní ueltá (n-kané i'ní té)*

one LIM time (COM-spring:forth insides he:ws)  
(He vomited) ONLY ONCE.

*nduú ní(-s) shíhín n̄á 'ní-s)*  
 both LIM(-he:MS with brother:ME-his:MS)  
 only the two (of them, he and his brother)

*kó 'ón ní (tvíní)*  
 four LIM (money)  
 only fifty centavos (lit. only four [bits (Sp. *tomín*)])

*ǎává ní (panelá)*  
 fraction LIM (brown:sugar)  
 only half (a block of brown sugar [Sp. *panela*])

(See also 7.22.)

Note that the limiter occurs also at the end of the entire noun phrase (see §3.1.4). When the limiter is part of the numeral phrase, it refers only to the numeral; when it is part of the noun phrase, it refers to the entire noun phrase.

In the following example, two quantifier phrases occur; the second one is an expanded numeral phrase with *ká* 'more', and its meaning is determined by the context provided by the first phrase.

*ǎává (n̄á 'yíu) ... ǎává ká (n̄á 'yíu)*  
 fraction (people) ... fraction ADD (people)  
 some (of the people) ... the rest (of the people)

The second postnuclear position is expressed only by the numeral *ǎává* 'fraction', which occurs only with the numeral nucleus *íín* 'one'. Because *ǎává* follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the expanded numeral phrase occurs, the quantifier is discontinuous. The combination occurs only in limited contexts, such as with *ǎí 'tá* 'tortilla' as noun nucleus.

*íín (ǎí 'tá) ǎává*  
 one (tortilla) fraction  
 half (a tortilla)

The numeral *ǎává* may also occur as a numeral nucleus, as seen in various examples above.

**4.1.5 General quantifier phrases.** Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. The nucleus consists of a nonnumeral quantifier.

*(tásh) itáhú*  
 (POT:give) a:little  
 (Give [me]) a little!

(ngó 'ó-ń) shakú  
 (POT:sit-you:RES) a:little  
 (Sit down) for awhile!

(ǎkó-ń) shakú  
 (POT:sell-you:RES) a:little  
 (Sell) some!

ítáhú (yó 'ó luchí)  
 a:little (moon small:SG)  
 a crescent (moon)

kwé 'hé (ueltá)  
 many (time)  
 many (times)

kwé 'hé (ítí shíhín í'tá)  
 many (candle with flower)  
 many (candles and flowers)

ndaá (kǎ'ú)  
 all (day)  
 every (day)

ndaá (yarné 'shí)  
 all (Friday)  
 every (Friday [Sp. viernes])

ndaá (íchí)  
 all (road)  
 the whole (road) or all (the roads)

nitúhú (ñú 'ú)  
 throughout (town)  
 throughout (the town)

nitúhú (inxán)  
 throughout (over:there)  
 everywhere (over there)

nitúhú (ǎé'hvá kó'ó yú'té)  
 throughout (canyon snake river)  
 throughout (River Snake Canyon)

nitúhú (n-shehén ǎá)  
 throughout (COM-go I:RES)  
 everywhere (I went)



*nínáhá* (*ueltá dá n-kídá té*)  
 every (time thus COM-do he:ws)  
 EVERY (TIME he did it like that).

Several compound forms beginning with *náá* 'all' occur in the nucleus of the general quantifier phrase.

*ndantu 'hú* (*shá xwéén dá*)  
 all (it:INAN POT:buy I:RES)  
 every(thing that I'll buy)

*ndantu 'hú* (*fversá í*)  
 all (force UN)  
 all (their might [Sp. *fuerza*])

*ntakántu 'hú* (*kíí*)  
 all (animal)  
 all kinds (of animals)

*ntakántu 'hú* (*shá kuyahú*)  
 all (it:INAN CON:be:sold)  
 all the kinds (of things that are sold)

*nánditu 'hú* (*shá kuyahú*)  
 all (it:INAN CON:be:sold)  
 all parts (of that which is sold)

The specifier *mée* also occurs as the nucleus of the general quantifier phrase.

*mée* (*ianyúúsh*)  
 SPEC (God)  
 (God [Sp. *Dios*]) Himself

One other word occurs as a general quantifier, *đavá 'hánga* 'whatever'.

*đavá 'hánga* (*ñá 'yú*)  
 whatever (people)  
 whoever

*đavá 'hánga* (*kí 'ú*)  
 whatever (day)  
 whenever

*đavá 'hánga* (*nú 'ú*)  
 whatever (face)  
 wherever

There is one prenuclear element, expressed only by the intensifying elements *yó* 'very' and *lokó* 'crazy' (Sp. *loco*). This prenuclear element is rare and occurs only with *ítáhu* 'a little' and *kwé'hé* 'many'.

*yó ítáhu (kosechá)*  
 INTS a:little (harvest)  
 very few (crops [Sp. *cosecha*])

*yó kwé'hé (mi'hí)*  
 INTS many (garbage)  
 a whole lot (of garbage)

*lokó kwé'hé (káí)*  
 crazy many (animal)  
 a great many (animals)

Occasionally both intensifiers occur together.

*yó lokó kwé'hé (tvini)*  
 INTS crazy many (money)  
 an awful lot (of money)

There are three postnuclear elements: the limiter *ní*, the additive *ká*, and *ngá* 'just more'. They occur only with *ítáhu* 'a little', *shakú* 'a little', *kwé'hé* 'many', and the specifier *méé*, except that *ká* does not occur with *méé*.

*ítáhu ní (triú nú'ní)*  
 a:little LIM (wheat corn)  
 only a little bit (of wheat [Sp. *trigo*] and corn)

*shakú ní (yó'ó)*  
 a:little LIM (moon)  
 only a few (months)

*(tásh) ítáhu ní*  
 (POT:give) a:little LIM  
 (Give [me]) only a little bit!

*(tásh) ítáhu ká*  
 (POT:give) a:little ADD  
 (Give [me]) a little bit more!

*(tásh) ítáhu ngá*  
 (POT:give) a:little just:more  
 (Give [me]) just a little bit more!

*méé ní (tníú)*  
 SPEC LIM (work)  
 only (work)

*méé ngá (chudí'ni kwechtí)*  
 SPEC just:more (star small:PL)  
 just (little stars), nothing more

*méé ngá (dá'ú víí)*  
 SPEC just:more (rain gentle)  
 just (gentle rain), nothing more

The following example shows both prenuclear and postnuclear positions.

*yó lokó kwé'hé ká*  
 INTS crazy many ADD  
 an awful lot more

**4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases.** A repeated numeral, which is usually grammatically simple, constitutes a simple distributive numeral phrase; the limiter *ní* may follow the second numeral or both numerals. This phrase expresses the meaning 'each' or 'in groups of'.

*íín íín (véhé)*  
 one one (house)  
 each (house)

*íín íín (ladú)*  
 one one (side)  
 (on) each (side [Sp. *lado*])

*íín íín(-ní)*  
 one one(-YOU:RES)  
 each (of you)

*íín íín ní*  
 one one LIM  
 only one by one

*íín ní íín ní (xwáhán té)*  
 one LIM one LIM (INC:GO he:WS)  
 ONE AT A TIME (they went).

*íín sientú íín sientú (í)*  
 one hundred one hundred (UN)  
 by hundreds (one hundred people in each group)

ú'ú dí'kó ú'shí ú'ú dí'kó ú'shí (í)  
 two twenty ten two twenty ten (UN)  
 by fifties (fifty people in each group)

ǎvǎ ǎvǎ ní  
 fraction fraction LIM  
 by halves

**4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases.** Two numerals of limited complexity, with the second expressing a somewhat larger quantity than the first, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The numerals are simply juxtaposed and express an approximation.

ǎn ú'ú (tú'tú)  
 one two (paper)  
 some (papers)

ú'ú ú'ní (kwí'hí)  
 two three (banana)  
 a few (bananas)

ú'ní kó'ón (ńá'yíu)  
 three four (people)  
 several (people)

ú'shí shá'hún (kí'ú)  
 ten fifteen (day)  
 a week or two<sup>3</sup>

**4.1.8 Repetitive quantifier phrases.** There are two ways to form repetitive quantifier phrases, which intensify the meaning of a numeral or general quantifier. In the first way, the quantifier is simply repeated; the limiter *ní* may follow the second one.

---

<sup>3</sup>It is possible to combine two numeral phrases, rather than two simple numerals, in an alternative relation, but it appears to be necessary to have a noun nucleus after each one, as seen in the following example.

nmá shá'hún (kí'ú) nmá ó'kó (kí'ú)  
 every fifteen (day) every twenty (day)  
 every two or three weeks

Because of the repeated noun, this example has the structure of an alternative noun phrase.

*ḁává ḁává (yúkú)*  
 fraction fraction (mountain)  
 the very middle (of the mountain)

*ítáhú ítáhú ní (káká ḁá)*  
 a:little a:little LIM (POT:walk I:RES)  
 LITTLE BY LITTLE (I'll walk).

Note that the form *ḁává ḁává* occurs in both repetitive quantifier phrases and in distributive numeral phrases. The ambiguity is resolved by context.

In the second way, the complementizer *shá* occurs between the repetitions; in the present data this construction occurs only with *kwé'hé* 'many'.

*kwé'hé shá kwé'hé (ñá'yú)*  
 many CMP many (people)  
 multitudes (of people)

*kwé'hé shá kwé'hé (ítí shodó té)*  
 many CMP many (candle CON:hang he:ws)  
 (He will hang) MANY MANY (CANDLES).

## 4.2 Adverb Phrases

**4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases.** The nucleus of basic adverb phrases may be a locative, temporal, or general adverb.

*víná (kunú ḁá shá kí'ḁí ḁá)*  
 now (CON:want I:RES CMP POT:sleep I:RES)  
 NOW (I want to go to sleep).

*ḁáá (n-shó'dó té ngútú)*  
 that:time (COM-ride he:ws bull)  
 AT THAT TIME (he rode the bulls).

*ndú'shí (má kutúú ḁá)*  
 next:year (NEG POT:be I:RES)  
 NEXT YEAR (I won't be [here]).

*ḁadá (ndíshí ntúku ḁá)*  
 then (POT:return:coming REP I:RES)  
 THEN (I'll come back again).

*ínxán (túú té)*  
 over:there (CON:be he:ws)  
 (He lives) OVER THERE.

(*ndaá nã'yú ðákeshio vinú vá'há ká kinhnánu*  
 (all people CON:distribute wine good ADD) first  
 (EVERYBODY gives out the better wine [Sp. *viño*] first.

*ðadá (ðákeshio i vinú ndahú ká)*  
 then (CON:distribute UN wine poor ADD)  
 THEN (they give out the poorer wine).

*shíká (xí'hín ðá)*  
 far (POT:go I:RES)  
 (I'm going) FAR (up the mountain).

These phrases have an optional prenuclear intensifier, expressed only by the intensifying elements *yó* 'very' and *lokó* 'crazy'.

(*ðichí luchí yó ní'hí (shinó)*  
 (unmarried:person small:SG) INTS fast (CON:run)  
 (THE LITTLE GIRL runs) very fast.

(*ðichí luchí yó ya'chí (ndíkó)*  
 (unmarried:person small:SG) INTS quickly (CON:grind)  
 (THE LITTLE GIRL grinds) very quickly.

*lokó vilí (shitá-ń)*  
 crazy pretty (CON:sing-you:RES)  
 (You sing) awfully pretty. *or* (You sing) very nicely.

They also have an optional postnuclear element expressed by the limiter *ní*, the additive *ká*, and *ngá* 'just more'.

*yáhá ní*  
 here LIM  
 just here

*ðíkó ngá*  
 only just:more  
 the only (thing)

*ðá ní*  
 thus LIM  
 just thus *or* also

*ínxán ní*  
 over:there LIM  
 just over there

*đíkó ní (ndetú ró)*  
 only LIM (CON:wait we:IN)  
 (We're) just (waiting).

*kinhnánu ká*  
 first ADD  
 at the very first

(See also 7.2.)

**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, prepositional phrases, or subordinate sentences. Appositional adverb phrases may be locative or temporal.

Locative:

*inxán / véhé marđúan shánhnú*  
 over:there house steward CON:be:mature  
 over there at the head steward's (Sp. *mayordomo*) house

*inxán ní / mersé*  
 over:there LIM Merced  
 just over there at the Merced (Sp. *Merced*) market

*nú'ú íó-ń xán / yá'tá véhé-ń*  
 face CON:exist-you:RES over:there back house-your:RES  
 over there where you live, behind your house

*nú'ú kúrushi kúú ú'ú / inxán*  
 face cross CON:be two over:there  
 at the second cross (Sp. *cruz*), over there

Temporal:

*tné'é / sabá'đú*  
 tomorrow Saturday  
 tomorrow, Saturday (Sp. *sábado*)

*né'hé / đá'tné*  
 early morning  
 early in the morning

*tné'e / đá'tné*  
 tomorrow morning  
 tomorrow in the morning

*ḍá'tné xán / ká'a ú'shá ḍá'tné*  
 morning that metal seven morning  
 that morning, at seven o'clock in the morning

*ó'kó ó'hón fébrerú / ḍáá*  
 twenty five February that-time  
 the twenty-fifth of February (Sp. *febrero*), on that day

*ḍisiembré sháún ú'ní / ḍáá*  
 December fifteen three that:time  
 December (Sp. *diciembre*) eighteenth, on that day

*ké'ú ó'kó ú'shí ín otubrí / ḍáá*  
 day twenty ten one October that:time  
 on the thirty-first of October (Sp. *octubre*), on that day

*ké'ú ó'hón xán / ḍáá*  
 day five that that:time  
 on the fifth day, on that day

*ké'ú kúú ú'shí ú'ú ḍisiembré / ké'ú shuhún*  
 day CON:be ten two December day CON:?

*gwaḍalupé / ḍáá*  
 Guadalupe that:time  
 on the twelfth day of December, on Guadalupe (Sp. *Guadalupe*)  
 Day, on that day

*ká'á ú'shá shá kwaá / shá*  
 metal seven it:INAN blind already  
 already, at seven o'clock in the evening

*ndé shá kwaá / ká'á ú'shá shá kwaá*  
 until it:INAN blind metal seven it:INAN blind  
 until in the evening, at seven o'clock in the evening

*ndé kwiá ká / ndé ná káká ká í shkwelá*  
 until year ADD until HORT POT:walk ADD UN school  
 until later, until he has been able to finish his schooling (Sp. *escuela*)

**4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases.** There are two ways to form additive adverb phrases. Two noncoreferential adverbs, adverb phrases, or adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6) may be simply juxtaposed.

*ndíúú shá kwaá*  
 day it:INAN blind  
 in the daytime and at night



In the second way, two noncoreferential adverbs, adverb phrases, adverbial noun phrases, or prepositional phrases with *ndé* 'until' are linked by *shihín* 'with'.

*yáhá shihín ndé nundúa*  
 here with until Oaxaca:City  
 from here to Oaxaca City

**4.2.4 Alternative adverb phrases.** Two noncoreferential adverbs may be juxtaposed to form alternative adverb phrases. This construction is therefore identical in structure with the additive adverb phrase. Each of these constructions is limited to a handful of examples, however, and so a particular example can be assigned to one or the other largely by convention.

*tné' é idá*  
 tomorrow day:after:tomorrow  
 tomorrow or the next day

*yáhá ínxán*  
 here over:there  
 here or there *or* wherever

**4.2.5 Repetitive adverb phrases.** There are two ways to form repetitive adverb phrases, which intensify the meaning of an adverb. In the first way, the adverb is simply repeated; the limiter *ní* may occur after each part, or rarely after only the second.

*đánaa đánaa*  
 suddenly suddenly  
 very suddenly

*vítná vítná*  
 now now  
 immediately

*kweé ní kweé ní*  
 slow LIM slow LIM  
 slowly slowly *or* little by little

(See also 7.45.)

In the second way, the complementizer *shá* occurs between the repetitions. In the present data, only *shiká* 'far' and *yátní* 'near' occur in this construction.

*shíká shá shíká (xwáhán té)*  
 far CMP far (INC:go he:ws)  
 (He went) AWFULLY FAR AWAY. (as to the United States)

*yátní shá yátní (vá 'shí tí)*  
 near CMP near (INC:COME ít:AML)  
 (The animal's getting) AWFULLY CLOSE.

Occasionally the second adverb is not identical to the first one, but is closely related to it. In the following example, *vítná dí* is a complex temporal adverb.

*vítná vítná dí*  
 now now INTS  
 immediately right now

Both simple repetition, and repetition with the complementizer *shá* between the two parts, are mechanisms used to intensify words that belong to various parts of speech. In addition to adverbs, they are used with quantifiers (see §4.1.8) and with stative verbs (see §2.4). The same two mechanisms are also used in restatement sentences (see §6.1.2).

### 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 or adverb phrase. 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 *shíhín* 'with'; *ndé* 'until', 'as far as', or 'even'; *đó* 'direction' (perhaps a shortened form of Spanish *lado* 'side'); *mén 'hñú* 'among'; and *shá shé 'hé* 'on behalf of' or 'on account of'. Prepositional phrases occur mainly as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

With *shíhín*:

*shíhín tá 'á í*  
 with father UN  
 with his father

*shíhín ñádíhí dá shíhín ndáá dá 'hyá dá*  
 with woman my:RES with all child my:RES  
 with my wife and all my children

*shíhín tnú'hú yá (n-kidá vá'há yá ndaá shá íó)*  
 with word DEI (COM-do good DEI all it:INAN CON:exist)  
 By His word (He made everything that there is).

With *ndé*:

*ndé vítná*  
 until now  
 until now

*ndé yáhá*  
 until here  
 even to here

*ndé tné'é / tné'é yané santú / dáá*  
 until tomorrow tomorrow Friday holy that:time  
 until tomorrow, Good (Sp. *santo*) Friday (Sp. *viernes*), that day

*ndé santú mingú*  
 until Santo Domingo  
 as far as (the town of) Santo Domingo (Sp. *Domingo*)

*ndé nú'ú túú sí*  
 until face CON:be he:MS  
 as far as where he lives

*ndé dá'hyá kwechí tá kakú ká*  
 until child small:PL not:yet POT:be:born ADD  
 even children not yet born

(See also 7.27.)

With *đó*:

*đó ñúkóhyo*  
 direction Mexico:City  
 in the direction of Mexico City

*đó đí'kí*  
 direction head  
 from the mountain (west)

*đó ní'ná*  
 direction ?  
 from the valley (east)

*đó nú'ú kané tá'chí đá'ú*  
 direction face CON:blow wind rain  
 in the direction of the place from which comes the rain wind (the  
 gentle wind, south, from Monte Negro)

*đó nú'ú kané tá'chí yú'há*  
 direction face CON:blow wind ice  
 in the direction of the place from which comes the icy wind (the  
 harsh wind, north, from Tidaa)

With *mén'hñú*:

*mén'hñú ñá'yú ñútnúu*  
 among people Tilantongo  
 in the midst of the people of Tilantongo

With *shá shé'hé*:

*shá shé'hé tá'á té*  
 CMP foot father his:ws  
 on account of his father

*shá shé'hé ñúhú*  
 CMP foot land  
 on account of the land

*shá shé'hé ró*  
 CMP foot us:IN  
 on our account

# 5

## Parts of Speech

### 5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

**5.1.1 Derivation.** Content verbs may be formed either by prefixation or by compounding.

There are two derivational prefixes, *ɗa-* ‘causative’ and *na-* or *nu-* ‘repetitive’.

The causative prefix *ɗa-* adds an agent; it combines with content verbs and also occasionally with nouns. It is attached to a stem that contains the segments of the potential aspect form, but sometimes differs from it in tone. Verbs that take the prefix *ku-* in potential aspect do not have it in causative forms.

*ɗā-ndōó*

CAUS-POT:remain

to abandon, to leave as is

*ɗā-ndoo*

CAUS-POT:be:clean

to erase

*ɗā-xihin*

CAUS-POT:go

to lose

*ḏā-xahan*

CAUS-POT:say  
to tempt

*ḏā-ndeha*

CAUS-POT:look:at  
to show (something) to (someone)

*ḏā-tnuni*

CAUS-mark  
to mark off (as boundaries)

The repetitive prefix *na-* combines with content verbs; it is also added to the potential aspect form.

*nā-xaan*

REP-POT:open  
to open again

*nā-nduku*

REP-POT:look:for  
to look for something lost

*nā-chihi*

REP-POT:cast:into  
to put (something) inside (something that opens on the side) again

*nā-kahnde*

REP-POT:cut  
to distribute (something that requires a payment)

*nā-kate*

REP-POT:scatter  
to wash

*nā-xāni*

REP-POT:hit  
to tell, to hit again

When *nā-* precedes stem-initial *k*, the resulting sequence may be *nd*, rather than the expected *nak*.

*ndaada* 'to make again' (cf. *kada* 'to do')

*ndee* 'to leave again' (cf. *kee* 'to leave')

*ndēē* 'to enter going down again' (cf. *keē* 'to enter going down')

*ndaa* ‘to ascend again’ (cf. *kaa* ‘to ascend’)

*nduu* ‘to become’ (cf. *kuu* ‘to be’)

The verb *ndaada* occurs only as the first element in compounds.

The prefix *nā-* also becomes *nd* before stative verbs with initial *v*.

*nd-víáí*

REP-warm

to become warm again (as a solid)

When *nā-* precedes the potential prefix *ku-*, the sequence *nuko* occurs, rather than the expected *naku*.

*nū-kondeha*

REP-POT:look:at

to see again (a blind person)

Both prefixes may occur on a single verb, with the causative prefix closer to the stem in most cases.

*nā-ḍa-ndeha*

REP-CAUS-CON:look:at

to show (something) to (someone) again

*nā-ḍa-xihin*

REP-CAUS-POT:go

to lose again

*nā-ḍa-kate*

REP-CAUS-POT:scatter

to cause to wash (clothes) again

*ḍā-nd-vidi*

CAUS-REP-warm

to warm up (something that was heated before)

*ḍā-na-nitáhu*

CAUS-REP-POT:receive:pardon

to cause to be saved

In compounding, which is very common, a complex verb nucleus (see §2.1.1) fuses to become a single word. The first part of the compound is a verb, and the second part can be any of various parts of speech. The verb in the first part is in continuative aspect, but it usually occurs in a reduced form. Sometimes a given verb has been reduced to a compound for some speakers, but not for others.

The verbs of existence *kuū* 'to be' (in time), *tuū* 'to exist' (in space), and *nduū* 'to become' all have shortened forms that combine with words from various parts of speech to create content verbs.

With *kuū*:

*ku-ndéhé*

CON:be-fierce

to be fierce

*ku-ndándú*

CON:be-ambitious

to be ambitious

*ku-duxun*

POT:be-tall

to become tall

*ku-vahá*

CON:be-good

to be good

*ku-kweđi*

*ini*

POT:be-POT:press:on insides

to be jealous

*kū-kaxān*

*ini*

POT:be-POT:ask:for insides

to have a desire for

*ku-điká*

POT:be-head

to be responsible (for something one has borrowed)

*ku-kwenda*

POT:be-account

to be the possession of (Sp. *cuenta* 'account')

*ku-ñuhu*

POT:be-ground

to be muddy (as water)

*ku-kahu*

POT:be-grave

to be gravely ill



*n-kú-naha*  
 COM:be-long:in:time  
 to have become a long time

*ku-~~d~~ava*  
 POR:be-half  
 to share equally (something given as a gift)

With *tuū*:

*tu-~~d~~úha*  
 CON:exist-thus  
 to stay without paying, to live together without marrying

*tu-ndáhu*  
 CON:exist-poor  
 to live with another family because of poverty

*tu-néé*  
 CON:exist-dark  
 to live without artificial lights, to live in ignorance

With *nduū*:

*ndū-ndéhé*  
 COM:become-fierce  
 to become fierce

*ndú-kanhnu*  
 COM:become-big:SG  
 to become large again

*ndū-vidí*  
 POR:become-warm  
 to become warm again

*ndū-~~d~~ahyá*  
 POR:become-child  
 to adopt

A number of position verbs occur as the first part of compounds, usually in a reduced form. They are *ka-* (*kaā*) ‘to lie’, *ke-* (*kêê*) ‘to enter going down’, and *shan-* (*shanī*) ‘to stand something up’.

With *ka-*:*ka-ndāá*

CON:lie-straight

to be level full (not heaping over)

*kā-ndee*

CON:lie-POT:guard

to watch and sleep

*kā-ndetāú*

CON:lie-CON:rest

to lie slanted (as a hill)

*kā-ndihi*

CON:lie-on:top

to lie on top of (as on a mat)

*kā-ndodō*

CON:lie-on:top

to lie on top of (as on a bed)

With *ke-*:*ké-yahú*

CON:enter:going:down-value

to be priced at

*ké-nuu*

CON:enter:going:down-CON:descend:again

to go down to go to a destination

*ké-hini*

COM-enter:going:down-insides

to understand

With *shan-*:*shan-yukū*

CON:stand-mountain

to place in a pile

*shan-tuū*

CON:stand-erect

to place in an erect position

Many other verbs occur as the first part of compounds, some of them in a reduced form. Some of the most common ones are: *chi-* (*chihī*) ‘to cast’ (into), *yī-* (*yihī*) ‘to be in’, *ke-* (*keē*) ‘to leave’, *nde-* (*ndeē*) ‘to leave again’, *tash-* (*tashī*) ‘to give’, *te-* (*teē*) ‘to shoot’, *xan-* (*xanī*) ‘to hit’, *kā-* (*kaā*) ‘to appear’, *kidā* ‘to do’, *ndada* ‘to make again’, *shekō* ‘gloss unknown’, and verbs that indicate motion and arrival.

With *chi-*:

*chī-nee*

CON:cast-dark

to put (something) inside (something else)

*chī-ndushī*

CON:cast-POT:be:buried

to bury (something), but not permanently

*chī-~~do~~*

CON:cast-blanket

to cover in order to protect

*chī-tuu*

CON:cast-erect

to put (something) inside (something else) in an erect position

*chī-ndeyu*

CON:cast-prone

to put (a container) upside down, to tip over and to spill accidentally

With *yī-*:

*yī-nee*

CON:be:in-dark

to be inside (something)

*yī-truū*

CON:be:in-POT:take

to hold (something else) up

*yī-trunī*

CON:be:in-mark

to be apportioned

*yī-ndeyū*

CON:be:in-prone

to be upside down (as a basket)

With *ke-*:*kē-ndōó*CON:leave-POT:remain  
to keep*kē-shiō*CON:leave-side  
to be distributed*n-ké-ndoŋo*COM-leave-on:top  
to be left overWith *nde-*:*nde-ndāá*POT:leave:again-straight  
to be redacted*ndē-nuu*CON:leave:again-POT:descend:again  
to shed (as skin)*ndē-ndaha*CON:leave:again-hand  
to drop*ndé-tkohí*COM:leave:again-swaybacked  
to be swaybackedWith *tash-*:*tash-ndetū*CON:give-CON:wait  
to cause (someone) to wait*tásh-kweē*CON:give-slow  
to cause (someone) to be delayed*tash-nuū*CON:give-borrowed  
to loan

With *te-*:

*tē-ndixûn*

CON:shoot-POT:be:tied

to tie (someone) to (something)

*tē-ñuhû*

CON:shoot-fire

to set on fire

With *xan-*:

*xān-yohō*

CON:hit-rope

to hit with a rope

*xān-tnaha*

CON:hit-companion

to fight

With *kaā*:

*kā-ndandu*

CON:appear-pretty

to be pretty and healthy

*kā-nduyu*

CON:appear-stake

to look healthy (animals)

*kā-ñadîhî*

CON:appear-woman

to be feminine

*kā-visha*

CON:appear-?

to be good looking and clean (people, clothing), to be without blood (meat)

With *kidā*:

*kidā-vahá*

CON:do-good

to make, to write

*kida-yatâ*  
 CON:do-back  
 to reject (someone)

*kida-dává*  
 CON:do-half  
 to divide in half (as work)

With *ndada*:

*ndāda-kanhnu*  
 POT:remake-big:SG  
 to make (something) larger, to worship

With *shekō*:

*shekō-vahá*  
 ?-good  
 to be hiding

*shekō-daká*  
 ?-CON:be:mixed  
 to be being mixed

*n-shéko-tuū*  
 COM-?-CON:exist  
 to become established (as a town)

With motion verbs:

*she-ndío*  
 CON:go-over  
 to move over to the side (when lying)

*she-xúhûn*  
 CON:go-IMP:hold  
 to spend money

*she-sheē*  
 CON:go-POT:arrive  
 to climb

*ki-tuhā*  
 POT:come-CON:be:prepared  
 to come closer

*n-kí-shēé*COM-COME-CON:arrive  
to arrive and stay

A compound verb may contain three parts.

*ki-nde-tnáhâ*CON:COME-POT:leave-companion  
to come apart

Sometimes the causative or repetitive prefix occurs with a compound verb.

*ɬa-kū-tnunī*CAUS-POT:be-mark  
to cause to be lit*ɬā-ku-kōhyo ini*CAUS-POT:be-damp insides  
to cause to be sad*nā-xun-ñahâ*CON:REP-?-KNO  
to give again*nā-chi-yahû*CON:REP-POT:cast-value  
to pay back

Some pairs of verbs that are transitive-intransitive counterparts differ in form only in their initial syllable, and sometimes also in tone.

Transitive

*kánhnû* 'will break'*kanu* 'will break into pieces'*kahnde* 'will cut'*kani* 'will hit'*chido* 'will cause to be on top'

Intransitive

*tnáhnû* 'will be broken'*tnánû* 'will be broken into pieces'*táhnđê* 'will be cut'*ñaní* 'will be hit'*kođo* 'will be on top'

Some verbs that differ in transitivity differ only by tone.

## Transitive

*đuku* 'will tie up'*tahu* 'will split'

## Intransitive

*đúkû* 'will be tied up'*táhû* 'will be split'

The verb *iō* 'to exist' has two continuative forms: *yoō* and *iō*. The form *yoō* occurs with *ná* 'affirmative' and with negatives; *iō* occurs elsewhere. When a negative occurs with *yoō*, the subject must be animate (see §2.1.2).

*iō*            *ñayú*  
CON:exist    people  
There are people.

*iō*            *kīi*  
CON:exist    animal  
There are animals.

*iō*            *úâ*  
CON:exist    flower  
There are flowers.

*ná yoō*        *đa yáhâ*  
AFF CON:exist I:RES here  
I am here.

*ná yoō*        *ūú yúchí* / *iō*        *yâ*  
AFF CON:exist two knife    CON:exist here  
Here are two knives. *or* There are two knives here.

*ñá yoō*        *ñayú*  
NEG CON:exist people  
There aren't any people.

*ñá yoō*        *kīi*  
NEG CON:exist animal  
There aren't any animals.

The verb *tuū* 'to exist' (in space) also makes an animacy contrast contingent on the truth value of a construction: *tuū* occurs with animate subjects when the truth value is positive, and it occurs with inanimate subjects when the truth value is negative.

*tuū*            *đá*  
CON:exist    I:RES  
I am (here).



*ñā tuū ndúte*  
 NEG CON:exist water  
 There isn't any water.

One pair of verbs is in a suppletive relationship that depends on the person of the indirect object: one verb is used when the indirect object is first or second person, and the other one is used when it is third person. The third person form includes a fused known-object marker. The potential aspect forms of these verbs are:

*tashi* 'to give' (nonthird object)  
*xunñáha* 'to give' (third object)

Three verbs in their continuative aspect indicate a singular or plural subject by a stem change.

	SG	PL
appear	<i>kaā</i>	<i>sh ndáā</i>
lie	<i>kaā</i>	<i>sh ndáā</i>
exist	<i>iō</i>	<i>sh nda shío</i>

Sometimes, however, *iō* occurs even when the subject is plural.

**5.1.2 Inflection.** Content and equative verbs are inflected for three aspects: potential, continuative, and completive. The potential aspect form provides the best basic form for predicting the others. Aspect is marked by tone changes and sometimes also by segmental changes. Completive aspect is also marked by the preverbal element *n-* (see §2.1.2). When the basic form of the verb begins with *n-*, however, the preverbal aspect marker does not occur, nor does it occur in some verbs with initial *x*.

Verbs that mark aspect by tone changes alone have any of three tone patterns in the potential aspect form. If they have high high-glide, they retain this tone pattern in completive, but change to low high-glide in continuative.

	POT	CON	COM
cry	<i>ndáhî</i>	<i>ndahî</i>	<i>ndáhî</i>
get wet	<i>ndóyô</i>	<i>ndoyô</i>	<i>ndóyô</i>
ask for back	<i>ndáxân</i>	<i>ndaxân</i>	<i>ndáxân</i>

boil	<i>ndúhâ</i>	<i>nduhâ</i>	<i>ndúhâ</i>
speak	<i>xáhân, káhân</i>	<i>xahân, kahân</i>	<i>n-káhân</i>
burn	<i>káyû</i>	<i>kayû</i>	<i>n-káyû</i>
choose	<i>káshî</i>	<i>kashî</i>	<i>n-káshî</i>
pass	<i>yáhâ</i>	<i>yahâ</i>	<i>n-yáhâ</i>

Verbs that have low mid in potential retain this pattern in completive, but change to a sequence of two high-glides in continuative.

	POT	CON	COM
enter going down	<i>keē</i>	<i>kêê</i>	<i>n-keē</i>
enter (as a house)	<i>kiū</i>	<i>kîū</i>	<i>n-kiū</i>
be exposed (as guilt)	<i>tuū</i>	<i>túū</i>	<i>n-tuū</i>
perish	<i>tiū</i>	<i>tîū</i>	<i>n-tiū</i>

Verbs that have low low in potential change to low mid in continuative, and high low in completive.

	POT	CON	COM
scratch	<i>ñehe</i>	<i>ñehē</i>	<i>n-ñéhe</i>
tear out	<i>tnuhu</i>	<i>tnuhū</i>	<i>n-tnúhu</i>
weave	<i>kunu</i>	<i>kunū</i>	<i>n-kúnu</i>
be afraid	<i>yuhu</i>	<i>yuhū</i>	<i>n-yúhu</i>
spread	<i>chido</i>	<i>chidō</i>	<i>n-chído</i>
be stolen	<i>ndoyo</i>	<i>ndoyō</i>	<i>ndóyo</i>
grind	<i>ndiko</i>	<i>ndikō</i>	<i>ndíko</i>
be punished	<i>ndoho</i>	<i>ndohō</i>	<i>ndóho</i>
be awake	<i>ndoto</i>	<i>ndotō</i>	<i>ndóto</i>
drag	<i>ñuhu</i>	<i>ñuhū</i>	<i>ñúhu</i>
return	<i>ndishi</i>	<i>ndishī</i>	<i>ndíshi</i>
mistake	<i>đana</i>	<i>đanā</i>	<i>n-đána</i>
get thin	<i>yoho</i>	<i>yohō</i>	<i>n-yóho</i>
be blind	<i>kwaa</i>	<i>kwaā</i>	<i>n-kwáa</i>

There is a very small class of verbs with initial *x*. The completive form of these verbs does not contain *n-* 'completive'; instead, the completive aspect is marked by high tone on the first syllable. The other tones may or may not follow regular patterns.

	POT	CON	COM
fall from above	<i>xūnngava</i>	<i>xūnngavā</i>	<i>xúnngava</i>
fall in pieces	<i>xūnkoio</i>	<i>xūnkoiō</i>	<i>xúnkoio</i>
charge	<i>xēnyáhû</i>	<i>xēnyahû</i>	<i>xényáhû</i>
grab	<i>xīndee</i>	<i>xīndeē</i>	<i>xіндеe</i>

Some irregular verbs show tone patterns that do not fit any of the above categories.

	POT	CON	COM
take away	<i>đita</i>	<i>đitā</i>	<i>n-đítá</i>
sell	<i>điko</i>	<i>điko</i>	<i>n-đíkó</i>
wash	<i>nākate</i>	<i>nākatē</i>	<i>nákate</i>
become clean	<i>ndoō</i>	<i>ndóo</i>	<i>ndóo</i>
melt	<i>ndute</i>	<i>ndúté</i>	<i>ndúte</i>
arrive (at base)	<i>nsheē</i>	<i>nsheē</i>	<i>nshée</i>

Many verbs show segmental changes in addition to tone changes. A class of very common verbs has two stem forms, which differ in the shape of the first syllable. The potential aspect form begins with a velar (*k*, *kw*, or *x*), and the continuative and completive aspect form begins with a palatal (*sh*, *ñ*, or *y*). The tone patterns may be regular or irregular.

	POT	CON	COM
eat	<i>kashi</i>	<i>shashī</i>	<i>n-sháshi</i>
sing	<i>kata</i>	<i>shitā</i>	<i>n-shíta</i>
walk	<i>kaka</i>	<i>shikā</i>	<i>n-shíka</i>
get sour	<i>kwíâ</i>	<i>shíâ</i>	<i>n-shíâ</i>
rotate	<i>kwiko</i>	<i>shikō</i>	<i>n-shíko</i>
examine	<i>koto</i>	<i>shitō</i>	<i>n-shító</i>
bathe	<i>kuchi</i>	<i>shichī</i>	<i>n-shíchi</i>

carry on the back	<i>kwido</i>	<i>shidō</i>	<i>n-shido</i>
make a mistake	<i>kwidō</i>	<i>shidō</i>	<i>n-shidō</i>
press on	<i>kwédí</i>	<i>shédí</i>	<i>n-shédí</i>
wear (as a hat)	<i>xuhun</i>	<i>ñuhu</i>	<i>n-ñúhú</i>
be on top	<i>kođo</i>	<i>yodó</i>	<i>n-yódó</i>

Compound verbs whose first member is a verb from the above group also show segmental changes.

	POT	CON	COM
love	<i>xwenmaní</i>	<i>shemaní</i>	<i>n-shémaní</i>
take care of	<i>xunnūú</i>	<i>ñunūú</i>	<i>n-ñūnuū</i>
carry under the arm	<i>kídehe</i>	<i>yídehe</i>	<i>n-yídehe</i>

Some compound verbs have a potential aspect form that begins with *kwi* or *ka*, a continuative aspect form that begins with *n*, and a completive aspect form that begins with *shi*.

	POT	CON	COM
rain hard	<i>kwitane 'ne</i>	<i>ntane 'ne</i>	<i>n-shítane 'ne</i>
be a follower of	<i>kwitāndixún</i>	<i>ntāndixún</i>	<i>n-shítāndixún</i>
dance	<i>katashéhe</i>	<i>ntāshéhe</i>	<i>n-shítashéhe</i>

In another class of verbs, potential aspect is signaled by the prefix *ku-*. When a directional occurs with verbs of this class, however, *ku-* does not occur. The tone patterns in these verbs may be regular or irregular. The preverbal habitual marker *sho* usually occurs to mark completive aspect. There is, however, another way to express completive aspect with these verbs. A motion verb in completive can occur at the end of the sentence, in which case neither *n-* nor *sho* occurs, and the simple continuative form is used instead as the main verb. (In chapter six this construction is analyzed as a sentence combination; see §6.2.2.) There are two completive aspect forms for a few of these verbs; *sho* occurs in only one of these forms.

With two completive forms:

	POT	CON	COM 1	COM 2
look at	<i>kū-ndeha</i>	<i>ndeha</i>	<i>ndéhâ</i>	<i>n-shó ndeha</i>
be closed off, be sealed	<i>kū-ndíhû</i>	<i>ndihû</i>	<i>ndíhû</i>	<i>n-sho ndíhû</i>

With one completive form:

	POT	CON	COM
be tied	<i>ku-đúkû</i>	<i>đukû</i>	<i>n-shō đúkû</i>
be leashed	<i>ku-ndixûn</i>	<i>ndixûn</i>	<i>n-sho ndixûn</i>
be seated	<i>kū-nukoō</i>	<i>nukoō</i>	<i>n-shō nukoō</i>
take care of	<i>kū-ndeka</i>	<i>ndeka</i>	<i>n-shō ndeka</i>
hold (in hand)	<i>kū-nehe</i>	<i>nehe</i>	<i>n-shó nehe</i>
exist (in space)	<i>ku-tuū</i>	<i>tuū</i>	<i>n-shō tuū</i>
be assembled	<i>ku-yuku</i>	<i>yuku</i>	<i>n-shō yúkû</i>

The following sentence shows a verb of this class together with a motion verb to mark completive aspect.

*ndixûn*            *tihína* / *n-shéhên*  
 CON:be:leashed    dog            COM-go  
 The dog was tied as it went.

Another class of verbs that shows segmental changes has the prefix *ka-* in the potential and completive forms. However, when a directional occurs with these verbs, *ka-* (like *ku-* above) does not occur. As in the verb class above, the tone patterns may be regular or irregular. There are two completive aspect forms for each of these verbs, one with the preverbal habitual *sho*. As in the class above, completive aspect can be expressed by a motion verb at the end of the sentence. Unlike the above class, however, when *sho* does not occur in the completive form, the construction must be negative.

	POT	CON	COM 1	COM 2
carry on the shoulder	<i>kā-đoko</i>	<i>đoko</i>	<i>n-kā-đoko</i>	<i>n-shó kā-đoko</i>

carry	<i>kā-nehe</i>	<i>nehe</i>	<i>n-kā-néhe</i>	<i>n-shó kā-nehe</i>
follow	<i>kā-ndixun</i>	<i>ndixun</i>	<i>n-ka-ndíxún</i>	<i>n-shó kā-ndíxún</i>

The following sentences show verbs of this class together with a motion verb to mark complete aspect.

*ǎoko*                      *ǎa*   *yútnu* / *n-shéhên*  
 CON:carry:on:shoulder I:RES tree COM-go  
 I carried the pole on my shoulder as I went there and came back (with it).

*nehe*      *ñā*   *tūū* / *xwáhân*  
 CON:carry she paper INC:go  
 She took the paper and she went (with it).

A few highly irregular verbs do not fit into any of the above groups.

	POT	CON	COM
die	<i>kuū</i>	<i>shíhí</i>	<i>n-shíhí</i>
be (in time)	<i>kuu</i>	<i>kuū</i>	<i>n-kúu</i>
lie (SG)	<i>kavā</i>	<i>kaā</i>	<i>n-kaā</i>
appear (SG)	<i>kavā</i>	<i>kaā</i>	<i>n-kāa</i>
drink	<i>koho</i>	<i>shihí</i>	<i>n-shíhi</i>
do	<i>kada</i>	<i>kidā</i>	<i>n-kída</i>
exist (SG)	<i>koo</i>	<i>iō, yoō</i>	<i>n-shío</i>
run away	<i>kunu</i>	<i>shinō</i>	<i>n-shíno</i>
stand in file	<i>xwīnyuxun</i>	<i>ūnyuxūn</i>	<i>n-shínyúxun</i>

Two motion verbs have an incomplete aspect form in addition to the other three forms. (It is also possible to consider the two incomplete forms to be separate verbs that express one-way trips and have only one form, which serves as both continuative and complete.)

	POT	CON	COM	INC
go	<i>xíhîn</i>	<i>shéhên</i>	<i>n-shéhên</i>	<i>xwáhân</i>
come	<i>kishi</i>	<i>kishī</i>	<i>n-kíshi</i>	<i>váshî</i>

Compound verbs with a reduced motion verb as the first part mark aspect by segmental changes that reflect the irregularity of the source verb.

Some of these verbs also occur with the directional *vāsh* or the compound directional *vāsh kí* (see §2.1.2). In the following examples the motion verbs are combined with *tuha* ‘closer’, *-ndío* ‘over’ (when sitting or lying), and *-ndehe* ‘over’ (when standing).

	POT	CON	COM	INC
go closer	<i>xíntúha</i>	<i>shētúha</i>	<i>n-shētúha</i>	<i>xwantúha</i>
come closer	<i>kituha</i>	<i>kítuha</i>	<i>n-kítuha</i>	<i>vāsh kítuha</i>
return closer	<i>ndituha</i>	<i>ndítuha</i>	<i>ndítúha</i>	<i>vāsh kí ndituha</i>
go over	<i>xínndíó</i>	<i>shēndíó</i>	<i>n-shēndíó</i>	<i>xwanndíó</i>
come over	<i>kindiō</i>	<i>kīndiō</i>	<i>n-kīndiō</i>	<i>vāsh kindiō</i>
return over	<i>ndindiō</i>	<i>ndīndiō</i>	<i>ndīndiō</i>	<i>vāsh ndīndiō</i>
go over	<i>xínndehe</i>	<i>shēndehe</i>	<i>n-shēndehe</i>	<i>xwanndehe</i>
come over	<i>kindehe</i>	<i>kīndehe</i>	<i>n-kīndehe</i>	<i>vāsh kindehe</i>
return over	<i>ndindehe</i>	<i>ndīndehe</i>	<i>ndīndehe</i>	<i>vāsh ndīndehe</i>

With some verbs which have a continuative aspect form that is homophonous with potential, continuative aspect is signalled by *vāsh* or *vāsh kí*. When, however, potential and continuative have distinct forms, *vāsh* signals progressive action, leaving the continuative form to express only habitual action. Examples in which *vāsh* marks aspect are given in §2.1.2.

With verbs that express movement, the directional *xwān* signals the aspectual meaning ‘already begun’; examples are given in §2.1.2.

Some verbs are defective. For example, *kúú* ‘to say’ has only a continuative form; *nkóō* ‘to sit down (potential)’ has no continuative form; the completive form is *nūkoō*.

For most verbs the potential aspect form is used for imperatives (see §1.3). There are, however, three kinds of verbs that have other imperative forms. Some verbs with the derivational prefix *ku-*, which is a reduced form of *kuu* ‘to be’, add the prefix *ku-* to the potential aspect form.

*kū-kūnshánhnu*  
IMP-POT:behave  
behave!

*ku-kuñūkashi 'ní*  
IMP-POT:behave  
behave!

A few verbs add the imperative prefix *ta-* to the potential aspect form.

*tā-núū*

IMP-POT:descend  
get down!

*tā-kéē*

IMP-POT:leave  
leave!

*tā-kítuha*

IMP-POT:approach  
come closer!

Three verbs have special suppletive imperative forms.

*néhê*

IMP:come  
come! (familiar)

*xwáhân*

IMP:go  
go away!

*xuhun*

IMP:hold  
take (it)! *or* hold (it)!

The interplay of these devices, plus whether or not a subject pronoun is expressed, allows the speaker to make a distinction between familiar and respect and also between immediate action required and delayed action permitted. A detailed treatment of these distinctions is, however, beyond the scope of this sketch.

## 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 by means of a tone change. They also differ in that they can occur in the postnuclear manner position in verb phrases, and content verbs cannot.

Basic stative verbs:

*kweē* 'slow'

*kōhyo* 'damp'



<i>vídf</i>	‘warm’
<i>nunu</i>	‘wide’

Derived stative verbs:

Stative verb		Noun	
<i>chuun</i>	‘reckless’	<i>chūún</i>	‘chicken’
<i>yútnû</i>	‘stiff’	<i>yūtnu</i>	‘tree’
<i>yahu</i>	‘costly’	<i>yáhû</i>	‘price’

A few stative verbs have two different forms, one for singular referents and the other for plural referents.

	SG	PL
big	<i>kānhnu</i>	<i>nānhnu</i>
long	<i>kaní</i>	<i>naní</i>
small	<i>luchī</i>	<i>kwechī</i>

Some stative verbs function as intensifying elements.

<i>ndehé</i>	‘fierce’
<i>loko</i>	‘crazy’ (Sp. <i>loco</i> )

The prefix *t-*, denoting roundness, is used with two stative verbs.

<i>t-kute</i>	‘disk-shaped’
<i>t-ndúú</i>	‘spherical’

### 5.3 Nouns

**5.3.1 Derivation.** Many compound nouns are formed by the fusion of complex noun nuclei (see §3.1.1) into single words. A large number of nouns that name animals, plants, fruit, etc., consist of a prestressed pronoun (see §5.4) plus a noun or an indeterminate element.

<i>ia-nshúsh</i>
DEI-god
God (Sp. <i>Dios</i> )

*té-yǎi*

he:ws-male

man

*ñá-díhí*

she-female

woman

*tí-tríñí*

it:AML-fingernail

mouse

*tí-híná*

it:AML-dog

dog

*t-káchi*

it:AML-cotton

sheep

*sha-ñúhu*

it:INAN-respect

respect

*sha-ñukúñu*

it:INAN-?

statue (cf. *ñúhu* 'respect')*tru-yáa*

it:WOD-music

oak

*tru-tíchi*

it:WOD-avocado

avocado tree

*n-te-ndēyu*

it:LIQ-food

juice of food

*t-nána*

it:SPH-?

tomato

*t-núu*

it:SPH-?

crabapple

*t-véa*

it:SPH-?

maguey (century plant) blossom

**5.3.2 Classification.** Nouns can be classified by gender, possessibility, distribution, or countability.

Nouns fall into nine gender classes according to the third person pronouns that can substitute for them: masculine, feminine, deity, animal, wood, liquid, flower, spherical, and unspecified.

Masculine nouns:

*téyü* 'man'*đítô* 'uncle'

Feminine nouns:

*ñadîhî* 'woman, wife'*đíđí* 'aunt'

Deity nouns:

*ianshúsh* 'god'*đutú* 'priest'

Animal nouns:

*ítñíñí* 'mouse'*chudîní* 'star'

Wood nouns:

*tnutíchi* 'avocado tree'*radíú* 'radio' (Sp. *radio*)

Liquid nouns:

*nteñúhú* 'flood'*ndūte* 'water'

## Flower nouns:

*tavĩó* 'a kind of flower'

*tayĩđĩ* 'a kind of flower'

## Spherical nouns:

*tnána* 'tomato'

*tnúu* 'crabapple'

## Unspecified nouns:

*tniũ* 'work'

*víkô* 'cloud'

*vĩko* 'party'

*yũtnu* 'tree'

*đichĩ* 'child'

*yũũ* 'stone'

Nouns may also be divided into those that can be possessed and those that cannot. The unpossessible nouns refer to topographical and meteorological phenomena.

*kũũ* 'day'

*yũku* 'mountain'

*ngándii* 'sun'

*yôô* 'moon'

Words in the above category may have more than one meaning, one of which is possessible.

*táchĩ* 'wind'

*táchĩ ro*

wind our:IN

our breath

Possessible nouns are those that can occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase (see §3.3). They are either inherently or optionally possessed. Inherently possessed nouns characteristically occur in this position; they are usually kinship terms or body parts, but also include a few others, like the word for 'name'.

## Inherently possessed nouns:

<i>ááhi</i>	‘mother’
<i>yátá</i>	‘back’
<i>áü</i>	‘name’

## Optionally possessed nouns:

<i>ñūhu</i>	‘land’
<i>ñúhú</i>	‘fire’
<i>yūku</i>	‘mountain’
<i>ítú</i>	‘cornfield’
<i>kīti</i>	‘animal’
<i>vēhe</i>	‘house’

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 occur as independent utterances, or loosely connected to sentences (see §1.4). They include a special set of vocative kinship terms.

<i>táta</i>	‘father’
<i>nána</i>	‘mother’
<i>kwálí</i>	‘comother, cofather’ (of woman) (Sp. <i>comadre</i> )
<i>mbáa</i>	‘cofather’ (of man) (Sp. <i>compadre</i> )

Personal names are also used as vocatives; to show respect they are preceded by a kinship term. See the table given below for some examples of vocative forms.

Proper nouns include personal names, nicknames, and place names. Personal names are usually Spanish loanwords; an initial consonant is often added to the Spanish form. For a man’s name, this initial consonant is *s* if the speaker is a man, and *n* or *m* if the speaker is a woman. For a woman’s name, the initial consonant is *t*. These consonants may be the remnant of a classifier system; note the resemblance between the initial *s* and the masculine prestressed pronoun *sé* ‘he’. The following table illustrates these forms.

	MS	WS	Vocative	Spanish
Peter	<i>speǎrú</i>	<i>mpeǎrú</i>	<i>péǎru</i>	<i>Pedro</i>
Paul	<i>spalú</i>	<i>mpalú</i>	<i>pálu</i>	<i>Pablo</i>
Matthew	<i>stēú, shtēú</i>	<i>nteú</i>	<i>téu</i>	<i>Mateo</i>
Francis	<i>nchikú</i>	<i>nchikú</i>	<i>chiku</i>	<i>Chico</i>
Eugenia	<i>tkéña</i>	<i>tkéña</i>	<i>xéña</i>	<i>Eugenia</i>
Paula	<i>tvalá</i>	<i>tvalá</i>	<i>tvála</i>	<i>Paula</i>
Frances	<i>tshiká</i>	<i>tshiká</i>	<i>shika</i>	<i>Chica</i>

Derogatory nicknames consist of the prestressed masculine pronoun *t-* and a stative verb denoting a denigrating characteristic. Even though this pronoun is used only by women, the nicknames are used by speakers of both sexes.

*t-véte*

he:ws-untruthful  
liar

*t-láhle*

he:ws-gossipy  
gossiper

*t-léhva*

he:ws-toothless  
gossiper

Place names are often compound words.

*yu-yau-yíhi*

mouth-hole-tiger  
Edge of the Tiger's Hole

*tnū-yaa-vikó*

tree-piece:of:music-party  
Tree of the Music Party

*ta-díkô*

flower-fragrance  
Fragrant Flower

*ñu-kóhyo*

town-damp  
Mexico City

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 names for topographical features.

<i>īchi</i>	‘road’
<i>ñûû</i>	‘town’
<i>yûte</i>	‘river’

The second category includes mainly body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense. The most common ones are:

*nûú*  
face  
on, in front of

*ákké*  
head  
on top of

*shéhê*  
foot  
at the foot of

*yûhu*  
mouth  
edge of

*shiti*  
stomach  
within, underside

*yâtâ*  
back  
behind, in back of

*kwenda*  
account  
pertaining to

The noun *nûú* also serves as a prestressed pronoun that means ‘place where’ and as a relative pronoun that means ‘where’ (see §3.1.3). See 7.59 for an example of this use.

Temporal nouns are also divided into these two categories. The first category includes names for units of time and calendric sequences.

<i>kāú</i>	‘day’
<i>kwi'á</i>	‘year’
<i>yôô</i>	‘moon’
<i>ndúshî</i>	‘next year’

The second category includes two body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense.

<i>shiti</i>	stomach	within
<i>ááké</i>	head	end of

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see §3.2).

<i>núhnê</i>	‘bunch’
<i>chíhô</i>	‘from shoulder to fingertip’

Common nouns are those not included in any of the above distribution classes.

<i>ítú</i>	‘cornfield’
<i>lihí</i>	‘rooster’
<i>áákú</i>	‘milk’

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>ndúte</i>	‘water’
<i>yúsha</i>	‘tortilla dough’
<i>ndēyu</i>	‘some types of food’



Count nouns:

- túú* 'paper'
- tilâ* 'bread (Sp. *Castilla* 'Castile', probably by reduction from a phrase like *đita tila* 'Castilian tortilla')
- ndūchi* 'legume'

**5.4 Pronouns**

Pronouns are personal, interrogative, or demonstrative.

Personal pronouns are either free or reduced, and free pronouns are basic or compound.

In first and second person pronouns, there is a contrast between familiar and respect forms. Number is not marked except that there is a first person plural form with an inclusive meaning. Familiar forms for second person contrast sex of speaker. Familiar pronouns are used to speak to persons younger than the speaker and to persons who are of approximately the same age as the speaker and with whom the speaker has a close or an intimate relationship. Males, and some females, use these to speak to their mates. The inclusive pronouns are used in soliloquy to refer to oneself; an example is found in 7.67.

The basic free first and second person pronouns are:

	FAM	RES	PL
first	<i>rúhú</i>	<i>đáñā</i>	<i>rōo</i>
second			
MS	<i>ndohó</i>	<i>ndishí</i>	—
WS	<i>yohó</i>	<i>ndishí</i>	—

Basic free pronouns occur as subjects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions, either in normal position or in focus position. They occur as objects of verbs, however, only in focus position. When these pronouns occur in focus position, they focus the participant in contrast to the action. Second person pronouns occur also as vocatives; the familiar forms *ndohó* and *yohó* are reduced to *ndō* and *yō* to express greater familiarity. The second person respect form shows more respect than the respect form of the compound free pronouns described below.

The reduced first and second person pronouns are shortened forms of the basic free pronouns described above; they are:

	FAM	RES	PL
first	<i>-r</i>	<i>ǎa</i>	<i>ro</i>
second			
MS	<i>-n</i>	<i>-ń</i>	—
WS	<i>ũn</i>	<i>-ń</i>	—

Reduced first and second person pronouns occur as subjects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions. They do not occur alone as objects of verbs, nor do they occur in focus position or as vocatives.

In third person there are no basic free pronouns, but there are two series of reduced pronouns: poststressed and prestressed. They show a number of different gender classes, which follows from the fact that they are often reduced forms of very general nouns. These two sets, and the nouns that served as their sources, are:

	Poststressed	Prestressed	Source noun
masculine			
MS	<i>-s, sǐ</i>	<i>sê</i>	—
WS	<i>te</i>	<i>tê, t-</i>	—
feminine	<i>ña</i>	<i>ña</i>	—
deity	<i>ía</i>	<i>ya, ia</i>	—
animal	<i>-t, tǐ</i>	<i>tí, kǐ</i>	<i>kǐtǐ</i>
wood	<i>tnu</i>	<i>tnu</i>	<i>yǔtnu</i>
liquid	<i>tē</i>	<i>n-te</i>	<i>ndǔte</i>
flower	<i>ta</i>	<i>tâ</i>	<i>ítâ</i>
spherical	<i>-t, tǐ</i>	<i>t-</i>	—
unspecified	<i>i</i>	<i>ǎich</i>	<i>ǎichi</i>
inanimate	—	<i>shá, sh-</i>	—

Reduced third person poststressed pronouns occur as subjects of verbs, objects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions. They do not occur alone in focus position or as vocatives.

The specifically human pronouns indicate respect. The distribution of the unspecified pronoun *i* referring to people is determined by marital and social status. It refers to people in general when gender and social status are not indicated. It is always the appropriate pronoun when referring to a mixed group of people and to unmarried females. In women's speech, *i*

refers to unmarried persons of both sexes, but in men’s speech the respect third person masculine pronoun refers to both unmarried and married males. An unmarried person may be referred to by a respect pronoun instead of *i*, if he or she is a stranger or if he or she has high social status. The pronoun *i* also refers to baby animals, to spirits, to the deceased, to some plants, and to inanimate objects.

Reduced third person prestressed pronouns must be followed by some other element in the noun phrase, most often a relative clause (see §3.1.3). They also frequently serve as the first part of complex noun nuclei (see §3.1.1) and of compound nouns (see §5.3.1). Noun phrases containing prestressed pronouns occur in all syntactic functions.

The pronoun *sha* functions as a complementizer (see §1.1.9); and as a conjunction meaning ‘in order that’ (see §6.2.1). In addition it enters into the formation of complex prepositions and conjunctions.

There are two sets of compound free pronouns. One set is formed by combining the specifier *mee* with reduced poststressed pronouns.

	FAM	RES	PL
first	<i>meē-r</i>	<i>mee đā</i>	<i>mee rō</i>
second			
MS	<i>mēē-n</i>	<i>mēē-ń</i>	
WS	<i>mee ūn</i>	<i>mēē-ń</i>	
third			
masculine			
MS		<i>meē-s,</i> <i>meē sġ</i>	
WS		<i>meē tē</i>	
feminine		<i>meē ñā</i>	
deity		<i>mēē íá</i>	
animal		<i>mēē tġ</i>	
wood		<i>mēē tnū</i>	
liquid		<i>mēē tē</i>	
flower		<i>mēē tá</i>	
unspecified		<i>mēē i</i>	

When these pronouns occur in object position together with the known-object marker *ñáha* in the verb phrase, they clarify the referent of *ñáha*. When they occur in object position without *ñáha*, or when they occur in other positions, they are emphatic in meaning and contrast the referent of the pronoun with any other possible referent. They occur as subjects of

verbs, objects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions. They may occur in normal position or in focus position, which is more emphatic. The second person forms also occur as vocatives.

The second set of compound free pronouns appears to be an older formation, which consists of the indeterminate element *a-* and a fused pronoun.

		FAM	RES	PL
first		<i>arū</i>	<i>aḍāī</i>	<i>arō</i>
second				
	MS	<i>andō</i>	<i>andīsh</i>	
	WS	<i>ayō</i>	<i>andīsh</i>	
third				
	masculine			
	MS		<i>asē</i>	
	WS		<i>atē</i>	
	feminine		<i>añā</i>	
	deity		<i>ayā</i>	
	animal		<i>aī, akī</i>	
	wood		<i>atnū</i>	
	liquid		<i>antē</i>	
	flower		<i>atā</i>	
	unspecified		<i>aḍich</i>	

These pronouns have a restricted distribution. They occur only as subjects of verbs and only in focus position. They express emotion, often disagreement, and they are used to answer a question beginning with *ndēshu* 'where?' if the discourse requires the pronoun to occur in focus position.

Position distinguishes the grammatical function of a third person pronoun when two or three poststressed or compound pronouns are contiguous. The first position is the subject, the last position is the object, and the middle position is the indirect object. When one third person pronoun is in focus position and another one follows the verb, it is ambiguous whether they function as subjects or as objects.

*ndīdo*    *méé*    *iē*    *ñā*  
 COM:carry    SPEC    he:WS    her  
 He carried her.

*n-dándeha*            *tē*        *ñā tâ*  
 COM-cause:to:see he:ws her it:flower  
 He showed her the flower.

*n-dándeha*            *tē*        *mée ñā tâ*  
 COM-cause:to:see he:ws SPEC her it:flower  
 He showed her the flower.

*mée te*                *n-chīndīhú*        *ñā*  
 SPEC he/him:ws COM-put:in:jail she/her  
 HE jailed her. *or* She jailed HIM.

*nshúa n-chīndīhú*        *te*  
 John COM-put:in:jail he/him:ws  
 JOHN jailed him. *or* He jailed JOHN.

There are three interrogative pronouns. They are:

*xūndu*        ‘who?’  
*na*            ‘what?’  
*nāsh*        ‘what?’ (cf. *na* ‘what?’, *shá* ‘it:INAN’)

The demonstrative pronouns are formed by combining the prestressed inanimate pronoun *shá* with the locative adverbs *yāha* ‘here’ and *īnxan* ‘over there’. They are:

*shāha*        ‘this thing’  
*shīnxan*      ‘that thing’

**5.5 Adverbs**

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, and interrogative. See §§2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.3, and 4.2 for a description of the constructions in which adverbs commonly occur.

Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns.

*yāha* or *ya*        ‘here’ (near speaker)  
*đīan*                ‘there’ (near addressee)  
*īnxan* or *xan*      ‘over there’ (not near speaker or addressee)  
*ndēyu*              ‘prone, headfirst’  
*ndūa*                ‘supine’

<i>ndúū</i>	‘around’
<i>nīhni</i>	‘through, inside’

(See also 7.31, 7.41, 7.52, 7.69, and 7.70.)

The first three 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’ and ‘that’, rather than as ‘here’ and ‘there’.

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns, and also some complex expressions.

Simple temporal adverbs:

<i>nshakansháā</i>	‘all day’
<i>nīnīū</i>	‘throughout the night’
<i>đanúđangwēé</i>	‘every once in a while’
<i>sabāđu</i>	‘Saturday’ (Sp. <i>sábado</i> )
<i>tnéé</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>vítna</i>	‘today, now’
<i>đáā</i>	‘at that time’
<i>īđa</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>ndushi</i>	‘next year’

Complex temporal adverb:

<i>niū</i>	<i>đáva</i>
at:night	half
around	midnight

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs; they are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>đáā</i>	‘so’ (so much)
<i>đāa</i> or <i>đuha</i>	‘thus’ (as shown or said)
<i>ñukúūn</i>	‘on purpose’
<i>kwāan</i>	‘without supports’
<i>đaa</i> or <i>đāna</i>	‘in vain’

Complex:

*sháku ngā*  
few just  
almost

There are two intensifying adverbs.

*yóō* 'very'  
*vīchī* 'very'

See §5.2 for stative verbs that also function as intensifying elements. Interrogative adverbs are simple or complex; they occur in direct and indirect questions (see §§1.2.2 and 1.2.3).

Simple:

*ndēshu* or *nde* 'where?'  
*xānda* or *nānda* 'how?'

Complex:

*ndē ndáa*  
until ?  
up to where?, how far?, up to when?, how long?

See §3.4 for a description of interrogative noun phrases that function like interrogative adverbs.

## 5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers; both occur in quantifier phrases (see §4.1) and as prenominal elements in noun phrases (see §3.1.2); and general quantifiers occasionally occur as postverbal manner in verb phrases (see §2.1.3). Sometimes a noun nucleus is not expressed, in which case a quantifier appears to function as a noun; examples are found in 7.12–13, 7.18, and 7.21–7.22.

The simple numerals are:

*īñ* 'one'  
*úú* 'two'  
*úní* 'three'  
*kóôn* 'four'

<i>óhôn</i>	'five'
<i>íñú</i>	'six'
<i>úshâ</i>	'seven'
<i>únâ</i>	'eight'
<i>ñn</i>	'nine'
<i>úshî</i>	'ten'
<i>shánhûn</i>	'fifteen'
<i>ókô</i>	'twenty'
<i>díko</i>	'twenty' (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
<i>sientú</i>	'hundred' (Sp. <i>ciento</i> )
<i>mîl</i>	'thousand' (Sp. <i>mil</i> )

There are also definite numerals formed by combining *nin* or *n-* with a numeral.

<i>nduu</i>	'the two'
<i>ndruni</i>	'the three'
<i>nin óhon</i>	'the five'

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. The most common ones are:

<i>nūúhû</i>	'all'
<i>ntakantúhu</i>	'every single one of many'
<i>túñê</i>	'several of many'
<i>ñdanditúhu</i>	'every single one of many'
<i>shaku</i>	'few'
<i>đaváhangā</i>	'whatever' (cf. <i>đāa</i> 'thus', <i>váhâ</i> 'good', <i>nga</i> 'just')
<i>ññāha</i>	'every'
<i>ñdōndoo</i>	'much, many'
<i>kwehé</i>	'much, many'
<i>īáhu</i>	'little, a little bit of'
<i>đava</i>	'half of, part of'
<i>ñđāa</i>	'all'
<i>ñdoko</i>	'all of'
<i>nshāka</i>	'all of'



Some quantifiers are restricted to certain nouns; for example, *nshāka* occurs only with words that pertain to days.

*nshāka* (*kāū*)  
 all:of (day)  
 all of one (day)

### 5.7 Prepositions

There are five simple prepositions and two complex prepositions.

Simple:

*shihin* 'with'  
*nde* 'until'  
*ḏō* 'toward'  
*méhñū* 'between, among'  
*nikandūū* 'around the circumference' (cf. *ndūū* 'around')

Complex:

*sha nde*  
 CMP until  
 up to  
*sha shēhe*  
 CMP foot  
 for, on account of, on behalf of

### 5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions link combinations of sentences in a coordinate or subordinate relationship (see §§6.1.1 and 6.2.1); they also link combinations of stative verb phrases (see §2.5) or noun phrases (see §3.8). Subordinate conjunctions may be simple or complex.

Coordinate conjunctions:

*te* 'and'  
*ko* 'but'  
*a* 'or'

<i>o</i>	'or' (Sp. <i>o</i> )
<i>ni</i>	'nor' (Sp. <i>ni</i> )

## Simple subordinate conjunctions:

<i>chi</i>	'because'
<i>nāni</i>	'while'
<i>xwini</i>	'even though'
<i>nadā</i>	'lest'
<i>nūū</i>	'if' (in an unreal condition)
<i>nūsha</i> or <i>nush</i>	'if' (cf. <i>nūū</i> 'if', <i>shá</i> 'CMP')
<i>na</i> or <i>nu</i>	'when' (with completive aspect)
<i>na</i>	'as'
<i>nani</i>	'as' (cf. <i>na</i> 'as', <i>ni</i> 'LIM')
<i>ora</i>	'when' (Sp. <i>hora</i> ) (with continuative aspect)
<i>ɖadā</i>	'than'

## Complex subordinate conjunctions:

<i>ora na</i>	when when
	when (with potential aspect)
<i>sha shéhe shá</i>	CMP foot CMP
	because
<i>ndē na</i>	until when
	until
<i>kwēnda kiū</i>	account CON:enter
	like, as

The conjunction *na* 'when' also functions as a relative pronoun (see §3.1.3).

## 5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form part of sentences or phrases but are not included in the parts of speech already described. They are verbal, nominal, numerical, general, or sentential.

Verbal markers are preverbal or postverbal. The preverbal markers are: directionals, habituals, plurals, completive aspect, negatives, temporal, and hortatory. The directionals are:

<i>ndi</i>	‘will return’
<i>ndī</i>	‘returns’
<i>ndí</i>	‘returned’
<i>xín</i>	‘will go (away)’
<i>shē</i>	‘goes (and returns)’
<i>n-shé</i>	‘went (and returned)’
<i>xwān</i>	‘went (away)’
<i>ki</i>	‘will come (and go)’
<i>kī</i>	‘comes (and goes)’
<i>n-kí</i>	‘came (and went)’
<i>vāsh</i>	‘is coming’
<i>nú</i>	‘will go home’

The habitual markers are:

<i>ku</i>	‘potential habitual’
<i>shko</i> or <i>shkā</i> or <i>sh</i>	‘continuative habitual’
<i>sho</i>	‘completive habitual’

The other preverbal markers are:

<i>sh</i>	‘plural’ (with continuative aspect)
<i>ka</i>	‘plural’ (with continuative and completive aspects)
<i>ūnū</i>	‘plural’ (with stative verbs)
<i>n-</i>	‘completive’
<i>mā</i>	‘not’ (with potential aspect)
<i>ñā</i>	‘not’ (with continuative and completive aspects)
<i>ta</i>	‘not yet’ (when combined with postverbal <i>ka</i> )

<i>na</i>	‘hortatory’
<i>shá</i>	‘about to, already’

The postverbal markers are:

<i>ñáha</i>	‘known object’
<i>nāhi</i>	‘intent’

See §§2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.5 for a discussion of how these markers are used in verb phrases.

Nominal markers occur as prenominal or postnominal elements in noun phrases; they are:

<i>di</i>	‘aunt’
<i>to</i>	‘uncle’
<i>ta</i>	‘father’
<i>ndi</i>	‘deceased’
<i>ka</i>	‘own’ (as his very own)
<i>de</i>	‘that’ (does not indicate contrast)
<i>mee</i>	‘same, self’
<i>diū</i>	‘the aforementioned’
<i>ndeḏaa</i>	‘which?’
<i>mayō</i>	‘not’
<i>ñayō</i>	‘not’
<i>du</i>	‘also’

Numerical markers occur as prenuclear elements in quantifier phrases (see §4.1).

<i>nīn</i> or <i>n-</i>	‘those’
<i>ndī</i>	‘in sets of’

General markers are the scope markers, the repetitive, one negative, and the affirmative.

<i>ka</i>	‘more’
<i>ni</i>	‘just’
<i>nga</i>	‘just, anyway’ (cf. <i>ni</i> ‘just’, <i>ka</i> ‘more’)

<i>koio</i>	‘plural’
<i>ntúku</i>	‘another, again’
<i>ñatū</i>	‘not’
<i>ñādu</i>	‘not’ (contrasts)
<i>ná</i>	‘affirmative’

Sentential markers are either sentence initial or sentence final. Sentence-initial markers are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>ḏáā</i>	‘at that time’
<i>nūnsha</i>	‘according to what someone says’
<i>vāa</i>	‘probably’
<i>ḏiko</i>	‘only’ (excludes any other reason)

Complex:

<i>ḏāā</i>	<i>ni</i>	
thus	just	
in the same manner		
<i>ḏū</i>		<i>ni</i>
the:forementioned	just	
also, thus also		
<i>mēē</i>	<i>ni</i>	
SPEC	just	
only (excludes any other action)		
<i>shínxān</i>	<i>kūū</i>	<i>shá</i>
that:thing	CON:be	CMP
that is why		
<i>shaha</i>	<i>kuu</i>	<i>shá</i>
this:thing	CON:be	CMP
this is why		
<i>ḏáā</i>	<i>nga</i>	
thus	just	
always, and so, anyway		

*sha shēhe shinxán*  
 CMP foot that:thing  
 because of that

*sha shēhe sháha*  
 CMP foot this:thing  
 because of this

Some common sentence-final markers are:

*vi* 'then (logical), agreement'  
*ne* 'I repeat' (when not heard the first time)  
*ka* 'for proof of it'  
*nda* 'in conclusion'  
*a* or *u* 'interrogative'

The sentential marker *vaa* 'probably' can occur either sentence initial or sentence final.

See §§1.5 and 6.4 for examples of sentences containing some of these markers.

### 5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences; they express emotions and acknowledgement in response to an act or statement. They are simple or complex.

Simple:

*ūn* 'oh, I heard what you said, but I doubt it.'  
*āsháā* 'shucks!'  
*xái* 'what did you say?'  
*ūun* 'response to a command one does not want to carry out'  
*xūn* 'see! It's just as I told you.'  
*xóôn* 'yes'  
*ñáhâ* 'no'  
*tnóō* 'what's wrong?'  
*áte* 'shucks!, pause form'

## Complex:

*ñáha nga*  
 NEG just  
 not much

*ǎǎ ní*  
 thus just  
 oh, is that right?

*ñahá ve*  
 NEG ?  
 nothing important

*vĩna nsha*  
 now COM:occur  
 accomplished

*nash nāni*  
 what CON:be:named  
 pause form

The two interjections glossed as pause forms occur medially when the speaker is considering what to say next.





## 6

# Intersentential Relations

### 6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some combinations of sentences are connected by a conjunction, and some are not.

**6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions.** Coordinate sentences with conjunctions express coordination, antithesis, and disjunction.

Coordinate sentences with *té* ‘and’ are relatively infrequent in Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec. The text in chapter seven, for example, contains no examples of this construction. When coordinate sentences with *té* occur, the first component sentence is central to the discourse context, and the sentences following *té* are usually peripheral to the discourse context.

*n-tnúndáha té / té xwáhán té*  
COM-marry he:ws and INC:go he:ws  
He married, and he went away.

*ndító ñá / té shó shitá ñá*  
CON:be:awake she and HAB CON:sing she  
She awakens, and she continually sings.

*ká'á ú'shí shtashéhé moró / té kwé'hé*  
 metal ten CON:dance moro:dancers and many

*ñá'yú n-kíshí*  
 people COM-come

ATTEN O'CLOCK the Moors (Sp. *moro*) were dancing, and MANY PEOPLE came (to see them).

*téyìi xán / kwaán ídí ðí'kí í / té ñútílu ðí'hé /*  
 man:ws that yellow hair head UN and earth:people female

*kwehé ídí ðí'kí í*  
 red hair head UN

As for those men, their hair is blond, and as for the “earth-people” women, their hair is red.

*kwé'hé ueltá kááá té / té kááá té víkó*  
 many time POT:do he:ws and POT:do he:ws fiesta

*kánhnú xuñú*  
 big:SG June

He will make (them) MANY TIMES (Sp. *vuelta*), and he will make them at the big fiesta in June (Sp. *junio*).

*n-kí'ú ñá'ñá kúralí ró / té n-shanhni tí*  
 COM-enter coyote corral our:IN and COM-kill it:AML

*tkáchi ró / té néhé tí ðn tkólelu luchí*  
 sheep our:IN and COM:carry it:AML one lamb small:SG

The coyote entered our corral (Sp. *corral*), and it killed our sheep, and it took a little lamb.

Two common leave-takings also fall into this pattern.

*ná xín dá / té kúí dá*  
 HORT POT:go I:RES and POT:come I:RES  
 Goodbye! (lit. Let me go, and I will come.)

*xwán-ñ / té kíí-ñ*  
 IMP:go-YOU:RES and POT:come-YOU:RES  
 Goodbye! (lit. Go, and come!)

Another use of *té* is seen in additive noun phrases in which the two parts form a conceptual unit (see the first example in §6.3 below). The same notion of pairing seems to underlie the use of *té* ‘and’, rather than *kó* ‘but’, in the following example, which forms part of an extended riddle.

*íó shé'hé dá / té ñá kwahá*  
 CON:exist foot my:RES and NEG CON:be:possible

*káká dá*  
 POT:walk I:RES  
 I have feet, and I can't walk.

The antithetical conjunction *kó* 'but' connects two sentences that express a contrast. This contrast is often shown by using a negative in one sentence but not in the other.

*n-shítá ñá / kó ñá n-tnáhíni dá*  
 COM-sing she but NEG COM-be:pleased I:RES  
 She sang, but I didn't like (it).

*íó ðé'kí í nú'ú í yúhu í ndáha í shé'hé í /*  
 CON:exist head UN face UN mouth UN hand UN foot UN

*kó ñá túú ðé'kí shé'hé í*  
 but NEG CON:be head foot UN  
 They (the "earth-people") have heads, faces, mouths, hands, (and) feet, but they don't have toes.

*n-kíshehé ñn ká gerá kwentá kristianú /*  
 COM-begin one ADD war narrative Christian

*kó ñá'tú n-shí'hí té*  
 but NEG COM-die he:ws  
 Another war (Sp. *guerra*) in the narrative (Sp. *cuenta*) of the Christians (Sp. *cristiano*) began, but they did not die (were not killed).

Usually the positive side of the contrast occurs first, but occasionally the negative side occurs first.

*ñá túú ðé'tá vítná / kó tné'é / chí kóó*  
 NEG CON:be tortilla now but tomorrow because POT:exist  
 There aren't (any) tortillas now, but TOMORROW indeed there will be.

Sometimes no negative occurs.

*yá'hú tnú ó'kó ú'shí peshú / kó vilí káá tnú*  
 CON:cost it:WOD twenty ten peso but pretty CON:appear it:WOD  
 It costs thirty pesos (Sp. *peso*), but it's pretty. (The table is expensive, but it's nice; let's take it.)

*luchí í / kó kídá í tríú*  
 small:SG UN but CON:do UN work  
 She's little (only six years old), but she (can) do chores.

The second part of an antithetical sentence is sometimes not a complete sentence; it is possible to omit information that can be inferred from the first part.

*ni'hí dá / kó úáhú ní tríú nú'ní*  
 CON:gain I:RES but a:little LIM wheat corn  
 I gain (a crop), but only a little wheat (Sp. *trigo*) (and) corn.

*káá ró kú'nú / kó vúná / chí ñá'há*  
 POT:eat we:I meat but now because NEG  
 We will eat meat (when Holy Week is over), but indeed not now.

*ndíshí í / kó ndé kwiá ká /*  
 POT:return:coming UN but until year ADD

*ndé náka a ká í shkwelá*  
 until POT:walk:again ADD UN school  
 He will return (home), but not until more years have passed, not until he has gone to school (Sp. *escuela*) more. (lit. He will return, but until more years, until he walks more to school.)

Disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *á* 'or'. This conjunction is rare, and I have found no examples in text material where it serves as a link between two statements that together make up a compound sentence. It does occur, however, between the two parts of disjunctive questions. In the examples I have found, the two sentences either contain the same verb, or the second sentence consists of the fixed expression *á ñá'há* 'or not'.

*machú ká-ń / á machú ká-ř á*  
 male ADD-YOU:FAM:MS OR male ADD-I:FAM INT  
 Are you more of a man (Sp. *macho*), or am I more of a man?

*tá'hndé-ń / á tá'hndé-ř á*  
 POT:jump-YOU:FAM:MS OR POT:jump-I:FAM INT  
 Will you jump, or shall I jump?

*kíshí ñá / á ñá'há*  
 POT:come she OR NEG  
 Will she come or not?

*shaní í'ní-ń shá kishí yá / á ñá'há*  
 CON:stand insides-YOU:FAM:MS CMP POT:come DEI OR NEG  
 Do you think He will come or not?

(See also 7.11 and 7.77.)

It is possible to form an indirect disjunctive question by using the conjunction *nú* 'if' as a complementizer.

*ñá shiní dá nú xahán ndá'á ñá / á ñá'há*  
 NEG CON:know I:RES if CON:speak true she or NEG  
 I don't know if she is speaking truthfully or not.

*ná xán ndukú-ř nú nání'hí-ř / á ñá'há*  
 HORT POT:go POT:look:for-I:FAM if POT:find-I:FAM or NEG  
 Let me go look (and see) if I can find it or not.

**6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions.** It is possible to simply juxtapose two (or rarely three) independent sentences that share the same verb aspect, often with a slight pause at the boundaries. This construction is used only to link sentences that are closely related in the mind of the speaker.

In one important subtype, the sentences refer to the same event and thus show a restatement relation. The use of more than one sentence to describe an event serves to highlight it in the discourse. Sometimes the same verb is used in both parts of the sentence.

*ni'hí dá / ni'hí dá / (kó úáhú ní triú nú'ní)*  
 CON:gain I:RES CON:gain I:RES (but a:little LIM wheat corn)  
 I gain; I gain, (but only a little wheat [and] corn).

*ió yó'ó / íó yó'ó víkó íí*  
 CON:exist moon CON:exist moon fiesta holy  
 There is a moon; there is a moon during Holy Week.

*xwáhán / xwáhán*  
 IMP:go IMP:go  
 Go on!

*n-yá'há víkó íí / n-yá'há ú'shá pasioón xesús*  
 COM-pass fiesta holy COM-pass seven passion Jesus  
 Holy Week passed; the seven sufferings (Sp. *pasión*) of Jesus (Sp. *Jesús*) passed.

*xwéén ró ñá'í / xwéén ró ñn aruá*  
 POT:buy we:IN salt POT:buy we:IN one measure

*yá'hú ó'hón kándodó kó'ón*  
 CON:cost five POT:carry four

We'll buy salt; we'll buy a measure (Sp. *arroba*) (of salt) that costs \$5.50. (lit. five pesos carrying four bits)

Occasionally the complementizer *shá* occurs between the two parts.

*xúnehe í / shá xúnehe í*  
 CON:have:diarrhea UN CMP CON:have:diarrhea UN  
 She has more and more diarrhea.

Sometimes the verbs are different, or one is the negative counterpart of the other.

*ñá kándá vá'há / ñá túú ká chudí'ní kánhnú*  
 NEG visible good NEG CON:be ADD star big:SG  
 There isn't enough light; the planet is no longer (shining).

*ná kóó shá má'ní / mash'kú kóó pletú*  
 HORT POT:exist it:INAN love NEG:HORT POT:exist quarrel  
 Let there be peace; let there not be quarreling (Sp. *pleito*)!

*kéé té ðeklarasioón / xahán té shá ñá'há*  
 CON:leave he:ws declaration CON:speak he:ws CMP NEG  
 He makes a declaration (Sp. *declaración*); he says that it isn't so (the accusation made before the judge).

*n-kinéhé té ñn karíl / ñn liñá ndá'á*  
 COM-take:out he:ws one track one line straight

*n-shantuu énxínerú*  
 COM-place engineer

He made a track (Sp. *carril*); A STRAIGHT LINE (Sp. *línea*) the engineer (Sp. *ingeniero*) laid out.

Sometimes the verb of the first sentence is a motion verb, and the second sentence contains the corresponding directional, in which case the directional agrees with the first verb in aspect, and the main verb of the second sentence is in potential aspect. Note that the semantic relationship between the two sentences is restatement, and the relationship between the directional and the verb nucleus of the second sentence is purpose.

*xí'hín ró / xín ndehá ró*  
 POT:go we:IN POT:go POT:look:at we:IN  
 We'll go; we'll go see.

*xí'hín dá / xín núkáte dá dánhma dá'hyá dá*  
 POT:go I:RES POT:go POT:wash I:RES cloth child my:RES  
 I will go (to the river); I'll go to wash my children's clothes.

*n-shehén té / n-shé ndehá té núndúa*  
 COM-go he:WS COM-go POT:look:at he:WS Oaxaca:City  
 He went; he went to see Oaxaca City.

In the next two examples, the directional is *n*, the reduced form of *xín* 'to go (potential)' that precedes a stem with initial *k* or *x*.

*xí'hín ró / n xéhén ró ú'shí ú'ú yútnú indí'yé*  
 POT:go we:IN POT:go POT:carry we:IN ten two tree rafter  
*véhé ró*  
 house our:IN

We'll go; we'll go bring the twelve poles (we will use for) the rafters of our house.<sup>4</sup>

*xí'hín ró / n ká'hndé ró ndáhá yáú / shá*  
 POT:go we:IN POT:go POT:cut we:IN hand maguey it:INAN  
*kinéhé ró pédasú / shá kúdu'kú yútnú*  
 POT:take:out we:IN piece it:INAN POT:be:tied tree

*shihín náha tnúyú'tú ínxán*  
 with rib maguey:stalk over:there  
 We'll go; we'll go cut maguey (century plant) leaves, the ones from which we will tear off pieces (Sp. *pedazo*), the ones with which the lengths of maguey stalk will be tied to those poles (of the rafters).<sup>5</sup>

In the following example, the focused subject serves for both parts.

<sup>4</sup>The form *xéhén* appears to be a special potential-aspect form of *néhé* 'to carry' that occurs following directionals (see §2.1.2).

<sup>5</sup>This sentence has a second reading, in which both instances of *shá* function as conjunctions that introduce subordinate purpose sentences (see §6.2.1 below); the free translation for the purpose reading is: 'We'll go; we'll go cut maguey leaves in order that we may tear off pieces in order that the lengths of maguey stalk may be tied to those poles.'

*méé ñá xwáhán / xwán xéhén ndúté*  
 SPEC she INC:GO INC:GO POT:carry water  
 SHE went; SHE went to get water.

In the following example, a restatement sentence occurs as the second part of a coordinate sentence.

*n-shé xéhén dá shá'tnú / té n-shehén dá / n-shé*  
 COM-go POT:carry I:RES trunk and COM-go I:RES COM-go  
*núnéhé dá*  
 POT:carry:again I:RES

I went to bring the boxes (home), and I went; I went to return (them to the church).

In the following example, a restatement sentence occurs as the subject complement of *ndoñúhú* 'to be necessary'.

*ndoñúhú shá xí'hín ró / n xéhén*  
 CON:be:necessary CMP POT:go WE:IN POT:go POT:carry  
*ró ndúté*  
 WE:IN water

It is necessary that we go; we go to get water.

In the following example, a restatement sentence occurs as the second part of another restatement sentence.

*kéé tí / shehén tí / shé ndukú*  
 CON:leave it:AML CON:go it:AML CON:go POT:look:for  
*tí shá káshí tí*  
 it:AML it:INAN POT:eat it:AML

It leaves; it goes; it goes to look for something to eat.

In other juxtaposed coordinate sentences, the component sentences describe different, but closely related, events. Sometimes the relationship is primarily temporal because the actions are simultaneous or occur in close sequence. In many of these sentences, the subjects are coreferential, but they need not be. Sometimes, however, the relationship between the component sentences is primarily logical in that each describes a part of some conceptual whole. In these sentences, the subjects are usually non-coreferential.



With coreferential subjects:

*tnúé té nduté ñú'á / shoóó té íí*  
 CON:grasp he:ws water wax CON:pour he:ws candle  
 He takes the liquid wax, (and) he pours (it) over the candles.

*shínxán kí'ú dá / ndváha dá*  
 that:thing CON:enter I:RES CON:become:good I:RES  
 I enter THAT, (and) I am healed.

*shitá í / shtashéhé í*  
 CON:sing UN CON:dance UN  
 They sing, (and) they dance.

*xé'hín ró / ní'hí ró ñú'ú íí*  
 POT:go we:IN POT:gain we:IN palm holy  
 We go, (and) we get the blessed palm.

*kíshí tí / káshí tí tkáchi ró*  
 POT:come it:AML POT:eat it:AML sheep our:IN  
 It (the coyote) will come, (and) it will eat our sheep.

*n-sheé ní'pé / núndee í tá'á í*  
 COM-arrive Philip:ws COM:hug UN father UN  
 Philip arrived, (and) he hugged his father.

*násheé yá / shiá'hán yá shá káshí dt'hé yá*  
 COM:arrive DEI CON:speak DEI CMP POT:eat mother DEI  
 They arrived, (and) they told their mother to eat (it).

*xé'hín-ñ / xínéhé-ñ shá káshí tá'á-ñ*  
 POT:go-you:RES POT:take-you:RES it:INAN POT:eat father-your:RES  
 Go, (and) take that which your father will eat!

*kinéhé tí ndáhá tí / tnúé tí /*  
 CON:take:out it:AML hand its:AML CON:grasp it:AML

*shashí tí*  
 CON:eat it:AML

It (the squirrel) puts out its paw, (and) takes (it [the peanut], and) eats (it).

With noncoreferential subjects:

*kúníní / ná náxani-ř kwentú*  
 POT:listen HORT POT:relate-I:FAM story  
 Listen, (and) let me tell (you) the story (Sp. *cuento*)!

*shá n-shíó dá'hyá ñá / dadá n-tnúndáha ñá*  
 already COM-exist child her then COM-marry she  
 She already had children, (and) then she was married. (lit. Her children already existed; THEN she was married.)

*íñ-s kwikó yú'té / íñ-s daká ndé'hyú*  
 one-he:MS POT:make:a:turn river one-he:MS POT:mix mud  
 ONE OF THEM will carry water, (and) ONE OF THEM will mix the mud.

*kándé ká'á / kahndé tirú*  
 POT:sound metal POT:explode fireworks  
 The bell will ring, (and) the fireworks (Sp. *tiro*) will explode. (to signal the beginning of the fiesta)

*ínxán tíú musiká / vá'shí meshá*  
 over:there CON:play band:member INC:come table  
 THERE the band (Sp. *música*) plays, (and) the table (Sp. *mesa*) comes. (a new table bought by the people of the town for the church)

In the following three-part example, the first two parts describe two closely related events, which together enter into a restatement relationship with the third part.

*íó shá nánhnú / íó shá kwechí /*  
 CON:exist it:INAN big:PL CON:exist it:INAN small:PL

*ndaá shá íó*  
 all it:INAN CON:exist

There are big ones; there are small ones; ALL THESE there are.

In the following example, the relationships are more complex. Four sentences together constitute the object complement of *xahán* 'to speak'. The first of the four sentences appears to be in a restatement relation with the last three, and the second one appears to be in a restatement relation with the last two, which are closely related events.

*xahán ñá shá dúhá káá shé'hé í / íó*  
 CON:speak she CMP thus CON:appear foot UN CON:exist

*kwadradú shé'hé í / ñá túú shédéyu í /*  
 squared foot UN NEG CON:be ankle UN

*ñá túú dí'kí shé'hé í*  
 NEG CON:be head foot UN

She says that their feet are like this: they are squared (Sp. *cuadrado*); they don't have ankles; they don't have toes.

In the following example, a juxtaposed coordinate sentence with coreferential subjects occurs as the object complement of *xahán* 'to speak'.

*xahán*    *í*    *shá*    *xí'hín*    *í*    *ó'hón*    *kwiá* /  
 CON:speak UN CMP POT:go UN five year

*kutúú*    *í*    *ñúkóhyo*  
 POT:be UN Mexico:City

He says that he will go for five years, (and) he will live in Mexico City.

There is also a highly restricted juxtaposed coordinate construction that involves two verbs of existence and a shared noun phrase.<sup>6</sup> In the following examples, the solidus that signals the break between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

*ñá*    *túú*    *káféé* / *íó*  
 NEG CON:be coffee CON:exist  
 There is no coffee (Sp. *café*).

*ñá*    *túú*    *ndúté* / *íó*  
 NEG CON:be water CON:exist  
 There is no water.

*ñá*    *túú*    *násh* / *íó*  
 NEG CON:be what CON:exist  
 There isn't anything.

*ñá*    *yó'ó*    *prinsesá*    *xán* / *túú*  
 NEG CON:exist princess that CON:be  
 That princess (Sp. *princesa*) is not here.

Sometimes this construction contains other elements, such as a peripheral location, as seen in the following examples.

*ñá*    *túú*    *tá*    *yáhá* / *íó*    *ñú'ú*    *ró*  
 NEG CON:be it:flower here CON:exist town OUR:IN  
 There are none of this (kind of) flower in our town.

*ñá*    *túú*    *ná*    *mólinú* / *íó*    *yáhá*  
 NEG CON:be what mill CON:exist here  
 There aren't any flour mills (Sp. *molino*) here.

<sup>6</sup>It would also be possible to analyze examples of this construction as simple sentences in which the first element is a noun phrase containing a negative quantifier *ñá'tú*, *ñáyó*, or *máyó* 'no'.

## 6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are usually expressed by using conjunctions, but some relations may be expressed by simple juxtaposition.

**6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions.** Conjunctions are used to express cause, condition, concession, purpose, negative purpose, simultaneous action, and comparison.

Cause sentences are introduced by the conjunction *chí* 'because', or simply by the complementizer *shá* with the extended meaning 'because'. Cause sentences usually follow the main sentence. The following examples show cause sentences with *chí*.

*xí'hín tǐ yúkú víná /*  
 POT:go it:AML mountain now

*chí ñá túú shá káshí tǐ*  
 because NEG CON:be it:INAN POT:eat it:AML

They (the oxen) will go to the mountain (pastures) now because there isn't anything for them to eat (here).

*ínxán kóǎó kóyó té ngútú / chí*  
 over:there POT:ride PL he:WS ox because

*víkó karnavaál kúú*  
 fiesta Carnival CON:be

OVER THERE they will ride the bulls because it is Carnival (Sp. *carnaval*) (pre-Lenten celebration).

*vété kúú-ř / chí shá kúyátní kǐ'ú*  
 happy CON:be-I:FAM because already CON:be:near day

*nú'hú ró*  
 POT:return:going we:IN

I'm happy because already the day is near that we will go back (home).

*ná kúndoo trúú / chí ndíkó ró*  
 HORT POT:be:clean wheat because POT:grind we:IN

Let the wheat be clean because we are going to grind (it).

Sometimes two or more subordinate sentences introduced by *chí* 'because' occur in the same sentence. In most cases a *chí* sentence that follows another one depends on the preceding subordinate sentence, rather than the main sentence.

*vúná vá'há tiempú n-sheé dá'ú / chí yó*  
 now good time COM-arrive rain because INTS

*kúndáhu ró yáhá / chí ñá túú ndúté*  
 CON:be:poor we:IN here because NEG CON:be water  
 NOW IN GOOD TIME (Sp. *tiempo*) the rain has arrived because we are  
 very poor here because there is no water.

*pí'ná ñá tnáhíni / chí shiá'hán ñá shá ñúhú*  
 Pina NEG CON:be:pleased because CON:speak she CMP land

*mée ñá kúú / chí ñúhú tá'á ñá kúú*  
 SPEC her CON:be because land father her CON:be  
 PINA (Sp. *Agripina*) isn't pleased because she says that it is her land  
 because it was her father's land.

In the next example, there are three *chí* sentences. The third one seems to depend on the second one, while the first and second ones both seem to depend on the main sentence.

*kúduhíni dá / chí shínxán ni'hí ró*  
 CON:be:happy I:RES because that:thing POT:gain we:IN

*shá káá ró / chí dá'ú xán dadá túú*  
 it:INAN POT:eat we:IN because rain that then CON:be

*ró / chí yáhá kúú ñúhú yichí*  
 we:IN because here CON:be land CON:be:dry

I am happy because WITH THAT (RAIN) we will get that which we will eat because WITH THAT RAIN THEN, we live because HERE it is dry land.

Occasionally the *chí* sentence precedes the main sentence.

*chí íó yó'ó / mash'kú yuhú*  
 because CON:exist moon NEG:HORT POT:be:afraid  
 Because there is a moon, don't be afraid!

The following examples show cause sentences with *shá*; in two of these sentences the word *shá* also occurs in another use, namely, as part of the complex preposition *shá shé'hé* 'on behalf of' or 'on account of'.

*n-shó ndító dá / shá nda'hí í*  
 COM-HAB be:awake I:RES CMP CON:cry UN  
 I was awake because he (the baby) was crying.

*n-kí'ú*    *ñá'ñá kúralí ró* / *té*    *n-shanhní tí*  
 COM-enter coyote corral our:IN and COM-kill it:AML

*tkáchi ró* / *té*    *néhé*    *tí*    *ñn*    *tkólelu luchi*  
 sheep our:IN and COM:carry it:AML one lamb small:SG

*shá*    *shé'hé kwéchi*    *okeí*    *dé*    *shihín*    *parís*    *dé* /  
 CMP foot fault Okay that:near with Paris that:near

*shá*    *ñá*    *n-shó*    *ndi'xún*    *tí*  
 CMP NEG COM-HAB be:tied it:AML

The coyote entered our corral, and it killed our sheep, and it took a little lamb on account of the fault of that Okay (Sp. *okay*, English *okay*) and that Paris (Sp. *París*) (the dogs) because they weren't tied up (at the corral).

*tnáu'híni*    *dá*    *shá*    *shé'hé í* / *shá*    *ñá'tú*    *n-shó*    *túú*  
 CON:be:sad I:RES CMP foot UN CMP NEG COM-HAB be

*í*    *ñúñá'yíu*  
 UN world

I am sad on her account because she did not live in the world. (the baby lived only a month)

Occasionally the sentence introduced by *shá* precedes the main sentence, in which case *té* 'and' may introduce the main sentence. In the following example, the first instance of *shá* functions as a conjunction, and the second one forms part of a repetitive stative verb phrase (see §2.4).

*mée*    *ñá*    *shá*    *kuhú*    *ñá* / *té*    *kóhyo*    *shá*    *kóhyo*    *shitá*    *ñá*  
 SPEC she CMP CON:be:sick she and sad CMP sad CON:sing she  
 AS FOR HER, because she is sick, SADLY, SADLY she sings.

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunctions *nushá* (or *núsh*) and *nú*, both of which mean 'if'. Subordinate sentences with *nushá* or *núsh* may precede or follow the main sentence.

*xánñáhá té / nushá má xú'ñáha dá shá*  
 POT:hit he:WS if NEG POT:give I:RES it:INAN

*káshéini kóyó dá'hyá dá*  
 POT:eat:supper PL child my:RES  
 He will hit me if I don't give my children their supper.

*ndoñúhú ró ú'shá ðosená náha /*  
 CON:need we:IN seven dozen rib

*nushá ndíhi ní'hí ró*  
 if POT:be:finished POT:gain we:IN  
 We need seven dozen (Sp. *docena*) ribs (of maguey stalk) if we finish getting (all we will need).

*xú'ñáha-ñ shá ñíhi n-kí'ú-ñ /*  
 POT:say-you:RES CMP sweatbath COM-enter-you:RES

*núsh xú'ndú shi'xán tnú'hú ñáha*  
 if who CON:ask word KNO  
 Say you entered THE SWEATBATH if ANYONE asks you.

*núsh xwíni ró / kánéhé ró siyá nánhnú dává*  
 if CON:want we:IN POT:carry we:IN chair big:PL fraction

*ðosená té dává ðosená siyá kwechí*  
 dozen and fraction dozen chair small:PL  
 If we want to, we can take a half dozen big chairs (Sp. *silla*) and a half dozen small chairs.

*núsh ñá ní'hí ró / té ndú ró /*  
 if NEG CON:gain we:IN and COM:return:coming we:IN

*té kíshí té véhé ró*  
 and POT:come he:WS house our:IN  
 If we don't get (the blessed palm), and we return home (without it), he will come to our house (with it).

Subordinate sentences introduced by *nú* are less frequent; in the present data they only precede the main sentence.

*nú yó machú-ñ / xwán ká'á /*  
 if INTS male-you:FAM:MS IMP:go POT:climb

*tavá-ñ ndí'ú ntá'dú*  
 POT:take:out-you:FAM:MS egg eagle  
 If you're so much of a man, climb up (and) take the eagle's egg!

There are two ways of expressing a contrafactual condition. In one way, the subordinate sentence is introduced by *nushá* or *núsh* 'if', and it is closed by *n-kúú* 'to be (completive)'. The *n-kúú* serves as the main verb of the subordinate sentence, and the rest of the subordinate sentence functions as a subject complement. The main sentence follows the subordinate sentence, and it is introduced by *té* 'and'.

*nushá ndoñúhú ñáha xéró 'ñú n-kúú / té*  
if CON:need KNO Jerry COM-be and

*xahán dá shá ná nú 'hú-ñ*  
POT:speak I:RES CMP HORT POT:return:going-you:RES  
If it were that Jerry (Sp. *Gerónimo*) needs you, then I would tell you to go.

*nushá ndoñúhú ñáha xéró 'ñú n-kúú / té*  
if COM:need KNO Jerry COM-be and

*n-xahán dá shá xwán nú 'hú-ñ*  
COM-speak I:RES CMP IMP:go POT:return:going-you:RES  
If Jerry had needed you, I would have told you to go.

In the second way, the subordinate sentence is introduced by *nushá* 'if', and its verb is in completive aspect. The main sentence follows the subordinate sentence, it is not introduced by *té* 'and', and its verb must either be in potential aspect, or it must be the verb *íó* 'to exist' in continuative aspect.

*nushá n-kótó yá 'tá chilidáá / má kááá tnú vá 'há ró*  
if COM-turn back bird NEG POT:do work good we:IN  
If the bird had turned its back to us, we wouldn't work well.

*nushá n-shánhnú xwán / íó í shá 'hún kwiá vítná*  
if COM-be:mature John CON:exist UN fifteen year now  
If John (Sp. *Juan*) had lived, he would be fifteen years old now.

Concession sentences are introduced by the conjunction *xwiní* 'although', and they usually precede the main sentence, in which case *kó* 'but' introduces the main sentence.

*xwiní yá 'hú tnú / kó meshá vá 'há kúú tnú*  
although CON:cost it:WOD but table good CON:be it:WOD  
Even though it costs (is expensive), it's a good table. (so let's take it)



*xwini ú'hú / kó dáhá kí'kú dá*  
 although difficult but thus CON:sew I:RES  
 Even though (it) is difficult, that's the way I sew.

*xwini kwé'hé vidá yá'há dá / shá túú dá*  
 although many life CON:pass I:RES CMP CON:be I:RES

*yúkú / kó ni'hí dá shá káá dá*  
 mountain but CON:gain I:RES it:INAN POT:eat I:RES  
 Even though I suffer because I live in the mountains (backwoods), I  
 make a living. (lit. Even though I pass through MUCH LIFE [Sp. *vida*]  
 because I live in the mountains, but I gain that which I will eat.)

Sometimes the material that follows *xwini* is less than a full sentence  
 because it is possible to omit information that can be inferred from  
 context.

*xwini kwé'hé tvini / kó dá xwini dá*  
 although many money but thus CON:want I:RES

*shá káá dá ñn mishá*  
 CMP POT:do I:RES one mass  
 Even though (it's) a lot of money (Sp. *tomín*), I want to have a mass  
 (Sp. *misa*) said.

*xwini ndé dá'hyá kwechí tá kakú ká /*  
 although until child small:PL not:yet POT:be:born ADD

*kó naxini í shá shínxán n-kidá defenderí*  
 but POT:recognize UN CMP that:thing COM-do defend

*salvadoór shíhín sílvés'tré shíhín pabló*  
 Salvador with Silvester with Paul  
 Even though children not yet born (don't exist), they will recognize  
 that IN THAT WAY Salvador (Sp. *Salvador*) and Silvester (Sp. *Silvestre*)  
 and Paul (Sp. *Pablo*) defended (Sp. *defender*) (their rights).

Sometimes a concession sentence will be embedded within another sub-  
 ordinate sentence; in the following example the first concession sentence  
 modifies the main sentence, and the second one modifies a cause sentence  
 that in turn modifies the main sentence.

*xwiní dá'hyá té / kó ñá tnáhíní té / chí*  
 although child his:ws but NEG CON:be:pleased he:ws because

*xwiní kúndáhu té / kó ñá'tú ðuhú té*  
 although CON:be:poor he:ws but NEG CON:steal he:ws

Even though (it is) his daughter (that is being tortured), he does not like it (that she is a criminal and will not defend her), because even though he is poor, he doesn't steal.

When the concession sentence is not focused, *kó* 'but' does not occur.

*ná ka'xán ñú'hú nahí ró / xwiní n-kúneé*  
 HORT POT:spread:out fire INTENT we:IN although COM-be:night  
 Let's go on building up the fire even though it is night.

Purpose sentences are sometimes introduced by the complementizer *shá*, which functions as a conjunction meaning 'in order that'. The verb of the purpose sentence must be in potential aspect, and the sentence sometimes contains the preverbal marker *ná* 'hortatory' (see §2.1.2). (The complementizer *shá* also sometimes means 'because', but the two uses can be distinguished by aspect restrictions: a subordinate cause sentence with *shá* never occurs in potential aspect.)

*kinéhé dá tvíní / shá xí'hín dá yá'hú*  
 CON:take:out I:RES money CMP POT:go I:RES market

I get (from my hard work) money in order that I (can) go to market.

*chiyá'hú dá yá ú'ú sientú /*  
 POT:pay I:RES DEI two hundred

*shá ndááá kánhnú yá santú*  
 CMP POT:do:again big:SG DEI saint

I will pay the priest two hundred (Sp. *ciento*) (pesos) in order that he may celebrate (the fiesta of) the saint (Sp. *santo*).

*n-sheén dá ñú'á / té n-dándaá dá ítí /*  
 COM-buy I:RES wax and COM-make I:RES candle

*shá káká dá véñu'hú yarné'shí shíhín dómingú*  
 CMP POT:walk I:RES church Friday with Sunday

I bought beeswax, and I made candles in order that I might go to church Fridays (Sp. *viernes*) and Sundays (Sp. *domingo*) (for a year).

ágotó shá íó ndídi í'tú dá /  
 August already CON:EXIST sweet:corn field my:RES

shá káshí dá'hyá dá  
 CMP POT:eat child my:RES

IN AUGUST (Sp. agosto) there is already sweet corn in my fields in order that my children may eat (it).

ó'hón mushú dá kídá tniú shíhín dá /  
 five hired:hand my:RES CON:DO work with me:RES

shá dákee dá shíhín-s í'tú dá  
 CMP POT:harvest I:RES with-him:MS field my:RES

MY FIVE HIRED HANDS (Sp. mozo) work with me in order that with them I may harvest my fields.

néhé ká ñá í / shá ná ndó'yó vá'há ká í  
 CON:carry ADD she UN CMP HORT POT:be:wet good ADD UN  
 She carries it (the baby) further (in the rain) in order that it may get good and wet. (being baptized by the rain)

xé'hín té shíhín radiú / shá ná xúñáha té  
 POT:go he:WS with radio CMP HORT POT:give he:WS

radiú xúshishiá  
 radio authority

He will go with the radio (Sp. radio) in order that he may give the radio to the authorities (Sp. justicia).

nlí'pé túndaha ñn telegramá nú'ú tá'á í shíhín dá'hé  
 Philip:WS CON:send one telegram face father UN with mother

í / shá ná kúndetu té nú'ú ndíshí treén  
 UN CMP HORT POT:wait he:WS face POT:return:coming train

PHILIP sends a telegram (Sp. telegrama) to his father and his mother in order that they will be waiting (for him) at the train (Sp. tren) station.

n-shó shí'xán níhná té / shá ná kóó shá  
 COM-HAB CON:ask ? he:WS CMP HORT POT:EXIST it:INAN

má'ní / mash'kú kóó pleú  
 love NEG:HORT POT:EXIST quarrel

He was continually asking (their help) in order that there might be peace in order that there might not be quarreling.

(See also 7.5.)

Purpose is also expressed without the use of a conjunction, as described in §6.2.2. Such a purpose sentence occurs at the end of the last example above, following the purpose sentence introduced by *shá*.

Negative purpose sentences are introduced by the conjunction *ná'ḍá* 'lest', and the verb must be in potential aspect.

*tétní'té í'hína / ná'ḍá kishí té /*  
 POT:tie:up dog lest POT:come it:AML

*káshí té tkáchi ró*  
 POT:eat it:AML sheep OUR:IN

Tie up the dogs lest it (the coyote) come, (and) it eat our sheep.

*ná kúndí'xún vá'há té / ná'ḍá kúnú okeí ḍé*  
 HORT POT:be:tied good it:AML lest POT:flee Okay that  
 Let them (the dogs) be well tied lest that Okay run away.

*ñúnú'ú í / ná'ḍá káshí té trúú*  
 CON:care:for UN lest POT:eat it:AML wheat  
 He is herding lest they (the sheep) eat the wheat.

*méé ḍá kánéhé ḍí'tá kóhó káḍí ndúté / ná*  
 SPEC I:RES POT:carry tortilla plate spoon water HORT

*kóhó mushú ḍá / ná'ḍá yí'chí té ndúté*  
 POT:drink hired:hand my:RES lest POT:thirst he:ws water  
 I will carry the tortillas, the plates, the spoons, (and) the water in  
 order that my hired-hands may drink lest they thirst for water.

Negative purpose is also expressed without the use of a conjunction, as described in §6.2.2.

Simultaneous action sentences are introduced by the conjunction *níní* 'while'. When a simultaneous action sentence introduced by *níní* precedes the main sentence, *té* 'and' introduces the main sentence.

*ná kwíáó ḍá yútnú / níní nayichí*  
 HORT POT:carry I:RES tree while CON:be:dry:again

Let me carry poles, while they (the adobes) are drying (on the other side).

*níní ḍá nakuyichí ñíñí ḍá / té ndukú*  
 while thus CON:be:dry:again corn:ear my:RES and POT:look:for

*ḍá mushú ná ḍákoyó ñíñí ḍá*  
 I:RES hired:hand HORT POT:shell corn:ear my:RES

While the harvested corn is drying, I will look for hired hands in order that (they) can shell my corn.

Another kind of subordinate time sentence is introduced by *ndé ná* ‘until’.

*kááá kumplirí té kúkúú té musiká /*  
 POT:do complete he:ws POT:be he:ws band:member

*ndé ná kú'ú té*  
 until when POT:die he:ws

He will fulfill (Sp. *cumplir*) (his job as) a member of the town band until he dies.

Other subordinate time sentences are introduced by the conjunctions *ná*, *orá* (Sp. *hora*), and *nú*, all of which mean ‘when’. All may precede the main sentence, and those with *ná* or *orá* may follow the main sentence as well. In the present data, *té* ‘and’ may introduce a main sentence following a subordinate sentence with *orá*, and *ááá* ‘then’ may introduce a main sentence following a subordinate sentence with *ná*.

With *ná*:

*ná yó kwaá / násheé ró*  
 when INTS blind POT:arrive we:IN  
 When it is very dark, we will arrive (at home).

*ndónéhé áá / ná yí'chí vá'há*  
 POT:lift:up I:RES when CON:be:dry good  
 I will lift up (the adobe bricks) when (they) are well dried.

*ná sheé ú'ná k'ú / áámingú pashkwá /*  
 when POT:arrive eight day Sunday Easter

*shínókava víkó íí*  
 POT:be:complete fiesta holy

In eight days, on Easter (Sp. *pascua*) Sunday, Holy Week is finished.

*ná nsheé áá ó'kó mayú / áá / kóá*  
 when POT:arrive I:RES twenty May that:time POT:pour

*áá íí / shá ndúkánhnú santú yó'ó xuñú*  
 I:RES candle it:INAN POT:become:big saint moon June

When it's May (Sp. *mayo*) 20th, that day, I will dip candles, the ones that celebrate the images in the month of June.

*ná kishí dá'ú ndehé / ndoñúhú ró ñn*  
 when POT:come rain strong CON:need we:IN one

*đichí luchí xúñáha ró ñú'ú ú / ná*  
 unmarried:person small:SG POT:give we:IN palm holy HORT

*tnú'ú í / mash'kú kishí dá'ú ndehé*  
 POT:light UN NEG:HORT POT:come rain strong

When the heavy rains come, we need a little girl to whom to give the blessed palm in order that she may light (it) in order that the heavy rains will not come.

*íó í ú'shí kwiá / ná n-kéé í véhé dá*  
 CON:exist UN ten year when COM-leave UN house my:RES  
 He was ten years old when he left home.

*té inxán n-đákwahá musiká / ná kwechí í*  
 he:ws over:there COM-learn music when small:PL UN  
 THOSE MEN learned music (began to play in the town band) when they were young.

*íó ó'kó ú'ú kwiá / ná n-shó kúú dá kwechí*  
 CON:exist twenty two year when COM-HAB be I:RES small:PL  
 That was twenty-two years ago when we were young.

*ná tú'ú kí'ú ú'shí ñn sétiembré /*  
 when CON:dawn day ten one September

*đadá xwándishí kamiá ndé véhé té đúú'shí*  
 then INC:return:coming cot until house his:ws Diuxi  
 When it was dawning on the eleventh of September (Sp. *septiembre*), THEN the stretcher (Sp. *camilla*) was returning (was being carried) to his house in Diuxi.

With *orá*:

*ténee ró yá yéhé ró / mash'kú kíkúú*  
 POT:lean we:IN DEI door OUR:IN NEG:HORT POT:enter

*tá'chí véhé ró / orá kí'đí ró*  
 wind house OUR:IN when CON:sleep we:IN

We will lean it (the blessed palm) against our door in order that evil spirits will not enter our house when we are sleeping.

*ndaá kúú íó yúkú kánhni té /*  
all animal CON:exist mountain POT:kill he:ws

*orá ndíí yó'ó*  
when CON:shine moon

ALL THE ANIMALS THAT THERE ARE IN THE MOUNTAINS they will kill when the moon shines.

*orá ndó'yó shá ndó'yó ñá'yú / ñá'tú kúú'hini*  
when CON:be:wet CMP CON:be:wet people NEG CON:be:angry

*í / chí kúvété í*  
UN because CON:be:happy UN

When people (get) very wet (in the rain), they aren't angry, because they are happy. (being baptized by the rain)

*orá xúún dá'ú íchí / té ndó'yó*  
when CON:be:produced rain road and CON:be:wet

*đichí yixín / xahán ñá shá n-yí'chí*  
unmarried:person tender CON:speak she CMP COM-thirst

*í ndúté íí*  
UN water holy

When the rain falls on the trail, and the infant gets wet (in the rain), she says that the baby was thirsty for holy water (the rain).

*orá násheé ñá véhé ñá / náchídú'kú ñá í đánh má*  
when POT:arrive she house her POT:wrap:again she UN cloth

*íó ndóó / té vá'há kí'đí í / ndóó í ndé*  
CON:exist clean and good POT:sleep UN POT:waken UN until

*ñn ká kí'ú*  
one ADD day

When she arrives home, she will wrap the baby in clean clothes, and he will sleep WELL; he will (not) awake until the next day.

*orá ndéé tahu ñá / té xúnehe í /*  
when CON:offer debt she and CON:have:diarrhea UN

*shá xúnehe í*  
CMP CON:have:diarrhea UN

When she makes her offering (to the earth spirit), then she has more and more diarrhea. (lit. it gives diarrhea)

*orá túú dá ínxán / té xéro'ńú n-shó kídá*  
 when CON:be I:RES over:there and Jerry COM:HAB CON:do

*tnúú*  
 work

When we were there, JERRY was working.

With *nú*:

*nú n-tú'ú / dá nú'ú mí'hí káá í*  
 when COM-dawn thus face garbage CON:lie it:AML  
 When it dawned, THUS (as we said) it (the dog) was lying IN THE  
 GARBAGE.

*nú shishá tnúyú'tú ínxán /*  
 when CON:mature maguey:stalk over:there

*xúún tndíí*  
 CON:be:produced maguey:flower

When that maguey stalk matures, maguey flowers will be produced.  
 (to use as food)

*nú n-kúkwéché / ńn metrú shíhín ńn kwartá kúú*  
 when COM-be:small:PL one meter with one span CON:be

*ndáhá dún'hnú*  
 hand blouse

When it (the cloth) was cut in pieces, one meter (Sp. *metro*) with  
 one hand's breadth (Sp. *cuarta*) was (became) the sleeves of the  
 blouse.

Comparison of likeness sentences are introduced by the conjunction *ná* 'when', used in this construction to mean 'as', or the conjunction *nání* 'as'. The same verb must occur in both the comparison sentence and the main sentence, but they need not agree in aspect. The comparison sentence may either follow the main sentence or precede it. When it follows, the verb is sometimes not expressed in the comparative sentence. When it precedes, the main sentence is often introduced by *dá* 'thus' (or *dání*, if the subordinate sentence has *nání*).

*ká nda'hí í / ná ká nda'hí tkáchi*  
 PL CON:cry it:AML when PL CON:cry sheep

They are crying as sheep cry.



*nánhnú shé'hé t̃ / ná shé'hé elefanté*  
 big:PL foot its:AML when foot elephant  
 Their feet are big like elephants' (Sp. *elefante*) feet.

*ná kúú ndúú / kúú shá kwaá*  
 when CON:be day CON:be it:INAN blind  
 The night is as the day is (it's so light).

*ná káá nú'ú ñá'yú / káá nú'ú changú*  
 when CON:appear face people CON:appear face monkey  
 The monkey's (Sp. *chango*) face is like a person's face. (lit. The monkey's face appears as a person's face appears.)

*ná káá nchí'vá luchí / káá t̃*  
 when CON:appear goat small:SG CON:appear it:AML  
 It looks like a little goat (Sp. *chiva*). (lit. It appears as a little goat appears.)

*nání shaá dá / ní'hí dá*  
 as CON:eat I:RES CON:gain I:RES  
 As I eat, I gain. (I make a living)

*ná kúú tá'tá xúngava íchí / dá kúú dává ñá'yú*  
 when CON:be seed CON:fall road thus CON:be fraction people  
 As is seed (that) falls on the trail, so are some people.

Sometimes a sentence that contains a subordinate comparative sentence is embedded in another sentence.

*xó'ón / ví'shí / kó ñá ví'shí / ná ví'shí vítná*  
 yes cold but NEG cold when cold now  
 Yes, it was cold (then), but not as cold as it is now.

*xahán ñá shá kúú í / ná kúú xwání'tó estelá*  
 CON:speak she CMP CON:be UN when CON:be Johnny Stella  
 She says that they (the "earth-people") are as Johnny (Sp. *Juanito*) and Stella (Sp. *Estela*) are.

Hypothetical comparison is expressed by the complex conjunctions *kwendá kúú* or *ná kúú shá*, both of which mean 'as if'. The verb of the subordinate sentence must be in complete aspect.

*shá'tú shá shá'tú yúhu dá / kwendá kúú*  
 CON:burn CMP CON:burn mouth my:RES account CON:be

*n-shashí dá yáhá*  
 COM-eat I:RES chili

My mouth burns awfully as if I had eaten chili peppers.

*shá'tú shá shá'tú yúhu dá / ná kúú shá*  
 CON:burn CMP CON:burn mouth my:RES when CON:be CMP

*n-shashí dá yáhá*  
 COM:eat I:RES chili

My mouth burns awfully as if I had eaten chili peppers.

**6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions.** Some subordinate relations can be expressed by simply juxtaposing the subordinate sentence to the main sentence, without any conjunction. The relation is signaled instead by some formal feature within the subordinate sentence. In the material collected to date, three kinds of juxtaposed subordinate sentences have been observed: purpose, time, and location.

There are two kinds of juxtaposed sentences that express purpose, both of which are characterized by having potential aspect in the subordinate purpose sentence. In the first kind, the purpose sentence is introduced by the hortatory marker *ná* or the negative hortatory marker *mash'kú*. If the sentence is a command, the main sentence may also be introduced by a hortatory marker. The purpose sentence usually follows the main sentence.

*káadá vá'há dá ndéyú / ná kásháíní dá'hya dá*  
 POT:do good I:RES meal HORT POT:eat:supper child my:RES  
 I will make the meal in order that my children may eat supper.

*ná áayaá ró yóhó / ná ndókoó-t*  
 HORT POT:release we:IN rope HORT POT:stand-it:AML  
 Let's untie the ropes in order that it (the ox) may get up!

*ténéé ró yá yéhé ró /*  
 POT:lean we:IN DEI door our:IN

*mash'kú kákúú tá'chí véhé ró*  
 NEG:HORT POT:enter wind house our:IN

We will lean it (the blessed palm) against our door in order that evil spirits will not enter our house.

Occasionally a purpose sentence precedes the main sentence; in the following example, the main sentence is a restatement sentence that begins

with the hortatory marker *ná* because it functions as a third person command.

*ná kwahá tekú dó'hó tí / ná xí'hín*  
 HORT POT:be:possible POT:hear ear its:AML HORT POT:go

*tí n kává tí yá'tá kúralí*  
 it:AML POT:go POT:lie:down it:AML back corral

In order that its (the dog's) ears may be able to hear, let it go lie down behind the corral!

Sometimes two or more purpose sentences occur in a single sentence. In the first example below, the second purpose sentence is subordinate to the first purpose sentence, which is subordinate to the main sentence. This example also contains two juxtaposed sentences which together form a subordinate cause sentence. In the other two examples below, the two purpose sentences are in a restatement relation with each other, and both are subordinate to the main sentence.

*kwé'hé tútnú kiú / ná kokó vá'há /*  
 many wood POT:put:on HORT POT:burn good

*ná naááá vá'há / chí shinxán kí'ú*  
 HORT POT:be:hot good because that:thing CON:enter

*dá ndváha dá*  
 I:RES CON:become:good I:RES

Put A LOT OF WOOD on in order that it may burn well in order that it may be good and hot because WITH THAT (SWEATBATH) that I enter I am healed.

*xí'hín dá shíhín kwali dá sélí'á / ná chindéé*  
 POT:go I:RES with comadre my:RES Celia HORT POT:help

*ñáha ñá / ná kánéhé ñá ndéyú*  
 KNO she HORT POT:carry she meal

I will go with my child's godmother (Sp. *comadre*) Celia (Sp. *Celia*) in order that she may help me in order that she may carry the dinner.

*katundéé ró té shévé'hé ró / ná kí'dí*  
 POT:sprinkle we:IN it:LIQ house:wall our:IN HORT POT:sleep

*vá'há ró / mash'kú kachishé'né lokó ró*  
 good we:IN NEG:HORT POT:dream crazy we:IN

We will sprinkle it (the holy water) on the walls of our house in order that we may sleep well in order that we will not have bad (Sp. *loco*) dreams.

When the purpose sentence follows the main sentence, and the subjects are coreferential, the *ná* is occasionally omitted.

*ndú'híní dá / téé dá dí'tá*  
 CON:be:anxious I:RES POT:cast I:RES tortilla  
 I am in a hurry to make the tortillas.

*xín sheé ró / kúndéhá ró ná*  
 POT:go POT:arrive we:IN POT:look:at we:IN what

*íó ñú'ú ínxán*  
 CON:exist town over:there

We are going to arrive to see what there is in the town over there.

In the second kind of purpose sentence, a shared noun phrase occurs at the seam between the main sentence and the following purpose sentence. This noun phrase must be the final element in the main sentence, which means that it may be the subject only if the main verb is intransitive. It is most often the object, but it may be an adjunct or a peripheral element. The shared noun phrase may have any function in the purpose sentence.<sup>7</sup> In the following examples, the solidus that signals the break between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

*téé ró dí'tá / káá ró*  
 CON:cast we:IN tortilla POT:eat we:IN  
 We are making tortillas to eat.

<sup>7</sup>Occasionally a juxtaposed sentence with a shared noun phrase has completive aspect rather than potential in the second part, as in the following example.

*yó'ó n-shíá'hán chí'kí / n-shashí í*  
 moon COM-give prickly:pear:fruit COM-eat UN  
 The moon gave him prickly pear fruit to eat.

It seems likely that such sentences express a result, i.e., an accomplished purpose, and that the main sentence must be in completive aspect as well.

*té nsheé dá / xándóó dá káfée /*  
and POT:arrive I:RES POT:put:on I:RES coffee

*káshdíní dá 'hyá dá*  
POT:eat:supper child my:RES

And (when) I arrive, I will put on the coffee for my children to eat supper.

*té ínxán ndukú dá alvañí /*  
and over:there POT:look:for I:RES mason

*kááá vá 'há véhé dá*  
POT:do good house my:RES

And THERE I will look for masons (Sp. *albañil*) to build my house.

*ínxán ááá kwikonuú ró nuyáhu /*  
over:there then POT:walk:around we:IN marketplace

*kúndéhá ró*  
POT:look:at we:IN

THERE THEN we will walk around the marketplace to see (what there is to see).

*kááá vá 'há ró méé ní kú 'ñú vá 'há /*  
POT:do good we:IN SPEC LIM meat good

*ké 'é shí 'tí tkóo*  
POT:enter stomach tamale

We will make (them) with purely good (breast) meat to put inside the tamales.

*tátnú áichí ínxán xín ndukú*  
errand:boy unmarried:person over:there POT:go POT:look:for

*í 'tá / ndúkútú kúrushi*  
flower POT:become:tied cross

THE TOWN ERRAND BOY, THAT BOY, will go to look for flowers to be tied on the crosses (Sp. *cruz*).

*dá kááá ró ñn í 'tá / xantuú ró altáár xesús*  
thus POT:do we:IN one flower POT:put:on we:IN altar Jesus  
Thus we will make a flower to put on the altar (Sp. *altar*) of Jesus.

A juxtaposed subordinate time sentence gives a temporal setting for the main sentence. Its verb must be in continuative aspect, while the verb of the main sentence must be in some other aspect. In most cases the subject of the subordinate sentence is coreferential with the subject of the main

sentence. A subordinate time sentence can either follow or precede the main sentence.

With subordinate sentence following:

*n-kíshí sán xoséé shíhín mariá / shíxán yá posadá*  
 COM-come St. Joseph with Mary CON:ask:for DEI lodging  
 St. (Sp. *san*) Joseph (Sp. *José*) and Mary (Sp. *María*) came asking for  
 lodging (Sp. *posada*). (part of the Christmas celebration in Mexico)

*inxán xwáhán tí / shé ndukú tí*  
 over:there INC:go it:AML CON:go POT:look:for it:AML

*shá káshí chilibáá kwechí n-tá'hú*  
 it:INAN POT:eat bird small:PL COM-break  
 THERE it (the mother bird) went looking for food for the newly  
 hatched little birds.

*n-sheé ñá véhé / dashá ñá í'tá*  
 COM-arrive she house CON:give she flower  
 She arrived at the house giving out flowers.

*kává í shá'hún ké'ú / yí'chí í*  
 POT:lie:down UN fifteen day CON:be:dry UN  
 They (the adobe bricks) will be laid out for fifteen days drying.

*yáhá kútúú í / yá'há í vakasioón*  
 here POT:be UN CON:pass UN vacation  
 He will be HERE for his vacation (Sp. *vacación*).

(See also 7.8 and 7.40.)

With subordinate sentence preceding:

*nda'hí dí'hí í / n-shiní ñáha ñá*  
 CON:cry mother UN COM-see KNO she  
 His mother was crying (when) she saw him.

*kúdúhíni tá'á í / n-shé'tnáha ñáha té*  
 CON:be:happy father UN COM-meet KNO he  
 His father was happy (when) he met him (his son).

*xúún ñíí dókó / n-chidú'kú dá delantári dá*  
 CON:be:produced skin vapor COM-wrap I:RES apron my:RES  
 The placenta having been passed, I wrapped (it) in my apron (Sp.  
*delantal*).

The following examples show various embeddings.

*ndukú yá tndáka / n-kídá vá'há yá kulambrá /*  
 CON:look:for DEI bee COM-do good DEI hive

*n-kinéhé yá kú'ñú*  
 COM-take:out DEI meat

Looking for bees, they made a hive (Sp. *enjambre*) (of the deer's carcass), (and) they took out the meat.

*shiká ñá / xwáhán ñá / nánduku ñá*  
 CON:walk she INC:go she POT:look:for:again she  
 Walking she went to look again (for him).

A juxtaposed subordinate location sentence contains a motion verb that expresses the direction of the action in the main sentence; the two verbs agree in aspect. The location sentence invariably follows the main sentence, and no subject is expressed, but it is always construed as having a subject coreferential with that of the main sentence.

*néhé yá kú'ñú / xwánú'hú nú'ú dt'hí yá*  
 CON:carry DEI meat INC:return:going face mother DEI  
 They were bringing the meat to their mother.

*néhé í tá / xwándíshí ndé yáhá*  
 CON:carry UN it:flower INC:return:coming until here  
 She was bringing the flowers here.

*kánéhé dá tá / xí'hín véñu'hú dtómingú*  
 POT:carry I:RES it:flower POT:go church Sunday  
 I will take the flowers to church on Sunday.

*kúdtúhíni í / xwándíshí íchí*  
 CON:be:happy UN INC:return:coming road

*shihín tá'á í shihín dt'hí í*  
 with father UN with mother UN

He was happy returning (home) on the road with his father and his mother.

*ndéká ñáha navóór nú'ú kídá tníú-s / n-shehén*  
 COM:take KNO Nabor face CON:do work-he:MS COM-go  
 Nabor (Sp. *Nabor*) took me to where he works.

(See also 7.27.)

The location sentence usually expresses a destination, as in the above examples, but if the destination is clear from the context, it may be unexpressed.

*kú'dú 'kú té / xí'hín*  
 POT:be:tied he:ws POT:go

He will go (to prison with his hands) tied (behind him).

In the following example, the direct object of the main sentence, which is a long indirect quotation, follows the subordinate location sentence.

*shíá'hán nlí'pé / xwándíshí / shá kutuú í véhé í*  
 CON:say Philip:ws INC:return:coming CMP POT:be UN house UN

*shihín fámiliá í ká'ú vakasioón*  
 with family UN day vacation

Philip says returning (home on the road) that he will be at home with his family (Sp. *familia*) during his vacation.

### 6.3 Direct Quotations

Direct quotations consist of three elements: the quotation itself, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation, which consists of one or more full sentences or fragments, must occur. Both the introducer and the closer are optional. Note that in the text in chapter seven no introducers or closers occur. Both the introducer and the closer consist of a verb of speaking, usually *xahán* 'to speak' or *shíá'hán* 'to speak', its subject, and sometimes an addressee. Occasionally other information is included. The following sentences have a quotation introducer.

*xahán té / orá n-tá'shí té / xúhún*  
 CON:speak he:ws when COM-give he:ws IMP:take

*ndátníú-ń yá / ó'hón vasú té ñn indó'hó*  
 possession-your:RES this five glass and one pitcher  
 He was saying when he gave (it to me), "Take this prize of yours, five glasses (Sp. *vaso*) and a pitcher."

*shíá'hán dí'hí yó'ó / xí'hín-ń /*  
 CON:speak mother moon POT:go-you:RES

*xínehé-ń shá káshí tá'á-ń*  
 POT:take-you:RES it:INAN POT:eat father-your:RES

The moon's mother says to him, "Go, (and) take your father's food (to him)."



*ngándii shíhín yó'ó xahán / xó'ón / xí'hín dá*  
 sun with moon CON:speak yes POT:go I:RES  
 THE SUN AND THE MOON say, "Yes, we will go."

*ndátnú'hú ngándii shíhín yó'ó / kánhni ró*  
 CON:chat sun with moon POT:kill we:IN  
 The sun and the moon say to each other, "We will kill (him)."

*n-xahán kú'nú / shásh ún yí' ún*  
 COM-speak meat CON:eat you:FAM:WS husband your:FAM:WS  
 The meat said, "You are eating your husband."

*shí'ántnaha í / í'dí ní véhé xéró'nú n-ká ni'hí ró*  
 CON:converse UN one LIM house Jerry COM-PL gain we:IN

*piñatá*  
 piñata

They were saying to each other, "ONLY AT JERRY'S HOUSE did we have a piñata (Sp. *piñata*)."

*orá íó dá'ú / xahán ñá'yú /*  
 when CON:exist rain CON:speak people

*vá'shí ndúté ianyúúsh*  
 INC:come water God

When the rains come, the people say, "The water of God is coming."

Several sentences may follow a single quotation introducer.

*n-sheé ñá ínxán / kaná ñá / shákwe'e / shákwe'e /*  
 COM-arrive she over:there CON:call she Shakwee Shakwee

*né'hé / né'hé // ñá yó'ó ún // násh kúú shá*  
 IMP:come IMP:come NEG CON:exist you:FAM what CON:be CMP

*ñá yó'ó ún*  
 NEG CON:exist you:FAM:WS

She arrived there, calling, "Shakwee (mythical deer), Shakwee, come, come! You aren't (here). Why is it that you aren't (here)?"

A direct quotation may be embedded within another direct quotation.

*shíá 'hán nǎ dá 'hyá nǎ / ná kwendá xahán kú 'nǔ /*  
 CON:speak she child her what account CON:speak meat

*shásh ún yǐ ún // mash 'kú dá*  
 CON:eat you:FAM:WS husband your:FAM:WS NEG:HORT thus

*kásh ún*  
 POT:eat you:FAM:WS

She says to her children, “Why does the meat say, ‘You are eating your husband. Don’t eat this way!’?”

Occasionally the quotation introducer is less than a complete sentence; in the following example, only a subordinate time sentence (see §6.2.2) occurs.

*násheé nǎ véhé nǎ / ná kwendá n-shanhní*  
 COM:arrive she house her what account COM-kill

*ún tá 'á ún*  
 you:FAM:WS father your:FAM:WS

Having arrived at her house, (she said,) “Why did you kill your father?”

In the present data, quotation closers are less frequent than quotation introducers, and some speakers use them more often than others.

*ná yá 'há sémaná santá / nákádá tnú ró /*  
 when POT:pass week holy POT:do work we:IN

*xahán dú 'tú*  
 CON:speak priest

“When Holy (Sp. *santa*) Week (Sp. *semana*) is over, we will work again,” says the priest.

*xó 'ón / vilí káá / ká xahán nǎdihí xán*  
 yes pretty CON:appear PL CON:speak woman that

“Yes, (it) is pretty,” say those women.

Sometimes the closer contains a reduced equative sentence identifying the speaker. In the first example below, a verb of speech occurs as a relative clause modifying the subject of *kúú* ‘to be (continuative)’, and in the second one, a juxtaposed sentence occurs, with a verb of speech in the second part.

*násh kúú nǎ'há / núsh xwéén-ń ñn ngútú /*  
 what CON:be no if POT:buy-you:FAM:MS one ox  
*ná káá-ř shíhín ðí'hí-ř / té nakandeká*  
 HORT POT:eat-I:FAM with mother-my:FAM and POT:take:again  
*ñáha-ř / xí'hín / kúú nǎ'ú yú'té shiá'hán*  
 KNO-I:FAM POT:go CON:be eagle river CON:speak  
 "Why not, if you will buy an ox, so that I may eat (it) with my  
 mother, and (then) I will take you," (it) was the river eagle that said  
 (it).

*ñá túú ná shá n-kídá-ř / kúú í / shiá'hán í*  
 NEG CON:be what it:INAN COM-do-I:FAM CON:be UN CON:speak UN  
 "I didn't do anything;" he was (the one); he said.

The following example contains both an introducer and a closer.

*shiá'hán nǎ'ú yú'té xán kuné'né-ń / chí*  
 CON:speak eagle river that POT:shut:eye-you:RES because  
*đánaa xúngava-ń / kúú tǐ / shiá'hán tǐ*  
 suddenly POT:fall:off-you:RES CON:be it:AML CON:speak it:AML  
 The river eagle said, "Shut your eyes because you might suddenly  
 fall," it was (the eagle); it said (it).

#### 6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

One important way in which a sentence is related to its discourse context is by the use of certain linking expressions in sentence-initial position. These expressions include coordinate conjunctions, adverbs, one subordinate conjunction, and complex sentential markers.

The coordinate conjunctions that occur in sentence-initial position are *té* 'and', *kó* 'but', *ó* (Sp. *o*) 'or', *á* 'or', and *ní* (Sp. *ni*) 'nor'.

When *té* occurs in this position, it often signals temporal sequence, and I have translated it 'and then', but it may also introduce information that is not central to the discourse context, in which case I have translated it 'and'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>The native speaker who dictated this text consistently distinguished these two uses when she provided a Spanish translation. She left the temporal sequence use untranslated, and used *y* for information not central to the discourse context.

*nóviembré ú'shí / ké'ú ú'shí nóviembré / dáá /*  
 November ten day ten November that:time

*n-kakú dá'hyá dá // té ké'ú ú'shí ú'ú dísiembré /*  
 COM-be:born child my:RES and day ten two December

*ké'ú shuhún gwadalupé /dáá /n-shéndute í*  
 day CON:? Guadalupe that:time COM-be:baptized UN

NOVEMBER (Sp. *noviembre*) TENTH, THE TENTH OF NOVEMBER, THAT DAY, my child was born. And then ON THE TWELFTH OF DECEMBER (Sp. *diciembre*), GUADALUPE (Sp. *Guadalupe*) DAY, THAT DAY, she was baptized.

*nú n-tú'ú / dá nú'ú mí'hí káá tí // té*  
 when COM-da:wn thus face garbage CON:lie it:AML and

*n-ké'ú ñá'ñá kúralí ró / té n-shanhní tí*  
 COM:enter coyote corral our:IN and COM-kill it:AML

*tkáchi ró / té néhé tí ún tkólelu luchí shá*  
 sheep our:IN and COM:carry it:AML one lamb small:SG CMP

*shé'hé kwechí okeí dé shíhín parís dé / shá*  
 foot fault Okay that:near with Paris that:near CMP

*ñá n-shó ndi'xún tí*  
 NEG COM-HAB be:tied it:AML

When it dawned, THUS (as we said) it (the dog) was lying IN THE GARBAGE. And a coyote (had) entered our corral, and it (had) killed our sheep, and it (had) taken a little lamb on account of the fault of that Okay and that Paris (dogs), because they weren't tied up (at the corral).

In the following example, which comprises a significant fragment of a text about making tortillas, both uses of *té* occur. The sequential use is found only in the sentences that are central to the discourse context.

*kááá vá'há dá ndéyú ná káshdénhñú dá'hyá dá //*  
 POT:do good I:RES meal HORT POT:eat:dinner child my:RES  
*té náxíní dá trashtí dá // té natihú dá*  
 and POT:wash I:RES dish my:RES and POT:sweep I:RES  
*véhé dá kushiná dá // té xí'hín dá / xín*  
 house my:RES kitchen my:RES and POT:go I:RES POT:go  
*núkate dá dánhmá dá'hyá dá // té nsheé dá /*  
 POT:wash I:RES cloth child my:RES and POT:arrive I:RES  
*xándóóó dá káféé / káshdíní dá'hyá dá / ná'dá*  
 POT:put:on I:RES coffee POT:eat:supper child my:RES lest  
*yó kúnéé / té má'yó í káshdíní í // kí'dí*  
 INTS CON:be:dark and no UN POT:eat:supper UN POT:sleep  
*kóyó í // té nsheé yíí dá // té xánñáhá*  
 PL UN and POT:arrive husband my:RES and POT:hit  
*té / nushá má xúñáha dá shá káshdíní*  
 he:ws if NEG POT:give I:RES it:INAN POT:eat:supper  
*kóyó dá'hyá dá*  
 PL child my:RES

I will make the dinner in order that my children may eat. And I will wash the dishes (Sp. *traste*). And I will sweep the house (and) the kitchen house (Sp. *cocina*). And I will go wash my children's clothes. And then (when) I get back (home), I will put on the coffee in order that my children may eat supper, lest it be very dark, and none of them will eat. They will go to sleep. And my husband will come home. And then he will hit me if I don't give my children their supper.

The antithetical conjunction *kó* 'but' also occurs in sentence-initial position when the sentence expresses contrast with the preceding discourse context. The following text fragment contains two instances of *kó*. The contrast expressed in the first instance is found in the cultural context, rather than in the discourse context. A baptized baby that has died is believed to be safe in heaven, as stated in the final sentence of the fragment, and the mother's sadness is in contrast to this, rather than to the mere fact of the child's death.

*té n-shí'hí í // kó tnáu'híní dá shá shé'hé í /*  
 and COM-die UN but CON:be:sad I:RES CMP foot UN  
*shá ñá'tú n-shó túú í ñúñá'yú // ñá túú ká*  
 because NEG COM-HAB be UN world NEG CON:be ADD  
*ná mudú // tnáu'híní dá shá shé'hé í // kó ádi'chí*  
 what way CON:be:sad I:RES CMP foot UN but she  
*shá n-shí'hí // shá xwánú'hú í ándiú*  
 already COM-die already INC:return:going UN heaven

And then she died. But I am sad on her account because she didn't ever live in the world. There's nothing (that I can do) (Sp. *modo*). I am sad on her account. But SHE has already died. Already she is returning to heaven.

In the present data the Spanish loan conjunction *ó* 'or' occurs only twice in sentence-initial position, and for some speakers, the native *á* 'or' does not occur there. Compare this situation with the use of these conjunctions in sentence-medial position, described in §6.1.1, where *á* is rare, and *ó* does not occur.

*ndaá shá kwaá íó yó'ó ká shehén téyíi yúkú //*  
 all it:INAN blind CON:exist moon PL CON:go man:WS mountain  
*ó xwiní ñá túú yó'ó / kó ndíi chudí'ní*  
 or although NEG CON:be moon but CON:shine star  
 EVERY NIGHT (THAT) THERE IS (A) MOON, the men go to the mountains.  
 Or even though there isn't (a) moon, the stars are shining.  
*vá'há kandú tló'tí shá kóhó ñá'yú ndúlokó //*  
 good soup buzzard CMP POT:drink people COM:become:crazy  
*ó káshí í kú'ñú té // ó kóhó í ndúté tavakú*  
 or POT:eat UN meat its:AML or POT:drink UN water tobacco  
*shíhín ndúté axú / ndúté minó ñúdaú*  
 with water garlic water specific:herb land:rain

Buzzard soup (Sp. *caldo*) is good for people who have rabies to drink. Or they (can) eat its (the buzzard's) meat. Or they (can) drink an infusion of tobacco (Sp. *tabaco*) with an infusion of garlic (Sp. *ajo*) and an infusion of a specific herb (that grows) in the land of the rain (the land of the Mixtec people).

(See also 7.11–12, 7.17–18, and 7.20–21.)

The conjunction *ní* 'nor' sometimes occurs in sentence-initial position.

*vítná n-shiní dá víkó ñú'ú dá // ndú'shí má kutuú*  
 now COM-see I:RES fiesta town my:RES next:year NEG POT:be

*dá // xí'hín dá ñú'kóhýo // ní má xí'ní ká dá*  
 I:RES POT:go I:RES Mexico:City nor NEG POT:see ADD I:RES  
 now I have seen my town's fiesta. NEXT YEAR I will not be (here). I  
 am going to Mexico City. Nor will I see (the fiesta then).

*nání sháá dá / ní'hí dá // ní ñá túú ná*  
 as CON:eat I:RES CON:gain I:RES nor NEG CON:be what

*tvini dá // ñá túú ná dánh má vá'há dá //*  
 money my:RES NEG CON:be what cloth good my:RES

*ní ñá túú ná sápatú dá*  
 nor NEG CON:be what shoe my:RES

As I eat, I gain. (I get only enough to eat from my fields.) Nor do I  
 have any money. I don't have any good clothes. Nor do I have shoes  
 (Sp. *zapato*).

The adverbs in focus position (see §1.1.8) that commonly occur with a  
 discourse-linking function are: *vítná* 'now', *dadá* 'then', and *ínxán* 'over  
 there', which sometimes means 'and then'.

With *vítná*:

*vítná vá'shí dá'ú // kaná dá'ú // kishí dá'ú ñíñí //*  
 now INC:come rain CON:call rain POT:come rain hail

*n-kaná yá dó dé'kí // n-kaná yá dó ní'ná //*  
 COM-call DEI direction head COM-call DEI direction ?

*té vásh xúún dá'ú // vítná vá'há tiempú /*  
 and INC:come CON:be:produced rain now good time

*vá'shí dá'ú / chí kishí kosechá ró // vítná kááá*  
 INC:come rain because POT:come crop our:IN now POT:do

*kosecharí ró // dáke'é ró tá'tá dá'ú*  
 reap we:IN POT:plant we:IN seed rain

NOW the rain is coming. It is thundering. The hail will come. It  
 thundered in the west. It thundered in the east. And the rain will  
 fall. NOW the time is good; the rain is coming because our crops (Sp.  
 *cosecha*) will come. NOW we will reap (a harvest) (Sp.  *cosechar*). We  
 will plant rainy-season seed.

(See also 7.72–74.)

With *dadá*:

*xí'hín dá / xín ndukú níú dá //*  
 POT:go I:RES POT:go POT:look:for work I:RES

*dadá ndíshí ntúku dá ndé shá kúú*  
 then POT:return:coming REP I:RES until it:INAN CON:be

*karnavaál ndú'shí*  
 Carnival next:year

I'm going to look for work. THEN I will return again even at next year's Carnival.

*kááá kumplirí té kúúú té músíká / ndé ná*  
 POT:do complete he:WS POT:be he:WS band:member until when

*kú'ú té // dadá dándoo té*  
 POT:die he:WS then POT:leave he:WS

He will fulfill (his job as) a member of the town band until he dies. THEN he (can) leave (it).

With *inxán*:

*n-sheén dá ñn míil texá // inxán n*  
 COM-buy I:RES one thousand roof:tile over:there POT:go

*kwíó dá // inxán n-sheén dá ú'ní sientú*  
 POT:carry I:RES over:there COM-buy I:RES three hundred

*ñn míil xán / shá kááá vá'há dá véhé //*  
 one thousand that CMP POT:do good I:RES house

*ndukú dá machú mulá burú /*  
 POT:look:for I:RES he:mule she:mule donkey

*shá n kwíó tí texá*  
 CMP POT:go POT:carry it:AML roof:tile

I bought a thousand (Sp. *mil*) roof tiles (Sp. *teja*). THERE I will go to carry (them home). THERE I bought for three hundred (Sp. *ciento*) (pesos) a thousand of those (tiles) in order that I may build a house. I will look for mules (Sp. *macho*, *mula*) and donkeys (Sp. *burro*) in order that they may carry the tiles.



*n-sheé prinsesá // ínxán ndátnúhú*  
 COM-arrive princess over:there CON:chat

*sé kúú dvehú xán shíhín prinsesá xán*  
 he:MS CON:be owner that with princess that  
 The princess arrived. Then the one who was the owner (Sp. *dueño*)  
 was chatting with that princess.<sup>9</sup>

*íó dá'hyá dá // ín dichí nání*  
 CON:exist child my:RES one unmarried:person CON:be:named

*paskwal // íó í ú'shí kwiá ná n-kéé í véhé*  
 Pascual CON:exist UN ten year when COM-leave UN house

*dá // vítná íó ú'ní kwiá túú í ñúkóhoyo //*  
 my:RES now CON:exist three year CON:be UN Mexico:City

*ínxán kídá tniú í ñúkóhoyo // ínxán yíhí*  
 over:there CON:do work UN Mexico:City over:there CON:be:in

*í shkwelá nú'ú nání kalsadá xaviér mexiá //*  
 UN school face CON:be:named Calzada Xavier Mejía

*ínxán yíhí dá'hyá dá shkwelá*  
 over:there CON:be:in child my:RES school

I have children. One son is named Pascual (Sp. *Pascual*). He was ten years old when he left home. NOW for three years he has been in Mexico City. THERE he is working in Mexico City. THERE he attends a school in (the place) called Calzada Xavier Mejía (Sp. *Calzada Xavier Mejía*). THERE my son attends school.

(See also 7.68–70.)

The subordinate conjunction that occurs in sentence-initial position is *chí* 'because'. An example of this use of *chí* is found in 7.51–52, where the sentence introduced by *chí* gives a reason for the prohibition in the previous sentence, which is expressed indirectly by means of a question. Note that the sentence with *chí* also has a focused locative adjunct expressed by the adverb *ínxán* 'over there'.

There are a number of complex sentential markers that commonly occur in sentence-initial position: *shínxán kúú shá* or *shínxán shá* 'therefore', *méé ní shá* 'it's purely that', *méé ngá shá* 'it's just that', *díki shá* 'it's only that',

<sup>9</sup>The native speaker who dictated this text consistently distinguished between the locative and temporal uses of *ínxán* when he provided a Spanish translation. He left the locative use untranslated, and he used *y* or *luego* for the temporal use.

and *vítná kúú shá* 'now it is that'. Occasionally two markers occur in the same sentence.

*n-kí kaní té té áú'shí // méé ní trúshii*  
COM-come POT:hit he:WS he:WS Diuxi SPEC LIM gun

*xántráhá té // shínxán kúú shá / orá n-káá*  
CON:fight he:WS that:thing CON:be CMP when COM-do

*té pás / té n-shántuu té ín moxonerá*  
he:WS peace and COM-place he:WS one boundary:marker  
They (the men of Tidaa) came to fight the men of Diuxi. PURELY WITH GUNS they were fighting each other. Therefore when they made peace (Sp. *paz*), they put up a boundary marker (Sp. *mojonera*) (on the line between the two towns).

*n-káá xanarí áá // ndó'ó ká áá shíhín shá'hún*  
COM-do gain I:RES CON:remain ADD I:RES with fifteen

*sentáu // shínxán kúú shá ndáá tiempú névahá áá*  
centavo that:thing CON:be CMP all time CON:guard I:RES

*ndó'hó / chí shínxán kúú ín sverté vá'há /*  
pitcher because that:thing CON:be one luck good

*chí ni'hí áá ndátnú áá / xahán*  
because COM:gain I:RES possession my:RES CON:speak

*tó'hó xán*  
stranger that

I won (Sp. *ganar*)! I still had fifteen cents (Sp. *centavo*)! Therefore I have ALWAYS kept the pitcher because that was good luck (Sp. *suerte*) because I got my possession (prize), that stranger said.

*méé í shiá'hán shá kúdí ñá // shínxán shá ñá*  
SPEC UN CON:speak CMP lazy she that:thing CMP NEG

*túú káféé // ní ñá koxón ká í*  
CON:be coffee NOR NEG CON:be:hungry ADD UN

HE says that she is lazy. Therefore there isn't (any) coffee. Nor is he hungry (any) more.

*ñá'tú kúyođó / shá kwahá vá'há / méé ní tndú'ú /*  
 NEG CON:be:flat CMP POT:be:able good SPEC LIM hill

*méé ní đé'hvá // méé ní shá náchítñí*  
 SPEC LIM canyon SPEC LIM CMP CON:gather:again

*đá yú'ú yútnú*  
 I:RES rock tree

(This land) isn't level in order that (it) may produce well; (it's) purely hills, purely canyons. It's purely that I terrace (it) with rocks (and) trees.

*n-shó shiká shé'hé tá'á đá yáhá shihín ndé*  
 COM-HAB CON:walk foot father my:RES here with until

*núndúa // ñá túú kareterá / ñá túú kamióón //*  
 Oaxaca:City NEG CON:be highway NEG CON:be truck

*shínxán kúú shá méé ní shá*  
 that:thing CON:be CMP SPEC LIM CMP

*n-shó shiká shé'hé té*  
 COM-HAB CON:walk foot he:ws

My father traveled on foot from here to Oaxaca City. There were no highways (Sp. *carretera*); there were no trucks (Sp. *camión*). Therefore it's purely that he traveled on foot.

(See also 7.32–33, 7.43–44, and 7.49–50.)



## 7

### Text

- 7.1 *shásh konexó ndúchí*  
 CON:eat rabbit bean  
 The rabbit (Sp. *conejo*) was eating beans.<sup>10</sup>
- 7.2 *áúhá ní shé kotó-s*  
 thus LIM CON:go POT:examine-he:MS  
 And so he (the man) went to look at (his beanfield).
- 7.3 *té n-sheé-s*  
 and COM-arrive-he:MS  
 And he arrived.
- 7.4 *ñutuú konexó*  
 CON:be:in rabbit  
 The rabbit had been in (the beanfield).
- 7.5 *té shehén-s / shá xantuú-s soldadó*  
 and CON:go-he:MS CMP POT:place-he:MS soldier  
*ñú 'á ñú 'ñú kwechí*  
 wax bee small:PL  
 So he went in order to set up a soldier (Sp. *soldado*) (made of) beeswax (the “tar baby”).

---

<sup>10</sup>Note that many of the sentences in the following text are relatively short and very few begin with *té* ‘and’. Note also the absence of quotation introducers and closers. For a fuller discussion of this narrative style, see Oram and Todd (n.d.)

- 7.6 *té n-sheé-s / shántuu-s solndadó*  
and COM-arrive-he:MS CON:place-he:MS soldier  
And he arrived, putting the tar baby in place.
- 7.7 *té n-sheé konexó*  
and COM-arrive rabbit  
And the rabbit arrived.
- 7.8 *n-sheé konexó / shiá'hán tí*  
COM-arrive rabbit CON:speak it:AML  
The rabbit arrived, speaking (to the tar baby).
- 7.9 *násh kídá-n ú / sé luchí*  
what CON:do-you:FAM:MS INT he:MS small:SG  
“What are you doing, little one?”
- 7.10 *nú ñá xahán-n ú*  
why NEG CON:speak-you:FAM:MS INT  
Why don't you talk?
- 7.11 *xahán-ń / á ñá'há ú*  
POT:speak-you:FAM:MS OR NEG INT  
Will you talk or not?
- 7.12 *á kwé'ñí-ř ñn á*  
or POT:kick-I:FAM one INT  
Or shall I give you a kick?”
- 7.13 *n-shé'ñí konexó ñn*  
COM-kick rabbit one  
The rabbit gave (him) a kick.
- 7.14 *n-tñí ní í shé'hé tí*  
COM-grasp LIM UN foot its:AML  
It grabbed his foot!
- 7.15 *núda shé'hé-ř n-tñí-n ú*  
why foot-my:FAM COM-grasp-you:FAM:MS INT  
“Why are you holding MY FOOT?”
- 7.16 *ḍayaá*  
POT:release  
Let go!
- 7.17 *ḍayaá shé'hé-ř*  
POT:release foot-my:FAM  
Let go of my foot!

- 7.18 *á kwé'ñé ká-ř íñ á*  
 or POT:kick ADD-I:FAM one INT  
 Or shall I give you another kick?"
- 7.19 *n-shé'ñé té*  
 COM-kick it:AML  
 The rabbit gave him a kick.
- 7.20 *dayaá shé'hé-ř*  
 POT:release foot-my:FAM  
 "Let go of my foot!"
- 7.21 *á kaní-ř íñ á*  
 or POT:hit-I:FAM one INT  
 Or shall I sock you one?"
- 7.22 *n-kaní té íñ ngá*  
 COM-hit it:AML one just  
 The rabbit socked him one for the last time.
- 7.23 *n-tníí ní í ndáhá té*  
 COM-grasp LIM UN hand its:AML  
 It grabbed his hand!
- 7.24 *ké'ú kúú ú'ú n-sheé stóhó ndúchí*  
 day CON:be two COM-arrive owner bean  
 THE NEXT DAY the owner of the beanfield arrived.
- 7.25 *ndohó ní shásh ndúchí-ř*  
 YOU:FAM:MS LIM CON:eat bean-my:FAM  
 "YOU are the one who is eating my beans!"
- 7.26 *n-tníí-s konexó*  
 COM-grasp-he:MS rabbit  
 He grabbed the rabbit.
- 7.27 *ndéká-s té / xwáhán ndé véhé-s*  
 CON:take-he:MS it:AML INC:go until house-his:MS  
 He took him to his house.
- 7.28 *xándóá-s nté ínhní*  
 CON:put-he:MS it:LIQ hot  
 He put water (on the fire) to boil.
- 7.29 *n-chítuú-s té shí'tí ñúnú*  
 COM-put:in-he:MS it:AML stomach net  
 He put (the rabbit) in a net bag.

- 7.30 *n-sheé* *ñá'ñá*  
COM-arrive coyote  
The coyote arrived.
- 7.31 *násh kídá-ń* *yá ú / sé* *luchí*  
what CON:do-you:FAM:MS here INT he:MS small:SG  
“What are you doing here, little one?”
- 7.32 *tnúndáha-ř*  
POT:marry-I:FAM  
“I’m getting married.
- 7.33 *đíkó shá shánhnú* *ñádíhí-ř*  
only CMP CON:be:mature woman-my:FAM  
It’s only that my woman is an old one.”
- 7.34 *ndé kí'ú* *tnúndáha-n* *ú*  
which day POT:marry-you:FAM:MS INT  
“When are you getting married?”
- 7.35 *tné'é*  
tomorrow  
“Tomorrow!
- 7.36 *kúníní shá kándé*  
POT:listen it:INAN CON:sound  
Listen; it (the bell) is ringing (for the wedding fiesta)!”
- 7.37 *tákáné*  
IMP:POT:get:out  
“Get out!
- 7.38 *ná sheé* *méé-ř*  
HORT POT:arrive SPEC-I:FAM  
Let me go (in your place)!”
- 7.39 *n-ké'é* *ñá'ñá*  
COM-enter coyote  
The coyote got in (the net bag).
- 7.40 *n-sheé-s* / *néhé-s* *nté ínhní*  
COM-arrive-he:MS CON:carry-he:MS it:LIQ hot  
He (the owner of the beanfield) arrived carrying the hot water.
- 7.41 *násh kúú* *shá ñutuú* *yá*  
what CON:be it:INAN CON:be:in here  
“What do we have here?”



- 7.42 *ḏá ñá'ñá ñutuú*  
 thus coyote CON:be:in  
 It was THE COYOTE.
- 7.43 *n-shodó ní-s nté ínhní yá'tá ñá'ñá*  
 COM-pour LIM-he:MS it:LIQ hot back coyote  
 He poured the boiling water down the coyote's back.
- 7.44 *méé ngá shá kaná shíín t́*  
 SPEC just CMP CON:call loud it:AML  
 Did the coyote howl!
- 7.45 *vítná vítná n-sháhnde t́ yóhó ñúnú*  
 now now COM-break it:AML rope net  
 IMMEDIATELY the coyote broke the net.
- 7.46 *xwán lokó t́*  
 INC:go crazy it:AML  
 Wildly (Sp. *loco*) it fled.
- 7.47 *n-shé núnduku t́ konexó*  
 COM-go POT:look:for it:AML rabbit  
 He went to look for the rabbit.
- 7.48 *náníñá'há t́*  
 COM:find it:AML  
 He found (him).
- 7.49 *ndohó n-ḏándahú ñáha*  
 you:FAM:MS COM-deceive KNO  
 "YOU deceived me!
- 7.50 *vítná kúú shá káshí áhan-í*  
 now CON:be CMP POT:eat KNO-Í:FAM  
 NOW it is that I'll eat you."
- 7.51 *násh kúú shá káshí áhan-ń*  
 what CON:be CMP POT:eat KNO-you:FAM:MS  
 "What do you mean you're going to eat me?"
- 7.52 *chí ínxán katúú ḏ́'kí tkáchi*  
 because over:there CON:lie head sheep  
 BECAUSE OVER THERE lies a sheep's head (for you to eat)."
- 7.53 *xwáhán ñá'ñá*  
 INC:go coyote  
 The coyote went (over to look).

- 7.54 *n-sheé* *tí*  
COM-arrive it:AML  
He arrived.
- 7.55 *n-ǎá 'xínyuhu* *tí*  
COM-grab it:AML  
He grabbed it in his mouth.
- 7.56 *n-ká* *núú* *ní* *yó'kó*  
COM-PL descend LIM wasp  
Wasps came out!
- 7.57 *lokó* *n-ká* *túú* *ñáha* *tí*  
crazy COM-PL puncture KNO it:AML  
They stung him TERRIBLY!
- 7.58 *n-kéndava* *ñá'ñá*  
COM-run coyote  
The coyote ran away.
- 7.59 *n-sheé* *tí* *nú'ú* *nukóó* *konexó*  
COM-arrive it:AML face CON:sit rabbit  
He arrived where the rabbit was sitting down.
- 7.60 *ndohó* *n-ǎándahú* *ñáha*  
YOU:FAM:MS COM-deceive KNO  
“YOU deceived me!”
- 7.61 *ñá* *shiní* *ǎá*  
NEG CON:know I:RES  
“I don’t know (anything about it).”
- 7.62 *ú'shá* *ñá'ní* *ǎá* *íó*  
seven brother:ME my:RES CON:exist  
I have SEVEN BROTHERS.
- 7.63 *ñá* *shiní* *ǎá*  
NEG CON:know I:RES  
I don’t know (anything about it).”<sup>11</sup>
- 7.64 *n-shí'hí* *ñá'ñá*  
COM-die coyote  
The coyote died.

---

<sup>11</sup>Rabbit shifted from the familiar first person singular pronoun to the respect pronoun in order to convince coyote that he was not the rabbit who had tricked him previously.

- 7.65 *kúvete* *konexó*  
 CON:be:happy rabbit  
 The rabbit was happy.
- 7.66 *n-kakú-ř*  
 COM-escape-I:FAM  
 ‘I’ve escaped!’
- 7.67 *ná xín ndukú ró shá káá ró*  
 HORT POT:go POT:look:for we:IN it:INAN POT:eat we:IN  
 Let’s go look for something to eat.”<sup>12</sup>
- 7.68 *chidó ndixún ñáha ñá’ú yú’té*  
 CON:spread:out behind KNO eagle river  
 An eagle chased him to the river.
- 7.69 *ínxán xwán ndí’ú tí ká yú’ú*  
 over:there INC:go POT:enter:again it:AML hip stone  
 THERE the rabbit hid under a rock.
- 7.70 *ínxán yukú kó’ó*  
 over:there CON:be:piled:up snake  
 THERE a snake was coiled.
- 7.71 *n-tní ñáha tí*  
 COM-grasp KNO it:AML  
 The snake grabbed him.
- 7.72 *n-shí’hí konexó*  
 COM-die rabbit  
 The rabbit died.<sup>13</sup>
- 7.73 *n-sheé ká tí*  
 COM-arrive ADD it:AML  
 Another rabbit arrived.
- 7.74 *vítaná / ñá’ní-ř / ná xí’hín-ř*  
 now brother:ME-my:FAM HORT POT:go-I:FAM  
 ‘NOW, my brother, let me go!’

<sup>12</sup>Note the use of the we inclusive pronoun for soliloquy; some speakers do not, however, accept this. It is rather like the joking form used in English, “me, myself, and I.”

<sup>13</sup>Note that not only the villain but also the hero is punished in some way. This is typical of Diuxi-Tilantongo folktales.

- 7.75 *n-shí 'hí-ń*  
 COM-die-you:FAM:MS  
 You have died.
- 7.76 *ná kwikonuú-ń*  
 HORT POT:walk:around-I:FAM  
 Let me wander!
- 7.77 *nú n-shí 'hí-ń / á n-kakú-ń*  
 if COM-die-I:FAM OR COM-escape-I:FAM  
 If I die, I die; if I live, I live."<sup>14</sup> (lit. If I died or I escaped.)

---

<sup>14</sup>This sentence does not fit the analysis developed in this sketch. It appears to be a formulaic proverbial saying. Compare it with the contrafactual construction described in §6.2.1.

**A Preliminary Syntactic Sketch of  
Concepción Pápalo Cuicatec**

**David P. Bradley**



# Contents

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	415
0.1 Orientation . . . . .	415
0.2 Phonology . . . . .	416
0.3 Bibliography . . . . .	418
1 BASIC SENTENCES . . . . .	419
1.1 Statements . . . . .	419
1.1.1 Impersonal sentences . . . . .	419
1.1.2 Intransitive sentences . . . . .	420
1.1.3 Transitive sentences . . . . .	420
1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts . . . . .	421
1.1.5 Equative sentences . . . . .	424
1.1.6 Stative sentences . . . . .	425
1.1.7 Peripheral elements . . . . .	426
1.1.8 Focus permutations . . . . .	427
1.1.9 Sentential complements . . . . .	429
1.2 Questions . . . . .	431
1.2.1 YES/NO questions . . . . .	432
1.2.2 WH questions . . . . .	432
1.2.3 Indirect questions . . . . .	433
1.3 Commands . . . . .	433
1.4 Vocatives . . . . .	434
1.5 Sentential Markers . . . . .	434

2	VERB PHRASES . . . . .	435
2.1	Content Verb Phrases . . . . .	435
2.1.1	Verb nuclei . . . . .	435
2.1.2	Preverbal elements . . . . .	436
2.1.3	Postverbal elements . . . . .	437
2.2	Stative Verb Phrases . . . . .	438
3	NOUN PHRASES . . . . .	439
3.1	Basic Noun Phrases . . . . .	439
3.1.1	Noun nuclei . . . . .	439
3.1.2	Prenominal elements . . . . .	440
3.1.3	Postnominal elements . . . . .	441
3.1.4	Combinations of elements . . . . .	443
3.2	Measurement Noun Phrases . . . . .	444
3.3	Possessive Noun Phrases . . . . .	444
3.4	Interrogative Noun Phrases . . . . .	445
3.5	Negative Noun Phrases . . . . .	446
3.6	Adverbial Noun Phrases . . . . .	446
3.7	Appositional Noun Phrases . . . . .	447
3.8	Additive Noun Phrases . . . . .	447
3.9	Distributive Noun Phrases . . . . .	448
3.10	Personal-Name Noun Phrases . . . . .	448
4	OTHER PHRASES . . . . .	451
4.1	Quantifier Phrases . . . . .	451
4.1.1	Additive numeral phrases . . . . .	451
4.1.2	Attributive numeral phrases . . . . .	452
4.1.3	Expanded numeral phrases . . . . .	453
4.1.4	General quantifier phrases . . . . .	453
4.2	Adverb Phrases . . . . .	454
4.2.1	Basic adverb phrases . . . . .	454
4.2.2	Repetitive adverb phrases . . . . .	454
4.3	Prepositional Phrases . . . . .	454
5	PARTS OF SPEECH . . . . .	457
5.1	Content and Equative Verbs . . . . .	457
5.1.1	Derivation . . . . .	457
5.1.2	Inflection . . . . .	459
5.2	Stative Verbs . . . . .	462
5.3	Nouns . . . . .	463



- 5.3.1 Derivation . . . . . 463
- 5.3.2 Classification . . . . . 463
- 5.4 Pronouns . . . . . 467
- 5.5 Adverbs . . . . . 469
- 5.6 Quantifiers . . . . . 471
- 5.7 Prepositions . . . . . 472
- 5.8 Conjunctions . . . . . 472
- 5.9 Markers . . . . . 473
- 5.10 Interjections . . . . . 475
  
- 6 INTERSENTENTIAL RELATIONS . . . . . 477
  - 6.1 Coordinate Relations . . . . . 477
    - 6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions . . . . . 477
    - 6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions . . . . . 479
  - 6.2 Subordinate Relations . . . . . 481
    - 6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions . . . . . 481
    - 6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions . . . . . 484
  - 6.3 Direct Quotations . . . . . 485
  - 6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries . . . . . 486
  
- 7 TEXTS . . . . . 489
  - 7.1 The Story About a Lion . . . . . 489
  - 7.2 The Story About the Locusts . . . . . 499
  - 7.3 The Story About a Woman . . . . . 502
  - 7.4 The Story About a Ghost . . . . . 503
  - 7.5 Residue . . . . . 506



# Introduction

## 0.1 Orientation

Cuicatec is spoken by about 10,000 speakers in the district of Cuicatlán, in the northeastern part of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. These people live primarily in the following towns: Concepción Pápalo, San Andrés Teotilapan, San Francisco Chapulapa, San Juan Bautista Cuicatlán, San Juan Tepeuxila, San Pedro Teutila, Santa María Pápalo, Santa María Tlaxiactac, and Santos Reyes Pápalo (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:vii). Although there are various vocabulary differences and phonetic variations, the inhabitants of the different towns can understand each other's speech with a relatively high degree of intelligibility (Egland 1978:9).

This study is based primarily on data from four published folklore texts (Davis 1954, 1962), all in the Concepción Pápalo dialect. I would like to express my appreciation to the publishers of the *International Journal of American Linguistics* and of *Tlalocan* for granting permission to cite these texts in full as part of this study. They are reproduced, in modified orthographic form and with various other adjustments, including some changes in the location of sentence breaks, in chapter seven. Each of the sentences is numbered for purposes of citation throughout the sketch. Examples from the text about the lion will be cited by sentence number with L as a prefix, while L<sub>o</sub> will be used as the prefix for examples from the locust text. Examples from the text about the woman will be prefixed by w and those from the text about the ghost by g. Sometimes only the relevant part of a sentence is cited.

In an effort to supplement this material, several articles published about this dialect (Needham and Davis 1946, Davis 1952, and Davis and Walker

1955) were consulted, as well as a reconstruction of Proto-Mixtecan (Longacre 1957) and personal communication from Robert E. Longacre. Reference has also been made to a Cuicatec-Spanish dictionary (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983) in the Santa María Pápalo dialect, which showed 98% intelligibility with Concepción Pápalo (Egland 1978:9). Data from the dictionary are cited by page number with the prefix *D* and data from Needham and Davis by page number prefixed by *N*. Some unpublished data from an early linguistic survey of the area were also of value; these data are cited by *s* followed by the page number.

Since most of the data are from narrative texts, this study describes the syntactic structure characteristic of narrative discourse, and any structural differences that might mark other genres of Cuicatec discourse are not reflected here.

Because of the nature of the available data, this study is necessarily limited in some ways. The analysis would be more complete, and more accurate as well, if a native speaker of Cuicatec were available from whom to gather additional data. However, because the available data are from the work of several different analysts, each having used a somewhat different transcription system from the others, there are various inconsistencies within the data corpus as well as some apparent errors. For the sake of uniformity within the sketch, the transcriptions have been modified according to the phonological analysis presented below.

## 0.2 Phonology

Cuicatec has the following segmental phonological units: voiceless stops and affricate *p t ch k kw*, voiceless fricatives *f* (only in Spanish loanwords) *s x*, voiced fricatives *v d*, nasals *m n*, liquids *l r*, semivowel *y*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e a o u*, and nasalized vowels *in en an on un* (Longacre 1957:16–17,21). Longacre (1957:6) notes that this analysis is essentially the same as that of Needham and Davis (1946) with some minor modifications intended to make the transcription more phonemic. Both the oral set of vowels and the nasalized set can be modified by laryngealization, which is represented by *h* directly preceding the vowel: *hi he ha ho hu* and *hin hen han hon hun*.

There are three tones: high (written with acute accent), mid (written with macron), and low (unmarked). Cuicatec exhibits tone sandhi in which the basic tone of words in isolation is changed in the context of the tones on certain other words (Longacre 1957:96–100). In this sketch the tones have been reproduced as found in the source data and represent surface rather than underlying tone.

The data cited in this sketch vary in transcription from those in the source materials in several ways. As indicated above, nasalized vowels are represented orthographically by *n* following the vowel. In bisyllabic roots with a nasalized final vowel, the nasalization carries backward to the vowel of the preceding syllable if the medial consonant is *h* or *y*, but any other nonnasal consonant effectively blocks this nasalization spreading process (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:775). Medial vowels that are nasalized as a result of this phenomenon are not orthographically represented with a following *n*, and any letter *m* or *n* that occurs medially represents a nasal consonant rather than nasalization on the preceding vowel. Any vowels that are contiguous to a nasal consonant are nasalized, but this is not represented in the orthography.

A second feature which varies from the transcription in the source materials is the location of the laryngeal *h*. When *h* occurs alone intervocalically, i.e., at syllable boundaries, it represents a full glottal stop. In the source materials, laryngeals are often also written preceding onset consonants and seem to correspond to what Anderson and Concepción R. (1983:776) call interrupted (laryngealized) vowels. In this sketch, however, these are represented by *h* preceding the vowel which is laryngealized, rather than preceding the onset consonant. Thus, if *h* is preceded by another consonant in the onset of a syllable or if it is in the first syllable of a word, it represents laryngealization on the following vowel. (There should be no confusion with the sequence *ch*, which represents the alveopalatal affricate, because there is no phoneme represented by *c* alone. A morpheme with a laryngealized vowel following *ch* has the sequence *chh*.) Laryngealization spreads forward across syllable boundaries when there is an intervocalic *y* or *h*, and is not orthographically represented in the second syllable of a word in such cases. However, when other consonants intervene, if both syllables have a laryngealized vowel, the laryngealization is represented orthographically in both syllables.

Because the source data were all in written form rather than oral, there are certain unresolved questions regarding laryngealized vowels. There are occasional inconsistencies in the source data, which may be the result of transcription errors, free variation, or laryngealization loss in unstressed syllables. In this sketch, these discrepancies are resolved in favor of the form used in the dictionary.

A third feature which varies from the transcription in the source materials is vowel length. Stress and vowel length are easily predictable. Roots are either bisyllabic or monosyllabic, and stress occurs on the first syllable. Vowel length is a concomitant of stress and hence does not need to be represented in the orthography (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:777). However, a single syllable frequently carries a tone sequence,

and in such cases the vowel is written twice, each occurrence with the appropriate tone value. This is simply a convenience for writing tone sequences and does not represent vowel length.

Finally, the data from the dictionary, which employs four tones in the orthography, were modified to conform to the three-tone system which was used in the other data sources. Anderson and Concepción R. (1983:780) show that in various situations the two middle tones vary freely with each other. In this sketch, then, in any data from the dictionary the two intermediate tones are both marked with macron, corresponding to the single mid tone in the other sources.

For more on Cuicatec phonology see Needham and Davis (1946), Longacre (1957), and Anderson and Concepción R. (1983).

### 0.3 Bibliography

- Anderson, E. Richard, and Hilario Concepción Roque. 1983. *Diccionario Cuicateco*. Serie de Vocabularios y Diccionarios Indígenas "Mariano Silva y Aceves," Number 26. Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Davis, Marjorie. 1952. Translating Nouns into the Cuicatec Language, *The Bible Translator* 3:34–38.
- . 1954. Translating from FL Cuicatec to TL English, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 20:302–12.
- . 1962. Cuicatec Tales about Witchcraft, *Tlalocan* 4:197–203.
- and Margaret Walker. 1955. Cuicatec: Morphemics and Morphophonemics, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 21:46–51.
- Egland, Steven. 1978. *La Inteligibilidad Interdialectal en México: Resultados de Algunos Sondeos*. Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1957. *Proto-Mixtecan*. Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, Publication 5. Bloomington: Indiana University. Published as Part 3 of *International Journal of American Linguistics* 23(4).
- Needham, Doris, and Marjorie Davis. 1946. Cuicatec Phonology, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 12:139–46.

# 1

## Basic Sentences

### 1.1 Statements

Verbs fall into three classes—content, equative, and stative—which serve to define sentence types. Sentences with content verbs are either impersonal, intransitive, or transitive; transitive and intransitive sentences optionally take various kinds of adjuncts. Equative sentences link a subject with a nominal complement, and stative sentences link a subject and a stative verb. Each of these sentence types may take a peripheral location or time element, and they may also be used as a sentential complement within another sentence.

**1.1.1 Impersonal sentences.** The minimal form of an impersonal sentence consists of an impersonal verb, with neither subject nor object. These generally express meteorological or ambient concepts such as dawn or nightfall. Although no examples of a minimal impersonal sentence occurred in the data, there were a few examples with peripheral elements or in subordinate sentences.

L12 *chīdāvā tāmá xūvī*  
COM:dawn next day  
It dawned the next day.

D36 *yīdhāhāa*  
CON:nightfall  
Night falls.

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

- S12 *xáā tá*  
 CON:get:up she  
 She is getting up.
- S13 *xākū tá*  
 CON:cry she  
 She is crying.
- L3 *chīnīyáan dāyā ti*  
 COM:be:born child its:AML  
 Their child was born.
- L12 *kwēhén ntō īnó ti*  
 COM:go all three it:AML  
 All three animals set out.
- W1 *chēhēn tá*  
 COM:go she  
 A woman went.

**1.1.3 Transitive sentences.** The minimal form of a transitive sentence consists of a transitive verb followed by its subject and its object. Sometimes the subject is unexpressed if it is readily supplied from the context. In example L5 below, the nucleus of the object noun phrase is also unexpressed (see §3.1.4). Unexpressed elements are enclosed in square brackets in the free translation.

- S13 *xēhē tūhú nīnū*  
 CON:eat chicken corn  
 The chicken is eating the corn.
- L5 *dīn tāvī ālīmētáar lhín mí*  
 COM:do INTS to:feed little that  
 [They] did much to feed the little [animal]. *or* [They] fed the little [animal] very well.
- L14 *nthīchí ti yhān tāvī ūī*  
 COM:see it:AML many INTS animal  
 They saw very many animals.
- L28 *kāanhu sā chūhūnh*  
 POT:kill he us:IN  
 He can kill us.



- L63 *nānthāá ti sāhan mī*  
 COM:untie it:AML man that  
 He freed the man.
- L82 *chhīnhu sā īī*  
 COM:kill he animal  
 He killed the animal.
- G8 *ntāi tá yūuntu*  
 COM:bring she tortilla  
 She brought [out] tortillas.
- G15 *nkwá tūné sá īī*  
 NEG COM:catch he animal  
 He could not catch the animal.

**1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts.** Both transitive and intransitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, benefactive, associative, instrument, and referent. Adjuncts are frequently expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see §3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see §4.3), which follows the subject in intransitive sentences or the object in transitive sentences.

The locative adjunct is manifested by a noun phrase, often without the use of a locative noun or preposition. The meaning of the verb often includes information about the specific locative relationship (see §5.1.1), and sometimes it can be determined from the context of the predication.

With intransitive verbs that express motion or change of location, the locative adjunct expresses position, destination, or source, depending on the meaning of the verb.

- L1 *ūvī iyháyan chīnúū ti īkyahan*  
 two lion COM:walk it:AML forest  
 TWO LIONS were walking in the forest.
- L11 *kāhán ti īkyáhan*  
 POT:go it:AML forest  
 He could go to the forest.
- G2 *kwēhen sá ntūvā*  
 COM:go he Oaxaca  
 He went to the city of Oaxaca.

L25 *tōmhē lhín mí dīn ti rēsivír*  
 then little that COM:do it:AML to:receive

*kōnséxo yēhen chīdā ti*  
 advice base father its:AML

Then THE LITTLE [LION] received [some] advice from his father.

With transitive verbs expressing placement or change of possession, the locative adjunct usually expresses destination.

G12 *chhīī sā xīmá yútā mī*  
 COM:put he salt meat that

He salted the meat. (lit. He put salt on the meat.)

The locative adjunct also includes elements traditionally classified as indirect objects. Normally the direct object precedes the locative adjunct if both are present, unless the direct object comprises a sentential complement (see §1.1.9), in which case it follows the adjunct.

Lo8 *téché sá nínún ú*  
 POT:give he corn me

He is going to give me [some] corn. (lit. He is going to give [some] corn to me.)

L70 *nkwá kūmhī dī sāhan mī ú*  
 NEG POT:show you:SG man that me  
 You won't show me the man.

L72 *chhīhīn sā thūuvi mī ūī*  
 COM:show he trap that animal  
 He showed the trap to the animal.

Lo6 *kúchī dī chāk-ú chī nkwā-á vāha*  
 POT:tell you:SG mother-my CMP NEG:CON:exist-I house  
 You tell my mother that I am not home.

G6 *xāhan tā / xī tá sāhan /*  
 CON:say she CON:tell she man

*dēhe chúka nhān dī*  
 why much late you:SG

She said to him, "Why are you so late?"

- L16 *tōmhé xāhan lyóon / xīi sa dāyá ti / mā né*  
 then CON:say lion CON:tell he child its:AML now and  
*chāa ūī chhūn*  
 which animal this:PL

Then the lion said to his son, “now, which of these animals . . .”

The benefactive adjunct is marked by the prepositions *ntūku* ‘with’ and *kwēnta yehen* ‘on account of’ (Sp. *cuenta* ‘account’), or the locative noun *yehen* ‘base’, which has the extended meaning ‘for’.

- L59 *nēhen dī áamá fāvóor ntūk-ú*  
 CON:want you:SG one favor with-me  
 You want to do a favor for me.

- D751 *chīni nhúun āmā vahā yehēn kun máestro*  
 CON:make we:EX one house base four teacher  
 We are building a house for four teachers (Sp. *maestro*).

- D470 *ntiyūn khu né kwēnta yehen vakyan*  
 job this and account base town  
 THIS JOB is for the town.

The associative adjunct is marked by the preposition *ntūku* ‘with’; it adds a second participant to some other element of the sentence, usually the subject.

- L9 *kūhun-h ntūku dī ikyáhan*  
 POT:go-we:IN with you:SG forest  
 We will go with you to the forest.

- L11 *kāhán ti ikyáhan ntūkū chīdá ti*  
 POT:go it:AML forest with father its:AML  
 He could go to the forest with his father.

- L65 *kwēhēn sā ntūkū ti*  
 COM:go he with it:AML  
 He went with the animal.

Instrument adjuncts also use the preposition *ntūku* ‘with’, or a shortened form *ntū*. In both of the following examples the adjunct is fronted to precede the verb. This may be the typical position for instrument adjuncts, or it may simply indicate a semantic focus (see §1.1.8).

- L19 *ntū áamá tāhā ti stāhā ti ūī lhín mí*  
 with one hand its:AML COM:grab it:AML animal little that  
 He grabbed the little animal WITH ONE OF HIS PAWS.

- L63 *lyóon ntúúku díyhūn ti chīkā ti /*  
 lion with teeth its:AML COM:walk it:AML  
*chēhé ti hīiyu*  
 COM:eat it:AML rope  
 THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH.

The referent adjunct may be expressed by a noun phrase alone, but it may also be marked by the locative noun *yehen* ‘base’, which has the extended meaning ‘about’ or ‘with reference to’.

- Lo3 *chākū sā xēhén ya / xīkā ya nínún sáhan*  
 mother his CON:go person CON:ask person corn man  
 HIS MOTHER would go [and] ask him for corn.
- Lo8 *chākū sā ūēxúnán yá sáhan*  
 mother his CON:ask person man  
 HIS MOTHER asked [about] the man.
- Lo0 *kwěntó yēhen lānkósta*  
 story base locust  
 The story about the locusts
- W0 *ámá kwěntó yēhen ámá nīhātā chí chhēno*  
 one story base one woman CMP COM:happen  
 A story about a woman that happened *or* A true story about a woman

More than one adjunct may occur in a given sentence, and the relative order is not fixed. For example, an associative adjunct precedes a locative adjunct in the first example below while in the second the order is reversed.

- L9 *kūhun-h ntúku dī īkyáhan*  
 POT:go-we:1N with you:SG forest  
 We will go with you to the forest.
- L11 *kāhán ti īkyáhan ntūkū chīdá ti*  
 POT:go it:AML forest with father its:AML  
 He could go to the forest with his father.

**1.1.5 Equative sentences.** The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of an equative verb phrase followed by its subject and the nominal complement. Equative verbs include *kūvī* ‘to be’, *nāvākūntāā* ‘to turn into’, and *ōséa* ‘to be’ (probably a loan from Sp. *o sea* ‘or perhaps it is’ or ‘or may it be’). The continuative aspect form of *kūvī* is null (Anderson and

Concepción R. 1983:348). The examples below with no copula all have a focused subject followed by *né* (see §1.1.8).

With no copula:

D348 *sāhan lhín khu né dhīn-ú sāhan*  
 man little this and brother-my man  
 THIS BOY is my brother.

L2 *īī chhūn né īī réi yēhen ikýáhan*  
 animal this:PL and animal king base forest  
 THESE ANIMALS are the kings of the forest.

L15 *īī chhén né kūchí chēenu yhūuvi yhūdú chēenu*  
 animal that:PL and pig mountain coati horse mountain  
*chivī kōnēxó hīmha iyāáta ntūkū más ka īī*  
 armadillo rabbit skunk opossum with more ADD animal  
 THE ANIMALS are peccaries, coatis, deer, armadillos, rabbits, skunks,  
 opossums, and many other animals.

With copula:

G13 *yūta mī nāvākūntāā yáhán tōo*  
 meat that COM:turn:into wood rotten  
 THE MEAT turned into rotten wood.

L20 *ōséa árná kūchí chēeno lhín*  
 COM:be one pig mountain little  
 [It] was a small peccary.

**1.1.6 Stative sentences.** The minimal form of a stative sentence consists of a stative verb followed by its subject. These verbs do not carry inflectional morphology as do the other verb types. Aspect is often interpreted according to the discourse context.

W3 *lóka tā*  
 crazy she  
 She was crazy.

L69 *ú né kwikū ú*  
 I and hungry I  
 I am hungry.

- L30 *dūī tāvī ú*  
strong INTS I  
I am very strong.
- L7 *a chhātā tāvī ti*  
already big INTS it:AML  
He was already very big.
- w2 *amtá kwīku tā*  
no:longer hungry she  
She was no longer hungry.

Sometimes inflected forms of the equative verb *kūvī* ‘to be’, or the position verb *kēnú* ‘to be inside’, are used preceding the stative verb to clarify aspect.

- w1 *chī kwīkū tāvī tá*  
COM:be hungry INTS she  
She became very hungry.
- Lo4 *chī dāanthi sā hīyan*  
COM:be lazy he person  
He became lazy.
- G3 *táhan mī kēnú dāanthi nāá tá*  
woman that COM:be:inside lazy face her  
THE WOMAN became lazy.

**1.1.7 Peripheral elements.** All basic sentence types optionally indicate location and time. Peripheral location describes the setting of an entire predication and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements often occur at the major transition points within a discourse, and they may be expressed by adverbs, adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), or subordinate sentences (see §6.2.1).

Location:

- L57 *sáhan mī chīkyāatū sā ú mūhūn*  
man that COM:knot he me here  
THE MAN tied me here.
- G7 *ā vena vén-é dí mūhūn*  
already before CON:wait-I you:SG here  
I have been waiting A LONG TIME for you here.

- G4 *chēno tá sāhan rānchō chhātā*  
 COM:wait she man ranch big  
 She waited for him at the big ranch.

Time:

- L31 *támá xūvī né dīn ti dēspēdīr*  
 next day and COM:do it:AML to:say:goodbye  
 THE NEXT DAY, he said goodbye.

- Lo3 *xīkā ya nínún sāhan xūvī xūvī*  
 CON:ask person corn man day day  
 Ask the man for corn every day.

- G6 *tāchī ntāa sā / tōmhē xāhan tā*  
 when COM:arrive he then CON:say she  
 When he arrived, she said . . .

- L7 *tāchī chhūī xān īyu / a chhātā tāvī ti*  
 when COM:complete six month already big INTS it:AML  
 When six months had passed, he was already very big. *or* When [he]  
 was six months old, he was already very big.

**1.1.8 Focus permutations.** In appropriate discourse contexts, an element of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase position. Such an element is often followed by the conjunction *né* ‘and’, which has the specialized function of indicating the end of that particular element and setting it off from the rest of the sentence (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:630). This process may be used to maintain topicality or thematicity of a particular nominal within a paragraph. Subject focus is especially common. When a subject noun phrase is focused, a coreferential noun or clitic pronoun follows the verb phrase.

- L2 *īī chhūn né īī réi yēhen īkyāhan*  
 animal this:PL and animal king base forest  
 THESE ANIMALS are the kings of the forest.

- L6 *īī lhín mí nú tāvī chūá ti*  
 animal little that quickly INTS COM:grow it:AML  
 THE LITTLE ANIMAL grew very quickly.

- L41 *sāhan mī āstúto tāvī sā*  
 man that sly INTS he  
 THE MAN is very sly.

Various other types of elements may also be focused, including direct objects, instrument and referent adjuncts, as well as peripheral elements.

Direct object focus:

L4 *ũĩ lhín dínéhēn tāvī chākú ti ntúku*  
 animal little CON:love INTS mother its:AML with

*chĩdá ũĩ*  
 father animal

His mother and father dearly loved THE LITTLE ANIMAL.

L45 *lō míismo tēxūnā ti / dōho dí*  
 the same COM:ask it:AML who you:SG  
 He asked THE SAME [QUESTION], "Who are you?"

Instrument adjunct focus:

L19 *ntũ áamá tāhā ti stāhā ti ũĩ lhín mí*  
 with one hand its:AML COM:grab it:AML animal little that  
 He grabbed the little animal WITH ONE OF HIS PAWS.

Referent adjunct focus:

L27 *sāhan mī né dīn tāvī dī / kwĩdādo dī*  
 man that and POT:do INTS you:SG care you:SG  
 You must be very careful of THE MAN.

Peripheral element focus:

L9 *kāvyān né kūhun-h ntúku dī ĩkyáhan*  
 tomorrow and POT:go-we:IN with you:SG forest  
 We will go with you to the forest TOMORROW.

L31 *támá xūvī né dīn ti dēspēdīr*  
 next day and COM:do it:AML to:say:goodbye  
 THE NEXT DAY, he said goodbye.

L60 *mĩnĩyūn chōho sā*  
 just:now COM:pass he  
 He passed by JUST NOW.



- G11 *inānkáká sá nā sīrvyētá yēhen sā kēnē*  
 CON:remember he face napkin base his COM:be:located

*tālhín xīima*  
 some salt

He remembered [that] he had some salt IN HIS HANDKERCHIEF.

The complementizer *chī* may also be used to set apart a focused element.

- L75 *ānkūtá chī kādī nākēntāā ti*  
 never CMP POT:be:able POT:escape it:AML

He will NEVER be able to escape.

The use of *chī* is especially common in equative sentences with focused subject. The continuative aspect form of the equative verb *kūvī* is null, and the complementizer occurs in the position normally occupied by the verb. In this construction no noun or pronoun copy of the subject occurs.

- L46 *á nkwá dí chí sāhan mī*  
 INT NEG you:SG CMP man that  
 Are YOU NOT the man?

- L47 *nāvākūtāha yhūudu mī / nkwá ú chí sāhan mī*  
 COM:reply horse that NEG I CMP man that  
 The horse answered, "I am NOT the man."

It is also possible to focus more than one element in a given sentence. The following sentence shows both a subject and an instrument in focus.

- L63 *lyóon ntūúku dīyhūn ti chikā ti / chēhé*  
 lion with tooth its:AML COM:walk it:AML COM:eat  
*ti hīiyu / mí nānthāá ti sāhan mī*  
 it:AML rope and COM:untie it:AML man that  
 THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH, and he freed the man.

**1.1.9 Sentential complements.** Basic sentences occur both as subject complements and as object complements within other sentences, but object complements occur more frequently. Object complements are generally introduced by the complementizer *chī*, but sometimes they are juxtaposed directly to the main sentence.

With complementizer:

- L30 *dī-in dēsēáar chī ntīch-í sāhan mī*  
 POT:do-I to:desire CMP POT:see-I man that  
 I want to see the man.

- L42 *nī nkwá nākádīnō dī chī ntīchī dī sāhan*  
 nor NEG POT:think you:SG CMP POT:see you:SG man  
 Don't you even think about seeing the man.
- G5 *sāhan khu ākū sā chī táhan mī vā tá /*  
 man this CON:think he CMP woman that CON:exist she  
*vēnō tá sāhan nīnū nā rānchō chhātā*  
 CON:wait she man near face ranch big  
 THE MAN thought that THE WOMAN was waiting for him at the big ranch.
- G13 *nthīchī sā chī nthātā mī nāvākūntāā ya kú*  
 COM:see he CMP woman that COM:turn:into person snake  
 He saw that THE WOMAN turned into a snake.
- L06 *kúchī dī chāk-ú chī nkwā-á vāha*  
 POT:tell you:SG mother-my CMP NEG:CON:exist-I house  
 You tell my mother that I am not home.
- G2 *mī xāhan sā / xī sā nthāta yēhen sā chī*  
 and CON:say he CON:tell he woman base his CMP  
*kwēnō tá sāhān rānchō chhātā*  
 POT:wait she man ranch big  
 And he told his wife to wait for him at the big ranch.

Without complementizer:

- L9 *thīka kwhēe dī nhūu dī*  
 thus POT:learn you:SG POT:hunt you:SG  
 You will learn to hunt.
- L62 *ú nēh-én ntīch-í sāhan mī*  
 I CON:want-I POT:see-I man that  
 I want to see the man.
- L16 *chāa īī chhūn nēhēn dī chēhē dī īī*  
 which animal this:PL CON:want you:SG POT:eat you:SG animal  
 Which of these animals do you want to eat?
- G4 *nkwá īmīkūun tá chēhen tá*  
 NEG COM:want she COM:go she  
 She did not want to go.

- G11 *īnānkáká sá nā sīrvyētá yēhen sā kēnē*  
 CON:remember he face napkin base his COM:be:located

*tālhín xīima*  
 some salt

He remembered that he had some salt IN HIS HANDKERCHIEF.

- L17 *kūchā-á kwhīnū chēh-é ūī*  
 POT:be:able-I POT:finish POT:eat-I animal  
 I will be able to finish eating.

Sentential complements that function as subjects are not as common, but they also occur with and without the complementizer *chī*.

With complementizer:

- W4 *chīnkāha chī nīxéen yēhen tā chī lóka tā*  
 COM:begin CMP COM:appear base her CMP crazy she  
 It began to show that she was crazy.

- G10 *dēhe kūvī chī nkwá nthīī dī*  
 why POT:be:possible CMP NEG COM:put you:SG

*xīima yútā khu*  
 salt meat this

Why is it possible that you didn't put [any] salt on the meat?

Without complementizer:

- W4 *chīnkāha hīyūn tā*  
 COM:begin CON:laugh she  
 She began to laugh.

- L81 *dyóká nthāī kānh-ú dī*  
 better good POT:kill-I you:SG  
 It is better to kill you.

- L17 *kwhīnū chēh-é ūī*  
 POT:finish POT:eat-I animal  
 I will finish eating.

## 1.2 Questions

There are three types of questions: YES/NO questions, WH questions, and indirect questions.

**1.2.1 YES/NO questions.** Any basic sentence may be made into a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative sentential marker *á* at the beginning.

L46 *á nkwá dí chí sáhan mī*  
 INT NEG you:SG CMP man that  
 Are NOT YOU the man?

L55 *á dī chí sáhan mī*  
 INT you:SG CMP man that  
 Are YOU the man?

**1.2.2 WH questions.** Any element of a sentence may be questioned by using an appropriate interrogative pronoun, adverb, or noun phrase (see §§5.4, 5.5, and 3.4) in focus position. Subjects and objects are questioned by *dōho* ‘who?’, *daha* ‘what?’, or by an interrogative noun phrase.

L36 *dōho dí*  
 who you:SG  
 Who are you?

D541 *daha nēhēn khamhā chūu*  
 what want POT:say this  
 What does this mean?

L16 *chāa īī chhūn nēhēn dī*  
 which animal this:PL CON:want you:SG  
 Which of these animals do you want?

Peripheral elements are questioned using *tīin* ‘where?’ or *tikwáhān* ‘when?’. Noun phrases can probably also be used to question these, but there were no examples of such in the source data.

Lo8 *tīin kwēhen dāy-á*  
 where COM:go child-my  
 Where did my son go?

D715 *tikwáhān nāhan nthīsthi*  
 when POT:go you:PL  
 When will you be going?

Cause and purpose sentences can be questioned using *dēhe* ‘why?’.

G6 *dēhe chúka nhān dī*  
 why much late you:SG  
 Why are you so late?

- G10 *dēhe kūvī chī nkwá nthīī dī xīima*  
 why POT:be:possible CMP NEG COM:put you:SG salt  
*yútā khu*  
 meat this

Why is it possible that you didn't put [any] salt on the meat?

Stative verbs can be questioned using *tākā* 'how?'. Manner elements can probably also be questioned the same way, although there were no examples of this found in the data.

- D102 *taka yī yehen dī*  
 how CON:happen base you:SG  
 How are you? *or* How do you feel?

**1.2.3 Indirect questions.** WH questions may occur as sentential complements in statements. They are introduced by *tākā* 'how?'. Yes/no questions can probably also occur as indirect questions, but there were no examples found in the data.

- L18 *nūíchī dī tākā dī-in chī tūnkā-án*  
 POT:see you:SG how POT:do-I CMP POT:hunt-I  
 You watch how I hunt.

### 1.3 Commands

To form a second person command, a basic sentence in potential aspect is used. The subject may or may not be expressed.

- L64 *kēnthā dī ú*  
 POT:follow you:SG me  
 You follow me!

- L78 *nānchhākú ú*  
 POT:pardon me  
 Pardon me!

Negative commands are identical in form to negative statements with the verb in potential aspect. The semantic difference is determined by the context.

- L79 *nkwá kāanhu dī ú*  
 NEG POT:kill you:SG me  
 Don't kill me! *or* You will not kill me.

First person plural inclusive commands are also formed using a basic sentence with the verb in potential aspect.

- L62 *kūhūn-h*  
 POT:go-we:IN  
 Let's go!
- L64 *kūhūn-h mā*  
 POT:go-we:IN now  
 Let's go now!

#### 1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives may occur in either sentence-initial or sentence-final position. They include kinship or other terms used in direct address, and probably proper names, as well as free forms of the second person pronouns.

- S12 *táta / á vá táta*  
 papa INT CON:be tile  
 Papa, are there [any] tiles?
- S12 *nēh-én nāá mā / nána*  
 CON:want-I POT:wash now mama  
 I want to wash now, Mama.
- S13 *dūdé / vá ká kūhū dá ká*  
 aunt CON:exist ADD plate dirty ADD  
 Aunt, there are many plates [that are] very dirty.

#### 1.5 Sentential Markers

The interrogative marker *á* may occur at the beginning of a basic sentence and convert it to a YES/NO question; see §1.2.1 for examples.

Strong negation may be expressed by *ni* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*) at the beginning of the sentence or following a focused element; the verb phrase must also contain a negative marker.

- L58 *nī nkwá nākádīnō dī chí ntīchī dī sāhan*  
 NOR NEG POT:think you:SG CMP POT:see you:SG man  
 Don't you even think about seeing the man!
- L28 *sāhan mī nī nkwá ntīchī sā / né*  
 man that NOR NEG POT:see he and  
  
*kāanhu sā chūhūnh*  
 POT:kill he us:IN  
 THE MAN doesn't even [need to] see [us], and [yet] he can kill us.

## 2

# Verb Phrases

### 2.1 Content Verb Phrases

Content verb phrases consist of a nucleus, at least four optional prenuclear elements, and at least one optional postnuclear element.

**2.1.1 Verb nuclei.** A simple nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect. In the examples given in this chapter, the part of each sentence not included in the verb phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

- S13 *xēhē (tūhū nīnū)*  
CON:eat (chicken corn)  
(The chicken) is eating (corn).
- L18 *kwhīnō (dī)*  
FOR:see (you:SG)  
(You) will see.
- L82 *chhīnhu (sā īī)*  
COM:kill (he animal)  
(He) killed (the animal).
- G2 *(ámá xūvī) kwēhen (sá ntūvā)*  
(one day) COM:go (he Oaxaca)  
(ONE DAY he) went (to the city of Oaxaca).

There is one construction in the data that should probably be analyzed as a kind of discontinuous complex nucleus. It consists of the verb *dīn* 'to

do' inflected for aspect plus a Spanish infinitive; the subject of the sentence comes between the two parts.

- L25 *dīín (ti) rēsivíir (kōnséxo)*  
 COM:do (it:AML) to:receive (advice)  
 (It) received ([some] advice).
- L30 *dī(-ín) dēsēáar*  
 POT:do(-I) to:desire  
 (I) want (. . .)

No examples of other kinds of complex nuclei were found in the data, but there are many examples of compound verbs (see §5.1.1), which are derived from the combination of a content verb plus either another content verb, a stative verb, or a noun. These were probably complex nuclei at an earlier stage in the history of the language.

**2.1.2 Preverbal elements.** There are at least four elements that precede the verb nucleus: negative, temporal, intensifier, and manner.

The negative element *nkwá* is homophonous with, and is probably derived from, a negative verb meaning 'to not exist'. Its meaning has been extended to that of a general negative marker, not only for verbs, but for other classes of words as well.

- L70 *nkwá kūmhī (dī sāhan mī ú)*  
 NEG POT:show (you:SG man that me)  
 (You) won't show (me the man).
- L79 *nkwá kāanhu (dī ú)*  
 NEG POT:kill (you:SG me)  
 Don't kill (me)!
- Lo16 *nkwá kāha (sā nínú chākū sā)*  
 NEG COM:give (he corn mother his)  
 (He) did not give (his mother corn).
- L28 *(sáhan mī nī) nkwá ntīchī (sā)*  
 (man that nor) NEG POT:see (he)  
 (THE MAN) doesn't (even) [need to] see [us].

The temporal element includes *a* 'already' and probably *amtá* 'no longer' as well, but *amtá* was found only in a stative verb phrase in the source data.



- L29 *a chīnīvī (sā vída yūhūn-h)*  
 already POT:take:away (he life base-our:IN)  
 (He) will take away (our lives).
- L67 *(mī né) a vá yān (sā áamá thūuvi)*  
 (and and) already CON:exist prepared (he one trap)  
 (He) had already prepared (a trap).

The intensifying adverb *néné* occurs before the verb, and is found only in verb phrases. Note the contrast with the intensifying adverb *tāvī* (see §2.1.3).

- D631 *néné yīta (kāhā sā)*  
 much CON:hurt (foot his)  
 (His foot) hurts a lot.

The manner element can include an individual adverb or a complete adverb phrase, or a stative verb or stative verb phrase.

- L9 *thíka kwhēe (dī)*  
 thus POT:learn (you:SG)  
 In this way (you) will learn.
- L6 *(ūī lhin mí) nú tāvī chūá (ti)*  
 (animal little that) quickly INTS COM:grow (it:AML)  
 (THE LITTLE ANIMAL) grew very quickly.
- L24 *yēnó tāvī kūnāhán (ti)*  
 happy INTS POT:go:home (it:AML)  
 (They) went home very happily.

**2.1.3 Postverbal elements.** There is at least one postverbal element: the intensifying adverb *tāvī*, which is used with other classes of words in addition to verbs.

- L4 *(ūī lhin) dīnehēn tāvī (chākú ti ntúku)*  
 (animal little) CON:love INTS (mother its:AML with  
*chídá ūī)*  
 father animal)  
 (His mother and father) dearly loved (THE LITTLE ANIMAL).
- W5 *hīyun tāvī (tá)*  
 CON:laugh INTS (she)  
 (She) laughed wildly.

## 2.2 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which are not inflected for aspect. There are two temporal markers, *amtá* ‘no longer’ and *a* ‘already’, and two intensifying adverbs, *chúka* ‘much’ or ‘so’ and *néné* ‘much’ or ‘very’, which may precede the nucleus.

W2 *amtá kwīku (tā)*  
no:longer hungry (she)  
(She) was no longer hungry.

L8 *a dāmá (ti ntūkū chidā ti)*  
already same (it:AML with father its:AML)  
(He and his father) were already the same [size].

G6 *chúka nhān (dī)*  
much late (you:SG)  
(You) are so late.

D632 *(chkhāyāa né) néné yēnó*  
(child and) very happy  
(THE CHILDREN) are very happy.

The intensifying adverb *tāvī* may follow the nucleus, as may the repetitive marker *tūun* ‘again’. These two elements can cooccur.

L7 *a chhātā tāvī (ti)*  
already big INTS (it:AML)  
(He) was already very big.

L27 *āstútō tāvī (sā)*  
sly INTS (he)  
(He) is very sly.

W7 *dákā tāvī tūun*  
tangled INTS again  
([It]) was very tangled again.

# 3

## Noun Phrases

### 3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

L07	<i>váha</i>	'house'
L2	<i>ũĩ</i>	'animal'
L19	<i>tāhá</i>	'hand'
G1	<i>sāhan</i>	'man'
G2	<i>ntūvā</i>	'city of Oaxaca'
G6	<i>dī</i>	'you:SG'
L06	<i>ú</i>	'I'

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that consists of a noun followed by a modifier. Only two examples of complex nuclei occur in the available data, and in both the modifier is a noun, but the modifier can probably be a content verb or a stative verb also.

L15 *yhūdú chēnu*  
horse mountain  
deer

L15 *kūchí chēnu*  
pig mountain  
peccary

**3.1.2 Prenominal elements.** There are two elements that precede the nucleus: specifier and quantifier. The specifier is expressed only by the general marker *mā*.

L40 *mā yāhan*  
SPEC ground  
the ground (right here)

The quantifier comprises numerals as well as general quantifiers.

Numerals:

L1 *ūvī iyháyan*  
two lion  
two lions

L7 *xān īyu*  
six month  
six months

General quantifiers:

G11 *tālhín xīima*  
some salt  
some salt (cf. *lín* 'little')

w8 *kādā hīyan*  
each person  
everybody

L14 *yhān tāvī ūī*  
many INTS animal  
very many animals

Lo3 *tāvī nínú*  
INTS corn  
much corn

The numeral *āmā* 'one' often functions simply as an indefinite article.

- G1 *ámá sāhan*  
 one man  
 a man

**3.1.3 Postnominal elements.** Certain elements optionally follow the nucleus. These include deictics and relative clauses. Other Mixtecan languages also have optional limiter and additive elements, and so Cuicatec may also have similar elements that simply do not occur in the available data. Note that an additive element occurs in the general quantifier phrase (see §4.1.4).

Deictic function is carried by the nominal markers *khu* ‘this’, *thi* ‘that’ (nearby), and *kha* ‘that’ (at a distance), and by the locative adverb *mī* ‘there’, which is a shortened form of *mīyān*. When *mī* occurs as a deictic, it is glossed ‘that’, rather than ‘there’, but it often functions simply as a definite article.

- G5 *sāhan khu*  
 man this  
 this man
- D177 *būrrú thi*  
 donkey that  
 that donkey (Sp. *burro*) (nearby)
- D43 *yāhān kha*  
 tree that  
 that tree (at a distance)
- G3 *tāhan mī*  
 woman that  
 that woman *or* the woman

There are also two words which appear to be plural forms of deictics.

- L16 *īī chhūn*  
 animal this:PL  
 these animals
- L15 *īī chhén*  
 animal that:PL  
 those animals *or* the animals

Restrictive relative clauses follow the nucleus. They are often marked by the complementizer *chī*, by the prestressed pronoun *nāchī* ‘place’, or by the subordinate conjunction *tāchī* ‘when’, all of which also serve as relative pronouns. When a subject is relativized, a clitic pronoun copy referring to the subject usually follows the verb in addition to the relative pronoun that introduces the relative clause. When other elements are relativized, a clitic

pronoun copy also occasionally occurs within the relative clause. Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any noun phrase.

With subject as head:

- Lo5 *hīyan chí kūchiī ya*  
 person CMP COM:come person  
 [the] person who was coming
- L71 *ūī chí kēné mūhūn*  
 animal CMP COM:be:located here  
 [the] animal that is here

With object as head:

- G8 *xādē chí kāhan tā*  
 tepache CMP COM:give she  
 tepache, which she gave

With adjunct as head:

- Lo12 *vāha nāchī kēnúū sá*  
 house place COM:be:inside he  
 building where he was
- L35 *nāchī kēné áamá ītintū*  
 place COM:be:located one cow  
 place [where] there was a cow.

With peripheral element as head:

- L51 *ámá lūgáar náchí ntāyāatu áamá pāstóor*  
 one place place COM:be:tied one shepherd  
 a place where a shepherd was tied up.

Relative clauses based on stative verbs are translated as adjectives in English. Except for one instance in the data (L17), no complementizer is used.

- L17 *ámá ūī chí lhín*  
 one animal CMP little  
 an animal that is small *or* a small animal
- G2 *rānchō chhātā*  
 ranch big  
 ranch [that is] big *or* big ranch

- L18 *lyóon ntīiku*  
 lion old  
 lion [that is] old *or* old lion

**3.1.4 Combinations of elements.** In the available data there were no examples of specifier and quantifier occurring together, and so their relative order preceding the nucleus is not known. Following the nucleus, relative clauses based on a stative verb precede the deictic.

- L32 *lyóon chhātā mí*  
 lion big that  
 the lion [that is] big *or* the big lion
- L35 *ūī lhin mí*  
 animal little that  
 the animal [that is] little *or* the little animal

Two relative clauses may occur in a single noun phrase; those based on content verbs follow those based on stative verbs.

- Lo1 *kwikū dán chí kēnū*  
 hunger strong CMP COM:be:inside  
 a great famine that was in [there]

Relative clauses based on content verbs generally directly follow their head noun, but sometimes another element may occur between the two. In the following examples the intervening element is enclosed in parentheses.

- Lo2 *tá (yáan mī) chí vá áamá dāyá*  
 she (land that) CMP CON:exist one child  
 woman (in a town) who had a child
- w0 *ámá kwēntó (yēhen áamá nhatā) chí chhēno*  
 one story (about one woman) CMP COM:happen  
 A story (about a woman) which happened *or* A true story (about a woman)
- G0 *ámá kwénto (yēhen tá nīiyū) chí chí*  
 one story (about she ghost) CMP COM:be  
 A story (about a ghost) that happened *or* A true story (about a ghost)

When it is evident from the context, the nucleus of a noun phrase may be deleted, leaving a quantifier, relative clause, and/or a deictic as the only manifestation of the phrase.

- L26 *nākwhéhe chī ntīichu-h*  
 all           CMP   POT:see-we:IN  
 all [the animals] that we see
- L5 *lhín mí*  
 little that  
 the little [animal]

### 3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

Measurement noun phrases have a noun expressing a unit of measurement as their nucleus, which must be preceded by a quantifier phrase (see §4.1). Measurement noun phrases occur only as quantifiers in other noun phrases, and in the following example, the higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

- D563 *āmā dīnu (cáfe)*  
 one sack (coffee)  
 one sack (of coffee [Sp. *café*])
- D230 *āmā kīlu (yūta)*  
 one kilogram (meat)  
 one kilogram (Sp. *kilo*) (of meat)
- D418 *inu litró (nīnū)*  
 three liter (seed)  
 three liters (Sp. *litro*) (of seed)
- D230 *uvi xākū ntīchī kīlōmetro (chīn chhēnuú)*  
 two twenty ten kilometer (stuff long)  
 fifty kilometers (Sp. *kilómetro*) (of length)

### 3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. A quantifier may precede the nucleus. Nuclei may be either inherently possessed nouns, which are largely body parts and kinship terms, or optionally possessed nouns. Inherently possessed nouns exhibit direct possession, in which the possessor is expressed immediately after the head noun.

- w6 *tīin tā*  
 head her  
 her head (hair)



- W9 *chākū tá*  
 mother her  
 her mother
- L06 *chāk-ú*  
 mother-my  
 my mother
- L63 *dīyhūn ti*  
 tooth its:AML  
 its teeth
- L56 *āmiko lyóon*  
 friend lion  
 the lion's friend

Optionally possessed nouns exhibit indirect possession and are expressed using the inherently possessed noun *yehen* 'base' in an extended sense meaning 'possession'. These phrases are appositional in nature (see §3.7).

- Lo3 *nínú / yēhen sā*  
 corn base his  
 his corn (lit. corn, his possession)
- L68 *chivú / yēhen sā*  
 goat base his  
 his goats (lit. goats, his possession)
- W8 *tīnó / yēhén ya*  
 cloth base person  
 her clothes (lit. clothes, her possession)
- G17 *nthātā / yēhen sā*  
 woman base his  
 his woman (wife) (lit. woman, his possession)

### 3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed with the interrogatives *chāa* 'which?', *daha* 'what?', and *tavā* 'how much?'. The interrogative occurs initially in its noun phrase and the interrogative noun phrase occurs in focus position in its sentence (see §§1.1.8 and 1.2.2).

- L16 *chāa ūī chhūn*  
 which animal this:PL  
 which of these animals?

- D349 *daha ōra*  
 what hour  
 when? (Sp. *hora* ‘hour’) or what time?
- D707 *tavā ntūyu*  
 how:much year  
 how old?

### 3.5 Negative Noun Phrases

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the negative marker *nkwá* to a noun phrase. Negative noun phrases probably occur only in focus position in a sentence. In the following sentences containing negative noun phrases, the portion of the sentence outside of the negative noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

- L37 (*á*) *nkwá dī (chí sáhan mī)*  
 (INT) NEG you:SG (CMP man that)  
 (Are) not YOU (the man)?
- L38 *nkwá ú / (nāvhākútāhá ti)*  
 NEG I (COM:reply it:AML)  
 “Not I,” (it replied.) or “I [am] not ([he],” it replied.)

### 3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Adverbial noun phrases are either 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).

- G4 *rānchō chhātā*  
 ranch big  
 [at the] big ranch
- L12 *támá xūvī*  
 next day  
 [the] next day

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with a locative noun as nucleus. Many of these are body-part nouns that are used with extended meanings (see §5.3.2).

L13 *chhīitū áamá xīkū*  
 side one river  
 beside a river

Lo6 *chētē vāha*  
 stomach house  
 inside the house

L66 *nā ráāncho*  
 face ranch  
 at the ranch

D96 *tīín yīkū*  
 head mountain  
 top of the mountain

### 3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun phrases in the same structural position but with no conjunction linking them. They are often used to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified, similar to the use of nonrestrictive relative clauses in English.

L17 *ámá īī chī lhín / kōsā chī kūchā-á*  
 one animal CMP little thing CMP POT:be:able-I

*kwhīnū chēh-é īī*  
 POT:finish POT:eat-I animal

an animal that is small, something that I will be able to finish eating

Noun phrases expressing indirect possession are also appositional in nature. The inherently possessed noun *yehen* ‘base’ has a secondary sense of ‘possession’ and is coreferential with the preceding noun; see §3.3 for examples of this construction.

### 3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are either coordinate or disjunctive. In the coordinate type, noun phrases are linked by the preposition *ntūku* ‘with’.

L10 *chīdá ti ntūkū chākú ti*  
 father its:AML with mother its:AML  
 his father and mother

- L15 *kūchí chēenu yhūuvi yhūdú chēenu chīvī kōnēxó*  
 pig mountain coati horse mountain armadillo rabbit  
*hīimha iyāáta ntūkū más ka ūī*  
 skunk opossum with more ADD animal  
 peccaries, coatis, deer, armadillos, rabbits, skunks, opossums, and  
 many other animals

The structure of an additive noun phrase is sometimes identical to that of a noun phrase with an associative adjunct (see §1.1.4), and an ambiguity may arise in the analysis. In such cases the larger context will be necessary to determine which is the intended sense.

- L65 *kwēhēn sā ntūkū ti*  
 COM:go he with it:AML  
 He went with the animal. *or* He and the animal went.
- L9 *kūhun-h ntúku dī*  
 POT:go-we:1N with you:SG  
 We will go with you. *or* We and you will go.

Two phrases may be linked in a disjunctive relation by the conjunction *u* 'or' (Sp. *o*).

- D726 *xūhūn yan u xan yan*  
 five person or six person  
 five or six people

### 3.9 Distributive Noun Phrases

Distributive noun phrases are formed by repeating a short noun phrase to express the idea of 'each' or 'every'.

- L63 *xūvī xūvī*  
 day day  
 every day

### 3.10 Personal-Name Noun Phrases

Personal-name noun phrases consist of two elements: a gender marker and a nucleus. The third person feminine clitic pronoun functions as the feminine gender marker, and the masculine pronoun is probably used as the masculine marker, but no examples of the masculine were found. The nucleus consists of either a personal name that agrees in gender with the marker or some other title or personal description.

s13 *tá āna*  
she Ann  
Ann (Sp. *Ana*)

G0 *tá nīiyū*  
she ghost  
a ghost



# 4

## Other Phrases

### 4.1 Quantifier Phrases

**4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases.** In additive numeral phrases simple numerals from one to ten, fifteen, twenty, hundred, and thousand are combined to form the numerals from eleven through fourteen, sixteen through nineteen, twenty-one through thirty, thirty-five, and certain combinations involving hundred and thousand. The larger numeral always occurs first.

s7    *ntīchī ínú*  
      ten    three  
      thirteen

s7    *ntīlīyhún kūun*  
      fifteen    four  
      nineteen

s7    *ntūkū xúhún*  
      twenty    five  
      twenty-five

s7    *ntíkú ntīchī*  
      twenty    ten  
      thirty

S7 *ntīkū ntītyhún*  
 twenty fifteen  
 thirty-five

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.

S7 *ntīkū ntīchī ínú*  
 twenty ten three  
 thirty-three

S7 *ntīkū ntīí kúun*  
 twenty fifteen four  
 thirty-nine

**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. When the numeral twenty occurs as the nucleus of an attributive numeral phrase, it takes the form *xākū*.

D279 *kun xakú*  
 four twenty  
 eighty

D96 *āmā syēntó*  
 one hundred  
 one hundred (Sp. *ciento*)

D260 *āmā mīil*  
 one thousand  
 one thousand (Sp. *mil*)

In the survey data there is another form for one hundred, which seems to be part of the number system originally used by speakers of Mixtecan languages and would predate the use of the borrowed Spanish term.

S7 *xūhun xākū*  
 five twenty  
 hundred

The original number system was vigesimal and probably went at least as high as four hundred, or twenty twenties (Robert E. Longacre, personal communication).



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

D319 *uvi xākū xān*  
 two twenty six  
 forty-six

D349 *inu xākū ntīchī*  
 three twenty ten  
 seventy

**4.1.3 Expanded numeral phrases.** The only examples of expanded numeral phrases in the available data consist of a simple numeral as the nucleus with *ntō* 'all' preceding it and adding an additional quantifying sense to the numeral nucleus. Probably at least additive and attributive numeral phrases could also serve as a nucleus of this type of phrase. In the examples, an entire noun phrase is given with the part not included in the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

L12 *ntō īnó (tī)*  
 all three (it:AML)  
 all three (animals)

L23 *ntō ūvī (īī ntīīku)*  
 all two (animal old)  
 both (old animals)

**4.1.4 General quantifier phrases.** Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which is a nonnumeral quantifier, and an optional postnuclear element, which may be either the intensifying adverb *tāvī* or the additive *ka*. Other Mixtecan languages have an optional prenuclear element, which may be a negative or a specifier, and at least two other optional postnuclear elements, a repetitive and a limiter. It is possible that these elements also occur in Cuicatec, but none were found in the source data.

L14 *yhān tāvī (īī)*  
 many INTS (animal)  
 very many (animals)

L15 *más ka (īī)*  
 more ADD (animal)  
 many other (animals)

## 4.2 Adverb Phrases

**4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases.** A nucleus and an optional postnuclear intensifying adverb *tāvī* combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus may be either a locative or a general adverb.

L49 *yāhān tāvī*  
 far INTS  
 very far

L6 *nú tāvī (chūtá)*  
 quickly INTS (COM:grow)  
 (grew) very quickly

**4.2.2 Repetitive adverb phrases.** The simple repetition of an adverb, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. The additive *ka* may also follow the second adverb.

N141 *tyān tyān*  
 early early  
 very early

S4 *tūnū tūnū kā*  
 little little ADD  
 gently *or* little by little

## 4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object. There is a very limited set of prepositions because much of their function is carried by locative nouns (see §§5.3.2 and 3.6). The prepositions include only *ntūku* ‘with’, *ménos* ‘except’ (Sp. *menos*), and *nú* ‘until’ or ‘even’; and the complex forms *kwēnta yehen* ‘on account of’ (Sp. *cuenta* ‘account’) and *nīnū nā* ‘at’, ‘by’, or ‘near’.

L63 *ntūúku dīyhūn ti*  
 with tooth its:AML  
 with its teeth

W7 *ntúku āsēite*  
 with oil  
 with oil

- L26 *ménos áamá sáhan*  
except one man  
except a man
- Lo13 *ntí túnú chhākū*  
until much sound  
even a tremendous noise
- D470 *kwēnta yehen vakyan*  
account base town  
for the town
- G5 *nīnū nā rānchō chhātā*  
near face ranch big  
at the big ranch



# 5

## Parts of Speech

### 5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

**5.1.1 Derivation.** Content verbs are derived from other content verbs, from nouns, and probably also from stative verbs by means of derivational prefixes, as well as by means of compounding.

The causative prefix *dī-* is a shortened form of *dīn* ‘to do’. It is used with content verbs, with nouns, and probably also with stative verbs to form derived content verbs.

- L4     *dī-néhēn*  
      CAUS-CON:want  
      to love (cf. *néhēn* ‘CON:want’)
- D367   *dī-kwhinú*  
      CAUS-POT:end  
      to finish (cf. *kwhinū* ‘POT:end’)
- L26     *dī-chhīvha*  
      CAUS-value  
      to have value (cf. *chhīvha* ‘value’)

There is also a repetitive marker, *na-* or *n-*, which may be prefixed to certain verbs to derive another verb.

- D621   *n-kahā*  
      REP-COM:give  
      to give back (cf. *kahā* ‘to give’)

- W8 *ī-nā-ntāchī*  
CON-REP-vomit  
to vomit (repeatedly)
- W7 *ī-nā-dī-daūn*  
CON-REP-CAUS-?  
to make smooth
- W9 *nā-dī-xīkū*  
REP-CAUS-medicine  
to heal (cf. *xiku* ‘medicine’)
- G11 *ī-nā-nkáká*  
CON-REP-?  
to remember
- G17 *nā-ntāa*  
REP-COM:arrive  
to return
- W10 *nā-ntuvā*  
REP-COM:be:healed  
to get well

Compounds are formed by the fusion of a complex verb nucleus into a single word. The first example below contains an epenthetic *n* between the two parts; see Needham and Davis (1946:145).

- L06 *kūnūn-tēhé*  
POT:be:inside-hidden  
to hide (cf. *kūnū* ‘to be inside’)
- L10 *chīnī-vēén*  
COM:sit:down-ear  
to listen
- L38 *nā-vākū-tāhá*  
REP-COM:turn:around-hand  
to reply
- G13 *nā-vākū-ntāā*  
REP-COM:turn:around-COM:arrive  
to turn into
- L42 *nā-ká-dīnō*  
REP-under-bonnet  
to think

- L39 *ikū-yatū*  
CON:?-knot  
to tie
- L51 *ntā-yāatu*  
COM:arrive-knot  
to be tied
- L61 *kēntá-nā*  
POT:follow-face  
to follow

**5.1.2 Inflection.** Content and equative verbs are inflected for four different aspects: potential, continuative, completive, and perfective. The first three aspects are similar to future, present, and past tenses, but cannot be equated with them because aspect emphasizes the action or process expressed by the verb, leaving the time frame to be established by the context of the discourse in which it occurs. On the other hand, tense emphasizes the particular time frame during which the action or process takes place (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:xiv). The perfective aspect, which has been referred to as ‘prior past’ (Davis 1952:35) and/or ‘state of completion’ (Longacre 1957:56), is unique with respect to the other Mixtecan languages. It is a reflex of the protolanguage verb system, which has been preserved more completely in Cuicatec than in the other sister languages (Longacre 1957:56). Only one of the verbs in the texts is glossed with perfective aspect, and it is unclear if the perfective is still in common use or if it is being lost, as has happened in many of the sister languages. Although the texts and dictionary were of some assistance in the analysis proposed in this chapter, most of it is based on unpublished language survey data and on data from Davis and Walker (1955).

Verbs can be classified on the basis of which form of the potential aspect prefix they take. The other aspectual prefixes are more regular in their forms, while the potential form has several distinct variants. The continuative prefix is conditioned by the initial segment of the verb root; vowel-initial roots take *x-* while consonant-initial roots take *i-*. Similarly, the completive aspect prefix varies according to vowel-initial or consonant-initial roots. It is expressed by *ch-/chi-*, *k-/ki-*, or sometimes *k-/ke-*. The perfective aspect prefix is either *n(t)-* or *ni-*, also determined by vowel-initial or consonant-initial roots.

In the first class of verbs, potential aspect is indicated by *kw-* before vowel-initial verb roots or *ku-* before consonant-initial roots. There are two subclasses. Some verbs take the set *kw-/ku-*, *x-/i-*, *k-/ki-(ke-)*, and *n(t)-/ni-*, while others take *kw-/ku-*, *x-/i-*, *ch-/chi-*, and *n(t)-/ni-*.

	POT	CON	COM	PERF
buy	<i>kw-ái</i>	<i>x-ái</i>	<i>k-ái</i>	<i>nt-ái</i>
cover	<i>kw-ákú</i>	<i>x-ákú</i>	<i>ch-áaku</i>	<i>nt-ákú</i>
sleep	<i>kū-yādō</i>	<i>ī-yādō</i>	<i>kī-yādō</i>	<i>nī-yāadō</i>
hide	<i>kū-núnthēhē</i>	<i>ī-núnthēhē</i>	<i>kē-núnthēhē</i>	<i>nī-núnthēhē</i>
rope	<i>kū-nūu</i>	<i>ī-nūu</i>	<i>chī-nūu</i>	<i>nī-nūu</i>

The position verb *kunē* 'to be located' belongs in this class, but has irregular prefixes *kā-* and *ka-* in the continuative and completive aspects, respectively.

	POT	CON	COM	PERF
be located	<i>ku-nē</i>	<i>kā-nē</i>	<i>ka-nē</i>	<i>ní-né</i>

In the second class of verbs, potential aspect is indicated by *k-* before vowel-initial verb roots and by *ka-* or *ko-* before consonant-initial roots. There are two subclasses. Some verbs take the set *k-/ka-*, *x-/i-*, *ch-/chi-*, and *n(t)/ni-*, while others take the set *k-/ko-*, *x-/i-*, *k-/ke-*, and *n(t)/ni-*.

	POT	CON	COM	PERF
break	<i>k-āatu</i>	<i>x-ātū</i>	<i>ch-āatu</i>	<i>nt-átú</i>
bring	<i>kā-nkwāi</i>	<i>ī-nkwāi</i>	<i>chī-nkwāi</i>	<i>nī-nkwāi</i>
scratch	<i>k-ūun</i>	<i>x-ūun</i>	<i>k-ūun</i>	<i>n-ūun</i>
keep awake	<i>kō-ntūchī</i>	<i>ī-ntūchī</i>	<i>ké-ntūchī</i>	<i>nī-ntuchi</i>

In some verbs in this class there is also a change in the root of the nonpotential forms, such as a vowel change or the loss of the final syllable.

	POT	CON	COM	PERF
jump	<i>k-áva</i>	<i>x-āa</i>	<i>k-āa</i>	<i>nt-áa</i>
complete	<i>k-ūvī</i>	<i>x-ī</i>	<i>ch-īi</i>	<i>nt-í</i>
be	<i>k-ūvī</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>ch-ī</i>	<i>?</i>
run	<i>k-áno</i>	<i>x-éno</i>	<i>ch-éno</i>	<i>n-éno</i>
go	<i>k-āhan</i>	<i>x-ēhēn</i>	<i>ch-ēhen</i>	<i>n-éhēn</i>



The verb 'to go' has another form, *kwēhen*, which is glossed as completive aspect in the text data, but it may correspond to some other aspect (possibly incomplete). This verb also has an imperative form *kwéhén*. It is possible in some other Mixtecan languages for the verb 'to go' to have more than just the basic aspectual forms (Barbara E. Hollenbach, personal communication).

Perfective aspect is sometimes marked by two elements, the first of which is *ni-*, while the second is some variation of the completive prefix. This suggests that *ni-* may be derived historically from a preverbal element on the phrase level, which served (redundantly) to indicate previous time.

	POT	CON	COM	PERF
advise	<i>k-ūvī</i>	<i>x-ī</i>	<i>ch-īi</i>	<i>ní-nch-ī</i>
say	<i>k-āmhān</i>	<i>x-āhān</i>	<i>k-āhān</i>	<i>ní-nk-āhān</i>
give	<i>k-āha</i>	<i>x-āha</i>	<i>k-āha</i>	<i>ní-nk-āhá</i>
stretch	<i>kw-āhain</i>	<i>x-āhain</i>	<i>k-āhain</i>	<i>ní-k-āhain</i>
recite (prayers)	<i>k-āvaha</i>	<i>x-āvaha</i>	<i>k-āvaha</i>	<i>nī-k-āvaha</i>

Potential aspect in the third class of verbs is indicated by *ch-* with a vowel-initial verb root or by a null prefix ( $\emptyset$ -) with a consonant-initial root. There are two subclasses. Verbs in one subclass take *ch-/∅-*, *x-/i-*, *ch-/∅-*, and *ni-ch-/ni-*, while verbs in the second subclass take  $\emptyset-$ , *i-*, *chi-*, and *ni-*. Since the potential and the completive prefixes are the same (*ch-/∅-*) for one subclass, some verbs have identical forms in these two aspects, while others distinguish between the two by means of a tone change in the completive form (Longacre 1957:57–8).

	POT	CON	COM	PERF
carry	$\emptyset$ - <i>kānhúnēn</i>	<i>ī-kānhúnēn</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>kānhúnēn</i>	<i>ní-kānhúnēn</i>
eat (lunch)	$\emptyset$ - <i>kādhínú</i>	<i>ī-kādhínú</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>kādhínú</i>	<i>nī-kādhínú</i>
see	<i>ch-ēenān</i>	<i>x-ēenān</i>	<i>ch-ēenān</i>	<i>ní-ch-ēenān</i>
happen	<i>ch-óhó</i>	<i>x-óhō</i>	<i>ch-óho</i>	<i>ni-nch-óhō</i>
join	<i>-dīdāmā</i>	<i>ī-dīdāmā</i>	<i>chī-dīdamā</i>	<i>ní-dīdamā</i>

When the verb root begins with a laryngealized vowel, the continuative prefix becomes  $\emptyset$ -. This suggests that there is some constraint against *x-* before a laryngealized vowel.

	POT	CON	COM	PERF
spin	<i>kw-hā</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>hā</i>	<i>k-hāa</i>	<i>nt-há</i>
satisfy	<i>kw-hán</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>hún</i>	<i>k-hūun</i>	<i>n-hún</i>
encircle	<i>kw-hāaku</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>hāaku</i>	<i>ch-hāaku</i>	<i>nt-hāaku</i>
break	<i>kw-héen</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>héen</i>	<i>ch-héen</i>	<i>n-héen</i>
kill	<i>k-hāanhu</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>hīnhu</i>	<i>ch-hīnhu</i>	<i>n-hīnhu</i>
plant	<i>k-hūchī</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>hīchī</i>	<i>ch-hīichi</i>	<i>nt-hīchī</i>

Because of the limited amount of data available for this analysis, it is by no means comprehensive, and there are a number of verb forms in the data that do not fit into the analysis. For example, there are discrepancies in the tones and laryngeals, which may indicate different aspect forms, but they might also simply be the results of sandhi or even errors in transcription. Further work needs to be done in the description of verb inflection.

## 5.2 Stative Verbs

Unlike content and equative verbs, stative verbs are not inflected for aspect. They are either basic or derived from nouns. The derived verbs may or may not show a tone change from their nominal counterparts.

Basic stative verbs:

L4	<i>lhín</i>	‘little’
L11	<i>yēnó</i>	‘happy’
L23	<i>ntīiku</i>	‘old’
L30	<i>dītū</i>	‘strong’
L30	<i>kāani</i>	‘fast’

Derived stative verbs:

D748	<i>yhámhi</i>	‘grey, cloudy’ (cf. <i>yhāmhī</i> ‘smoke’)
D756	<i>yinchetée</i>	‘muddy’ (cf. <i>yinchetée</i> ‘mud’)
G13	<i>yāhan</i>	‘dirty’ (cf. <i>yāhan</i> ‘ground, dirt’)

Some stative verbs have separate forms for singular and plural referents.

		SG	PL
D297	little	<i>lhín</i>	<i>hāyáa</i>
D202	big	<i>chhātā</i>	<i>hātā</i>
D232	long	<i>chhenu</i>	<i>henu</i>

### 5.3 Nouns

**5.3.1 Derivation.** Compound nouns may be formed by the fusion of complex noun nuclei (see §3.1.1) into single words.

N145 *xīvyāvā*  
 hole:cliff  
 cave (cf. *xīvā* ‘hole’, *yáva* ‘cliff’)

N145 *nantakwáhá*  
 flower:red  
 geranium (cf. *nāanta* ‘flower’, *kwáha* ‘red’)

N145 *dūtīhikū*  
 egg:louse  
 nits (cf. *dūtúhú* ‘egg’, *īku* ‘louse’)

Nouns may also be derived by means of adding a prefix to another noun. The example below shows an epenthetic *k*; see Needham and Davis (1946:145).

L1 *īkyáhan*  
 COL:wood  
 forest (cf. *i-* ‘collectivizer’, *yáhán* ‘wood’)

**5.3.2 Classification.** Nouns may be classified according to gender, possessibility, distribution, and countability.

There are five gender classes, which are determined by the third person pronoun: masculine, feminine, human (respect), animal, and inanimate (see §5.4). Some nouns fall into more than one class, especially those included in the human (respect) category; *nthātā* ‘woman’, for example, corresponds to both feminine and respect pronoun forms. Also, in folktales animals may be included in the masculine or feminine class, as well as the animal class.

## Masculine nouns:

L16	<i>lyóon</i>	‘lion’
L30	<i>sáhan</i>	‘man’
L51	<i>pāstóor</i>	‘shepherd’
W9	<i>kwáa</i>	‘shaman’

## Feminine nouns:

G2	<i>nhāta</i>	‘woman’
G3	<i>táhan</i>	‘woman’

## Human (respect) nouns:

G13	<i>nhātā</i>	‘woman’
Lo3	<i>chākū</i>	‘mother’
Lo5	<i>hīyan</i>	‘person’

## Animal nouns:

L1	<i>īyháyan</i>	‘lion’
L16	<i>lyóon</i>	‘lion’
L35	<i>īīntū</i>	‘cow’
G13	<i>kú</i>	‘snake’

## Inanimate nouns:

G0	<i>kwénto</i>	‘story’
G8	<i>xādē</i>	‘tepache’ (an alcoholic beverage)
G9	<i>yūuntu</i>	‘tortilla’
G13	<i>yūta</i>	‘meat’

Nouns may also be classified according to whether or not they can be possessed. Those which cannot be possessed generally refer to meteorological or topographical phenomena.

D182	<i>īyūn</i>	‘star’
L6	<i>īyu</i>	‘moon, month’
D352	<i>yhāhan</i>	‘sun’
L13	<i>xīkū</i>	‘river’

Nouns that can be possessed are either directly or indirectly possessed (see §3.3). Directly possessed nouns are generally body parts or kinship terms.

L19	<i>tāhá</i>	‘hand, paw’
W6	<i>ūin</i>	‘head, hair’
L63	<i>chākū</i>	‘mother’
L11	<i>chidá</i>	‘father’

The remaining nouns are indirectly possessed.

L63	<i>nínú</i>	‘corn’
L53	<i>ūī</i>	‘animal’
L66	<i>rāāncho</i>	‘ranch’

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 kinship terms and probably personal names as well. When kinship terms are used in this way, they are not marked for possession.

S12	<i>táta</i>	‘father’
S12	<i>nána</i>	‘mother’
S13	<i>dūdé</i>	‘aunt’

Proper nouns include place names and personal names. Personal names sometimes occur in personal-name noun phrases (see §3.10).

G2	<i>nuūvā</i>	‘city of Oaxaca’
S13	<i>tá āna</i>	‘Ann’ (Sp. <i>Ana</i> )

Locative nouns occur as the nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6). There are two categories, the first of which includes place names, topographical features, and certain other nouns.

G2	<i>nuūvā</i>	‘city of Oaxaca’
L1	<i>īkyahan</i>	‘forest’
L13	<i>xīkū</i>	‘river’
L33	<i>yúní</i>	‘road’

The second category includes a small number of body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense and function as prepositions.

- L13 *chhīitū*  
side  
beside, by
- Lo6 *chētē*  
stomach  
inside
- Lo7 *nā*  
face  
by, at, in
- D437 *kāhā*  
foot  
base
- D96 *tīin*  
head  
top of
- G0 *yehen*  
base  
for, about, from, with reference to

Temporal nouns include units of time and occur as the nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6).

- L3 *xūvī* 'day'
- L7 *īyu* 'month'
- Lo1 *tyémpo* 'time'

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measure, and occur as nuclei of measurement noun phrases (see §3.2).

- D377 *dīnu* 'sack'
- D418 *litró* 'liter' (Sp. *litro*)
- D230 *kīlu* 'kilogram' (Sp. *kilo*)
- D230 *kilómetro* 'kilometer' (Sp. *kilómetro*)

Common nouns are those which are not included in any of the above distribution classes.

L2	<i>ūī</i>	‘animal’
L26	<i>sáhan</i>	‘man’
L67	<i>tūuvi</i>	‘trap’
Lo6	<i>nínú</i>	‘corn’
G9	<i>xīima</i>	‘salt’

Nouns may also be classified according to countability. Mass nouns cannot be modified by a numeral quantifier, but count nouns can.

Mass nouns:

Lo3	<i>nínú</i>	‘corn’
G9	<i>xīima</i>	‘salt’
G13	<i>nūnī</i>	‘water’
L40	<i>yāhan</i>	‘ground, dirt’

Count nouns:

L1	<i>īyhāyan</i>	‘lion’
L7	<i>īyu</i>	‘month’
L23	<i>ūī</i>	‘animal’
L67	<i>tūuvi</i>	‘trap’
W3	<i>xūvī</i>	‘day’
G1	<i>nthātā</i>	‘woman’

#### 5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns show a fairly complex system that employs the parameters of person, number, and respect. The first and second person pronouns each have a free form and an enclitic form. The first person distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive in the plural forms, and the second person distinguishes between familiar and respect in the singular forms (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:xi). There is no case distinction in the pronoun system, and so their function is determined by their position in the sentence and/or the discourse context.

The free pronouns occur most frequently in sentence-initial position, where they indicate focus. In any position in the sentence, however, they can occur to express a greater degree of emphasis than the corresponding clitic pronouns. The free pronouns are:

	SG	PL
first EX	<i>ú</i>	<i>nthúshuūn</i>
first IN	—	<i>shún, chúhūnh</i>
second FAM	<i>dí</i>	—
second RES	<i>nthi</i>	<i>nthĩsthi</i>

It is possible that the distinction between familiar and respect in the second person forms was originally a distinction between singular and plural, with the plural form being used to indicate respect. This is more clearly seen in the clitic forms below. The plural form above appears to be a compound but the source of the second part of the word is unclear.

There are clitic forms which correspond to the free forms, but they occur only following a verb, noun, or possibly a preposition, depending on the function of the pronoun as subject of the verb, possessor of the noun, or object of the preposition. The clitic form of the first person singular pronoun is expressed by a high tone, which replaces the tone of the final vowel of the preceding morpheme (Davis 1962:197). The first person plural inclusive form *oh* or *-h* triggers a vowel-harmony process in the stem to which it is affixed (see Needham and Davis 1946:143–45 for further discussion of this process). The clitic forms are:

	SG	PL
first EX	(fused high tone)	<i>nhúu</i>
first IN	—	<i>oh, -h</i>
second FAM	<i>dĩ</i>	—
second RES	<i>ni, ne</i>	<i>ni</i>

The following examples show how the first person singular and inclusive forms affect the shape of the preceding word. To show the first person singular clitic the hyphen that represents morpheme boundary is placed before the final vowel, to which the high tone is fused.

- L70 *chēh-é*  
 POT:eat-I  
 I will eat (cf. *chēhē* ‘POT:eat’)
- L66 *chāk-ú*  
 mother-my  
 my mother (cf. *chākū* ‘mother’)



- L26 *chūhū-h*  
 POT:eat-we:IN  
 we will eat (cf. *chēhē* ‘POT:eat’)
- L29 *yūhūn-h*  
 base-our:IN  
 our (cf. *yehen* ‘base’)

Third person pronouns distinguish six gender classes, but no contrast of number. There are no free forms, and most of the clitic forms are reduced forms of corresponding nouns. The masculine pronoun (and probably the feminine as well) can be extended to refer to animals in folktales.

masculine	<i>sá</i> (cf. <i>sáhan</i> ‘man’)
feminine	<i>tá</i> (cf. <i>táhan</i> ‘woman’)
human RES	<i>ya</i> (cf. <i>hīyan</i> ‘person’)
human UN	(fused low tone with optional glottal stop)
animal	<i>tī</i> (cf. <i>ūī</i> ‘animal’)
inanimate	∅

There is a prestressed pronoun, which is a compound formed by combining the locative noun *nā* ‘face’ and the complementizer *chī*.

- L35 *nāchī* ‘place’

The prestressed pronoun *nāchī*, the subordinate conjunction *tāchī* ‘when’, and the complementizer *chī* also function as relative pronouns (see §3.1.3).

There are two interrogative pronouns. See §§1.2.2 and 3.4 for a discussion of their use.

- L36 *dōho* ‘who?’  
 D317 *daha* ‘what?’

## 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 (see §1.1.4) and as locative peripheral elements (see §1.1.7).

D32	<i>mīyān</i> or <i>mī</i>	‘there’
L57	<i>mūhūn</i>	‘here’
Lo13	<i>nūi</i>	‘there’
G5	<i>nūnū</i>	‘near’
L49	<i>yāhān</i>	‘far’

The reduced form *mī* ‘there’ also functions as a deictic in noun phrases (see §3.1.3); in this function it is glossed ‘that’.

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns. They occur as time peripheral elements (see §1.1.7). They are simple or complex.

Simple:

D57	<i>ikū</i>	‘yesterday’
L9	<i>kāvyān</i>	‘tomorrow’
L16	<i>mā</i>	‘now’
L60	<i>mīnīyūn</i>	‘just now’
Lo6	<i>tōmhé</i>	‘then’
Lo10	<i>nēhēn</i>	‘meanwhile’

Complex:

G7	<i>ā</i>	<i>vena</i>
	already	before
		for a long time

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs. They occur preceding the verb as a manner element in the verb phrase (see §2.1.2).

L6	<i>nū</i>	‘quickly’
L18	<i>thīka</i>	‘thus’

There are three intensifying adverbs. One occurs commonly in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, quantifier phrases, and adverb phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, 4.1.4, and 4.2.1). It follows the nucleus of the particular phrase in which it occurs. This word also functions as a general quantifier meaning ‘much’.

L6	<i>tāvī</i>	‘much’
----	-------------	--------

The other two intensifying adverbs occur only in verb phrases and precede the verb.

G6	<i>chúka</i>	‘much, so’
D631	<i>néné</i>	‘much’

Interrogative adverbs occur in WH questions and indirect questions (see §§1.2.2 and 1.2.3). They include:

Lo8	<i>tīín</i>	‘where?’
D119	<i>tikwáhān</i>	‘when?’
G6	<i>dēhe</i>	‘why?’
L18	<i>tākā</i>	‘how?’
D119	<i>tavā</i>	‘how much?’

## 5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers; they occur in quantifier phrases (see §4.1) and as pronominal elements in noun phrases (see §3.1.2).

Simple numerals include those from one to ten, fifteen, and twenty, as well as Spanish loans for hundred and thousand. The remaining numerals are expressed by numeral phrases (see §§4.1.1 and 4.1.2).

D380	<i>āmā</i>	‘one, a’
D155	<i>uvi</i>	‘two’
D377	<i>inu</i>	‘three’
D119	<i>kun</i>	‘four’
D96	<i>xūhūn</i>	‘five’
D345	<i>xan</i>	‘six’
D349	<i>ntacha</i>	‘seven’
D279	<i>nīnī</i>	‘eight’
D276	<i>nū</i>	‘nine’
D151	<i>nīchī</i>	‘ten’
D319	<i>nūthiyūn</i>	‘fifteen’
D383	<i>ntikū</i>	‘twenty’
D119	<i>xākū</i>	‘twenty’ (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)

D96	<i>syēntó</i>	‘hundred’ (Sp. <i>ciento</i> )
D260	<i>mīil</i>	‘thousand’ (Sp. <i>mil</i> )

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words.

L34	<i>támá</i>	‘another’ (cf. <i>ámá</i> ‘one’)
L14	<i>yhān</i>	‘many’
L15	<i>más</i>	‘more’
L26	<i>nākwhéhe</i>	‘all’
G11	<i>tālhín</i>	‘some’ (cf. <i>lhín</i> ‘little’)
W8	<i>kādā</i>	‘each’
L12	<i>ntō</i>	‘all’

The intensifying adverb *tāvī* ‘much’ also functions as a general quantifier.

### 5.7 Prepositions

There are only a small number of simple prepositions. They are used mainly in prepositional phrases (see §4.3), but *ntūku* ‘with’ is also used in additive noun phrases (see §3.8).

L8	<i>ntūku</i> or <i>ntū</i>	‘with’
L26	<i>ménos</i>	‘except’
Lo13	<i>ntí</i>	‘until, even’

There are also two complex prepositions.

G5	<i>nīnū nā</i>	near face at, by, near
D120	<i>kwēnta yehen</i>	account base on account (Sp. <i>cuenta</i> ) of, for

### 5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used mainly to link combinations of sentences in a coordinate or subordinate relationship (see §§6.1.1 and 6.2.1). The coordinate conjunctions include:

L23	<i>mikū</i>	or <i>mī</i>	‘and’
L3	<i>né</i>		‘and’
D351	<i>tin</i>		‘but’
G18	<i>sīnō</i>		‘but’
G9	<i>pērō</i>		‘but’
D726	<i>u</i>		‘or’ (Sp. <i>o</i> )

The subordinate conjunctions are simple or complex. The simple ones include:

L62	<i>kātē</i>		‘because’
L59	<i>ntíūī</i>		‘if’
Lol4	<i>tāchī</i>		‘when’ (cf. <i>chī</i> ‘complementizer’)
W7	<i>vēná</i>		‘before’

The conjunction *tāchī* also functions as a relative pronoun (see §3.1.3).  
The complex subordinate conjunctions include:

L9	<i>pārā</i>	<i>chī</i>	
	for	CMP	
	so that		
W2	<i>dātāachī</i>	<i>chī</i>	
	?:when	CMP	
	when		

## 5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form parts of sentences or phrases that are not included in the parts of speech already described. There are verbal, nominal, general, and sentential markers.

Verbal markers occur as preverbal and postverbal elements in verb phrases; they are:

L8	<i>a</i>		‘already’
W2	<i>amtá</i>		‘no longer’
W7	<i>tūun</i>		‘again’

Nominal markers occur as prenominal and postnominal elements in noun phrases; they are:

D523	<i>khu</i>	‘this’
D718	<i>thi</i>	‘that (nearby)’
D442	<i>kha</i>	‘that (at a distance)’
L16	<i>chhūn</i>	‘this:PL’
L15	<i>chhén</i>	‘that:PL’
L16	<i>chāa</i>	‘which?’

General markers occur in more than one type of construction; they are:

G15	<i>nkwá</i>	‘not’
L15	<i>ka</i>	‘more’
L40	<i>mā</i>	‘specifier’
L17	<i>chī</i>	‘complementizer’

The complementizer also functions as a relative pronoun (see §3.1.3), as a subordinate conjunction expressing cause or purpose (see §6.2.1), and to mark the end of a focused element or the break between two juxtaposed sentences (see §§1.1.8 and 6.1.2).

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind indicates the mood or truth value of a sentence (see §1.5), and occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

L37	<i>á</i>	‘interrogative’
L28	<i>nī</i>	‘not even’

The second kind of sentential marker relates a sentence to its discourse context (see §6.4). These are complex and are formed by combining a coordinate conjunction with a temporal adverb.

W10	<i>míkú</i>	<i>tōmhē</i>
	and	then
		then
L23	<i>míkū</i>	<i>lūéko</i>
	and	soon
		then

### 5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences to express emotion. Some common ones are:

D400	<i>ái</i>	‘surprise or amazement’
D399	<i>āan</i>	‘ah’
D400	<i>hāan</i>	‘aha!’
D597	<i>xāan</i>	‘bah!’





## 6

# Intersentential Relations

### 6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some relationships between sentences are expressed by means of a conjunction, and some are not. An element may be unexpressed in the second sentence if it is coreferential with an element of the first sentence.

**6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions.** Coordinate conjunctions are used to express coordination, antithesis, temporal sequence, and result.

Simple coordination is expressed using the conjunction *mikū* ‘and’ (or a shortened form *mī*).

L30 *kāani tāvī ú / mí dī-in dēsēáar*  
fast INTS I and POT:do-I to:desire

*chī ntīch-í sáhan mī*  
CMP POT:see-I man that  
I’m very fast, and I want to see the man.

- L06 *ú kāh-án / kūnūntēh-é chētē vāha nāchī vá*  
 I POT:go-I POT:hide-I stomach house place CON:exist  
*nínú / mikú kúchī dī chāk-ú*  
 corn and POT:tell you:SG mother-my  
*chī nkwā-á vāha*  
 CMP NEG:CON:exist-I house  
 I am going to hide in the corn crib (lit. house where there is corn),  
 and you tell my mother that I am not home.

(See also L72, W1, G2, and G13.)

Antithesis may be expressed using *mīkū* ‘and’, *né* ‘and’, *tin* ‘but’, or *sīnō* ‘but’ (Sp. *sino*).

- W1 *chī kwīkū tāvī tá / mīkū nkwá chīnāhān tā /*  
 COM:be hungry INTS she and NEG COM:go:home she  
*chēhe tā lūéko*  
 POT:eat she soon  
 She became very hungry, but she didn’t go home to eat right away.
- L28 *sáhan mī nī nkwá nthīchī sā /*  
 man that nor NEG POT:see he  
*né kāanhu sā chūhūnh*  
 and POT:kill he US:IN  
 THE MAN doesn’t even [need to] see [us], and [yet] he can kill us.

- D351 *nkwā chī nkwā nēh-én / tin chī nkwā*  
 NEG:CON:exist CMP NEG want-I but CMP NEG  
*kūvī dī-ín*  
 CON:be:possible POT:do-I  
 It’s not that I don’t want [to], but that I am not able to do [it].
- G18 *nkwá tāhan mī chī nthīchī sā / sīnō tá ntīiyu*  
 NEG woman that CMP COM:see he but she ghost  
 It was NOT THE WOMAN whom he saw, but [he saw] a ghost.

Temporal sequence is expressed using the conjunctions *né* or *mīkū*, both of which mean ‘and’.

- L3 *chīikā xūvī / né chīniyáan dāyā ti*  
 COM:walk day and COM:be:born child its:AML  
 The days passed, and their child was born.

G12 *tomhē chēhēn sā / chítáhā sā /*  
 then COM:go he COM:take he  
*mīkū chhīī sā xīmá yútā mī*  
 and COM:put he salt meat that  
 Then he took [the salt] and he salted the meat.

Result is expressed using the conjunction *mīkū* (or the reduced form *mī*).

L63 *tomhē lyóon ntūúku dīyhūn ti chūkā ti /*  
 then lion with tooth its:AML COM:walk it:AML  
*chēhé ti hīiyu / mí nānthāā ti sāhan mī*  
 COM:eat it:AML rope and COM:untie it:AML man that  
 Then, THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH, and he freed the man.

L63 *vá tāvī nínú yēhen sā / mīkú chākū sā*  
 CON:exist INTS corn base his and mother his  
*xēhén ya / xīkā ya nínú sāhan xūvī xūvī*  
 CON:go person CON:ask person corn man day day  
 [One of the men] had a lot of corn and HIS MOTHER would go [and]  
 ask him for corn every day.

**6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions.** It is possible to express certain relationships between coordinate sentences simply by juxtaposing them. These relationships include simple coordination, temporal sequence, result, and antithesis.

The juxtaposition of two or more sentences with no conjunction sometimes expresses a list of closely related actions or states.

L43 *kāntīī ti / kwēhēn ti*  
 COM:follow it:AML COM:go it:AML  
 He went on his way.

G8 *kūhu sā / chēhe sā*  
 POT:drink he POT:eat he  
 He will eat, [and] he will drink.

(See also L50 and L64.)

Sometimes the complementizer *chī* is used to separate two juxtaposed sentences which describe the same event. Often one is more specific than the other, and this repetition serves to highlight the event.

L18 *nhīichī dī tākā dī-ín /chī tūnkā-án*  
 POT:see you:SG how POT:do-I CMP POT:hunt-I  
 You watch how I hunt.

L40 *īdīn sā / chí íntha áamá khūu*  
 CON:do he CMP CON:find one iron  
 He finds an iron.

Quotations are often introduced by two juxtaposed sentences, one with the verb *xāhān* 'to say' and the other with the verb *xī* 'to tell' (see §6.3 for examples of this construction).

In a series of stative verbs, the subject is repeated following each verb, even if the subjects are coreferential.

L30 *ú né chhātā tāvī ú / dīū tāvī ú / kāani tāvī ú*  
 I and big INTS I strong INTS I fast INTS I  
 I am very big, I'm very strong, [and] I'm very fast.

If the object of a verb consists of several different items, the verb and subject are stated before each item.

G8 *mikū ntāi tá tūhū / ntāi tá yūuntu /*  
 and COM:bring she chicken COM:bring she tortilla  
*ntāi tá xādē*  
 COM:bring she tepache

Then she brought [out] chicken, tortillas, [and] tepache.

Sometimes two juxtaposed sentences express a temporal relationship, such as closely related events in sequence. The complementizer *chī* may separate the two parts.

L12 *chīdāvā táamá xūvī / kwēhén ntō ínó ti*  
 COM:dawn next day COM:go all three it:AML  
 It dawned the next day, [and] all three animals set out.

L68 *nkāá ti / chī xēhé ti chivú yēhen sā*  
 COM:come it:AML CMP CON:eat it:AML goat base his  
 They came [and] ate his goats.

(See also L19 and G9.)

Two juxtaposed sentences may also express a logical result.

- L73 *ĩĩ mĩ kwĩkũ ti / kwēhēn ti / chēhē ti*  
 animal that hungry it:AML COM:go it:AML POT:eat it:AML  
*lũnchĩ mĩ*  
 little:goat that

THE ANIMAL was hungry, [and so] he went to eat the little goat.

An antithetical relation may be expressed by simple juxtaposition of two sentences. In the second example below, the two sentences that are in antithetical relationship together form a conditional sentence (see §6.2.1).

- L56 *nkwá ú chĩ sāhan / āmiko lyóon*  
 NEG I CMP man friend lion  
 I am NOT the man; [but I] am the lion's friend.  
 L80 *ntĩĩ nkwá kãn-hú dĩ / nākāntā-á dĩ /*  
 if NEG POT:kill-I you:SG POT:let:go-I you:SG  
*tōmhē chēhē di ú*  
 then POT:eat you:SG me

If I don't kill you [but] free you [instead], then you will eat me.

## 6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are usually expressed using conjunctions, but purpose may be expressed simply by juxtaposing two sentences.

**6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions.** Conjunctions are used to introduce certain relationships between sentences, including cause, condition, purpose, and temporal relations.

Subordinate sentences that express the reason or cause for the predication stated in the main sentence are introduced by the complementizer *chĩ* or the conjunction *kāĩē* 'because'; they follow the main sentence.

- L11 *yēnó tāví ti / chĩ kāhán ti ĩkyáhan*  
 happy INTS it:AML CMP POT:go it:AML forest  
*ntūkũ chĩdá ti*  
 with father its:AML

He was very happy that he could go to the forest with his father.

L27 *sāhan mī né dīn tāvī dī / kwīdādo dī /*  
 man that and POT:do INTS you:SG care you:SG

*kātē sāhan mī āstúto tāvī sā*  
 because man that sly INTS he

You must be very careful of THE MAN because he is very sly.

L42 *nī nkwá nākádīnō dī chī nīchī dī sāhan /*  
 nor NEG POT:think you:SG CMP POT:see you:SG man

*kātē sāhan mī kāanhu sā dī*  
 because man that POT:kill he you:SG

Don't you even think about seeing the man because THE MAN will kill you.

(See also L016.)

Conditional sentences are introduced using the conjunction *níúú* 'if'; they precede the main sentence.

L59 *níúú nēhen dī áamá fāvóor ntūk-ú /*  
 if CON:want you:SG one favor with-me

*nānthāti dī ú*  
 POT:untie you:SG me

If you want to do a favor for me, untie me.

L70 *níúú nkwá kūmhī dī sāhan mī ú /*  
 if NEG POT:show you:SG man that me

*chēh-é dī*  
 POT:eat-I you:SG

If you won't show me the man, I will eat you.

L80 *níúú nkwá kān-hú dī / nākāntā-á dī /*  
 if NEG POT:kill-I you:SG POT:let:go-I you:SG

*tōmhē chēhē dī ú*  
 then POT:eat you:SG me

If I don't kill you [but] free you [instead], then you will eat me.

Purpose is expressed using the complementizer *chī* or a complex conjunction *pārā chī* (Sp. *para* 'for') 'so that'. The main sentence precedes the purpose sentence and the verb in the purpose sentence is in potential aspect. The first example below contains two purpose sentences; the first one is introduced by *pārā chī* and is subordinate to the main sentence, and the second one is introduced by *chī* and is subordinate to the first purpose sentence.

- L9 *kūhun-h ntúku dī īkyáhan / pārá chī thika*  
 POT:go-we:IN with you:SG forest for CMP thus  
*kwhēe dī nhūu dī / chī chēhē dī*  
 POT:learn you:SG POT:hunt you:SG CMP POT:eat you:SG  
 We will go with you to the forest so that you will learn to hunt for food (lit. hunt so you can eat).

- L23 *mīkū lūéko tūnkān áamá yhūdú chēeno / chī chēhe*  
 and soon COM:hunt one horse mountain CMP POT:eat  
*ntō ūvī ūī ntīku*  
 all two animal old  
 And then [he] hunted a deer for both old animals to eat.

- G8 *kāhan tā / chī kūhu sā / chēhe sā*  
 COM:give she CMP POT:drink he POT:eat he  
 She gave [him] to eat [and] drink.

Temporal relations are expressed using *tāchī* ‘when’ to encode temporal succession as well as temporal overlap. Subordinate temporal sentences precede the main sentence.

- L7 *tāchī chhūī xān īyu / a chhātā tāvī ti*  
 when COM:complete six month already big INTS it:AML  
 When six months had passed, he was already very big. *or* When [he] was six months old, he was already very big.

- G6 *tāchī ntāa sā / tōmhē xāhan tā*  
 when COM:arrive he then CON:say she  
 When he arrived, she said . . .

- G9 *tāchī kwēhēn sā / kwhīntī sā / chēhē sā yūuntu /*  
 when COM:go he POT:sit he POT:eat he tortilla  
*yúta mī nkwá chīnúu xīima*  
 meat that NEG COM:be:found salt  
 When he went to sit down and eat, he found that THE MEAT WAS NOT salted.

- G17 *mīkū tāchī nāntāa sa / kēnū nthātā*  
 and when COM:return he COM:be:inside woman  
*yēhen sā vāha*  
 base his house  
 And when he arrived, his wife was [already] at the house.

- w6 *mīkū tāchī inthūtī tá / xīdākā tāvī tīin tā*  
 and when COM:lie:down she CON:tangle INTS head her  
 Whenever she lay down, her hair would get very tangled.

Temporal relations may also be expressed using *vēná* 'before' to introduce the subordinate time sentence.

- w7 *vēná ntūvē / dākā tāvī tun*  
 before POT:turn:around tangled INTS again  
 Before [she] could turn around, [it] was very tangled again.

**6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions.** Purpose relations may be expressed simply by two juxtaposed sentences with no conjunction relating them. A subordinate sentence that expresses purpose follows the main sentence, and the verb is in potential aspect.

- L21 *kāhā tī / chēhe dāyā ti*  
 COM:give it:AML POT:eat child its:AML  
 He gave [it] to his son to eat.
- L73 *kwēhēn ti / chēhē ti lūnchí mī*  
 COM:go it:AML POT:eat it:AML little:goat that  
 He went to eat the little goat.
- L76 *sāhan mī kwēhen sā / kānēnkwāi sā inkāātu yēhen*  
 man that COM:go he POT:bring he rifle base  
 THE MAN went to get [his] rifle.
- L77 *nākwēhēn sā / kāanhu sā lyóon mī*  
 COM:go he POT:kill he lion that  
 He was going to kill the lion.
- Lo6 *ú kāh-án / kūnūntēh-é chētē vāha*  
 I POT:go-I POT:hide-I stomach house  
 I am going to hide in the corn crib.
- Lo7 *mī sāhan kwēhen sā / kūnūntēhe sā nā vāha*  
 and man COM:go he POT:hide he face house  
 So THE MAN went to hide in the corn crib.
- G9 *tāchí kwēhēn sā / kwhīntī sā / chēhē sā yūuntu*  
 when COM:go he POT:sit he POT:eat he tortilla  
 When he went to sit down [and] eat . . .

(See also w1 and w9.)



6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations are composed of a quotation and an introducer. The nucleus of this construction is the quotation, which is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences or fragments. The introducer precedes the quotation and consists of a verb of speaking in continuative aspect, usually *xāhān* ‘says’, followed by a subject.

L17 *xāhan īī lhn mí / áamá īī chī*  
 CON:say animal little that one animal CMP  
 The little animal said, “An animal that . . .”

G10 *tōmhē xāhan sā / dēhe kūvī chī*  
 then CON:say he why POT:be:possible CMP  
 He said, “Why is it possible that . . .”

Often the introducer is a juxtaposed coordinate construction that contains two different speech verbs (see §6.1.2).

G6 *xāhan tā / xī tá sāhan / dēhe chúka nhān dī*  
 CON:say she CON:tell she man why much late you:SG  
 She said to him, “Why are you so late?”

L36 *tōmhē xāhān ti / xīi ti īī / dōho dí*  
 then CON:say it:AML CON:tell it:AML animal who you:SG  
 Then he said to the animal, “Who are you?”

L69 *xāhān lyóon / xīi ti sāhan / ú né*  
 CON:say lion CON:tell it:AML man I and  
 The lion said to the man, “I . . .”

L9 *tōmhē xāhan chidá ti / xīi ti īī /*  
 then CON:say father its:AML CON:tell it:AML animal

*kāvyān né kūhun-h ntúku dī īkyáhan*  
 tomorrow and POT:go-we:IN with you:SG forest

Then his father said to him, “TOMORROW we will go with you to the forest.”

The quotation introducer also includes other speech verbs, such as *tēxūnā* ‘ask’ and *návākútāhá*, a compound form meaning ‘reply’ (see §5.1.1). These speech verbs occasionally follow the quotation.

L45 *lō míismo tēxūnā ti / dōho dí*  
 the same COM:ask it:AML who you:SG  
 He asked THE SAME [QUESTION], “Who are you?”

- L38 *nkwá ú / nāvākútāhá ti*  
 NEG I COM:reply it:AML  
 “Not I,” it replied. *or* “I am not [he],” it replied.

Examples of quotations that contain more than one sentence are found in L26–29, L36–37, L39–42, L45–46, L47–49, L54–55, L56–60, L61–62, L69–70, L78–79, L80–81, Lo9–10, and G6–7.

The introducer may be omitted altogether in order to achieve a heightened dramatic effect.

- L63–65 *tōmhē lyóon ntūúku dīyhūn ti chīkā ti /*  
 then lion with tooth its:AML COM:walk it:AML  
*chēhé ti hīyu / mí nānthāá ti sāhan mī //*  
 COM:eat it:AML rope and COM:untie it:AML man that  
*kenthā dī ú / kūhūn-h mā //*  
 POT:follow you:SG me POT:go-we:IN now  
*tōmhē kwēhēn sā ntúkū ti*  
 then COM:go he with it:AML

Then THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH, and he freed the man.  
 “You follow me [and] let’s go now!” Then he went with the animal.

## 6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

An important way in which a sentence is related to its discourse context is through the use of certain linking expressions in sentence-initial position.

Temporal succession is expressed by *mikū* (or *mī*) ‘and’, *tōmhē* ‘then’, *míkú tōmhē*, or *míkú lúéko* (Sp. *luego* ‘soon’).

- G15–16 *nkwá tūné sá īī / chī chhīnhu sā īī //*  
 NEG COM:catch he animal CMP COM:kill he animal  
*míkū sāhan mī nāváyūune sā*  
 and man that COM:go:home he

He could not catch the animal to kill it. Then THE MAN went home.

- L18–19 *kwhīnō dī / thīka dīn dī //* *tōmhē*  
 POT:see you:SG thus POT:do you:SG then  
*lyóon chhātā né kāhán ti*  
 lion big and POT:go it:AML  
 “You will see how to do it.” Then THE BIG LION jumped.

W9-10 *tōmhē chākū tá chēhen ya / nhūan yá*  
 then mother her COM:go person POT:hunt person  
*ámá kwáa / chī nādīxīkū sā tāhan // mīkū tōmhē*  
 one shaman CMP POT:heal he woman and then  
*nāntuvā yēhen tā*  
 COM:be:healed base she  
 Then HER MOTHER went to find a shaman to heal the woman. Then she got well.

L22-23 *tōmhē lhin mí né yēnó tāvī // mīkū lūéko tūnkān*  
 then little that and happy INTS and soon COM:hunt  
*ámá yhūdú chēeno / chī chēhe ntō ūvī ūī ntīku*  
 one horse mountain CMP POT:eat all two animal old  
 Then THE LITTLE [LION] was very happy. Then [he] hunted a deer for both old animals to eat.

(See also L60-61, L62-63, L64-65, L81-82, L8-9, L10-11, G7-8, and G10-11.)

Expectancy reversal, or a change of thought between one sentence and the next, is expressed by *pērō* ‘but’ (Sp. *pero*) or *mīkū* ‘and’.

G8-9 *chī kāhan tā / chī kūhu sā / chēhe sā //*  
 CMP COM:give she CMP POT:drink he POT:eat he  
*pērō tāchí kwēhēn sā / kwhīntī sā / chēhē sā yūuntu /*  
 but when COM:go he POT:sit he POT:eat he tortilla  
*yūta mī nkwá chīnúu xīima*  
 meat that NEG COM:be:found salt  
 ... which she gave [him] to eat and drink. But, when he went to sit down [and] eat, he found that THE MEAT WAS NOT salted.

LS8-59 *nī nkwá nākādīnō dī chí nūchī dī sāhan //*  
 NOR NEG POT:think you:SG CMP POT:see you:SG man  
*pērō ntūūi nēhen dī ámá fāvóor ntūk-ú*  
 but if CON:want you:SG one favor with-me  
 Don't even think about seeing [the] man. But if you want to do me a favor ...

G2-3 *xāhan sā / xī sā nthāta yēhen sā*  
 CON:say he CON:tell he woman base his

*chī kwēnō tá sāhān rānchō chhātā // mīkū táhan mī*  
 CMP POT:wait she man ranch big and woman that

*kēnú dāanthi nāá tá*  
 COM:be:inside lazy face hers

He told his wife to wait for him at the big ranch. But THE WOMAN was lazy.

L03-4 *mīkú chākū sā xēhén ya / xīkā ya*  
 and mother his CON:go person CON:ask person

*nínú sáhan xūvī xūvī // mīkú vá áamá xūvī*  
 corn man day day and CON:exist one day

And HIS MOTHER would go [and] ask him for corn every day. But there was one day . . .

# 7

## Texts

### 7.1 The Story About a Lion

This text was originally published in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* (Davis 1954).

- L1 *ūvī īyháyan chīnúū ti īkyahan*  
two lion COM:walk it:AML forest  
TWO LIONS were walking in the forest.
- L2 *ūī chhūn né ūī réi yēhen īkyáhan*  
animal this:PL and animal king base forest  
THESE ANIMALS are the kings (Sp. *rey*) of the forest.
- L3 *chīikā xūvī / né chīnīyáan dāyā ti*  
COM:walk day and COM:be:born child its:AML  
The days passed, and their child was born.
- L4 *ūī lhín dīnehēn tāvī chākú ti*  
animal little CON:love INTS mother its:AML  
*núku chidá ūī*  
with father animal  
His mother and father dearly loved THE LITTLE ANIMAL.

- L5 *dīn tāvī ālimēntāar lhín mín*  
 COM:do INTS to:feed little that  
 [They] did much to feed (Sp. *alimentar*) the little [animal]. or [They] fed the little [animal] very well.
- L6 *īī lhín mí nú tāvī chītá ti*  
 animal little that quickly INTS COM:grow it:AML  
 THE LITTLE ANIMAL grew very quickly.
- L7 *tāchí chhūī xān īyu / a chhātā tāvī ti*  
 when COM:complete six month already big INTS it:AML  
 When six months had passed, he was already very big. or When [he] was six months old, he was already very big.
- L8 *a dāmá ti ntūkū chīdā ti*  
 already same it:AML with father its:AML  
 He and his father were already the same [size]. or He was already the same [size] as his father.
- L9 *tōmhé xāhan chīdā ti / xīi ti īī / kāvyān*  
 then CON:say father its:AML CON:tell it:AML animal tomorrow  
*né kūhun-h ntúku dī īkyáhan / pārá chī*  
 and POT:GO-WE:IN with you:SG forest for CMP  
*thíka kwhēe dī nhūu dī / chī chēhē dī*  
 thus POT:learn you:SG POT:hunt you:SG CMP POT:eat you:SG  
 Then his father said to him, "TOMORROW we will go with you to the forest so that (Sp. *para* 'for') you will learn to hunt for food."
- L10 *tōmhē né īī lhín mí né chīnīvēēn ti*  
 then and animal little that and COM:listen it:AML  
*chī xāhan chīdā ti ntūkū chākú ti /*  
 CMP CON:say father its:AML with mother its:AML  
*xīi ti īī*  
 CON:tell it:AML animal  
 The LITTLE ANIMAL listened to what his father and mother told him.
- L11 *yēnó tāvī ti / chī kāhán ti īkyáhan*  
 happy INTS it:AML CMP POT:go it:AML forest  
*ntūkū chīdā ti*  
 with father its:AML  
 He was very happy that he could go to the forest with his father.

- L12 *chīdāvā támá xūvī / kwēhén ntō inó ti*  
 COM:dawn next day COM:go all three it:AML  
 It dawned the next day, [and] all three animals set out.
- L13 *ntāá ti chhīitū áamá xīkū*  
 COM:arrive it:AML side one river  
 They arrived beside a river. *or* They came to the edge of a river.
- L14 *nthīchí ti yhān tāvī ūī*  
 COM:see it:AML many INTS animal  
 They saw very many animals.
- L15 *ūī chhén né kūchí chēenu yhūuvi yhūdú chēenu*  
 animal that:PL and pig mountain coati horse mountain  
*chivī kōnēxó hūmha iyāáta ntūkū más ka ūī*  
 armadillo rabbit skunk opossum with more ADD animal  
 THE ANIMALS are peccaries (Reg. Sp. *cuchi* ‘pig’), coatis, deer, armadillos, rabbits (Sp. *conejo*), skunks, opossums, and many other (Sp. *más* ‘more’) animals.
- L16 *tōmhé xāhan lyóon / xī sa dāyá ti / mā né*  
 then CON:say lion CON:tell he child its:AML now and  
*chāa ūī chhūn nēhēn dī chēhē dī ūī*  
 which animal this:PL CON:want you:SG POT:eat you:SG animal  
 Then the lion (Sp. *león*) said to his son, “NOW, which of these animals do you want to eat?”
- L17 *tōmhé xāhan ūī lhín mí / áamá ūī chī lhín /*  
 then CON:say animal little that one animal CMP little  
*kōsā chī kūchā-á kwhīnū chēh-é ūī*  
 thing CMP POT:be:able-I POT:finish POT:eat-I animal  
 Then the little animal said, “An animal that is small, something (Sp. *cosa* ‘thing’) that I will be able to finish eating.”
- L18 *tōmhé xāhan lyóon ntīiku / nthīchī dī tākā*  
 then CON:say lion old POT:see you:SG how  
*dī-ín / chī tūnkā-án ūī lhín / kwhīnō dī /*  
 POT:do-I CMP POT:hunt-I animal little POT:see you:SG  
*thika dīn dī*  
 thus POT:do you:SG  
 Then the old lion said, “You watch how I hunt a little animal, [and] you will see how to do it.”

- L19 *tōmhē lyóon chhātā né káhán ti / ntū áamá*  
 then lion big and POT:go it:AML with one  
*tāhá ti stāhā ti ūī lhín mí*  
 hand its:AML COM:grab it:AML animal little that  
 Then THE BIG LION jumped, [and] he grabbed the little animal WITH  
 ONE OF HIS PAWS.
- L20 *ōséa áamá kūchí chēeno lhín*  
 COM:be one pig mountain little  
 [It] was (Sp. *o sea* 'or perhaps [it] was') a small peccary.
- L21 *kāhá tī / chēhe dāyā ti*  
 COM:give it:AML POT:eat child its:AML  
 He gave [it] to his son to eat.
- L22 *tōmhē lhín mí né yēnó tāvī*  
 then little that and happy INTS  
 Then THE LITTLE [LION] was very happy.
- L23 *mūkū lūéko tūnkān áamá yhūdú chēeno / chī chēhe*  
 and soon COM:hunt one horse mountain CMP POT:eat  
*ntō ūvī ūī ntīku*  
 all two animal old  
 Then (Sp. *luego*) [he] hunted a deer for both old animals to eat.
- L24 *tōmhē yēnó tāvī kūnāhán ti*  
 then happy INTS POT:go:home it:AML  
 Then they went home very happily.
- L25 *tōmhē lhín mí dīn ti rēsivír*  
 then little that COM:do it:AML to:receive  
*kōnséxo yēhen chidā ti*  
 advice base father its:AML  
 Then THE LITTLE [LION] received (Sp. *recibir*) [some] advice (Sp.  
*consejo*) from his father.



- L26 *xāhan chīdā ti / xīi ti ūi / nākwéhe*  
 CON:say father its:AML CON:tell it:AML animal all  
*chī nūichu-h dīchhīvha chī chūhū-h ménos*  
 CMP POT:see-we:IN CON:be:good CMP POT:eat-we:IN except  
*ámá sáhan chī xūvī sā ānimál oombre*  
 one man CMP name his animal man  
 His father said to the animal, “ALL [THE ANIMALS] THAT WE SEE are good for us to eat except (Sp. *menos*) a man who is called animal-man (Sp. *animal, hombre*).
- L27 *sāhan mī né dīn tāvī dī / kwīdādo dī /*  
 man that and POT:do INTS you:SG care you:SG  
*kātē sáhan mī āstúto tāvī sā*  
 because man that sly INTS he  
 You must be very careful (Sp. *cuidado*) of THE MAN because HE is very sly (Sp. *astuto*).
- L28 *sáhan mī nī nkwá nthīchī sā /*  
 man that nor NEG POT:see he  
*né kāanhu sā chūhūnh*  
 and POT:kill he us:IN  
 THE MAN doesn't even (Sp. *ni* 'nor') [need to] see [us], and [yet] he can kill us.
- L29 *a chīnīvī sā vída yūhūn-h*  
 already POT:take:away he life base-our:IN  
 He will take away our lives (Sp. *vida*).”
- L30 *tōmhē xāhan lyóon lhín mí // ú né chhātā tāvī ú /*  
 then CON:say lion little that I and big INTS I  
*dītū tāvī ú / kāani tāvī ú /*  
 strong INTS I fast INTS I  
*mí dī-in dēsēáar chī nūch-í sáhan mī*  
 and POT:do-I to:desire CMP POT:see-I man that  
 Then the little lion said, “I am very big, [and] I'm very strong, [and] I'm very fast, and I want (Sp. *desear*) to see the man.”

- L31 *támá xūvī né dīn ti dēspēdīr*  
 next day and COM:do it:AML to:say:goodbye  
*yēhen víhī*  
 base companion  
 THE NEXT DAY, he said goodbye (Sp. *despedir*) to [his] parents.
- L32 *lyóon chhātā mí kwēhén ti áamá yūni*  
 lion big that COM:go it:AML one road  
 THE BIG LION went down one road.
- L33 *ūī nthātā mí kwēhén ti támá yūni*  
 animal woman that COM:go it:AML another road  
 THE FEMALE LION went down another road.
- L34 *ūī lhín stāhá ti támá yūni*  
 animal little COM:grab it:AML another road  
 THE LITTLE ANIMAL took [still] another road.
- L35 *ntāa ūī lhín mí nāchī*  
 COM:arrive animal little that place  
*kēné áamá ūīntū*  
 COM:be:located one cow  
 The little animal came to a place where there was a cow.
- L36 *tōmhé xāhán ti / xīi ti ūī / dōho dí*  
 then CON:say it:AML CON:tell it:AML animal who you:SG  
 Then he said to the animal, “Who are you?”
- L37 *á nkwá dī chí sáhan mī*  
 INT NEG you:SG CMP man that  
 Are YOU NOT the man?”
- L38 *nkwá ú / nāvākútāhá ti*  
 NEG I COM:reply it:AML  
 “Not I,” it replied. or “I am not [he],” it replied.
- L39 *sāhan mī ikūyatū sā ú*  
 man that CON:tie he me  
 “THE MAN ties me up.
- L40 *īdīn sā / chí íntha áamá khūu / chīntā mā yāhan*  
 CON:do he CMP CON:find one iron COM:drive SPEC ground  
 He finds an iron [and] drives [it] into the ground.

- L41 *sāhan mī āstúto tāvī sā*  
 man that sly INTS he  
 THE MAN is very sly.
- L42 *nī nkwá nākádīnō dī chī ntīchī dī sāhan /*  
 NOT NEG POT:think YOU:SG CMP POT:see YOU:SG man  
*kātē sāhan mī kāanhu sā dī*  
 because man that POT:kill he YOU:SG  
 Don't you even think about seeing the man because HE will kill you."
- L43 *kāntīí ti / kwēhēn ti*  
 COM:follow it:AML COM:go it:AML  
 He went on his way.
- L44 *ntāá ti nāchī kēné áamá yhūūdu*  
 COM:arrive it:AML place COM:be:located one horse  
 He came to a place where there was a horse.
- L45 *lō mīismo tēxūnā ti / dōho dī*  
 the same COM:ask it:AML who YOU:SG  
 He asked THE SAME (Sp. *lo mismo*) [QUESTION], "Who are you?"
- L46 *á nkwá dī chí sāhan mī*  
 INT NEG YOU:SG CMP man that  
 Are YOU NOT the man?"
- L47 *nāvākūtāha yhūudu mī / nkwá ú chí sāhan mī*  
 COM:reply horse that NEG I CMP man that  
 The horse answered, "I am NOT the man.
- L48 *sāhan mī né xā sā ú*  
 man that and CON:ride he me  
 THE MAN rides me.
- L49 *ikāndēd-í sāhan yāhān tāvī*  
 CON:carry-I man far INTS  
 I carry the man very far."
- L50 *lyóon né kāntīí ti / kwēhēn ti*  
 lion and COM:follow it:AML COM:go it:AML  
 THE LION went on his way.

- L51 *ntāá ti ámá lūgáar náchí ntāyāatu*  
 COM:arrive it:AML one place place COM:be:tied  
*ámá pāstóor*  
 one shepherd  
 He came to a place (Sp. *lugar*) where a shepherd (Sp. *pastor*) was tied up.
- L52 *sáhan mī né kyātú dūkū sáhan*  
 man that and COM:tie robber man  
 Robbers had tied up THE MAN.
- L53 *sáhan mī né dūkū sā ūī yēhen sā*  
 man that and COM:rob he animal base his  
 They stole HIS animals.
- L54 *tōmhē xáhan lyóon / xī ti sáhan / dōho dī*  
 then CON:say lion CON:tell it:AML man who you:SG  
 Then the lion said to the man, “Who are you?”
- L55 *á dī chī sáhan mī*  
 INT you:SG CMP man that  
 Are you the man?”
- L56 *tōmhē návākútāha sā mī / nkwá ú chī sáhan /*  
 then COM:reply he that NEG I CMP man  
*āmíko lyóon*  
 friend lion  
 Then he replied, “I am NOT the man; [but I] am the lion’s friend (Sp. *amigo*).
- L57 *sáhan mī chīkyāatū sā ú mūhūn*  
 man that ?:COM:tie he me here  
 THE MAN tied me here.
- L58 *nī nkwá nākádīnō dī chí nthīchī dī sáhan*  
 nor NEG POT:think you:SG CMP POT:see you:SG man  
 Don’t you even think about seeing the man!
- L59 *pērō ntūiti nēhen dī ámá fāvóor ntūk-ú /*  
 but if CON:want you:SG one favor with-me  
*nānthāti dī ú*  
 POT:untie you:SG me  
 But (Sp. *pero*) if you want to do a favor (Sp. *favor*) for me, untie me.

- L60 *ú né kūmh-í sāhan mī dí / káte mīniyūn*  
 I and POT:show-I man that you:SG because just:now  
*chōho sã*  
 COM:pass he  
 I will show you the man, because he JUST NOW passed by.”
- L61 *tōmhé nāvākútāha lyóon / nānthát-í dí mīniyūn /*  
 then COM:reply lion POT:untie-I you:SG just:now  
*né kēntánā dī*  
 and POT:follow you:SG  
 Then the lion replied, “I will untie you right now and you follow [me].”
- L62 *kūhūn-h / kātē ú nēh-én ntīch-í sāhan mī*  
 POT:go-we:IN because I CON:want-I POT:see-I man that  
 Let’s go because I want to see the man.”
- L63 *tōmhē lyóon ntūúku dīyhūn ti chikā ti /*  
 then lion with tooth its:AML COM:walk it:AML  
*chēhé ti hīiyu / mí nānthāá ti sāhan mī*  
 COM:eat it:AML rope and COM:untie it:AML man that  
 Then THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH, and he freed the man.
- L64 *kēnthā dī ú / kūhūn-h mā*  
 POT:follow you:SG me POT:go-we:IN now  
 “You follow me [and] let’s go now!”
- L65 *tōmhē kwēhēn sã ntúkū ti*  
 then COM:go he with it:AML  
 Then he went with the animal. *or* Then he and the animal went.
- L66 *ntāa sã nã ráāncho yēhen*  
 COM:arrive he face ranch base:UN  
 He arrived at his ranch (Sp. *rancho*).
- L67 *mī né a vá yān sã áamá thūuvi*  
 and and already CON:exist prepared he one trap  
*yēhen yáyan*  
 base coyote  
 He had already prepared a trap for the coyotes.
- L68 *nkāá ti / chí xēhé ti chivú yēhen sã*  
 COM:come it:AML CMP CON:eat it:AML goat base his  
 They came [and] ate his goats (Sp. *chivo*).

- L69 *tōmhé xāhán lyóon / xī ti sāhan /*  
 then CON:say lion CON:tell it:AML man  
*ú né kwīkū ú*  
 I and hungry I  
 Then the lion said to the man, “I am hungry.
- L70 *ntíūī nkwá kūmhī dī sāhan mī ú /*  
 if NEG POT:show you:SG man that me  
*chēh-é dī*  
 POT:eat-I you:SG  
 If you won’t show me the man, I will eat you.”
- L71 *tōmhē xāhan sā / xī sā ūī / ntíūī kwīkū dí /*  
 then CON:say he CON:tell he animal if hungry you:SG  
*chéhē dī ūī chī kēné mūhūn*  
 POT:eat you:SG animal CMP COM:be:located here  
 Then he said to the animal, “If you are hungry, then eat the animal that is here.”
- L72 *tōmhē chhīhīn sā thūuvi mī ūī /*  
 then COM:show he trap that animal  
*mī nīkéné áamá lūnchí*  
 and PERF:be:located one little:goat  
 Then he showed the trap to the animal, and there was a little goat.
- L73 *ūī mī kwīkū ti / kwēhēn ti / chēhē ti*  
 animal that hungry it:AML COM:go it:AML POT:eat it:AML  
*lūnchí mī*  
 little:goat that  
 THE ANIMAL was hungry, [and so] he went to eat the little goat.
- L74 *mī chī ntánū ti nā thūuvi mī*  
 and CMP COM:arrive:under it:AML face trap that  
 He jumped quickly into the trap.
- L75 *ānkūtá chī kādī nākēntāā ti*  
 never CMP POT:be:able POT:escape it:AML  
 He will NEVER be able to escape.
- L76 *sāhan mī kwēhen sā / kānēnkwāi sā īnkāātu yēhen*  
 man that COM:go he POT:bring he rifle base  
 THE MAN went to get [his] rifle.

- L77 *nākwēhēn sā / kāanhu sā lyóon mī*  
 COM:go he POT:kill he lion that  
 He was going to kill the lion.
- L78 *tōmhē xāhan lyóon mī / xīi ti sáhan /*  
 then CON:say lion that CON:tell it:AML man  
*nānchhākú ú yēhen vīida yēh-én*  
 POT:pardon me base life base-my  
 Then the lion said to the man, “Pardon me for my life’s sake.
- L79 *nkwá kāanhu di ú*  
 NEG POT:kill you:SG me  
 Don’t kill me.”
- L80 *tōmhē nāvākútāha sā mī / ntīi nkwá kān-hú dī /*  
 then COM:reply he that if NEG POT:kill-I you:SG  
*nākāntā-á dī / tōmhē chēhē di ú*  
 POT:let:go-I you:SG then POT:eat you:SG me  
 Then he answered, “If I don’t kill you [but] free you [instead], then you will eat me.
- L81 *dyóká nthāi kān-hú dī*  
 better good POT:kill-I you:SG  
 It is better to kill you.”
- L82 *tōmhē chhīinhu sā ūi*  
 then COM:kill he animal  
 Then he killed the animal.

## 7.2 The Story About the Locusts

This text was originally published in *Tlalocan* (Davis 1962).

- Lo0 *kwēntó yēhen lānkósta*  
 story base locust  
 The story (Sp. *cuento*) about the locusts (Sp. *langosta*)
- Lo1 *ntā áamá tyémpo áamá kwīkū dán chí kēnū*  
 COM:arrive one time one hunger strong CMP COM:be:inside  
 A time (Sp. *tiempo*) came when there was a great famine.

- Lo2 *vāa tá ūuvi īnthī tá yāan mī chí vá*  
 CON:exist she two old she land that CMP CON:exist  
*ámá dāyá ya sáhan*  
 one child person man  
 There were two old women in a town who [each] had a son.
- Lo3 *vá tāvī nínú yēhen sā / mīkú chākū sā*  
 CON:exist INTS corn base his and mother his  
*xēhén ya / xīkā ya nínú sáhan xūvī xūvī*  
 CON:go person CON:ask person corn man day day  
 [One of the men] had a lot of corn and HIS MOTHER would go [and]  
 ask him for corn every day.
- Lo4 *mīkú vá ámá xūvī chí chí dāanthi sā hīyan*  
 and CON:exist one day CMP COM:be lazy he person  
 But there was one day when he became lazy.
- Lo5 *nthīichi sá hīyan chí kūchiī ya*  
 COM:see he person CMP COM:come person  
 He saw the person who was coming [to his house].
- Lo6 *tōmhé xāmé xāhan sā / xī sā / ú kāh-án /*  
 then ? CON:say he CON:tell he I POT:go-I  
*kūnūntēh-é chētē vāha nāchī vá nínú / mīkú*  
 POT:hide-I stomach house place CON:exist corn and  
*kúchī dī chāk-ú chí nkwā-á vāha*  
 POT:tell you:SG mother-my CMP NEG:CON:exist-I house  
 Then he said, “I am going to hide in the corn crib (lit. house where  
 there is corn), and you tell my mother that I am not home.”
- Lo7 *mī sáhan kwēhen sā / kūnūntēhe sā nā vāha*  
 and man COM:go he POT:hide he face house  
*chī vá nínú*  
 CMP CON:exist corn  
 So THE MAN went to hide in the corn crib.
- Lo8 *tómhé chākū sā ūēxúná yá sáhan / tīín kwēhen*  
 then mother his CON:ask person man where COM:go  
*dāy-á / kātē téché sá nínú ú*  
 child-my because POT:give he corn me  
 Then HIS MOTHER asked [about] the man, “Where did my son go  
 because he is going to give me [some] corn.”



- Lo9 *míkú tōmhē xāhan táhan sā mī / kwéhén ne /*  
 and then CON:say woman his that IMP:go you:RES  
*míkú kāmā chíī ne*  
 and soon POT:COME you:RES  
 Then his wife said, "Go, and return soon.
- Lo10 *nēhēn chí nántā sā*  
 meanwhile CMP COM:return he  
 Meanwhile he will have returned."
- Lo11 *míkú ínthī tā mī kūnāhān ya*  
 and old she that POT:go:home person  
 Then THE OLD WOMAN went home.
- Lo12 *táchí ūuvi nāá kūnāhán ya / tōmhē táhan mī*  
 when two ? POT:go:home person then woman that  
*chēhen tá / nāvhān tá vāha nāchī kēnúū sá*  
 COM:go she COM:open she house place COM:be:inside he  
 A short time after she went home, THE WOMAN went [and] opened  
 the building where he was.
- Lo13 *ní túnú chhākū ntīi*  
 until much sound there  
 There was a tremendous noise.
- Lo14 *kānthāa lānkōstā chhēn*  
 COM:follow locust that:PL  
 Many locusts came out.
- Lo15 *chhínú chēhé ti sáhan*  
 COM:finish COM:eat it:AML man  
 They had completely eaten the man.
- Lo16 *ā dāmāa íní sá kēntítí sá /*  
 already only bone his COM:lie:down he  
*chī nkwá kāha sā nínú chākū sā*  
 CMP NEG COM:give he corn mother his  
 ONLY HIS SKELETON was lying [there] because he did not give his  
 mother corn.

## 7.3 The Story About a Woman

This text was originally published in *Tlalocan* (Davis 1962).

- w0 *ámá kwēntó yēhen ámá nthātā chí chhēno*  
 one story base one woman CMP COM:happen  
 A story (Sp. *cuento*) about a woman which happened or A true story  
 about a woman
- w1 *chēhēn tá / nāa tā / mīkū chí kwīkū tāvī tá /*  
 COM:go she POT:wash she and COM:be hungry INTS she  
*mīkū nkwá chīnāhān tā / chēhe tā lūéko*  
 and NEG COM:go:home she POT:eat she soon  
 A woman went to wash [clothes] and she became very hungry, but  
 she didn't go home to eat right away (Sp. *luego*).
- w2 *mīkū dátāachī chí chīnūnāa tā / amtá kwīku tā*  
 and ?:when CMP COM:?:wash she no:longer hungry she  
 When she finished washing, she was no longer hungry.
- w3 *mīkū nāntāa tāntōho nīnī xūvī kwāxīvī /*  
 and COM:return meanwhile eight day after  
*kēntá xūvī yēhēn tā tāchī lóka tā*  
 ?:COM:arrive day base her when crazy she  
 Meanwhile (Sp. *tanto*), after eight days had passed, the day came  
 when she was crazy (Sp. *loca*).
- w4 *tāchīn chīnkāha chí nīxéen yēhen tā chí lóka tā /*  
 when COM:begin CMP COM:appear base her CMP crazy she  
*chīnkāha hīyūn tā*  
 COM:begin CON:laugh she  
 When it began to show that she was crazy, she began to laugh.
- w5 *hīyun tāvī tá*  
 CON:laugh INTS she  
 She laughed wildly.
- w6 *mīkū tāchī īnthūī tá / xīdākā tāvī tīin tā*  
 and when CON:lie:down she CON:tangle INTS head her  
 Whenever she lay down, her hair would get very tangled.

w7 *mīkū tāchī chāku tá hīya ntúku āséite /*  
 and when mother her CON:comb with oil

*īnādīdaūn ya / vēná ntūvē /*  
 CON:make:smooth person before POT:turn:around

*dákā tāvī tūun*  
 tangled INTS again

Whenever HER MOTHER combed [her hair] with oil (Sp. *aceite*) [and] smoothed [it], before [she] could turn around [it] was very tangled again.

w8 *mīkū kādā hīyan chī xéhén ya / yāvhi ya*  
 and each person CMP CON:go person CON:greet person

*tāhan / thīkā īnāntāchī tá tīnó yēhén ya*  
 woman thus CON:vomit:repeatedly she cloth base person

As for everyone (Sp. *cada* ‘each’) who goes [and] visits the woman, she vomits on their clothes.

w9 *tōmhē chākū tá chēhen ya / nhūan yá*  
 then mother her COM:go person POT:hunt person

*ámá kwáa / chī nādīxikū sā tāhan*  
 one shaman CMP POT:heal he woman

Then HER MOTHER went to find a shaman to heal the woman.

w10 *mīkú tōmhē nāntuvā yēhen tā*  
 and then COM:be:healed base she  
 Then she got well.

#### 7.4 The Story About a Ghost

This text was originally published in *Tlalocan* (Davis 1962).

G0 *ámá kwénto yēhen tá ntīyū chí chí*  
 one story base she ghost CMP COM:be

A story (Sp. *cuento*) about a ghost that happened or A true story about a ghost

G1 *ámá sāhan chī ntúkū sā ūuvi nthāta*  
 one man CMP with him two woman

[There was] a man who [had] two wives.

- G2 *ámá xūvī kwēhen sá ntūvā / mí xāhan sā / xī sā*  
 one day COM:go he Oaxaca and CON:say he CON:tell he  
*nthāta yēhen sā chī kwēnō tá sāhān rānchō chhātā*  
 woman base his CMP POT:wait she man ranch big  
 ONE DAY he went to the city of Oaxaca, and he told his wife to wait  
 for him at the big ranch (Sp. *rancho*).
- G3 *mīkū táhan mī kēnú dāanthi nāá tá*  
 and woman that COM:be:inside lazy face her  
 But THE WOMAN was lazy.
- G4 *nkwá tīmīkūun tá chēhen tá / chēno tá sāhan*  
 NEG COM:want she COM:go she COM:wait she man  
*rānchō chhātā*  
 ranch big  
 She did not want to go and wait for him at the big ranch.
- G5 *mí sāhan khu ākū sā chī táhan mī vā tá /*  
 and man this CON:think he CMP woman that CON:exist she  
*vēnō tá sāhan nīnū nā rānchō chhātā*  
 CON:wait she man near face ranch big  
 THE MAN thought that THE WOMAN was waiting for him at the big  
 ranch.
- G6 *tāchī ntāa sā / tōmhē xāhan tā /*  
 when COM:arrive he then CON:say she  
*xī tá sāhan / dēhe chúka nhā dī*  
 CON:tell she man why much late you:SG  
 When he arrived, she said to him, “Why are you so late?”
- G7 *ā vena vén-é dí mūhūn*  
 already before CON:wait-I you:SG here  
 I have been waiting A LONG TIME for you here.”
- G8 *mīkū ntāi tá tūhū / ntāi tá yūuntu /*  
 and COM:bring she chicken COM:bring she tortilla  
*ntāi tá xādē chī kāhan tá*  
 COM:bring she tepache CMP COM:give she  
*chī kūhu sā / chēhe sā*  
 CMP POT:drink he POT:eat he  
 Then she brought [out] chicken, tortillas, [and] tepache (an alcoholic  
 beverage), which she gave [him] to eat and drink.

- G9 *pērō tāchí kwēhēn sā / kwhīntī sā / chēhē sā yūuntu /*  
 but when COM:go he POT:sit he POT:eat he tortilla

*yúta mī nkwá chīnúu xīima*  
 meat that NEG COM:be:found salt

But (Sp. *pero*) when he went to sit down [and] eat, he found that THE MEAT was not salted.

- G10 *tōmhē xāhan sā / dēhe kūvī chī*  
 then CON:say he why POT:be:possible CMP

*nkwá nthīī dī xīima yútā khu*  
 NEG COM:put you:SG salt meat this

He said, “Why is it possible that you didn’t put [any] salt on the meat?”

- G11 *mīkū inānkáká sá nā sīrvyētá yēhen sā*  
 and CON:remember he face napkin base his

*kēnē tālhin xīima*  
 COM:be:located some salt

Then he remembered that he had some salt IN HIS HANDKERCHIEF (Sp. *servilleta* ‘napkin’).

- G12 *tōmhē chēhēn sā / chítáhā sā / mīkū chhīī sā*  
 then COM:go he COM:take he and COM:put he

*xīimá yútā mī*  
 salt meat that

Then he took [the salt] and he salted the meat.

- G13 *tōmhē nthīchī sā chī nthātā míī nāvākūntāā ya*  
 then COM:see he CMP woman that COM:turn:into person

*kú / mīkū yúta mī nāvākūntāā yáhán tōo /*  
 snake and meat that COM:turn:into wood rotten

*míkú yūuntu mī nāvākūntāā yāata intēhē /*  
 and tortilla that COM:turn:into leaf oak

*mīkū xādē mī nāvākūntāā nūnī yāhan*  
 and tepache that COM:turn:into water dirty

Then he saw that THE WOMAN turned into a snake, and THE MEAT turned into rotten wood, and THE TORTILLAS turned into oak leaves, and THE TEPACHE turned into muddy water.

- G14 *míkú kú mí kwēhén ti*  
 and snake that COM:go it:AML  
 Then THE SNAKE went [away].
- G15 *nkwá tūné sá ūī / chī chhīnhu sā ūī*  
 NEG COM:catch he animal CMP COM:kill he animal  
 He could not catch the animal to kill it.
- G16 *mīkū sáhan mī nāváyūune sā*  
 and man that COM:go:home he  
 Then THE MAN went home.
- G17 *mīkū tāchī nāntāa sa /*  
 and when COM:return he  
  
*ykēnū nthātā yēhen sā vāha*  
 COM:be:inside woman base his house  
 And when he arrived, his wife was [already] at the house.
- G18 *nkwá tāhan mī chī nthíchī sā / sīnō tá ntīiyu*  
 NEG woman that CMP COM:see he but she ghost  
 It was NOT THE WOMAN whom he saw, but (Sp. *sino*) [he saw] a ghost.

### 7.5 Residue

There are several sentences in the preceding texts that are not accounted for by the constructions described in this study. For various reasons they are somewhat difficult to analyze, and no satisfactory analysis for them has been presented here. These sentences are: L28, Lo1, Lo2, Lo13, Lo16, W3, W10, and G1.