STUDIES IN THE SYNTAX OF MIXTECAN LANGUAGES

Volume 2

Edited by

C. Henry Bradley and Barbara E. Hollenbach

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Studies in the
Syntax of Mixtecan Languages
Volume 2

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

Publication 90

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Preface

The present volume constitutes the second installment of a set for which four volumes are projected. It contains syntactic sketches of two distinct Mixtec languages.

The first language included in this volume is Ayutla Mixtec, a member of the Southern Lowlands grouping, located in the extreme southwestern part of the Mixtec area in the state of Guerrero. It is one of the few Mixtec languages that have retained glottal stop in word-final position.

The second is Coatzospan Mixtec, a member of the Northern Highlands grouping of Mixtec languages. It is located at the extreme northeastern tip of the Mixtec area, virtually surrounded by speakers of Cuicatec (another Mixtecan language) and Mazatec (a language in the Popolocan family of Otomanguean). Coatzospan Mixtec shows a number of differences from the Highland Mixtec dialects that are geographically closest to it, and some of these differences may reflect influence from the neighboring languages.

These sketches follow the same outline and format as those in Volume 1 (Bradley and Hollenbach 1988).[1] They present the structure of Mixtec with minimum attention to theory. Over half of the space in each sketch is devoted to examples, and, at the end, each sketch includes an indigenous version of the tar-baby story as a sample text in the language. Further background information about these sketches can be found in the Preface and Introduction to Volume 1.

BEH
February 1990

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[1]Bradley, C. Henry and Barbara E. Hollenbach (eds). 1988. Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages 1. Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics 83. Dallas.

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Abbreviations

ADD	additive	INTS	intensifier
AFF	affirmative	KNO	known object
AML	animal	LIM	limiter
an	animate	LIQ	liquid
CAUS	causative	lit.	literally
CEX	contrary to expectation	ME	male ego
cf.	compare	MS	man speaking
CF	contrafactual	NEG	negative
CMP	complementizer	OBL	obligatory
COL	collocative	PL	plural
COM	completive	POT	potential
CON	continuative	PROC	process
DER	derivational	reg. sp.	regional Spanish
DIM	diminutive	REP	repetitive
DIR	directional	RES	respect
EMPH	emphatic	RSN	resigned
EX	exclusive	SG	singular
FE	female ego	Sp.	Spanish
GEN	general	SPEC	specifier
HAB	habitual	SPH	spherical
HORT	hortatory	subj	subject
IMP	imperative	UN	unspecified third person
IN	inclusive	WOD	wood
INAN	inanimate	WS	woman speaking
INC	incompletive	?	gloss unknown
INT	interrogative		

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A Syntactic Sketch of
Ayutla Mixtec

Robert A. Hills

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Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Ayutla Mixtec is spoken by approximately 5,000 people living mainly in the outlying settlements of the municipal center, Ayutla de los Libres, Guerrero, Mexico. Within this dialect area there is no significant dialectal variation. Ayutla is located approximately one hundred kilometers east of the Mexico City–Acapulco highway and forty kilometers north of the western coastal highway. It is connected by paved road to each highway.

A number of the Mixtec villages have primary schools, an increasing number of Mixtec children attend high school in Ayutla, and a few have progressed to post–high school education. Before the mid 1970s only a few had left the area, but the number has been increasing since then. Mixtec is learned as a first language in most of the homes, except in the village of Tepango, where more than half of the children are exposed to Spanish within their families.

I began my field studies of this language in January of 1972. The first three years were spent in Tepango. On two occasions I have lived in Coapinola, a centrally located village within the dialect area. I have also lived three years in Ayutla with daily exposure to native speakers of Mixtec.

This sketch is based on data gathered from the inception of my fieldwork in 1972. Armando Jiménez Flores, from Tepango, served as the first principal language associate; he was about twenty-nine years old when the sketch was in early draft. The text in chapter 7 was first written by him in Mixtec and later recorded on tape; the version given is a transcription of the recording.

I am indebted to thirty-five-year-old Pedro Basilio García of Tepango. He has a unique sensitivity to his langange and has made a valuable

contribution to the final draft. All statements and data have been thoroughly checked with him.

Special mention must be given to Leo Pankratz, my former colleague, who was the first to study Ayutla Mixtec. I have greatly benefited from his field notes and from texts which he gathered and compiled in 1968 into a concordance on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, supported in part by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

0.2 Phonology

Ayutla Mixtec has the following consonants: voiceless stops *p t ty k ky kw;* prenasalized voiced stops *mb nd ndy ng ngw;* fricatives *v s sy sh x;* nasals *m n ny ñ;* lateral *l;* flap *r;* and semivowel *y.* Of these, *p ky mb ng ngw sy x m* are rare.

There are four series of vowels: plain vowels *i e a o u;* vowels checked by glottal stop *ih eh ah oh uh;* nasalized vowels *in an un;* and nasalized vowels checked by glottal stop *inh anh unh.*

There are three tones: high (written with acute accent), mid (written with macron), and low (unmarked). In certain specialized constructions, a sequence of two tones occurs on a single vowel, in which case the vowel is doubled to provide a segment on which to mark the second tone. Note that this doubling does not indicate length. Tone sandhi is moderate, and the forms written in this sketch show the underlying tones, before the application of sandhi rules. The phonology of Ayutla Mixtec is described more fully in Pankratz and Pike (1967).

0.3 Bibliography

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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 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 a peripheral location and/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 senten-
tial complement within another sentence.

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

> *tāan*
> CON:quake
> 'There is an earthquake.'

> *kītuh*
> POT:dawn
> 'It will dawn.'

ni   nihi
COM rumble
'It rumbled.'

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

kutu   eh
POT:weed we:IN
'We will weed.'

kwashi   ah
CON:come   she
'She is coming.'

kīshí   a
CON:sleep   he:RES
'He is sleeping.'

sutyāh   rih
POT:swim   it:AML
'It will swim.'

ndīkó   rah
CON:cool   it:LIQ
'It is cooling.'

(See also 7.2, 7.5, 7.17, 7.18, 7.40, and many others.)

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

shīhīh   rih   tikwī
CON:drink   it:AML   water
'It is drinking water.'

ni   nahi   ra   ndushīh
COM take:SG   he   hen
'He took the hen.'

>   ni   ndaku   ra   yuvāh ra
>   COM resemble he   father his
>   'He resembled his father.'[1]

>   (See also 7.1, 7.2, 7.5, 7.32, 7.39, and many others.)

Some transitive verbs permit the object to be unexpressed because it is understood from the context, as seen by comparing the following pair of sentences.

>   chīhīh   ra
>   CON:plant he
>   'He is planting.'

>   chīhīh   ra   nduchīh
>   CON:plant he   bean
>   'He is planting beans.'

1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, referent, instrument, and associative. Adjuncts are frequently expressed by an adverbial noun phrase or a prepositional phrase (see 3.5 and 4.3), which follows 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.

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

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative noun *ndahāh* 'hand' is used whenever an object is being transferred directly from hand to hand; and *nūuh* 'face' is used elsewhere, such as when a bulky or abstract object is being transferred, when the human source or goal gives or receives the object indirectly, or when the source or goal is an animal.

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[1]Ayutla 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 *ndahāh:*

> *tāshīh   i   tutu   ndahāh sihīh   ah*
> CON:give   I   paper   hand   mother   her
> 'I am giving the paper to her mother.'

> *kīhīnh   sihīh   ah   tutu   ndahāh   i*
> CON:get   mother   her   paper   hand   my
> 'Her mother is receiving the paper from me.'

> *nāhīh   ra shuhūnh ndahāh   ikwān*
> CON:take:SG   he money   hand   John
> 'He is taking money from John (Sp. *Juan*).'

> *ni   shakwīhnāh   ra tutu   ndahāh   i*
> COM   COM:steal   he paper   hand   my
> 'He stole the paper from me.'

With *nūuh:*

> *satātū   ra   mbūrū   nūuh yūhu*
> POT:lend   he   donkey   face my
> 'He will lend the donkey (Sp. *burro*) to me.'

> *ni   tatu   ra tēi   nūuh   ikwān*
> COM   borrow   he chair   face   John
> 'He borrowed the chair from John.'

> *ni   tashi ra   kwēntō vaha   nūuh   pēgrū*
> COM   give he   word   good   face   Peter
> 'He gave advice (Sp. *cuento* 'story') to Peter (Sp. *Pedro*).'

> *nāhīh   ra shuhūnh nūuh   sīhe   ikwān*
> CON:take:SG   he money   face   child John
> 'He is taking money (indirectly) from John's children.'

> *satah   chi   nūnih   nūuh ra*
> POT:buy   she:RES   corn:kernel   face   his
> 'She will buy corn (indirectly) from him.'

shikoh	*chi*	*nūnih*	*nūuh*	*ra*
POT:sell	she:RES	corn:kernel	face	his

'She will sell corn (indirectly) to him.'

tāshīh	*ikwān*	*itya*	*nūuh*	*mbūrū*
CON:give	John	grass	face	donkey

'John is giving the grass to the donkey.'

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct is usually expressed by a place name or by an adverbial basic noun phrase. This adjunct usually indicates destination.

kwāhan	*ra*	*yahvi*
CON:go	he	market

'He is going to market.'

kishi	*ah*	*itya*
POT:come	she	river

'She will come to the river.'

kūhun	*ra*	*shāhah*	*ikūh*
POT:go	he	foot	mountain

'He will go to the foot of the mountain.'

(See also 7.27 and 7.32.)

The adjunct may be omitted to mark motion with no specific destination.

kwāhan	*ra*
CON:go	he

'He is going.'

kishi	*ra*
POT:come	he

'He will come.'

With the verbs *keta* 'to leave (singular)', *kie* 'to leave (plural)', *kunu* 'to flee', and a few others, the locative adjunct indicates source.

ni	*keta*	*pēgrū*	*tepāngō*
COM	leave:SG	Peter	Tepango

'Peter left Tepango.'

> kunu   pēgrū   tepāngō
> POT:flee   Peter   Tepango
> 'Peter will flee from Tepango.'

To express source with a verb that takes destination, a sentence combination using one of these verbs in the first part must be employed (see 6.1.1).

With intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct indicates location, and it is usually expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase.

> nāá   shuhūnh   tishin   vihe
> CON:be:inside:SG   money   stomach   house
> 'The money is inside the house.'

> kānūh   tōto   nūuh   yūuh
> CON:be:upon:SG   cloth   face   stone
> 'The cloth is lying on the rock.'

With transitive verbs that express placement, the locative adjunct follows the object. As with position verbs, the adjunct is expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase.

> tāanh   ra shuhūnh tishin   shātunh
> CON:put:inside:PL   he money   stomach   box
> 'He is putting the money into the box.'

> ni   chindūhuh   ah   tōto nūuh yivih
> COM   lay:down:SG she   cloth face   palm:mat
> 'She put the cloth on the sleeping mat.'

> kani   a   nduyu shāhah   itūnh
> POT:place:standing:SG he:RES   post   foot   tree
> 'He will stand the post at the tree trunk.'

(See also 7.5, 7.16, 7.27, 7.29, and 7.33.)

The referent adjunct is marked either by the locative nouns shāhah 'foot' or kwēntā 'account' (Sp. cuenta), both used in this construction to mean 'on behalf of' or 'with reference to', or by the preposition shūnh 'with', used in this construction to mean 'with reference to'.

With *shāhah:*

> *shāhnih   ra   pēgrū   shāhah   ñani   ra*
> CON:kill   he   Peter   foot   brother:ME his
> 'He is killing Peter for his brother.'

> *sachūūnh   ndūhu   shāhah   sīhe   ndūhu*
> POT:work   we:EX:EMPH   foot   child   our:EX:EMPH
> 'We will work for our children.'

> *ni   kihin   ra   shuhūnh   shāhah   nūnih*
> COM   get   he   money   foot   corn:kernel
> 'He received money for the corn.'

> *kāhán   pēgrū   shāhah   vihe   unh*
> CON:speak   Peter   foot   house   your:SG
> 'Peter is speaking about your house.'

> *kāhán   pēgrū   kwēntā   te   chūūnh*
> CON:speak   Peter   account   his   worklike
> 'Peter is speaking on behalf of the president.'

With *shīīnh:*

> *kētāh   vaha ra   shūnh   ñuhūh*
> CON:leave:SG   good he   with   earth
> 'He is lucky with reference to the land.'

(See also 7.14, 7.22, 7.23, and 7.24.)

The instrument adjunct takes the preposition *shīīnh* 'with', which also occurs with referent adjuncts. The instrument adjunct follows subject, object, and locative adjuncts. (Some impingement verbs, however, combine with an instrument noun to form a complex verb nucleus [see 2.1.1].)

> *ni   shahnih   ikwān   kīni   shūnh   chīlō*
> COM   COM:kill   John   pig   with   knife
> 'John killed the pig with a knife (Sp. *cuchillo*).'

> ndātāh   ra   tutūnh   shūnh   yāchā
> CON:split he   firewood   with   ax
> 'He is splitting the firewood with an ax (Sp. *hacha*).'

(See also 7.3, 7.8, and 7.10.)

The associative adjunct takes the preposition *shūnh* 'with', which is also used with referent and instrument adjuncts. This adjunct has two uses: one adds an extra participant to some other element in the sentence, and the other one indicates the addressee with verbs of speech.

In the first use, it can add a participant to subject, object, or some other adjunct, but it is far more common with subject than with any other element. An associative adjunct doubling the subject of a transitive sentence usually follows the object, but it may precede it. The participant that is added by means of this adjunct is less prominent in the discourse than the other participant. Also, verbs with inherent number for subject or object (see 5.1.1) invariably agree with the first noun phrase, not with the combination of the two.

Expanding subject:

> ni   ndava pēgrū   shūnh   lālū
> COM   run:SG Peter   with   Larry
> 'Peter ran with Larry (Sp. *Lauro*).'

> kishi   sūtu   shūnh   pēgrū
> POT:come   priest with   Peter
> 'The priest will come with Peter.'

> yīhvī   pēgrū   shūnh   ra
> CON:be:afraid   Peter   with   him
> 'Peter is afraid, along with him.'

> shīshīh   ra nduchīh   shūnh   yūhu
> CON:eat   he bean   with   me:EMPH
> 'He is eating beans with me.'

> shīshīh   ra shūnh   yūhu   nduchīh
> CON:eat   he with   me:EMPH   bean
> 'He is eating beans with me.'

> *kūhun pēgrū yahvi shūnh ikwān*
> POT:go Peter market with John
> 'Peter will go to the market with John.'

> *kūhun pēgrū shūnh ikwān yahvi*
> POT:go Peter with John market
> 'Peter will go to the market with John.'

> *shāchūūnh pēgrū shūnh bētō shāhah lālū*
> CON:work Peter with Bob foot Larry
> 'Peter is working with Bob (Sp. *Beto*) for Larry.'

> *shāchūūnh pēgrū shāhah lālū shūnh bētō*
> CON:work Peter foot Larry with Bob
> 'Peter is working with Bob for Larry.'

Expanding object:

> *ni nahi ah ndushīh shūnh ndīvih*
> COM take:SG she chicken with egg
> 'She took a chicken, along with eggs.'

> *ni satah ra yahāh shūnh ūnh*
> COM buy he chili with salt
> 'He bought chilies, along with salt.'

> *chīhīh ra nūnih shūnh nduchīh*
> CON:plant he corn:kernel with bean
> 'He is planting corn along with beans.'

(See also 7.30.)

Expanding locative adjunct:

> *tashi i tutu ndahāh ah shūnh ndahāh*
> POT:give I paper hand her with hand
> 'I will give the paper to her, along with

> *sihīh ah*
> mother her
> her mother.'

> *ni* *tatu* *ra* *tēi* *nūuh* *ikwān* *shūnh*
> COM borrow he chair face John with
> 'He borrowed the chairs from John

> *nūuh* *yūhu*
> face my:EMPH
> as well as me.'

> *kwāhan* *ra* *vihe* *sūtu* *shūnh* *yukūnh*
> CON:go he house priest with church
> 'He is going to the priest's house and also to the church.'

> *ni* *taanh* *ra* *shuhūnh* *tishin* *shātunh*
> COM put:inside:PL he money stomach box
> 'He put the money into the box

> *shūnh* *tishin* *kaa*
> with stomach metal
> as well as the tin can.'

Expanding referent adjunct:

> *kahnih* *ra* *pēgrū* *shāhah* *ñani* *ra*
> POT:kill he Peter foot brother:ME his
> 'He will kill Peter for his

> *shūnh* *shāhah* *kuhva* *ra*
> with foot sister:ME his
> brother as well as for his sister.'

Expanding instrument adjunct:

> *ndātāh* *ra* *tutūnh* *shūnh* *yāchā*
> CON:split he firewood with ax
> 'He is splitting the firewood with an ax,

> *shūnh* *īchi*
> with machete
> along with a machete.'

When the associative adjunct is used to add an extra participant, both participants must relate to the predication within a common time frame.

For example, in the first sentence showing a doubled subject, Peter and Larry must have been seen running at the same time; this sentence would be incorrect if Peter was seen running on a different day than Larry. Also, in the second sentence showing a doubled object, chili and salt would have to be bought at the same transaction. When this condition is not met, it is necessary to use a sentence combination to add extra participants (see 6.1.1).

The second use of the associative adjunct is to express the addressee with verbs of speech.

> *ni   kāhan   te   chūūnh   shūnh   bētō*
> COM speak   he   worklike   with   Bob
> 'The president spoke to Bob.'

> *ndātūhūnh chi   shūnh   ra*
> CON:chat   she:RES   with   him
> 'She is chatting with him.'

> *sakānh ni   kāchi   ra   shūnh   i*
> thus   COM   say   he   with   me
> 'Thus he said to me.'

(See also 7.14, 7.18, 7.19, and 7.32.)

It is not possible to have more than one associative adjunct in a single sentence.

A sentence rarely has more than three noun or prepositional phrase constituents. The text in chapter 7, for example, contains no sentences with four or more constituents beside the verb phrase. It is more natural to divide the material into two or more sentences than to complicate one sentence.

1.1.5 Equative sentences. Equative sentences parallel transitive sentences in their structure: they consist of an equative verb, a subject, and a nominal complement. The verbs that occur in equative sentences are limited to *kunduu* 'to be equal', *kunanīh* 'to be named', and, less frequently, *nanduu* 'to be transformed'.

> *ni   ndūu   marīā   ñā   sīhī   ra*
> COM   COM:be:equal   Mary   she   female   his
> 'Mary (Sp. *María*) was his wife.'

kunanīh   *ra   ikwān*
POT:be:named   he John
'He will be named John.'

nanduu   *rah*   *kashin*
POT:be:transformed it:LIQ   ice
'It will change into ice.'

Equative sentences occasionally take an associative adjunct.

ni   ndūu   pēgrū shūnh ikwān te   chūūnh
COM COM:be:equal Peter with   John   he   worklike
'Peter was mayor with John.'

1.1.6 Stative sentences. The minimal form of a stative sentence consists of a stative verb and its subject. All such sentences are factual statements and continuative in meaning.

vīshāh tōto
wet   cloth
'The cloth is wet.'

ndatunh   sahmāh
pretty   tortilla:cloth
'The tortilla cloth is pretty.'

āsinh   māngō
delicious   mango
'The mango (Sp. *mango*) is delicious.'

kwāān   saa
yellow   bird
'The bird is yellow.'

kūtuh   yohōh
tight   rope
'The rope is tight.'

(See also 7.23.)

The intransitive verb *koo* 'to exist' may be used to link the stative verb and the subject; it denotes external states.

> vīshāh yōō   tōto
> wet   CON:exist cloth
> 'The cloth is wet.'

> āsinh   ni   yōo   māngŏ
> delicious COM COM:exist mango
> 'The mango was delicious.'

> ndāhvī ni   yōo   ra
> poor   COM   COM:exist he
> 'He was poorly dressed.'

> kwīē koo   ra
> slow POT:exist he
> 'He will be methodical.'

> ndatunh yōō   ah
> pretty   CON:exist she
> 'She is beautifully dressed.'

The intransitive verb *kuu* 'to be (inherently)' may be also used to link the stative verb and the subject; it denotes internal states.

> ndāhvī ni   kuu   ra
> poor   COM   be:inherently he
> 'He was a humble person.'

> kwīē kuu   ra
> slow POT:be:inherently he
> 'He will be a prudent person.'

> ndatunh kūūh   ah
> pretty   CON:be:inherently she
> 'She has a beautiful disposition.'

Subjective states are expressed in two ways. To express a state with a reasonable degree of certainty, the stative verb is followed by *kāāh* 'to appear (singular)' or *ūnh* 'to appear (plural)'. These two verbs occur only in continuative and completive aspects.

> *ndatunh   ni   kāa   ah*
> pretty   COM   COM:appear:SG   she
> 'Apparently she was pretty.'

(See also 7.22.)

> *āsinh   ni   kāa   māngō*
> delicious   COM   COM:appear:SG   mango
> 'Apparently the mango was delicious.'

> *ndatunh   ūnh   nya*
> pretty   CON:appear:PL   they
> 'Apparently they are pretty.'

> *āsinh   ūnh   māngō*
> delicious   CON:appear:PL   mango
> 'Apparently the mangos are delicious.'

In order to express a state with greater degree of uncertainty, the stative verb is followed by *kuni* 'to appear'.

> *vīshāh   ni   kuni   tōto*
> wet   COM   appear   cloth
> 'The cloth appeared to be wet.'

> *kwāān   kuni   ah*
> yellow   POT:appear   she
> 'She may be fair (light colored).'

> *ndatunh   kūnī   sahmāh*
> pretty   CON:appear   tortilla:cloth
> 'The tortilla cloth appears to be pretty.'

A quantifier or quantifier phrase sometimes occurs as the predicate of a stative sentence.

> *ūni   tāhān   kūūh   rih*
> three   of:group:PL   CON:be:inherently   it:AML
> 'There are three animals.'

Stative sentences occasionally take an associative adjunct.

chīe   pēgrū   shīīnh   ikwān
big:SG   Peter   with   John
'Peter is big, along with John.'

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, adverb phrases (see 4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see 3.5), prepositional phrases (see 4.3), or subordinate sentences (see 6.2). Peripheral elements follow subject, object, and adjuncts. When time and location cooccur, time follows location.

Time:

taan   nūnūh
POT:quake   later:today
'There will be an earthquake soon.'

ni   ndīko   rah   iku
COM   cool   it:LIQ   yesterday
'It cooled yesterday.'

sachūūnh   ra   shāhah   sīhe   ra   īsā
POT:work   he   foot   child   his   day:after:tomorrow
'He will work for his children the day after tomorrow.'

ni   satah   ah   shītah   shāhah   shīmānā
COM   buy   she   tortilla foot   week
'She bought tortillas at the beginning of the week (Sp. *semana*).'

kunanīh   ra   ikwān   mahīh   shīmānā
POT:be:named   he   John   in:middle:of   week
'He will be named John in the middle of the week.'

ndatunh   kuu   ah   nūuh   shīmānā
pretty   POT:be:inherently   she   face   week
'She will have a beautiful disposition at the end of the week.'

(See also 7.19.)

Location:

> *taan   shīkāh*
> POT:quake   far
> 'There will be an earthquake far away.'

> *ni   ndīko   rah   kihe*
> COM   cool   it:LIQ   outside
> 'It cooled outside.'

> *nāá   shuhūnh   tishin   shātunh   kihe*
> CON:be:inside:SG   money   stomach   box   outside
> 'The money is outside in the box.'

> *sachūūnh   ra   shāhah   sīhe   ra   yahvi*
> POT:work   he   foot   child   his   market
> 'He will work for his children at the market.'

> *ni   satah   ah   shītah   shātah   vihe*
> COM   buy   she   tortilla   back   house
> 'She bought tortillas at the back of the house.'

> *kunanīh   ra   ikwān   tishin   yukūnh*
> POT:be:named   he   John   stomach   church
> 'He will be named John in the church.'

> *kwīē   kuu   ah   tein   itu*
> slow   POT:be:inherently   she   between   corn:plant
> 'She will be a prudent person among the corn stocks.'

Time and location:

> *sutyāh   rih   itya   tyāan*
> POT:swim   it:AML   river   tomorrow
> 'It will swim in the river tomorrow.'

An extra time or location peripheral element can be added to a sentence by means of the associative adjunct (see 1.1.4).

> *taan   tyāan   shūnh   īsā*
> POT:quake   tomorrow   with   day:after:tomorrow
> 'There will be an earthquake tomorrow, along with the day after.'

sachǔūnh   ra   shāhah   sīhe   ra   shāhah   shīmānā
POT:work   he   foot   child   his   foot   week
'He will work for his children at the beginning of the week,

shūnh   nǔuh   shīmānā
with   face   week
along with the end of the week.'

taan   tutyǒoh   shūnh   yīhēh
POT:quake   Ayutla   with   Acapulco
'There will be an earthquake at Ayutla as well as Acapulco.'

ni   ndīko   rah   kihe   shūnh   tishin   vihe
COM   cool   it:LIQ   outside   with   stomach   house
'It cooled outside as well as inside the house.'

kwīē   kuu   ah   shātah   vihe
slow   POT:be:inherently   she   back   house
'She will be prudent behind the house as well as

shūnh   shāhah   kǔhu
with   foot   brush
in the brush (near the house).'

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, any one element (subject, object, adjunct, nominal complement, or peripheral element) may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase position. Throughout this sketch focused elements are indicated by capitalization in the free translation. Locative nouns and prepositions that mark adjuncts and peripheral elements are fronted along with the following noun phrase.

Subject focus:

pēgrǔ   kīshí
Peter   CON:sleep
'PETER is sleeping.'

mbūrǔ   shīhīh   tikwī
donkey   CON:drink   water
'THE DONKEY is drinking water.'

mariā   ni   ndūu   ñā   sīhī   ra
Mary   COM   COM:be:equal   she   female   his
'MARY was his wife.'

te   kāah   nanīh   ikwān
he   that:far   CON:be:named   John
'THAT MAN is called John.'

nalui   ndatunh   kāāh
girl   pretty   CON:appear:SG
'Apparently THE GIRL is pretty.'

(See also 7.14.)

Object focus:

tikwī   shīhīh   mbūrū
water   CON:drink   donkey
'The donkey is drinking WATER.'

(See also 7.35.)

Locative adjunct focus:

ndahāh   sihīh   ah   tāshīh   i   tutu
hand   mother   her   CON:give   I   paper
'I am giving the paper TO HER MOTHER.'

nūuh   ra   satah   chi   nūnih
face   his   POT:buy   she:RES   corn:kernel
'She will buy the corn FROM HIM.'

yahvi   kwāhan   ra
market   CON:go   he
'He is going TO MARKET.'

tishin   vihe   nāá   shuhūnh
stomach   house   CON:be:inside:SG   money
'The money is INSIDE THE HOUSE.'

(See also 7.12.)

Referent adjunct focus:

shāhah	sīhe	ndūhu	sachūūnh	ndūhu
foot	child	our:EX:EMPH	POT:work	we:EX:EMPH

'We will work FOR OUR CHILDREN.'

shāhah	nūnih	ni	kihin	ra	shuhūnh
foot	corn:kernel	COM	get	he	money

'He received money FOR THE CORN.'

shīīnh	nalui	kāah	tundāhah	ra
with	girl	that:far	POT:marry	he

'He will marry THAT GIRL.'

Instrument adjunct focus:

shīīnh	chīlō	ni	shahnih	ikwān	kīni
with	knife	COM	COM:kill	John	pig

'John killed the pig WITH A KNIFE.'

Associative adjunct focus:

shīīnh	lālū	ni	ndava	pēgrū
with	Larry	COM	run:SG	Peter

'Peter ran WITH LARRY.'

shīīnh	pēgrū	kishi	sūtu
with	Peter	POT:come	priest

'The priest will come WITH PETER.'

Nominal complement focus:

ñā	sīhī	ra	ni	ndūu	marīā
she	female	his	COM	COM:be:equal	Mary

'Mary was HIS WIFE.'

(See also 7.6 and 7.38.)

Peripheral elements may be focused by permuting them either to pre-verb-phrase position or to a position preceding any adjunct except locative.

iku   ni   shāa   pēgrū
yesterday   COM   arrive:SG   Peter
'Peter arrived YESTERDAY.'

kihe   shīshīh   nya
outside   CON:eat   they
'They are eating OUTSIDE.'

sachūūnh   ndūhu   tyāan   shāhah   sīhe   ndūhu
POT:work   we:EX:EMPH   tomorrow   foot   child   our:EX:EMPH
'We will work TOMORROW for our children.'

ni   ndava   pēgrū   yahvi   shūnh   lālū
COM   run:SG   Peter   market   with   Larry
'Peter ran AT THE MARKET with Larry.'

ni   shahnih   ikwān   kīni   iku   shūnh   chīlō
COM   COM:kill   John   pig   yesterday   with   knife
'John killed the pig YESTERDAY with a knife.'

ni   kihin ra   shuhūnh   vihe   vīkāh   shāhah   nūnih
COM   get   he   money   house   rich   foot   corn:kernel
'He received money AT THE STORE for the corn.'

(See also 7.1, 7.7, and 7.13.)

To place stronger focus on an element, either the topic marker *ndī* or the conjunction *te* 'and' can be placed after the fronted element. *ndī* is always followed by pause, and most commonly topicalizes the subject, but it occasionally refers to some other element; for subject or object the appropriate pronoun copy occurs in normal position following the verb.

mbūrū   ndī   /   shīhīh   rih   tikwī
donkey   TOPIC   CON:drink   it:AML   water
'As for the donkey, it is drinking water.'

marīā   ndī   /   ni   ndūu   ah   ñā   sīhī   ra
Mary   TOPIC   COM   COM:be:equal   she   she   female   his
'As for Mary, she was his wife.'

tōto   ndī̄ / vīshāh   a
cloth   TOPIC wet   it:INAN
'As for the cloth, it is wet.'

ñuhūh ndī̄ / ni   satah   ra   a
earth   TOPIC COM buy   he   it:INAN
'As for the land, he bought it.'

tishin   vihe   ndī̄ / nāá   shuhūnh
stomach   house   TOPIC CON:be:inside:SG money
'As for inside the house, there is money.'

ndahāh   te   chūūnh   ndī̄ / tāshīh   ra   tutu
hand   his   worklike   TOPIC CON:give   he   paper
'As for the president, he gave the money.'

(See also 7.22, 7.23, and 7.24.)

In 7.6, an equative sentence occurs that contains both nominal comple-
ment focus and a topicalized subject. (This sentence also contains the
complex sentential marker *ama ndī̄* [see 6.4].)

The conjunction *te* 'and' is not used to focus subjects, and it is especial-
ly common with peripheral time elements. It is not usually followed by
pause.

tyāan   te   sachūūnh   ra
tomorrow   and   POT:work   he
'TOMORROW (and then) he will work.'

ndee   vitin   te   koto   ah   ndushīh
from:until   now   and   POT:look   she   hen
'FROM NOW ON she will look after the chickens.'

iin   ndahāh   te   kasaha   unh   yāvi
one   hand   and   POT:make   you:SG   hole
'ONE FATHOM (more, and then) you will make a hole.'

(See also 7.15, 7.30, and 7.32.)

1.1.9 Sentential complements. Both subject and object complements oc-
cur, but object complements occur with a larger group of main verbs.

Subject complements occur most frequently with the following three main verbs: *ndihi* 'to finish', *kuni* 'to appear', and *kuvi* 'to be able'. The subject complement immediately follows the main verb, and there are various restrictions on the complement sentence. One such restriction is that the complement must contain a verb inflected for aspect, i.e., it cannot have a stative verb alone. A second one is that there are aspect restrictions between the main verb and the complement verb. With *ndihi* 'to finish', the two verbs must agree in aspect; with *kuni* 'to appear', the complement verb must be in potential aspect; and with *kuvi* 'to be able' (which is homophonous in potential and continuative aspects), either *kuvi* and the complement verb agree in aspect, or *kuvi* is in completive and the complement verb is in potential. Other restrictions on subject complement sentences are beyond the scope of this paper.

> *ndihi*   *taan*
> POT:finish   POT:quake
> 'The earthquake will finish.'

> *ndīhīh*   *kīshí*   *ra*
> CON:finish   CON:sleep   he
> 'He is finishing sleeping.'

> *ni*   *ndihi*   *ni*   *ndūu*   *ra*   *te*   *chūūnh*
> COM   finish   COM   COM:be:equal   he   he   worklike
> 'He has finished being president.'

> *kuni*   *kāku*   *rih*
> POT:appear   POT:be:rescued   it:AML
> 'It will appear to be rescued.'

> *kūnī*   *koho*   *ra*   *rah*
> CON:appear   POT:drink   he   it:LIQ
> 'He appears to be drinking it.'

> *ni*   *kuni*   *satah*   *ah*   *nūnih*
> COM   appear   POT:buy   she   corn:kernel
> 'She appeared to buy corn.'

> *kuvi*   *kūsu*   *eh*
> POT:be:able   POT:sleep   we:IN
> 'We will be able to sleep.'

> kūvī   sātah   te   lūlū   a
> CON:be:able   CON:buy   he   small:SG   it:INAN
> 'The boy is able to buy it.'

> ni   kuvi   koho   rih   tikwī
> COM   be:able   POT:drink it:AML   water
> 'It was able to drink water (but didn't drink).'

> ni   kuvi   shihi   rih   tikwī
> COM   be:able   COM:drink it:AML   water
> 'It was able to drink the water (and did).'

(See also 7.24.)

    Subject complements also occur with stative sentences; they are especially common with stative verbs that evaluate the complement sentence in some way. There are no restrictions on the form of the complement sentence.

> vaha   sachūūnh   eh   vitin
> good   POT:work   we:IN   now
> 'It is good for us to work now.'

> ndisha   sakānh   ndūūh   a
> true   thus   CON:be:equal   it:INAN
> 'It is true that that's the way it is.'

(See also 7.25.)

    Among the verbs that take object complements, some have special properties. The verb *vikwīn* 'to stop' requires the subject of the complement sentence to be coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence, and the aspect of the complement verb cannot be completive.

> vikwīn   ra   kutu   ra
> POT:stop   he   POT:weed   he
> 'He will stop (preparations for) weeding.'

> vikwīn   ra   shītūh   ra
> POT:stop   he   CON:weed   he
> 'He will stop weeding (weeding in process).'

    shīkwūn   ikwān   chīhīh   ra
    CON:stop John   POT:plant   he
    'John is stopping (preparations for) planting.'

    ni   shikwūn   ah   sātah   ah   nūnih
    COM   COM:stop   she   CON:buy   she   corn:kernel
    'She has stopped buying corn.'

The verb *shahāh* 'to begin' requires coreferential subjects, but the subject
of the matrix sentence may be unexpressed. As with *vikwūn* 'to stop', the
aspect of the complement verb cannot be completive.

    shahāh   kūsu   ra
    POT:begin   POT:sleep   he
    'He will begin to sleep.'

    shahāh   ra   kūsu   ra
    POT:begin   he   POT:sleep   he
    'He will begin (preparations) to sleep.'

    shahāh   ra   kīshí   ra
    POT:begin   he   CON:sleep   he
    'He will begin to sleep.'

    shāhāh   ah   kāhan   ah
    CON:begin   she   POT:speak   she
    'She is beginning (preparations) to speak.'

    shāhāh   kāhán   ah
    CON:begin   CON:speak   she
    'She is beginning to speak.'

    ni   shahāh   kunduu   ra   te   chūūnh
    COM   begin   POT:be:equal   he   he   worklike
    'He has begun (preparations) to be president.'

    (See also 7.2.)

The verb *kūni* 'to want' allows either coreferential or noncoreferential
subjects, and takes an optional complementizer *ña* or topic marker *ndū*
(which is always followed by pause). When the subjects are coreferential
and neither *ña* nor *ndū* occurs, the subject of the matrix sentence may be

unexpressed. This verb requires the complement verb to be in potential aspect. Other verbs that refer to desire have similar properties.

> *kūni*   *ra*   *kūsu*   *ra*
> POT:want   he   POT:sleep   he
> 'He will want to sleep.'

> *kūní*   *ikwān* *kunduu*   *pēgrū* *te* *chūūnh*
> CON:want   John POT:be:equal   Peter he worklike
> 'John wants Peter to be president.'

> *kūní*   *ikwān* *ña* *kunduu*   *pēgrū* *te* *chūūnh*
> CON:want   John CMP POT:be:equal Peter he woyklike
> 'John wants Peter to be president.'

> *ni*   *kūni*   *satah*   *ah*   *nūnih*
> COM   want   POT:buy   she   corn:kernel
> 'She wanted to buy corn.'

> *ni*   *kūni*   *ra* *ndīī* / *kashih*   *ra*   *chītya*
> COM   want   he TOPIC POT:eat   he   banana
> 'He wanted to eat bananas.'

(See also 7.19, 7.21, and 7.23.)

Most other verbs that take object complements permit the subjects to be either coreferential or noncoreferential, permit the complement verb to have any aspect, and take an optional complementizer *ña* or topic marker *ndīī*.

> *kuni*   *ra* *kīshí*   *pēgrū*
> POT:know   he CON:sleep Peter
> 'He will know that Peter is sleeping.'

> *kundani*   *ra* *ni*   *shishi*   *ra*
> POT:understand   he COM   COM:eat he
> 'He will comprehend that he ate.'

> *kūndāni*   *chi*   *ña*   *ni*   *satah* *ndoh* *a*
> CON:understand   she:RES CMP COM buy   you:PL it:INAN
> 'She is comprehending that you bought it.'

>*ni   tuu   i ndū / ndūūh   ra te vaha*
> COM think   I TOPIC CON:be:equal he he good
> 'I had the opinion that he was a good man.'

>*kāhan   a   ña   kūtuh   koo   yohōh*
> POT:speak he:RES CMP tight   POT:exist rope
> 'He will say that the rope will be tight.'

(See also 7.7, 7.14, 7.33, 7.38, and 7.41.)

Sometimes a sentential complement contains another one embedded in it. In such sentences the subject of an embedded sentence is always expressed before an object complement.

>*kuvi   shahāh   ra kushi   ra*
> POT:be:able POT:begin he POT:eat he
> 'He will be able to begin to eat.'

>*kūní   ra shahāh   ra kushi   ra*
> CON:want   he POT:begin he POT:eat he
> 'He wants to begin to eat.'

>*kūní   ra kuni   kuvi   ra kushi   ra*
> CON:want   he POT:appear POT:be:able he POT:eat he
> 'He wants to appear to be able to eat.'

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

>*nūnih   ni   kuni   satah   ah*
> corn:kernel COM appear   POT:buy   she
> 'She appeared to buy CORN.'

(See also 7.24.)

An element within an object complement that is introduced by a complementizer or topic marker may be focused by fronting it to the beginning of the complement sentence. When no complementizer or topic marker occurs, an element within the complement sentence may be focused by fronting it to the beginning of either the complement sentence or the matrix sentence.

kũndãni   chi   ña   nduchĩh   ni   satah   ndoh
CON:understand   she:RES   CMP   bean   COM   buy   you:PL
'She is comprehending that you bought BEANS.'

ni   tuu   i   ndũ,   te   vaha   ndũũh   ra
COM   think   I   TOPIC, he   good   CON:be:equal   he
'I had the opinion that he is A GOOD MAN.'

kũní   ikwãn   te   chũũnh   kunduu   pēgrũ
CON:want   John   he   worklike POT:be:equal Peter
'John wants Peter to be PRESIDENT.'

te   chũũnh   kũní   ikwãn   kunduu   pēgrũ
he   worklike CON:want   John   POT:be:equal Peter
'John wants Peter to be PRESIDENT.'

It is also possible to focus an entire object complement sentence by placing it before the matrix sentence. No complementizer or topic marker occurs.

kĩshí   pēgrũ   /   tũũ   ra
CON:sleep   Peter   CON:think   he
'He thinks THAT PETER IS SLEEPING.'

ni   shishi   ra   /   kundani   ra
COM   COM:eat   he   POT:understand   he
'He will comprehend THAT HE ATE.'

ni   satah   ndoh   a   /   kũndãni   chi
COM   buy   you:PL it:INAN CON:understand   she:RES
'She comprehends THAT YOU BOUGHT IT.'

ndũũh   ra   te   vaha   /   ni   tuu   i
CON:be:equal   he   he   good   COM   think   I
'I had the opinion THAT HE IS A GOOD MAN.'

kũtuh   koo   yohōh   /   kāhan   a
tight   POT:exist rope   POT:speak   he:RES
'He will say THAT THE ROPE WILL BE TIGHT.'

Object complements of the verbs *vikwīin* 'to stop', *shahāh* 'to begin', or *kūni* 'to want', however, cannot be focused, nor can the subject complement of any sentence.

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 either by using a special interrogative clitic, which raises the tone of the first syllable of the first word (see 5.9), or by placing either *ñāā* or *āān* at the beginning of the sentence (*ñāā* is more formal than *āān*).

tāan
INT:POT:quake
'Will there be an earthquake?'

nī   kīshi   pēgrū
INT:COM   COM:sleep   Peter
'Did Peter sleep?'

ñāā   taan
INT   POT:quake
'Will there be an earthquake?'

ñāā   tikwī   koho   mbūrū
INT   water   POT:drink   donkey
'Will the donkey drink WATER?'

āān   taan
INT   POT:quake
'Will there be an earthquake?'

āān   ñā   sīhī   ra   ni   ndūu   marīā
INT   she   female his COM COM:be:equal Mary
'Was Mary HIS WIFE?'

All three ways of questioning may be combined with words containing the negative clitic (see 2.1.2 and 5.9); negative forms expect a negative answer.

táaān
INT:NEG:POT:quake
'There won't be an earthquake, will there?'

ñ̄ā̄ā   táaān
INT   NEG:POT:quake
'There won't be an earthquake, will there?'

ñ̄ā̄ā   vīshaāh   tōto
INT   NEG:wet   cloth
'The cloth isn't wet, is it?'

āān   táaān
INT   NEG:POT:quake
'There won't be an earthquake, will there?'

āān   vīishāh   tōto
INT   NEG:wet   cloth
'The cloth isn't wet, is it?'

(See also 7.21.)

1.2.2 WH questions. Any element of a sentence may be questioned by using an appropriate interrogative pronoun, interrogative adverb, or interrogative noun phrase (see 5.4, 5.5, and 3.4) in focus position. Subjects, objects, and nominal complements are usually questioned by using *yoo* 'who?', *indā* 'what?', or a phrase.

Questioning subject:

yoo   kīshí
who   CON:sleep
'Who is sleeping?'

yoo   kūkwāān
who   CON:become:yellow
'Who is becoming fair (light colored)?'

yoo   ni   satah   rih
who   COM   buy   it:AML
'Who bought it?'

yoo   ni   ndūu   te   chūūnh
who   COM   COM:be:equal   he   worklike
'Who was president?'

yoo   nanīh   ikwān
who   CON:be:named   John
'Who is named John?'

yoo   sūkūn
who   high
'Who is tall?'

yoo   kwāān   koo
who   yellow   POT:exist
'Who will be fair (light colored)?'

yoo   vaha   ni   kāa
who   good   COM   COM:appear:SG
'Who was apparently beautiful?'

indā   kāndūhuh   nūuh   mēsā
what   CON:be:lying:SG   face   table
'What is lying on the table (Sp. *mesa*)?'

indā   ni   ndukūtuh
what   COM   become:tight
'What became tight?'

indā   tiin   tūnh   kāsoh
what   POT:hold   it:WOD   CON:float
'What will support the roofing beam?'

indā   ndūūh   ña   chīe
what   CON:be:equal   it:INAN   big:SG
'What is a big thing?'

indā   nanīh   kwāshah
what   CON:be:named   Kwashah
'What is named Kwashah?'

indā   sūkūn
what   high
'What is high?'

indā   vīshāh   yōō
what   wet   CON:exist
'What is wet?'

indā   vīshāh   ni   kuni
what   wet   COM   appear
'What appeared to be wet?'

indā   āsinh   ūnh
what   delicious   CON:appear:PL
'What are apparently delicious?'

ndēē   ñahāh   kīshí
which   woman   CON:sleep
'Which woman is sleeping?'

Questioning object:

yoo   ni   chindyeēh   ra
who   COM   help   he
'Whom did he help?'

indā   sātah   chi
what   CON:buy   she:RES
'What is she buying?'

ndēē   ña   sātah   chi
which   it:INAN   CON:buy   she:RES
'Which thing is she buying?'

Questioning nominal complement:

yoo   kunduu   ra
who   POT:be:equal   he
'What will he be?'

>
> | *indā* | *ndūūh* | *nuh* |
> |---|---|---|
> | what | CON:be:equal | it:WOD |
>
> 'What is it?'

>
> | *indā* | *ni* | *ndūu* | *a* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | what | COM | COM:be:equal | it:INAN |
>
> 'What was it?' (referring to smashed object)

>
> | *ndēē* | *ndikīnh* | *ndūūh* | *a* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | which | seed | CON:be:equal | it:INAN |
>
> 'Which kind of seed is it?'

The nominal complement of *nanīh* 'to be named', however, is questioned by using *saa* 'how?'

>
> | *saa* | *nanīh* | *ra* |
> |---|---|---|
> | how | CON:be:named | he |
>
> 'What is his name?'

Adjuncts that are signaled by a locative noun or a preposition are usually questioned by using *yoo* 'who?' or *indā* 'what?' When *yoo* is used, the locative noun or preposition immediately follows *yoo*.

>
> | *yoo* | *ndahāh* | *tashi* | *ikwān* | *tutu* |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | who | hand | POT:give | John | paper |
>
> 'To whom will John give the paper?'

>
> | *yoo* | *shāhah* | *shāhnih* | *ra* | *kīni* |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | who | foot | CON:kill | he | pig |
>
> 'For whom is he killing the pig?'

>
> | *yoo* | *shūnh* | *shīshīh* | *ra* | *nduchīh* |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | who | with | CON:eat | he | bean |
>
> 'With whom is he eating beans?'

>
> | *yoo* | *shūnh* | *kwāhan* | *ah* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | who | with | CON:go | she |
>
> 'With whom is she going?'

When *indā* is used, the locative noun occurs at the end of the sentence.

indā	kihin	ra	shuhūnh	shāhah
what	POT:get	he	money	foot

'What will he get the money for?'

indā	ndātāh	ra	nuh	shūnh
what	CON:split	he	it:WOD	with

'What is he cutting the wood with?'

Adjuncts may also be questioned more specifically by using an interrogative noun phrase after the locative noun or preposition.

ndahāh	ndēē	te	yīvih	tashi	ikwān	tutu
hand	which	he	?	POT:give	John	paper

'To which man will John give the paper?'

nūuh	ndēē	tīh	tāshīh	ikwān	itya
face	which	it:AML	CON:give	John	grass

'To which animal is John giving grass?'

shāhah	ndēē	kitīh	shāhā	ra	vihe
foot	which	animal	CON:make	he	house

'For which animal is he making the shelter?'

shūnh	ndēē	tyāh	koho	ra	tātanh
with	which	it:LIQ	POT:drink	he	medicine

'With which liquid will he drink the medicine?'

shūnh	ndēē	ña	ndātāh	ra	nuh
with	which	it:INAN	CON:split	he	it:WOD

'With which thing is he splitting it?'

The locative adjunct is sometimes questioned by the interrogative adverb *mūh* 'where?'.

mūh	ni	keta	pēgrū
where	COM	leave:SG	Peter

'Where did Peter leave from?'

Peripheral elements are questioned by using the interrogative adverbs *mūh* 'where?' or *ama* 'when?', or by using a phrase.

mūh   ni   taan
where COM quake
'Where was the earthquake?'

mūh   shīshīh   pēgrū
where CON:eat   Peter
'Where is Peter eating?'

ama   ni   shishi   pēgrū
when COM COM:eat Peter
'When did Peter eat?'

ndēē   ñuu   kwāhan   ra
which   town   CON:go   he
'To which town is he going?'

ndēē   yōoh   ni   shaa   ra
which   month   COM COM:arrive:SG he
'On which month did he arrive?'

Root cause and purpose are questioned by using the idiomatic interrogative noun phrase *ndēē shāhah* 'why?'

ndēē   shāhah   kūnī   kuvi   ra
which   foot   CON:appear   POT:die he
'What is the root cause of his being sick?'   (lit. 'Why does it appear that he will die?')

ndēē   shāhah   ni   kihin ra   shuhūnh
which   foot   COM   get   he   money
'For which purpose did he get the money?'

Cause is questioned by using the interrogative adverb *ndichūn* 'why?'

ndichūn   kūnī   kuvi   ra
why   CON:appear   POT:die he
'Why is he sick?'   (lit. 'Why does it appear that he will die?')

ndichūnh   ni   kihin   ra   shuhūnh
why   COM get   he   money
'Why did he get the money?'

Stative verbs are questioned by using the interrogative adverb *saa* 'how?';
one of the content verbs discussed in 1.1.6 must occur.

> *saa   yōō   a*
> how   CON:exist   it:INAN
> 'What is it like?'

> *saa   ni   kuni   tōto*
> how   COM   appear   cloth
> 'How did the cloth appear?'

> *saa   īīnh   māngō*
> how   CON:appear:PL   mango
> 'How apparently are the mangos?'

> *saa   ni   kāa   marīā*
> how   COM   COM:appear:SG   Mary
> 'How apparently was Mary?'

Certain specific kinds of state, such as height, depth, size, and weight may
be questioned more specifically by *saa* 'how?' followed by a stative verb
that denotes significant magnitude of state in each semantic domain.

> *saa   sūkūn   ra*
> how   high   he
> 'How tall is he?'

> *saa   kūnū   a*
> how   deep   it:INAN
> 'How deep is it?'

> *saa   chīe   ra*
> how   big:SG   he
> 'How big is he?'

> *saa   nāhnūh   a*
> how   big:PL   it:INAN
> 'How big are they?'

> *saa   vīe   a*
> how   heavy   it:INAN
> 'How heavy is it?'

Content verbs are questioned by using the interrogative pronoun *indā* 'what?' or the interrogative noun phrase *ndēē ña*, followed by the verb *saa* 'to do' (for an agentive subject) or *ndoho* 'to suffer' (for a nonagentive subject).

> *indā   ni   shaa   ra*
> what   COM   COM:do   he
> 'What did he do?'

> *indā   ni   ndōho   ra*
> what   COM   COM:suffer   he
> 'What happened to him?'

> *ndēē   ña   shāāh   unh*
> which   it:INAN   CON:do   you:SG
> 'Which thing are you doing?'

> *ndēē   ña   kundoho   ndoh*
> which   it:INAN   POT:suffer   you:PL
> 'Which thing will happen to you?'

1.2.3 Indirect questions. Indirect YES/NO questions are introduced by the conjunction *nāāh* 'if'; the interrogative clitic is not used, nor are the other interrogative sentential markers. The indirect question must be positive, and the main verb is usually the continuative negative form of *kuni* 'to know'. (See 6.1.1 for a description of indirect disjunctive questions.)

> *shīinī   ah   nāāh   koho   sīhe   ah   tātanh*
> NEG:CON:know   she   if   POT:drink   child   her   medicine
> 'She doesn't know if her child will drink the medicine.'

> *shīinī   bētō   nāāh   ndūūh   pēgrū   te   chūūnh*
> NEG:CON:know   Bob   if   CON:be:equal   Peter   he   worklike
> 'Bob doesn't know if Peter is president.'

(See also 7.31.)

Indirect WH questions occur as the object complement of such verbs as *kāhan* 'to say', *ndatūhunh* 'to ask', *kanini* 'to think', *kundani* 'to understand', and *kuni* 'to know'. No complementizer or topic marker occurs.

kāhan   i   yoo   ndahāh   tashi   ikwān   tutu
POT:speak   I   who   hand   POT:give   John   paper
'I will speak about whom John will give the paper to.'

kāhán   ra   nūuh   ndēē   tīh   tāshīh   ikwān   itya
CON:speak   he   face   which   it:AML CON:give John   grass
'He is speaking about which animal John is giving the grass to.'

ndatūhunh   a   mīīh   ni   keta   pēgrū
POT:ask   he:RES where   COM   leave:SG   Peter
'He will ask about where Peter left from.'

ndātūhúnh   ndoh   shūnh   ndēē   tyāh   koho   ra   tātanh
CON:ask   you:PL   with   which   it:LIQ POT:drink he   medicine
'You are asking about which liquid he will drink the medicine with.'

ni   ndatūhunh   nduh   indā   kihin   ra   shuhūnh   shāhah
COM   ask   we:EX   what   POT:get   he   money   foot
'We asked about what he will get the money for.'

kanini   nya   ndēē   ña   shāāh   unh
POT:think they   which   it:INAN   CON:do you:SG
'They will consider what you are doing.'

shānīnī   ra   yoo   ni   ndūu   te   chúūnh
CON:think   he   who   COM   COM:be:equal he   worklike
'He is thinking about who was president.'

ni   shanini   ra   indā   nanīh   kwāshah
COM   COM:think   he   what   CON:be:named   Kwashah
'He thought about what is named Kwashah.'

kūndāni   chi   saa   kunanīh   a
CON:understand she:RES   how   POT:be:named   he:RES
'She is comprehending what he will be named.'

kundani   ra   yoo   sūkūn
POT:understand he   who   high
'He will understand who is tall.'

kuni   pēgrū   indā   ni   nduu   kūtuh
POT:know   Peter   what   COM   COM:be:equal tight
'Peter will know what has become tight.'

shīní   ndoh   mūh   ni   taan
CON:know   you:PL   where   COM   quake
'You know where the earthquake was.'

ni   shini   ra ama ni   shishi   pēgrū
COM   COM:know   he when COM   COM:eat   Peter
'He knew when Peter ate.'

(See also 7.17.)

There is a discontinuous idiom, *tashi . . . kwēntō* 'to inform' or 'to give advice', which also introduces indirect questions. Sentences containing this idiom in effect have two objects, the word *kwēntō* and the indirect question. If a locative adjunct occurs, the indirect question follows it.

tāshīh   ikwān   kwēntō   yoo   kīshí
CON:give   John   word   who   CON:sleep
'John is informing (someone) about who is sleeping.'

ni   tashi ah   kwēntō   nūuh   eh   indā   satah   chi
COM   give she   word   face   our:IN   what   POT:buy   she:RES
'She informed us about what she will buy.'

Indirect questions cannot be focused to the front of the matrix sentence.

1.3 Commands

To form a second person singular familiar command, a basic sentence with the verb in potential aspect is used, except that the subject is not expressed.

kaka
POT:walk
'Walk!'

kihin   tutūnh
POT:get   firewood
'Get the firewood!'

tashi   tutu   ndahāh   sihíh   ah
POT:give   paper   hand   mother   her
'Give the paper to her mother!'

satah   nūnih   nūuh   ra
POT:buy   corn:kernel   face   his
'Buy the corn from him!'

For polite commands and for second person plural commands the subject is expressed; such sentences are also used as statements.

kaka   unh
POT:walk   you:SG
'Please walk!'   *or*   'You will walk.'

kihin   ndōhó   tutūnh
POT:get   you:PL:EMPH   firewood
'Please get firewood!'   *or*   'You will get firewood.'

kūhun   yōhó   yahvi   vitin
POT:go   you:SG:EMPH   market   now
'Please go to market now!'   *or*   'You will go to market now.'

kūhun   unh   shūnh   pēgrū
POT:go   you:SG   with   Peter
'Please go with Peter!'   *or*   'You will go with Peter.'

tashi   unh   tutu   ndahāh   sihīh   ah
POT:give   you:SG   paper   hand   mother   her
'Please give paper to her mother!'   *or*   'You will give paper to her mother.'

satah   ndōhó   nūnih   nūuh   ra
POT:buy   you:PL:EMPH   corn:kernel   face   his
'Please buy corn from him!'   *or*   'You will buy corn from him.'

(See also 7.18.)

First and third person commands take the hortatory marker *na* in the verb phrase (see 2.1.2); it signals politeness. (This marker is also used occasionally in second person commands.)

na   kūhun   i
HORT   POT:go   I
'Let me go!'

na   kushi   ra   shūnh   yūhu
HORT   POT:eat he   with   me:EMPH
'Let him eat with me!'

na   sachūūnh   eh
HORT   POT:work   we:IN
'Let us all work!'

na   kihin   ah   nduchīh
HORT   POT:get she   bean
'Let her get beans!'

(See also 7.28.)

A few verbs have special imperative forms (see 5.1.2), which occur instead of potential aspect in commands.

kwāhān
IMP:go
'Go!' (one person)

tōhoh
IMP:go:IN
'Let's go!' (two persons)

tōhoh   ndoh
IMP:go:IN   you:PL
'Let's go!' (three or more persons)

nyaha
IMP:come
'Come!' (one person)

nyaha   unh
IMP:come   you:SG
'Please come!'

nyaha   yōhó
IMP:come   you:SG:EMPH
'Please come!'

nyaha   ndōhó
IMP:come   you:PL:EMPH
'Please come!'

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur sentence initial, sentence medial (under certain conditions), and sentence final. In initial position they are used to get the attention of the addressee and are more insistent. In medial or final position they assume the attention of the addressee has been secured and are usually more polite. Vocatives are always set off from the rest of the sentence by pause. Vocatives are usually kinship terms or proper names, though sometimes they are pronouns, common nouns, or short noun phrases. A few kinship terms, related terms that indicate respect, and proper names occur with various tone patterns to indicate different speaker attitudes (see 5.3.2). The following examples show sentence-initial vocatives.

shitōo / ama   kūhun   unh
uncle   when   POT:go   you:SG
'Uncle, when are you going?'

ikwāan / ni   shini   i ñani   unh   ndiheh
John   COM   COM:sense I brother:ME your:SG earlier:today
'John, I saw your brother earlier today.'

nāyah / kwāhān   kihe
dog   CON:go   outside
'Dog, go outside!'

Sentence-medial vocatives occur only following the first part of a complex sentence or the frozen parenthetical expression *shīní unh* 'you know'. The topic marker *ndū* often follows sentence-medial vocatives.

shīní   unh / takwihe   / vitin kūhun i
CON:know   you:SG   he:respected   now   POT:go I
'Please notice, Sir, now I'm about to go.'

kīih   shāa   unh /   ikwān   ndī̄ /   kāhan   unh
when   POT:arrive:SG you:SG   John   TOPIC   POT:speak you:SG
'When you arrive, John, speak

    shūūnh   ra
    with   him
    to him!'

kūní   i   kāhan   i   shūūnh ndōhó   /   ne
CON:want   I   POT:speak I   with   you:PL:EMPH they
'I want to speak to **you**, you people who

    ītāh   ñāah   /   te   kundani
    CON:be:standing:PL   there:near   and   POT:understand
    are standing there, so that **you** will

    ndōhó
    you:PL:EMPH
    understand.'

kīih shāāh unh   sakānh /   mīshtūn ndī̄ / kahnih i   yōhó
when CON:do you:SG thus   cat   TOPIC POT:kill   I   you:SG
'When you do that, cat (old Sp. *mistón*), I could kill you!'

The following examples show sentence-final vocatives.

    tichīh   ni   shahndya   i /   nanāa
    avocado   COM   COM:cut   I   mother
    'I cut down the avocados, Mother.'

    tōhoh   vihe / te   kushi   eh / te   lui
    IMP:go:IN   house   and   POT:eat   we:IN   he   ?
    'Let's go home and eat, young man!'

    ni   kishi   ra /   shishī̄
    COM come   he   aunt
    'He came, ma'am.'

    vaha   sachūūnh   unh /   pehē
    good   POT:work   you:SG   dear
    'Do a good job, dear!'

kuchi   ikĩh   /   nãyah   rein
POT:chew bone   dog   inferior
'Eat the bone, you fleabag!'

arõ   chĩhĩh   ra   /   tãtã   shũh
rice CON:plant he   father   old:respected
'He is planting rice (Sp. *arroz*), Grandfather.'

(See also 7.18.)

1.5 Sentential Markers

There are three sets of sentence-initial elements: those that mark exclamation (interjections), those that mark mood, and those that mark reality. There is also a set of sentence-final markers, which signal speaker-addressee decision attitude.

Interjections precede a sentence-initial vocative (if present) and are always followed by pause. They denote the speaker's reaction to something he has seen, heard, or experienced. They include *áán* 'surprise', *ūta* or *tãa* 'negative surprise', *xanh* 'displeasure', *xãán* 'inquisitiveness', *ũũxũun* 'sadness', and *aii* 'pain' or 'deep sorrow'.

áán /   ni   kihin   ra   mũ   pēsũ
SURPRISE COM get   he   thousand peso
'Oh, he received a thousand (Sp. *mil*) pesos (Sp. *peso*)!'

ūta /   ni   shĩhi   kĩni
NEG:SURPRISE COM COM:die pig
'Oh no, the pig died!'

xanh /   vãahãh   ni   shaa   unh
DISPLEASURE NEG:good   COM COM:do   you:SG
'Hmh, you did a bad thing!'

xãán /   indã   ni   kãhan   unh
INQUISITIVENESS what   COM speak   you:SG
'What!? What did you say?'

ũũxũun / ni   shĩhi   sihĩh   i
SADNESS   COM COM:die   mother   my
'Oooh, my mother died!'

aii   / ni   shahndya   shūnh   miīh   i
ouch   COM COM:cut   with   SPEC   I
'Ouch, I cut myself!'

(See also 7.14.)

The mood markers are a sentence-initial tone rise, *ñāā*, and *āān*, all of which mark YES/NO questions (see 1.2.1 for examples), and *āchi*, which marks supplication.

āchi   chindyeēh   unh   yūhu
SUPPLICATION   POT:help   you:SG   me
'Oh please, help me!'

The reality markers include three simple forms, the sentential markers *suu* 'certainly' and *kwāīnh* 'maybe' and the general marker *tēeh* 'probably'; two sentential markers containing the negative clitic (see 5.9), *sūuūh* or *sūuh* 'certainly not' and *kwāaīnh* 'unlikely'; and various complex markers such as *suu ndisha* 'certainly true', *kwāīnh ndisha* 'maybe true', and *tēeh ndisha* 'probably true'.[2]

suu   ni   kuun   sāvih   iku
certainly   COM pelt   rain   yesterday
'Certainly it rained yesterday.'

kwāīnh   kuun   sāvih   tyāan
maybe   POT:pelt rain   tomorrow
'Maybe it will rain tomorrow.'

tēeh   koo   niih   kwīya   vitin
probably   POT:exist   corn:ear   year   now
'Probably there will be (sufficient) corn this year.'

sūuh   kīshí   te   lūlū
NEG:certainly CON:sleep   he   small:SG
'There is no possibility that the boy is sleeping.'

---

[2]An alternative analysis for sentences with reality markers is to consider them stative sentences containing a subject complement (see 1.1.9). Some support for this alternative analysis is found in 7.38, where *sūuh* 'not certainly' occurs as part of an object complement sentence, rather than as part of the matrix sentence. By their very nature, reality markers should be limited to matrix sentences.

kwāaīnh   kīshí   te   lūlū
NEG:maybe CON:sleep   he   small:SG
'It is unlikely that the boy is sleeping.'

suu   ndisha te sāvih   ndūūh   ra
certainly true   he rain   CON:be:equal he
'It is certainly true that he is a Mixtec.'

kwāīnh   ndisha ni   shaa   ra sakānh
maybe   true   COM COM:do he thus
'It is maybe true that he did that.'

tēeh   ndisha   sachūūnh ra
probably   true   POT:work he
'It is probably true that he will work.'

Mood markers precede reality markers when both occur. Both mood
and reality markers follow a sentence-initial vocative. There are various
cooccurrence restrictions between reality markers and other parts of the
sentence. For example, the negative forms of *suu* and *kwāīnh* occur only
when the verb is positive, and *tēeh* 'probably' cannot occur with postverbal
xān 'doubt' (see 2.1.3). Also, the interjection *áán* 'surprise' cannot cooccur
with *suu* 'certainly'. A complete discussion of such restrictions is beyond
the scope of this paper.

ñāā   suu   ni   kuun sāvih iku
INT   certainly COM pelt   rain   yesterday
'Did it really rain yesterday?'

áán kwāīnh   kuun   sāvih tyāan
INT   maybe   POT:pelt rain   tomorrow
'Will it maybe rain tomorrow?'

āchi   sūuh   saa   eh   sakānh
please NEG:certainly POT:do we:IN thus
'Oh please, surely let's not do that!'

ikwāan / ñāā   suu   ni   kuun sāvih iku
John   INT   certainly COM pelt   rain   yesterday
'John, did it really rain yesterday?'

tatāa / āan kwāinh kuun sāvih tyāan
father INT maybe POT:pelt rain tomorrow
'Father, will it probably rain tomorrow?'

ūta /   ikwāan / ñāā suu   ni   shīhi kīni
NEGATIVE SURPRISE John INT certainly COM COM:die pig
'Oh no, John, did the pig really die?'

There are two types of sentence-final markers. The first includes only
nuh, which creates tag questions, and the second type refers to the type of
decision involved. This set includes: *ni* 'suggested', *choh* 'modifiable', *ndi*
'contrary', *tih* 'urgent', *va* 'factual', *ranh* 'logical', and *ndoh* 'assertive'.

The tag question marker *nuh* occurs only on YES/NO questions that
contain the tone-raising interrogative marker. If the sentence is positive,
an affirmative answer is expected; and if it contains the negative clitic (see
5.9), a negative answer is expected.

nī   satah ndoh nduchīh yahvi nuh
INT:COM buy you:PL bean   market TAG
'You bought the beans at the market, didn't you?'

ní   satāh ndoh nduchīh yahvi nuh
INT:NEG:COM buy you:PL bean   market TAG
'You didn't buy the beans at the market, did you?'

The suggested marker *ni* usually occurs with statements containing a
verb in potential aspect. When it occurs with statements containing a verb
in continuative or completive aspect, it denotes pretense. It occurs with
commands to indicate the speaker's conclusion while leaving room for the
addressee to disagree.

sachūūnh eh   ni
POT:work we:IN SUGGESTED
'We have decided to work, but what do you think?'

shāchūūnh eh   ni
CON:work we:IN SUGGESTED
'We are pretending to be working.'

ni shachūūnh eh   ni
COM COM:work we:IN SUGGESTED
'We pretended to work.'

> *kūhun   unh   yahvi   ni*
> POT:go   you:SG   market   SUGGESTED
> 'I have decided that you could go to market; what do you think?'

The modifiable marker *choh* occurs with statements containing a verb in potential aspect and with commands to indicate that the speaker has made a decision that is modifiable.

> *kahmi   nduh   mihīh   choh*
> POT:burn   we:EX   trash   MODIFIABLE
> 'We have decided to burn the trash and respect your suggestions.'

> *kahmi   ndōhó   mihīh   choh*
> POT:burn   you:PL:EMPH   trash   MODIFIABLE
> 'Burn the trash, but I am open to your suggestion as to when and how!'

The contrary marker *ndi* occurs with statements, YES/NO questions, and commands to indicate that the speaker considers the addressee to be in opposition.

> *shīhīh   ra   tātanh   ndi*
> CON:drink   he   medicine   CONTRARY
> 'He is taking the medicine even though you do not want him to.'

> *koho   unh   tātanh   ndi*
> POT:drink   you:SG   medicine   CONTRARY
> 'It does not matter; you must take the medicine!'

The urgency marker *tih* occurs with statements in potential aspect, YES/NO questions in any aspect, and commands.

> *koko   vihe   tih*
> POT:burn   house   URGENT
> 'The house is going to catch on fire!'

> *ñāā   koko   vihe   tih*
> INT   POT:burn   house   URGENT
> 'Is the house going to catch on fire?!'

ñáá   *shīshí*   *vihe*   *tih*
INT   CON:burn   house   URGENT
'Is the house on fire?'

* áán*   *ni*   *shīshi*   *vihe*   *tih*
INT   COM   COM:burn   house   URGENT
'The house burnt down, didn't it?'

kūhun   *unh*   *tih*
POT:go   you:SG   URGENT
'Go; it's urgent!'

The factual decision marker *va*, which indicates strong obligation based upon physical circumstance, occurs with statements and commands.

ni   *chahvi ra shuhūnh yōoh*   *va*
COM   pay   he   money   month   FACTUAL
'Circumstance dictates; he must pay the annual tax.'

chahvi   *unh*   *shuhūnh*   *yōoh*   *va*
POT:pay   you:SG   money   month   FACTUAL
'Circumstance dictates; pay the annual tax!'

The logical marker *ranh* occurs with statements and commands to indicate a final decision made on the basis of reason; it indicates strong obligation, but is softer than *va*.

soho   *sachūūnh*   *ra*   *ranh*
like:this   POT:work   he   FINAL
'It is reasonable; he will do the work like this!'

ni   *shahnih*   *ra*   *kīni*   *ranh*
COM   COM:kill   he   pig   FINAL
'It is reasonable; he killed the pig!'

tuhun   *unh*   *kūhu*   *ranh*
POT:pull   you:SG   weeds   FINAL
'It is reasonable; pull the weeds!'

The assertive marker *ndoh* occurs with statements and commands; it indicates strong obligation based upon authority.

kunduu   ra te chūūnh   kwīya kihin   ndoh
POT:be:equal he he worklike year   POT:get ASSERTIVE
'He will be president next year.'

kūhun   unh   skwēlā   ndoh
POT:go   you:SG   school   ASSERTIVE
'Go to school (Sp. *escuela*)!'   *or*   'You will go to school!'

2

Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

Content verb phrases consist of a nucleus which may be simple or complex, 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 another word, which may be a noun, a content verb, a stative verb, an adverb, or an indeterminate element.

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

> *isa*   *(ah)*
> POT:embroider   (she)
> '(She) will embroider.'

> *tuu*   *(ra)*
> POT:think   (he)
> '(He) will think.'

> *ndaku*   *(ra   yuvāh ra)*
> POT:resemble   (he   father his)
> '(He) will resemble (his father).'

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a noun. Such constructions appear to have arisen historically by means of the incorporation of a direct object or an adjunct into the verb phrase.

> tiin   kwachi   (ra   pēgrū)
> POT:hold sin   (he   Peter)
> '(He) will blame (Peter).'

> tashi   soho (ra)
> POT:give   ear   (he)
> '(He) will obey.'

> kihin   shīko   (ra)
> POT:get   scent (he)
> '(He) will smell (something).'

> ndūhuh   katīh   (ra)
> CON:be:located:SG   shade   (he)
> '(He) is in the shade.'

A variety of nouns indicating instrument freely combines with a small set of impingement verbs to form complex nuclei.

> kuun   yūuh   (ra   pēgrū)
> POT:pelt   stone   (he   Peter)
> '(He) will pelt (Peter) with stones.'

> kūūnh   māngō   (ra   pēgrū)
> CON:pelt   mango   (he   Peter)
> '(He) is pelting (Peter) with mangos (Sp. mango).'

> sūkuh   yohōh   (ra   pēgrū)
> CON:strike vine   (he   Peter)
> '(He) is striking (Peter) with a rope.'

> tūvīh   lāpī   (ra   pēgrū)
> CON:poke   pencil (he   Peter)
> '(He) is poking (Peter) with a pencil (Sp. lapiz).'

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a verb which has the tone pattern for potential aspect but which lacks a potential prefix (see 5.1.2).

> *yōō   ndishi*   *(a)*
> CON:exist POT:be:covered   (it:INAN)
> '(It) is decorated.'

> *keta   nūu*   *(ra)*
> POT:leave:SG   POT:be:lowered   (he)
> '(He) will leave descending.'

> *īnh   ndichi*   *(ra)*
> CON:be:standing:SG   POT:be:erect (he)
> '(He) is standing erect.'

A verb-plus-stative-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by either a basic stative verb or one derived from a noun (see 5.2).

With basic stative verbs:

> *kāhan   kāhnūh*   *(ra)*
> POT:speak   important   (he)
> '(He) will give a speech.'

> *keta   vaha*   *(ra)*
> POT:leave:SG   good   (he)
> '(He) will be lucky.'

(See also 7.22.)

With derived stative verbs:

> *īnh   shītīh*   *(ra)*
> CON:be:standing:SG   intestinelike   (he)
> '(He) is kneeling.' (cf. *shiti* 'intestine')

> *kahndya   chūūnh*   *(ra)*
> POT:cut   worklike   (he)
> '(He) will administrate.' (cf. *chuun* 'work')

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

ndasi   ihnu   (ra   a)
POT:close outside (he   it:INAN)
'(He) will enclose (it).'

shītōh   ndiheh   (ra)
CON:look   short:time   (he)
'(He) is staring.'

shītōh   ndyaa   (ra tutu)
CON:look adheringly (he paper)
'(He) is examining (the paper).'

A verb-plus-indeterminate-element nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a word that occurs only in one or a few frozen phrases. It is therefore not possible to assign the second element to a class without access to historical or comparative data.

shīnī   shāhānh (ra)
CON:sense   ?   (he)
'(He) is deceiving.'

kuiin   taān (ra)
POT:be:standing:SG ?   (he)
'(He) will argue.'

2.1.2 Preverbal elements. There are eight orders of optional elements that precede the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the beginning. of the verb phrase they are: directional, aspect, preverbal self-determinative, preverbal co-involvement, preverbal manner, negative, near time, and modal.

Directionals occur only when the verb nucleus is in potential aspect, and the subject of the sentence is animate. They include four reduced forms of the motion verb *kūhun* 'to go': *kūn* 'potential directional' (from *kūhun*); *kwān* 'continuative directional' (from *kwāhan*); *shān* or *shán* 'habitual directional' (from *shāhán*); and *shān* 'completive directional' (from *shāhan*). The *shán* form of the habitual directional occurs before verbs that have a low mid tone pattern, and the *shān* form occurs before verbs that have either a low low or a mid low tone pattern.

kūn   kūsu   (rih)
POT:DIR POT:sleep (it:AML)
'(It) will go (somewhere) to sleep.'

kwān   *kutu*   *(eh)*
CON:DIR   POT:weed (we:IN)
'(We) are going (somewhere) to weed.'

shán   *kinīh*   *(ra   rih)*
HAB:DIR POT:shoot:at (he   it:AML)
'(He) habitually goes (somewhere) to shoot at (it).'

shān   *koho*   *(rih   tikwī)*
HAB:DIR POT:drink (it:AML   water)
'(It) habitually goes (somewhere) to drink (water).'

shān   *kahmi*   *(ra   mihīh)*
COM:DIR POT:burn (he   trash)
'(He) has returned from burning (trash).'

(See also 7.16.)

Even though the directional is a preverbal element, it has aspect inflection and as a result behaves like a nucleus with respect to the cooccurrence restrictions between other preverbal elements and different aspects of the verb.

In second preverbal position, the completive aspect marker *ni* occurs. The following verb or directional must be in the completive aspect form. With most verbs *ni* must occur to indicate completive aspect since completive and potential aspects would otherwise be identical, but it is optional with verbs that differ in their potential and completive forms. Furthermore, the use of *ni* is optional in connected discourse if completive meaning is clear from the context. The following sets of examples distinguish completive and potential forms.

ni   *taan*
COM quake
'There was an earthquake.'

   cf. *taan*
        POT:quake
        There will be an earthquake.'

ni   *kāku*   *(yōhó)*
COM be:rescued (you:SG:EMPH)
'(You) were rescued.'

cf. *kāku*   *(yōhó)*
POT:be:rescued   (you:SG:EMPH)
'(You) will be rescued.'

ni   *ndaku*   *(ra yuvāh ra)*
COM resemble (he father his)
'(He) resembled (his father).'

cf. *ndaku*   *(ra   yuvāhra)*
POT:resemble   (he   fatherhis)
'(He) will resemble (his father).'

ni   *shihi*   *(rih*   *tikwī)*
COM COM:drink (it:AML water)
'(It) drank (water).'

cf. *koho*   *(rih*   *tikwī)*
POT:drink (it:AML water)
'(It) will drink (water).'

and *shihi*   *(rih*   *tikwī)*
COM:drink (it:AML water)
'(It) drank (water).'

(See also 7.1, 7.3, 7.5, 7.7, 7.8, and many others.)

In third preverbal position, preverbal self-determinative occurs, expressed by the specifier *miīh*, which is used in this position to mean 'haphazardly'.

miīh   *sachūūnh*   *(ra)*
SPEC POT:work   (he)
'(He) will work haphazardly.'

miīh   *kāhán*   *(ra)*
SPEC CON:speak (he)
'(He) is speaking recklessly.'

In fourth preverbal position, the co-involvement marker *īngāh* 'same time' occurs. It denotes that members of a plural subject are simultaneously yet separately involved in the predication.

    īngāh   *yōō*   *(te   tātú   ra)*
    same:time CON:exist (he   hired his)
    '(They) simultaneously have (their hired men).'

    īngāh   *kūmīh*   *(ra   ñuhūh)*
    same:time CON:have (he   earth)
    '(They) contemporaneously possess (land).'

    īngāh   *ni   satah*   *(ra   nūnih)*
    same:time COM buy   (he   corn:kernel)
    '(They) simultaneously bought (corn).'

In fifth preverbal position, preverbal manner occurs. It is distinguished from postverbal manner (see 2.1.3), and may cooccur with it. While most preverbal and postverbal elements are expressed by small closed classes, preverbal manner is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers: stative verbs, stative verb phrases, adverbs, adverb phrases, general quantifiers, general quantifier phrases, content verbs in continuative aspect, and the intensifier *sha*. *sha* occurs with a certain degree of throat stricture, which is indicated by boldface type.

With stative verbs:

    ndasun   *kāhán*   *(ra)*
    fragile   CON:speak (he)
    '(He) is speaking in a friendly manner.'

    kama   *shīhīh*   *(ra   tikwī)*
    fast   CON:drink (he   water)
    '(He) is drinking (water) fast.'

With stative verb phrases:

    ndasun   *va*   *kāhán*   *(ra)*
    fragile   INTS CON:speak (he)
    '(He) is speaking in a very friendly manner.'

(See also 7.8.)

With adverbs:

> *nāhnŭh   shīka   (ra)*
> occasionally COM:walk   (he)
> '(He) walked occasionally.'

(See also 7.14.)

With an adverb phrase:

> *yatin   yatin   shīkāh   (kitīh)*
> near   near   CON:walk   (animal)
> '(The animal) is walking very near.'

With a general quantifier:

> *kwāhah   shāhán   (ra)*
> much   HAB:go   (he)
> '(He) goes a lot.'

With a general quantifier phrase:

> *sīē   va   ni   taan*
> little   INTS   COM   quake
> 'There was a very small earthquake.'

With a content verb:

> *ndīhni   kaka   (ra)*
> CON:be:worried   POT:walk   (he)
> '(He) will walk in an agitated fashion.'

With the intensifier:

> *sha   nīhi*
> oh:very   CON:rumble
> 'Oh, it's rumbling a lot!'

> *sha   shītŭh   (eh)*
> oh:very   CON:weed   (we:IN)
> 'Oh, (we all) are getting a lot of weeding done!'

> **sha**   shihi   (rih   tikwī)
> oh:very   COM:drink   (it:AML   water)
> 'Oh, (it) drank a lot of (water)!'

> **sha**   kundoho   (ra)
> oh:very   POT:suffer   (he)
> 'Oh, (he) will suffer a lot!'

In sixth position, the negative marker occurs. It is expressed by replacing the tones of the following word by a mid low mid pattern. If this word has only two syllables, the first vowel is doubled to bear the first two tones.

> kūnduhūh   (ra   vihe   ra)
> NEG:POT:be:located:SG   (he   house   his)
> '(He) will not be at (his house).'

> kwāashīh   (ra   yahvi)
> NEG:CON:come   (he   market)
> '(He) is not coming (to market).'

> nāahmāh   (ah   tōto)
> NEG:POT:mend   (she   cloth)
> '(She) will not mend (the cloth).'

> kāaān   (ra   ñuhūh)
> NEG:CON:dig   (he   earth)
> '(He) is not digging (the earth).'

(See also 7.5, 7.21, and 7.23.)

Note that, for most regular verbs and some irregular verbs, this tone replacement results in neutralizing the distinction between potential and continuative aspect forms. The last two examples can also be translated '(She) is not mending (the cloth).' and '(He) will not dig (the earth).' In verbs of Class II (see 5.1.2), a final glottal stop is added to the verb in the negative form; and in irregular verbs of Class VII, a final glottal stop is added in potential aspect.

> kāahānh   (ra)
> NEG:POT:blush   (he)
> '(He) will not blush.'

kāakāh   *(ah)*
NEG:POT:walk (she)
'(She) will not walk.'

In verbs of Class VI, the replacement pattern is mid low mid low, with doubling of the final vowel to bear the extra tone.[1]

shāanǖ   *(ra)*
NEG:POT:dream   (he)
'(He) will not dream.'

Negative also occurs with verbs in completive aspect, in which case the tone replacement is spread across both *ni* and the verb nucleus.

nī   *nduhüh*   *(ra   vihe   ra)*
NEG:COM be:located:SG (he   house   his)
'(He) was not at (his house).'

nī   *kishīh*   *(ra   yahvi)*
NEG:COM COM:come (he   market)
'(He) did not come (to market).'

nī   *kaān (ra   ñuhüh)*
NEG:COM dig (he   earth)
'(He) did not dig (the earth).'

nī   *nahmāh (ah   tōto)*
NEG:COM mend (she   cloth)
'(She) did not mend (the cloth).'

nī   *kahānh*   *(ra)*
NEG:COM blush (he)
'(He) did not blush.'

There are also two specialized negative forms, which are restricted to completive aspect. Contrary-to-expectation forms use a mid low tone se-

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[1]There are a number of other irregularities in negative forms that are beyond the scope of this study. Because of these irregularities, there is some reason to consider negative forms to belong to inflectional morphology. Nevertheless, only one negative form is permitted in a sentence, and so it is treated here as a clitic, i.e., an element whose distribution belongs to the syntax, but whose form is realized as a change in a neighboring word.

quence on *ni*, and resigned forms use mid tone on *ni;* both forms use the continuative aspect form of the verb, rather than the completive form.

Contrary-to-expectation negative:

> *nū*   *kāān*   *(ra   ñuhūh)*
> CEX:NEG:COM   CON:dig   (he   earth)
> '(He) did not dig (the earth) (but he should have).'

> *nū*   *kāhānh*   *(ra)*
> CEX:NEG:COM   CON:blush (he)
> '(He) did not blush (but he should have).'

(See also 7.31, 7.34, and 7.41.)

Resigned negative:

> *nĭ*   *kāān*   *(ra   ñuhūh)*
> RSN:NEG:COM   CON:dig   (he   earth)
> '(He) did not dig (the earth) (and nothing more can be done).'

> *nĭ*   *kāhānh*   *(ra)*
> RSN:NEG:COM   CON:blush (he)
> '(He) did not blush (and nothing more can be done).'

The basic negative tone replacement can also occur with co-involvement and self-determinative, as well as on the verb nucleus.

> *mūīh*   *sachūūnh*   *(ra)*
> NEG:SPEC   POT:work   (he)
> '(He) will work not haphazardly.'

> *ūngāh*   *kūmīh*   *(ra   ñuhūh)*
> NEG:same:time CON:have (he   earth)
> 'They possess land not contemporaneously.'

Negative can also occur with preverbal manner expressed by a single modifier, which may be a stative verb, an adverb, a general quantifier, or a content verb. Only general adverbs and a limited number of locative adverbs occur in this construction.

With a stative verb:

> *ndāasūn   kāhán   (ra)*
> NEG:fragile   CON:speak   (he)
> '(He) is speaking in a not friendly manner.'

With adverbs:

> *sāakăn   ni   shachŭūnh   (unh)*
> NEG:thus   COM   COM:work   (you:SG)
> '(You) worked not like that.'

> *yāatĭn   kwāhan   (ra)*
> NEG:near   CON:go   (he)
> '(He) is going not near by.'

With a general quantifier:

> *kwāahāh   shāhán   (ra)*
> NEG:much   HAB:go   (he)
> '(He) goes not a lot.'

With a content verb:

> *ndīihnī   kaka   (ra)*
> NEG:CON:be:worried   POT:walk   (he)
> '(He) will walk not in an agitated fashion.'

In seventh preverbal position, the near-time marker *sha* 'already' occurs; it is almost homophonous with the intensifier. It means 'right now' when it occurs with verbs in continuative or potential aspect, and 'just now' when it occurs with verbs in completive aspect.

> *sha   shītūh   (ra)*
> already   CON:weed   (he)
> '(He) is weeding right now.'

> *sha   kutu   (ra)*
> already   POT:weed   (he)
> '(He) will weed right now.'

> sha   nāhīh   (ra   a)
> already CON:take:SG (he it:INAN)
> '(He) is taking (it) right now.'
>
> sha   nahi   (ra   a)
> already POT:take:SG (he it:INAN)
> '(He) will take (it) right now.'
>
> sha   ni   taan
> already COM   quake
> 'There already now was an earthquake.'
>
> sha   ni   ndīko   (rah)
> just COM   cool   (it:LIQ)
> '(It) just now cooled.'

In eighth preverbal position, the modal markers *na* and *nā* occur. The hortatory *na* always implies personal interest on the part of the speaker, and frequently a strong wish. A response is usually expected on the part of the addressee. Hortatory occurs with nonnegative verbs inflected for potential aspect; see 1.3.

> na   kūhun   (i)
> HORT POT:go   (I)
> 'Let (me) go!'
>
> na   satah   (eh   tātanh)
> HORT POT:buy (we:IN medicine)
> 'Let (us all) buy (medicine)!' *or* '(We all) wish to buy (medicine).'
>
> na   saa   (unh   ña   vaha)
> HORT POT:do   (you:SG it:INAN good)
> 'May (you) do ([me] a favor)!'
>
> na   kushi   (ra shūnh yūhu)
> HORT POT:eat (he with   me:EMPH)
> 'Let (him) eat (with me)!'
>
> na   chindyeēh (ndyosī yōhó)
> HORT POT:help   (God   you:SG)
> 'May (God [Sp. *Dios*]) help (you)!'
>
> (See also 7.28.)

The obligation marker *nā* is used to state a requirement. Like *na*, it occurs only with verbs inflected for potential aspect, but *nā* is not restricted to nonnegative forms.

> *nā   koho   (ra   tātanh)*
> OBL   POT:drink   (he   medicine)
> '(He) must drink (the medicine).'

> *nā   kūhun   (unh   yahvi)*
> OBL   POT:go   (you:SG   market)
> '(You) must go (to market).'

Preverbal manner, self-determinative, and co-involvement may be questioned nonspecifically by the interrogative adverb *saa* 'how?'

> *saa   ni   kāhan   (ra)*
> how   COM   speak   (he)
> 'How did (he) speak?'

> *saa   sachūūnh   (ra)*
> how   POT:work   (he)
> 'How will (he) work?'

(See also 7.17 and 7.26.)

Certain specific kinds of preverbal manner, such as quality, quantity, frequency, velocity, and loudness, may be questioned more specifically by *saa* 'how?', followed by a word that denotes significant magnitude in each semantic domain. (Compare 1.2.2, which describes a similar construction used to question the predicate of a stative sentence.)

> *saa   vaha   kutu   (ra)*
> how   good   POT:weed   (he)
> 'How well did (he) weed?'

> *saa   kwāhah   ni   taan*
> how   much   COM   quake
> 'How much did the earth quake?'

> *saa   shīkāh   ni   satah   (ra nūnih)*
> how   far   COM   buy   (he corn:kernel)
> 'How often did (he) buy (corn)?'

saa   kama   kwãhan   *(rih)*
how   fast   CON:go   (it:AML)
'How fast is (it) going?'

saa   tīhēh   kãhan   *(ra)*
how   hard   POT:speak   (he)
'How loudly will (he) speak?'

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are seven orders of elements follow-ing the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the end of the verb phrase they are: postverbal manner, reflexive, postverbal co-involvement, postverbal self-determinative, limiter, repetitive, and nominal.

In first postverbal position, postverbal manner occurs. It is distinguished from preverbal manner, and may cooccur with it. It is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers. Stative verbs and stative verb phrases are the most common elements in this position, but certain adverbs, adverb phrases, general quantifiers, and content verbs in continuative aspect also occur. A few lexical items are restricted to this position, but phrases containing the negative marker do not occur in it. However, most manner constituents occur in either preverbal or postverbal manner position.

With stative verbs:

koto   kini   *(ra)*
POT:look   awful   (he)
'(He) will scowl.'

kaka   kwīē   *(eh)*
POT:walk   slow   (we:IN)
'(We) will walk methodically.'

(See also 7.11, 7.16, and 7.36.)

With a stative verb phrase:

koto   kini   va   *(ra)*
POT:look   awful   INTS   (he)
'(He) will scowl a lot.'

With adverbs:

> *shāchūūnh*   *ndyaa*   *(ra)*
> CON:work   adheringly   (he)
> '(He) is working as an assistant.'

(See also 7.18 and 7.37.)

With an adverb phrase:

> *kaka*   *tuhva*   *va*   *(eh)*
> POT:walk   preparedly   INTS   (we:IN)
> '(We) will walk very preparedly.'

With a general quantifier:

> *kāhán*   *kwāhah*   *(ah)*
> CON:speak   much   (she)
> '(She) is speaking a lot.'

With a content verb:

> *kāhan*   *shīhé*   *(ra)*
> POT:speak   CON:be:angry   (he)
> '(He) will speak angrily.'

Two different manner modifiers sometimes occur in sequence in post-verbal manner position. In some cases the two modifiers may occur in either order with no apparent meaning change, but in others the order is fixed. This seems to be a function of the particular lexical items that occur as the nucleus and as the two modifiers. A full listing of such restrictions is beyond the scope of this paper.

With free order:

> *ni*   *tiin*   *kwachi*   *shīhé*   *ndyeēh*   *(ra   ikwān)*
> COM   hold   sin   CON:be:angry   strong   (he   John)
> 'Forcefully (he) angrily blamed (John).'

> *ni*   *tiin*   *kwachi*   *ndyeēh shīhé*   *(ra   ikwān)*
> COM   hold   sin   strong CON:be:angry (he   John)
> 'Angrily (he) forcefully blamed (John).'

> *kāhan*   *kāhnŭh*   *sŭh*   *māñā*   *(ra)*
> POT:speak   important   humorous   tempting   (he)
> 'Temptingly (Sp. *maña* 'evil habit') (he) will give a joshing speech.'

> *kāhan*   *kāhnŭh*   *māñā*   *sŭh*   _ *(ra)*
> POT:speak   important   tempting   humorous   (he)
> 'Joshingly (he) will give a tempting speech.'

> *kāhán*   *kāshĭh*   *tŭvĭh*   *(ra)*
> CON:speak   clear   visibly   (he)
> 'Openly (he) is speaking with clear concepts.'

> *kāhán*   *tŭvĭh*   *kāshĭh*   *(ra)*
> CON:speak   visibly   clear   (he)
> 'With clear concepts (he) is speaking openly.'

With fixed order:

> *shāhndyā*   *chŭŭnh*   *tŭvĭh*   *kwĭē*   *(ra)*
> CON:cut   worklike   visibly   slow   (he)
> 'Carefully (he) is openly administrating.'

> *ni*   *shachŭŭnh*   *sihē*   *māñā*   *(ra)*
> COM   COM:work   hidden   tempting   (he)
> 'Temptingly (he) secretly worked.'

> *kāhan*   *shii*   *kāshĭh*   *(ra)*
> POT:speak   tough   clear   (he)
> 'Hesitantly (he) is speaking clearly.'

Sometimes the same element occurs in both preverbal and postverbal manner; the sentences invariably have different meanings. While preverbal manner qualifies the verb, postverbal manner semantically infuses it, so that the combination of verb and postverbal manner is often difficult to distinguish from a complex nucleus. Consider the following pairs of sentences.

> *sŭh*   *kāhán*   *(ra)*
> humorous   CON:speak   (he)
> '(He) is speaking humorously.'

    cf. *kāhán*   *sīh*   *(ra)*
       CON:speak humorous (he)
       '(He) is speaking frivolously.'

ūhvi   *ni*   *kani*   *(ra)*
painful COM   hit   (he)
'(He) hit painfully.'

    cf. *ni*   *kani* *ūhvi*   *(ra)*
       COM hit   painful (he)
       '(He) hit hard.'

īh   *shīkāh*   *(ra)*
touchy CON:walk (he)
'(He) is walking carefully.'

    cf. *shīkāh*   *īh*   *(ra)*
       CON:walk touchy (he)
       '(He) is fasting.' (abstinence for spiritual power)

tīhēh   *kāhán*   *(ra)*
hard   CON:speak (he)
'(He) is speaking loudly.'

    cf. *kāhán*   *tīhēh*   *(ra)*
       CON:speak hard (he)
       '(He) is shouting.'

In second postverbal position, reflexive occurs, which comprises both reciprocal and reflexive notions. It occurs only in transitive sentences. Reciprocal is expressed by the verbal marker *tāhānh* 'each other', which denotes partial reciprocal interaction between two parties, or by either of two idioms, *shūnh tāhānh* 'with each other', which denotes complete reciprocal interaction between two parties, or *nūuh tāhānh* 'face of each other', which denotes either partial or complete reciprocity. Some verbs permit either partial or complete reciprocity, and others permit only one or the other.

    ndāsīh   *tāhānh*   *(ra)*
    CON:hate each:other (he)
    '(They) hate each other.' (one is more hostile)

ndāsīh   shūnh   tāhānh   (ra)
CON:hate   with   each:other (he)
'(They) hate each other.' (both are equally hostile)

katin   tāhānh   (ra)
POT:bet   each:other   (he)
'(They) will bet each other.'

kāhan   shūnh   tāhānh   (ra)
POT:speak   with   each:other (he)
'(They) will speak to each other.'

ni   shaku   shūnh   tāhānh   (ra)
COM COM:cry with   each:other (he)
'(They) commiserated with each other.' (They fully shared each
other's sorrow.)

ni   shaku   nūuh   tāhānh   (ra)
COM COM:cry face   each:other (he)
'(They) commiserated with each other.' (One enters empathetically
into the other's sorrow.)

kwiña   nūuh   tāhānh   (rih)
POT:growl   face   each:other (it:AML)
'(They) will growl at each other.'

Reflexive is expressed by *shūnh mīih* 'with self'.

ndāsīh   shūnh   mīih   (ra)
CON:hate   with   SPEC   (he)
'(He) hates himself.' *or* '(They) hate themselves.'

Sometimes an intensifying element follows one of these expressions.

shāchūūnh   shūnh   tāhānh   shachīh (ra)
CON:work   with   each:other always   (he)
'(They) are working always with each other.'

kāhán   shūnh   mīih   shachīh (ra)
CON:speak   with   SPEC   always   (he)
'(He) is talking always with himself.'

In third postverbal position, the co-involvement marker *īngāh* 'same time' occurs. It denotes that members of a plural subject are simultaneously and jointly involved in the predication. (This word also occurs in preverbal position with a somewhat different meaning.)

> *yōō*   *īngāh*   *(te   tātú   ra)*
> CON:exist   same:time   (he   hired   his)
> '(They) have (hired men) in common.'

> *kūmīh*   *īngāh*   *(ra   ñuhūh)*
> CON:have   same:time   (he   earth)
> '(They) possess (land) in common.'

> *ni*   *satah*   *īngāh*   *(ra   nūnih)*
> COM   buy   same:time   (he   corn:kernel)
> '(They) jointly bought (the corn).'

As with reflexive, an intensifying element occasionally follows *īngāh*.

> *shāchūūnh*   *īngāh*   *shachīh*   *(ra)*
> CON:work   same:time   always   (he)
> '(They) are working always simultaneously together.'

In fourth postverbal position, the self-determinative element occurs. It is expressed by the specifier *miīh* 'self', and it denotes that the subject's involvement in the predication is without reason or purpose. (This word also occurs in preverbal position with a somewhat different meaning.)

> *sachūūnh*   *miīh*   *(ra)*
> POT:work   SPEC   (he)
> '(He) will work upon whim.'   *or*   '(He) will work for no reason.'

> *shāhndyā*   *miīh*   *(ra   itūnh)*
> CON:cut   SPEC   (he   tree)
> '(He) is cutting (the tree) without any reason.'

> *kāhán*   *miīh*   *(ra)*
> CON:speak   SPEC   (he)
> '(He) is speaking on his own.'   *or*   '(He) is just talking.'

As with reflexive and postverbal co-involvement, an intensifying element occasionally follows *miīh*.

    kāhán   *miīh*   *shachīh*   *(ra)*
    CON:speak SPEC   always   (he)
    '(He) is talking always without a reason.'

In fifth postverbal position, limiter occurs. It is expressed by seven general markers. *kwitih* 'just' denotes that the subject's involvement does not go beyond that specified by the predication.

    ni   *kāhan*   *kwitih* *(ra*   *shīīnh* *ra)*
    COM   speak   just   (he   with   him)
    '(He) just spoke (to him).'

The intensifier *va* 'very' intensifies the predication, and *ka* 'more' extends it temporally.

    kīshí   *va*   *(ra)*
    CON:sleep INTS (he)
    '(He) is sleeping a lot.'

    kīshí   *ka*   *(ra)*
    CON:sleep ADD   (he)
    '(He) is still sleeping.'

    (See also 7.5 and 7.41.)

vih 'excessive' denotes a predication that is in excess of what would be considered appropriate.

    ni   *shitu*   *vih*   *(ra)*
    COM COM:weed excessive (he)
    '(He) weeded too much.'

    shīhīh   *vih*   *(rih*   *tikwī)*
    CON:drink excessive (it:AML water)
    '(It) is drinking too much (water).'

The limiter *ni* 'only' shows that the predicate is less extensive in some respect than what is possible.

    ni   *taan*   *ni*
    COM quake LIM
    'There was only an earthquake.'

ni   kīshi   ni   (ra)
COM   COM:sleep   LIM   (he)
'(He) only slept.'

shīhīh   ni   (rih   tikwī)
CON:drink   LIM   (it:AML   water)
'(It) is only drinking (water).'

The desiderative *na* 'hope' communicates that the speaker desires realization of the predication. It frequently combines with the preverbal element *na* 'hortatory'.

tāan   na
CON:quake   HOPE
'I hope there is an earthquake!'

kwashi   na   (ra)
CON:come   HOPE   (he)
'I hope (he) is coming!'

ni   nahi   na   (ra   ndushīh)
COM   take:SG   HOPE   (he   hen)
'I hope (he) took (the hen)!'

na   chindyeēh   na   (ndyosī   yōhó)
HORT   POT:help   HOPE   (God   you:SG)
'Oh, I hope that (God) may help (you)!'

The dubitative *xān* denotes the speaker's doubt with reference to the predication.

ni   nihi   xān
COM   rumble   DOUBT
'It maybe rumbled.'

ndīkó   xān   (rah)
CON:cool   DOUBT   (it:LIQ)
'Maybe (it) is cooling'

koho   xān   (rih   tikwī)
POT:drink   DOUBT   (it:AML   water)
'Maybe (it) will drink (water).'

It is possible to have two or more limiters in one verb phrase, but a treatment of the possible combinations and preferred orders is beyond the scope of this paper.

In sixth postverbal position, repetitive occurs, expressed by the general markers *tuku* 'again' and *tu* 'also'. *tuku* refers to a predication that is repeated by the same subject, and *tu* refers to the same predication repeated by another subject.

> *kushi   tuku (ra)*
> POT:eat   REP (he)
> '(He) will eat again.'

> *ni   shihi   tuku (rih   tikwī)*
> COM   COM:drink   REP (it:AML water)
> '(It) drank (water) again.'

> *ni   taan   tu*
> COM   quake   also
> 'There was also an earthquake.'

> *kwashi   tu   (ah)*
> CON:come   also   (she)
> '(She) is also coming.'

(See also 7.9.)

In seventh postverbal position, nominal occurs, expressed by either the known-object marker or a body-part noun. The known-object marker *ñahāh* refers to third person human direct objects of either sex or any number, and it occurs instead of a free object pronoun elsewhere in the sentence. It is used when the referent is clear from the context.

> *ni   kani ñahāh (ra)*
> COM   hit   KNO   (he)
> '(He) hit him/her/them.'

> *chindyeēh   ñahāh   (nya)*
> POT:help   KNO   (they)
> '(They) will help him/her/them.'

(See also 7.25.)

Various nouns referring to body parts combine with an intransitive verb to form idioms which are similar to verb-plus-noun nuclei, except that the two parts of the former are potentially separated by other postverbal elements. (Note that body-part nouns also occur in some verb-plus-noun nuclei.)

> *kwaku*   *ini*   *(ra)*
> POT:cry   insides   (he)
> '(He) will grieve.'

> *ndahni*   *nīmá*   *(ra)*
> POT:be:satisfied   heart   (he)
> '(He) will be satisfied (Sp. *ánima*).' (with food)

> *ni*   *kahan*   *nǖuh*   *(ra)*
> COM   blush   face   (he)
> '(He) blushed.'

(See also 7.21.)

Postverbal elements cannot be questioned.

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. The cooccurrence restrictions among preverbal elements are the following. The hortatory marker *na* does not occur with near time, the intensifier *sha,* or negative. The intensifier *sha* does not occur with co-involvement, self-determinative, or directional. Near time also does not occur with co-involvement or self-determinative. Negative does not occur with directional. When the near-time marker *sha* immediately precedes the nearly homophonous intensifier, there is a pause between the two.

> *sha*   *kūn*   *kūsu*   *(rih)*
> already   POT:DIR   POT:sleep   (it:AML)
> '(It) right now will go (somewhere) to sleep.'

> *kwīē*   *īngāh*   *kwān*   *koho*   *(rih*   *tikwī)*
> slow   same:time   CON:DIR   POT:drink   (it:AML   water)
> '(They) are going (somewhere) each to drink (water) slowly at the same time.'

> na   kīhih   miīh   tuhun   (ra   kūhu)
> HORT   quickly SPEC   POT:pull (he   weeds)
> 'Let (him) pull (the weeds) quickly and haphazardly!'

> na   sīē   miīh   kūn   koho   (ah   tikwī)
> HORT   little SPEC   POT:DIR   POT:drink   (she water)
> 'Let (her) go (somewhere) to do a little haphazard drinking (of water)!'

> sha / sha   ni   .   chihi   (ra   nduchīh)
> already oh:very COM   plant   (he   bean)
> 'Oh, (he) just did a lot of planting (of beans)!'

> nā   sāchuūnh   (ndōhó   tyāan)
> OBL   NEG:POT:work   (you:PL:EMPH   tomorrow)
> '(You) must not work (tomorrow)!'

The cooccurrence restrictions among postverbal elements are the following: reflexive does not occur with nominal; and self-determinative does not occur with *va* 'very' or *vih* 'excessive'. Furthermore, it is rare for speakers to use more than four elements in a single verb phrase.

> sukuh   yohōh tāhānh   miīh   (ra)
> POT:strike   vine   each:other SPEC   (he)
> '(They) will strike each other with a rope for no reason.'

> ndāsīh   ndyeēh   shūnh   tāhānh   īngāh   (ra)
> CON:hate   strong   with   each:other   same:time   (he)
> 'At the same time (they) are deeply hating each other.'

> ndāsīh   shūnh   tāhānh   va   xān   (ra)
> CON:hate   with   each:other   INTS   DOUBT   (he)
> 'Maybe (they) are hating each other a lot.'

> ni   kāhan vīe   shūnh   miīh   va   (ra)
> COM   speak heavy   with   SPEC   INTS   (he)
> '(He) spoke very seriously to himself.'

> kāhán   tīhēh   shūnh   miīh   miīh   (ra)
> CON:speak   hard   with   SPEC   SPEC   (he)
> '(They) are shouting to themselves for no reason.'

kāhan   kwīē shinaha kwitih ka   (ra)
POT:speak slow really   just   ADD (he)
'(He) will still just speak really methodically.'

ni   kāhan kwitih ka   vih   xān   (ra   shūnh ra)
COM   speak just   ADD   excessive DOUBT   (he   with   him)
'Maybe (he) still just spoke excessively (to him).'

ni   kāhan vih   na   xān   tu   (ra   shūnh ra)
COM   speak excessive HOPE DOUBT also (he   with   him)
'Maybe, I hope, (he) also spoke excessively (to him)!'

ni   kāhan va   ni   xān   nīmá (ra   shāhah a)
COM   speak INTS LIM   DOUBT heart (he   foot   its:INAN)
'Maybe (he) only longed very much (for it).'

ni   kani ūhvi   chuun   xān   tuku ñahāh (ra)
COM   hit painful intentionally DOUBT REP KNO   (he)
'(He) may have hit him/her/them hard again intentionally.'

Cooccurrence restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements
are as follows: *sha* 'oh! very' does not occur with *kwitih* 'just', *vih* 'exces-
sive', or *ni* 'only'; and preverbal *īngāh* 'same time' does not occur with
postverbal *īngāh*. All other combinations of preverbal and postverbal ele-
ments are possible.

na   kwīē īngāh   kūn   sukuh   yohōh tāhānh
HORT slow same:time POT:DIR POT:strike vine   each:other
'Let (them) go (somewhere) to slowly strike each

   (ra)
   (he)
   other at the same time with a rope!'

na   mīīh kāhan   tīhēh shūnh mīīh mīīh (ra)
HORT SPEC POT:speak hard with SPEC SPEC (he)
'Let (him) haphazardly shout to himself for no reason!'

nāhnūh   ni   shān   kuun   yūuh shīhé   na
occasionally   COM   COM:DIR POT:pelt   stone CON:be:angry HOPE
'I hope maybe (he) returned from occasionally angrily

> *xān*   *tu*   *ñahāh*   *(ra)*
> DOUBT   also   KNO   (he)
> stoning   him/her/them!'

sha   *ni*   *shān*   *sukuh*   *yohōh*   *shūnh*   *miīh*   *na*
already   COM   COM:DIR   POT:strike   vine   with   SPEC   HOPE
'I hope maybe (he) also just now returned from

> *xān*   *tu*   *(ra)*
> DOUBT   also   (he)
> striking himself with a rope.'

siē   *ni*   *kāhan*   *va*   *ni*   *xān*   *nīmá*   *(ra*   *shāhah*   *a)*
little   COM   speak   INTS   LIM   DOUBT   heart   (he   foot   its:INAN)
'Maybe (he) was only longing very much for a little time (for it).'

sha / *sha*   *shīshīh*   *īngāh*   *sākā*   *xān*   *tuku*   *(ra)*
already   oh:very   CON:eat   same:time   in:vain   DOUBT   REP   (he)
'Oh, maybe (they) are just now again eating together a lot, in vain!'

(See also 7.5 and 7.41.)

2.1.5 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, any one of the following preverbal elements may be focused by permuting it to a position preceding the verb phrase: manner, the co-involvement marker *īngāh* 'same time', and the self-determinative marker *miīh* 'haphazardly'. Frequently no other preverbal element cooccurs to syntactically reveal that the sentence-initial preverbal element is focused, in which case the initial element is stressed to indicate that it is focused. (Stress is expressed phonetically by a combination of length and throat stricture on the first syllable of the stressed word; stressed words are in boldface type in the following examples.)

> *ndyāā*   *na*   *kāhan*   *(ra*   *shūnh*   *ah)*
> rarely   HORT   POT:speak   (he   with   her)
> 'RARELY, let (him) speak (to her)!'

>> cf. **ndyāā** *kāhan*   *(ra*   *shūnh*   *ah)*
>> rarely   POT:speak   (he   with   her)
>> (He) RARELY speaks (to her).'

īngāh   *sha*   *ni*   *shitu*   *(ra)*
same:time   already   COM   COM:weed   (he)
'AT THE SAME TIME (they) just now weeded.'

    cf. *īngāh*   *shitu*   *(ra)*
       same:time   COM:weed   (he)
       'AT THE SAME TIME (they) weeded.'

miīh   *sha*   *shīhīh*   *(ra tikwī)*
SPEC   already   CON:drink   (he   water)
'(He) right now is drinking (water) RECKLESSLY.'

    cf. *miīh*   *shīhīh*   *(ra   tikwī)*
       SPEC   CON:drink   (he   water)
       '(He) is drinking (water) RECKLESSLY.'

Postverbal elements cannot be focused. Some of the markers that occur as postverbal elements may, however, occur in preverbal position as a constituent of a stative verb phrase or adverb phrase expressing manner (see 2.3 or 4.2).

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on the two basic equative verbs *kunduu* 'to be equal' and *kunanīh* 'to be named'. Neither of these verbs enters into the formation of complex nuclei.

   The verb *kunduu* occurs freely with preverbal elements, except that it does not occur with the habitual directional, and preverbal manner is limited to adverbs of frequency.

kūn   *kunduu*   *(ra   sūtu)*
POT:DIR   POT:be:equal   (he   priest)
'(He) is going (somewhere) to be (a priest).'

ni   *ndūu*   *(ra   te   vaha)*
COM   COM:be:equal   (he   he   good)
'(He) was (a good man).'

miīh   *kunduu*   *(ra   vāchō)*
SPEC   POT:be:equal   (he   soldier)
'(He) will recklessly be (a soldier [reg. Sp. *guacho*]).'

īngāh   ndūu   (*ra te meē*)
same:time COM:be:equal   (he he ?)
'(They) were (messengers) at the same time.'

ndyāā ndūūh   (*ra   te   chūūnh*)
rarely CON:be:equal   (he   he   worklike)
'(He) is rarely (president).'

nī   nduū   (*ra te   kwīhnah*)
NEG:COM   COM:be:equal   (he he   thieving)
'(He) wasn't (a thief).'

sha   ndūu   (*ra   vāchō*)
already COM:be:equal   (he   soldier)
'(He) just now was (a soldier).'

na   kunduu   (*ra   te   meē*)
HORT   POT:be:equal   (he   he   ?)
'Let (him) be (a messenger)!'

nā   kunduu   (*ra   te   chūūnh*)
OBL   POT:be:equal   (he   he   worklike)
'(He) must become (the president).'

The verb *kunduu* occurs with all postverbal elements except reflexive and nominal, but the intensifier *va* 'very' does not express limiter.

kunduu   *vaha*   (*ra   sūtu*)
POT:be:equal   good   (he   priest)
'(He) will be good (as a priest).'

ndūūh   *īngāh*   (*ra te   meē*)
CON:be:equal   same:time   (he he ?)
'(They) are jointly (messengers).'

ni   ndūu   *miīh*   (*ra te   tātū*)
COM COM:be:equal   SPEC   (he he   hired)
'(He) was (a hired man) for no reason.'

ndūūh   *kwitih*   (*ra   vāchō*)
CON:be:equal   just   (he   soldier)
'(He) is just (a soldier).'

kunduu   *ka*   *(ra   te   meē)*
POT:be:equal   ADD   (he   he   ?)
'(He) will still be (a messenger).'

ndūu   *vih*   *(ra te   chūūnh)*
COM:be:equal   excessive   (he he   worklike)
'(He) was unnecessarily (president).'

ndūūh   *ni*   *(ra   te   vaha)*
CON:be:equal   LIM   (he   he   good)
'(He) is mainly (a good man).'

kunduu   *na*   *(ra   sūtu)*
POT:be:equal   HOPE   (he   priest)
'I hope (he) will be (a priest)!'

ndūu   *xān*   *(ra   te   chūūnh)*
COM:be:equal   DOUBT   (he   he   worklike)
'Maybe (he) was (president).'

kunduu   *tu*   *(ra   vāchō)*
POT:be:equal   also   (he   soldier)
'(He) will also be (a soldier).'

ndūūh   *tuku*   *(ra   te   meē)*
CON:be:equal   REP   (he   he   ?)
'(He) is (a messenger) again.'

The following sentences show *kunduu* with various combinations of preverbal and postverbal elements.

miīh   *kunduu*   *yāchi*   *īngāh*   *miīh*
SPEC   POT:be:equal   quickly   same:time   SPEC
'Quickly for no reason, (they) will recklessly be

  (ra   te   tātú)
  (he   he   hired)
  a joint group of (hired men).'

nāhnūh   *īngāh*   *kunduu*   *miīh*   *ndivaha*
occasionally   same:time   POT:be:equal   SPEC   inappropriate
'Occasionally, for no reason, (they) will indiscreetly

(ra   te   tātú)
(he   he   hired)
be (hired men) at the same time.'

ni   shān   kunduu   ka   ni   na   (ra   te   chúūnh)
COM   COM:DIR   POT:be:equal   ADD   LIM   HOPE   (he   he   worklike)
'I hope, (he) returned from still mainly being (president)!'

kwān   kunduu   ka   vih   tuku   (ra   te   chúūnh)
CON:DIR   POT:be:equal   ADD   excessive   REP   (he   he   worklike)
'(He) is going (somewhere) to continue again to unnecessarily be (president).'

The verb *kunanīh* 'to be named' occurs with all preverbal elements except self-determinative and preverbal manner.

kwān   kunanīh   (ra   te   chúūnh)
CON:DIR   POT:be:named   (he   he   worklike)
'(He) is going (somewhere) to be proclaimed (president).'

ni   nanīh   (ah   mariā)
COM   be:named   (she   Mary)
'(She) was named (Mary).'

īngāh   nanīh   (rih   mēkō)
same:time   CON:be:named   (it:AML   Streaky)
'(They) are each named (Streaky [reg. Sp. *meco*]).'

nī   nanīh   (ikūh   kwāshah)
NEG:COM   be:named   (mountain   Kwashah)
'(The mountain) wasn't named (Kwashah).'

sha   nanīh   (ra   pēgrū)
already   CON:be:named   (he   Peter)
'(He) right now is being named (Peter).'

na   kunanīh   (ra   ikwān)
HORT   POT:be:named   (he   John)
'Let (him) be named (John)!'

nā   kunanĭh   (ra   kĭvih   yūhu)
OBL   POT:be:named   (he   day   my:EMPH)
'(He) must be named my name.'

kunanĭh 'to be named' occurs with all postverbal elements except reflexive, co-involvement, and nominal, but the intensifier va 'very' and additive ka 'more' do not express limiter.

kunanĭh   kĭhih   (ra   ikwān)
POT:be:named   quickly   (he   John)
'(He) quickly will be named (John).'

nanĭh   miĭh   (ra   nūuh   shĭhé)
CON:be:named   SPEC   (he   face   CON:be:angry)
'(He) is unjustifiably called (poker face).'

ni   nanĭh   shachĭh   (ah   ñā   sūshānh)
COM   be:named   always   (she   she   lazy)
'Always, (she) was called (lazy one)!'

ni   nanĭh   kwitih   (ra   pēgrū)
COM   be:named   just   (he   Peter)
'(He) was just named (Peter).'

nanĭh   vih   (ra   tyoho   ñuu)
CON:be:named   excessive   (he   root   town)
'(He) inappropriately is being considered (the town father).'

ni   nanĭh   ni   (ah   mañā)
COM   be:named   LIM   (she   Mary)
'(She) was only called (Mary).'

kunanĭh   na   (ra   pēgrū)
POT:be:named   HOPE   (he   Peter)
'I hope (he) will be named (Peter)!'

nanĭh   xān   (ra   matĭ)
CON:be:named   DOUBT   (he   Martin)
'Maybe (he) is being called Martin (Sp. Martín).'

> *nanīh*   *tu*   *(ra   matī)*
> CON:be:named   also   (he   Martin)
> '(He) is also being called Martin.'

> *kunanīh*   *tuku (ra   te   chūūnh)*
> POT:be:named   REP   (he   he   worklike)
> '(He) will be named as (president) again.'

The following sentences show *kunanīh* with various combinations of preverbal and postverbal elements.

> *sha*   *kunanīh*   *sīīh*   *miīh   sākā*   *ni*   *(ra   kwātē)*
> already   POT:be:named humorous   SPEC in:vain   LIM   (he   twin)
> 'In jest, (he) right now will only be called Twin (Sp. *cuate*) for no reason.'

> *na*   *īngāh*   *kūn*   *kunanīh*   *na*   *tu*
> HORT   same:time   POT:DIR   POT:be:named   HOPE   also
> 'I hope (they) will go (somewhere) also to be named

> *(ra   te   chūūnh)*
> (he   he   worklike)
> (president) at the same time!'

> *sha*   *ni*   *nanīh*   *vih*   *xān*   *tuku*
> already   COM   be:named   excessive   DOUBT   REP
> 'Maybe (he) just now inappropriately was again called

> *(ra   nūuh   shīhé)*
> (he   face   CON:be:angry)
> (poker face).'

2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases consist of a stative verb plus various preverbal and postverbal modifiers. They occur both in the predicate of stative sentences (see 1.1.6), either alone or together with a small set of bleached content verbs, and as preverbal or postverbal manner in content verb phrases.

When stative verbs occur as the predicate of stative sentences in the absence of an equative verb or a bleached content verb, they occur with preverbal co-involvement, preverbal manner, expressed only by a few general quantifiers and the intensifier, near time, and negative (which is

usually expressed by replacing the tones of the following word by a
mid-low-mid pattern [see 5.9]).

> *īngāh*   *ndyeēh*   *(ra)*
> same:time   strong   (he)
> '(They) are strong at the same time.'

> *sīē*   *vīshāh*   *(tōto)*
> little   wet   (cloth)
> 'A small portion (of the cloth) is wet.'

> *vāvāah*   *vīshāh*   *(tōto)*
> slightly   wet   (cloth)
> '(The cloth) is damp.'

> *vūshāh*   *(tōto)*
> NEG:wet   (cloth)
> '(The cloth) is not wet.'

> **sha**   *kūtuh*   *(yohōh)*
> oh:very   tight   (vine)
> 'Oh, (the rope) is very tight!'

> *sha*   *kūtuh*   *(yohōh)*
> already   tight   (vine)
> 'Right now (the rope) is tight.'

Stative verbs that do not occur together with an equative or content
verb occur with all postverbal elements except reflexive. Postverbal manner
is limited to stative verbs, general adverbs, and adverbs denoting degree;
and nominal is limited to body-part nouns, which form idioms.

With postverbal manner:

> *kūtuh*   *sīih*   *(yohōh)*
> tight   humorous   (vine)
> '(The rope) is ridiculously tight.'

> *kūtuh*   *ndyāā*   *(yohōh)*
> tight   rarely   (vine)
> '(The rope) is rarely tight.'

    vīshāh   yāha   (tōto)
    wet   surpassing   (cloth)
    '(The cloth) is extremely wet.'

    vīshāh   mbahla   (tōto)
    wet   watery   (cloth)
    '(The cloth) is sopping wet.'

With body-part nouns:

    vīe   ini   (ra)
    heavy   insides   (he)
    '(He) is lethargic.'

    kūtuh   nīmá   (ra)
    tight   heart   (he)
    '(He) is selfish.'

    shisha   nūuh   (ra)
    old   face   (he)
    '(He) is shameless.'

    kama   ndahāh   (ra)
    fast   hand   (he)
    '(He) is light-fingered.'

    tīhēh   shīnih   (ra)
    hard   head   (he)
    '(He) is dull witted.'

With other postverbal elements:

    nyahā   īngāh   (ra)
    evil   same:time   (he)
    '(They) are unitedly evil.'

    kūtuh   miīh   (yohōh)
    tight   SPEC   (vine)
    '(The rope) is tight for no reason.'

ndatunh   kwitih   (sahmāh)
pretty   just   (tortilla:cloth)
'(The cloth) is just pretty.'

āsinh   va   (māngō)
delicious   INTS   (mango)
'(The mango) is very delicious.'

vīshāh   ka   (tōto)
wet   ADD   (cloth)
'(The cloth) continues to be wet.'

kūtuh   vih   (yohōh)
tight   excessive   (vine)
'(The rope) is excessively tight.'

kwāān   ni   (saa)
yellow   LIM   (bird)
'(The bird) is only yellow.'

ndatunh   na   (sahmāh)
pretty   HOPE   (tortilla:cloth)
'I hope (the tortilla cloth) is pretty.'

āsinh   xān   (māngō)
delicious   DOUBT   (mango)
'Maybe (the mango) is delicious.'

kūtuh   tu   (yohōh)
tight   also   (vine).
'(The rope) is also tight.'

vīshāh   tuku   (a)
wet   REP   it:INAN
'(It) is wet again.'

(See also 7.23 and 7.24.)

The following sentences show stative verb phrases with various combinations of preverbal and postverbal elements.

īngāh   nyahā miīh   (ra)
same:time evil   SPEC   (he)
'(They) are simultaneously evil for no reason.'

sha   vīshāh shinaha kwitih ka   ni   (tōto)
already wet   really   just   ADD LIM (cloth)
'Right now, (the cloth) really is only still just wet.'

sīē   īngāh   vīshāh tūvīh vih   (tōto)
little   same:time wet   visibly excessive (cloth)
'Visibly, small portions (of the cloths) simultaneously are unnecessarily wet.'

sha / sha   vīshāh va   na   xān   tu   (tōto)
already oh:very wet   INTS HOPE DOUBT also (cloth)
'Oh, I hope maybe (the cloth) is right now also very wet!'

vīe   va   ni   na   xān   ini   (ra)
heavy   INTS LIM HOPE DOUBT insides (he)
'I hope maybe (he) is only very lethargic!'

vūē   va   na   ini   (ra)
NEG:heavy INTS HOPE insides (he)
'I hope (he) is not very lethargic!'

When stative verbs precede a bleached content verb to form a stative sentence, the stative verb takes only manner, co-involvement, near time, and negative as preverbal elements, but it takes all postverbal elements except reflexive, co-involvement, and nominal. The bleached content verb in this construction takes only preverbal directional, completive, and hortatory; and it does not take any postverbal elements. When hortatory is present, it precedes the stative verb phrase. In the following sentences, the subject is enclosed in parentheses, and the bleached content verb and its modifiers in square brackets.

vīshāh yāha   vih   tu   [koo]   (tōto)
wet   surpassing excessive also [POT:exist] (cloth)
'(The cloth) [will] also [be] extremely wet to an excess.'

īngāh   ndāhvī va   xān   [ni   shān   koo]   (ra)
same:time poor   INTS DOUBT [COM COM:DIR POT:exist] (he)
'Maybe (they) both [were going to be] very poorly dressed.'

[na]   *sīē*   *kwīē kwitih   ni*   *[kuu]*   *(ra)*
[HORT]   little   slow   just   LIM   [POT:be:inherently]   (he)
'[May] (he) [be] only just a little prudent!"

sha   *ndyenī sākā*   *[ni*   *kuu]*   *(ra)*
already   violent in:vain   [COM   be:inherently]   (he)
'(He) just now [was] uselessly violent.'

sha   *kwāhah   ñūñūh   mīīh   tuku   [kūnī]*   *(ah)*
oh:very   much   proud   SPEC   REP   [CON:appear]   (she)
'Oh, (she) [appears] extensively proud again without reason!'

kwīīhē   *ka*   *tuku [ni*   *kuni]*   *(te*   *lūlū)*
NEG:thin   ADD   REP   [COM   appear]   (he   small:SG)
'(The boy) didn't [appear] thinner again.'

nāhnūh   *shavaha*   *na*   *[ūnh]*   *(rih)*
big:PL   amazing   HOPE   [CON:appear:PL]   (it:AML)
'(They) [are] hopefully very large.'

āsinh   *yāha*   *shavaha*   *[ūnh]*   *(māngō)*
delicious   surpassing amazing   [CON:appear:PL]   (mango)
'(The mangos) [are apparently] exceedingly amazingly delicious.'

kwāān   *vāvāah*   *ka*   *[ni*   *kāa]*   *(marīā)*
yellow   slightly   ADD   [COM   COM:appear:SG]   (Mary)
'(Mary) [was] slightly fairer.'

ndatunh   *shavaha*   *[ni*   *kāa]*   *(ah)*
pretty   amazing   [COM   COM:appear:SG]   (she)   '
'(She) [was apparently] amazingly pretty.'

(See also 7.22.)

When stative verbs occur in the preverbal manner position of a content verb phrase, the stative verb phrase is unrestricted in its expansion possibilities. All preverbal elements occur with the stative verb except for directional, completive, negative, and hortatory, which occur with the content verb. When hortatory is present, it precedes the stative verb phrase. Postverbal elements occur with both the stative verb and the content verb. When the same postverbal element occurs with both the stative verb and the content verb, a pause must follow the stative verb

phrase. The following sentences show stative verb phrases modifying content verb phrases.

[na]   sīē   ndyeēh kwitih [kūn   kutu   na]   (ra)
[HORT] little strong just   [POT:DIR POT:weed HOPE] (he)
'[Let] (him), [I hope, go to weed] in a way that involves just a little effort!'

sīē   tīīhēh   ka   [kāhan   na]   (ah)
little NEG:hard ADD [POT:speak HOPE] (she)
'(She) [I hope will speak] not a little louder.'

mīīh   nyahā xān   [shīkāh   ni   tu]   (ra)
SPEC   evil   DOUBT [CON:walk LIM also]   (he)
'(He) [is also only walking] in a way that is haphazardly possibly evil.'

vaha   ka   na   [shāchuūnh   sūh   tuku]   (ra)
good   ADD HOPE [NEG:CON:work humorous REP]   (he)
'(He) [is not working for fun again] in an expected better way.'

sīē   ndyeēh chuun   na   [ni   shitu   kwitih] (ra)
little strong intentionally HOPE [COM COM:weed just]   (he)
'(He) [just weeded] in a way that involves an expected bit of intentional effort.'

īngāh   vīe   na   / [kāhan   ndivaha   na]   (ra)
same:time heavy HOPE   [POT:speak inappropriate HOPE] (he)
'(They), [I hope, will speak inappropriately], speaking at the same time in a way that is expectedly trying.'

sha   vāvāah kini   chuun   ka   xān /
already slightly awful intentionally ADD DOUBT
'(He) [is still eating] in a way that right now maybe is

[shīshīh   ka]   (ra)
[CON:eat   ADD] (he)
intentionally still slightly awful.'

In one specialized construction containing a stative verb phrase as preverbal manner, the content verb is a compound formed by combining one of the verbs *kuu* 'to be (inherently)', *nduu* 'to be equal', or *nanduu* 'to

be transformed' with a stative verb (see 5.1.1). This kind of derived content verb refers to a process. In this construction, the stative verb that serves as the nucleus of the stative verb phrase in the preverbal manner position is identical to the stative verb in the compound. The content verb permits no preverbal elements other than the preverbal manner phrase except hortatory and completive. This redundant construction allows the speaker to focus certain modifiers by placing them in the stative verb phrase, rather than in the content verb phrase.

sīē   vīshāh   tuku   [ni   ku-vīshāh   kwitih]   (tōto)
little   wet   REP   [COM be:inherently-wet   just]   (cloth)
'A SMALL PORTION AGAIN (of the cloth) [became just wet].'

īngāh   kūtuh   shinaha   [ku-kūtuh
same:time   tight   really   [POT:be:inherently-tight
'AT THE SAME TIME (the ropes) [also will] REALLY [become

    vih   tu]   (yohōh)
    excessive   also]   (vine)
    excessively tight].'

sha   /   sha   ndyenī   [kū-ndyenī
already   oh:very violent   [CON:be:inherently-violent
'OH , [I hope] (it) [is] JUST NOW [becoming

    yāha   na]   (rih)
    surpassing   HOPE]   (it:AML)
    extremely violent]!'

vīshāh   miīh   ni   [ni   ndu-vīshāh   xān]   (tōto)
wet   SPEC   LIM   [COM   be:equal-wet DOUBT]   (cloth)
'[Maybe] (the cloth) ONLY [got completely wet] WITHOUT A REASON.'

[na]   kūtuh   na   [ndu-kūtuh   shinaha   va]   (yohōh)
[HORT]   tight   HOPE   [POT:be:equal-tight   really   INTS]   (vine)
'[May] (the rope), I HOPE, [really get very tight]!'

ndyenī   vāvāah   xān   [ndū-ndyenī   tuku]   (rih)
violent slightly DOUBT   [CON:be:equal-violent   REP]   (it:AML)
'MAYBE (it) [is getting] SLIGHTLY [violent again].'

vīshāh   vih   [ni   nandu-vīshāh   ka]   (tōto)
wet   excessive [COM be:transformed-wet   ADD]   (cloth)
'(The cloth) [has been transformed into being] EXCESSIVELY
[wetter].'

kūtuh   kwitih   [nandu-kūtuh   miīh]   *(yohōh)*
tight   just   [POT:be:transformed-tight SPEC]   (vine)
'(The rope) JUST [will be transformed into being tight without a
reason].'

ndyenī   va   [nāndū-ndyenī   ni]   *(rih)*
violent INTS [CON:be:transformed-violent LIM]   (it:AML)
'(It) [only is being transformed into being] VERY [violent].'

When stative verb phrases occur in the postverbal manner position of
content verb phrases, they may contain only a nucleus and one or more
intensifying elements expressing the postverbal manner position within the
stative verb phrase. Further study is needed to determine the specific
elements that can occur, their possible orderings, and the precise syntactic
relation among them.

[nihi]   *ndyeēh   yāha*
[POT:rumble]   strong   surpassing
'[It will rumble] surpassingly powerfully.'

[kīshí]   *kini   shavaha (ra)*
[CON:sleep]   awful   amazing (he)
'(He) [is sleeping] amazingly fretfully.'

[ni   satah]   yahvi   yāha   shavaha (ra   a)
[COM buy]   expensive surpassing amazing (he it:INAN)
'(He) amazingly surpassingly expensively [bought] (it).'

[koo]   *mānih   yāha   (ra)*
[POT:exist]   peaceful surpassing (he)
'(He) [is living] surpassingly peacefully.'

[kūūh]   *nyahā   shavaha   (ra)*
[CON:be:inherently]   evil   amazing   (he)
'(He) [is behaving] amazingly evilly.'[2]

2.4 Continuous Verb Phrases

Continuous verb phrases involve doubling the verb nucleus, including its word-level aspect. All nonmomentary verbs enter into this construction: for content and equative verbs, it signifies continuation of predication; and for stative verbs, it intensifies the state. The object of a transitive verb is optionally unexpressed in this construction.

nihi   nihi
POT:rumble   POT:rumble
'It is going to keep on rumbling.'

kwashi   kwashi   (ah)
CON:come   CON:come   (she)
'(She) keeps on coming.'

shihi   shihi   (rih)
COM:drink   COM:drink   (it:AML)
'(It) used to keep on drinking.'

ndūūh   ndūūh   (ra   te   nyahā)
CON:be:equal   CON:be:equal   (he   he   evil)
'(He) keeps on being (an evil person).'

nyahā   nyahā   (ra)
evil   evil   (he)
'(He) is very evil.'

(See also 7.8.)

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[2]Even though both *koo* 'to exist' and *kuu* 'to be (inherently)' occur as bleached content verbs in stative sentences, in the two sentences above they are functioning as full content verbs. They carry a full lexical meaning, rather than a mere copulative function, and the stative verb phrase associated with them follows, rather than precedes, them. Compare these sentences with sentences containing the same two verbs in 1.1.6.

Some complex verb nuclei double only the verb constituent in this construction, with a single instance of the modifying word following the second verb.

tiin   tiin   kwachi   (ra   pēgrū)
POT:hold POT:hold sin   (he   Peter)
'(He) is going to keep on blaming (Peter).'

yōō   yōō   ndishi   (a)
CON:exist CON:exist POT:be:covered (it:INAN)
'(It) is highly decorated.'

shahndya   shahndya   chūūnh   (ra)
COM:cut   COM:cut   worklike (he)
'(He) used to administrate continuously.'

shītōh   shītōh   ndyaa   (ra)
CON:look CON:look adheringly (he)
'(He) keeps on examining.'

A few complex verb nuclei, often, though not necessarily, involving an instrument noun or an indeterminate element as the modifying word, double both parts of the nucleus.

kūūnh   māngō   kūūnh   māngō   (ra)
CON:pelt mango   CON:pelt mango   (he)
'(He) is keeping on pelting with mangos.'

ndasi   ihnu   ndasi   ihnu   (ra)
POT:close outside POT:close outside (he)
'(He) is going to keep on enclosing.'

kuni   shāhānh   kuni   shāhānh (ra)
POT:sense ?   POT:sense ?   (he)
'(He) is going to keep on deceiving.'

Preverbal elements precede the repeated nucleus, and postverbal elements follow it.

ni   nihi   nihi   vih   xān   tuku
COM rumble   rumble   excessive DOUBT   REP
'Maybe it used to excessively keep on rumbling again.'

miïh   shini   shāhānh shini   shāhānh   sākā   (ra)
SPEC   COM:sense   ?   COM:sense ?   in:vain (he)
'(He) recklessly kept on deceiving in vain.'

sha /   sha   kwashi   kwashi   kwīē   tu   (ah)
already oh:very CON:come CON:come slow   also (she)
'Oh, right now (she) also really keeps on methodically coming!'

na   kūn   koho   koho   ka   ni   (rih)
HORT POT:DIR POT:drink POT:drink ADD LIM (it:AML)
'Let (it) go (somewhere) to still only keep on drinking!'

sha   ndūūh   ndūūh   miïh   na   (ra te   vaha)
oh:very CON:be:equal CON:be:equal SPEC   HOPE (he he   good)
'Oh, I hope, (he) keeps on really being (a good person) for no
reason!'

miïh   tūnh   tūnh   kwachi shūnh   tāhānh   (ra)
SPEC   CON:hold   CON:hold   sin   with   each:other (he)
'(They) recklessly keep on blaming each other.'

īngāh   shito   shito   ndyaa   shūnh miïh (ra)
same:time COM:look   COM:look   adheringly with   SPEC (he)
'(They) used to continuously examine themselves at the same time.'

ndyeēh   sūkuh   sūkuh   yohōh ñahāh (ra)
strong   CON:strike CON:strike vine   KNO   (he)
'(He) keeps on striking (him/her/them) hard with a rope.'

shān   ndahni   ndahni   ka   vih
COM:DIR   POT:be:satisfied POT:be:satisfied ADD   excessive
'(He) returned from still continuously being excessively

    nïmá   (ra)
    heart   (he)
    full.'

When this phrase type is used in commands, it indicates that the speaker
expects the addressee to start an action and to continue its execution.

kutu   *kutu*   *(unh)*
POT:weed   POT:weed   (you:SG)
'Weed and keep at it!'

2.5 Imminent Verb Phrases

As in continuous verb phrases, imminent verb phrases involve doubling;
the first part contains a verb nucleus, and the second part contains the
same verb nucleus plus the negative marker (see 5.9). This construction is
limited to content verbs in potential and completive aspects. When it
occurs with verbs in potential aspect, it indicates that the subject repeated-
ly approaches the point of executing or participating in the predication.

nihi   *nīihī*
POT:rumble   NEG:POT:rumble
'It is almost rumbling.'

kūhun   *kūuhūn*   *(ra)*
POT:go   NEG:POT:go   (he)
'(He) is almost going.'

ndikãhnu   *ndīkahnū*   *(nuh)*
POT:sink   NEG:POT:sink   (it:WOD)
'(It) is almost sinking.'

koho   *kōohōh*   *(rih   tikwĩ)*
POT:drink   NEG:POT:drink   (it:AML   water)
'(It) is almost drinking (water).'

When imminent verb phrases occur with verbs in completive aspect, the
completive aspect marker *ni* must occur before both verbs unless the verb
has a distinct spelling in completive aspect, in which case *ni* is optional
before the first verb, but obligatory before the second one. The motion
verbs *kūhun* 'to go' and *kishi* 'to come' do not occur in completive aspect
in this construction. Imminent verb phrases in completive aspect mean that
the predication was about to occur or barely occurred.

ni   *nihi*   *nī*   *nihī*
COM   rumble   NEG:COM   rumble
'It barely rumbled.'

ni   kandishāh   nī   kandishāh   (ra)
COM   obey   NEG:COM   obey   (he)
'(He) hardly obeyed.'

shihi   nī   shihīh   (rih   tikwī)
COM:drink   NEG:COM   COM:drink   (it:AML water)
'(It) hardly drank any (water).'

ni   shihi   nī   shihīh   (rih   tikwī)
COM   COM:drink NEG:COM   COM:drink   (it:AML water)
'(It) hardly drank any (water).'

As in continuous verb phrases, usually only the verb constituent of a complex nucleus is doubled, with the modifying word following the second repetition; but the same complex nuclei that are exceptions with the continuous verb phrase are also exceptions here.

With only the verb repeated:

tiin   tīīnh   kwachi   (ra   pēgrū)
POT:hold   NEG:POT:hold   sin   (he   Peter)
'(He) is almost blaming (Peter).'

kahndya   kāandyā   chūūnh   (ra)
POT:cut   NEG:POT:cut   worklike   (he)
'(He) is almost administrating.'

ni   tiin   nī   tīīnh kwachi (ra pēgrū)
COM   hold   NEG:COM   hold sin   (he Peter)
'(He) barely blamed (Peter).'

shahndya   nī   shahndyā   chūūnh   (ra)
COM:cut   NEG:COM   COM:cut   worklike   (he)
'(He) hardly administrated.'

With both parts of the nucleus repeated:

kuun   māngō   kūuūnh   māngō   (ra   rih)
POT:pelt mango   NEG:POT:pelt   mango   (he   it:AML)
'(He) is about to pelt (it) with mangos.'

ndasi   ihnu   ndāasī   ihnu   (ra   nuh)
POT:close   outside   NEG:POT:close outside   (he   it:WOD)
'(He) is about to enclose (it).'

kuni   shāhānh   kūunī   shāhānh (ra)
POT:sense   ?   NEG:POT:sense ?   (he)
'(He) is almost deceiving.'

ni   kuun māngō nī   kuūnh   māngō   (ra   rih)
COM   pelt mango NEG:COM   pelt   mango   (he   it:AML)
'(He) was about to pelt (it) with mangos.'

ni   ndasi   ihnu   nī   ndasī   ihnu   (ra   nuh)
COM   close   outside   NEG:COM   close   outside (he   it:WOD)
'(He) was about to enclose (it).'

ni   shini   shāhānh nī   shinī   shāhānh   (ra)
COM   COM:sense ?   NEG:COM   COM:sense ?   (he)
'(He) deceived a little bit.'

Preverbal elements are greatly restricted in this phrase type. When the verbs are in potential aspect, only the near-time marker *sha* occurs; it precedes each part of the nucleus. When the verbs are in completive aspect, only *ni* 'completive' occurs, as described above. All postverbal elements occur in this phrase type except that the limiter is not expressed by *va* 'very' or *vih* 'excessive'. Postverbal elements follow the second occurrence of the verb nucleus.

sha   nihi   sha   nūhī   xān   tuku
already   POT:rumble   already   NEG:POT:rumble DOUBT REP
'Maybe right now it is about to rumble again.'

koho   kōohōh   ka   ni   (rih)
POT:drink   NEG:POT:drink ADD   LIM   (it:AML)
'(It) is about to still only drink again.'

shini   shāhānh nī   shinī   shāhānh   sākā
COM:sense   ?   NEG:COM   COM:sense ?   in:vain
'In vain (they) deceived each other

shūnh   *tāhānh*   *(ra)*
with   each:other   (he)
a little.'

tiin   *tīīnh*   *kwachi*   *na*   *ñahāh*   *(ra)*
POT:hold   NEG:POT:hold   sin   HOPE   KNO   (he)
'I hope (he) is about to blame him/her/them!'

ni   *shito*   *nī*   *shitōh*   *ndyaa*   *shūnh*   *mīīh*
COM   COM:look   NEG:COM   COM:look   adheringly   with   SPEC
'For no reason, (he) hardly examined

mīīh   *(ra)*
SPEC   (he)
himself.'

sha   *sukuh*   *sha*   *sūukūh*   *yohōh*
already   POT:strike   already   NEG:POT:strike   vine
'Right now (they) are about to jointly strike

īngāh   *ñahāh*   *(ra)*
same:time   KNO   (he)
him/her/them with a rope.'

ni   *ndahni*   *nī*   *ndahnī*   *tuku*   *nīmá*   *(ra)*
COM   be:satisfied   NEG:COM   be:satisfied   REP   heart   (he)
'(He) was barely full again.'

When this phrase type is used in commands, it indicates that the speaker expects the addressee to barely execute the predication.

kāhan   *kāahān*   *(unh)*
POT:speak   NEG:POT:speak   (you:SG)
'Say as little as possible!'

kushi   *kūushīh*   *(ndoh)*
POT:eat   NEG:POT:eat   (you:PL)
'Eat as little as possible!'

2.6 Iterative Verb Phrases

Like the previous two types, iterative verb phrases involve doubling the
nucleus, but they differ in that the conjunction *te* 'and' links the two
repetitions in this type. The iterative verb phrase is limited to nonstative
verbs. In potential aspect, it may mean either repetition or a strong
affirmation of the predication.

> *nihi*   *te*   *nihi*
> POT:rumble and POT:rumble.
> 'It will rumble repeatedly.' *or* 'It is certainly going to rumble!'

> *kāhan*   *te*   *kāhan*   *(i)*
> POT:speak and POT:speak (I)
> '(I) am really going to say my piece!'

> *kani*   *te*   *kani*   *(ra   rih)*
> POT:hit   and POT:hit   (he   it:AML)
> '(He) will really strike (it).'

In continuative and completive aspects, it refers only to repeated instances
of the predication.

> *kwashi*   *te*   *kwashi*   *(ah)*
> CON:come and CON:come (she)
> '(She) comes habitually.'

> *shihi*   *te*   *shihi*   *(rih   tikwī)*
> COM:drink and COM:drink (it:AML water)
> '(It) habitually drinks (water).'

> *ndūūh*   *te*   *ndūūh*   *(ra   te   meē)*
> CON:be:equal and CON:be:equal (he   he   ?)
> '(He) repeatedly is (a messenger).'

If the verb nucleus is complex, the whole complex nucleus is repeated.

> *tiin*   *kwachi*   *te*   *tiin*   *kwachi*   *(ra   pēgrū)*
> POT:hold   sin   and POT:hold   sin   (he   Peter)
> '(He) will repeatedly blame Peter.' *or*   '(He) certainly will blame
> (Peter).'

shahndya chūūnh   te   shahndya   chūūnh   (ra)
COM:cut   worklike   and   COM:cut   worklike (he)
'(He) used to repeatedly administrate.'

shītōh   ndyaa   te   shītōh   ndyaa   (ra   tutu)
CON:look adheringly and   CON:look adheringly (he   paper)
'(He) is repeatedly examining (the paper).'

All preverbal elements except near time occur in this type, except that
the intensifier does not express manner, and no more than two preverbal
elements occur in any one phrase. Preverbal elements are repeated
preceding each verb nucleus. Various postverbal elements may follow the
second of the two verb nuclei.

ni   nihi   te   ni   nihi   vih   xān   tuku
COM rumble   and   COM   rumble excessive   DOUBT   REP
'Maybe it used to repeatedly excessively rumble again.'

na   kūn   koho   te   na   kūn   koho   ni
HORT POT:DIR POT:drink and HORT POT:DIR POT:drink   LIM
'Let (it) go only to habitually drink

   (rih   tikwī)
   (it:AML   water)
   (water)!'

miīh   tūnh   kwachi te   miīh   tūnh   kwachi
SPEC   CON:hold   sin   and SPEC CON:hold   sin
'Repeatedly, (they) are recklessly blaming

   shīīnh   tāhānh   (ra)
   with   each:other   (he)
   each other.'

īngāh   shito   ndyaa   te   īngāh   shito
same:time COM:look adheringly and   same:time COM:look
'Repeatedly, (they) used to examine themselves at the

   ndyaa   shīīnh miīh   (ra)
   adheringly with   SPEC   (he)
   same time.'

ndyeēh   sūkuh   yohōh   te   ndyeēh   sūkuh   yohōh
strong   CON:strike   vine   and   strong   CON:strike vine
'(He) repeatedly is striking him/her/them hard

ñahāh   (ra)
KNO   (he)
with a rope.'

shān   ndahni   te   shān   ndahni
COM:DIR POT:be:satisfied and   COM:DIR POT:be:satisfied
'(He) returned from still repeatedly being

ka   vih   nīmá   (ra)
ADD   excessive heart   (he)
excessively full.'

This phrase type does not occur in commands.

2.7 Extended Verb Phrases

Like the previous three types, extended verb phrases involve doubling the
nucleus; the two repetitions are linked by the conjunction *naā* 'as'. This
construction expresses a comparison between two aspects of the verb; it
creates a complex aspect that expresses mainly phasal information. The
first verb is the head of the construction. It may be in potential, continua-
tive, or completive aspect, and it expresses the time of the action relative
to the time of speaking. The second verb, which follows *naā* 'as', shows the
time it is being compared to. The limitations on aspect of the second verb
vary according to the aspect of the first verb, but the second verb never
expresses an action subsequent to the first one.

Future extension of predication:

nihi   naā   nihi
POT:rumble   as   POT:rumble
'It will rumble continuously.' (lit. 'It will rumble as will rumble.')

koho   naā   shīhīh   (rih)
POT:drink   as   CON:drink (it:AML)
'(It) will keep on drinking.' (lit. 'It will drink as drinks.')

kūhun   nāā   shāhán   (ra)
POT:go   as   HAB:go   (he)
'(He) will keep on habitually going.' (lit. 'He will go as habitually goes.')

satah   nāā   ni   satah   (ra)
POT:buy   as   COM   buy   (he)
'(He) bought and will buy again.' (lit. 'He will buy as bought.')

Present extension of predication:

ndūūh   nāā   ndūūh   (ra   te   nyahā)
CON:be:equal   as   CON:be:equal   (he   he   evil)
'(He) continues to be (an evil man).' (lit. 'He is an evil man as is.')

kwāhan   nāā   shāhán   (ra)
CON:go   as   HAB:go   (he)
'(He) continues to habitually go.' (lit. 'He is going as customarily goes.')

shīshīh   nāā   shishi   (ra)
CON:eat   as   COM:eat   (he)
'(He) resumes eating.' (lit. 'He is eating as ate.')

Past extension of predication:

shāhan   nāā   shāhán   (ra)
COM:go   as   HAB:go   (he)
'(He) went as he has been in the habit of doing.' (lit. 'He went and returned as customarily goes.')

shitu   nāā   shitu   (ra)
COM:weed   as   COM:weed   (he)
'(He) weeded again.' (lit. 'He weeded as weeded.')

As in continuous and imminent verb phrases, only the verb constituent of most complex nuclei is doubled, with the modifying word following the second repetition, but the same complex nuclei that are exceptions with these two types are also exceptions here.

With only the verb repeated:

> *tiin   nāā   tiin   kwachi   (ra   pēgrū)*
> POT:hold   as   POT:hold   sin   (he   Peter)
> '(He) will blame (Peter) continuously.' (lit. 'He will blame Peter as will blame.')

> *koo   nāā   yōō   vaha   (ra)*
> POT:exist   as   CON:exist good   (he)
> '(He) will keep on being healthy.' (lit. 'He will be healthy as is being healthy.')

> *shāhndyā   nāā   shāhndyā   chūūnh   (ra)*
> CON:cut   as   CON:cut   worklike (he)
> '(He) continues to administrate.' (lit. 'He is administrating as administrates.')

> *shito   nāā   shito   ndyaa   (ra)*
> COM:look   as   COM:look   adheringly (he)
> '(He) examined again.' (lit. 'He examined as examined.')

With the entire complex nucleus repeated:

> *ndasi   ihnu   nāā   ndasi   ihnu   (ra)*
> POT:close   outside   as   POT:close outside   (he)
> '(He) will continuously enclose.' (lit. 'He will enclose as will enclose.')

> *kūūnh   māngō   nāā   ni   kuun   māngō   (ra)*
> CON:pelt   mango   as   COM   pelt   mango   (he)
> '(He) resumes pelting with mangos.' (lit. 'He is pelting with mangos as pelted with mangos.')

> *ni   shini   shāhānh   nāā   shīnī   shāhānh   (ra)*
> COM:sense ?   as   HAB:sense ?   (he)
> '(He) continues to habitually deceive.' (lit. 'He deceived as habitually deceives.')

Preverbal elements occur before the first verb in the phrase except that directionals and completive occur before each verb. All postverbal elements follow the second verb in the phrase.

ni   nihi   nāā   ni   nihi   vih   xān   tuku
COM   rumble   as   COM   rumble   excessive DOUBT REP
'Maybe it excessively rumbled again.'

sha /   sha   kwashi   nāā   kwashi   kwīē   tu   (ah)
already oh:very CON:come   as   CON:come   slow   also   (she)
'Oh, right now (she) continues also to habitually methodically come
a lot!'

na   kūn   koho   nāā   kūn   koho   ka   ni   (rih)
HORT POT:DIR POT:drink   as   POT:DIR POT:drink   ADD LIM (it:AM)
'Let (it) go to still only continuously drink!'

mīh   shini   shāhānh   nāā   shini   shāhānh
SPEC COM:sense   ?   as   COM:sense ?
'In vain, (he) recklessly deceived

    sākā   (ra)
    in:vain   (he)
    again.'

sha   ndūūh   nāā   ndūu   mīh   na   (ra te vaha)
oh:very CON:be:equal as   COM:be:equal SPEC HOPE (he he good)
'Oh, I hope (he) resumes being (a good person) for no reason!'

mīh   tūnh   nāā   ni   tiin   kwachi shūnh   tāhānh   (ra)
SPEC CON:hold   as   COM hold   sin   with   each:other (he)
'(They) recklessly resume blaming each other.'

īngāh   shito   nāā   shūtōh   ndyaa   shūnh mīh (ra)
same:time COM:look   as   HAB:look   adheringly with SPEC (he)
'Simultaneously (they) examined themselves as they have been in
the habit of doing.'

ndyeēh   sūkuh   nāā   sūkuh   yohōh   ñahāh   (ra)
strong   CON:strike   as   HAB:strike   vine   KNO   (he)
'(He) continues to habitually strike him/her/them hard with a rope.'

shān   ndahni   nāā   shān   ndahni   ka
COM:DIR POT:be:satisfied as   COM:DIR POT:be:satisfied ADD
'(He) was still excessively

> vih   nīmá   (ra)
> excessive heart   (he)
> more filled.'

When this phrase type is used in commands, it indicates that the speaker expects the addressee to extend the predication beyond a previous execution of that same predication.

> kutu   nāā   kutu   (unh)
> POT:weed   as   POT:weed   (you:SG)
> 'Weed and keep at it!' (lit. 'Weed as will weed!')

> kutu   nāā   shītūh   (ndoh)
> POT:weed   as   CON:weed   (you:PL)
> 'Keep on weeding!' (lit. 'Weed as weeds!')

> kutu   nāā   shītūh   (ndoh)
> POT:weed   as   HAB:weed   (you:PL)
> 'Keep on habitually weeding!' (lit. 'Weed as habitually are weeding!')

> kutu   nāā   shitu   (unh)
> POT:weed   as   COM:weed   (you:SG)
> 'Weed again!' (lit. 'Weed as weeded!')

[blank]

3

Noun Phrases

3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

tyāa	'man'
shishi	'aunt'
nāyah	'dog'
itūnh	'tree'
ikūh	'mountain'
shāhah	'foot'
pēgrū	'Peter'
kwĭya	'year'
ndōhó	'you:PL:EMPH'
yōhó	'YOU:SG:EMPH'

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that comprises a noun or prestressed pronoun (see 5.4) followed by a frozen modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral, a stative verb, or an indeterminate element.

Noun plus noun:

> *yohōh*   *kaa*
> vine   metal
> 'wire'

> *yūuh*   *kaka*
> stone   lime
> 'limestone'

> *nduchīh*   *nūuh*
> bean   face
> 'eye'

> *ndahāh*   *yosōh*
> hand   metate
> 'cylindrical stone used to grind with'

> *ndokōh*   *iñuh*
> Annona   thorn
> 'soursop' (fruit)

> (See also 7.1 and 7.35.)

Noun plus numeral:

> *kaa*   *kumīh*
> metal   four
> 'four o'clock' (lit. 'fourth metal')

Noun plus stative verb:

> *sīhe*   *ndāhvī*
> child   poor
> 'orphan'

> *ñuhūh*   *kīshīnh*
> earth   sticky
> 'clay'

  shītah *vaha*
  tortilla good
  'bread'

(See also 7.21.)

Noun plus indeterminate element:

  te *yīvih*
  he ?
  'man'

(See also 7.1.)

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

The specifier comprises three general markers: *inga* 'another (of same kind)', the repetitive *tuku* 'again', used in noun phrases to mean 'another (of different kind)', and the specifier *miīh* 'self', which occurs only with nouns that have a human referent.

  inga   *kitīh*
  other:same animal
  'another animal of the same species'

  tuku *kitīh*
  REP animal
  'another animal of a different species'

  miīh *pēgrū*
  SPEC Peter
  'Peter alone'

The quantifier comprises both numerals and general quantifiers; the former are usually embedded in an aggregative numeral phrase (see 4.1.3).

Numerals:

  iin *ndaah* *tēi*
  one of:group:SG chair
  'one chair'

ūvi   tāhān   itūnh
two   of:group:PL   tree
'two trees'

General quantifiers:

kwāhah   kitīh
many   animal
'many animals'

ndyāhvīh   yūuh
few   stone
'a few stones'

kīhīnh   kīvih
several   day
'several days'

(See also 7.1.)

The numeral *iin* 'one' is also used alone as an indefinite article, and the numeral *uvi* 'two' is used alone to mean 'a few'.

iin   sahmāh
one   tortilla:cloth
'a tortilla cloth'

(See also 7.1, 7.3, and 7.18.)

ūvi   tēi
two   chair
'a few chairs'

3.1.3 Postnominal elements. Four elements follow the nucleus: deprecative, deictic, limiter, and relative clause.

Deprecative is expressed by the general marker *soho* 'only (lack)'; it denotes that the nucleus is in some way inadequate.

tikwī   soho
water   only:lack
'only water'

> *shuhūnh   soho*
> money   only:lack
> 'only money'

Four elements function as deictics: the nominal marker *xaanh* 'that (previously noted)', and three locative adverbs, *yōhōh* 'here', *ñāah* 'there (near)', and *kāah* 'there (far)'. These adverbs are used in noun phrases to mean 'this', 'that (near)', and 'that (far)', respectively.

> *tyāh   xaanh*
> it:LIQ   that:noted
> 'that aforementioned liquid'

> *vihe   yōhōh*
> house   this
> 'this house'

> *itūnh   ñāah*
> tree   that:near
> 'that tree'

> *te   kāah*
> he   that:far
> 'that man'

(See also 7.5, 7.6, 7.14, and several others.)

Limiter is expressed by five general markers: *kwitih* 'just', *vih* 'excessive', *ni* 'only', *na* 'hope', and *xān* 'doubt'. Sometimes two or more occur in a single noun phrase, in which case they show internal ordering. *kwitih* and *vih* occur in first position following the nucleus or deictic, *ni* in second position, *na* in third position, and *xan* in fourth position; *vih* and *ni* do not cooccur.

Single limiters:

> *shuhūnh   kwitih*
> money   just
> 'just money'

shuhūnh   *vih*
money   excessive
'too much money'

shuhūnh   *ni*
money   LIM
'money (nothing else)'

shuhūnh   *na*
money   HOPE
'desired money'

shuhūnh   *xān*
money   DOUBT
'doubted money'

Combinations of limiters:

shuhūnh   *kwitih*   *ni*
money   just   LIM
'just money (nothing else)'

shuhūnh   *vih*   *na*
money   excessive   HOPE
'desired too much money'

shuhūnh   *ni*   *na*
money   LIM   HOPE
'desired money (nothing else)'

shuhūnh   *kwitih*   *ni*   *na*   *xān*
money   just   LIM   HOPE   DOUBT
'just desired doubted money (nothing else)'

There are two kinds of relative clauses, restrictive and nonrestrictive. Restrictive relative clauses are those that follow a prestressed pronoun nucleus (see 5.4) or the interrogative adverb *mīh* 'where?' (see 5.5); nonrestrictive relative clauses are those that follow a noun nucleus. In order to express a restrictive relative clause with a noun nucleus, an appositional construction must be employed (see 3.6). In this construction the first noun phrase contains the noun nucleus, and the second one

contains the appropriate prestressed pronoun or *mūh* followed by the relative clause.

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

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject or object.

With subject as head:

> *ñā   satah   nūnih*
> she   POT:buy corn:kernel
> 'she who will buy corn'

> *ñahāh   satah   nūnih*
> woman   POT:buy corn:kernel
> 'the woman, who will buy corn'

> *te   kama   shīkāh*
> he   fast   CON:walk
> 'he who is walking rapidly'

> *te   ngōoh / te   kama   shīkāh*
> he   Spanish   he   fast   CON:walk
> 'the Spaniard who is walking rapidly'

> *te   ngōoh   kama   shīkāh*
> he   Spanish   fast   CON:walk
> 'the Spaniard, who is walking rapidly'

> *ña   ni   nava*
> it:INAN   COM   fall:SG
> 'it which dropped'

> *yashīnh / ña   ni   nava*
> gourd:bowl   it:INAN   COM   fall:SG
> 'the gourd bowl which fell'

> *yashĩnh*   *ni*   *nava*
> gourd:bowl   COM   fall:SG
> 'the gourd bowl, which fell'

With object as head:

> *tyāh*   *ni*   *shihi*   *ra*
> it:LIQ   COM   COM:drink   he
> 'it which he drank'

> *tikwĩ*   *ni*   *shihi*   *ra*
> water   COM   COM:drink   he
> 'water, which he drank'

> *mbũrũ*   /   *tĩh*   *kani*   *ra*
> donkey   it:AML   POT:hit   he
> 'the donkey (Sp. *burro*) which he will strike'

> *mbũrũ*   *kani*   *ra*
> donkey   POT:hit   he
> 'the burro, which he will strike'

(See also 7.15.)

Sentences with content verbs may also become relative clauses based on any adjunct except associative or on a peripheral element. When an adjunct or peripheral element is expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase (see 3.5) or by a prepositional phrase, and when the possessor or object serves as the head noun, the locative noun or preposition remains in its original position.

With adjunct as head:

> *ne*   *tāshĩh*   *ah*   *tātanh*   *ndahāh*
> they   CON:give   she   medicine   hand
> 'the people to whom she is giving the medicine'

> *ne*   *yĩvih*   *tāshĩh*   *ah*   *tātanh*   *ndahāh*
> they   ?   CON:give   she   medicine   hand
> 'the people, to whom she is giving the medicine'

mēsā / tūnh   kāndūhuh   tutu   nūuh
table   it:woᴅ CON:be:lying:sɢ paper   face
'the table (Sp. *mesa*) on which paper is lying'

mēsā   kāndūhuh   tutu   nūuh
table   CON:be:lying:sɢ paper   face
'the table, on which paper lies'

(See also 7.33.)

te ni   shahnih ra kīni shāhah
he COM COM:kill he pig   foot
'the man for whom he killed the pig'

te yīvih ni   shahnih ra kīni shāhah
he ?   COM COM:kill he pig   foot
'the man, for whom he killed the pig'

nūnih /   ña   ni   kihin ra shuhūnh shāhah
corn:kernel it:ɪNAN COM get he   money   foot
'the corn for which he received money'

nūnih   ni   kihin   ra shuhūnh shāhah
corn:kernel COM get   he money   foot
'the corn, for which he received money'

yāchā / ña   ni   ndatāh ra tutūnh   shūnh
ax   it:ɪNAN COM split he firewood   with
'the ax (Sp. *hacha*) with which he split the firewood'

yāchā ni   ndatāh ra tutūnh   shūnh
ax   COM split he firewood   with
'the ax, with which he split the firewood'

(See also 7.27 and 7.32.)

With peripheral element as head:

yukūnh / ña   ni   shīhi   sūtu
church   it:ɪNAN COM COM:die priest
'the church the priest died at'

yukūnh   ni   shīhi   sūtu
church   COM   COM:die   priest
'the church, which the priest died at'

kīvih sāvró / ña   ni   shāa   pēgrū
day   Saturday it:INAN COM COM:arrive:SG Peter
'the Saturday (Sp. *sábado*) on which Peter arrived'

kīvih sāvró ni   shāa   pēgrū
day   Saturday COM COM:arrive:SG Peter
'Saturday, on which Peter arrived'

When, however, the head noun of the relative clause is preceded by a locative noun because of its function in the main sentence, and the same locative noun serves to mark its function in the relative clause, the locative noun is omitted from the relative clause, as seen in the following sentence.

shāhah   nūnih   ni   kihin ra shuhūnh (ndī /
foot   corn:kernel COM get   he   money   (TOPIC
'(He is speaking) ABOUT THE CORN THAT HE GOT

kāhán   ra)
CON:speak   he)
MONEY (FOR).'

Sentences with equative or stative verbs may also become relative clauses with the subject functioning as the head noun. In relative clauses, but not in main sentences, numerals function like stative verbs to express ordinals.

With equative verbs:

te   ngōoh / te kunduu   sūtu
he   ?   he POT:be:equal priest
'the Spaniard who will be the priest'

te ngōoh kunduu   sūtu
he   ?   POT:be:equal priest
'the Spaniard, who will be a priest'

maríā / ñā   ni   ndūu   ñā   síhī   ra
Mary   she COM COM:be:equal   she female his
'the Mary who was his wife'

maríā ni   ndūu   ñā   síhī   ra
Mary   COM COM:be:equal she female his
'Mary, who was his wife'

te yīvih / te nanīh   ikwān
he ?   he CON:be:named   John
'the man who is named John'

te yīvih nanīh   ikwān
he ?   CON:be:named   John
'the man, who is named John'

With stative verbs:

tōto / ña   vīshāh
cloth   it:INAN wet
'the cloth which is wet'

tōto   vīshāh
cloth wet
'the wet cloth' *or* 'the cloth, which is wet'

maríā / ñā   ndatunh koo
Mary   she pretty   POT:exist
'the Mary who will will be beautifully dressed'

maríā ndatunh koo
Mary   pretty   POT:exist
'Mary, who will be beautifully dressed'

sūtu / te ndāhvī kūūh
priest   he poor   CON:be:inherently
'the priest who is humble'

sūtu   ndāhvī kūūh
priest poor   CON:be:inherently
'the priest, who is humble'

tōto / *ña*   *vīshāh ni   kuni*
cloth   it:INAN wet   COM appear
'cloth which appeared to be wet'

tōto   vīshāh ni   kuni
cloth   wet   COM   appear
'cloth, which appeared to be wet'

māngō / *ña*   *āsinh   ūnh*
mango   it:INAN delicious CON:appear:PL
'mangos which are apparently delicious'

māngō   āsinh   ūnh
mango   delicious   CON:appear:PL
'mangos, which are apparently delicious'

marīā / *ñā*   *vaha   kāāh*
Mary   she   good   CON:appear:SG
'the Mary who is apparently pretty'

marīā   vaha   kāāh
Mary   good   CON:appear:SG
'Mary, who is apparently pretty'

(See also 7.22.)

With numerals functioning like stative verbs:

īchi /   *ña*   *ūni*
machete   it:INAN   three
'the machete which is third'

īchi   ūni
machete   three
'the third machete' *or* 'the machete, which is third'

kwēī /   *tīh   ūvi*
horse   it:AML   two
'the horse (Sp. *caballo*) which is second'

>   *kwēī   ūvi*
>   horse   two
>   'the second horse' *or* 'the horse, which is second'

Sentences with equative or stative verbs may also become relative clauses based on a peripheral time element.

>   *kīvih   /   ña   kunduu   ra   sūtu*
>   day   it:INAN POT:be:equal   he   priest
>   'the day which he will become a priest'

>   *kīvih   kunduu   ra   sūtu*
>   day   POT:be:equal   he   priest
>   'the day, which he will become a priest'

>   *kīvih   /   ña   ni   kuu   vishin*
>   day   it:INAN COM be:inherently cold
>   'the day which had become cold'

>   *kīvih   ni   kuu   vishin*
>   day   COM   be:inherently cold
>   'the day, which had become cold'

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. All possible combinations of the six nonnuclear elements occur, except for some restrictions involving relative clauses and the other postnuclear elements.

>   *kīhīnh   miīh   sūtu*
>   several   SPEC   priest
>   'several priests by themselves'

>   *ūni   tāhān   itin   soho*
>   three   of:group:PL sack   only:lack
>   'only three empty sacks'

>   *iin   tōto   yōhōh*
>   one   cloth   this
>   'this one cloth'

>   *ūvi   nāyah   kwitih*
>   two   dog   just
>   'just a few dogs'

tuku nāyah soho   kwitih ni   xān
REP   dog   only:lack   just   LIM DOUBT
'maybe just a different kind of good-for-nothing dog (nothing else)'

inga   te yīvih soho / te ni   kīshi
other:same he ?   only:lack he COM COM:sleep
'other plain ordinary men of the same race who slept'

ūni tāhān   ne   yīvih tāshīh   ah   tātanh   ndahāh
three of:group:PL they ?   CON:give   she medicine   hand
'three persons, to whom she is giving medicine'

ndyāhvīh te yīvih / te ni   ndūu   te chūunh
few   he ?   he COM COM:be:equal   he worklike
'a few men who were president'

mūh   te yīvih ñāah / te ni   ndūu   te chūunh
SPEC   he ?   that:near he COM COM:be:equal   he worklike
'that very man by you who was president'

iin tōto   vīshāh
one cloth wet
'a wet cloth' *or* 'a cloth, which is wet'

iin tōto   soho   ñāah   na
one cloth only:lack that:near HOPE
'nothing more, one of those desired cloths near you'

ūvi te yīhih soho   ni   ni   kīshi
two he ?   only:lack LIM COM sleep
'a few plain ordinary men, who were sleeping (no one else)'

(See also 7.15 and 7.22.)

A deictic cannot occur together with a relative clause in the same basic noun phrase, nor can certain markers in the limiter position. It is possible, however, to use an appositional construction with a prestressed pronoun followed by a restrictive relative clause in the second part.

yāchā xaanh   / ña   ni   ndatāh ra tutūnh   shūnh
ax   that:noted   it:INAN COM   split   he firewood with
'that ax we are talking about with which he cut the firewood'

kīhính   mēsā   kāah   /   tūnh   kāndūhuh   tutu   nūuh
several   table   that:far   it:WOD   CON:be:lying:SG   paper   face
'those several tables over there on which the paper is lying'

kwēī   kāah   kwitih   /   tīh   ūni
horse   that:far   just   it:AML   three
'just that third horse over there'

kwāhah   tuku   tōto   yōhōh   kwitih   xān   /   ña   kwīh
many   REP   cloth   this   just   DOUBT   it:INAN   green
'maybe just these many different cloths which are green'

3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

Measurement noun phrases have a noun expressing a unit of measurement
as their nucleus, and they contain an obligatory quantifier. They optionally
include various markers in the limiter position, including the additive *ka*
'more', and certain restricted kinds of relative clauses, but not deictics.
Relative clauses in measurement noun phrases are limited to those based
on stative verbs and those containing either of the content verbs *yōsoh* 'to
be mounted on' or *kanūh* 'to be upon (singular)'. When used with nu-
merals, these verbs mean 'to be in addition to', and they are used to link
a fraction or other smaller quantity to a quantity already expressed.
Relative clauses that contain one of these two verbs may follow either the
nucleus of the measurement noun phrase or the nucleus of the higher
noun phrase that contains the measurement noun phrase. Measurement
noun phrases occur only as quantifiers in other noun phrases, and in the
following examples, the higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

    With no fractions:

iin   kitīh   (tutūnh)
one   animal   (firewood)
'an animal-load (of firewood)'

kīhính   kīlō   (arō)
many   kilogram   (rice)
'many kilograms (Sp. *kilo*) (of rice [Sp. *arroz*])'

ndyāhvīh   kuhva   nāhnūh   (nduchīh)
few   measure   big:PL   (bean)
'a few big measures (of beans)'

kumīh   tāhān   lītrō   ka   (shahan)
four   of:group:PL liter   ADD   (oil)
'four more liters (Sp. *litro*) (of oil)'

iin   ndaah   nēgā   kwitih   (niih)
one   of:group:SG group:of:960   just   (corn:ear)
'just one group of 960 (Sp. *fanega*) (ears of corn)'

kumīh   tāhān   kwārtā ni   na   xān   (tōto)
four   of:group:PL span   LIM HOPE   DOUBT   (cloth)
'maybe the desired four spans (Sp. *cuarta*) (of cloth) (nothing else)'

With a fraction:

iin   ndahāh   yōsoh   sava   (yohōh)
one   hand   CON:be:mounted:on   half   (vine)
'one and a half fathoms (of rope)'

iin   ndahāh   (yohōh)   yōsoh   sava
one   hand   (vine)   CON:be:mounted:on   half
'one fathom (of rope) and a half'

ūvi   tāhān   kīlō   kānūh   iin   kwārtō
two   of:group:PL kilogram   CON:be:upon:SG   one   quarter
'two and a quarter (Sp. *cuarto*) kilograms

    (yuchīh   pāān)
    (powder bread)
    (of bread [Sp. *pan*] flour)'

ūvi   tāhān   kīlō   (yuchīh   pāān)
two   of:group:PL kilogram   (powder bread)
'two kilograms (of bread flour)

    kānūh   iin   kwārtō
    CON:be:upon:SGone   quarter
    and a quarter'

With two or more fractions:

> iin   ndaah   nēgā   kānūh
> one   of:group:SG   group:of:960   CON:be:upon:SG
> 'one group of 960,

>> *ūhun   tāhān   yarmū*   *kānūh*
>> five   of:group:PL   group:of:forty:eight   CON:be:upon:SG
>> five groups of forty-eight (Sp. *almud*),

>> *ūsha   tāhān   tehī*   *(niih)*
>> seven   of:group:PL   group:of:four   (corn:ear)
>> and seven groups of four (ears of corn)'

ūni   tāhān   yūtu   (palā)   *kānūh*
three   of:group:PL   cluster   (unrefined:sugar)   CON:be:upon:SG
'three and a half packets of sixteen loaves (of unrefined

> *iin   tāhnū   kānūh*   *ūvi   tāhān   tīnduh*
> one   broken:half   CON:be:upon:SG   two   of:group:PL   ball
> sugar [reg. Sp. *panela*]) and two groups of two loaves

> *kānūh*   *iin   ndaah   vīshīnh*
> CON:be:upon:SG   one   of:group:SG   cake
> and one loaf'

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, and a non-restrictive relative clause based on a stative verb, or *kwitih* 'just' may come between the nucleus and the possessor. *kwitih* follows the relative clause if both occur. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to those that represent concepts that are considered capable of being possessed. Some nouns, primarily kinship terms and body parts, are inherently possessed and occur mainly as nuclei of possessive noun phrases. The possessor is a full noun phrase with no special genitive marking.

With inherently possessed nouns:

shitāanh   ikwān
grandmother   John
'John's grandmother'

ndahāh   te   lūlū
hand   he   small:SG
'the boy's hand'

ūvi   tāhān   shāhah   rih
two   of:group:PL   foot   its:AML
'two of its feet'

ndahāh   itin   ra
hand   left   his
'his left hand'

ndahāh   kwaha   kīhīnh   te   yīvih
hand   right   several   his   ?
'the right hand of several men'

ndahāh   itin   ūvi   tāhān   te   ni   kie   tutyōoh
hand   left   two   of:group:PL   his   COM   leave:PL   Ayutla
'the left hands of the two men who left Ayutla (town)'

(See also 7.8, 7.9, 7.10, 7.12, 7.16, 7.21, 7.27, 7.32, 7.34, 7.35, 7.37, and 7.41.)

With optionally possessed nouns:

īchi   ikwān
machete   John
'John's machete'

ūvi   tāhān   īchi   ikwān
two   of:group:PL   machete   John
'two of John's machetes'

īchi   kwitih   ikwān
machete   just   John
'just John's machete'

> *īchi*   *shaāh*   *ikwān*
> machete   new   John
> 'John's new machete'

> *īchi*   *shaāh*   *kwitih*   *ikwān*
> machete   new   just   John
> 'just John's new machete'

> *ūvi*   *īchi*   *manē*
> two   machete   Emmanuel
> 'a few of Emmanuel's (Sp. *Manuel*) machetes'

(See also 7.14 and 7.32.)

When a deictic follows a noun possessor, the noun phrase is ambiguous between a reading in which the deictic modifies the nucleus and one in which it modifies the possessor.

> *tunshīi*   *bētō*   *yōhōh*
> rifle   Bob   this
> 'this rifle of Bob's' *or* 'the rifle of this Bob'

> *tunshīi*   *vāchō*   *ñāah*
> rifle   soldier   that:near
> 'that rifle of the soldier (reg. Sp. *guacho*)' *or* 'that soldier's rifle'

When, however, the possessor is a pronoun, there is no ambiguity. If the possessor is a poststressed pronoun, the deictic modifies the nucleus; but if the possessor is a prestressed pronoun, the deictic modifies the possessor.

With poststressed pronoun:

> *īchi*   *unh*   *kāah*
> machete   your:SG   that:far
> 'that machete of yours'

> *īchi*   *ra*   *kāah*
> machete   his   that:far
> 'that machete of his'

With prestressed pronoun:

īchi   te   kāah
machete   his   that:far
'the machete of that man'

When a relative clause follows the noun possessor of a possessive noun phrase, it may modify either the nucleus or the possessor. In order to avoid ambiguity in this construction, it is possible to use an appositional structure in which the second part has a prestressed pronoun as its head. This pronoun often helps to clarify the antecedent, as seen in the following sets of examples.

īchi   bētō   chīe
machete   Bob   big:SG
'Bob's machete, which is big' *or* 'the machete of Bob, who is big'

cf.   *īchi   bētō   / ña   chīe*
       machete Bob   it:INAN big:SG
       'Bob's machete which is big'

and   *īchi   bētō   / te chīe*
       machete Bob   he big:SG
       'the machete of the Bob who is big'

īchi   bētō kāndūhuh   nūuh   yivih
machete Bob CON:be:lying:SG face   palm:mat
'Bob's machete, which is lying on the palm mat' *or* 'the machete of Bob, who is lying on the palm mat'

cf.   *īchi   bētō   / ña   kāndūhuh   nūuh   yivih*
       machete Bob   it:INAN CON:be:lying:SG face   palm:mat
       'Bob's machete which is lying on the palm mat'

and   *īchi   bētō   / te kāndūhuh   nūuh   yivih*
       machete Bob   he CON:be:lying:SG face   palm:mat
       'the machete of the Bob who is lying on the palm mat'

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

> *tunshíi*   *shito*   *yuvāh*   *ra*
> rifle   uncle   father   his
> 'the rifle of his father's uncle'

3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed with any one of the following: interrogative numeral phrases (see 4.1.9); the nominal marker *ndēē* 'which?'; the interrogative pronoun *yoo* 'who?', used in this construction to mean 'whose?'; and the complex interrogative adverb *saa kūūh* 'how much?'. The interrogative is usually initial in its noun phrase, and the interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence (see 1.1.8 and 1.2.2).

With interrogative numeral phrases:

> *saa*   *tāhān*   *tēi*
> how   of:group:PL   chair
> 'how many chairs?'

> *saa*   *tāhān*   *ra*
> how   of:group:PL   he
> 'how many men?'

With other interrogative forms:

> *ndēē*   *yosōh*
> which   metate
> 'which metate? (Sp. *metate*)'

> *ndēē*   *tīh*
> which   it:AML
> 'which animal?'

> *yoo*   *kīni*
> who   pig
> 'whose pig?'

> *yoo*   *sīhe*
> who   child
> 'whose child?'

yoo   ñaha
who   thing
'whose thing?'

saa   kūūh   ishänh
how   CON:be:inherently   corn:dough
'how much dough?'

saa   kūūh   shuhünh
how   CON:be:inherently   money
'how much money?'

When a possessor is questioned by an interrogative noun phrase rather than simply by *yoo* 'who?', the phrase follows the possessed noun. Note that in this construction the interrogative word is not initial in the sentence.

kitīh   ndēē   tyāa
animal   which   man
'the animal of which man?'

ishīh   ndēē   tīh
hair   which   it:AML
'the hair of which animal?'

Some interrogative noun phrases have acquired idiomatic meanings; they are used to question adjuncts (see 1.2.2). These phrases are:

yoo   ndahāh
who   hand
'to/from whom?'

yoo   nūuh
who   face
'to/from whom?'

yoo `   shāhah
who   foot
'for whom?'

> *ndēĕ   shāhah*
> which   foot
> 'why?'

3.5 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 a temporal noun nucleus. They are used as locative adjuncts and as location or time peripheral elements (see 1.1.4 and 1.1.7).

> *ichīh   kāhnūh*
> trail   important
> 'main trail' *or* 'road'
>
> *ñuu   kwālīh*
> town   small:PL
> 'small towns'
>
> *kīvih   kāhnūh*
> day   important
> 'holiday'
>
> *kīvih   ūh*
> day   touchy
> 'holy day'

(See also 7.13 and 7.19.)

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with an inherently possessed locative noun as nucleus. Most of these are body-part nouns; they are often used with extended meanings. Adverbial possessive noun phrases are used mainly as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

> *shāhah   ikūh*
> foot   mountain
> 'foot of the mountain'
>
> *tokōh   ikūh*
> waist   mountain
> 'middle of the mountain'

shīnih   ikūh
head   mountain
'top of the mountain'

nūuh   mēsā
face   table
'table top'

tishin   mēsā
stomach   table
'under the table'

nūuh   lāpī
face   pencil
'tip of the pencil (Sp. *lápiz*)'

ini   lāpī
insides   pencil
'core of the pencil'

tishin   vihe
stomach   house
'inside the house'

shāhah   yōoh
foot   month
'beginning of the month'

shāhah   shīmānā
foot   week
'beginning of the week (Sp. *semana*)'

tokōh   shīmānā
waist   week
'middle of the week'

shīnih   shīmānā
head   week
'end of the week'

(See also 7.16, 7.27, and 7.29.)

A few locative nouns are extended to more abstract concepts and are translated into English by prepositions. These locative nouns are used conventionally to signal certain adjuncts.

> *ndahāh   ah*
> hand   her
> 'to her' *or* 'from her'

> *nūuh   pēgrū*
> face   Peter
> 'to Peter' *or* 'from Peter'

> *nūuh   rih*
> face   its:AML
> 'to it' *or* 'from it'

> *shāhah   ra*
> foot   his
> 'for him'

> *shāhah   nūnih*
> foot   corn:kernel
> 'about corn'

> *kwēntā   te   chūūnh*
> account   his   worklike
> 'on behalf of (Sp. *cuenta*) the president'

3.6 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 within the sentence.

> *kuhva   i   /   chīkā*
> sister:ME   my   Fran
> 'my sister, Fran (Sp. *Chica*)'

> *ikwān   /   te   meē*
> John   he   ?
> 'John, the messenger'

bětō   /   te   chūūnh
Bob   he   worklike
'Bob, the mayor'

yashīnh   /   ña   ni   nava
gourd:bowl   it:INAN   COM   fall:SG
'the gourd bowl, the thing that fell'

mbūrū   /   tīh   kani   ra
donkey   it:AML   POT:hit   he
'the donkey, the one which he will strike'

Appositional noun phrases have several specific functions. The first of these is to express restrictive relative clauses modifying a noun head, as described in 3.1.3 above. The second function is to express the possessor of an animal. Because nouns referring to specific animals cannot occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase, an appositional construction is used in which a possessive noun phrase with the inherently possessed noun *sāna* 'domestic animal' as its nucleus follows a basic noun phrase with the name of the specific animal as its nucleus.

nāyah   /   sāna   ra
dog   domestic:animal   his
'his dog'

kitīh   /   sāna   nya
animal   domestic:animal   their
'their animals'

The third specific function is to disambiguate constructions in which a deictic modifies the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase. The deictic cannot occur between the nucleus and the possessor, and it is often ambiguous in reference when it follows the possessor, as described in 3.3. In such appositional constructions the second noun phrase is separated from the first by a pause, and it consists of a prestressed pronoun agreeing in gender with the nucleus of the first noun phrase, followed by the deictic. This construction makes it clear that the deictic refers to the nucleus. Compare the following two phrases, the second of which is an appositional construction.

    īchi   *bētō*   *kāah*
    machete   Bob   that:far
    'that machete of Bob's' *or* 'that Bob's machete'

    īchi   *bētō*   /   *ña*   *kāah*
    machete   Bob   it:INAN that:far
    'that machete of Bob's'

3.7 Additive Noun Phrases

There are no simple additive noun phrases in Ayutla Mixtec. All sequences in which *shūnh* 'with' occurs between two noun phrases are best analyzed as a single noun phrase followed by an associative adjunct (see 1.1.4). There are, however, three special kinds of additive noun phrase used to express ownership. The first use identifies the owner with reference to a possessible item. It has the following structure: the owner is expressed by a prestressed pronoun, and this is followed by *shūnh* and a noun that refers to the possessible item.

    ñā   *shūnh*   *ñuhūh*
    she   with   earth
    'she who owns land'

    te   *shūnh*   *sīhe*
    he   with   child
    'he who has a child'

    tīh   *shūnh*   *lēchīn*
    it:AML with   milk
    'the animal which has milk (Sp. *leche*)'

(See also 7.13.)

If a noun is used to refer to the owner, it precedes the above construction and is in apposition with it.

    marīā   /   *ñā*   *shūnh*   *ñuhūh*
    Mary   she   with   earth
    'the Mary who owns land'

> *te   yīvih   /   te   shūnh   sīhe*
> he   ?   he   with   child
> 'the man who has a child'

> *sindīkih   /   tīh   shūnh   lēchīn*
> cow   it:AML   with   milk
> 'the cow which has milk'

The second use is similar to the first in that it contains a prestressed pronoun referring to a possessor, followed by *shūnh* 'with' and a noun that refers to a possessible item. As in the above construction, a noun may precede the prestressed pronoun and be in apposition with the phrase. It differs from the first construction, however, in that the prestressed pronoun refers to a person who has either borrowed the item or usurped ownership of it in some way, i.e., it does not refer to the legitimate possessor. The legitimate possessor is expressed by a noun phrase at the end of the construction.

> *ñā   shūnh   ñuhūh   ra*
> she   with   earth   he
> 'the woman who owns his land'

> *sūtu   /   te   shūnh   sāna   mbūrū   bētō*
> priest   he   with   domestic:animal   donkey   Bob
> 'the priest who owns Bob's donkey'

> *lālū   /   te   shūnh   sīhe   ah*
> Larry   he   with   child   she
> 'the Larry who fathered her child'

The third use reverses the polarity of the others because it identifies a possessible item with reference to its owner. It has the following structure: the possessible item is expressed by a prestressed pronoun, and this is followed by *shūnh* and a possessive noun phrase in which the nucleus also refers to the possessed item.

> *ña   shūnh   ñaha   ah*
> it:INAN   with   thing   her
> 'it which she owns'

> *tūnh   shūnh   ñaha   bētō*
> it:woD   with   thing   Bob
> 'it which Bob owns'

> *te   shūnh   ñani   ra*
> he   with   brother:ME his
> 'he who is his brother'

As in the two constructions described above, if a noun is used to refer to the possessed item, it precedes the prestressed pronoun and is in apposition with the phrase.

> *vihe / ña   shūnh   ñaha   ah*
> house   it:INAN with   thing   her
> 'the house which she owns'

> *tunshū / tūnh   shūnh   ñaha   bētō*
> rifle   it:woD   with   thing   Bob
> 'the rifle which Bob owns'

> *pēgrū / te   shūnh   ñani   ra*
> Peter   he   with   brother:ME   his
> 'the Peter who is his brother'

3.8 Distributive Noun Phrases

Distributive noun phrases are formed by repeating an entire noun phrase containing the limiter *ni* 'only' to indicate either spatial or temporal continuance. If the noun phrase contains only a noun nucleus, however, *ni* occurs only once, at the end.

> *vihe   kwālīh   ni   vihe   kwālīh   ni*
> house small:PL   LIM   house small:PL   LIM
> 'from little houses to little houses'

> *vihe   ni   ra   vihe   ni   ra*
> house LIM   his   house LIM his
> 'again (and) again just his house'

> *vihe   vihe   ni*
> house house   LIM
> 'from house to house'

kwīya   kwīya   ni
year   year   LIM
'from year to year'

kīvih   kāhnūh   kīvih   kāhnūh   ni
day   important day   important LIM
'from holiday to holiday'

3.9 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Indefinite noun phrases contain an interrogative word or phrase followed immediately by the additive *ka* 'more'. They are of two types. In the first type any of four interrogative words serves as the nucleus of the phrase. These phrases are:

yoo   ka
who   ADD
'whoever' *or* 'anyone'

ama   ka
when   ADD
'whenever' *or* 'at any time'

mūh   ka
where   ADD
'wherever' *or* 'anywhere'

saa   ka
how   ADD
'however' *or* 'in any way'

In the second type the interrogative word or phrase does not serve as the nucleus, and so a noun or pronoun must follow the *ka*. The nominal marker *ndēē* 'which?' falls into this type, and also the interrogative numeral phrase *saa tāhān* 'how many?' (see 4.1.9); *tāhān* follows the *ka*.

ndēē   ka   shītah
which   ADD   tortilla
'whatever tortilla (Sp. *tortilla*—a flat corn cake)'

ndēē   ka   ñaha
which   ADD   thing
'whatever thing' *or* 'anything'

saa   ka   tāhān   ra
how   ADD   of:group:PL   he
'however many of them'

Both types may include various modifiers, including relative clauses.

yoo   ka   na   ndūhuh   ikānh
who   ADD   HOPE   CON:be:located:SG   over:there
'(with interest) whoever lives there'

yoo   ka   xān   sachūūnh
who   ADD   DOUBT   POT:work
'(with doubt) whoever may work'

yoo   ka   ndūūh   ne   ni   ndyee   ñuu
who   ADD   CON:be:equal   they   COM   COM:be:located:PL   town
'whoever are those who live in the town'

ndēē   ka   ña   kūní   unh
which   ADD   it:INAN   CON:want   you:SG
'whatever you want'

ama   ka   xān   kūhun   ra
when   ADD   DOUBT   POT:go   he
'(with doubt) whenever he may go'

ama   ka   na   kūni   unh
when   ADD   HOPE   POT:want   you:SG
'(with interest) whenever you like'

mūh   ka   ni   shīka   rih
where   ADD   COM   COM:walk   it:AML
'wherever it lived'

saa   ka   kāāh   a
how   ADD   CON:appear:SG   it:INAN
'however it looks'

saa   ka   kāhán   nīmá unh
how   ADD CON:speak:SG   heart you:SG
'however you desire (Sp. *ánima*)'

saa   ka   tāhān   te kāah
how   ADD of:group:PL   he that:far
'however many of those men'

saa   ka   tāhān   ña   nāá   tishin   kaa
how   ADD of:group:PL   it:INAN   CON:be:inside:SG   stomach   metal
'however many that may be inside the tin'

4

Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases. There are two kinds of additive numeral phrases: simple phrases and those with *kanūh* 'to be upon (singular)'. In both kinds the larger numeral always occurs first.

In simple additive numeral phrases simple 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.

ūshi iin
ten one
'eleven'

ūshi kumīh
ten four
'fourteen'

shāhun ūni
fifteen three
'eighteen'

ōko shāhun
twenty fifteen
'thirty-five'

syēntō   *ōko*
hundred   twenty
'one hundred (Sp. *ciento*) twenty'

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.

ōko   *ūshi*   *iin*
twenty   ten   one
'thirty-one'

ōko   *shāhun*   *kumīh*
twenty   fifteen   four
'thirty-nine'

syēntō   *ōko*   *shāhun*   *ūvi*
hundred   twenty   fifteen   two
'one hundred thirty-seven'

Additive numeral phrases with the position verb *kanūh* 'to be upon (singular)', which is used in this construction to mean 'to be in addition to', are used to relate numerals of less than one thousand to those that are greater. *kanūh* together with the numeral that follows it forms a relative clause modifying the numeral that precedes. (This pattern is also used for fractions; see 3.2 and 4.1.4.)

mīī   *kānūh*   *ōko*
thousand   CON:be:upon:SG   twenty
'one thousand (Sp. *mil*) twenty'

mīī   *kānūh*   *syēntō*
thousand   CON:be:upon:SG   hundred
'one thousand one hundred'

Additive phrases without the connector may combine with additive phrases with the connector.

mīī   *kānūh*   *ōko*   *shāhun*   *ūni*
thousand   CON:be:upon:SG   twenty   fifteen   three
'one thousand thirty-eight'

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, *shiko*, is used as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases.

> *ūvi   shiko*
> two   twenty
> 'forty'

> *ūni   shiko*
> three   twenty
> 'sixty'

> *kumīh   shiko*
> four   twenty
> 'eighty'

> *ūsha   syēntō*
> seven   hundred
> 'seven hundred'

> *ūvi   mīī*
> two   thousand
> 'two thousand'

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

> *ūvi   shiko   shāhun   iin*
> two   twenty   fifteen   one
> 'fifty-six'

> *kumīh mīī   kānūh   ūni   syēntō*
> four   thousand CON:be:upon:SG   three hundred
> 'four thousand three hundred and

>> *ūni   shiko   shāhun   ūvi*
>> three   twenty   fifteen   two
>> seventy-seven'

4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases. A numeral or numeral phrase and a numerical marker that functions as a numeral classifier combine to form aggregative numeral phrases. The numerical markers are *ndaah* 'of group (singular)', which immediately follows the numeral *iin* 'one'; and *tāhān* 'of group (plural)' or *saāh* 'all of group', one of which immediately follows a numeral greater than one. Numerical markers define the numeral which they follow as an aggregate or member of a set of items, and this phrase type is the usual way to express an exact number in a noun phrase. It does not occur, however, when counting in a series (except before the last item), when referring to a quantity of money (pesos) or a linear measure,[1] or when the numerals one and two are used to mean 'a' and 'a few' (see 3.1.2). In the following examples an entire noun phrase is given with the parts outside the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

> *iin   ndaah   (nāyah)*
> one   of:group:SG   (dog)
> 'one (dog) of a group'
>
> *ūvi   tāhān   (vihe)*
> two   of:group:PL   (house)
> 'two (houses) of a group'
>
> *ūn   saāh   (tēi)*
> nine   all:of:group   (chair)
> 'all nine (chairs) of a group'
>
> (See also 7.10 and 7.37.)

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[1]The following examples illustrate various contexts where numerical markers do not occur.

> *iin   /   ūvi   /   ūni   / . . . ūshi   /   ūshi   iin   tāhān*   (tēi)
> one   two   three   . . . ten   ten   one   of:group:PL   (chair)
> 'one, two, three, . . . ten, eleven (chairs)'
>
> *ūsha   (pēsū)*
> seven   (peso)
> 'seven (*pesos* [Sp.])'
>
> *shāhun   iin   (ndahāh)*
> fifteen   one   (hand)
> 'sixteen (fathoms)'

4.1.4 Expanded numeral phrases. An aggregative numeral phrase serves as the nucleus of expanded numeral phrases. These phrases also include two optional prenuclear elements and four optional postnuclear elements.

The prenuclear elements, ordered from the nucleus, consist of specifier, expressed by the general markers *inga* 'another (of same kind)' and *tuku* 'again', used in quantifier phrases to mean 'another (of different kind)', and reality, expressed by the general adverb *yātīnh* 'nearly', the general marker *tēeh* 'probably', and an idiom, *sava ni* 'exactly'.

> *inga   ūvi   syēntō   tāhān   (sindīkih)*
> other:same two   hundred of:group:PL (cattle)
> 'another two hundred (cattle)'

> *tuku ūni   tāhān   (vihe)*
> REP   three of:group:PL   (house)
> 'another three (houses)'

> *yātīnh ōko   tāhān   (tēi)*
> nearly twenty of:group:PL   (chair)
> 'nearly twenty (chairs)'

> *tēeh   ūhun syēntō   tāhān   (niih)*
> probably five hundred of:group:PL (corn:ear)
> 'probably five hundred (ears of corn)'

> *sava ni   kumīh shiko   shāhun   ūni   (niih)*
> half LIM   four   twenty fifteen   three (corn:ear)
> 'exactly ninety-eight (ears of corn)'

Prenuclear elements may cooccur in any combination except that *sava ni* 'exactly' does not occur with the specifier.

> *yātīnh inga   ūvi   syēntō   tāhān   (sindīkih)*
> nearly other:same two   hundred of:group:PL (cattle)
> 'nearly another two hundred (cattle)'

> *tēeh   inga   ōko   tāhān   (chītya)*
> probably other:same twenty of:group:PL (banana)
> 'probably another twenty (bananas)'

The four postnuclear elements are: deprecative, limiter, repetitive, and fraction. Many of the items that express these postnuclear elements are general markers which also occur as postnuclear elements in the verb phrase and the basic noun phrase (see 2.1.3 and 3.1.3).

The deprecative is expressed by the general marker *soho* 'only (lack)', and by the numerical marker *tiluh* 'only (final)'.

iin   ndaah   soho   (sīhe   i)
one   of:group:SG   only:lack   (child   my)
'(my) one only living (child)'

iin   ndaah   tīluh   (sīhe   i)
one   of:group:SG   only:final (child   my)
'resigned to (my) one and only (child)'

The limiter is expressed by the general markers *kwitih* 'just', the additive *ka* 'more', *vih* 'excessive', the limiter *ni* 'only', *na* 'hope', and *xān* 'doubt'.

ūshi   tāhān   kwitih   (kitīh)
ten   of:group:PL   just   (animal)
'just ten (animals)'

ūvi   tāhān   ka   (sindīkih)
two   of:group:PL   ADD   (cattle)
'two more (cattle)'

ūvi   shiko   tāhān   vih   (nduyu)
two   twenty   of:group:PL   excessive   (post)
'an excessive quantity of forty (posts)'

ūnya   tāhān   ni   (tichīh)
eight   of:group:PL   LIM   (avocado)
'enough with just eight (avocados)'

īñu   tāhān   na   (te   tātú)
six   of:group:PL   HOPE   (he   hired)
'a desired number of six (hired men)'

ūvi   shiko   ūshi   tāhān   xān   (ndushīh)
two   twenty   ten   of:group:PL   DOUBT   (hen)
'a doubtful number of fifty (hens)'

More than one of these markers can occur in a single phrase. *kwitih* usually occurs first, followed by *ka, vih, ni,* and *na* or *xān.*

> *ūshi   tāhān   kwitih ka   xān   (kitīh)*
> ten   of:group:PL   just   ADD DOUBT   (animal)
> 'a doubtful number of just ten more (animals)'

> *iin   ndaah   kwitih ni   na   (te   tātú)*
> one   of:group:SG   just   LIM HOPE   (he   hired)
> 'resignedly expecting only just one (hired man)'

> *ōko   tāhān   ka   vih   na   (kitīh)*
> twenty of:group:PL ADD excessive HOPE   (animal)
> 'an expected excessive number of twenty more (animals)'

The third postnuclear element, repetitive, is expressed by the general markers *tuku* 'again' and *tu* 'also'. *tuku* refers to a quantity that is repeated with reference to the same item, and *tu* refers to a quantity that is repeated with reference to different items.

> *kumīh tāhān   tuku (niih)*
> four   of:group:PL   REP   (corn:ear)
> 'four (corn ears) again'

> *kumīh tāhān   tu   (tichīh)*
> four   of:group:PL   also (avocado)
> 'also four (avocados)'

The fourth postnuclear element, fraction, is expressed by a limited set of relative clauses that follow the nucleus of the noun phrase; when fraction occurs, the quantifier phrase is discontinuous. One kind of relative clause contains the position verb *yōsoh* 'to be mounted on', usually followed by the general quantifier *sava* 'half'. The other kind of relative clause contains the position verb *kanūh* 'to be upon (singular)' usually followed by the idiom *iin tāhvīh sava* 'one half'. (A similar construction occurs to express fraction in measurement noun phrases; see 3.2.)

> *iin   ndaah   (shītah)   yōsoh   sava*
> one   of:group:SG (tortilla) CON:be:mounted:on   half
> 'one and a half (tortillas)'

ūvi   tāhān   (shītah) kānūh   iin   tāhvīh   sava
two   of:group:PL (tortilla) CON:be:upon:SG   one   portion half
'two (tortillas) and a half'

Restrictions of occurrence between postnuclear elements are as follows:
the limiter *ni* 'only' does not occur with deprecative unless *kwitih* 'just'
intervenes, and fraction does not occur with *tīluh* 'only (final)'.

ūni   tāhān   soho   xān   tuku   (shītah)
three of:group:PL only:lack DOUBT REP   (tortilla)
'again a discouraging doubtful number of three (tortillas)'

ūvi   shiko tāhān   vih   na   tu   (nduyu)
two   twenty of:group:PL excessive HOPE also (post)
'also an expected excessive number of forty (posts)'

ūnya   tāhān   ka   ni xān   tu   (tichīh)
eight   of:group:PL ADD LIM DOUBT also (avocado)
'also just enough of a doubtful number of eight more (avocados)'

iin   ndaah   tīluh   kwitih ni   na   (te tātú)
one   of:group:SG only:final just   LIM HOPE (he hired)
'resignedly expecting only just just one (hired man)'

ūni   tāhān   soho   kwitih ka   (shītah)
three of:group:PL only:lack just   ADD (tortilla)
'only just a discouraging number of three and a half

     yōsoh   sava
     CON:be:mounted:on half
     more (tortillas)'

ōko   tāhān   ka   xān   (chītya) kānūh
twenty of:group:PL ADD DOUBT (banana) CON:be:upon:SG
'a doubtful number of twenty and

     iin   tāhvīh   sava
     one   portion half
     a half (bananas)'

Restrictions of occurrence between prenuclear and postnuclear elements
are as follows: *tēeh* 'probably' does not occur with *vih* 'excessive' or *xān*

'doubt'; *yátīnh* 'nearly' does not occur with *soho* 'only (lack)', *tīluh* 'only (final)', *kwitih* 'just', or *ni* 'only'; *inga* 'another (of same kind)' does not occur with *tu* 'also'; and *sava ni* 'exactly' does not occur with *xān* 'doubt'.

> *inga*   *ūvi*   *syēntō*   *tāhān*   *kwitih*   *na*   *(sindīkih)*
> other:same two   hundred of:group:PL   just   HOPE   (cattle)
> 'just another expected number of two hundred (cattle)'

> *tuku*   *ūni*   *tāhān*   *ka*   *ni*   *(vihe)*
> REP   three of:group:PL   ADD   LIM   (house)
> 'just enough of another number of three more (houses)'

> *inga*   *ūsha*   *tāhān*   *vih*   *(chītya)*
> other:same   seven of:group:PL excessive   (banana)
> 'another excessive number of seven and

>> *kānūh*   *iin*   *tāhvīh*   *sava*
>> CON:be:upon:SG   one   portion   half
>> a half (bananas)'

> *tuku*   *ūni*   *tāhān*   *tīluh*   *xān*
> REP   three of:group:PL   only:final DOUBT
> 'resigned to another doubtful number of three

>> *(te*   *tātú)*
>> (he   hired)
>> (hired men)'

> *tēeh*   *ūhun*   *syēntō*   *tāhān*   *tu*   *(niih)*
> probably five   hundred of:group:PL also   (corn:ear)
> 'probably also five hundred (ears of corn)'

> *yátīnh*   *ūnya*   *tāhān*   *soho*   *tuku*   *(nduyu)*
> nearly   eight   of:group:PL   only:lack   REP   (post)
> 'again nearly a discouraging number of only eight (posts)'

> *sava*   *ni*   *shāhun*   *ūni*   *tāhān*   *ka*   *(shītah)*
> half   LIM   fifteen   three   of:group:PL   ADD   (tortilla)
> 'exactly eighteen and a half

> kānúh   iin   tāhvíh   sava
> CON:be:upon:SG one   portion   half
> more (tortillas)'

4.1.5 General quantifier phrases. Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases, which are similar in structure to expanded numeral phrases. They consist of a nucleus, which is expressed by a general quantifier or by the numeral *ūvi* 'two', used in this construction to mean 'a few'; two optional prenuclear elements; and three optional postnuclear elements.

The prenuclear element nearer to the nucleus is expressed by the general markers *inga* 'another (of same kind)', *tuku* 'again', meaning 'another (of different kind)', and the specifier *miíh* 'self'. The position immediately preceding this is expressed by the general adverb *yātīnh* 'nearly'; the general marker *tēeh* 'probably'. *yātīnh* 'nearly' occurs only when the nucleus is expressed by *kwāhah* 'much' or 'many' or by *sakūūh* 'all'.

> inga   kwāhah   (ishānh)
> other:same   much   (corn:dough)
> 'another quantity of much (dough)'

> tuku   ndyāhvíh   (niih)
> REP   few   (corn:ear)
> 'a few other (ears of corn)'

> yātīnh   sakūūh   (te   tātú)
> nearly   all   (he   hired)
> 'nearly all (the hired men)'

> tēeh   nūh   (nduvíh)
> probably   whole   (daytime)
> 'probably (the) whole (day)'

> tēeh   inga   kwāhah   (chītya)
> probably   other:same   many   (banana)
> 'probably many other (bananas)'

(See also 7.3.)

The postnuclear elements are: manner, limiter, and repetitive. Manner is expressed only by the intensifying adverbs *ndivaha* 'inappropriately', *yāha*

'surpassing', and *shavaha* 'amazingly'. These words increase the quantity referred to by *kwāhah* 'much' or 'many' but decrease the quantity referred to by many other general quantifiers. They do not occur with the general quantifier *sakūūh* 'all'.

> *kwāhah   ndivaha   (shahan)*
> much   inappropriate (oil)
> 'inappropriately much (oil)'

> *ūvi   yāha   (te   tātú)*
> two   surpassing   (he   hired)
> 'exceedingly few (hired men)'

> *sīē   shavaha   (ishānh)*
> little amazing   (tortilla:dough)
> 'amazingly little (dough)'

Intensifying adverbs occur together in various combinations to heighten the intensification.

> *kwāhah   ndivaha   yāha   (shahan)*
> much   inappropriate surpassing (oil)
> 'exceedingly inappropriately much (oil)'

> *ūvi   yāha   shavaha   (te   tātú)*
> two   surpassing amazing   (he   hired)
> 'amazingly exceedingly few (hired men)'

> *sīē   shavaha   yāha   (ishānh)*
> little amazing   surpassing (tortilla:dough)
> 'exceedingly amazingly little (dough)'

The limiter is expressed by the same general markers which occur as postnuclear elements in the expanded numeral phrase, plus the intensifier *va* 'very'. They are: *kwitih* 'just', *ka* 'more', *va* 'very', *vih* 'excessive', *ni* 'only', *na* 'hope', and *xān* 'doubt'. *kwitih* and *ni* do not occur with the general quantifier *kwāhah* 'much' or 'many'; *vih* does not occur with the general quantifier *sīē* 'little' or with *ūvi* 'two' or 'a few'; and *vih* is the only postnuclear element that occurs with the general quantifier *sakūūh* 'all'.

sīē   kwitih   (shahan)
little   just   (oil)
'just a little (oil)'

sīē   ka   (nūnih)
little   ADD   (corn:kernel)
'a little more (corn)'

ndyāhvīh   va   (ndīvih)
several   INTS   (egg)
'less than several (eggs)'

sava   vih   (ishānh)
half   excessive   (tortilla:dough)
'an excessive amount of about half (the dough)'

sava   ni   (nduyu)
half   LIM   (post)
'just enough of about half (the posts)'

ūvi   na   (chītya)
two   HOPE   (banana)
'an expected few (bananas)'

kwāhah   xān   (īinh)
much   DOUBT   (salt)
'a doubtful quantity of much (salt)'

Sometimes more than one limiter occurs in a single phrase.

sīē   kwitih   ni   ka   (shahan)
little   just   LIM   ADD   (oil)
'only just enough more (oil)'

The repetitive is expressed by *tuku* 'again' and *tu* 'also'.

kwāhah   tuku   (te   tātú)
many   REP   (he   hired)
'again a large number (of hired men)'

>   *sava   tu   (nduchīh)*
>   half   also   (bean)
>   'also a quantity of about half (the beans)'

The following examples show various combinations of postnuclear elements.

>   *sava   vih   xān   tu   (ishānh)*
>   half   excessive   DOUBT   also   (tortilla:dough)
>   'also a doubtful excessive quantity of about half (the dough)'

>   *kwāhah   yāha   shavaha   va   (te   tātú)*
>   many   surpassing   amazing   INTS   (he   hired)
>   'a very amazing surpassing number of many (hired men)'

>   *ūvi   kwitih   na   tuku   (chītya)*
>   few   just   HOPE   REP   (banana)
>   'again an expected quantity of just a few (bananas)'

(See also 7.33.)

4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases. A repeated simple numeral or aggregative numeral phrase followed by the limiter *ni* constitutes a distributive numeral phrase. There are no prenuclear elements or other postnuclear elements. These phrases indicate the size of a group. (Note the similarity between this construction and the distributive noun phrase, described in 3.8.)

>   *ūvi   ūvi   ni*
>   two   two   LIM
>   'two by two'

>   *kumīh   kumīh   ni*
>   four   four   LIM
>   'four by four'

>   *ōko   ōko   ni*
>   twenty   twenty   LIM
>   'twenty by twenty'

iin   ndaah   iin   ndaah   ni
one   of:group:SG   one   of:group:SG   LIM
'one by one'

ūvi   tāhān   ūvi   tāhān   ni
two   of:group:PL   two   of:group:PL   LIM
'two by two'

kumīh   tāhān   kumīh   tāhān   ni
four   of:group:PL   four   of:group:PL   LIM
'four by four'

ōko   tāhān   ōko   tāhān   ni
twenty   of:group:PL   twenty   of:group:PL   LIM
'twenty by twenty'

The following phrase appears to be a reduced form of *iin iin ni*.

ihin   ni
one:one   LIM
'each'

4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases. Two simple numerals, with the numeral of lower value occurring first, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The construction expresses an approximation and occurs only in the three examples listed below.

iin   ūvi
one   two
'one or two' (one to four)

ūni   kumīh
three   four
'three or four' (two to six)

ūsha   ūnya
seven   eight
'seven or eight' (five to ten)

4.1.8 Emphatic numeral phrases. A repeated aggregative numeral phrase constitutes an emphatic numeral phrase. There are no prenuclear or postnuclear elements. These phrases emphasize the numeral. (Note

the similarity between this construction and the continuous verb phrase, described in 2.4.)

iin	*ndaah*	*iin*	*ndaah*	*(te*	*tātú)*
one	of:group:SG	one	of:group:SG	(he	hired)

'**one** (hired man)'

ūshi	*tāhān*	*ūshi*	*tāhān*	*(nduyu)*
ten	of:group:PL	ten	of:group:PL	(post)

'**ten** (posts)'

shāhun	*ūni*	*tāhān*	*shāhun*	*ūni*	*tāhān*	*(rih)*
fifteen	three	of:group:PL	fifteen	three	of:group:PL	(it:AML)

'**eighteen** (animals)'

ūvi	*shiko*	*shāhun*	*ūvi*	*tāhān*	*ūvi*	*shiko*	*shāhun*	*ūvi*
two	twenty	fifteen	two	of:group:PL	two	twenty	fifteen	two

'**fifty-seven** (ears

tāhān	*(nüh)*
of:group:PL	(corn:ear)
of corn)'	

4.1.9 Interrogative numeral phrases. The interrogative adverb *saa* 'how?' followed by the numerical marker *tāhān* 'of group (plural)' serves as the nucleus of interrogative numeral phrases. These phrases have one optional prenuclear element and two optional postnuclear elements. The prenuclear element, reality, is expressed by the general adverb *yātīnh* 'nearly'. The postnuclear elements are limiter, expressed by *kwitih* 'just', *ka* 'more', *vih* 'excessive', *ni* 'only', and *na* 'hope'; and repetitive, expressed by *tuku* 'again' and *tu* 'also'. Interrogative numeral phrases occur in interrogative noun phrases (see 3.4).

saa	*tāhān*	*(sindīkih)*
how	of:group:PL	(cattle)

'how many (cattle)?'

yātīnh	*saa*	*tāhān*	*(tēi)*
nearly	how	of:group:PL	(chair)

'nearly how many (chairs)?'

saa   tāhān   kwitih   (kitīh)
how   of:group:PL   just   (animal)
'just how many (animals)?'

saa   tāhān   vih   (nduyu)
how   of:group:PL   excessive (post)
'how many excessive (posts)?'

saa   tāhān   ka   (niih)
how   of:group:PL   ADD   (corn:ear)
'how many more (ears of corn)?'

saa   tāhān   ni   (tichīh)
how   of:group:PL   LIM   (avocado)
'just enough of how many (avocados)?'

saa   tāhān   na   (te tātú)
how   of:group:PL   HOPE   (he hired)
'how many expected (hired men)?'

saa   tāhān   tuku   (chītya)
how   of:group:PL   REP   (banana)
'how many (bananas) again?'

saa   tāhān   tu   (nāyah)
how   of:group:PL   also   (dog)
'how many (dogs) also?'

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. A nucleus, an optional prenuclear element, and six optional postnuclear elements combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus is expressed by a locative, temporal, or general adverb. The prenuclear element is reality, expressed by the general adverb *yātīnh* 'nearly', which occurs only with locative adverbs. The postnuclear elements are manner, expressed by the intensifying adverbs *ndivaha* 'inappropriate', *yāha* 'surpassing', or *shavaha* 'amazing'; limiter, expressed by the general markers *kwitih* 'just', *ka* 'more', *va* 'very', *vih* 'excessive', *ni* 'only', *na* 'hope', and *xān* 'doubt'; and repetitive, expressed by the general markers *tuku* 'again', and *tu* 'also'. Other cooccurrence restrictions between specific nuclei and prenuclear and postnuclear elements are beyond the scope of this paper.

With locative adverbs:

> *shīkāh*   *shavaha*   *vih*
> far   amazing   excessive
> 'an amazing distance excessively far away'

> *yātīnh*   *ikānh*   *na*   *tu*
> nearly   over:there   HOPE   also
> 'also near by an expected point over there'

> *ninu*   *kwitih*   *ka*
> upwards   just   ADD
> 'just more upwards'

> *nīnu*   *ni*   *xān*
> downwards   LIM   DOUBT
> 'maybe only downwards'

With temporal adverbs:

> *vitin*   *kwitih*   *ka*
> now   just   ADD
> 'right now still'

> *iku*   *xān*   *tu*
> yesterday   DOUBT   also
> 'also maybe yesterday'

> *nūnūh*   *ni*   *na*   *tuku*
> later:today   LIM   HOPE   REP
> 'again an expected time just later on today'

> *mityūhūnh*   *vih*   *xān*   *tu*
> little:while:ago   excessive   DOUBT   also
> 'also maybe excessive time of a little while ago'

With general adverbs:

> *yāchi*   *ka*   *ni*   *tuku*
> quickly   ADD   LIM   REP
> 'just more quickly again'

sakǎnh   ni   tuku
thus   LIM   REP
'again only like that'

(See also 7.10 and 7.38.)

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.

yātǐnh ikǎnh   kwitih tu / nǐnu
nearly over:there just·   also downwards
'also just over there nearby, below'

mityūhǔnh   yāha   ni / shakwāah
little:while:ago surpassing LIM   afternoon
'just a prolonged little while ago, this afternoon'

ndyakǎnh   va   xǎn / shāhah ikǔh
away:over:there INTS DOUBT foot   mountain
'maybe very far over there, at the foot of the mountain'

īsā   na / shāhah shǐmānā
day:after:tomorrow HOPE foot   week
'hopefully the day after tomorrow, the beginning of the week (Sp. *semana*)'

nǐnu   ka   ni / mahǐh   ñuu
downwards ADD LIM   in:middle:of town
'just more downwards, in the middle of the town'

ikuñuu   vih   tuku / mahǐh   shǐmānā
day:before:yesterday excessive REP   in:middle:of week
'again excessively the day before yesterday, the middle of the week'

4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases. There are two ways to form additive adverb phrases. In the first way, which is relatively uncommon, two noncoreferential adverbs, short adverb phrases, or adverbial noun phrases are simply juxtaposed.

> *nduvīh   niñu*
> daytime   nighttime
> 'all day and all night'

In the second way, the two conjuncts, which are often antonyms, are linked by the preposition *shūnh* 'with'.

> *vitin   shūnh   tyāan*
> today   with   tomorrow
> 'today and tomorrow'

> *tyāan   shūnh   īsā*
> tomorrow   with   day:after:tomorrow
> 'tomorrow and the day after'

> *nīnu   shūnh   ninu*
> downwards   with   upwards
> 'downwards and upwards'

> *yōhōh   shūnh   ikānh*
> here   with   over:there
> 'here and there'

The last example in the block above refers to only two locations; it contrasts with *yōkānh*, which is a fusion of *yōhōh* 'here' and *ikānh* 'over there', and refers to several scattered locations. This fused phrase appears to be another example of the subtype with no linking element.

Additive adverb phrases with *shūnh* look very much like a combination that includes an associative adjunct (see 1.1.4). They differ, however, in that they contain adverbs, rather than noun phrases, and in that they contain conventionally paired elements, both of which seem to be equally prominent.

4.2.4 Repetitive adverb phrases. There are two kinds of repetitive adverb phrases. The first kind consists of the simple repetition of the adverb without any pause, followed by the limiter *ni* 'only'; it intensifies the meaning.

> *yatin   yatin   ni*
> near   near   LIM
> 'very near'

vitin	*vitin*	*ni*
now	now	LIM

'right now'

chīto	*chīto*	*ni*
close	close	LIM

'very close'

The second kind consists of the repetition of a short basic adverb phrase, separated by a pause; it emphasizes the meaning. Each adverb phrase permits at most one prenuclear and one postnuclear modifier.

ninu	/	*ninu*
upwards		upwards

'upwards'

yātīnh	*ikānh*	/	*yātīnh*	*ikānh*
nearly	over:there		nearly	over:there

'near by over there'

vitin	*na*	/	*vitin*	*na*
now	HOPE		now	HOPE

'now, hopefully'

sakānh	*ni*	/	*sakānh*	*ni*
thus	LIM		thus	LIM

'just like that'

Note the similarity among repetitive adverb phrases, continuous verb phrases (see 2.4), and emphatic numeral phrases (see 4.1.8).

4.2.5 Distributive adverb phrases. The repetition of a temporal adverb, followed by the limiter *ni* 'only', constitutes a distributive adverb phrase. These phrases indicate temporal continuance. Only one example has been found to date.

tyāan	*tyāan*	*ni*
tomorrow	tomorrow	LIM

'from day to day'

Note the similarity in form and meaning among distributive adverb phrases, distributive noun phrases (see 3.8), and distributive numeral

phrases (see 4.1.6). Note also that the distributive adverb phrase has the same form as one kind of repetitive adverb phrase, but differs from it in structural meaning. The two constructions can be distinguished by the kinds of adverbs that occur in each: the adverbs that occur in repetitive adverb phrases are more akin to stative verbs, and *tyāan* 'tomorrow', which occurs in distributive adverb phrases, is more akin to nouns.

4.2.6 Interval adverb phrases. An adverbial noun phrase containing a quantifier expressing a period of time, followed by either *vitin* 'now' or 'today' or *tyāan* 'tomorrow', constitutes an interval adverb phrase. The phrase signals a future time counting from the day of the speech act or the next day. These phrases usually occur in focus position in the sentence, and they are followed by *te* 'and' (see 1.1.8).

> *iin   shīmānā   vitin   (te)*
> one   week   now   (and)
> 'a week from now'

> *iin   shīmānā   tyāan   (te)*
> one   week   tomorrow (and)
> 'a week from tomorrow'

> *shāhun   kīvih   vitin   (te)*
> fifteen   day   now   (and)
> 'fifteen days from now'

> *shāhun   kīvih   tyāan   (te)*
> fifteen   day   tomorrow   (and)
> 'fifteen days from tomorrow'

4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of an optional prenuclear element, expressed by the general marker *tēeh* 'probably', and a preposition followed by its object. The object is expressed by a noun phrase, by an adverb or adverb phrase, or occasionally by a prepositional phrase. Prepositional phrases occur mainly as adjuncts and as peripheral elements. The set of prepositions is small because prepositional function is carried largely by locative nouns (see 5.3.2 and 3.5). There are five simple prepositions: *shūnh* 'with', *mahīh* 'in the middle of' or 'in the center of', *tein* 'between' or 'among', *ndēē* 'until (end)', and *ndee* '(from) until'.

With noun phrase as object:

shīīnh   nāmah
with   soap
'with soap'

shīīnh   sūtu   ra
with   priest   his
'with his priest'

tēeh   shīīnh   nāmah
probably   with   soap
'maybe with soap'

mahīh   ñuu
in:middle:of   town
'in the center of town'

tēeh   mahīh   shīmānā
probably   in:middle:of   week
'maybe in the middle of the week'

tein   vihe
between   house
'between the houses'

ndēē   ūhun   tāhān   rih
until:end   five   of:group:PL   it:AML
'until the last five animals'

tēeh   ndēē   yuhūh   itya
probably   until:end   mouth   river
'maybe terminating at the edge of the river'

ndee   yuhūh   itya
from:until   mouth   river
'until the edge of the river' *or* 'from the edge of the river'

ndee   tuku   sava   arō
from:until   REP   half   rice
'even to another half (of the rice [Sp. *arroz*])' *or* 'even from another half (of the rice)'

(See also 7.3, 7.5, 7.8, 7.10, 7.14, 7.18, 7.19, 7.22, 7.23, 7.24, 7.27, 7.30, and 7.32.)

With adverb or adverb phrase as object:

shīīnh   nūnūh
with   later:today
'along with later on today'

shīīnh   shīkāh
with   far
'along with far away'

ndēē   yatin
until:end   near
'until ending nearby'

ndēē   vitin
until:end   now
'up to, and ending now'

ndee   shīkāh
from:until   far
'even to far away' *or* 'even from far away'

ndee   iku
from:until   yesterday
'even to yesterday' *or* 'even from yesterday'

tēeh   ndēē   yatin   ni
probably   until:end   near   LIM
'maybe until ending just nearby'

ndee   iku   xān   tu
from:until   yesterday   DOUBT   also
'also maybe even to yesterday' *or* 'also maybe even from yesterday'

With prepositional phrase as object:

tēeh   shīīnh   tein   itu
probably   with   between   corn:plant
'maybe along with among the corn stocks'

shūnh   mahīh   shīmānā
with   in:middle:of   week
'along with the middle of the week'

tēeh   mahīh   tein   ne   yīvih
probably   in:middle:of   between   them   ?
'maybe in the middle among the people'

ndēē   mahīh   itya
until:end   in:middle:of   river
'up to, and terminating at the middle of the river'

ndee   tein   vihe
from:until   between   house
'from between the houses' *or* 'until between the houses'

ndee   mahīh   tein   itu
from:until   in:middle:of   between   corn:plant
'from in the middle among the corn stocks' *or* 'until in the middle
among the corn stocks'

Prepositional phrases, except those containing *shūnh* 'with', may be
repeated like repetitive adverb phrases (see 4.2.4). They either have no
pause and end with the limiter *ni* 'only', or they have a pause between the
two instances.

mahīh   itu   mahīh   itu   ni
in:middle:of   corn:plant   in:middle:of   corn:plant   LIM
'in the very middle of the corn field'

mahīh   shīmānā   /   mahīh   shīmānā
in:middle:of   week   in:middle:of   week
'in the middle of the week'

tein   ne   yīvih   tein   ne   yīvih   ni
between   them   ?   between   them   ?   LIM
'precisely among the people'

tein   vihe   kăah   /   tein   vihe   kăah
between   house   that:far   between   house   that:far
'between those houses'

> *ndēē*   *yuhūh*   *itya*   *ndēē*   *yuhūh*   *itya*   *ni*
> until:end mouth   river   until:end mouth   river   LIM
> 'up to the very edge of the river'

> *ndēē*   *vitin* / *ndēē*   *vitin*
> until:end   now   until:end   now
> 'up to and terminating now'

> *ndee*   *mityūhūnh* / *ndee*   *mityūhūnh*
> from:until   little:while:ago from:until   little:while:ago
> 'even to a little while ago' *or* 'even from a little while ago'

Phrases containing *ndēē* 'until (end)' and *ndee* '(from) until' show a broader distribution than phrases containing the other prepositions. For example, they frequently occur in subjects and objects, whereas phrases containing the others occur almost exclusively in adjunct and peripheral elements. Also, *ndēē* and *ndee* are more likely to have an adverb or prepositional phrase as object than the others. The broader distribution of these two prepositions probably results from the fact that they are used to mean 'even' as well as 'until', and when they have the meaning 'even', they are similar in function to specifiers (see 3.1.2).

There is also a complex preposition *nii ndee* 'not even' (Sp. *ni* 'nor'), which occurs only in prepositional phrases which are in focus position in the sentence (see 1.1.8). The verb phrase of the sentence must contain the negative marker (see 2.1.2 and 5.9).

> *nii*   *ndee*   *bētō*   *(kīishī)*
> nor   from:until   Bob   (NEG:CON:sleep)
> 'EVEN BOB (is not sleeping).'

> *nii*   *ndee*   *iin*   *ndaah*   *yahāh* *(nī*   *satāh* *ra)*
> nor   from:until   one   of:group:SG chili   (NEG:COM   buy   he)
> '(He didn't buy) EVEN ONE CHILI.'

> *nii*   *ndee*   *ndahāh bēto*   *(kīihinh*   *ra*   *a)*
> nor   from:until   hand   Bob   (NEG:POT:get   he   it:INAN)
> '(He will not get it) FROM EVEN BOB.'

> *nii*   *ndee*   *shāhah* *ña*   *sīē* *(ndātuhūnh*   *ra)*
> nor   from:until   foot   its:INAN   little (NEG:POT:chat   he)
> '(He will not chat) EVEN ABOUT SOMETHING UNIMPORTANT.'

nii   *ndee*   *te* *meē* *(ndūuūh*   *ra)*
nor   from:until he ?   (NEG:CON:be:equal he)
'(He isn't) EVEN A MESSENGER.'

When a quantifier occurs in the noun phrase, *ndee* alone, rather than *nii ndee,* is sometimes used to mean 'not even'.

ndee   *iin* *ndaah*   *te*   *tātú*
from:until one of:group:SG him hired
'not even one hired man'

The locative adverb *yatin* 'near' also sometimes functions as a preposition.

yatin   *vihe*
near   house
'near the house'

yatin   *yuhūh*   *itya*
near   mouth   river
'near the edge of the river'

yatin   *mahīh*   *ichīh*
near   in:middle:of path
'near the middle of the path' *or* 'near the middle of the trip'

yatin   *tein*   *itūnh*
near   between   tree
'near between the trees'

The object of all prepositional phrases, except those containing *ndēē* 'until (end)' and *ndee* '(from) until', may be questioned. When the object is questioned, the interrogative noun phrase follows the preposition.

shūnh *ndēē* *tyāa*
with   which man
'with which man?'

shūnh *ndēē* *ña*
with   which it:INAN
'with which thing?'

> *mahīh*   *ndēē*   *ña*
> in:middle:of   which   it:INAN
> 'in the middle of which thing?'

> *tein*   *ndēē*   *ña*
> between   which   it:INAN
> 'between which things?'

However, when a numeral phrase is object of the prepositions *ndēē* or *ndee,* and quantity is questioned, the interrogative numeral phrase *saa tāhān* 'how many?' follows the preposition.

> *ndēē*   *saa*   *tāhān*
> until:end   how   of:group:PL
> 'up to a final how many?'

> *ndee*   *saa*   *tāhān*
> from:until   how   of:group:PL
> 'up to how many?'

One conventionally established prepositional phrase is used to question an adjunct.

> *yoo*   *shūnh*
> who   with
> 'with whom?'

[blank]

5

Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

5.1.1 Derivation. Content and equative verbs are either basic, derived from other verbs by means of prefixes, or compound. In addition some pairs of verbs that show little or no phonological similarity are related by transitivity or by the number of the subject or object.

Basic content and equative verbs are simple roots. (I cite these verbs in their potential aspect form, which sometimes contains the prefix *ku-*.)

Basic content verbs:

> *kūsu*
> POT:sleep
> 'will sleep'

> *nahi*
> POT:take:SG
> 'will take'

> *kahmi*
> POT:burn
> 'will burn'

Basic equative verbs:

> *ku-nduu*
> POT-be:equal
> 'will be'

ku-nanīh
POT-be:named
'will be named'

Derived content and equative verbs are formed by adding one or more of eight derivational prefixes to the verb roots. These prefixes are: *ku-* 'process one', *ndu-* 'process two', *ka-* 'causative one', *chi-* 'causative two', *sa-* 'causative three', *sha-* 'causative four', *na-* 'repetitive', and *shi-* 'habitual'. As is common with derivational affixes, neither the existence of a derived stem nor its meaning can be predicted; all derived stems must therefore be listed in the lexicon.

The process one prefix *ku-* occurs with most stative verbs and some nouns and adverbs to denote a process that evolves naturally without animate agency. It is historically related to the intransitive content verb *kuu* 'to be (inherently)' or 'to behave'. This prefix is homophonous with the potential aspect prefix.

With stative verbs:

ku-ndoo
POT:PROC1-clean
'will become clean'

ku-vīshi
POT:PROC1-sweet
'will become sweet'

ku-nyahā
POT:PROC1-evil
'will become evil'

ku-kwīhē
POT:PROC1-weak
'will become weak'

With nouns:

ku-ndohyo
POT:PROC1-marsh
'will become a marsh'

ku-yúuh
POT:PROC1-stone
'will become hard'

ku-kihīh
POT:PROC1-hook
'will become bowed over'

ku-sávīh
POT:PROC1-rainy:season
'will become the rainy season'

With an adverb:

ku-yatin
POT:PROC1-near
'will approach'

(See also 7.20.)

The process two prefix *ndu-* occurs with most stative verbs, a few nouns, and one general quantifier to denote a process that involves animate agency. It is probably historically related to the equative verb *nduu* 'to be equal'.

With stative verbs:

ndu-ndoo
POT:PROC2-clean
'will (be made to) become clean'

ndu-vīshi
POT:PROC2-sweet
'will (be made to) become sweet'

ndu-nyahā
POT:PROC2-evil
'will (be made to) become evil'

ndu-kwīhē
POT:PROC2-weak
'will (be made to) become weak'

(See also 7.2 and 7.33.)

With nouns:

> *ndu-ndyohyo*
> POT:PROC2-marsh
> 'will (be made to) become muddy'

> *ndu-yūkun*
> POT:PROC2-row
> 'will (be made to) become a row'

> *ndu-ikūh*
> POT:PROC2-mountain
> 'will become heathen'

With a general quantifier:

> *ndu-nūh*
> POT:PROC2-whole
> 'will (be made to) become whole'

The causative one prefix *ka-* occurs with a few content verbs and a few elements whose identity cannot be determined.

With content verbs:

> *ka-ndeta*
> POT:CAUS1-appear
> 'will jump'

> *ka-ñuu*
> POT:CAUS1-be:dragged
> 'will drag (something)'

> *ka-tāvi*
> POT:CAUS1-be:pushed:down
> 'will push down'

> *ka-tuvi*
> POT:CAUS1-poke
> 'will hobble (with cane)'

With an indeterminate element:

> *ka-nduu*
> POT:CAUS1-?
> 'will pass beyond'

> *ka-kihi*
> POT:CAUS1-?
> 'will trip'

> *ka-ndishāh*
> POT:CAUS1-?
> 'will believe'

The causative two prefix *chi-* occurs with nouns, stative verbs, and nonagentive content verbs to form agentive content verbs. It is historically related to the verb *chihi* 'to plant'.[1]

With nouns:

> *chi-nduku*
> POT:CAUS2-stick
> 'will skewer'

> *chi-kōndo*
> POT:CAUS2-knee
> 'will knee'

> *chi-kihīh*
> POT:CAUS2-hook
> 'will hook into'

> *chi-tīkū*
> POT:CAUS2-needle
> 'will insert needle into'

(See also 7.8 and 7.9.)

---

[1]Planting is done by thrusting a stick into the soil and then tossing the seeds into the hole made by the stick. The concept of thrusting and impingement is retained when *chi-* combines with nouns. However, it is not as strong when *chi-* combines with content verbs and is virtually lost when it combines with stative verbs.

With stative verbs:

>*chi-taya*
>POT:CAUS2-loose
>'will loosen'

>*chi-ndyeēh*
>POT:CAUS2-strong
>'will help'

>*chi-sihē*
>POT:CAUS2-hidden
>'will hide'

With nonagentive content verbs:

>*chi-nāa*
>POT:CAUS2-be:inside:SG
>'will put inside'

>*chi-ndohni*
>POT:CAUS2-be:mixed
>'will mix'

The causative three prefix *sa-* occurs with content verbs, a few stative verbs, and one noun. It is historically related to the verb *saa* 'to do'.

With content verbs:

>*sa-kāndā*
>POT:CAUS3-be:vibrating
>'will make vibrate'

>*sa-kwāhnūh*
>POT:CAUS3-be:growing
>'will raise (children, animals, plants)'

>*sa-kānīh*
>POT:CAUS3-hit
>'will make hit'

sa-kāhán
POT:CAUS3-speak
'will make tell'

sa-tātū
POT:CAUS3-borrow
'will lend'

sa-nyāhá
POT:CAUS3-show
'will teach'

(See also 7.16.)

With stative verbs:

sa-yaa
POT:CAUS3-white
'will whiten'

sa-ndiih
POT:CAUS3-smooth
'will smooth (something)'

sa-ndīká
POT:CAUS3-wide
'will widen'

sa-kwīyōh
POT:CAUS3-twisted
'will twist (something)'

sa-shātu
POT:CAUS3-spicy
'will make spicy'

With a noun:

sa-shuhŭnh
POT:CAUS3-money
'will exchange for money'

The causative four prefix *sha-* occurs with some nouns, one general quantifier, and most stative verbs to form content verbs.[2] Like *sa-*, it is historically related to the verb *saa* 'to do'.

With nouns:

> *sa-kwachi*
> POT:CAUS4-sin
> 'will accuse'

> *sa-kwīhe*
> POT:CAUS4-sickness
> 'will trouble'

> *sa-mihīh*
> POT:CAUS4-trash
> 'will mess'

With a general quantifier:

> *sa-nūh*
> POT:CAUS4-whole
> 'will make whole'

With stative verbs:

> *sa-ndoo*
> POT:CAUS4-clean
> 'will clean'

---

[2]The causative three prefix *sa-* and the causative four prefix *sha-* are etymologically related. They have the same form in potential aspect, but differ in form in continuative and completive aspect as follows:

sa-	'POT:CAUS3'	*sa-*	'POT:CAUS4'
sā-	'CON:CAUS3'	*shā-*	'CON:CAUS4'
ni sa-	'COM:CAUS3'	*ni sha-*	'COM:CAUS4'

The causative three prefix *sa-* occurs mainly with content verbs, and it occurs in combination with other derivational prefixes. The causative four prefix *sha-* occurs mainly with stative verbs; it never occurs with content verbs. These two prefixes are historically related to the verb *saa* 'to do', which has the following forms: *saa* 'POT:do', *shāāh* 'CON:do', and *ni shaa* 'COM COM:do'.

sa-vīshi
POT:CAUS4-sweet
'will sweeten'

sa-nyahā
POT:CAUS4-evil
'will do evil'

sa-kwīhē
POT:CAUS4-weak
'will weaken'

(See also 7.14.)

The repetitive prefix *na-* occurs with content verbs.

na-kaya
POT:REP1-gather
'will regather'

na-tavi
POT:REP1-roast
'will be reroasting'

na-kuchi
POT:REP1-bathe
'will be confirmed (in church)'

na-kahānh
POT:REP1-think
'will remember, will think again'

na-vīkoh
POT:REP1-be:carried
'will be retransported'

na-chahvi
POT:REP1-pay
'will repay'

(See also 7.24, 7.28, and 7.41.)

The habitual prefix *shi-* occurs with many content verbs to denote habitual action.[3]

> *shī-kīshí*
> CON:HAB-sleep
> 'habitually sleep'
>
> *shī-kāhndí*
> CON:HAB-bang
> 'habitually cause evil'
>
> *shī-ndīkó*
> CON:HAB-grind
> 'habitually grind'
>
> *shī-yōsoh*
> CON:HAB-be:mounted:on
> 'habitually be mounted on'
>
> *shī-nākún*
> CON:HAB-take:root
> 'habitually take root well'
>
> *shī-yōó*
> CON:HAB-exist
> 'habitually exist'

Sometimes a word contains two or three derivational prefixes. In such words, the repetitive prefix *na-* or the causative three prefix *sa-* must be the first element. When a derived verb containing the causative three prefix *sa-* or the causative four prefix *sha-* and a stative verb, noun, or general quantifier is preceded by *na-*, two changes occur: *sha-* is replaced by *sa-*, and a variant form *nda-* occurs in place of *na-*.

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[3]It is not altogether clear if this prefix should be considered derivational or inflectional. In favor of a derivational analysis for *shi-* are the following factors: its occurrence with a verb cannot be predicted and it occasionally changes the meaning of the verb or changes its own meaning according to the verbs with which it combines. In favor of an inflectional analysis are the following factors: it is usually regular in meaning and its meaning is clearly aspectual, it does not combine freely with the three basic aspects (as a derivational prefix would be expected to do), and it seems to be related historically to stem alternations in the continuative and completive aspects of certain verbs.

nda-sa-yaa
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-white
'will rewhiten'

nda-sa-ndiih
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-smooth
'will resmooth'

nda-sa-shātu
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-spicy
'will respice (something)'

nda-sa-shāhndyāh
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-flat
'will reflatten (something)'

nda-sa-kwīyōh
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-twisted
'will retwist (something)'

nda-sa-ndīkâ
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-wide
'will rewiden'

nda-sa-shuhūnh
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-money
'will reexchange for money'

nda-sa-kwachi
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-sin
'will reaccuse'

nda-sa-kwīhe
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-sickness
'will retrouble'

nda-sa-mihīh
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-trash
'will mess again'

nda-sa-nii̅h
POT:REP2-POT:CAUS3-whole
'will make whole again'

The following examples show other combinations of two derivational prefixes with *na-* as the first element.

na-ndu-ndoo
POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-clean
'will become cleaner'

na-ndu-nyahā
POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-evil
'will become more evil'

na-ndu-ikū̅h
POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-mountain
'will become more heathen'

na-ndu-nii̅h
POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-whole
'will become more whole'

na-ka-ndeta
POT:REP1-POT:CAUS1-appear
'will rejump'

na-ka-ñuu
POT:REP1-POT:CAUS1-be:dragged
'will redrag (something)'

na-ka-tāvi
POT:REP1-POT:CAUS1-be:pushed:down
'will repush down'

na-chi-kōndo
POT:REP1-POT:CAUS2-knee
'will reknee, will re-elbow'

na-chi-kihī̅h
POT:REP1-POT:CAUS2-hook
'will rehook into'

na-chi-nāa
POT:REP1-POT:CAUS2-be:inside:SG
'will reput inside'

na-chi-ndīkun
POT:REP1-POT:CAUS2-follow:SG
'will refollow'

The following examples show combinations of two derivational prefixes with *sa-* as the first element.

sa-ndu-ndoo
POT:CAUS3-POT:PROC2-clean
'will cause to become clean'

sa-ndu-nyahā
POT:CAUS3-POT:PROC2-evil
'will cause to become evil'

sa-ndu-ikūh
POT:CAUS3-POT:PROC2-mountain
'will cause to become a heathen'

sa-ndu-nīih
POT:CAUS3-POT:PROC2-whole
'will make whole'

sa-ka-ndeta
POT:CAUS3-POT:CAUS1-appear
'will bounce (something)'

sa-ka-ñuu
POT:CAUS3-POT:CAUS1-be:dragged
'will drag (something)'

sa-na-kwāhā
POT:CAUS3-POT:REP1-be:made
'will betray' (cf. *na-kwaha* 'will [lick, wipe] clean')

sa-na-kātāh
POT:CAUS3-POT:REP1-place:standing:PL
'will be in agreement with (someone)' (cf. *na-kata* 'will restand [something] up')

sa-na-kahānh
POT:CAUS3-POT:REP1-think
'will remind' (cf. *na-kahānh* 'will think again')

sa-na-nduu
POT:CAUS3-POT:REP1-be:equal
'will cause to be transformed' (cf. *na-nduu* 'will be transformed')

(See also 7.32.)

Two combinations of three prefixes occur: *sa-* plus *na-* plus *ndu-*, and *sa-* plus *na-* plus *ka-*. In such words the sequence *sana-* reduces to *sna-*.

s-na-ndu-ndoo
CAUS3-POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-clean
'will cause to become cleaner'

s-na-ndu-nyahā
CAUS3-POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-evil
'will cause to become more evil'

s-na-ndu-ndīká
CAUS3-POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-wide
'will cause to become wider'

s-na-ndu-ikūh
CAUS3-POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-mountain
'will cause to become more heathen'

s-na-ndu-nīīh
CAUS3-POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-whole
'will cause to become more whole'

s-na-ka-ndeta
CAUS3-POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-appear
'will cause to rejump'

s-na-ka-ñuu
CAUS3-POT:REP1-POT:PROC2-be:dragged
'will make redrag (something)'

Compound verbs are formed by the fusion of complex verb nuclei (see 2.1.1); it is frequently impossible to identify the first element.[4]

ka-vīshi   'will falsely accuse' (cf. *kāhan* 'will speak', *vīshi* 'clean')

ke-ndōsoh 'will cut in two' (cf. *kie* 'will leave [PL]', *ndōsoh* 'is upon   [PL]')

ka-ndūhuh 'will be lying (singular)' (cf. *kava* 'will be lying [PL]', kundūhuh 'will be located [SG]')

nda-tūhunh 'will question' (cf. *tuhun* 'language')

ta-shāhāh 'will dance' (cf. *shāhah* 'foot')

Several agentive transitive content verbs have a corresponding nonagentive intransitive content verb that is formed by means of a tone change.

Transitive		Intransitive	
kaan	'will dig'	*kāan*	'will be dug'
koyo	'will pour'	*kōyo*	'will be poured'
ndatāh	'will split'	*ndātah*	'will be split'
katuh	'will pat'	*kātu*	'will be patted'

Other verb pairs related by transitivity show little or no morphological relation between the two forms.

Transitive		Intransitive	
katya	'will throw out'	*kwītya*	'will be thrown out'
shikoh	'will sell'	*kyāhvi*	'will be sold'
kahmi	'will burn'	*koko*	'will be burned'
tavi	'will roast'	*yatan*	'will be roasted'

---

[4]The mechanism by which compounds were formed is probably the same as that by which most causative verbs were formed. In both cases, the first part of the derived verb was originally a separate verb. I have, however, chosen to treat certain fused verbs as derivational prefixes because they are fairly common and regular in meaning, but to treat the uncommon ones as the first part of compounds.

Certain verbs group into singular-plural pairs. The members of these groups show no morphological relation to each other, but have a close semantic tie. The choice between them is determined for intransitive verbs solely by the number of the subject, and for transitive verbs solely by the number of the direct object. The verbs in this group usually express position or placement.

Intransitive verbs:

	Singular Subject	Plural Subject
will be located	*ku-ndūhuh*	*ku-ndyee*
will be lying (an subj)	*ka-ndūhuh*	*ku-ndyee*
will be lying (inan subj)	*ka-ndūhuh*	*kava*
will be inside	*ku-nāa*	*kuhun*
will be standing	*ku-iin*	*ku-ita*
will be hanging	*ku-ndīkun*	*ku-ndondya*
will be upon	*kanūh*	*ku-ndosoh*
will enter	*kēta*	*kīe*
will enter by force	*skohnūh*	*kohni*
will arrive	*shāa*	*nde-kwie*
will leave	*keta*	*kie*
will scream	*ndāhi*	*kwaāh*
will run	*ndava*	*tash-tāhānh*
appears	*kāāh*	*ūnh*
will fall	*nava*	*kōyo*
will enter	*kīhvi*	*kohni*

Transitive verbs:

	Singular Object	Plural Object
will put down	*chi-ndūhuh*	*ta-ndyee*
will lay down	*chi-ka-ndūhuh*	*ta-ndyee*
will put inside	*chi-nāa*	*taanh*
will place standing	*kani*	*kata*
will hang (something)	*chi-ndīkun*	*chi-ndondya*
will take	*nahi*	*na-chīih*
will take out	*sh-tahnīh*	*tavah*

5.1.2 Inflection. Most basic content verbs and the two basic equative verbs are inflected for three aspects: potential, continuative, and completive. Aspect is marked by tone replacement and frequently also by a potential prefix and/or stem alternation. A few basic content verbs have two distinct completive aspect forms, which have contrastive meanings. The potential aspect form is considered to be the basic form.

Regular verbs have the same form in potential and completive aspects; completive aspect is distinguished from potential by the use of the preverbal element *ni* in completive (see 2.1.2). Continuative aspect is marked by a tone change and sometimes by the addition of a final *h* (glottal stop). These verbs fall into six classes, depending on the tone of the potential form and the replacement that marks continuative.[5] In Class VI, the continuative aspect pattern has three tones, two of which fall on the first syllable, which is written with a double vowel. These classes are:

	POT		CON		COM	
I	low	low	mid	mid	low	low
II	low	low	mid	mid + h	low	low
III	low	mid + h	mid	mid + h	low	mid + h
IV	low	low	mid	low	low	low
V	mid	low	mid	high	mid	low
VI	low	low	mid-low	mid	low	low

Class I verbs:

	POT	CON	COM
dig	*kaan*	*kāān*	*ni kaan*
plaster	*kehi*	*kēhī*	*ni kehi*
be satisfied			
(with food)	*ndahni*	*ndāhnī*	*ni ndahni*
blow	*tivi*	*tīvī*	*ni tivi*

Class II verbs:

embroider	*isa*	*īsāh*	*ni isa*
blush	*kahan*	*kāhānh*	*ni kahan*

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[5]The approximate percentage of verbs in each class is: Class I, 10%; Class II, 30%; Class III, 10%; Class IV, 10%; Class V, 30%; and Class VI, 1%.

| | make fire | nahmi | nāhmīh | ni nahmi |
| | be roasted | yataɲ | yātāɲh | ni yataɲ |

Class III verbs:

	scratch	ihīnh	īhīnh	ni ihīnh
	begin	shahāh	shāhāh	ni shahāh
	mend	nahmāh	nāhmāh	ni nahmāh
	open	nunyāh	nūnyāh	ni nunyāh

Class IV verbs:

	be late	kwaah	kwāah	ni kwaah
	leak	shihin	shīhin	ni shihin
	ache	tahviħ	tāhviħ	ni tahviħ
	surround	kati	kāti	ni kati

Class V verbs:

	drip	tōo	tōó	ni tōo
	pass	yāha	yāhá	ni yāha
	be slapped	sāhndyah	sāhndyáh	ni sāhndyah
	be shot	kīnih	kīníh	ni kīnih

Class VI verbs:

	offer incense	chuhmā	chūuhmā	ni chuhmā
	rot	tivīh	tīivīh	ni tivīh
	dream	shanī	shāanī	ni shanī
	be tired	shavī	shāavī	ni shavī

There are also various kinds of irregular verbs, all of which show segmental changes, usually in addition to tone changes. In the simplest kind, the potential aspect form takes the prefix *ku-* or *ko-*, and the continuative aspect undergoes a tone replacement, as in Classes I through V.

	POT	CON	COM	
hurry	*ku-tyani*	*tyānī*	*ni tyani*	I
suffer	*ku-ndoho*	*ndōhōh*	*ni ndoho*	II
be upon (PL)	*ku-ndosoh*	*ndōsoh*	*ni ndosoh*	IV
be tangled	*ku-tyāka*	*tyāká*	*ni tyāka*	V
be held, be				
stuck	*ko-tīin*	*tīin*	*ni tīin*	V
be illuminated	*ko-tūun*	*tūún*	*ni tūun*	V

The equative verb *kunanīh* 'to be named' and one content verb have an identical stem in all aspects, i.e., they show no tone changes. Potential aspect is signalled by the *ku-* prefix, continuative aspect is signaled by the stem alone, and completive aspect is signaled by the preverbal element *ni*. These verbs are:

	POT	CON	COM
be named	*ku-nanīh*	*nanīh*	*ni nanīh*
be located (SG)	*ku-ndūhuh*	*ndūhuh*	*ni ndūhuh*

Many irregular basic content verbs mark aspect with stem alternation in addition to one of the tone replacement patterns. In the most common pattern, the potential aspect form begins with *k, kw,* or *v,* and the continuative and completive forms replace the first syllable of the potential by *shi, sha, chi,* or *cha*.

	POT	CON	COM	
sense	*kuni*	*shīnī*	*ni shini*	I
cut	*kahndya*	*shāhndyā*	*ni shahndya*	I
look	*koto*	*shītōh*	*ni shito*	II
bathe	*kuchi*	*chīchīh*	*ni chichi*	II
be full	*kutūh*	*chītūh*	*ni chitūh*	III
kill	*kahnih*	*shāhnih*	*ni shahnih*	IV
desire	*kākan*	*shākán*	*ni shākan*	V
growl	*kwiña*	*shīñā*	*ni shiña*	I
cut in pieces	*kwachi*	*chāchīh*	*ni chachi*	II
make bubbling				
sound	*kwīso*	*chīsó*	*ni chīso*	V

| grow | kwahnu | shāhnūh | ni shahnu | II |
| carry | vikōh | shīkōh | ni shikōh | III |

The verb *kuni* 'to sense' is partially homophonous with two other verbs, *kuni* 'to know' and *kuni* 'to appear'. All three verbs probably developed from what was originally a single irregular Class I verb. They are similar in form to the Class V verb *kūni* 'to want' or 'to lack' but are probably not related to it; *kūni* appears to be a compound of *kuu* 'to be (inherently)' and *ini* 'insides'. These four verbs are:

	POT	CON	COM		
sense	kuni	shīnī	ni shini	I	irreg.
know	kuni	shīní	ni shini		irreg.
appear	kuni	kūnī	ni kuni	I	
want, lack	kūni	kūní	ni kūni	V	

Some irregular verbs show other segmental changes; they are:

	POT	CON	COM	
do	saa	shāāh	ni shaa	II
be mounted on	kosoh	yōsoh	ni yosoh	IV
sleep	kūsu	kīshí	ni kīshi	V

A number of irregular verbs, some taking the *ku-* prefix in potential aspect and others showing various segmental changes, mark potential aspect with a low low tone sequence, continuative aspect with a mid mid tone sequence plus a final glottal stop, and completive aspect with a mid low tone sequence. These verbs are considered to belong to Class VII.

	POT	CON	COM
be equal	ku-nduu	ndūūh	ni ndūu
be standing (SG)	ku-iin	īīnh	ni īin
walk	kaka	shīkāh	ni shīka
dress	kwihnu	nīhnūh	ni nīhnu
carry on back	kwiso	ndīsōh	ni ndīso

Some irregular verbs show irregular tone patterns and stem alternation; these verbs are:

	POT	CON	COM
be lying (PL)	*kava*	*kāāh*	*ni kāa*
burn	*koko*	*shīshí*	*ni shīshi*
be angry	*ka-sīhe*	*shīhé*	*ni shīhe*
exist	*koo*	*yōō*	*ni yōo*
scrape	*ku-ndyāah*	*shī-ndyāah*	*ni shi-ndyāah*
drink	*koho*	*shīhīh*	*ni shihi*

A few verbs make a distinction between two completive aspect forms. The completive one form is marked by a low low tone sequence and signifies that the predication has been completed but is still in effect. The completive two form is marked by a mid low tone sequence and signifies that the predication has been completed but is no longer in effect. These verbs are:

	POT	CON	COM 1	COM 2	
kindle	*ndatin*	*ndātīnh*	*ni ndatin*	*ni ndātin*	II
swell	*nei*	*nēīh*	*ni nei*	*ni nēi*	II
be worried	*ku-ndihni*	*ndīhni*	*ni ndihni*	*ni ndīhni*	IV
arrive (SG)	*shāa*	*shāá*	*ni shaa*	*ni shāa*	V

For example, the completive one form of *ndatin* 'to kindle' means that the flame is still burning, and the completive two form means that it is no longer burning.

The motion verbs *kishi* 'to come' and *kūhun* 'to go' are each inflected for four aspects: potential, continuative, habitual, and completive.

	POT	CON	HAB	COM
come	*kishi*	*kwashi*	*kīshīh*	*ni kishi*
go	*kūhun*	*kwāhan*	*shāhán*	*ni shāhan*

These two verbs also have special imperative forms (see 1.3).

nyaha
IMP:come
'come!'

kwāhān
IMP:go
'go!'

tōhoh
IMP:go:IN
'let's go'

Verbs containing derivational prefixes are also inflected to show the three basic aspects. All derivational prefixes have a low tone, which is replaced by mid in continuative aspect. Sometimes the tone of the stem also changes in continuative aspect. A full description of the tone changes in derived verbs is beyond the scope of this sketch. The following table shows verbs with various patterns.

	POT	CON	COM
become pretty	*ku-ndatunh*	*kū-ndātunh*	*ni ku-ndatunh*
become tight	*ndu-kūtuh*	*ndū-kūtuh*	*ni ndu-kūtuh*
push down	*ka-tāvi*	*kā-tāví*	*ni ka-tāvi*
hook	*chi-kihīh*	*chī-kīhīh*	*ni chi-kihīh*
make spicy	*sa-shātu*	*sā-shātú*	*ni sa-shātu*
make whole	*sa-nīh*	*shā-nīh*	*ni sha-nīh*
remember	*na-kahānh*	*nā-kāhānh*	*ni na-kahānh*
rewiden	*nda-sa-ndīká*	*ndā-sā-ndīká*	*ni nda-sa-ndīká*

5.2 Stative Verbs

Unlike content and equative verbs, stative verbs are not inflected for aspect. Stative verbs are either basic or derived. Some are derived from nouns by means of a tone change and the addition of a final glottal stop, and others show no change.

Basic stative verbs:

āsinh	'delicious'
vaha	'good'
vīshāh	'wet'
vīe	'heavy'
ihnīh	'hot'

ndāhvī	'poor'
kwāān	'yellow'

Derived stative verbs with a tone change and final glottal stop:

Stative Verb		Noun	
chūūnh	'worklike'	*chuun*	'work'
yūūh	'mature'	*yūuh*	'stone'
yūhūh	'insolent'	*yuhūh*	'mouth'
shīnīh	'intelligent'	*shīnih*	'head'
tātānh	'restorative'	*tātanh*	'medicine'
tīkōhndōh	'lumpy'	*tikohndo*	'lump'
shūīh	'intestine like'	*shiti*	'intestine'
sīkīh	'treacherous'	*sīkih*	'neck'

Derived stative verbs not involving any change:

Stative Verb		Noun	
itūnh	'rigid'	*itūnh*	'tree'
vīkoh	'cloudy'	*vīkoh*	'cloud'
ndēhi	'muddy, dirty'	*ndēhi*	'mud'
isu	'jumpy'	*isu*	'deer'
kīvih	'lucky'	*kīvih*	'day'
iñuh	'thorny'	*iñuh*	'thorn'
tishin	'potbellied'	*tishin*	'stomach'
yūuh	'stony'	*yūuh*	'stone'

Four stative verbs with meanings related to roundness have as their first syllable *ti-*, which is probably the same prefix that occurs in many nouns referring to round or spherical objects (see 5.3.1).

tīlūh	'spherical'
tikōoh	'cylindrical' (cf. *kōoh* 'snake')
tīkwīyā	'round (on outside)'
tīkātyā	'round (on inside)'

Three stative verbs have distinct forms for singular or plural referents;
they are:

	SG	PL
big	*chīe*	*nāhnūh*
long	*kānih*	*nānih*
small	*lūlū*	*kwāchīh, kwālīh*

5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. Although there are no regular processes for deriving
nouns from other parts of speech, there are many compound nouns
formed by fusion of complex noun nuclei (see 3.1.1) into single words.
Many nouns that refer to animals or insects, objects that are either
round, cylindrical, or spherical, liquids, and trees or wooden objects
consist of a prefix derived from either a generic noun or a prestressed
pronoun (see 5.4) plus some other root.

Animal and insect names often contain the prefixes *ti-, ndi-,* or *si-,* which
are derived from either the generic noun *kitīh* 'animal' or the prestressed
pronoun *tīh* 'it (animal)'. A few nouns have lost the vowel before *y.*

ti-kāhanh	'praying mantis' (cf. *kāhan* 'will speak')
ti-shii	'tick' (cf. *shii* 'tough')
ti-ndukuh	'walking stick' (cf. *nduku* 'twig')
ti-sūhma	'scorpion' (cf. *sūhma* 'tail')
ti-shūhuh	'goat' (cf. *ishīh* 'hair', *yuhūh* 'mouth')
ndi-kaha	'lion'
ndi-kama	'housefly' (cf. *kama* 'fast')
ndi-kuhun	'toad'
si-ndīkih	'cow, cattle' (cf. *ndikīh* 'horn')
si-kūnh	'basilisk'
si-ndōkoh	'black ant'
t-yakāh	'fish'
t-yohōh	'flea'
nd-yoho	'hummingbird'

The names of most spherical fruit consist of the prefix *ti-* followed by an
indeterminate element.

ti-kavāh	'plum'
ti-kumi	'onion'
ti-kwāah	'guava'
ti-nanah	'tomato'
ti-chīh	'avocado'

The names of many round or cylindrically shaped objects also consist of the prefix *ti-* followed by what is frequently an indeterminate element.

tīvi	'circle, wheel'
ti-kāsun	'thin toasted tortilla' (cf. *kasun* 'will crackle')
ti-kuhni	'bundle'
ti-kāchih	'dust devil'
ti-ndūhuh	'large tree trunk'
ti-kisi	'chrysalis' (cf. *kisi* 'clay pot')

Names for some liquids contain the prefix *tyā-*, which is derived from the prestressed pronoun *tyāh*. If the root begins with *i*, *ñ*, or *y*, the prefix often reduces to *te-* or *t-*.

tyā-shānh	'corn dough slop' (cf. *ishānh* 'corn dough')
tyā-sihī	'saliva'
tē-yāh	'gastric juice' (cf. *īyāh* 'sour')
tē-hnīh	'liquor' (cf. *ihnīh* 'hot')
te-ñūhuh	'muddy flood waters' (cf. *ñuhūh* 'earth')
te-yahāh	'chili sauce' (cf. *yahāh* 'chili')
t-yahāh	'chili flavored meat broth' (cf. *yahāh* 'chili')

The last two examples above are derived from the same combination of elements; one shows a greater degree of fusion than the other.

A few nouns that refer to trees or wooden objects contain the prefix *tun-*, which is derived either from the generic noun *itūnh* or the pre-stressed pronoun *tūnh* 'it (wood)'.

tun-shāh	'pine tree' (cf. *susha* 'resin')
tun-tāhnūh	'airplane' (cf. *tāhnūh* 'is flying')
tun-shīi	'rifle' (cf. *shīhi* 'died')

5.3.2 Classification. Nouns fall into several cross-cutting classifications; they may be divided according to gender, possessibility, distribution, and countability.

Nouns fall into six gender classes according to the third person pronouns that refer to them: masculine, feminine, animal or spherical fruit, wood, liquid, and general inanimate. These classes are for the most part based on natural gender. For example, the animal pronoun is used, rather than the masculine pronoun, for the personified animal characters in the text in chapter 7 (see, for example, 7.11, 7.18, and 7.20). Sometimes, however, there are exceptions. For example, *yōoh* 'moon' is classified as an animal noun.

Masculine nouns:

tyāa	'man'
sūtu	'priest'
shito	'uncle'
ñani	'brother (of male)'

Feminine nouns:

ñahāh	'woman'
shishi	'aunt'
shīku	'niece'

Animal/spherical fruit nouns:

kitīh	'animal'
nāyah	'dog'
saa	'bird'
yōoh	'moon'
tyūunh	'star'
tikumi	'onion'
tinanah	'tomato'
tichīh	'avocado, iguana'

Wood nouns:

itūnh	'tree'
tēi	'chair'
kārō	'truck (Sp. *carro*)'
tutūnh	'firewood'
tunshīi	'rifle'

Liquid nouns:

tikwī	'water'
tutya	'drink made from corn dough'
teyahāh	'chili sauce'
tēhnīh	'liquor'

General inanimate nouns:

ñaha	'thing'
vihe	'house'
yūuh	'stone'
chītya	'banana'
kwīya	'year'

Nouns may also be divided into those that can be possessed and those that cannot. Nouns that cannot be possessed are proper names, names of wild animals, and nouns that refer to topographical and meteorological phenomena.

pēgrū	'Peter'
timāhá	'raccoon'
ikūh	'mountain'
tyūunh	'star'
ndivīh	'sky'
sāvih	'rain'

Some nouns in the above category have more than one sense discrimination, and certain ones can be possessed, while others cannot.

tāchih	'wind, air' (not possessible); 'voice' (always possessed)

Nouns that can be possessed are those that occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase (see 3.3). They are either inherently possessed or optionally possessed. Inherently possessed nouns are usually kinship terms or body parts. If such nouns are elicited without a specific possessor, they are usually given with an inclusive clitic pronoun (see 5.4) as possessor.

yuvāh	'father'
iih	'husband'
sūhmah	'tail'
ndahāh	'hand'
sāna	'domestic animal'

Optionally possessed nouns comprise all others.

vihe	'house'
ñuhūh	'earth, land'
yohōh	'vine'
sahmāh	'tortilla cloth'
itu	'corn plant'
īchi	'machete'

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 occur as independent utterances, or loosely connected to sentences (see 1.4). They include personal names, certain kinship terms, and terms of social relation.

Proper nouns:

pēgrū	'Peter'
ikwān	'John'
marīā	'Mary'

Kinship terms:

tātā	'Daddy'
nānā	'Mommy'
shito	'Uncle'

shishi   'Aunt'

Other terms of social relation:

    taa   'sir'
    naa   'ma'am'
    pehē   'child'

There are also four special tone patterns that replace the basic tone pattern of names and kinship terms, each with a special use. To express urgency or excitement, a high mid mid tone pattern is used; to express begging or pleading, a low mid high tone pattern is used; to get someone's attention, a low mid low tone pattern is used; and to call someone, a mid mid low tone pattern is used. If the noun contains only two syllables, the last two tones fall on the final syllable, the vowel of which is lengthened slightly. The following table shows these special patterns.

	Basic	Urgency	Begging	Attention	Calling
John	*ikwān*	*íkwāán*	*ikwāán*	*ikwāan*	*íkwāan*
Peter	*pēgrū*	*pégrūú*	*pegrūú*	*pegrūu*	*pēgrūu*
Daddy	*tātā*	*tátāā*	*tatāá*	*tatāa*	*tátāa*
Mommy	*nānā*	*nánāā*	*nanāá*	*nanāa*	*nānāa*
sir	*tākwihe*	*tákwīhē*	*takwīhé*	*takwīhe*	*tākwīhe*

Proper nouns include personal and place names.

    bētō   'Bob'
    marīā   'Mary'
    tutyōoh   'Ayutla'
    yīhēh   'Acapulco'
    kwāshah   'name of local mountain peak'

Locative nouns occur as the nucleus of adverbial noun phrases (see 3.5). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype, and those that occur in the possessive sub type. The first category includes place names, names of topographical features, and a few other nouns.

tutyōoh	'Ayutla'
itya	'river'
ichīh	'path'
yahvi	'market'
vihe	'house'

The second category includes mainly certain body-part nouns which are used in extended senses. The most common ones are:

shīnih
head
'at the top of'

nūuh
face
'in front of, on, to, from'

ndahāh
hand
'to, from'

shāhah
foot
'at the base of, on behalf of'

shātah
back
'in back of, behind'

ini
insides
'inside of, center of, heart of'

tishin
stomach
'inside, under'

yuhūh
mouth
'edge of'

sīhndi
buttocks
'outside bottom of, under'

kwēntā
account
'on behalf of (Sp. *cuenta*)'

Temporal nouns are also divided into these two categories. The first category includes names for units of time and calendric sequences.

kīvih	'day'
yōoh	'month'
kwīya	'year'
sāvīh	'rainy season'
ñumīh	'dry season'
nduvīh	'daytime'
ñuū	'nighttime'
shāhāh	'short time'

The second category includes only a few body-part nouns which are extended in a temporal sense; they are:

shāhah
foot
'beginning of'

tishin
stomach
'middle of'

tokōh
waist
'middle of'

nūuh
face
'end of'

shīnih
head
'end of'

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see 3.2).

naha	'pair'
kuhva	'measure'
too	'distance from tip of pointer finger to tip of thumb'
tehī	'four ears of corn'
ndahāh	'fathom, hand'
lītrō	'liter (Sp. *litro*)'
kīlō	'kilogram (Sp. *kilo*)'
tăhvĭh	'portion, side' (cf. *tahvĭh* 'will break, will split, will divide in two')

Common nouns are all those not included in any of the above categories.

nāyah	'dog'
itya	'grass'
tutūnh	'firewood'
isu	'deer'
itūnh	'tree'

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:

tikwī	'water'
ishānh	'corn dough'
kaka	'lime'
yuchīh	'powder, flour'

Count nouns:

shītah	'tortilla'
tyāa	'man'
kisi	'clay pot'
tutu	'(sheet of) paper'
kitīh	'animal'

5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns for first and second person show a contrast in number, and also a distinction between free and postclitic forms. The free pronouns are:

	SG	PL
first EX	*yūhu*	*ndūhu*
first IN	—	*yōōh*
second	*yōhó*	*ndōhó*

The corresponding clitic pronouns are:

	SG	PL
first EX	*i*	*nduh*
first IN	—	*eh*
second	*unh*	*ndoh*

The first person exclusive and second person plural free pronouns appear to be a fusion of *ndihi* 'all' with the corresponding singular forms.

The first person plural inclusive pronouns are used in soliloquy to refer to oneself, as seen in 7.11.

The free pronouns show no distributional restrictions: they occur as subject, object of verb, object of preposition, and possessor of noun. In all syntactic functions except object of verb, however, they are emphatic, and they are so glossed. The clitic pronouns, on the other hand, occur commonly as subject, object of preposition, and possessor of noun. Only the free forms occur in focus position.

Personal pronouns for third person are either poststressed or prestressed; there are no free forms. Except for one plural pronoun that is

used to refer to groups of women or to mixed groups, number is not distinguished; a single form serves for either singular or plural. Number can, however, be distinguished by the presence of a quantifier (see 3.1.2) or by the use of a content verb or stative verb with inherent number (see 5.1.1 and 5.2). Third person pronouns distinguish six gender classes. Masculine pronouns and the feminine poststressed pronoun also show a contrast between respect and familiar forms; respect forms are more highly marked and are glossed as respect; familiar forms are simply glossed as third person. Most third person pronouns are reduced forms of common nouns. The third person pronouns are:

	Poststressed	Prestressed	Source noun
masculine			
familiar	*ra*	*te*	*tyãa* 'man'
respect	*a*	*ña*	
feminine			
familiar	*ah*	*ñã*	*ñahãh* 'woman'
respect	*chi*	—	
animal, spherical	*rih*	*tīh*	*kitīh* 'animal'
wood	*nuh*	*tūnh*	*itūnh* 'tree'
liquid[6]	*rah*	*tyãh*	
general inanimate	*a*	*ña*	*ñaha* 'thing'
human plural	*nya*	*ne*	

Poststressed pronouns occur in all syntactic positions except that *ah* 'she' does not occur as object of the verb. In this situation, the object is expressed by the known-object marker *ñahãh*, which occurs in the verb phrase (see 2.1.3); an example is found in 7.25.

Prestressed pronouns occur in noun phrases when they are followed by some other element in the same noun phrase, usually a relative clause (see 3.1.3). The inanimate pronoun *ña* also functions as a complementizer (see 1.1.9), and in this use it is glossed 'complementizer', rather than 'it (in-

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[6]The source noun for the liquid pronouns is probably a form like *ndutyãh*, which corresponds to the word for water in many other Mixtec languages. The present word for water in Ayutla Mixtec is *tikwī*, which probably is a reduction of *tyãh* 'it (liquid)' and *kwī* 'watery'.

animate)'. This pronoun also occurs as a constituent of complex conjunctions (see 6.2).

There are two interrogative pronouns:

yoo	'who?'
indā	'what?'

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, and interrogative.
Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns.

yōhōh	'here'
ñāah	'there (near)'
kāah	'there (far)'
ikānh	'over there (out of sight)'
ndyakānh	'far away over there' (cf. *ndee* '[from] until',
	ikānh 'over there')
yatin	'near'
shīkāh	'far'
ninu	'upwards'
nīnu	'downwards'
kihe	'outside'

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 'this' and 'that', rather than 'here' and 'there'. The locative adverb *yatin* 'near' has an additional function as a preposition (see 4.3).

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns.

shtahānh	'long ago'
ava	'about a year ago'
saāh	'many days ago'
iku	'yesterday'
ndiheh	'earlier today, for a short time'
nūūh	'short time'
vitin	'now'

nŭnŭh	'later today'
tyāan	'tomorrow'
īsā	'day after tomorrow'

General adverbs include all manner words that are not stative verbs.

sakānh	'thus'
ndyāā	'rarely'
nāhnŭh	'occasionally' (cf. *nāhnŭh* 'big [PL]')
yāchi	'quickly'
yātīnh	'nearly' (cf. *yatīn* 'near')

Intensifying adverbs most commonly occur as manner in content verb phrases (see 2.1.3), stative verb phrases (see 2.3), general quantifier phrases (see 4.1.5), and adverb phrases (see 4.2.1). They are:

shavaha	'amazingly' (cf. *sha* 'oh! very', *vaha* 'good')
ndivaha	'inappropriate' (cf. *vaha* 'good')
yāha	'surpassing' (cf. *yāha* 'will pass')

Interrogative adverbs include four simple forms and one complex form.

Simple:

mŭh	'where?'
ama	'when?'
saa	'how?'
ndichŭn	'why?'

Complex:

```
saa      kŭŭh
how      CON:be:inherently
'how much (is)?'
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The interrogative adverb *mŭh* 'where?' has an additional function as the nucleus of a noun phrase; it introduces a relative clause, and it means 'the place where'. An example of this use is found in 7.27.

5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. These elements commonly occur as quantifiers in noun phrases (see 3.1.2 and 3.2), as nuclei in quantifier phrases (see 4.1), and occasionally as manner in verb phrases (see 2.1.2 and 2.1.3) and ordinals in relative clauses (see 3.1.3). Sometimes a quantifier occurs with no noun nucleus following, in which case the quantifier appears to function like a noun.

The simple numerals are:

iin	'one, a'
ūvi	'two, a few'
ūni	'three'
kumīh	'four'
ūhunh	'five'
īñu	'six'
ūsha	'seven'
ūnya	'eight'
īin	'nine'
ūshi	'ten'
shāhun	'fifteen'
ōko	'twenty'
shiko	'twenty' (as the nucleus of an attributive numeral phrase)
syēntō	'hundred (Sp. *ciento*)'
mīī	'thousand (Sp. *mil*)'

Other numerals are expressed by phrases, as described in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. They may be classified as mass, count, or common, according to whether they occur only with mass nouns, only with count nouns, or with either (see 5.3.2).

Mass:

sīē	'little'
nūh	'whole'

Count:

ndyāhvīh	'few'
kīhīnh	'several'
sakūūh	'all'

Common:

shakuh	'little bit, few'
kwāhah	'much, many'
ndihi	'all'
sava	'some, half'

(See also 7.3.)

At least two general quantifiers, *siē* 'little' and *sava* 'some' or 'half', sometimes function as stative verbs.

5.7 Prepositions

There are five simple prepositions and one complex preposition.

Simple:

shūnh	'with' (cf. *shiinh* 'side')
mahīh	'in the middle of, in the center of'
tein	'between, among'
ndēē	'until (end)'
ndee	'(from) until'

Complex:

nii   ndee
nor   from:until
'not even'

Prepositions are used mainly as the nucleus of prepositional phrases (see 4.3), but *shūnh* 'with' also occurs in additive noun phrases and additive adverb phrases (see 3.7 and 4.2.3), and *ndee* '(from) until' also functions

as a temporal conjunction meaning 'until' or 'since' (see 6.2). Many pre-
positional functions are carried by locative nouns; see 1.1.4, 1.1.7, 3.5, and
5.3.2.

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are coordinate or subordinate and simple or complex.

Simple coordinate conjunctions:

te	'and'
ndīsu	'but'
ūūn	'or'

Complex coordinate conjunctions:

te   ndī̄
and   TOPIC
'but (weak)'

ndee   saa   ka   ni   ndī̄
from:until   how   ADD   LIM   TOPIC
'but (emphatic)'

Simple subordinate conjunctions:

nāāh	'if'
nāā	'as'
koto	'lest' (cf. *koto* 'will look')
kīīh	'when' (cf. *kīvih* 'day')

Complex subordinate conjunctions:

ña   kāah   nā
it:INAN   that:far   OBL
'with the result that'

ña   xaanh   nā
it:INAN   that:noted   OBL
'with the result that'

sakānh   *nā*
thus   OBL
'with the result that'

ña   *kāah*   *nā*   *kwūh*
it:INAN   that:far   OBL   ?
'with the definitive result that'

ña   *xaanh*   *nā*   *kwūh*
it:INAN   that:noted   OBL   ?
'with the definitive result that'

sakānh   *nā*   *kwūh*
thus   OBL   ?
'with the definitive result that'

sakānh   *ña*
thus   it:INAN
'because'

shāhah   *a*   *ña*
foot   its:INAN   it:INAN
'because'

tēeh   *ndēē*
probably   until:end
'although'

koto   *ka*
lest   ADD
'lest'

te   *sakānh*
and   thus
'than, and so'

5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form parts of sentences or phrases but are not included in the parts of speech already described. 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:

kūn	'will go'
kwān	'went (and hasn't come back)'
shán, shān	'goes (habitual)'
shān	'went'
ni	'completive aspect'
īngāh	'same time' (cf. *inga* 'another of same kind')
sha	'oh! very'
sha	'already'
na	'hortatory'
nā	'obligation'
tāhānh	'each other' (cf. *tāhanh* 'relative')
ñahāh	'known-object'

Nominal markers occur as prenominal and postnominal elements in noun phrases (see 3.2.3, 3.4, and 3.9); they are:

xaanh	'that (previously noted)'
ndēē	'which?'

Numerical markers occur in aggregative, expanded, and interrogative numeral phrases (see 4.1.3, 4.1.4, and 4.1.9); they are:

ndaah	'of group (SG)'
tāhān	'of group (PL)' (cf. *tāhanh* 'relative')
saāh	'all of group'
tīluh	'only (final)'

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type; they are:

ni	'only'
ka	'more'
tuku	'again, another (of different kind)'
kwitih	'just' (cf. *kwītī* 'short')
vih	'excessive'

na	'hope' (cf. *na* 'hortatory')
xān	'doubt'
tu	'also'
va	'very'
tēeh	'probably'
mũh	'self'
inga	'another (of same kind)' (cf. *iin* 'one', *ka* 'more')
soho	'only (lack)'
ndĩ	'topic'

There is one other general marker which means 'negative'; it occurs in content verb phrases, equative verb phrases, and stative verb phrases. It can, however, be attached to only one constituent of a sentence, and the negated constituent must be within the verb phrase. A verb phrase containing a negated constituent must be sentence initial except that a prepositional phrase with *nii ndee* 'not even' can precede it. Negative is a clitic that is usually expressed simply by replacing the tone pattern of the following word by mid-low-mid. If the word has only two syllables, the first two tones fall on the first syllable, the vowel of which is doubled.

tũvĩ	'will not blow' (cf. *tivi* 'will blow')
ndũuũh	'is not equal' (cf. *ndũũh* 'is equal')
āasĩnh	'not delicious' (cf. *āsinh* 'delicious')
ndāakũ	'not straight' (cf. *ndakũ* 'straight')
shĩkāh	'not far' (cf. *shĩkāh* 'far')
nāahnũh	'not occasionally' (cf. *nāhnũh* 'occasionally')
mũĩh	'not haphazardly' (cf. *mĩh* 'haphazardly')
ũngāh	'not contemporaneously (cf. *ĩngāh* 'same time')
sĩē	'not little' (cf. *sĩē* 'little')
kĩhĩnh	'not several' (cf. *kihinh* 'several')

(See also 7.5, 7.21, and 7.23.)

If the following word has three syllables, or if it is the completive aspect marker *ni* followed by a two-syllable verb, one tone falls on each syllable.

| *kūnanīh* | 'won't be named' (cf. *kunanīh* 'will be named') |
| *nī tivī* | 'didn't blow' (cf. *ni tivi* 'blew') |

In content verbs of Class II and in a few stative verbs, a final glottal stop is added to the negative form, and in content verbs of Class VII, a final glottal stop is added only in potential aspect.

kāahānh	'will not blush' (cf. *kahan* 'will blush')
nī kahānh	'didn't blush' (cf. *ni kahan* 'blushed')
vāhāh	'not good' (cf. *vaha* 'good')
ndīishāh	'not true' (cf. *ndisha* 'true')
kūnduūh	'will not be equal' (cf. *kunduu* 'will be equal')
kāakāh	'will not walk' (cf. *kaka* 'will walk')

In content verbs of Class VI, the replacement pattern is mid-low mid-low, with doubling of the final vowel to accommodate the last two tones.

tūvūh	'will not rot' (cf. *tivīh* 'will rot')
shāanū	'is not dreaming' (cf. *shāanī* 'is dreaming')
nī shavū	'was not tired' (cf. *ni shavī* 'was tired')

There are a few further irregularities in negative forms, which are beyond the scope of this paper. There are also two specialized negative constructions, which are restricted to completive aspect. These are described in 2.1.2.

Sentential markers fall into three groups. The first group occurs at the beginning of the sentence and affects its mood or truth value, as described in 1.2.1 and 1.5. They are simple or complex.

Simple:

ñāā	'YES/NO question'
āān	'YES/NO question'
āchi	'supplication'
suu	'certainly'
kwāīnh	'maybe'

Complex:

> *suu*   *ndisha*
> certainly   true
> 'certainly true'

> *kwāīnh*   *ndisha*
> maybe   true
> 'maybe true'

> *tēeh*   *ndisha*
> probably   true
> 'probably true'

There is another YES/NO question marker, which is a clitic expressed by raising the tone at the beginning of the sentence. Usually the first syllable of the first word is raised one level. A basic high tone is replaced by extra high, shown in the last example by underlining.

> *tāan*
> INT:POT:quake
> 'Will there be an earthquake?' (cf. *taan* 'POT:quake')

> *ñá*   *lūlū*   *ndūūh*   *ah*
> INT:she   little:SG   CON:be:equal   she
> 'Is she a girl?' (cf. *ñā* 'she')

> *shaɲ*   *kinīh*   *ra*   *rih*
> INT:HAB:DIR   POT:shoot   he   it:AML
> 'Does he habitually go to shoot it?' (cf. *shán* 'HAB:DIR')

The second group of sentential markers occurs at the end of statements, YES/NO questions, and commands and refers to the type of decision involved, as described in 1.5. They are:

> *ni*   'suggested' (cf *ni* 'only')
> *choh*   'modifiable'
> *ndi*   'contrary'
> *tih*   'urgent'
> *va*   'factual' (cf. *va* 'very')

> *ranh*   'logical'
> *ndoh*   'assertive'

The third group occurs at the beginning of the sentence and relates it to its discourse context, as described in 6.4. They are simple or complex.

Simple:

> *xūhun*   'by the way'

Complex:

> *ama   ndīi*
> when   TOPIC
> 'main discourse topic'

> *sakānh   te*
> thus   and
> 'then'

> *ikānh   te*
> over:there   and
> 'at that point'

> *kwachi   ndīi*
> ?   TOPIC
> 'for (explanation)' (cf. *kwachi* 'sin, blame')

> *shāhah   a   kāah   nā*
> foot   its:INAN   that:far   OBL
> 'for that reason'

> *shāhah   a   xaanh   nā*
> foot   its:INAN   that:noted   OBL
> 'for that reason'

> *āxan   te*
> ?   and
> 'now back to the point'

5.10 Interjections

Interjections are used to express emotion. They occur either outside of
sentences or loosely attached at the beginning of the sentence, as des-
cribed in 1.5. Some common interjections are:

áán	'surprise'
ūta	'negative surprise'
tāa	'negative surprise'
xanh	'displeasure'
āxih	'disgust'
xāán	'inquisitiveness'
ūūxūun	'sadness'
aii	'pain, deep sorrow'

There is another interjection, *ūhxūn*, which serves as a hesitation
marker. It occurs when the speaker pauses to consider what to say next.

ni   tashi   i   shuhūnh   ndahāh   ūhxūn /   pēgrū
COM give   I   money   hand   HESITATION Peter
'I gave the money to . . . aah Peter.'

kwāhan   ra   ūhxūn   /   ñuu   mexico
CON:go   he   HESITATION   town   Mexico
'He is going to . . . aah Mexico (Sp. *México*) City.'

If the hesitation precedes the subject, the verb is repeated, and if it
precedes the object or nominal complement, both verb and subject are
repeated.

sātah   ūhxūn   /   ikwān   sātah   nūnih
CON:buy   HESITATION   John   CON:buy   corn:kernel
'Is buying . . . aah JOHN is buying corn.'

sātah   ikwān   ūhxūn   /   nūnih   sātah   ra
CON:buy   John   HESITATION   corn:kernel   CON:buy   he
'John is buying . . . aah he is buying CORN.'

ni	*ndūu*	*marīā*	*ūhxūn*	/	*ñā*	*sīhī*	*ra*
COM	COM:be:equal	Mary	HESITATION		she	female	his

'Mary was . . . aah she was HIS

ni	*ndūu*	*ah*
COM	COM:be:equal	she

WIFE.'

[blank]

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 relations between two sentences are expressed by *te* 'and', *ndīsu* 'but', *te ndī* 'but (weak)', *ndee saa ka ni ndī* 'but (emphatic)', and *ūun* 'or'.

The coordinate conjunction *te* 'and' expresses general coordination.

> *sachǔūnh   yūhu   / te   sachǔūnh   tu   yōhó*
> POT:work   I:EMPH   and POT:work   also   you:SG:EMPH
> 'I will work, and **you** will also work.'

> *ni   shāhan ra tutyōoh / te   ni   shāhan ra yīhēh*
> COM   COM:go he Ayutla   and COM   COM:go he Acapulco
> 'He went to Ayutla, and he went to Acapulco.'

> (See also 7.7, 7.8, 7.9, 7.12, 7.16, 7.18, 7.20, 7.23, 7.27, 7.28, 7.29, and 7.30.)

One of the semantic relations commonly expressed by this construction is simultaneous action.

> *shīshīh   ra / te   ndātūhūnh   ra*
> CON:eat   he and CON:chat   he
> 'He is eating and talking at the same time.'

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ndyēēh		*ne*	*kwāchīh*	/	*te*	*sāsīkih*	*nya*
CON:be:located:PL		they	small:PL		and	CON:play	they

'The children are sitting playing.'

The coordinate conjunction is also used to express a series of items that form a list. If the items in the list serve as the subject of the sentence, the verb is stated before each item in the series, and *te* precedes all but the first occurrence of the verb.

ni	*shīta*	*shīnih*	/	*te*	*ni*	*shīta*	*īchi*	/
COM	COM:be:lost	hat		and	COM	COM:be:lost	machete	

'The hat, machete, and hoe

te	*ni*	*shīta*	*yātah*
and	COM	COM:be:lost	hand:hoe

were lost.'

If the items listed serve as object, the verb and subject are repeated before each item in the series, and *te* precedes all but the first occurrence of the verb.

sātah	*ra*	*nduchīh*	/	*te*	*sātah*	*ra*	*īnh*	/
CON:buy	he	bean		and	CON:buy	he	salt	

'He is buying beans, salt,

te	*sātah*	*ra*	*nūnih*
and	CON:buy	he	corn:kernel

and corn.'

If the items listed serve as an adjunct, the verb, subject, and object are repeated before each item in the series; *te* precedes all but the first occurrence of the verb. Locative nouns occurring as part of the adjunct precede each item in the list. (This construction does not occur with the associative adjunct.)

tashi	*ra*	*shuhūnh*	*ndahāh*	*ikwān*	/	*te*	*tashi*	*ra*
POT:give	he	money	hand	John		and	POT:give	he

'He will give money to John,

shuhūnh	*ndahāh*	*pēgrū*	/	*te*	*tashi*	*ra*
money	hand	Peter		and	POT:give	he

Peter,

shuhūnh   ndahāh   bētō
money   hand   Bob
and Bob.'

If the items listed serve as either subject or object of the sentence, and if an adjunct or peripheral element occurs, the adjunct appears only with the first occurrence of the verb.

ndūhuh   yashīnh   nūuh mēsā /
CON:be:located:SG gourd:bowl face   table
'The bowl, machete,

    te   ndūhuh   īchi /
    and CON:be:located:SG machete
    and cloth are

    te   ndūhuh   tōto
    and CON:be:located:SG cloth
    on the table (Sp. *mesa*).'

kihin ra ūnh yahvi / *te   kihin   ra yahāh* /
POT:get he salt market and   POT:get he chili
'He will get salt, chilies, and beans

    te   kihin   ra nduchīh
    and   POT:get he bean
    at the market.'

If the items listed form a complete list, the last occurrence of the verb is followed by postverbal *tu* 'also'.

ni   shīta   shīnih / *te   ni   shīta   īchi* /
COM   COM:be:lost hat   and COM   COM:be:lost machete
'A hat, machete, and hoe

    te   ni   shīta   tu   yātah
    and COM   COM:be:lost also hand:hoe
    were lost.'

The coordinate conjunction *te* is also used to express destination with verbs that take only source, and source with verbs that take only destination (see 1.1.4). *te* follows the first sentence containing a verb that takes

source and precedes the second sentence containing a verb that takes destination. Both source and destination can be specified, or one can be left implicit.

With source and destination specified:

> *ni* *keta* *pēgrū* *tepāngō* / *te* *kwashi* *ra* *yahvi*
> COM leave:SG Peter Tepango and CON:come he market
> 'Peter left Tepango (Sp. *Tepango*) and is coming to market.'

> *ni* *shinu* *ra* *ñuu* *ra* / *te* *kwāhan* *ra* *tutyōoh*
> COM COM:flee he town his and CON:go he Ayutla
> 'He fled from his town, and he is going to Ayutla.'

With only source specified:

> *ni* *keta* *ah* *tepango* / *te* *ni* *shaa* *ah*
> COM leave:SG she Tepango and COM COM:arrive:SG she
> 'She left Tepango, and she arrived.'

> *shinūh* *ra* *ñuu* *ra* / *te* *kwāhan* *ra*
> CON:flee he town his and CON:go he
> 'He is fleeing his town, and he is going.'

With only destination specified:

> *kie* *nya* / *te* *kishi* *nya* *vihe* *i*
> POT:leave:PL they and POT:come they house my
> 'They will leave, and they will come to my house.'

> *ni* *shinu* *ra* / *te* *kwāhan* *ra* *yīhēh*
> COM COM:flee he and CON:go he Acapulco
> 'He fled, and he is going to Acapulco.' *or* 'He fled to Acapulco.'

The antithetical conjunctions *ndīsu* 'but', *te ndī* 'but (weak)', and *ndee saa ka ni ndī* 'but (emphatic)' connect two sentences that express contrast; the last two are followed by pause. The contrasting sentences may turn on the use of a negative in one sentence but not in the other, or on a pair of antonyms.

With *ndīsu:*

ni	*shashih*	*mīshtūn*	*tātanh*	/	*ndīsu*	*nī*	*shihī*	*rih*
COM	COM:eat	cat	medicine	but		NEG:COM	COM:die	it:AML

'The cat (Old Sp. *mistón*) ate the poison, but it didn't die.'

vaha	*kāāh*	*ah*	/	*ndīsu*	*nyahā*	*ah*
good	CON:appear:SG	she	but		evil	she

'She looks pretty, but she is evil.'

With *te ndīī:*

kūní	*tundāhah*	*ra*	*shūnh*	*ah*	/	*te*	*ndīī*	/
CON:want	POT:marry	he	with	her		and	TOPIC	

'He wants to marry her, but she will

tūndahāh	*ah*
NEG:POT:marry	she

not get married.'

ni	*kūni*	*kuvi*	*ra*	/	*te*	*ndīī*	/	*ni*	*shachūūnh*	*ra*
COM	want	POT:die	he		and	TOPIC		COM	COM:work	he

'He was sick, but he worked.'

With *ndee saa ka ni ndīī:*

ni	*kutūnh*	*ra*	/	*ndee*	*saa*	*ka*	*ni*	*ndīī*	/
COM	be:punished	he		from:until	how	ADD	LIM	TOPIC	

'He was punished, but

kōoōh	*kwachi*	*ra*
NEG:CON:exist	sin	his

he is not guilty.'

shīshīh	*ra*	/	*ndee*	*saa*	*ka*	*ni*	*ndīī*	/
CON:eat	he		from:until	how	ADD	LIM	TOPIC	

'He is eating, but

ndāahnī	*ra*
NEG:CON:be:satisfied	he

he isn't being satisfied.'

The conjunction *üün* 'or' expresses disjunction involving two or more alternatives; it precedes all but the first part.

> *ndíkōh   ah   shítah / üün   ndíkōh   ah   síhva*
> CON:grind   she   tortilla   or   CON:grind   she   cacao:bean
> 'She is grinding tortilla dough, or she is grinding chocolate.'

> *sachüünh   eh   shāhah   ña   tata /*
> POT:work   we:IN foot   it:INAN seed
> 'We will all work in the orchard,

>> *üün   sachüünh   eh   shāhah itu /*
>> or   POT:work   we:IN foot   corn:plant
>> we will all work in the cornfield,

>> *üün   sachüünh   eh   nüuh   ñuu*
>> or   POT:work   we:IN face   town
>> or we will work for the town.'

Disjunctive questions are formed from disjunctive statements by placing the interrogative clitic at the beginning of each part (see 1.2.1 and 5.9).

> *ndíkōh   ah   shítah / üün   ndíkōh*
> INT:CON:grind she   tortilla   or   INT:CON:grind
> 'Is she grinding tortilla dough, or is she grinding

>> *ah   síhva*
>> she   cacao:bean
>> chocolate?'

> *sāchúúnh   eh   shāhah   ña   tata /*
> INT:POT:work   we:IN foot   it:INAN seed
> 'Will we work in the orchard,

>> *üün   sāchúúnh   eh   shāhah itu /*
>> or   INT:POT:work   we:IN foot   corn:plant
>> will we work in the cornfield,

>> *üün   sāchúúnh   eh   nüuh   ñuu*
>> or   INT:POT:work   we:IN face   town
>> or will we work for the town?'

When, however, a disjunctive question is embedded within another sentence as an indirect question, the two alternatives are linked by *ūūn* 'or', but no interrogative marker occurs. The matrix sentence must contain a negative clitic, and the indirect question is introduced by *nāāh* 'if' (see 1.2.3).

> *shīinī*   *ah nāāh koho*   *sīhe ah tātanh* /
> NEG:CON:know   she if   POT:drink   child her medicine
> 'She doesn't know whether her child will drink

>> *ūūn   kōohōh   ra*
>> or   NEG:POT:drink   he
>> the medicine or not.'

> *nī*   *kahān ra nāāh*   *ni   kishi   sūtu   vihe   ra* /
> NEG:COM   speak he if   COM   come   priest house   his
> 'He didn't say whether the priest came to his house

>> *ūūn   nī   kishīh   a*
>> or   NEG:COM   come   he:RES
>> or not.'

Disjunctive commands are formed by placing *ūūn* before two alternatives, each of which is a polite command (see 1.3).

> *ūūn   ndiko   unh   shītah* / *ūūn   ndiko   unh*
> or   POT:grind   you:SG   tortilla   or   POT:grind   you:SG
> 'Please, either grind tortilla dough, or grind

>> *sīhva*
>> cacao:bean
>> the chocolate!'

> *ūūn   sachūūnh   unh   shāhah   ña   tata* /
> or   POT:work   you:SG   foot   it:INAN   seed
> 'Please, either work in the orchard,

>> *ūūn sachūūnh   unh   shāhah   itu*
>> or POT:work   you:SG   foot   corn:plant
>> or work in the cornfield!'

One common construction consists of a disjunctive statement that serves as the first part of an antithetical construction. The disjunctive statement consists of two alternatives, each preceded by *ūūn;* they are frequently in a positive-negative relationship. This is followed by either *ndīsu* 'but' or *ndee saa ka ni ndū* 'but (emphatic)' and the third sentence. This sentence type carries the meaning that the choice between the alternatives is of little consequence, while the predication expressed by the third sentence is significant.

ūūn	*vikōh*	*eh*	*tutūnh*	/	*ūūn*	*vikōh*	*eh*
or	POT:carry	we:IN	firewood	or		POT:carry	we:IN

'It matters little whether we carry firewood or we carry

ndōoh	/	*ndīsu*	*chuun*	*vīe*	*ndūūh*	*a*
sugarcane	but	work	heavy	CON:be:equal	it:INAN	

sugarcane, but the work is heavy.'

ūūn	*kwāhan*	*unh*	*yahvi*	/	*ūūn*	*kwāahān*	*unh*	/
or	CON:go	you:SG	market	or		NEG:CON:go	you:SG	

'It matters little whether you are going to market or not,

ndīsu	*kāhan*	*i*	*shūnh*	*yuvāh*	*eh*
but	POT:speak	I	with	father	our:IN

but I will tell father.'

ūūn	*ni*	*tahvīh*	*ah*	*shāhā*	/	*ūūn*	*ni*	*ndyakōh*
or	COM	divide	she	soaked:corn	or	COM	grind:fine	

'It matters little whether she has broken up

ah	*ishānh*	/	*ndee*	*saa*	*ka*	*ni*	*ndū*	/
she	corn:dough	from:until	how	ADD	LIM	TOPIC		

the soaked corn or finely ground the dough, but

nī	*tyaāh*	*ah*
NEG:COM	pat:tortilla	she

she has not patted out the tortillas.'

ūūn	*ni*	*shishi*	*ra*	/	*ūūn*	*nī*	*shishīh*	*ra*	/
or	COM	COM:eat	he	or		NEG:COM	COM:eat	he	

'It matters little whether he has eaten or not,

ndee	saa	ka	ni	ndū /	ndāhā		ra
from:until	how	ADD	LIM	TOPIC	CON:be:healed		he

'but he is getting better.'

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 can be used to express several different semantic relations.

One important use of juxtaposition is to express the direction of a predication relative to the speaker. The second sentence contains either the motion verb *kūhun* 'to go', indicating that the predication is moving away from the speaker, or *kishi* 'to come', indicating that the predication is moving towards the speaker. The subjects of the two sentences are coreferential, and the possible aspect combinations are potential with potential, continuative with continuative, and completive with either continuative or completive.

tutuh	ikwą̄n /	kishi	ra
POT:whistle	John	POT:come	he

'John will come whistling.'

ndāvāh	ra /	kwāhan	ra	yuhūh	itya
CON:run:SG	he	CON:go	he	mouth	river

'He is running going to the edge of the river.'

ni	kihin	nya	ichīh /	kwāhan	nya
COM	get	they	path	CON:go	they

'They took the path and are going away.'

ni	ndyāka	ra	mbūrū /	ni	kishi	ra	vihe
COM	COM:lead	he	donkey	COM	come	he	house

'He led the donkey (Sp. *burro*) and came to the house.'

A position-event relation may be expressed by juxtaposing two sentences with coreferential subjects. The first sentence contains a position verb, usually requiring a locative adjunct, and the second sentence states the event taking place while the subject is in that position.

kuhun	nduchīh	tishin	kisi /	chōhoh	a
POT:be:inside:PL	bean	stomach	pot	POT:boil	it:INAN

'The beans will be boiling inside the pot.'

kānŭh   *tōto shātah yŭuh* / *chīih*   a
CON:be:upon:SG cloth back   rock   CON:get:wet it:INAN
'The cloth is lying on the rock getting wet.'

ni   kandŭhuh ra / shishi   ra
COM be:lying:SG he   COM:eat he
'He ate lying down.'

tāăh   chītya / chichí   a
CON:be:hanging banana   CON:get:ripe it:INAN
'The bananas are hanging getting ripe.'

kundyee   ne   kwāchīh kihe / kusīkih   nya
POT:be:located:PL they small:PL outside POT:play they
'The children will be outside playing.'

Two sentences, the first containing the negative continuative form of the verb *koo* 'to exist', and the second containing a positive form of the same verb, may be juxtaposed in a coordinate relationship and have a shared noun phrase occurring between them. In the following examples, the solidus that signals the break between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

kōoōh   sīhe   ah / yōō
NEG:CON:exist child her   CON:exist
'She is not able to have children.'

kōoōh   vihe / koo
NEG:CON:exist house   POT:exist
'There will be no houses.'

kōoōh   māngō / ni   yōo
NEG:CON:exist mango   COM COM:exist
'There were no mangos.'

6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are expressed using conjunctions; these relations include cause, result, condition, concession, purpose, negative purpose, time, and comparison.

Cause sentences are introduced by the complex conjunctions *sakānh ña* or *shāhah a ña,* which mean 'because'. Cause sentences introduced by *sakānh ña* denote general cause.

shākūh   ra / sakānh ña   sūchīh   ini   ra
CON:cry   he   thus   it:INAN CON:be:sad   insides   he
'He is crying because he is depressed.'

ni   ndaa tikwī   itya / sakānh   ña   ni   kuun sāvih
COM rise water river   thus   it:INAN COM   pelt   rain
'The river rose because it rained.'

vāahāh   sachūūnh   eh   vitin / sakānh ña
NEG:good   POT:work   we:IN   now   thus   it:INAN
'It is not good for us to work today because

kīvih   kāhnūh   ndūūh   a
day   important   CON:be:equal it:INAN
it is a holiday.'

(See also 7.23 and 7.24.)

Sentences introduced by *shāhah a ña* denote root cause; they may precede or follow the main sentence. When they precede, a result conjunction (either *sakānh nā* or *ña xaanh nā*) must introduce the main sentence.

shāhah   a   ña   ni   shīhi   ñā   sīhī   ra /
foot   its:INAN   it:INAN COM   COM:die she   female   his
'Because his wife died,

sakānh nā   shākūh   ra
thus   OBL   CON:cry   he
(with the result that) he is crying.'

shāhah   a   ña   ni   kuun sāvih /
foot   its:INAN   it:INAN COM   pelt   rain
'Because it rained,

ña   xaanh   nā   ni   ndaa tikwī   itya
it:INAN   that:noted OBL   COM   rise water river
(with the result that) the river rose.'

Result sentences are introduced by the complex conjunctions *ña kāah nā, ña xaanh nā,* or *sakānh nā,* all of which mean 'with the result that'; they follow the main sentence. *ña kāah nā* is used when one physically points to the result.

> *ni   sasīkih   unh   shūnh   īchi   /*
> COM   COM:play you:SG with   machete
> 'You played with the machete
>
> *ña   kāah   nā   ni   shahndya unh   shāhah   unh*
> it:INAN   that:far   OBL   COM COM:cut   you:SG foot   your:SG
> (pointing to the cut) with the result that you cut your foot.'

ña xaanh nā refers to nonspecific result.

> *kwāhah   ni   shishi   ra   / ña   xaanh   nā*
> much   COM COM:eat   he   it:INAN   that:noted OBL
> 'He ate a lot with the result that his stomach
>
> *kūhví   tishin   ra*
> CON:hurt   stomach   his
> hurts.'

> *ni   kuun sāvih / ña   xaanh   nā   ni   ndaa tikwī   itya*
> COM pelt rain   it:INAN that:noted OBL COM rise water   river
> 'It rained with the result that the river rose.'

sakānh nā refers to specific result.

> *sūchīh   ini   ra   / sakānh nā   shīhīh   ra*
> CON:be:sad insides he   thus   OBL CON:drink he
> 'He is depressed with the result that he drinks.'

> *koo   te   tātú ra / sakānh nā   satah   ra   ña*
> POT:exist   he   hired his   thus   OBL POT:buy he   it:INAN
> 'He will have hired men with the result that he will
>
> *shāshih*
> CON:eat
> buy food.'

All three of these conjunctions may be followed by *kwīīh*, which denotes definitive result.

> *ni   sasīkih   unh   shīīnh   īchi /   ña   kāah   nā   kwīīh*
> COM COM:play you:SG with   machete it:INAN that:far OBL ?
> 'You played with the machete (pointing to the cut) with

>> *ni   shahndya unh   shāhah   unh*
>> COM COM:cut you:SG foot   your:SG
>> the result that you cut your foot.'

> *ni   kuun sāvih / ña   xaanh   nā   kwīīh*
> COM pelt rain   it:INAN that:noted OBL ?
> 'It rained with the result

>> *ni   ndaa tikwī   itya*
>> COM rise water   river
>> that the river rose.'

> *sūchīh   ini   ra / sakānh nā kwīīh shīhīh   ra*
> CON:be:sad insides he   thus   OBL ?   CON:drink he
> 'He is depressed with the result that he drinks.'

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunction *nāāh* 'if'. The subordinate sentence may follow or precede the main sentence. When it precedes, the topic marker *ndīī* occurs at the end of the subordinate sentence; this marker is always followed by a pause.

> *kushi   ra / nāāh shīhí   ra   soko*
> POT:eat he   if   CON:die   he   hunger
> 'He will eat if he is hungry.'

> *koo   niih / nāāh tūhūnh   ra   kūhu*
> POT:exist corn:ear if   CON:pull   he   weeds
> 'There will be corn if he weeds.'

> *nāāh tūhūnh   ra kūhu ndīī / koo   niih*
> if   CON:weed   he weeds TOPIC   POT:exist corn:ear
> 'If he weeds, there will be corn.'

> *nāāh shīhí   ra soko   ndīī /   kushi   ra*
> if   CON:die   he hunger   TOPIC   POT:eat   he
> 'If he is hungry, he will eat.'

(See also 7.25 and 7.28.)

To express a hypothetical condition, the conjunction *nāāh* is followed by the idiom *saa eh kwēntā* 'let's suppose' (literally, 'let's do an account [Sp. *cuenta*]').

> *chahvi   unh   ūvi   syēntō   pēsū /*
> POT:pay   you:SG two   hundred peso
> 'You would pay two hundred (Sp. *ciento*) pesos (Sp. *peso*)

> *nāāh saa   eh   kwēntā satah   unh   a*
> if   POT:do we:IN   account POT:buy you:SG   it:INAN
> if you were to buy it.'

> *nāāh saa   eh   kwēntā   satah   unh   a   ndīī /*
> if   POT:do we:IN account POT:buy you:SG   it:INAN TOPIC
> 'If you were to buy it,

> *chahvi   unh   ūvi   syēntō   pēsū*
> POT:pay   you:SG   two   hundred peso
> you would pay two hundred pesos.'

To express a contrafactual condition, the verb of the conditional sentence must be in resigned negative form and in completive aspect (see 2.1.2). The meaning of the conditional sentence is, however, not negative, in spite of the negative form that occurs there.

> *sha   ni   chahvi i yōhó /*
> already   COM   pay   I you:SG
> 'I just now would have paid you

> *nāāh nī   kāhán   unh*
> if   RSN:NEG:COM   CON:speak   you:SG
> if you had spoken.'

> *tyākū   ra   vitin   /*
> CON:live   he   now
> 'He would be living today

nāāh nī   shīhīh   ra tātanh
if   RSN:NEG:COM   CON:drink   he medicine
if he had drunk the medicine.'

nāāh   nī   kāhán   unh   ndīī /
if   RSN:NEG:COM   CON:speak   you:SG   TOPIC
'If you had spoken,

    sha   ni   chahvi i   yōhó
    already COM   pay   I   you:SG,
    I just now would have paid you.'

nāāh nī   shīhīh   ra tātanh   ndīī /
if   RSN:NEG:COM   CON:drink   he medicine   TOPIC
'If he had drunk the medicine,

    tyākīī   ra   vitin
    CON:live he   now
    he would be living today.'

Concession sentences are introduced by the complex conjunction *tēeh
ndēē* 'although'. The subordinate sentence can follow or precede the main
sentence; when it precedes, it is followed by the topic marker *ndīī*.

kīshí   ra   / tēeh   ndēē   ni   kaa   ñuhu
CON:sleep   he   probably until:end COM rise sun
'He is sleeping although the sun has risen.'

tēeh   ndēē   ni   kaa ñuhu ndīī / kīshí   ra
probably until:end COM   rise sun TOPIC   CON:sleep   he
'Although the sun has risen, he is sleeping.'

Purpose sentences are introduced by the coordinate conjunction *te* 'and',
and they require a verb in potential aspect. They must follow the main
sentence. Purpose constructions are identical in form to coordinate con-
structions (see 6.1.1) with potential aspect on the verb in the second part,
and the ambiguity can be resolved only by the context.

    kōso   ra   tūnh   yahāh / te   kwahnu   nuh
    POT:water   he   it:WOD chili   and POT:grow it:WOD
    'He will water the chili plants so that they will grow.' *or* 'He will
    water the chili plants, and they will grow.'

shāhndyā ra māngō | te   shikoh   ra   a
CON:cut   he mango   and   POT:sell   he   it:INAN
'He is picking the mangos in order to sell them.' *or* 'He is picking
the mangos, and he will sell them.'

In the text in chapter 7, sentence 7.17 contains a purpose sentence, and
7.5 contains two purpose sentences, with the second one embedded within
the first. Sentence 7.27, however, is considered to be a simple coordinate
sentence, even though it has potential aspect in the second part.

Negative purpose sentences are introduced by the subordinate conjunc-
tions *koto* or *koto ka*, which mean 'lest', and they require a verb in
potential aspect. They must follow the main sentence.

koto   unh | koto kahndya unh   ndahāh   unh
POT:look   you:SG   lest POT:cut   you:SG hand   your:SG
'Take care lest you cut your hand.'

nīhīh   ra shuhūnh | koto kūni   a   nūuh   ra
CON:carry he money   lest POT:lack it:INAN face   his
'He is taking money lest it should run out on him.'

ni   shikōh   ah tikwī | koto ka   kasīhe   sihīh   ah
COM COM:carry she water   lest ADD POT:be:angry mother   her
'She got the water lest her mother be angry

nūuh   ah
face   her
with her.'

kuni   soho unh   kwēntō i | koto ka   kundoho   unh
POT:sense ear you:SG word   my   lest ADD   POT:suffer you:SG
'Listen to my words (Sp. *cuento*) lest you suffer.'

Simultaneous action sentences are introduced by the conjunction *kīih*
'when'. They may follow or precede the main sentence; when they pre-
cede, they are followed by the topic marker *ndīi*.

kūhun i ñuu| kīih   koo   vikōh
POT:go I town   when   POT:exist   fiesta
'I will go to town when there is a fiesta.'

sāsīkih   ne   kwāchīh / kīih   nātyāh   sihīh   nya
CON:play they small:PL   when CON:wash mother   their
'The children are playing when their mothers are washing.'

ni   ndaa tikwī   itya / kīih   ni   kuun   sāvih
COM rise   water   river   when COM pelt   rain
'The river rose when it rained.'

kīih   koo   vikōh   ndīī / kūhun i   ñuu
when POT:exist fiesta TOPIC   POT:go I   town
'When there is a fiesta, I will go.'

kīih nātyāh sihīh   nya ndīī / sāsīkih   ne   kwāchīh
when CON:wash mother their TOPIC   CON:play they small:PL
'When their mothers are washing, the children are playing.'

kīih ni   kuun sāvih ndīī / ni   ndaa tikwī   itya
when COM pelt   rain TOPIC   COM rise   water   river
'When it rained, the river rose.'

(See also 7.2, 7.14, 7.32, and 7.33.)

Other subordinate time sentences are introduced by the preposition *ndee*
'(from) until', which also functions as a conjunction meaning either 'until'
or 'since'. They follow the main sentence.

ndyātūh ra / ndee   shāa   yuvāh   ra
CON:wait he   from:until POT:arrive:SG father   his
'He is waiting until his father arrives.'

shāchūūnh ra / ndee   ni   kuun   sāvih
CON:work he   from:until COM pelt   rain
'He is working since it rained.' *or* 'He was working until it rained.'

ni   tuhun ra kūhu / ndee   ni   shavī   ra
COM pull   he   weeds from:until COM be:tired he
'He weeded until he got tired.' *or* 'He weeded from when he got
tired.'

Comparison of likeness sentences are introduced by the conjunction *nāā*
'as' and must have the same verb as the main sentence. The subordinate

sentence can either follow or precede the main sentence; when it pre-
cedes, the main sentence optionally begins with *sakānh* 'thus'.

ni   kāhan   ra   vitin / nāā   ni   kāhan   ra   iku
COM speak   he   now   as   COM speak   he   yesterday
'He spoke today as he spoke yesterday.'

nāā   kāāh   kīni / sāna   i /
as   CON:appear:SG pig   domestic:animal my
'As my pig looks,

   kāāh   rih
   CON:appear:SG it:AML
   it looks.'

nāā   saa   ra / sakānh shāāh   eh
as   POT:do he   thus   CON:do   we:IN
'As he is doing, so we are doing.'

(See also 7.4.)

Comparison of degree is introduced by *te sakānh* 'than', followed by the
subject. No verb phrase occurs in the subordinate sentence, but it is always
understood to contain the same verb as the main sentence. The verb
phrase of the main sentence must contain *ka* 'more'.

chīe   ka   ra / te   sakānh yūhu
big:SG ADD he   and   thus   I:EMPH
'He is bigger than I.'

kwītī ka   nuh / te   sakānh tūnh   kāah
short ADD it:WOD and   thus   it:WOD that:far
'It is shorter than that one.'

kama   ka   ndāvāh   ikwān / te   sakānh bētō
fast   ADD CON:run:SG John   and   thus   Bob
'John runs faster than Bob.'

kīshí   ka   mīshtūn / te   sakānh nāyah
CON:sleep   ADD cat   and   thus   dog
'Cats sleep more than dogs.'

(See also 7.24.)

6.3 Direct Quotations

Direct quotations consist of three elements: the quotation introducer, the quotation, and the quotation closer. The quotation is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences. The quotation closer consists of a verb of speaking or thinking, usually *kāchi* 'to say', its subject, and often an addressee, expressed as an associative adjunct. The quotation introducer often contains other verbs, is frequently expressed by more complex constructions than the quotation closer, and is separated from the quotation by the topic marker *ndī̄*. The quotation closer usually occurs, but it is possible, for dramatic effect, to omit the quotation introducer.

With simple introducers:

kāhán	*ah*	*ndī̄*	/	*vâahāh a*	/	*kāchī̆*	*ah*
CON:speak	she	TOPIC		NEG:goodit:INAN		CON:say	she

'She says, "It is bad," she says.'

kāhán	*yuvāh*	*ra*	*shūnh*	*ra*	*ndī̄*	/	*yōō*	*kwāhah*
CON:speak	father	his	with	him	TOPIC		CON:exist	much

'His father says to him, "There is a lot of

chuun	*nūuh*	*eh*	/	*kāchī̆*	*ra*	*shūnh*	*ra*
work	face	our:IN		CON:say	he	with	him

work before us," he said to him.'

ni	*kāhán*	*ikwān*	*ndī̄*	/	*ūni*	*tāhān*
COM	speak	John	TOPIC		three	of:group:PL

'John said, "There are three

kūūh		*rih*	/	*ni*	*kāchi*	*ra*
CON:be:inherently		it:AML		COM	say	he

animals," he said.'

(See also 7.11, 7.21–24, 7.25–26, and 7.27.)

With complex introducers:

kūh	*ni*	*shini*	*ah*	*ni*	*kuyatin*	*ah*	*ndī̄*	/
when	COM	COM:sense	she	COM	become:near	she	TOPIC	

'When she saw that she had gotten close,

ni   kāhan ah   shīīnh ah   ndīī /
COM speak she   with her TOPIC
she spoke to her,

chindyeēh unh   yūhu / pehē /   ni   kāchi ah   shīīnh ah
POT:help you:SG me   dear   COM say   she with   her
"Please help me, dear!" she said to her.'

ndāvāh   ra / kwāhan ra shāhah ndōoh /
CON:run:SG he   CON:go he foot   sugarcane
'He was running going to the sugarcane field,

te   ni   kāhan tīhēh ra ndīī /
and COM speak hard he TOPIC
and he shouted,

shīshí   ndōoh   / ni   kāchi ra
CON:burn sugarcane COM say   he
"The sugarcane is burning!" he said.'

(See also 7.14–15, 7.18–19, 7.28, and 7.32.)

Without introducer:

yōho   ndīī / nīī   shāchūūnh unh/
you:SG:EMPH TOPIC CEX:NEG:COM CON:work   you:SG
"As for you, you didn't work!"

ni   kāchi ikwān shīīnh ñani   ra
COM say   John   with   brother:ME his
said John to his brother.'

ndīīshāh kāhán   unh / ni   kāchi ñani   ra
NEG:true CON:speak you:SG COM say   brother:ME his
"What you are saying IS NOT TRUE!" said his brother.'

(See also 7.20.)

6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

There is a set of elements that occur in initial position in the sentence and
link it to the preceding discourse context.

These expressions include the coordinate conjunctions *te* 'and', *ndīsu* 'but', and *ndee saa ka ni ndīī* 'but (emphatic)'. The last two are followed by a pause.

> *shtahānh   ndīī / ni   shīka   iin   te   yīvih*
> long:ago   TOPIC COM   COM:walk   one   he   ?
> 'Long ago there lived a man
>
> > *ni   nanīh   ikwān // te   ni   yōo*
> > COM   COM:be:named   John   and   COM   COM:exist
> > named John. And he had
> >
> > *ñā   sīhī   ra*
> > she   female   his
> > a wife.'

(See also 7.2, 7.5, 7.14, 7.24, 7.26, 7.39, and 7.40.)

> *ni   kāhan ra shūnh   te   chūūnh / te   kwāhan ra //*
> COM   speak he with   him   worklike   and   CON:go   he
> 'He spoke to the president and was going away.
>
> > *ndīsu / shūnī   i mīīh   kwāhan ra*
> > but   NEG:CON:know   I where CON:go   he
> > But I do not know where he was going.'

(See also 7.12, 7.23, and 7.34.)

> *chīsihē   rih   tāhma / mīīh   kini   kāāh //*
> CON:hide   it:AML ravine   where awful CON:appear:SG
> 'It is hiding in the ravine where it is very rugged.
>
> > *ndee   saa ka   ni   ndīī / nahi   i rih*
> > from:until how ADD LIM TOPIC   POT:take:SG I it:AML
> > But I will get it.'

The conjunction *te* 'and' is followed by the general adverb *sakānh* 'thus' to express a result.

> *kwāhan ah   ichīh // te   sakānh ni   shini   ah*
> CON:go   she path   and thus   COM COM:sense she
> 'She was going along the path. And so she saw

kīeh   *shīko*   *nūhu* *shīnih* *vihe*   *ah*
CON:leave:PL   flame   fire   head   house her
flames of fire leaving the roof of her house.'

These expressions also include the subordinate conjunctions *ña kāah nā*, *ña xaanh nā*, and *sakānh nā*, 'with the result that', used in this position to mean 'therefore'.

koto   *unh*   *saa*   *ndōhōh*   *ikwān* //
POT:look you:SG how CON:suffer John
'Look how John is suffering!

  ña   *kāah*   *nā*   *kuni*   *soho* *unh*
  it:INAN that:far OBL POT:sense ear   you:SG
  (pointing at John) Therefore listen!'

sakānh ni   *kāhan* *ra*   *shūnh* *i* // *vaha* //
thus   COM speak he   with   me   good
'He spoke to me like like that. Good.

  ña   *xaanh*   *nā*   *koto*   *shūnh* *miïh* *i*
  it:INAN that:noted OBL POT:look with   SPEC me
  Therefore I will be careful.'

ni   *shishi*   *rih* / *te*   *ni*   *ndahni*   *va*   *rih* //
COM COM:eat it:AML and COM be:satisfied INTS it:AML
It ate, and it was very full.

  sakānh *nā*   *ni*   *ndushan* *rih*
  thus   OBL COM vomit   it:AML
  Therefore it vomited.'

The topic marker *ndīī* introduces a comment that relates to the previous discourse; this marker is always followed by a pause.

  ni   *shāhan i vikōh* *shūnh* *shito* *i* //
  COM COM:go I fiesta with   uncle my
  'I went to the fiesta with my uncle.

    ndīī / *shūnī*   *i* *ndichūn* *ndīhni*   *unh*
    TOPIC NEG:CON:know I why   CON:be:worried you:SG
    Well, I don't know why you are worried

> *shāhah   i*
> foot   my
> about me.'

> *kwān   sachūūnh   ra // ndū / kāah   ndūhuh*
> CON:DIR   POT:work   he TOPIC   there:far   CON:be:located:SG
> 'He has gone to work. Well, the machete is over

>> *īchi*
>> machete
>> there.'

(See also 7.41.)

The complex sentential marker *ama ndū* introduces the main topic of the discourse.

> *ichīh nāá   ra / kwāhan ra //*
> path CON:be:inside:SG   he   CON:go   he
> 'He is going along the trail.

>> *ama   ndū / ikānh   ndyēēh   te   ndāsīh*
>> when TOPIC   over:there   CON:be:located:PL   he   CON:hate
>> His enemies were located

>> *tāhānh   shūūnh   ra*
>> each:other   with   him
>> THERE.'

(See also 7.6.)

The next sequential event of the discourse is introduced by the complex sentential marker *sakānh te* 'then'.

> *sakūūh a   kāah   ni   shaa   ra //*
> all   it:INAN   that:far COM   COM:do   he
> 'He did all that.

>> *sakānh te   ni   kīshi   ra*
>> thus   and   COM   COM:sleep   he
>> Then he slept.'

(See also 7.3, 7.9, 7.11, 7.16, 7.17, 7.18, 7.21, 7.25, 7.27, 7.28, 7.29, and 7.36.)

An event that interrupts the discourse is introduced by the complex
sentential marker *ikānh te* 'at that point'.

> *ndātūhūnh ra shūnh yuvāh ra* //
> CON:chat he with father his
> 'He was chatting with his father.

>> *ikānh   te   ni   kahndi*
>> over:there and COM   bang
>> At that moment a shot rang out.'

An explanation is introduced by the complex sentential marker *kwachi
ndū* 'for (explanation)'.

> *kwāhān   ñuu/   pehē   //*
> IMP:go   town   dear
> 'Go to town, dear.

>> *kwachi ndū / chindyeēh i shito unh*
>> ?   TOPIC POT:help I uncle your:SG
>> For I will help your uncle.'

Reason is introduced by the complex sentential markers *shāhah a kāah
nā* and *shāhah a xaanh nā* 'for that reason'; the first is accompanied by a
gesture.

> *ni   tashi ra iin   tumānih ndahāh i //*
> COM give he one gift hand my
> 'He gave a gift to me.

>> *shāhah   a   kāah   nā   vaha kūnī   i*
>> foot   its:INAN   that:far OBL good CON:appear I
>> (pointing to the gift) Therefore I am happy.'

> *ni   kāhan vaha unh   shūnh ra //*
> COM speak good you:SG with him
> 'You spoke well to him.

>> *shāhah   a   xaanh   nā kūndihnī   unh*
>> foot   its:INAN   that:noted OBL NEG:POT:be:worried you:SG
>> For that reason do not worry.'

The start, flow, and termination of formal conversation is signalled by a number of sentential markers. When a speaker initiates his utterance, in starting a conversation, interrupting another conversation, or interjecting background information or a personal comment into a narrative, he begins it with *xūhun* followed by a pause.

> *xūhun* / *yōō*   *iin*   *chuun*   *sīē*   *kwashi*   *i*   //
> ?   CON:exist one   work   little   CON:come   I
> 'Well, there is an errand for which I have come.'

> *ndyēēh*   *te* *yīvih* / *ndātūhūnh*   *ra*   //
> CON:be:located:PL he ?   CON:chat   he
> 'The men were sitting chatting.

>> *ikānh*   *te*   *ni*   *kāhan* *ah* *ndīī* / *xūhun* / *nyaha*
>> over:there and COM speak   she TOPIC   ?   IMP:come
>> At that point she said, "Come

>> *ndoh* / *te*   *kushi*   *ndoh* / *taa* / *ni*   *kāchi* *ah*
>> you:PL and POT:eat   you:PL   sir   COM say   she
>> to eat, sirs," she said.'

> *te*   *sakānh ni*   *sutyāh* *ra* *itya* //
> and thus   COM swim   he river
> 'And so he swam in the river.

>> *xūhun* / *shūnī*   *i nāāh* *kūvī*   *sūtyaāh*   *ra*
>> ?   NEG:CON:know I if   CON:be:able CON:swim he
>> I didn't know if he could swim.'

When a speaker responds to another speaker, or when he changes theme in the midst of his discourse, he often begins his utterance with the stative verb *vaha* 'good' followed by the appropriate vocative.

> *vaha* / *taa* // *vaha ni*   *kāhan* *unh*
> good   sir   good COM speak   you:SG
> 'Okay, sir. You spoke well.'

> *ña*   *xaanh*   *ni*   *ndōho*   *nduh*   *kūh*   *ni*   *shāhan*
> it:INAN that:known COM COM:suffer we:EX when COM COM:go
> 'We experienced THAT when we went to the fiesta.

> *nduh vikōh* // *vaha* / *taa* // *yōō*   *iin*   *chuun*
> we:EX fiesta   good   sir   CON:exist one   work
> Okay sirs. There is an errand
>
> *kwashi*   *i*
> CON:come   I
> on which I have come.'

When a speaker has finished speaking, he often ends his utterance with the assertive sentential marker *ndoh* followed by the appropriate vocative.

> *shāhah*   *a*   *kāah*   *kwashi*   *i*   *ndoh* /   *shishi*
> foot   its:INAN   that:far CON:come   I   ASSERTIVE   aunt
> 'For that reason I come, Aunt.'

When a speaker narrating has finished a personal comment, he returns to the main theme of the discourse by starting the next sentence with *āxan te* followed by a pause.

> *sakānh ni*   *shanini*   *i* / *kīih*   *ni*   *shaa*   *ra*
> thus   COM   COM:think   I   when   COM   COM:do   he
> 'I thought like that when he did
>
> *ña*   *xaanh* //   *āxan te* /   *ni*   *kihin*   *ra*
> it:INAN   that:noted   ?   and   COM   get   he
> that thing. Well then, he took to
>
> *ichīh* /   *kwāhan*   *ra*
> path   CON:go   he
> the path and went away.'

7

Text

7.1 *ūntāh   ni   chihi   iin   te   yīvih   kwāhah   tūnh   yahāh*
once   COM   plant   one   he   ?   many   it:WOD   chili
'Once a man planted many chili plants.'

7.2 *te   kīih   ndūndatunh   nuh   ndīī   /*
and   when   CON:become:pretty   it:WOD   TOPIC
'And when the plants were becoming lush,

shahāh   kitīh   shāshih   rih   nuh
COM:begin   animal   CON:eat   it:AML   it:WOD
animals began eating them.'

7.3 *sakānh te   ni   shaha   ra   iin   ñaha*
thus   and   COM   COM:make   he   one   thing
'Then he made a thing

shūnh   miīh   ndihi   ñūmah
with   SPEC   all   wax
with pure wax.'

7.4 *nāā   kāāh   te   yīvih   /   kāāh   a*
as   CON:appear:SG   he   ?   CON:appear:SG   it:INAN
'As appears a man, it appeared.'

7.5 *te   ni   shani   ra   ñaha   xaanh*
and   COM   COM:stand   he   thing   that:noted
'And he stood that thing up

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mahīh   *tūnh*   *yahāh*   /
in:middle:of   it:WOD   chili
in the middle of the chili plants

te   *kuyihvī*   *kitīh*   /
and   POT:be:afraid   animal
so that the animal would be afraid

te   *kāashīh*   *ka*   *rih*   *tūnh*   *yahāh*
and   NEG:POT:eat   ADD   it:AML   it:WOD   chili
in order that it would not eat the chili plants any more.'

7.6   *ama*   *ndīī*   /   *kitīh*   *xaanh*   *ndīī*/
when   TOPIC   animal   that:noted   TOPIC
'Now, as for that animal,

iso   *ndūūh*   *rih*
rabbit   CON:be:equal   it:AML
it was THE RABBIT!'

7.7   *naā*   *ñuū*   *ni*   *kīhvi*   *iso*   /   *te*   *ni*
?   night   COM   enter:SG   rabbit   and   COM
'AT MIDNIGHT the rabbit gained entrance,[1]

shini   *rih*   *īnh*   *ñaha*   *xaanh*
COM:sense   it:AML   CON:be:standing:SG   thing   that:noted
and it saw that thing standing.'

7.8   *kwīē*   *kwīē*   *shaa*   *rih*   /
slow   slow   COM:arrive:SG   it:AML
'It arrived VERY CAREFULLY,

te   *ni*   *chindahāh*   *rih*   *ñaha*   *xaanh*
and   COM   push   it:AML   thing   that:noted
and   it   pushed   that   thing

shīīnh   *ndahāh*   *kwaha*   *rih*   /   *te*   *ni*   *tūn*   *a*
with   hand   right   its:AML   and   COM   COM:be:stuck   it:INAN
with its right paw, and it got stuck.'

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[1] The expression *naā ñuū* is an idiom meaning 'at midnight'.

7.9   *sakānh*   *te*   *ni*   *chihni*   *rih*   *inga*   *ndahāh*
      thus   and   COM   thrust:in   it:AML   other:same   hand
      'Then it thrust in its other

      rih   /   *te*   *iin*   *kāchī*   *ni*   *tiin*   *tu*   *a*
      its:AML   and   one   ?   COM   COM:be:stuck   also   it:INAN
      paw, and in the same way it also got stuck.'[2]

7.10 *sakānh tu*   *shaa*   *rih*   *shūnh*   *ūvi*   *sāah*
      thus   also   COM:do   it:AML   with   two   all:of:group
      'It also did the same with both

      shāhah   *rih*
      foot   its:AML
      its feet.'

7.11 *sakānh te*   *ni*   *shanini*   *rih*   *ndū*   /
      thus   and   COM   COM:think   it:AML   TOPIC
      'Then it thought,

      vitin   *te*   *kashih*   *īhīh*   *eh*   *a*   /   *ni*   *shanini*   *rih*
      now   and   POT:eat   raw   we:IN   it:INAN   COM   COM:think   it:AML
      "Right now I will eat it raw," it thought.'

7.12 *ndīsu*   /   *iin*   *kāchī*   *ni*   *tiin*   *a*   *sakūūh*   *nuhu*   *rih*   /
      but   one   ?   COM   hold   it:INAN   all   tooth   its:AML
      'But, in the same way it (the wax figure) grabbed hold of

      te   *ikānh*   *ni*   *ndōo rih*
      and   over:there   COM   stay   it:AML
      all its (the rabbit's) teeth, and THERE it (the rabbit) stayed.'

7.13 *tuku*   *kīvih*   *ni*   *shaa*   *te shūnh*   *ñaha*   *tūnh*   *yahāh*
      REP   day   COM   COM:arrive:SG   he with   thing   it:WOD   chili
      'ANOTHER DAY, the owner arrived at the chili plants.'

7.14 *te*   *kūh*   *shini*   *ra*
      and   when   COM:sense   he
      'And when he saw

---

[2]The expression *iin kāchī* is an idiom meaning 'in the same way'.

ndyaa   *ndūhuh*   *iso*   *xaanh*   *ndī* /
adheringly   CON:be:located:SG   rabbit   that:noted TOPIC
that rabbit stuck (there),

ni   *kāhan*   *ra*   *shūnh*   *rih*   *ndī*   /
COM   speak   he   with   it:AML   TOPIC
he spoke to it,

áán /   *yōhó*   *shāndīih*
SURPRISE you:SG:EMPH   CON:trouble
"Oh, **you** are troubling

shūnh   *tūnh*   *yahāh*   *i*
with   it:WOD   chili   my
my chili plants!'

7.15   *vitin* *te*   *chahvi*   *unh*   *sakūūh*
now   and   POT:pay   you:SG   all
'Right now you will pay for all

ña   *ni*   *shaa*   *unh* / *ni*   *kāchi*   *ra*
it:INAN COM   COM:do you:SG COM say   he
that you did," he said.'

7.16   *sakānh* *te*   *ni*   *skohnūh* *ra*   *iso*   *tishin*   *ndāah* /
thus   and   COM place:in   he   rabbit stomach   sack
'Then he placed the rabbit into the sack,

te   *ni*   *satūn* *vaha*   *ra* *yuhūh*   *ndāah* /
and   COM   tie   good   he   mouth   sack
and he securely tied the mouth of the sack,

te   *kwān*   *nūhu*   *ra*
and   CON:DIR   POT:go:home   he
and he went home.'

7.17   *sakānh* *te*   *shanini*   *iso*   *saa*   *saa*   *rih* /
thus   and   COM:think   rabbit   how   POT:do   it:AML
'Then the rabbit thought what it would do,

te   kǎku   rih
and   POT:be:rescued   it:AML
in order to be rescued.'

7.18 sakǎnh te   ni   shkǎhndya iin   ingwi
      thus   and   COM   pass:by   one   fox
      'Then a fox passed by,

      te   ni   kǎhan rih   shūnh ingwi ndī /
      and   COM   speak it:AML with   fox   TOPIC
      and it spoke to the fox,

      kishi   ndyaha   unh /   ñani   rōō   i
      POT:come   short:distance   you:SG   brother:ME dear my
      "Come a little closer, my dear friend!'

7.19 kūní   ndatūhūnh i shūnh unh   iin   shǎhǎh /
      CON:want   POT:chat   I with you:SG one   short:time
      'I want to chat with you for a second,"

      ni   kǎchi iso
      COM   say   rabbit
      said the rabbit.'

7.20 vaha /   ni   kǎchi ingwi / te   ni   kuyatin   rih
      good   COM   say   fox   and   COM   approach it:AML
      ' "Okay," said the fox, and it approached.'

7.21 sakǎnh te   ni   kǎhan iso   ndī /
      thus   and   COM   speak rabbit TOPIC
      'Then the rabbit spoke,

      ñǎǎ kǎahǎn   nīmá   unh   koo
      INT   NEG:CON:speak   heart you:SG POT:exist
      "You are not desiring (Sp. ánima) to have

      ñǎ   sīhī   unh
      she female your:SG
      a wife, are you?'

7.22 *yūhu   ndū   / ni   kie   vaha   i*
      I:EMPH   TOPIC   COM   leave:PL good   I
      'As for **me,** I was lucky[3]

      shūnh   iin   nalui   vaha   va   kāāh
      with   one   girl   good   INTS   CON:appear:SG
      with a girl, who is very beautiful.'

7.23 *ndīsu / kūunī   tundāhah   i   shūnh   ah /*
      but   NEG:CON:want   POT:marry I   with   her
      'But I don't want to marry her

      sakānh   ña   chīe   va   ah /
      thus   it:INAN big:SG   INTS she
      because she is very big,

      te   yūhu   ndū   / lūlū   va   i
      and   I:EMPH   TOPIC   small:SG INTS   I
      and, as for me, I am very little.'

7.24 *te   shūnh   yōhó   ndū   / kuvi*
      and with   you:SG:EMPH   TOPIC   POT:be:able
      'And with **you,** on the other hand, she is able

      nakwīta   ah / sakānh ña   chīe   ka
      POT:be:compatible she   thus   it:INAN big:SG   ADD
      to be compatible because you are bigger

      unh / te   sakānh   yūhu / ni   kāchi   iso
      you:SG   and   thus   I:EMPH   COM   say   rabbit
      than I," said the rabbit.'

7.25 *sakānh te   ni   kāhan   ingwi   ndū   /*
      thus   and   COM   speak   fox   TOPIC
      'Then the fox spoke,

      nāāh ndisha va   sakānh ndūūh   a   ndū /
      if   true   INTS   thus   CON:be:equal   it:INAN TOPIC
      "If that is really true,

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[3]The idiom *kie vaha* 'to be lucky' contains a plural verb, but it occurs with both
singular and plural subjects.

kihin   ñahāh   yūhu
POT:get KNO   I:EMPH
I will get her.'

7.26   te   saa   saa   i / ni   kāchi   ingwi
        And   how POT:do I   COM   say   fox
        'And what shall I do?" said the fox.'

7.27   sakānh te   ni   kāhan iso   ndū /
        thus   and   COM   speak rabbit TOPIC
        'Then the rabbit spoke,

        vitin te   kīhvi   unh   tishin   ndāah /
        now and   POT:enter:SG   you:SG stomach   sack
        "Right now get into the sack,

        te   kundyaka yuvāh   nalui yōhó
        and   POT:lead   father   girl   you:SG
        and the girl's father will take you

        ndee   mīih   ndūhuh   nalui   xaanh /
        from:until where CON:be:located:SG girl   that:noted
        to where the girl lives,"

        ni   kāchi iso
        COM   say   rabbit
        said the rabbit.'

7.28   sakānh te   nākwātyāh   ingwi / te   ni   kāhan rih
        thus   and   CON:be:happy   fox   and COM   speak it:AML
        'Then the fox was very happy, and it said,

        ndū / na   koo   a / nāāh   shāāh unh
        TOPIC HORT POT:exist it:INAN if   CON:do you:SG
        "Let it happen if you are doing

        ña   vaha / ni   kāchi ingwi
        it:INAN good   COM   say   fox
        the favor," said the fox.'

7.29   *sakānh te   ni   keta   iso* /
       thus   and   COM   leave:SG rabbit,
       'Then the rabbit got out,

       te   ni   nakoo   rih   ingwi tishin   ndāah
       and   COM   abandon   it:AML   fox   stomach   sack
       and it left the fox inside the sack.'

7.30   *nūūh   va   te   shaa   te   yīvih   xaanh* /
       short:time   INTS and   COM:arrive:SG he   ?   that:noted
       'IN A VERY SHORT TIME, the man arrived,

       te   ni   nahi   ra   ndāah shūnh   ingwi
       and   COM   take:SG   he   sack   with   fox
       and he took the sack with the fox.'

7.31   *nū   shīnī   ra   nāāh ingwi nāá*
       CEX:NEG:COM CON:sense   he   if   fox   CON:be:inside:SG
       'He didn't realize (as he should have) that the fox was inside.'

7.32   *kūh   ni   shaa   ra   vihe   ra   ndū* /
       when   COM   COM:arrive:SG he   house   his   TOPIC
       'When he arrived at his house,

       ni   kāhan ra   shūnh sīhe ra   ndū /
       COM   speak he   with   child his   TOPIC
       he spoke to his child,

       vitin te   sanasāah unh   kaa /
       now   and   POT:reheat you:SG metal
       "Right now reheat the spit

       ña   tāvīh   eh   ndeih shūnh / *ni   kāchi ra*
       it:INAN   CON:roast   we:IN   meat   with   COM   say   he
       which we roast meat with," he said.'

7.33   *kūh   ni   nduihnīh   kaa   xaanh   ndū* /
       when   COM   become:hot   metal   that:noted TOPIC
       'When that spit became hot,

ni   kahānh   ra   tuvi   ra   a
COM   think   he   POT:poke he   it:INAN
he thought he would poke it

sava ni   tisīhndi   kīé   kitīh   xaanh
half LIM   anus   CON:defecate animal   that:noted
exactly in the anus,[4] which that animal defecates (from).'

7.34 ndīsu / nū   kīhīnh   a   tisīhndi   rih
      but   CEX:NEG:COM   CON:get   it:INAN   anus   its:AML
      'But it didn't get its anus (as it should have).'

7.35 ndūuh sīhndi   rih   ni   kihin   a
      fruit buttocks its:AML COM   get   it:INAN
      'It got ITS TESTICLE.'

7.36 sakānh te   ni   ndāhi   nyahā   ingwi
      thus   and COM   scream:SG evil   fox
      'Then the fox screamed horribly.'

7.37 ni   shīshi   shachīh iin   ndaah
      COM   COM:burn   always   one   of:group:SG
      'One of its testicles was completely

      ndūuh sīhndi   rih
      fruit buttocks its:AML
      burnt.'

7.38 sakānh vih   ni   shini   te   yīvih ndū /
      thus   excessive COM   COM:know   he   ?   TOPIC
      'So at long last the man knew

      sūuh   iso   ndūūh   rih
      NEG:certainly rabbit COM:be:equal it:AML
      that it certainly was not A RABBIT.'

7.39 te   ni   sañāh   ra   rih
      and   COM   COM:release he   it:AML
      'And he released it.'

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[4]The noun tishīhndi 'anus' is a vulgar term referring only to animals and intro-
duces humor.

7.40   *te   ni   ndava   ingwi*
       and   COM   run:SG   fox
       'And the fox ran.'

7.41   *ndī̄ / nī̄   nākāhānh   ka   chiē   kwaha*
       TOPIC   CEX:NEG:COM   CON:remember   ADD   male   dear
       'WELL, the poor male never more thought (as he should have)

       koo   ñā   sīhī   rih
       POT:exist   she   female   its:AML
       about having a wife.'

A Syntactic Sketch of
Coatzospan Mixtec

Priscilla C. Small

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Contents

Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Coatzospan Mixtec is spoken by approximately 2,000 people living in the municipal center of San Juan Coatzospan, in the district of Teotitlán de Flores Magón, Oaxaca, Mexico. This group speaks the northernmost Mixtec dialect and forms a small linguistic island surrounded by Mazatecs and Cuicatecs. The Mixtec dialect geographically closest to Coatzospan, that of Santa Ana Cuauhtémoc, is closely related linguistically (see Egland 1978:25–37) but is separated by a deep river gorge and a day's journey on foot.

Within Coatzospan Mixtec the greatest degree of internal variation is found between men's and women's speech. It is expressed phonologically as palatalization of *t* and *nd* before front vowels in women's speech and lexically in the use of different terms for some concepts, particularly in the choice of pronoun to refer to a young male and in greetings and leave-takings. Unless otherwise stated, examples in this sketch are cited in men's speech. There is also slight dialectal variation between those living in San Juan and those living in outlying settlements, reflected mainly in the choice of motion/direction and position verbs. This study is based on the variety spoken in San Juan.

Up until 1978 Coatzospan could be reached only by mule or on foot. Now there is an unpaved road running through town, giving access by truck from Huautla de Jiménez and Teotitlán to the west and Jalapa de Díaz and Tuxtepec to the east. There has also been a notable increase in the level of education available in the local schools and in the degree of bilingualism with Spanish. In 1963 the town had only one schoolteacher, and he taught only first grade. There are now teachers for all six primary grades teaching both in San Juan and in outlying settlements under the

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auspices of the National Indian Institute. A few of the teachers are local Mixtecs, but the language of the classroom is basically Spanish. Except in rare cases, however, Mixtec is still the language of the home and is used to carry on most business in the town hall.

There has been some intermarriage with Mazatecs from the surrounding area, and a few Mixtecs have learned Mazatec, mainly for the purpose of trade in the nearby Mazatec market towns. Although there are numerous loanwords from Spanish into Mixtec, which have undergone various degrees of assimilation, only one Mazatec loanword has been recorded to date.

The present study is based on data gathered by the author and her colleague, Janet Turner, during fieldwork in San Juan beginning in 1963. Most of the examples included here were provided in 1978 by José Pacheco Castro, who also wrote down the text in chapter 7 and then dictated it onto tape. At that time he was twenty-four years old. (This text has been published previously in Small [1979a].) Additional data were provided up through 1985 by Dolores Acosta de Campanela, who was at that time thirty-eight years old. Both language associates are natives of San Juan.

Research was aided considerably through the use of a concordance compiled by computer in 1972 at the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, supported by Grant R1032701 of the National Science Foundation.

0.2 Phonology

Coatzospan Mixtec has the following phonological units: voiceless stops and affricates *p* (rare) *t ts ch k kw*, prenasalized stops and affricates *mb nd ndz nj ng ngw*, voiceless fricatives *s sh*, voiced fricatives *v d dy*, nasals *m n ñ*, lateral *l*, flap *r*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e i a u o*, nasalized vowels *in en in an un*. (In addition to these, voiceless fricatives *f x*, voiced fricative *g*, and semivowels *y* and *w* have entered through Spanish loanwords.) There are three tone accents: high (written with acute accent), low (written with macron), and a rare high-low glide (written with circumflex). Unaccented syllables do not carry contrastive tone; they assimilate to the tone of the following syllable. Tone is not marked on such syllables in this sketch. Extensive tone sandhi, both progressive and regressive, is a feature of this variety of Mixtec; the tones written in this sketch show the result of the sandhi rules, not the underlying tones.

The shape of a stem varies according to its position in the phonological phrase. Full forms occur only in the nucleus of the phrase. In nonnuclear positions, stems are unstressed and undergo various reductions. In

prenuclear position, the first member of a geminate vowel cluster is lost and frequently there is fusion of unlike vowels. Glottal stops are also lost in this position, and this sometimes causes the loss of a syllable. In postnuclear position, words are reduced to one syllable, sometimes by regular, though complex, rules and sometimes arbitrarily.

The phonology of Coatzospan Mixtec, including special emphasis on the tone system, is described more fully in Pike and Small (1974).

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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 impersonal, intransitive, or transitive; transitive and intransitive sentences optionally take various kinds of adjuncts. Equative sentences link a subject to a nominal complement either by an equative verb or without a verb. Stative sentences link a subject to a stative 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 usually express meteorological and related concepts.

> *katáan*
> CON:quake
> 'There is an earthquake.'

> *túvī*
> POT:dawn
> 'It will dawn.'

> *tánī*
> COM:landslide
> 'There was a landslide.'

kūneé
COM:become:dark
'It got dark.'

kashihí
CON:shine
'There is light.'

kakunjokō
CON:become:sultry
'It is getting sultry.'

kakatsín
CON:cut
'It is thundering.'

(See also 7.44.)

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

kaka   ú
POT:walk   I
'I will walk.'

kídī-n
COM:sleep-you:SG
'You slept.'

véhshī   tún
INC:come   she
'She is coming.'

kakïin   davi
CON:fall   rain
'Rain is falling.'

kaeku   ihshá
CON:cry   child
'A child is crying.'

(See also 7.43, 7.55, 7.82, 7.102, 7.106, 7.118, 7.121, 7.122, and various others.)

A pronoun subject referring to a child or an inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of the unspecified pronoun (see 5.4); this form is indicated in examples by *0̸*.

> *kweku*   *0̸*
> POT:cry   UN
> 'It (child) will cry.'

> *ídō*   *0̸*
> COM:boil   UN
> 'It (water) boiled.'

(See also 7.7, 7.24, 7.25, 7.55, 7.64, 7.102, and 7.106.)

With an arbitrary set of verbs a nonagentive personal pronoun subject is expressed by an object pronoun (see 5.4).

> *kakakɨn*   *kó*
> CON:hunger   me
> 'I am hungry.'

> *kandoho*   *i*
> CON:suffer   UN
> 'It (child) is suffering.'

> *kutúhve*   *o*
> POT:become:prepared   you:SG
> 'You will become educated.'

1.1.3 Transitive sentences. The minimal form of a transitive sentence consists of a transitive verb, its subject, and its object. A pronoun object referring to a child is expressed by the unspecified pronoun *i*, and one referring to an inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of this pronoun (see 5.4).

> *kashihi*   *tɨ*   *ndute*
> CON:drink   it:AML   water
> 'It (animal) is drinking water.'

> *kadikō*   *xwaan*   *túun*
> CON:sell   John   charcoal
> 'John (Sp. *Juan*) sells charcoal.'

ñīī   *tún*   *nuni*
COM:buy   she   corn
'She bought corn.'

iní   *u*   *o*
CON:know   I   you:SG
'I know you.'

kaehshí   ∅   *ita*
CON:eat   UN   tortilla
'It (child) eats tortillas.'

ēhní   *na*   *i*
COM:hit   he   UN
'He hit it (child).'

ñīī   *tún*   ∅
COM:buy   she   UN
'She bought it (e.g., corn).'

(See also 7.5, 7.32, 7.51, 7.63, 7.66, and various others.)

As in the case of intransitive sentences, with an arbitrary set of verbs a nonagentive personal pronoun subject is expressed by an object pronoun.

ndio   *kó*   *ndika*
CON:want   me   banana
'I want a banana.'

kūnaá   *īní*   *ko*   *nā*
COM:become:lost   insides   us:IN   him
'We forgot him.'

(See also 7.4, 7.40, 7.45, 7.46, 7.86, and 7.116.)

To express a reflexive direct object, the possessed noun *kūñú* 'flesh' or 'body' is used, followed by a possessor which is coreferential with the subject.

ēhní   *u*   *kúñū*   *ko*
COM:hit   I   body   me
'I hit myself.'

(See also 7.103.)

1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, associative, instrument, and referent. The presence or absence of a particular adjunct in a sentence is largely determined by the verb. Adjuncts frequently are expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see 3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see 4.3). The specific locative noun or preposition used depends on both the kind of adjunct and the specific verb. Adjuncts normally follow the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb.

The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location, depending on the meaning of the verb. (In this analysis, indirect object is classified as an animate source or destination, rather than as a separate adjunct.) This adjunct occurs mainly with verbs that express change of possession, change of location, placement, and position; with most of these it must occur unless it is understood from the context.

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct normally follows the object. With some of these verbs, no locative possessed noun or preposition signals the adjunct; in such cases, the adjunct occurs between subject and object when it is expressed as a poststressed pronoun.

> *ndáhvi   ú   dyuhún   xwaan*
> COM:pay   I   money   John
> 'I paid money to John.'

> *shéhe   nǎ   tutú   ihshá*
> COM:give   he   paper   child
> 'He gave paper to a child.'

> *shéhe   nǎ   i   tutú*
> COM:give   he   UN   paper
> 'He gave it (child) paper.'

Other verbs usually require the locative noun *ndaha* 'hand' to signal a locative adjunct. With such verbs, however, it is also possible for a pronominal locative adjunct to precede the object, in which case *ndaha* does not occur.

> *tash   nūu   ú   tutú   ndaha   tún*
> COM:give   face   I   paper   hand   her
> 'I sent a letter to her.'

íkan   nā dyuhun   ndá   uva   nā
COM:beg he money   hand   father   him
'He asked his father for money.'

íkān   tún   ko   dyuhún
COM:beg she   me   money
'She asked me for money.'

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs) and intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct follows the subject. A wide variety of locative expressions occurs, from simple nouns or pronouns to complex phrases. The most frequently occurring locative possessed noun is *nuu* 'face'.

kañehe   ná   skwela
CON:go   he   school
'He goes to school (Sp. *escuela*).'

ñéhē   tún   kuchaña
COM:go   she   Tehuacán
'She went to Tehuacán.'

īnu   tún   ko
COM:run   she   me
'She ran away from me.'

ndekú   koho   núu   i
CON:be:on:SG   dish   face   UN
'A dish is on top of it (e.g., table).'

kihshi   na   nú   vihī   kó
POT:come   he   face   house   me
'He will come to my house.'

shée   tútú   ndaha tún
COM:arrive paper   hand   her
'A letter came to her.'

(See also 7.25, 7.64, 7.102, 7.103, 7.109, and 7.118.)

Generally the direction of movement is implied in the verb, as seen in the above examples, but with a few verbs it is ambiguous. In order to help

distinguish between source and destination, locative phrases commonly terminate in a poststressed locative adverb *a* 'here' or *kān* 'there' (see 5.5); however, these do not ordinarily occur with specific place names.

> *kɨhvi*   *tɨ*   *má*   *vihi*   *ā*
> COM:enter   it:AML   under   house   here
> 'It (animal) came inside.'

> *ndaa*   *o*   *nīnú*   *kān*
> POT:REP:go:up   we:IN   above   there
> 'Let's go up above.'

> *ñe*   *níhi*   *na*   *tɨ*   *nu*   *uku*   *kan*
> COM:go   with   he   it:AML   face   mountain   there
> 'He took it (animal) to the mountain.'

> *vésh*   *nihi*   *na*   *tɨ*   *nú*   *ndute*   *kān*
> INC:come   with   he   it:AML   face   water   there
> 'He is bringing it (animal) from the river.'

> *véhshī*   *tún*   *kuchaña*
> INC:come   she   Tehuacán
> 'She is coming to Tehuacán.' *or* 'She has come from Tehuacán.'

(See also 7.27, 7.75, and 7.103.)

With transitive verbs that express placement, the locative adjunct usually follows the object. In such sentences, the adjunct is signaled by a variety of locative possessed nouns or prepositions, the choice of which is governed by the verb.

> *shndēkú*   *tun*   *koho*   *nú*   *mēsa*
> COM:place:on:SG   she   dish   face   table
> 'She put a dish on the table (Sp. *mesa*).'

> *tsūhun*   *na*   *dyuhún*   *ini*   *etun*
> COM:put:in:PL   he   money   insides   box
> 'He put money into a box.'

> *kashnīhní*   *u*   *tɨ*   *má*   *ētun*
> CON:place:under:SG   I   it:AML   under   box
> 'I am putting it (animal) underneath a box.'

shnīhnī   na   tutú   ndaha   kó
COM:place:under:SG   he   paper   hand   me
'He tucked paper into my hand.'

(See also 7.5, 7.28, and 7.105.)

In 7.101, however, a locative adjunct precedes a direct object, possibly because the verb nucleus contains núū 'face' (see 2.1.1 and the description of the instrument adjunct below).

The associative adjunct is expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition nihī or nī 'with'. This adjunct has the function of adding an additional participant to some other element of the sentence, most commonly the subject. It normally follows subject, object, and locative adjuncts, but can also occur immediately following the element it expands.

kaika   xwaán ni   ihshá   na
CON:walk   John   with child   him
'John is walking with his child.'

ñéhe   na   kūchaña   ni   ihshá   na
COM:go   he   Tehuacán with   child   him
'He went to Tehuacán with his child.'

ñéhe   na   ni   ihshā   ná   kuchaña
COM:go   he   with child   him   Tehuacán
'He went with his child to Tehuacán.'

kakahán   tun   ni   tāhan   tún
CON:speak she   with sister   her
'She is talking with her sister.'

kakahán   tun   rkotúun nī   tún
CON:speak she   Spanish   with   her
'She speaks Spanish with her.'

kahshi   o   íta   ni   ñā
POT:eat we:IN tortilla with person
'Let's eat tortillas with them.'

kaehshí   na   ndutsi   ni   shāha
CON:eat   he   bean   with chili
'He is eating beans with chilies.'

(See also 7.11, 7.34, 7.37, and 7.85.)

In 7.123, *nihí* is used to add an additional possessor within a noun phrase.

Sometimes an associative adjunct could be considered an instrument, but in that there is a distinct way to express an instrument, as described below, I have chosen to consider adjuncts introduced by *nihí* 'with' to be associative.

kakahán	*tun*	*ni*	*tēléfono*
CON:speak	she	with	telephone

'She is talking on (with) the telephone (Sp. *teléfono*).'

nadɨkɨ	*xwaan*	*ni*	*pílota*
COM:REP:play	John	with	ball

'John played with a ball (Sp. *pelota*).'

kaehshí	*na*	*ndɨvi*	*ni*	*íta*	*na*
CON:eat	he	egg	with	tortilla	him

'He eats eggs with his tortillas.'

The preposition *nihí* is optionally incorporated into the verb nucleus (see 2.1.1), in which case the rest of the associative adjunct directly follows the subject, even when an object is present. The following five pairs of sentences show these alternative constructions.

kakan	*nihí*	*tun*	*tahan*	*tún*
CON:speak	with	she	sister	her

'She is talking with her sister.'

kakahán	*tun*	*ni*	*tāhan*	*tún*
CON:speak	she	with	sister	her

'She is talking with her sister.'

kanarkɨ	*nihi*	*ihshá*	*ko*	*pilota*
CON:REP:play	with	child	me	ball

'My child is playing with a ball.'

kanadɨkɨ	*ihshá*	*ko*	*ni*	*pílota*
CON:REP:play	child	me	with	ball

'My child is playing with a ball.'

kaesh	*nihi*	*na*	*shaha*	*ndutsi*
CON:eat	with	he	chili	bean

'He eats beans with chilies.'

kaehshí   na   ndutsi   ni   shāha
CON:eat   he   bean   with   chili
'He eats beans with chilies.'

kakan   nihí   tun   ko
CON:speak with   she   me
'She is talking with me.'

kakahán   tun   nī   kó
CON:speak she   with   me
'She is talking with me.'[1]

kakan   nihí   tun   tún   rkotúun
CON:speak with   she   her   Spanish
'She speaks Spanish with her.'

kakahán   tun   rkotúun   nī   tún
CON:speak she   Spanish   with   her
'She speaks Spanish with her.'

(See also 7.36 and 7.42.)

Sometimes a verb plus incorporated *nihī* forms a complex nucleus with an idiomatic meaning.

ñe   níhi   na ihshā   ná   kuchaña
COM:go with   he child   him   Tehuacán
'He took his child to Tehuacán.'

(See also 7.27.)

The instrument adjunct normally follows subject, object, and adjuncts other than referent. Instruments are always inanimate, and they are never signaled by a locative possessed noun or preposition in the adjunct itself.

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[1]The case of the pronouns in this example provides evidence for the analysis of *nihī* as a preposition rather than as a conjunction that creates additive noun phrases (see 3.8). If this sentence had an additive noun phrase as the subject, i.e., if it meant 'she and I speak', then the subject pronoun *ú* 'I' would occur rather than the object pronoun *kó* 'me' (see 5.4).

> *tádīn*   *tínā kó kamiuun*
> COM:be:squashed dog me bus
> 'My dog was squashed by a bus (Sp. *camión*).'

> *kañehé tun kuchaña kámiuun*
> CON:go she Tehuacán bus
> 'She goes to Tehuacán by bus.'

> *kakahán tun ni tāhan tún teléfono*
> CON:speak she with sister her telephone
> 'She talks with her sister by telephone.'

> *ēhndé tun ndaha tun káā*
> COM:cut she hand her metal
> 'She cut her hand with a machete.'

It is possible, however, to incorporate the locative possessed noun *núū* 'face' into the verb nucleus to signal an anticipated instrument. The occurrence of *núū* is largely conditioned by the verb; some verbs require it, others permit it, and still others do not take it. When *núū* occurs, the instrument may either occur in its usual final position, or it may directly follow the subject, even when an object is present, as in the case of the associative and pronominal locative adjuncts. The first two sentences below show the two possible orders.

> *ēndé nuu tún ndaha tun káā*
> COM:cut face she hand her metal
> 'She cut her hand with a machete.'

> *ēndé nuu tun káa ndāha tún*
> COM:cut face she metal hand her
> 'She cut her hand with a machete.'

> *kaesh núū tún kutsara*
> CON:eat face she spoon
> 'She eats with a spoon (Sp. *cuchara*).'

(See also 7.44 and 7.45.)

The referent adjunct, which expresses a wide range of relationships, such as benefactive, delegative, and general reference, follows subject, object, and other adjuncts. It is usually marked by the locative possessed noun *íñā*

'thing', or by prepositions *kwenda* 'by' (Sp. *cuenta* 'account'), *kwenda iña* 'on behalf of', 'about', or 'in place of', or *náā* 'in place of'. With certain verbs, inanimate referents occur with no locative possessed noun or preposition.

> *kadiko   na   nūni   íña   uva   na*
> CON:sell   he   corn   thing   father him
> 'He sells corn for his father.'

> *ñū   na shaha iña   dihɨ   na*
> COM:buy   he chili thing   mother   him
> 'He bought chilies for his mother.'

> *kakahan   ná   iña   vihi   ndo*
> CON:speak   he   thing   house   you:PL
> 'He is talking about your house.'

> *kañehe   na   kwenda   vite*
> CON:go   he   account   week
> 'He goes by the week.'

> *íkān   tún   dyuhun   kwenda   iña   uvá   tun*
> COM:beg   she   money   account   thing   father her
> 'She asked for money on behalf of her father.'

> *kakahan   ná naa   uva   na*
> CON:speak   he in:place:of father him
> 'He is speaking in place of his father.'

> *shéhē   tún   dyuhún   chohó   tun*
> COM:give   she   money   herb   her
> 'She gave money in exchange for her medicine.'

(See also 7.1, 7.35, 7.39, 7.41, and 7.123.)

With certain verbs, a human referent may be semantically ambiguous between two of these meanings, for example, between a benefactive and a general referent.

kakahán   xwaan íña   ení   na
CON:speak John   thing brother:ME   him
'John is speaking for his brother.' *or* 'John is talking about his brother.'

tsishehē   tún   kwenda iñá   xwaan
COM:ask   she   account thing Juan
'She asked on behalf of John.' *or* 'She asked concerning John.'

1.1.5 Equative sentences. Equative sentences occur both with an equative verb and without a verb. Sentences without a verb consist of a nominal complement followed by a subject; a pronoun subject referring to a child or inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of the unspecified pronoun (see 5.4). Such sentences are continuative in meaning.

dutú   xwaan
priest John
'John is a priest.'

xwaan na
John he
'He is John.'

tahan   kó   tun
sister me   she
'She is my sister.'

ihshá   ko   ∅
child   me   UN
'It is my child.'

tīná   tɨ
dog   it:AML
'It is a dog.'

túūn   ∅
charcoal   UN
'It is charcoal.'

To express other aspects, it is necessary to employ the equative verb *kuvi* 'to become', or its repetitive form *nduvi* 'to turn into'. The normal sen-

tence order is verb—subject—nominal complement; however, if the
nominal complement is a possessive noun phrase based on a kinship term
(see 3.3), it often occurs between the verb and the subject. The first two
sentences below show the two possible orders.

> *kuvi*   *tún*   *ihshá* *ko*
> POT:become she child me
> 'She will become my child.'

> *kuvi*   *ihshá* *ko*   *tún*
> POT:become child me she
> 'She will become my child.'

> *ndūvi*   *na* *kiti*
> COM:REP:become he animal
> 'He turned into an animal.'

> (See also 7.7.)

There is one other equative verb, *nani* 'to be named', which occurs only in
the unmarked continuative aspect. The usual order in sentences with *nani*
is nominal complement—verb—subject; in other sentence types this order
indicates object focus (see 1.1.8).

> *xwaan* *nani*   *ení*   *ko*
> John CON:be:named brother:ME me
> 'My brother is named John.'

> *maria* *nani*   *u*
> Mary CON:be:named I
> 'My name is Mary (Sp. *María*).'

1.1.6 Stative sentences. The minimal form of a stative sentence consists
of a stative verb followed by its subject; a pronoun subject that refers to
a child or an inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of the
unspecified pronoun (see 5.4). Such sentences are continuative in mean-
ing.

> *váhā*   *xwaan*
> good John
> 'John is good.'

ata   ñā̄
old   person
'They are old.'

kahnu   tún
big:SG   she
'She is big.'

kwetsi   tī̆
small:PL   it:AML
'They (animals) are small.'

ihni   ndū̄te
hot   water
'The water is hot.'

vidē̄   ∅
wet   UN
'It (e.g., cloth) is wet.'

nduhu   ∅
fat   UN
'It (child) is fat.'

(See also 7.26, 7.42, and 7.98.)

Occasionally a stative verb is used as the predicate of an impersonal sentence (see 1.1.1), in which case no subject occurs.

neé
dark
'It is dark.'

njokō̄
sultry
'It is sultry.'

Sometimes a stative verb and its subject are linked by a content verb in unmarked continuative aspect that expresses sensory perception or state of being.

> *váha*   *ēhshi*   *kúñū*
> good   CON:eat   meat
> 'Meat tastes good.'

> *kini*   *ito*   *ti*
> ugly   CON:look   it:AML
> 'It (animal) looks ugly.'

> *kidin*   *tindahā*   *∅*
> sticky   CON:touch   UN
> 'It (e.g., paper) feels sticky.'

> *shó*   *ñēhé*   *∅*
> putrid   CON:smell   UN
> 'It smells awful.'

> *ndāhví*   *kaa*   *na*
> poor   CON:be:SG   he
> 'He seems pitiful.'

> *váhā*   *ó*   *itsi*
> good   CON:exist   trail
> 'The road is good.'

(See also 7.80.)

Stative sentences of the above types show no aspect inflection, even when they refer to times other than the present, as shown by the presence of a time peripheral element in the following examples.

> *váhā*   *tún*   *iku*
> good   she   yesterday
> 'She was okay yesterday.'

> *váhā*   *ó*   *itsi*   *kídaa*
> good   CON:exist   trail   then
> 'The trail was good then.'   *or*   'The trail will be good then.'

It is sometimes possible, however, to express completive or potential aspect by a fairly productive morphological process in which the prefix *ku-*, a reduced form of *kuvi* 'to become', precedes a stative verb (see 5.1.1).

1.1.7 Peripheral elements. All sentence types may indicate time and location, although these are rare in equative and stative sentences. Peripheral location sets the scene of the entire sentence, and so it is distinct from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements may be adverbs, adverb phrases (see 4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see 3.6), prepositional phrases (see 4.3), or subordinate sentences (see 6.2.1). Peripheral elements normally follow subject, object, and adjuncts. When time and location cooccur, time follows location.

> *kihshi   ña   veví*
> POT:come   person   today
> 'They will come today.'

> *ēhní   na   kó   iku*
> COM:hit   he   me   yesterday
> 'He hit me yesterday.'

> *kadiko   na   tūun   kúchaña*
> CON:sell he   charcoal   Tehuacán
> 'He sells charcoal in Tehuacán.'

> *ñéhē   ú   skwela   ñúkohsho*
> COM:go   I   school   Mexico:City
> 'I went to school in Mexico City.'

> *shíhi   ñaha   itsi   kan   īku*
> COM:die   person   trail   there   yesterday
> 'Someone died on the trail yesterday.'

> *káhān   ú nī   tún   teléfono   ūtén*
> POT:speak I with   her   telephone   tomorrow
> 'I'll talk with her on the telephone tomorrow.'

(See also 7.1, 7.24, 7.47, 7.48, 7.107, 7.111, and 7.122.)

It is also possible for a peripheral element to precede an associative, instrument, or referent adjunct.

> *kaehshí   na   ita   nú   mēsa   ni   ihshá   na*
> CON:eat   he   tortilla   face   table   with   child   him
> 'He is eating tortillas at the table with his child.'

nākate   nuu tun ñáhā   vevíí ndute ihni
COM:REP:wash   face she dish:PL today water hot
'She washed dishes today with hot water.'

ñīí   na tsúhūn nú   āhví kan   īña   dihi   na
COM:buy   he chicken face market there thing mother him
'He bought a chicken at the market for his mother.'

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, any one element (subject, object, adjunct, or peripheral element) may be focused by fronting it to preverbal position. The fronted element is optionally followed by the prestressed pronoun *é* 'unspecified third person' (see 5.4), which also functions as a complementizer (see 1.1.9) and as a relative pronoun (see 3.1.3). Whenever this word is used in a nonreferential way, it is glossed 'complementizer'. If the subject is fronted, a poststressed pronoun copy occurs in the usual subject position.

tīná shihi   tí
dog   COM:die it:AML
'A DOG died.'

dávi kak̵ɨn   ∅
rain CON:fall UN
'RAIN is falling.'

xwaan kadíko na tūun
John   CON:sell he charcoal
'JOHN sells charcoal.'

maria kuví   tun ihshá ko
Mary   POT:become she child me
'MARY will become my child.'

shoho kaka   o   ūtén
we   POT:walk we tomorrow
'WE will walk tomorrow.'

xwaan é   kākahan   ná
John   CMP CON:speak   he
'It is JOHN that is speaking.'

(See also 7.42.)

In stative and equative sentences that contain no content or equative verb,
subject focus requires the complementizer *é*.

> *xwaan é   dūtu   na*
> John   CMP   priest   he
> 'It is JOHN that is a priest.'

> *ení   ko é   xwaan nani   ná*
> brother:ME   me CMP   John CON:be:named   he
> 'It is MY BROTHER that is named John.'

> *maria é   kahnu   tún*
> Mary   CMP   big:SG   she
> 'It is MARY that is big.'

(See also 7.61 and 7.86.)

If the object is fronted, no pronoun copy occurs.

> *tsūhun   ñíi   na*
> chicken   COM:buy   he
> 'He bought A CHICKEN.'

> *xwaan   éhni   tún*
> John   COM:hit   she
> 'She hit JOHN.'

> *ndika   kahshi   ú*
> banana   POT:eat   I
> 'I'll eat A BANANA.'

> *shohō ndio   tún*
> us   CON:want   her
> 'She wants US.'

> *túūn   é   kadiko   nā*
> charcoal   CMP   CON:sell he
> 'It is CHARCOAL that he sells.'

(See also 7.78, 7.90, and 7.94.)

If an adjunct is fronted, any preposition or locative possessed noun associated with it is retained in its normal position, followed by the appropriate pronoun copy.

Locative:

> *kuchañá*   *ñehé*   *u*
> Tehuacán   COM:go   I
> 'I went TO TEHUACÁN.'

> *maría*   *shehé*   *na*   *dyuhún*
> Mary   COM:give   he   money
> 'He gave money TO MARY.'

> *uvā*   *tún*   *ikán*   *tun*   *dyuhun*   *ndáha*   *ña*
> father   her   COM:beg   she   money   hand   person
> 'She asked HER FATHER for money.'

(See also 7.12, 7.13, 7.16, 7.29, 7.72, 7.74, 7.109, and various others.)

Associative:

> *xwaan*   *káhshi*   *ú*   *ni*   *nā*
> John   POT:eat   I   with   him
> 'I'll eat with JOHN.'

> *shuhú*   *kakahan*   *tún*   *nī*   *kó*
> me   CON:speak   she   with   me
> 'She is talking with ME.'

Instrument:

> *kwihí*   *shihi*   *ña*
> sickness   COM:die   person
> 'They died OF AN ILLNESS.'

> *kāa*   *éni*   *nuu*   *na*   *ti*
> metal   COM:hit   face   he   it:AML
> 'He killed it (animal) WITH A MACHETE.'

(See also 7.40.)

Referent:

> *xwaan kakáhān   ná   naa   na*
> John CON:speak he   in:place:of him
> 'He is speaking in place of JOHN.'

> *maria é   kākahan   ná   iñá   tun*
> Mary   CMP CON:speak he   thing   her
> 'It is MARY that he is talking about.'

Peripheral elements are focused by fronting the entire element to preverbal position.

Time:

> *vevií kahán   u   nī   tún*
> today POT:speak I   with   her
> 'I'll talk with her NOW.'

(See also 7.51, 7.86, 7.92, 7.106, and 7.116.)

Location:

> *nú   āhví   kān   ñíi   na tsúhūn*
> face market there COM:buy he chicken
> 'He bought a chicken AT THE MARKET.'

> *itsi kuchaña é   ini   ú   na*
> trail Tehuacán CMP COM:see I   him
> 'It was ON THE ROAD TO TEHUACÁN that I saw him.'

(See also 7.99, 7.122, and 7.123.)

A stronger form of focus, which may be termed sentence topic, is indicated by postposing the conjunction *ne* 'and' to a preverbal focused element, with pause following. An appropriate pronoun copy of a focused noun phrase follows the verb in normal position.

> *xwaán ne   / kadiko   na   tūun*
> John   and   CON:sell he   charcoal
> 'As for John, he sells charcoal.'

shuhú   ne   / maria   naní   u
I   and   Mary   CON:be:named I
'As for me, my name is Mary.'

tīná   ko   ne   /   vide   tȉ
dog   me   and   wet   it:AML
'As for my dog, it's wet.'

ndɨvī   ne   / kaehshí tun   ∅
egg   and   CON:eat she   UN
'As for eggs, she eats them.'

mariá   ne   / shée   tūtú   ndaha   tún
Mary   and   COM:arrive   paper hand   her
'As for Mary, a letter came to her.'

vevií   ne   /   kakidi   na
today   and   CON:sleep   he
'Now, he's sleeping.'

(See also 7.2, 7.10, 7.48, 7.107, and 7.115.)

Both sentence topic and ordinary focus can occur in the same sentence.

xwaán   ne   / túun   kadiko   nā
John   and   charcoal   CON:sell he
'As for John, he sells CHARCOAL.'

iku   ne   / kuchañá   ñehé   tun
yesterday   and   Tehuacán COM:go she
'Yesterday, she went to TEHUACÁN.'

(See also 7.34.)

1.1.9 Sentential complements. All of the basic sentence types, including those with one element in focus position, may occur as subject or object in another sentence. The order is the same as that of the basic sentence types.

Subject complements occur with intransitive verbs such as *kwiñindúhū* 'to begin', *kuví* 'to finish', and *kuvi* 'to be able'. The main verb and the complement verb normally agree in aspect, and the complement immediately follows the main verb, with no intervening complementizer.

> *kwiñindúhu taan*
> POT:begin POT:quake
> 'It will begin to quake.'

> *kaiñinduhu kakïn davi*
> CON:begin CON:fall rain
> 'It is beginning to rain.'

> *kūvi dé váha na etun*
> COM:finish COM:do good he box
> 'He finished making a box.'

> *kuvi kahshi o Ø*
> POT:be:able POT:eat we:IN UN
> 'We will be permitted to eat it.'

Subject complements also occur in stative sentences that contain a stative verb or adverb and a reduced form of the content verb *koo* 'to exist'. In such sentences the complementizer *é* sometimes occurs. Sentences with the complementizer differ in meaning from those without it, as seen in the following examples.

> *kwān ko kahan na*
> thus POT:exist POT:speak he
> 'He will speak thus.'

> *váhā ó kakahan ná*
> good CON:exist CON:speak he
> 'He speaks well.' *or* 'His speaking is good.'

> *váhā o é kīhshi na*
> good CON:exist CMP COM:come he
> 'It is good that he came.'

(See also 7.6, 7.29, 7.33, 7.47, 7.56, 7.73, and 7.115.)

Object complements show varying degrees of restriction, depending on the nature of the main verb.

A phasal verb, such as *kaninduhū* 'to begin', requires that the complement sentence have a subject coreferential with that of the matrix sentence; whereas other verbs, such as *ndio* 'to want', may have noncoreferen-

tial subjects. If the subjects of the two verbs are not coreferential, the complement is introduced by the complementizer *é*.

> *kaninduhū   tún   kahshí   tun   ita*
> POT:begin   she   POT:eat   she   tortilla
> 'She will begin to eat tortillas.'

> *eninduhu   nā   kaika   na*
> COM:begin   he   CON:walk   he
> 'He began walking.'

> *ndio   tún   kihín   tun*
> CON:want   her   POT:go   she
> 'She wants to go.'

> *ndio   ko   é   kihín   tun*
> CON:want   me   CMP   POT:go   she
> 'I wanted her to go.'

Some main verbs impose aspect restrictions on the complement verb. A full study of these restrictions is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

Another type of verb that takes object complements has the function of reporting and includes verbs such as *iní* 'to know', *káhān* 'to speak' or 'to say', and *kwiní* 'to feel' or 'to think'. Object complements that follow such verbs are introduced by either *é* or, more frequently, by the conjunction *tsí* 'because' (see 6.2.1). There are no restrictions of person or aspect between the matrix sentence and the complement.

> *iní   u   é   maria   naní   tun*
> CON:know   I   CMP   Mary   CON:be:named   she
> 'I know that she is named Mary.'

> *iní   u   tsí   xwaan   kihín   na*
> CON:know   I   because   John   POT:go   he
> 'I know that John will go.'

> *kakahan   na   tsí   kihín   na*
> CON:speak   he   because   POT:go   he
> 'He says that he will go.'

(See also 7.36, 7.40, 7.42, and 7.45.)

With the verb *kwiní,* the complement is normally fronted, followed by pause, with no complementizer. The verb *káhān* has a fronted complement when it occurs in the unmarked continuative aspect to express an opinion. With other verbs, the complement is not normally fronted.

> *kīhīn   xwaan   / kwíni   kó*
> POT:go John   CON:feel   me
> 'I think John will go.'

> *kīhīn   o   ni   nā / kahán   u*
> POT:go we:IN with him   CON:speak   I
> 'I say, let's go with him.'

(See also 7.86 and 7.116.)

Even though subject and object complements are the most frequent types, other kinds of complements occasionally occur because the addition of the complementizer *é* at the beginning of any basic sentence allows it to occur in any noun phrase position. In the following example a sentential complement occurs as the nominal complement of an equative sentence, and the subject contains a relative clause (see 3.1.3).

> *e   kīhīn   u   ni   nā   é   ndio   kó*
> CMP   POT:go I   with him UN CON:want   me
> 'What I want is to go with him.'

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 turned into a YES/NO question by placing the item that is being questioned in initial position and following it directly with the interrogative marker *ndu.*

> *katáan   ndu*
> CON:quake   INT
> 'Is there an earthquake?'

> *kakidi   ndu-n*
> CON:sleep   INT-you:SG
> 'Are you sleeping?'

kōho   ndu tɨ   ndute
POT:drink INT it:AML water
'Will it (animal) drink water?'

xwaan ndú kadíko   na   tūun
John   INT CON:sell he   charcoal
'Does JOHN sell charcoal?'

tūun   ndu kadíko   nã
charcoal INT CON:sell he
'Does he sell CHARCOAL?'

dyuhun ndú shehé   na xwaan
money   INT COM:give he John
'Did he give MONEY to John?'

xwaan ndú shehé   na dyuhún
John   INT COM:give he money
'Did JOHN give money?' *or* 'Did he give money TO JOHN?'

kuchaña   ndú ñehe   ña
Tehuacán INT COM:go person
'Did they go TO TEHUACÁN?'

vevií   ndu kɨhɨn   ña
today   INT POT:go person
'Are they going TODAY?'

dūtu   ndú xwaan
priest INT John
'Is John A PRIEST?'

ihshā ndú ña   ∅
child INT person UN
'Is it THEIR CHILD?'

kāhnu   ndu tún
big:SG INT she
'Is she BIG?'

> *vāhá*   *ndu*   *ehshí*   *∅*
> good   INT   CON:eat   UN
> 'Does it taste GOOD?'

For questioning of elements within the verb phrase, see 2.1.2 and 2.1.3.
For questioning of elements within the noun phrase, see 3.4.

1.2.2 WH questions. The subject, object, or nominal complement in any
of the basic sentence types may be questioned by using an interrogative
pronoun or interrogative noun phrase in focus position. The interrogative
pronouns are *shoó* 'who?' and *neé* 'what?' or *ne iñá* 'what thing?'; they
are used alone or in combination with a specifying noun or pronoun and
are normally accompanied by the interrogative marker *ndu* (see 3.4).
When a subject is questioned, an appropriate pronoun copy usually
follows the verb.

Questioning subject:

> *shoó*   *ndu*   *éhni*   *i*   *tún*
> who   INT   COM:hit   UN   her
> 'Who hit her?'

> *shoó*   *ndu*   *kadiko*   *i*   *tūún*
> sho   INT   CON:sell   UN   charcoal
> 'Who sells charcoal?'

> *shō*   *tahnu*   *ndú*   *kíhshi*   *tún*
> who   female   INT   COM:come   she
> 'Which girl came?'

> *neé*   *ndu*   *kohshó*   *∅*
> what   INT   COM:fall   UN
> 'What fell?'

> *ne*   *iñá*   *ndu*   *é*   *vāhá ʼ*   *∅*
> what   thing   INT   UN   good   UN
> 'Which one is good?'

(See also 7.3.)

Questioning object:

> *shoó   ndu   éhni   tún*
> who   INT   COM:hit   she
> 'Whom did she hit?'

> *neé   ndu   kadikō   xwaan*
> what   INT   CON:sell   John
> 'What does John sell?'

> *ne   kíti   ndu   ñíi   na*
> what   animal   INT   COM:buy   he
> 'Which animal did he buy?'

> *ne   iñá   ndu   tsiñu   kade   na*
> what   thing   INT   work   CON:do   he
> 'What kind of work does he do?'

Questioning nominal complement:

> *shoó   ndu   é   xwaan   i*
> who   INT   UN   John   UN
> 'Who is John?' *or* 'Which one is John?'

> *shó   ñaha   ndu   ña*
> who   person   INT   person
> 'Who are they?'

> *neé   ndu   ndúvi   na*
> what   INT   COM:REP:become   he
> 'What did he turn into?'

> *ne   kíti   ndu   kíti   tsīkán*
> what   animal   INT   animal   that
> 'What kind of animal is that one?'

When an adjunct is questioned, any preposition or locative possessed noun associated with it is usually retained in its normal position, followed by the unspecified pronoun *i*. This is similar to what happens when one element of a sentence is focused (see 1.1.8).

> shoó   ndu   kakahán   tun   ni   ī
> who   INT   CON:speak   she   with   UN
> 'To whom is she talking?'

> shó   naha   ndu   kakahan   ñá   iña   i
> who   boy   INT   CON:speak   person   thing   UN
> 'Which fellow are they talking about?'

When a preposition or locative possessed noun that signals an adjunct is incorporated into the verb nucleus (see 1.1.4 and 2.1.1), however, there is no pronoun copy.

> shoó   ndu   kakan   nihí   tun
> who   INT   CON:speak   with   she?
> 'To whom is she talking?'

> neé   ndu   kandé   nuu   u   kúñū
> what   INT   POT:cut   face   I   meat
> 'What shall I cut meat with?'

If no preposition or locative possessed noun is associated with an adjunct, no pronoun copy occurs.

> né   ndu   ñuu   véhshi   tún
> what   INT   town   INC:come   she
> 'What town does she come from?'

> né   ndu   tsiñu   kihshi   tún
> what   INT   work   COM:come   she
> 'For what purpose did she come?'

A nonhuman locative adjunct, as well as peripheral location, may be questioned by using the interrogative adverb *mihī* 'where?', while peripheral time may be questioned by using the interrogative adverb *amá* 'when?', or an interrogative noun phrase containing *né* 'what?' plus a temporal noun (see 3.4).

> míhi   ndu   kīhɨn   ndo
> where   INT   POT:go   you:PL
> 'Where are you going?'

    míhi   ndu   kadiko   na   túun
    where INT   CON:sell he   charcoal
    'Where does he sell charcoal?'

    amá   ndu   kihshí   ña
    when   INT   POT:come person
    'When will they come?'

    né   ura   ndú   sheé   tun
    what hour INT COM:arrive she
    'What time (Sp. *hora*) did she arrive?'

    (See also 7.69 and 7.114.)

Questions introduced by *míhi ndū* 'where?' are often used to express sarcasm. The second sentence in the above block of examples can also mean 'WHAT DO YOU MEAN he sells charcoal?' (see also 7.69).

    The interrogative marker *ndu* may occur in various positions or be omitted without apparent change of meaning. Note the variations in the following set of examples.

    nē   ndúvi   kihshi   tún
    what day   POT:come she
    'What day will she come?'

    né   ndu   nduvi   kihshi   tún
    what INT   day   POT:come she
    'What day will she come?'

    nē   ndúvi   ndu   kihshi   tún
    what day   INT   POT:come she
    'What day will she come?'

    (See also 7.44.)

    The interrogative adverb *ndé* 'how?' is used to question the nominal complement of *naní* 'to be named' and some stative predicates.

    ndé   nani   ó
    how CON:be:named you:SG
    'What is your name?'

> *ndé   ndu   ēhshí   ∅*
> how   INT   CON:taste   UN
> 'How does it taste?'

> *ndé   ito   tún*
> how   CON:look   she
> 'How does she look?'

ndé combines with *koo* 'to exist' or *kwi,* a reduced form of *kuví* 'to happen', in order to question a referent of purpose or cause by asking why. With *koo,* the resulting structure is a stative sentence in which *ndé* functions as a stative verb, *koo* is an accompanying content verb, and the remainder of the sentence is a subject complement.

> *ndé   koo   ndu   é   kīhshi   tún*
> how   POT:exist   INT   CMP   POT:come   she
> 'Why is she coming?' *or* 'What is she coming for?'

(See also 7.46.)

With *kwi,* the resulting structure is an intransitive sentence, in which *ndé* questions manner in the verb phrase (see 2.1.2) and the rest of the sentence is a subject complement.

> *ndé   kwi   kíhshi   ndu   tún*
> how   CON:happen   COM:come   INT   she
> 'Why did she come?' *or* 'How did she happen to come?'

(See also 7.10, 7.11, 7.15, 7.18, 7.59, 7.76, 7.112, and 7.113.)

1.2.3 Indirect questions. A YES/NO question may occur as an object complement; the subordinate conjunction *té* 'if' serves as a complementizer, and the interrogative marker *ndu* does not occur.

> *ñá   ni   kāhan   ná te kīhin   ná*
> NEG   CF   COM:speak   he if POT:go   he
> 'He didn't say whether he would go (or not).'

> *ñá   īní   u te tūun   kadíko   nā*
> NEG   CON:know   I if charcoal   CON:sell   he
> 'I don't know if he sells CHARCOAL.'

A WH question may be used as a sentential complement; as in indirect YES/NO questions, *ndu* does not occur.

> *iní*   *u*   *sho*   *kíhshi*   *i*
> CON:know   I   who   COM:come   UN
> 'I know who came.'

> *ñá*   *iní*   *u*   *mí*   *kwēhen*   *tún*
> NEG   CON:know   I   where   INC:go   she
> 'I don't know where she went.'

> *kakahán*   *tun*   *nī*   *ko né*   *ūra*   *kíhshi*   *tún*
> CON:speak   she   with   me what   hour   POT:come   she
> 'She tells me what time she will come.'

> *tsishehē*   *ú*   *ña*   *sho*   *é*   *xwaan*   *i*
> POT:ask   I   person   who   CMP   John   UN
> 'I'll ask them who John is.'

(See also 7.2, 7.4, 7.40, and 7.68.)

Indirect questions cannot be focused.

1.3 Commands

A basic sentence in potential aspect may be used as a command. If the subject excludes the second person, it requires the hortatory *nā* before the verb (see 2.1.2).

> *kahshi-n*   *íta*   *o*
> POT:eat-you:SG   tortilla   you:SG
> 'Eat your tortillas!'

> *káhan*   *ndo*   *nī*   *tún*
> POT:speak   you:PL   with   her
> 'Speak to her!'   *or*   'Tell her!'

> *kíhin*   *o*   *kūchaña*
> POT:go   we:IN   Tehuacán
> 'Let's go to Tehuacán!'

> na   kwēhé   u   tún   dyuhún
> HORT   POT:give I   her   money
> 'Let me give her money!'

> na   vīi   tun   é   ndio   tún
> HORT   POT:do   she   CMP CON:want   she
> 'Let her do what she wants!'

(See also 7.39, 7.60, 7.63, 7.75, 7.79, 7.88, 7.90, 7.93, 7.94, 7.100, 7.119, and 7.120.)

A callous response to a threat is expressed using the hortatory *nā* along with the postverbal element *mīi* 'alone' (see 2.1.3 and 2.1.4).

> na   kuvī   mīi   ndō
> HORT   POT:die   alone you:PL
> 'Go ahead and die!'

> na   koko   mīi   Ø
> HORT   POT:burn alone UN
> 'Let it go ahead and burn!'

A polite command is expressed using *nā* along with the deprecative *kūdii* 'merely' (see 2.1.3 and 2.1.4).

> na   kīhsi   kudii   ñá
> HORT   POT:come merely   person
> 'May they please come!'

There are a few forms which are used exclusively as commands; they occur only with a second person subject.

> nihí-n   a
> IMP:come-you:SG   here
> 'Come here!'

> kamá-n
> IMP:hurry-you:SG
> 'Hurry up!'

tsíhñu   *ndō*
IMP:precede   you:PL
'You go ahead!'

ūhun-n   *dyuhun*   *o*
IMP:take-you:SG   money   you:SG
'Here's your money (take it)!'

duhshēn-n
bothersome-you:SG
'Shut up!'

In the verb 'to go', the potential form *kɨhɨn* is replaced by *kwēhén* as the second person imperative form (see 5.1.2).

kwēhén-n   *ni*   *ñā*
IMP:go-you:SG   with   person
'Go with them!'

kwehēn   *ndó*   *ma*   *vihi*   *kān*
IMP:go   you:PL   under   house   there
'Go inside!'

kwēn   *dáha-n*
IMP:go   over-you:SG
'Move over!'

Rarely, the verb may be omitted entirely.

kihí   *kān*
outside   there
'Out!'   (spoken to an animal)

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives normally occur at the end of a basic sentence or between the parts of a compound sentence, but they can be fronted for focus, or uttered in isolation. They usually consist of a kinship term, proper noun, or second person pronoun; the latter may be preceded by *dɨ*, a reduced form of the specifier *dɨvɨ*, to show respect. Some nouns have special vocative forms or tone patterns (see 5.3.2).

> kíhīn   ú   dɨ   /   ūváh
> POT:go   I   also   father!
> 'I'm going too, Dad!'

> kava   tsi-n   /   lah   / tsi   kwáa
> POT:retire   LIM-you:SG dear!   because CON:be:late
> 'Go to bed, dear, as it's late!'

> ñāâ   / ndio   kó   ndika
> mother!   CON:want   me   banana
> 'Mom, I want a banana!'

> xwaân   / míhi   ndu   kīhɨn-n
> John!   where   INT   POT:go-you:SG
> 'John, where are you going?'

> shōhón   / nihí-n   a
> you:SG   IMP:come-you:SG   here
> 'You, come here!'

> koto   ndo   /   dɨ   ndō
> POT:look   you:PL   same   you:PL
> 'Look, you!'

When a vocative is used for calling someone or gaining someone's attention, it is frequently preceded by *ō* or *ō né;* these vocative phrases always occur initially in a sentence.

> ō   mária   / nihí-n   a
> oh   Mary!   IMP:come-you:SG   here
> 'Hey, Mary, come here!'

> ō   né   / mastrû   / ndé ko   vií   u   ve
> oh and   teacher!   how POT:exist POT:do   I   now
> 'Hey there, teacher (Sp. *maestro*), what shall I do now?'

Special vocative forms are used in calling animals; these are often repeated.

> lús   /   lús
> pup!   pup!
> 'Here, puppy!'   (cf. *lūsún* 'puppy')

vitsi   /   *vitsi*   /   *vitsi*
kitty!   kitty!   kitty!
'Here, kitty!'   (cf. *mishtun* 'cat' [old Sp. *mistón*])

kuch   /   *kuch*
piggy!   piggy!
'Here, piggy!'   (cf. *kutsin* 'pig' [Sp. *cochino*])

Some animals are called by imitating their noises: turkeys, by using a
voiced bilabial trill ending in a glottal stop, *brrh;* baby chicks, by using
voiceless alveolar clicks, *ts< ts< ;* and hens, by using voiceless alveopalatal
clicks, *t< t< ;* these sounds do not otherwise occur in the language.

1.5 Sentential Markers

Sentential markers include the interrogative marker *ndu* (see 1.2.1), which
occurs noninitial in sentences, as well as sentence-initial markers, which
express varying degrees of certainty on the part of the speaker, and
sentence-final markers, which add emphasis to a statement or question.

Markers which occur sentence initial include *vá* 'doubtfully', *vata tē*
'seemingly', *á tē* 'probably', and *ñá tē* 'definitely not'. While *vá* is often
used with YES/NO questions, the other three are used only with statements.

vá   *kïïn*   *davi*
doubtfully   POT:fall   rain
'It's not likely to rain.'

vá   *kōho*   *ndu* *ú* ∅
doubtfully   POT:drink   INT   I   UN
'Shall I really drink it?'

vata tē íni   *ú* *tun*
as   if   CON:know   I   her
'It seems as if I know her.'

á   *te shēe*   *ná vevií*
probably   if POT:arrive   he today
'He will probably arrive today.'

ñá   *te*   *kĩhín*   *u*
NEG   if   POT:go   I
'I am definitely not going.'

ñá tē also occurs with nouns, quantifiers, and adverbs to form negative phrases (see 3.5, 4.1.7, and 4.2.5).

The words that occur in sentence-final position include the marker *ní* 'therefore', used with statements and commands, and the general adverb *kwán* 'thus', used with questions in the sense of 'in light of the foregoing'.

> *kwéhen*   *ña*   *kūchañá*   *ni*
> INC:go   person   Tehuacán   therefore
> 'And so they went to Tehuacán.'

> *kíhin*   *ō*   *ní*
> POT:go   we:IN   therefore.
> 'So let's go!'

> *ne*   *tsíñu*   *vií*   *u*   *kwán*
> what   work   POT:do   I   thus
> 'So what work shall I do?'

(See also 7.79, 7.88, and 7.90.)

[blank]

2

Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

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

2.1.1 Verb nuclei. Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are usually idioms composed of a verb followed by a modifying word, which may be a noun, a content verb, a stative verb, an adverb, a preposition, or an indeterminate element. In some cases a complex nucleus may in turn be modified, resulting in a complex nucleus of three elements.

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 of each sentence outside the verb phrase are enclosed in parentheses.

> *kunu*   *(tún)*
> POT:run (she)
> '(She) will run.'

> *diko*   *(nā)*
> POT:sell (he)
> '(He) will sell.'

> *iní*   *(u)*
> CON:know (I)
> '(I) know.'

kashihi   *(tɨ)*
CON:drink   (it:AML)
'(It) is drinking.'

kahndé   *(o   tūtun)*
POT:cut   (we:IN   firewood)
'(We) will cut (firewood).'

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus a noun, which may be an incorporated object, instrument, or location.

Object:

kada   tsiñu   (na)
POT:do   work   (he)
'(He) will work.'

kani   vihi   (ña)
POT:set:up house   (person)
'(They) will get married.'

tsi   kwétsi (na   kó)
COM:put:PL   sin   (he   me)
'(He) blamed (me).

(See also 7.30 and 7.34.)

Instrument:

ītsi   ndute   (tún)
COM:bathe   water   (she)
'(She) got baptized.'

kwín   dyuhun   (na   ∅)
POT:buy   money   (he   UN)
'(He) will buy (it) with money.'

katɨn   tsiin   (ú   na)
CON:grab fingernail (I   him)
'(I) am pinching (him).

Location:

> *kóshō   nuu   (na)*
> COM:fall   face   (he)
> '(He) fell in.'

> *kakishi   iní   (ko   kɨhín   u)*
> CON:come   insides (me   POT:go   I)
> '(I) feel like (going).'

(See also 7.100 and 7.101.)

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a content verb in the unmarked continuative aspect.

> *she   ndíkɨn   (nā   kó)*
> COM:arrive   CON:follow (he   me)
> '(He) caught up with (me).'

> *kídi   ndītsí   (u)*
> COM:sleep   CON:be:standing:SG   (I)
> '(I) fell asleep on my feet.'

> *kakan   dána   (tún)*
> CON:speak   CON:be:confused   (she)
> '(She) is hallucinating.'

> *kaika   ndeɨ   (Ø)*
> CON:walk   CON:be:upside:down   (UN)
> '(It [child]) is crawling.

(See also 7.120.)

A verb-plus-stative-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus either a basic stative verb or one derived from a noun (see 5.2).

> *kada   váha   (na   Ø)*
> POT:do   good   (he   UN)
> '(He) will make (it).'

kakan   ndahví   (tun)
CON:speak   poor   (she)
'(She) is praying.'

ēni   ndahví   (na   kó)
COM:set:up   poor   (he   me)
'(He) deceived (me).'

kade   kwīhí   (tun)
CON:do   sickly   (she)
'(She) is languishing.'   (cf. *kwihi* 'sickness')

kade   duhshen   (nā)
CON:do   bothersome   (he)
'(He) is being a nuisance.'   (cf. *duhshēn* 'war')

(See also 7.5, 7.28, 7.92, 7.102, 7.113, and 7.114.)

A verb-plus-adverb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect fol-
lowed by an adverb; in the examples found to date, only temporal adverbs
occur.

shí   nūu   (tún)
COM:die   short:time   (she)
'(She) fainted.'

ndé   naha   (∅)
CON:be:against:SG   long:time   (UN)
'(It) is written down.'

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

kish   nihī   (ú   ∅)
POT:come   with   (I   UN)
'(I) will bring (it).'

kashku   ndée   (na)
CON:cry   against   (he)
'(He) is laughing.'

(See also 7.13, 7.27, and 7.90.)

A verb-plus-indeterminate-element nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a word that occurs only in one or a few frozen phrases. It is therefore not possible to assign the second element to a word class without access to historical or comparative data.

kaka	chuhu	(na)
CON:speak	?	(he)

'(He) is shouting.'

ínū	kava	(viko)
COM:arrive	?	(fiesta)

'(The fiesta) came to an end.'

A complex nucleus may be modified by one of the aforementioned elements to form a three-element nucleus.

kadē	kwe	iní	(ko)
CON:do	measurement	insides	(me)

'(I) am thinking.'

kade	tsun	nihī	(ú	∅)
CON:do	work	with	(I	UN)

'(I) am using (it).'

kaka	chu	ndáa	(na)
CON:speak	?	straight	(he)

'(He) is screaming.'

kī	ndé	shio	(na)
COM:go:out	against	away	(he)

'(He) got away.'

nakwiko	tūví	lundzi	(nā)
COM:REP:POT:revolve	CON:sit:SG	top	(he)

'(He) somersaulted.'

(See also 7.25 and 7.46.)

The complex nuclei that are not idioms result from the syntactic incorporation of locative possessed nouns and prepositions that signal adjuncts, as described in 1.1.4. These may occur with either a simple or a complex nucleus.

ēní   *nuu*   *(na   tɨ*   *utun)*
COM:hit   face   (he   it:AML   stick)
'(He) hit (it) with (a stick).'

kan   *níhī*   *(ú   tun)*
POT:speak   with   (I   her)
'(I) will talk to (her).'

nā   *ndée*   *(ña   ko)*
COM:fight   against   (person   us:IN)
'(They) fought over (us).'

(See also 7.36, 7.42, 7.44, and 7.45.)

2.1.2 Preverbal elements. There are six orders of optional elements that precede the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the beginning of the verb phrase they are: motion auxiliary, nonmotion auxiliary, mode, negative, manner, and temporal. Most preverbal elements are proclitics. They are somewhat restricted in their cooccurrence with each other and with different aspects of the verb.

There are three motion auxiliaries, which are prestressed forms of the motion verbs *kihshi* 'to come', *ndihshi* 'to come back', and *kɨhɨn* 'to go'. Each occurs in a full range of aspect forms (see 5.1.2). These auxiliaries immediately precede a verb nucleus in potential aspect, and they express the notion of motion and direction with purpose. Because the aspect forms of these auxiliaries are irregular, all are listed in the following table, along with their meanings and the fuller forms to which they are related. (Because of the purpose component, it would be possible to expand the gloss of each auxiliary by adding 'in order to' at the end.)

Auxiliary	Meaning	Full Form	Gloss
kish	'will come'	*kihshi*	POT:come
kakish	'comes'	*kakihshi*	CON:come
kīsh	'came (and has left)'	*kīhshi*	COM:come
vésh	'has come (and is still here)' *or* 'is on the way here'	*véhshī*	INC:come
ndish	'will come back'	*ndihshi*	POT:REP:come
kandish	'comes back'	*kandihshi*	CON:REP:come
ndīsh	'came back'	*ndīhshi*	COM:REP:come

kándīsh	'has come back' *or* 'is on the way back here'	*kándīhshi*	INC:REP:come
kɨ or *kí*	'will go'	*kɨhɨn*	POT:go
kaish or *kai*	'goes'	*kañehe*	CON:go
ísh or *í*	'went (and has returned)'	*ñéhē*	COM:go
kaí	'has gone (and has not returned)'	*kwéhēn*	INC:go
kū	'go!'	*kwēhén*	IMP:go

The following examples show these auxiliaries used in sentences.

kish *kahshí* *(ña)*
POT:come POT:eat (person)
'(They) will come to eat.'

kīsh *kahshí* *(tun)*
COM:come POT:eat (she)
'(She) came to eat.'

vésh *kōto* *(ú)*
INC:come POT:look (I)
'(I) have come to watch.'

ndīsh   *kɨhi* *(na ∅)*
COM:come:back POT:take (he UN)
'(He) came back to get (it).'

kɨ *kwiín* *(tun* *nuni)*
POT:go POT:buy (she corn)
'(She) will go to buy (corn).'

kaish *duté* *(na)*
CON:go POT:swim (he)
'(He) goes to swim.' *or* '(He) goes swimming.'

ish   kóho   (tɨ   ndūte)
COM:go   POT:drink   (it:AML   water)
'(It) went to drink (water).'

ku   kíhi   (na   tūtun)
INC:go   POT:take   (he   firewood)
'(He) has gone to get (firewood).'

kū   koto   (ndó   ihshá)
IMP:go   POT:look   (you:PL   child)
'Go watch (the child)!'

(See also 7.52, 7.53, 7.60, 7.63, 7.68, 7.71, 7.107, and 7.108.)

Nonmotion auxiliary occurs in second preverbal position and is expressed by prestressed forms of the content verbs *ini* 'to know', *ndio* 'to want', and *kuvi* 'to be able'. *ini* occurs only in unmarked continuative aspect and precedes only verbs in the same aspect. *ndio* and *kuvi* can occur in any aspect, but *ndio* precedes only verbs in potential aspect, whereas *kuvi* precedes verbs in any aspect and usually agrees in aspect with the verb it precedes.

ini   ika   (na)
CON:know   CON:walk   (he)
'(He) knows how to walk.' *or* '(He) is used to walking.'

ini   éhshi   (ú   ∅)
CON:know   CON:eat   (I   UN)
'(I) am used to eating (it).'

njo   kidí   (u)
CON:want   POT:sleep   (I)
'(I) want to sleep.' *or* '(I) am sleepy.'

njō   kwiin   (na   idú)
COM:want   POT:buy   (he   horse)
'(He) wanted to buy (a horse).'

kuvi   vií   (u   ∅)
POT:be:able POT:do   (I   UN)
'(I) will be able to do (it).'

       kūvi   *dé*   *(na*   *∅)*
       COM:be:able COM:do   (he   UN)
       '(He) was able to do (it).' or '(He) succeeded in doing (it).' or
       '(He) won!'

       kakuvi   *kaika*   *(tún)*
       CON:be:able CON:walk (she)
       '(She) is able to walk.'

       (See also 7.119.)

When a negative marker (see below) occurs, a verb preceded by *kuvi* must
be in potential aspect.

       ñá   *kakūvi*   *kaka*   *(tún)*
       NEG CON:be:able POT:walk (she)
       '(She) is not able to walk.'

       ña   *ni*   *kúvi*   *kīhin*   *(na)*
       NEG CF COM:be:able POT:go (he)
       '(He) was not able to go.'

The full forms of these three verbs also occur as main verbs that take a
sentential complement (see 1.1.9). *ini* and *kuvi* show slightly different
meanings when they are used as full verbs and as auxiliaries. In some cases
it is difficult to determine whether *kuvi* is functioning as a main verb or as
an auxiliary.

    Mode occurs in third preverbal position and is expressed by the con-
trafactual marker *nī* and the hortatory marker *nā*. The contrafactual
marker *nī* precedes a verb (nucleus, motion auxiliary, or nonmotion
auxiliary) in completive or incompletive aspect in contrafactual conditions
(see 6.2.1), or in sentences that contain a negative marker in the verb
phrase (see below), either of the complex adverbs *dókō sá* 'almost' and *dií
sa* 'nearly' in the preverbal manner position (see below), or a negated
element in focus position (see 3.5 and 4.2.5).

       (te)   *ni*   *ñēhé*   *(u)*
       (if)   CF   COM:go   I
       '(If [only] I) had gone!'

ña   ni   ínu   (nā)
NEG   CF   COM:run (he)
'(He) did not run.'

ñá   nī   kátūví   (tun)
NEG   CF   INC:sit:SG (she)
'(She) did not stay.'

dókō   sá   ni   shéé   (u)
almost   only   CF   COM:arrive (I)
'(I) had almost arrived.'

dǔ   sa   ni   kōhshó   (∅)
bit   only   CF   COM:fall   (UN)
'(It) nearly fell.'

(shōshó)   ni   kūvi   vǐ   (i   ∅)
(nobody)   CF   COM:be:able POT:do   (UN UN)
'(Nobody) was able to do (it).'

(ña   náha)   ni   ikā   (ú)
(NEG   long:time) CF   COM:walk   (I)
'(I) did not walk (long).'

(ña   te   dívi   na)   ni   ehnī   (ná   ko)
(NEG   if   same   he)   CF   COM:hit   (he   me)
'(It was not he who) hit (me).'

(See also 7.7, 7.9, 7.71, and 7.96.)

The hortatory marker *nā* directly precedes a verb in potential aspect and usually occurs as the first element in its phrase. The presence of *nā* in a main sentence makes it imperative, though not all imperative sentences contain it (see 1.3).

na   kwūn   (tún   ∅)
HORT   POT:buy   (she   UN)
'Let (her) buy (it)!'

na   kīhin   (ña)
HORT   POT:go   (person)
'May (they) go!'

nā   kí   kihí   (u   ∅)
HORT   POT:go POT:take (I   UN)
'Let (me) go get (it)!'

(See also 7.60, 7.63, 7.90, 7.94, and 7.100.)

Negative occurs in fourth position and is expressed by the markers ñá 'not' (the prestressed form of ñáhā 'no') and vátā 'not yet'. Whereas vátā occurs only with verbs in potential aspect, ñá occurs with verbs in any aspect but must be followed by the contrafactual marker nī when occurring with verbs in completive or incompletive aspect.

ña   kwūn   (ú   ∅)
NEG   POT:buy   (I   UN)
'(I) will not buy (it).'

ñá   kakīdi   (na)
NEG   CON:sleep   (he)
'(He) is not sleeping.'

ñá   nī   kátuvī   (ná)
NEG   CF   INC:sit:SG (he)
'(He) did not stay.'

váta   shēe   (ña)
not:yet   POT:arrive   (person)
'(They) have not yet arrived.'

(See also 7.2, 7.7, 7.9, 7.36, 7.71, 7.82, 7.96, and 7.97.)

Preverbal manner occurs in fifth preverbal position. There is also a postverbal manner position described in 2.1.3 below. While most preverbal and postverbal elements comprise small, closed classes, the two manner positions are expressed by a large and diverse class of elements, which includes both open and closed classes. Some of these elements occur only in preverbal position, while others occur in either position. Manner adverbs that occur only preverbal include the intensifier dōó 'very' or 'much', dá 'only', and dōtó 'haphazardly'.

dōo   éku   (tún)
INTS   COM:cry   (she)
'(She) cried a lot.'

dōó   ndio   (kó   Ø)
INTS   CON:want   (me   UN)
'(I) want (it) very much.'

dá   kakāhán   (u)
only   CON:speak (I)
'(I) am only talking.'

dōtó   kade   (na   Ø)
haphazardly   CON:do   (he   UN)
'(He) is doing (it) haphazardly.'

(See also 7.35, 7.40, 7.46, and 7.68.)

Three common complex adverbs that occur only in preverbal manner position are *dókō sá* 'almost', which occurs with verbs in potential or completive aspect; *dií sa* 'nearly', which occurs only with verbs in completive aspect; and *dií ka* 'even more', which occurs with verbs in any aspect. *dókō and dií* are sometimes repeated for emphasis.

dóko   sā   kwéku   (na)
almost   only   POT:cry (he)
'(He) is about to cry.'

dií   sa   ni   shīhí   (u)
bit   only   CF   COM:die (I)
'(I) nearly died.'

dií   ka   kaeku   (na)
bit   more   CON:cry (he)
'(He) is crying even more.'

dókō   dokó   sa   ni   kōhshó   (na)
almost   almost   only CF   COM:fall (he)
'(He) ALMOST fell!'

dí dí dí dií sa   ni   shīhi   (ná)
bit bit bit bit only CF   COM:die (he)
'(He) NEARLY died!'

In addition to these specific items, which are restricted to preverbal position, preverbal manner also contains stative verbs, stative verb phrases,

adverbs, adverb phrases, and numerals and expanded numeral phrases (especially those based on the numeral *uun* 'one', which is used as an intensifier).

> *váhā   kidi   (na)*
> good   POT:sleep   (he)
> '(He) will sleep well.'

> *dōó   dushen   eku   (nā)*
> INTS   bothersome   COM:cry   (he)
> '(He) whined a lot.'

> *un   ndii   tsī   kohshó   (∅)*
> one   strong   LIM   COM:fall   (UN)
> '(It) really fell hard.'

> *shio   kaito   (na)*
> away   CON:look   (he)
> '(He) is looking away.'

> *dadii   éhshi   (ndí)*
> same   COM:eat   (we:EX)
> '(We) ate together.'

> *kūdii   kakáhán   (tun)*
> merely   CON:speak   (she)
> '(She) is only talking.'

> *dōó   kwīī   kaika   (tún)*
> INTS   slowly   CON:walk   (she)
> '(She) is walking very slowly.'

(See also 7.2, 7.14, 7.35, 7.38, 7.47, 7.65, 7.70, and 7.83.)

Temporal occurs in sixth preverbal position and is expressed by *é* 'already' or *dā ve* 'just now'. Both occur with verbs in any aspect. Their meanings vary slightly with aspect, as seen in the translation of the examples below.

> *e   kíhīn   (ú)*
> already   POT:go   (I)
> '(I) am now about to go.'

é   ītsi   *(ná)*
already   COM:bathe   (he)
'(He) already bathed.'

é   kakīdi   *(na)*
already   CON:sleep   (he)
'(He) is already asleep.'

dā   ve   véhshi   *(tún)*
when   now   INC:come   (she)
'(She) is just now coming.'

dā   ve   shihi   *(ti)*
when   now   COM:die   (it:AML)
'(It) just now died.'

Occasionally *é* occurs outside the verb phrase at the beginning of the
sentence (see 7.54, 7.72, and 7.109).

Certain preverbal elements may be questioned by postposing the inter-
rogative marker *ndu* to them (see 1.2.1); these include the negative
markers *ñá* 'not' and *vátā* 'not yet', the manner adverbs except for *dá*
'only', and the temporal marker *dā ve* 'just now'.

ñā   ndu   kakáhan   *(na)*
NEG   INT   CON:speak   (he)
'Isn't (he) talking?'

ñā   ndu   ni   ñéhe   *(na)*
NEG   INT   CF   COM:go   (he)
'Didn't (he) go?'

vāta   ndu   kāhshi   *(tún)*
not:yet   INT   POT:eat   (she)
'Hasn't (she) eaten yet?'

dóo   ndu   ndio   *(o   ∅)*
INTS   INT   CON:want   (you:SG UN)
'Do (you) want (it) very much?'

dokó   sa   ndú   kihin   *(na)*
almost only   INT   POT:go   (he)
'Is (he) about to go?'

>   dií   sa   ndú   ni   shīhi   (tún)
>   bit   only INT   CF   COM:die (she)
>   'Did (she) nearly die?'

>   dā   vé   ndu   ñíi   (na 0̷)
>   when now   INT   COM:buy (he UN)
>   'Did (he) just now buy (it)?

Frequently preverbal manner is questioned by using a construction in which the interrogative adverb *ndé* 'how?' is followed by a full or reduced form of the verb *koo* 'to exist', which takes a sentence containing a content verb as its subject complement (see 1.1.9). The verb *koo* must be in potential aspect if the complement verb is potential; otherwise it is in unmarked continuative aspect. The interrogative marker *ndu* optionally follows *ndé*, as seen in the following pairs of sentences.

>   ndé   ko   kɨhɨn   (o)
>   how   POT:exist   POT:go   (we:IN)
>   'How shall (we) go?'

>   ndé   ndu   ko   kɨhɨn   (o)
>   how   INT   POT:exist   POT:go   (we:IN)
>   'How shall (we) go?'

>   ndé   ō   shihi   (tɨ)
>   how   CON:exist   COM:die   (it:AML)
>   'How did (it) die?'

>   ndé   ndu   ō   shihi   (tɨ)
>   how   INT   CON:exist   COM:die   (it:AML)
>   'How did (it) die?'

(See also 7.6, 7.29, 7.40, 7.56, 7.73, and 7.110.)

In a similar construction, *ndé* is followed by the verb *kaa* 'to be (singular)' in unmarked continuative aspect to question quantity, in which case interrogative *ndu* optionally follows either *ndé* or *kaa*.

>   ndé   kaa   ndáhvi   (na)
>   how   CON:be:SG   COM:pay   (he)
>   'How much did (he) pay?'

ndé   kaa   ndu ndáhvi   (na)
how   CON:be:SG   INT   COM:pay   (he)
'How much did (he) pay?'

ndé   ndu   kaa   ndáhvi   (na)
how   INT   CON:be:SG   COM:pay   (he)
'How much did (he) pay?'

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are eight orders of elements following
the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the end of the verb
phrase, they are: postverbal manner, personal involvement, verifier, addi-
tive, limiter, repetitive, emphatic, and deprecative.

Postverbal manner immediately follows the verb nucleus. It is distin-
guished from preverbal manner (see 2.1.2) and may cooccur with it. It is
expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers, which include several
open classes, such as stative verbs, content verbs (rare), and adverbs. Verb
and adverb phrases are, however, rare in postverbal manner position;
expanded manner elements usually occur in the preverbal manner posi-
tion. Most elements that occur in postverbal manner may also occur in
preverbal manner; preverbal position adds a degree of focus or intensity to
their meanings. The following sentences show postverbal manner.

kidi   váhā   (tún)
COM:sleep   good   (she)
'(She) slept well.'

kunu   kandíhi   (na)
POT:run   CON:hurry   (he)
'(He) will run quickly.'

kaika   kwiī   (ñá)
CON:walk   slowly   (person)
'(They) are walking slowly.'

íshi   kwēhen   (∅)
COM:burn   completely   (UN)
'(It) burned up completely.'

kaito   shio   (na)
CON:look   away   (he)
'(He) is looking away.'

(See also 7.32, 7.71, and 7.104.)

Personal involvement occurs in second postverbal position; it includes three elements: *tahan* 'companion' (reciprocal), which occurs only with transitive verb nuclei; *dadɨ* 'same' or 'together' (co-involvement); and the specifier *miï* 'alone' or 'self' (self-involvement).

> *ïto*   *tahan*   *(ña)*
> COM:look   companion   (person)
> '(They) looked at each other.'

> *kashí*   *dadɨ*   *(ō)*
> POT:eat   same   (we:IN)
> '(We) will eat together.'

> *kaika*   *mii*   *(nā)*
> CON:walk   alone   (he)
> '(He) is walking by himself.'

miï also occurs within the noun phrase (see 3.1.2), where it serves as an emphatic. Some sentences containing *miï* are ambiguous. For example, the above sentence can also mean 'He himself is walking.'

Verifier occurs in third postverbal position and is expressed by *ndihshe* 'truly' or 'really'.

> *kakidi*   *ndíhshe*   *(na)*
> CON:sleep   truly   (he)
> '(He) really is sleeping.'

> (See also 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.41, 7.49, 7.53, 7.85, 7.91, 7.95, 7.101, 7.108, and 7.121.)

Additive occurs in fourth postverbal position and is expressed by *ká* 'more' or 'still' and *sá* 'only', 'so', or 'just a bit more'.

> *kakidí*   *ka*   *(na)*
> CON:sleep   more   (he)
> '(He) is still sleeping.'

> *ïka*   *sá*   *(tun)*
> COM:walk   only   (she)
> '(She) walked just a bit farther.'

> (See also 7.41, 7.64, 7.66, 7.108, 7.109, and 7.121.)

Limiter occurs in fifth postverbal position and is expressed by *tsi* 'just'. Within a phonological phrase, *tsi* is normally reduced to *ts* before a vowel and to *sh* before a consonant.

> *kakidi*   *tsi*   *(∅)*
> CON:sleep   LIM   (UN)
> '(It [child]) is just sleeping.'

> *kihin*   *ts*   *(ō)*
> POT:go   LIM   (we:IN)
> 'Let (us) just go.'

> *īnu*   *sh*   *(ti)*
> COM:run   LIM   (it:AML)
> '(It [animal]) just ran.'

(See also 7.41, 7.64, 7.66, and 7.121.)

Repetitive occurs in sixth postverbal position and is expressed by *tuku* 'other' or 'again'.

> *kídi*   *tūku*   *(na)*
> COM:sleep   REP   (he)
> '(He) slept again.'

(See also 7.8, 7.9, 7.23, 7.44, and 7.93.)

Sometimes, however, *tuku* occurs in postverbal manner, in which case it can serve as the nucleus of an adverb phrase, as seen in 7.23.

Emphatic occurs in seventh postverbal position and is expressed by *ku* 'indeed' or 'definitely'.

> *shihi*   *ku*   *(ti)*
> COM:die   EMPH   (it:AML)
> '(It [animal]) did indeed die.'

(See also 7.113.)

Deprecative occurs in eighth postverbal position and is expressed by *kūdii* 'merely'.

> kakidi   kúdii   (ná)
> CON:sleep   merely   (he)
> '(He) is merely sleeping.' or '(He) is sleeping a little bit.'

Note that *kūdii* also occurs in preverbal manner position (see 2.1.2).

Any postverbal element except the emphatic *ku* may be questioned by postposing the interrogative marker *ndu* to it (see 1.2.1). The interrogative marker can itself be followed only by the emphatic *ku* or the deprecative *kūdii*.

> kidi   vahá   ndu   (na)
> COM:sleep   good   INT   (he)
> 'Did (he) sleep well?'

> kashí   dadïi   ndu   (ña)
> POT:eat   same   INT   (person)
> 'Will (they) eat together?'

> shi   ndíhshe   ndu   (tï)
> COM:die   truly   INT   (it:AML)
> 'Did (it [animal]) really die?'

> kahshí   ka   ndú   (tun)
> POT:eat   more   INT   (she)
> 'Will (she) eat more?' or 'Will (she) keep on eating?'

> kākidi   sh   ndú   (na)
> CON:sleep   LIM   INT   (he)
> 'Is (he) just sleeping?'

> kïn   túku   ndu   (na)
> POT:go   REP   INT   (he)
> 'Will (he) go again?'

> shihi   ndú   ku   (ña)
> COM:die   INT   EMPH   (person)
> 'Did (they) indeed die?'

> kidi   kúdii   ndú   (na)
> COM:sleep   merely   INT   (he)
> 'Did (he) sleep a little bit?'

kidi   *ndú* *kudii*   *(ná)*
COM:sleep INT   merely   (he)
'Did (he) sleep a little bit?'

(See also 7.85.)

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. All preverbal elements cooccur with all
other preverbal elements, except that temporal does not occur with
negative or mode. There are, however, many restrictions involving
specific items that express these elements. For example, certain manner
adverbs do not cooccur with negative or mode. Furthermore, a number
of preverbal elements and individual items occur only when they are
followed by a verb in certain aspects; these restrictions have been
described in 2.1.2 above.

njo   *kí*   *káhshi*   *(ú)*
CON:want   POT:go   POT:eat   (I)
'(I) want to go eat.'

nā   *kí*   *kihí*   *(u ∅)*
HORT   POT:go   POT:take   (I UN)
'Let (me) go get (it)!'

ñá   *ïni*   *ekú*   *(tun)*
NEG   CON:know   CON:cry   (she)
'(She) is not a crybaby.'

ñá   *ni* *kish*   *kāhshí*   *(na)*
NEG   CF   COM:come   POT:eat   (he)
'(He) did not come to eat.'

vata   *kúvi*   *kakā*   *(∅)*
not:yet POT:be:able POT:walk (UN)
'(It) is not able to walk yet.'

dōó *njo*   *kihín*   *(u)*
INTS   CON:want   POT:go   (I)
'(I) want very much to go.'

dií ka   *njo*   *kihin*   *(na)*
bit more CON:want   POT:go   (he)
'(He) wants to go even more.'

dií   ka   ña   ni   eku   (na)
bit   more   NEG   CF   COM:cry   (he)
'(He) cried even less.'

dókō   sá   ña   ni   ñéhe   (ú)
almost   only   NEG   CF   COM:go   (I)
'(I) almost didn't go.'

e   dóko   sā   kidi   (ú)
already   almost   only   POT:sleep   (I)
'(I) am almost asleep already.'

(See also 7.7.)

There are no cooccurrence restrictions among postverbal elements, but ordinarily a verb phrase contains no more than three or four of them.

kaka   kwiī   ts   (ó)
POT:walk   slowly   LIM   (we:IN)
'(We) will just walk slowly.'

kakidi   sh   túku   (na)
CON:sleep   LIM   REP   (he)
'(He) is just sleeping again.'

kidi   váha   ndīhshe   ká   (tun)
COM:sleep   good   truly   more   (she)
'(She) really did continue to sleep well.'

īka   tuku   ku   kudii   (ná)
COM:walk   REP   EMPH   merely   (he)
'(He) did indeed walk again just a bit.'

shi   kwéhen   ndīhshe   sh   ku   (ti)
COM:die   completely   truly   LIM   EMPH   (it:AML)
'(It) really did indeed just die completely.'

kaní   tahan   ndihshe   ká   sh   (ña)
COM:hit   companion   truly   more   LIM   (person)
'(They) really did just keep on hitting each other.'

(See also 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.41, 7.64, 7.66, 7.101, 7.108, and 7.121.)

There are likewise no cooccurrence restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements, with the exception that preverbal and postverbal manner rarely cooccur in the same verb phrase. The hortatory mode marker *nã* cooccurs with personal involvement *mii* to express indifference on the part of the speaker and with deprecative *kũdii* to express a polite command (see 1.3).

> *na   kuvī   míi   (nã)*
> HORT   POT:die   alone   (he)
> 'Let (him) die (for all I care)!'

> *na   kĩhshi   kudii   (ñá)*
> HORT   POT:come   merely   (person)
> 'May (they) please come!'

> *ñá   ni   ika   míī   ká   tuku   (tún)*
> NEG   CF   COM:walk   alone   more   REP   (she)
> '(She) did not walk by herself any more.'

> *ñá   ni   eku   kwẽhen   sh   kú   (na)*
> NEG   CF   COM:cry   completely   LIM   EMPH   (he)
> '(He) indeed just did not cry at all.'

> *vátā   kish   kãhshí dadïï tsi   kudii   (ñá)*
> not:yet POT:come POT:eat same LIM   merely   (person)
> '(They) have merely just not yet come to eat together.'

> *e   dóko   sā   shee   ndíhshe   sh   (tún)*
> already   almost   only   POT:arrive   truly   LIM   (she)
> '(She) is now just really about to arrive.'

> *dōó   njo   kaka   míī   sh   tuku kudíí   (u)*
> INTS   CON:want   POT:walk   alone LIM   REP   merely   (I)
> '(I) want very much to just walk a bit by myself again.'

(See also 7.8, 7.9, 7.71, 7.85, and 7.96.)

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on the equative verbs *kuvi* 'to become', *nduvi* 'to turn into', *naní* 'to be named', or in some cases no verb at all. Equative verb phrases show no complex nuclei, although reduced forms of

the equative verbs *kuvi* and *nduvi* combine with stative verbs to form intransitive verbs (see 5.1.1).

Equative verbs rarely occur with preverbal and postverbal elements, but it is possible for *kuvi* and *nduvi* to occur with any of the preverbal and postverbal elements except additive.

With preverbal elements:

kish   *kuvi*   *(na   ihshá   ko)*
POT:come POT:become   (he   child   me)
'(He) will come to become (my child).'

njo   *kuvi*   *(na   ihshá   ko)*
CON:want   POT:become   (he   child   me)
'(He) wants to become (my child).'

na   ndūvi   *(na   tsídō)*
HORT POT:REP:become   (he   rabbit)
'May (he) turn into (a rabbit)!'

ña   ndúvi   *(nā   tsídō)*
NEG   POT:REP:become   (he   rabbit)
'(He) will not turn into (a rabbit).'

dotō   *ndúvi*   *(nā   tsídō)*
haphazardly COM:REP:become   (he   rabbit)
'(He) haphazardly turned into (a rabbit).'

é   *kūvi*   *(na   ihshá   ko)*
already   COM:become   (he   child   me)
'(He) has already become (my child).'

(See also 7.7.)

With postverbal elements:

kuvi   *kwehen*   *(ná   ihshá   ko)*
POT:become   completely   (he   child   me)
'(He) will permanently become (my child).'

ndūvi   *dadǖ (ña   tsídō)*
COM:REP:become   same (person rabbit)
'(They) together turned into (rabbits).'

ndūvi   *ndihshe   (na   tsídō)*
COM:REP:become   truly   (he   rabbit)
'(He) really did turn into (a rabbit).'

ndūvi   *sh   (na   tsídō)*
COM:REP:become   LIM   (he   rabbit)
'(He) just turned into (a rabbit).'

ndūvi   *tuku   (na   tsídō)*
COM:REP:become   REP   (he   rabbit)
'(He) turned into (a rabbit) again.'

ndūvi   *ku   (na   tsídō)*
COM:REP:become   EMPH   (he   rabbit)
'(He) did indeed turn into (a rabbit).'

ndūvi   *kudii   (na   tsídō)*
COM:REP:become   merely   (he   rabbit)
'(He) merely turned into (a rabbit).'

Equative verb phrases based on *naní* 'to be named' do not occur with preverbal elements, but it is possible for *naní* to occur with any postverbal element except manner or additive.

(pēlu)   nani   dadǖ   (na)
(Peter)   CON:be:named   same   (he)
'(They) are both named (Peter [Sp. *Pedro*]).'

(pēlu)   nani   ndíhshe (na)
(Peter)   CON:be:named   truly   (he)
'(He) really is named (Peter).'

(pēlu)   nani   sh   (ná)
(Peter)   CON:be:named   LIM   (he)
'(He) is just named (Peter).'

> *(pēlu)   nani   túku   (na)*
> (Peter) CON:be:named REP   (he)
> '(He) is again named (Peter).'

> *(pēlu)   nani   ku   (ná)*
> (Peter) CON:be:named EMPH (he)
> '(He) is indeed named (Peter).'

> *(pēlu)   nani   kúdii   (ná)*
> (Peter) CON:be:named merely (he)
> '(He) is merely named (Peter).'

It is also possible for the same postverbal elements that occur with *nani* to occur in an equative sentence when no verb is present, in which case they directly follow the nominal complement.'

> *(dutu)   dadɨɨ   (ña)*
> (priest) same   (person)
> '(They) are both (priests).'

> *(pēlu)   ndíhshe   (na)*
> (Peter) truly   (he)
> '(He) really is (Peter).'

> *(tīná)   tuku   (∅)*
> (dog)   REP   (UN)
> '(It) is again (a dog).'

> *(tīná)   ku   (∅)*
> (dog)   EMPH   (UN)
> '(It) is indeed (a dog).'

> *(ihshá)   kudií   (u)*
> (child)   merely   (I)
> '(I) am merely (a child).'

> *(tīná)   dadɨɨ   ndihshe   sh   tuku   ku   kudii   (∅)*
> (dog)   same   truly   LIM   REP   EMPH merely   (UN)
> '(It) is indeed likewise merely again just (a dog).'

If, however, the nominal complement is expressed by a possessive noun phrase (see 3.3), the postverbal elements occur between the possessed item and its possessor.

>   *(tahán)*   *ndihshe*   *(kó*   *tun)*
>   (companion)   truly   (me   she)
>   '(She) really is (my sister).'

>   *(tĩná)*   *tsi*   *kudií*   *(ko*   *∅)*
>   (dog)   LIM   merely   (me   UN)
>   '(It) is only just (my dog).'

2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases consist of a stative verb nucleus with optional preverbal and postverbal elements. Preverbal elements include all those described in 2.1.2 except motion and nonmotion auxiliary and mode, while postverbal elements include all those described in 2.1.3.

With preverbal elements:

>   *ñá*   *vãhá*   *(∅)*
>   NEG   good   (UN)
>   '(It) is not good.'

>   *dōó*   *kahnu*   *(na)*
>   INTS   big:SG   (he)
>   '(He) is very big.'

>   *dií*   *ka*   *kahnu*   *(tún)*
>   bit   more   big:SG   (she)
>   '(She) is bigger.'

>   *é*   *kãhnu*   *(na)*
>   already   big:SG   (he)
>   '(He) is already big.'

(See also 7.26, 7.42, 7.80, and 7.98.)

With postverbal elements:

> *vide   kwēhén   (u)*
> wet   completely   (I)
> '(I) am soaking wet.'

> *váhā   ndihshe   (∅)*
> good   truly   (UN)
> '(It) really is good.'

> *kahnu   ká   (∅)*
> big:SG   more   (UN)
> '(It) is bigger.' *or* '(It) is still big.'

> *vide   sh   tūku   (∅)*
> wet   LIM   REP   (UN)
> '(It) is just wet again.'

> *kahnu   kudii   (vihi   ña)*
> big:SG   merely (house person)
> '(Their house) is kind of big.'

> *kahnu   ká   kudii   (∅)*
> big:SG   more   merely   (UN)
> '(It) is only a bit bigger.'

> *kahnu   kwehen   ndíhshe   sh   ku   (tínā   kó)*
> big:SG   completely truly   LIM EMPH (dog   me)
> '(My dog) really is indeed just extremely big.'

With both preverbal and postverbal elements:

> *é   dii ka   kahnu ndíhshe sh   ku   (tínā   kó*
> already   bit more big:SG truly   LIM EMPH (dog   me
> '(My dog) just really is indeed already bigger

> *e   tína   o)*
> CMP   dog   you:SG)
> (than your dog).'

Manner in stative verb phrases can be questioned by using *ndé kaa* 'how?' or 'how much?', optionally accompanied by the interrogative marker *ndu*.

> *ndé   kaa   vidē   (tún)*
> how   CON:be wet   (she)
> 'How wet is (she)?'

> *ndé   kaa   ndu   víi   (etun)*
> how   CON:be INT   heavy   (box)
> 'How heavy is (the box)?'   *or*   'How much does (the box) weigh?'

2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Both content and stative verb nuclei may be repeated to indicate continuation of an action or intensification of a state. The aspect is usually continuative, but sometimes potential occurs. Repetitive verb phrases often occur as the first part of juxtaposed coordinate sentences (see 6.1.2). Repetitive stative verb phrases also sometimes express preverbal manner (see 2.1.2).

> *ika   ika   (nā)*
> CON:walk   CON:walk   (he)
> '(He) walked and walked.'   *or*   '(He) kept on walking.'

> *kwishin   kwihshín   (∅)*
> white   white   (UN)
> '(It) is very white.'

Preverbal elements, when present, are usually repeated with the nucleus, while postverbal elements never are.

> *da   kin   dá   kihin   ts   (o)*
> just   POT:go just   POT:go LIM   (we:IN)
> '(We) will just keep on going.'

> *vide   vide   tsī   (∅)*
> wet   wet   LIM   (UN)
> '(It) is just sopping wet.'

ndava   ndava   nuu   ká   sh   (tɨ   iní   i)
CON:fall CON:fall face more LIM (it:AML insides UN)
(It) just kept sliding around (in it).

2.5 Additive Verb Phrases

Two content verb nuclei that are related in meaning and that agree in aspect may be juxtaposed to form additive verb phrases. They are relatively rare and appear to be frozen remnants of a formerly productive literary device. Like repetitive content verb phrases, they occur as simple sentences or as the first part of juxtaposed coordinate sentences (see 6.1.2).

ko   kahshi   (o)
POT:drink   POT:eat   (we:IN)
'(We) will eat and drink.'

kashka   inu   (na)
CON:walk   CON:run   (he)
'(He) is scurrying.'

kūnu   méhñu   kūnu   dava   (ña   ko)
POT:get:in:SG in:middle:of POT:get:in:SG half   (person us:IN)
'(He [God]) will be with (us).'

[blank]

3

Noun Phrases

3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

ítā	'tortilla'
núnī	'corn'
ndute	'water'
túhūn	'word'
ñaha	'person, they'[1]
kiti	'animal, it:AML'

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that comprises a noun or pronoun followed by a frozen modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral (rare), or a relative clause based on either a stative or a content verb.

Noun plus noun:

> *ndute   núū*
> water   face
> 'tear'

---

[1]In Coatzospan Mixtec, third person pronouns are not a fixed set. Instead, many generic noun stems, in full or reduced form, serve as personal pronouns (see 5.4). The stems *ñaha* and *kiti* are in this category, and they are therefore given two glosses.

a   ndútē
child   water
'godchild'

ishá   dyuhun
child   money
'interest'

cho   shtíñɨ
medicine   rat
'rat poison'

vi   utun
house   wood
'jail'

tsi   kutsin
nose   pig
'bat (Sp. *cochino*)'

shku davi
leaf   rain
'fern'

ko   ndáhā
snake   hand
'centipede'

nda   kāá
hand   metal
'key'

ta   ñúhū
tortilla   fire
'bread'

(See also 7.5.)

Noun plus numeral:

> *isha*   *uvi*
> child   two
> 'twin'

Noun plus relative clause:

> *ndute*   *vetí*
> water   cool
> 'soda pop'

> *dyun*   *kwétsī*
> money   small:PL
> 'change'

> *ndika*   *kwēhé*
> banana   red
> 'mamey *(Calocarpum sapota)*'

> *do*   *shíhi*
> word   CON:die
> 'death'

> *ndo*   *íhshi*
> adobe   COM:burn
> 'brick'

> *tsi*   *kahnu*
> trail   big:SG
> 'Huautla de Jiménez'

> (See also 7.60.)

Sometimes the first or second constituent of a complex nucleus is itself complex.

> *sho*   *ka*   *íñū*
> vine   metal   thorn
> 'barbed wire'

tánu   kwetsí   skwela
female   small:PL   school
'schoolgirls (Sp. *escuela*)'

utsi   ta   ñúhū
powder   tortilla   fire
'bread crumbs'

kóō   rkɨ   uhshe
snake   head   seven
'seven-headed snake'

ko   tɨ   ndîka
snake   animal   banana
'intestinal roundworm'

vi   é   kaika
house   CMP   CON:walk
'train'

Proper names often follow a prestressed pronoun or a generic noun (in either a full or reduced form), creating a construction which is similar to a complex noun-noun nucleus, but which is not idiomatic in meaning.

ña   xwaan
person   John
'John (Sp. *Juan*)'

ná   pēlu
boy   Peter
'Peter (Sp. *Pedro*)'

tá   māria
girl   Mary
'Mary (Sp. *María*)'

shtá   mastru
sir   teacher
'Teacher (Sp. *maestro*)'

> *mastru   xwaan*
> teacher   John
> 'Teacher John'

> *ñuu   núndüvé*
> town   Oaxaca
> 'Oaxaca City'

> *ñuú   kanadaa*
> town   Canada
> 'Canada (Sp. *Canadá*)'

3.1.2 Prenominal elements. There are two elements that precede the nucleus: quantifier and diminutive.

Quantifiers comprise both numerals and general quantifiers, and the specifiers *mïï* 'alone' or 'self' and *dïvï* 'same'.

With numerals:

> *uun   doo*
> one   cloth
> 'one cloth'

> *kïmi   ñáhā*
> four   person
> 'four people'

> *úhun   ūtun*
> five   wood
> 'five trees'

(See also 7.90, 7.91, 7.94, and 7.95.)

With general quantifiers:

> *tïtïn   kïtï*
> many   animal
> 'many animals'

> *ndehvi   ita*
> few   tortilla
> 'few tortillas'

With specifiers:

    mɨ̄   *tún*
    alone she
    'she herself'

    dɨvī   *tún*
    same she
    'the same one (girl)'

    (See also 7.37, 7.42, and 7.61.)

The reduced form of the numeral *uun* 'one' is often used simply as an indefinite article.

    un   *doo*
    one cloth
    'a cloth'

    un   *ñahā*
    one person
    'a person' *or* 'someone'

    (See also 7.5.)

The diminutive *á* (a reduced form of *ihshá* 'child') occurs immediately preceding the noun nucleus. It denotes either smallness, sympathy, or affection and is sometimes used in discourse to mark the underdog (see Small 1979:360).

    a   *tínā*
    DIM dog
    'puppy'

    a   *shúu*
    DIM rock
    'pebble'

    á   *ihshá*
    DIM child
    'little child'

á   uvā
DIM   father
'daddy'

á   xwaan
DIM   John
'Johnnie'

(See also 7.1, 7.29, and various others.)

3.1.3 Postnominal elements. Three elements follow the nucleus: deictic, limiter, and relative clause.
    There are two stressed deictics, *sāhā* 'this' and *tsíkān* 'that'.

vi   sāhá
house   this
'this house'

kwia   sahá
year   this
'this year'

tīná   tsikan
dog   that
'that dog'

nduvi   tsikan
day   that
'that day' *or* 'in those days'

When the noun nucleus rather than the deictic is in focus, the poststressed forms *sá* 'this' and *sán* 'that' are used. They function somewhat like definite articles and usually imply previous mention of the noun. *sán* is also used to mark a thematic participant or prop in discourse (see Small 1979:360).

ihshá   sa
child   this
'this child' *or* 'the child'

vihi   sán
house   that
'that house' *or* 'the house'

(See also 7.2, 7.8, 7.12, 7.29, 7.60, 7.77, 7.101, 7.118, and various others.)

The limiter is *tsi* 'just', which also occurs in verb phrases (see 2.1.3).

ihshá   *tsi*
child   LIM
'just a child'

ndute   *tsi*
water   LIM
'just water'

(See also 7.54.)

Relative clauses[2] are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or prestressed pronouns, by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head, and in some cases by the presence of a relative pronoun. There are three words that function as relative pronouns: the complementizer *é*,[3] the interrogative adverb *mí* 'where?', and the subordinate conjunction *dá* 'when'. *mí* is used only for inanimate locative adjuncts and location peripheral elements, and *dá* is used only for

---

[2]The distinction made by many linguists between restrictive and nonrestrictive (appositive) relative clauses does not appear to be relevant for Coatzospan Mixtec. Most of the examples given below are translated as restrictive relatives. The translation seems to depend far more on the degree to which the head is already specified in the discourse context than on any formal features of the language. When, however, an appositional construction (see 3.7) is used instead of a relative clause, a nonrestrictive meaning is far more likely.

[3]It is necessary to distinguish between the prestressed pronoun and relative pronoun uses of *é*. The prestressed pronoun can serve as a nucleus that refers to an unspecified or abstract entity to which no other prestressed pronoun properly applies. Because it is prestressed, it must be followed by something else in the same noun phrase, and most often it is followed by a relative clause. *é* in this use is never followed by *é* as a relative pronoun.

é   *váhá*
UN   good
'that which is good' *or* 'the good one'

é   *káhshi*   *o*
UN   POT:eat   we:IN
'what we eat' *or* 'food'

time peripheral elements; *é* is used in all other cases. It is required following a noun head in all relative clauses except those based on stative verbs but is optional following a pronoun head. It does not, however, occur when *é* 'it (unspecified)' serves as the nucleus. Only relative clauses based on stative verbs modify a proper noun.

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any element within them.

With subject as head:

> *isha*   *é*   *kākidi*
> child   CMP   CON:sleep
> 'the child that is sleeping'

> *tánū*   *e*   *kíshi*   *iku*
> female   CMP   COM:come   yesterday
> 'the girl that came yesterday'

> *tánū*   *kíshi*   *iku*
> female   COM:come   yesterday
> 'the girl that came yesterday'

> *ña*   *kadiko*   *tūún*
> person   CON:sell   charcoal
> 'the person that sells charcoal'

In its use as a relative pronoun, on the other hand, *é* comes between a nucleus and a following relative clause. The nucleus may be any noun or prestressed pronoun except *é*, and is not limited to those that refer to unspecified or abstract concepts, thus showing that in such contexts *é* has no referential function and is purely a grammatical marker.

> *ña*   *é*   *naní*   *xwaan*
> person   CMP   CON:be:named   John
> 'the person that is named John'

> *tánū*   *é*   *vāhá*
> female   CMP   good
> 'the girl who is good'

If these two functions of *é* are not distinguished, then relative clauses with *é* following some other element could mistakenly be considered to be appositional constructions.

> na   ndáhvɨ̄   kó   dyuhún
> boy   COM:pay   me   money
> 'the boy that paid me money'

> e   kóhshō
> UN   COM:fall
> 'that which fell'

(See also 7.1, 7.44, and 7.47.)

With object as head:[4]

> ndute   é   kāshihi   tɨ
> water   CMP   CON:drink   it:AML
> 'the water that it (animal) is drinking'

> kɨtɨ   é   kahnī   ná   teváa
> animal CMP   POT:kill he   morning
> 'the animal that he will kill tomorrow'

> kɨtɨ   kahnɨ́   na   teváa
> animal POT:kill he   morning
> 'the animal that he will kill tomorrow'

> dyuhun   e   ndáhvɨ̄   tún   xwaan
> money   CMP   COM:pay   she   John
> 'the money that she paid John'

---

[4]Because nouns and third person personal pronouns do not distinguish case (see 5.4), the head of a relative clause which contains more than one third person animate referent frequently is ambiguous as to whether it is subject, object, or adjunct.

> kɨtɨ   e   éhni   ña
> animal CMP   COM:kill person
> 'the animal that killed them' *or* 'the animal that they killed'

> na   inɨ́   xwaan
> boy   COM:see   John
> 'the boy that saw John' *or* 'the boy that John saw'

> na   ndáhvɨ̄   tún   dyuhún
> boy   COM:pay   she/her   money
> 'the boy that paid her money' *or* 'the boy that she paid money to'

é   kakãhán   tun   nĩ   kó
UN   CON:speak   she   with   me
'what she said to me'

(See also 7.60.)

tánu   kãkan   nihi   mária
female   CON:speak   with   Mary
'the girl that talked with Mary'   *or*   'the girl that Mary talked with'

With adjunct as head:

na   e   ndáhvĩ   ú   dyuhún
boy   CMP   COM:pay   I   money
'the boy that I paid money to'

na   ndáhvĩ   ú   dyuhún
boy   COM:pay   I   money
'the boy that I paid money to'

ñuu   mí   ñehe   o
town   where   COM:go   we:IN
'the town where we went'

With peripheral element as head:

ñuu   mí   kadikō   xwaan   túun
town   where   CON:sell   John   charcoal
'the town where John sells charcoal'

nduvi   dâ   shihí   xwaan
day   when   COM:die   John
'the day on which John died'

When a preposition or locative noun signals an adjunct, it retains its original position and the deleted noun phrase is represented by the unspecified pronoun *i.*

tánū   tásh   nūu   na   tutú   ndaha   i
female   COM:give   face   he   paper   hand   UN
'the girl he sent a letter to'

tánu   kākahan   mária   ni   i
female   con:speak   Mary   with   UN
'the girl that Mary talked with'

isha   é   ñehe   ñá   ni   i   kūchaña
child   CMP   COM:go   person   with   UN   Tehuacán
'the child that they went with to Tehuacán'

na   kakahan   tún   iña   i
boy   con:speak   she   thing   UN
'the boy that she is talking about'   *or*   'the boy that she is talking
on behalf of'

If, however, the preposition or locative noun is incorporated into the verb
nucleus (see 1.1.4 and 2.1.1), no pronoun copy occurs.

tánu   kākan   nihí   u
female   con:speak   with   I
'the girl that I talked with'

kutsiu   e   éni   nuu   na   tínā
knife   CMP   COM:kill   face   he   dog
'the knife (Sp. *cuchillo*) that he killed a dog with'

Some relative clauses based on content verbs have acquired an idiomatic
meaning and form complex noun nuclei (see 3.1.1).
    Sentences with equative verbs may become relative clauses based on the
subject.

tánū   é   nani   māria
female   CMP   con:be:named   Mary
'the girl that is named Mary'

tánu   nani   māria
female   con:be:named   Mary
'the girl that is named Mary'

na   é   kūvi   kádā   kó
boy   CMP   POT:become   son:in:law   me
'the boy that is to become my son-in-law'

      ña   *ndúvi*   *kiti*
      person COM:REP:become animal
      'the person that turned into an animal'

An equative sentence without a verb may also become a relative clause based on the subject.

      ña   *é*   *dūtu*
      person CMP priest
      'the person that is a priest'

      ña   *dutu*
      person priest
      'the person that is a priest'

  Ordinals are expressed by means of a relative clause using the equative verb *kuvi* 'to become' (frequently reduced in fast speech to *kwi*), which links the subject and the numeral.

      na *é*   *kuvi*   *ūni*
      boy CMP COM:become   three
      'the boy that is third'

      na *kwi*   *ūni*
      boy COM:become   three
      'the boy that is third'

      é   *kwi*   *ūhshi*
      UN COM:become   ten
      'the one that is tenth'

Sentences with stative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject.

      vi   *é*   *vāhá*
      house CMP good
      'the house that is good'

      vi   *vāhá*
      house good
      'the good house'

tánū   *é*   *kāhnu*
female   CMP   big:SG
'the girl that is big'

tánu   *kāhnu*
female   big:SG
'the big girl'

xwán   *kahnu*
John   big:SG
'big John'

e   *kwîhshín*
UN   white
'the white one'

(See also 7.40, 7.60, and 7.101.)

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. Noun phrases may contain up to four nonnuclear elements, with certain cooccurrence restrictions. Quantifier cooccurs with any of the other elements except limiter. (Limiter may, however, occur within a quantifier phrase [see 4.1.3 and 4.1.4].) A relative clause based on a stative verb may cooccur with deictic or limiter, both of which follow the relative clause. Deictic and limiter may cooccur: limiter precedes the poststressed deictic but follows the stressed deictic. Diminutive has no apparent cooccurrence restrictions.

tīná   *kwīshin*   *sáhā*
dog   white   this
'this white dog'

isha   *luhndí*   *tsi*   *sá*
child   small:SG   LIM   this
'just this little child'

a   *tína*   *tsīkan*   *tsi*
DIM   dog   that   LIM
'just that puppy'

á   *vihi*   *tsi*   *sán*
DIM   house   LIM   that
'just the little house'

> un   á   isha   é   kākidi
> one DIM child CMP   CON:sleep
> 'a little child that is sleeping'

> úvī á   vi   kwetsī sán
> two DIM house small:PL that
> 'those two little tiny houses'

(See also 7.101.)

Occasionally a short relative clause based on a content verb may cooccur with a following deictic, as in 7.77 and 7.88.

Two relative clauses may occur in a single noun phrase if both are based on a stative verb.

> tīná kwīshín kwetsī
> dog   white   small:PL
> 'little white dogs'

If either relative clause is expanded or is based on a content verb, an appositional construction is required (see 3.7).

3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

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

> úvi ētun (núni)
> two box   (corn)
> 'two four-liter measures (of corn)'

> íñū métru (dōo)
> six meter (cloth)
> 'six meters (Sp. *metro*) (of cloth)'

> uun naha (ndihshen)
> one pair (sandal)
> 'one pair (of sandals)'

uun tɨn   kahnu (shuku)
one pinch big:sɢ (leaf)
'one handful (of leaves)'

úhshi vrōsa nahnu (kaka)
ten   bag   big:ᴘʟ (lime)
'ten big bags (Sp. *bolsa*) (of lime)'

3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a possessed noun as their nucleus followed
by an obligatory possessor. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited
to those considered capable of being 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 noun phrase. If it is
expressed by a pronoun, the object set (see 5.4) is used.

With inherently possessed nouns:

nda   ihshá
hand   child
'the child's hand'

dïtsīn tínā
nose   dog
'the dog's nose'

dïtó   xwaan
uncle   John
'John's uncle'

ení   na
brother:ᴍᴇ him
'his brother'

íñā   kó
thing me
'my thing' *or* 'mine'

(See also 7.2, 7.13, 7.14, 7.34, 7.40, 7.41, 7.72, 7.83, 7.102, 7.107, and
various others.)

With optionally possessed nouns:

    itú   *xwaan*
    cornfield   John
    'John's cornfield'

    tīná *ko*
    dog me
    'my dog'

    ihshá   *ña*
    child   person
    'their child'

    (See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.5, 7.74, 7.96, and various others.)

There is a small class of nouns which cannot be followed directly by a possessor. These require the insertion of the inherently possessed noun *iñā* 'thing' between the nucleus and its possessor, resulting in a type of appositional construction (see 3.7).

    nduvi *iñá*   *tun*
    day   thing   her
    'her life'

    kwendu *iña*   *tsídō*
    story   thing   rabbit
    'story (Sp. *cuento*) about a rabbit' *or* 'rabbit story'

    (See also 7.1 and 7.123.)

The possessed item occurs as the nucleus of its noun phrase. Quantifier, diminutive, and limiter optionally modify it.

    úvi *enī*   *ná*
    two brother:ME   him
    'his two brothers' *or* 'two of his brothers'

    a   *tína* *tsī*   *kó*
    DIM dog LIM me
    'just my puppy'

An optionally possessed noun may be directly followed by a simple relative clause based on a stative verb.

> *ví   kahnu   ña*
> house   big:SG person
> 'their big house'

> *isha   luhndí   ko*
> child   small:SG me
> 'my little child'

In a few common phrases an inherently possessed noun may also be directly followed by a simple relative clause based on a stative verb, as seen in 7.12 and 7.16. If the relative clause is expanded, however, or is based on a content verb, or usually if the noun is inherently possessed, it must follow the possessor and be introduced by a relative pronoun.

> *vihi   ña   e   dóo   kahnu*
> house   person   CMP   INTS big:SG
> 'their house which is very big'   *or*   'their very big house'

> *ihshá   ko   é   kaeku*
> child   me   CMP   CON:cry
> 'my child that is crying'   *or*   'my crying child'

> *tahan   kó   e   lúhndī*
> sister   me   CMP   small:SG
> 'my sister that is little'   *or*   'my little sister'

The possessed item may be modified by the poststressed deictics *sá* 'this' or *sán* 'that' or 'the', which occur following the possessor. If the possessor is a third person, the construction is ambiguous.

> *ihshá   ko   sá*
> child   me   this
> 'this child of mine'

> *tīná   tun   sán*
> dog   her   that
> 'that dog of hers'   *or*   'that girl's dog'

(See also 7.12, 7.16, 7.19, 7.22, 7.35, and 7.74.)

In order for a stressed deictic to modify a possessed item, an appositional construction is required (see 3.7).

The possessor may itself be a possessive noun phrase.

> ishá   tahan   shɨ   nãná   ko
> child   sister   husband   aunt   me
> 'my aunt's husband's sister's child'

3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are basic or possessive. Interrogative basic noun phrases are formed by combining one of the following interrogatives with a following noun phrase or pronoun: *shoó* 'who?' or *neé* or *ne iñá* 'what?', 'which?', or 'what kind of?'. The interrogative is always initial in its noun phrase, and an interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence (see 1.1.8 and 1.2.2).

> shó   ñaha
> who   person
> 'which person?' *or* 'who?'

> shó   dutu
> who   priest
> 'which priest?'

> nē   choho
> what   herb
> 'what medicine?'

> né   ihshá
> what   child
> 'what kind of child?'   (i.e., boy or girl)

> ne   iñá   kɨtɨ
> what   thing   animal
> 'which animal?' *or* 'what kind of animal?'

To question a quantity, the interrogative *ndé* 'how?' is used in a special construction that involves the verb *kaa* 'to be (singular)'; see 1.2.2 and 2.1.2 for a discussion of similar constructions.

> *ndé   kaa   dyuhún*
> how   CON:be:SG   money
> 'how much money?'

> *ndé   kaa   vihi*
> how   CON:be:SG   house
> 'how many houses?'

The noun phrase is not normally expanded, but the interrogative may be expanded by postnuclear elements such as verifier, additive, limiter, repetitive, emphatic, and deprecative, all of which are described in 2.1.3.

> *ne   iñá   ka   sh   tuku   kïtï*
> what   thing   more   LIM   REP   animal
> 'just what other kind of animal?'

> *ndé   kaa   ndihshe   ku   kudii   vihi*
> how   CON:be:SG   truly   EMPH   merely   house
> 'really indeed merely how many houses?'

Certain frozen interrogative noun phrases introduced by *neé* 'what?' are used as interrogative adverbs.

> *nē   ndúvi*
> what   day
> 'what day?'   *or*   'when?'

> *né   ura*
> what   hour
> 'what time (Sp. *hora*)?'   *or*   'when?'

> *nē   tsíñu*
> what   work
> 'for what purpose?'   *or*   'why?'

(See also 7.68.)

The interrogative marker *ndu,* used to form YES/NO questions (see 1.2.1), optionally occurs in interrogative noun phrases following either the interrogative or the complete noun phrase, as seen in the following three pairs of examples. There does not appear to be any significant meaning difference associated with the presence of *ndu.*

     né   ndu   choho
     what INT   herb
     'which medicine?'

     nē   choho ndu
     what herb   INT
     'which medicine?'

     ne   iñá   ndu   kɨtɨ
     what thing INT   animal
     'what kind of animal?'

     ne   iñá   kɨtɨ   ndu
     what thing animal INT
     'what kind of animal?'

     ndé   kaa   ndu   dyuhun
     how CON:be:SG INT   money
     'how much money?'

     ndé   kaa   dyuhun ndu
     how CON:be:SG money   INT
     'how much money?'

     (See also 7.44.)

    Interrogative possessive noun phrases consist of the interrogative *shoó* 'who?' or an interrogative basic noun phrase introduced by *shoó* or *neé*, plus a possessed noun, plus the unspecified pronoun *i*.

     shó   iña   i
     who thing UN
     'whose thing?'

     shó   ñaha   doo   i
     who person cloth UN
     'whose clothes?'

     né   kɨtɨ   duhme i
     what animal tail   UN
     'which animal's tail?'

As in interrogative basic noun phrases, *ndu* may optionally be inserted; it occurs following either the interrogative, the interrogative noun phrase, or the possessed item.

shó   ndu   ñaha   doo   i
who   INT   person cloth   UN
'whose clothes?'

shó   ñaha   ndu   doo   i
who   person INT   cloth   UN
'whose clothes?'

shó   ñaha   doo   ndu   i
who   person cloth   INT   UN
'whose clothes?'

3.5 Negative Noun Phrases

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the negative sentential marker *ñá tè* to a noun phrase or pronoun. A negative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence. An equative sentence (see 1.1.5) is negated by using a negative noun phrase as the nominal complement. (Since equative verbs and unspecified third person subject pronouns are unexpressed, all negative noun phrases are therefore ambiguous with independent equative sentences.)

ñá   te   ishā   vahá
NEG   if   child   good
'not a good child'

ñá   te   ishā   vahá   (∅)
NEG   if   child   good   (UN)
'(It is) not a good child.'

ñá   te   shūhú
NEG   if   I
'not I'

ñá   te   shūhú   (∅)
NEG   if   I   (UN)
'(It is) not I.'

> ñá   te   īñá   ko
> NEG   if   thing me
> 'not mine'

> ñá   te   īñá   ko   (∅)
> NEG   if   thing me   (UN)
> '(It is) not mine.'

(See also 7.7.)

When a negative noun phrase is questioned, the interrogative *ndu* option-ally follows either the negative *ñá* or the entire noun phrase.

> ñá   ndu   te   ishā   vahá   (∅)
> NEG   INT   if   child good   (UN)
> '(Is it) not a good child?'

> ñá   te   ishā   vahá   ndu   (∅)
> NEG   if   child good   INT   (UN)
> '(Is it) not a good child?'

Interrogative words and phrases may be negated with *ñá tē* to form a construction that functions like a negative pronoun or adverb. These phrases are likewise limited to sentence-initial position.

> ñá   tē   shoó
> NEG   if   who
> 'no one' *or* 'nobody'

> ñá   tē   neé
> NEG   if   what
> 'nothing'

> ñá   tē   ne   iñá
> NEG   if   what thing
> 'nothing'

> ñá   te   nē   tsíñu
> NEG   if   what work
> 'for no reason'

> *ñá* *te* *nē* *nuu* *i*
> NEG if what face UN
> 'nothing important'

> *ñá* *tē* *né* *kwidadu*
> NEG if what care
> 'nothing to worry about (Sp. *cuidado*)'

> *ñá* *te* *mīhí*
> NEG if where
> 'nowhere'

3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Adverbial noun phrases are basic or possessive. Adverbial basic noun phrases differ from ordinary basic noun phrases in two ways. First, the nucleus must be a locative or temporal noun; and second, the deictic may be expressed by a broader range of elements, which includes the post-stressed locative and temporal adverbs *a* 'here', *kān* 'there', *ve* 'now', and (rarely) *dá* 'then', as well as the poststressed deictics *sá* 'this' and *sán* 'that'. These phrases are used as locative adjuncts and as location or time peripheral elements.

> *itsi* *kahnu*
> trail big:SG
> 'main road'

> *ndute* *ñuhu* *ā*
> water land here
> 'ocean (here)'

> *nduvi* *ā*
> day here
> 'by day'

> *e* *dúkūn* *kán*
> UN high there
> 'sky (there)' *or* 'heaven (there)'

> *kwia* *ndɨhɨ* *ko* *kān*
> year COM:finish us:IN there
> 'last year'

> *kwia*   *nákihi*   *o*   *kān*
> year   POT:REP:take   we:IN   there
> 'next year'

> *vité*   *ve*
> week   now
> 'a week from now'

> *ñuú*   *kō*   *sá*
> town   us:IN   this
> 'our town' *or* 'our country'

> *vi*   *utun*   *sán*
> house   wood   that
> 'the jail'

(See also 7.1.)

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with an inherently possessed locative noun as nucleus. Many of these are body-part nouns used with extended meanings (see 5.3.2). Adverbial possessive noun phrases frequently terminate in a poststressed locative adverb or deictic and are used as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

> *nú*   *shūú*
> face   rock
> 'on a rock'

> *nda*   *dutú*
> hand   priest
> 'to a priest' *or* 'before a priest'

> *átā*   *kó*
> back   me
> 'behind me'

> *ata*   *víhi*   *tún*   *a*
> back   house   her   here
> 'behind her house (here)'

rkɨ   úku   kān
head   mountain   there
'on top of the mountain (there)'

ini   etún san
insides   box   that
'in the box' *or* 'inside of that box'

(See also 7.3, 7.28, 7.44, 7.72, 7.102, 7.109, 7.118, and 7.122.)

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.

tahan kó   /   maria
sister   me   Mary
'my sister, Mary'

tīná / kɨtɨ   shihi   íku
dog   animal   COM:die   yesterday
'the dog, the one that died yesterday'

(See also 7.1.)

It is common for the second noun phrase of an appositional construction to contain a third person prestressed pronoun (see 5.4) followed by a relative clause, which may optionally be introduced by the complementizer *é* (see 3.1.3).

xwaan   /   ña   (é)   dūtu
John   person   (CMP)   priest
'John, the one who is a priest'

dutu / ña   (é)   nanī   xwaan
priest   person   (CMP)   CON:be:named   John
'a priest who is named John'

Appositional noun phrases have several specific functions. One of these is to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified, which is the function filled by nonrestrictive relative clause in

English. Such appositional noun phrases often have a proper noun as the nucleus of the first part.

> *xwaan / ña   (é)   kadiko   tūun*
> John   person   (CMP)   CON:sell charcoal
> 'John, who sells charcoal' *or* 'John, the one who sells charcoal'

In some cases an appositional construction is the only way to include certain information in a noun phrase. For example, an appositional phrase is usually required in order to express two relative clauses with a single noun nucleus (see 3.1.3), or a stressed deictic with a possessed noun (see 3.3).

> *dutu / ñá   e   dóo vahá*
> priest   person   CMP   INTS good
> 'a priest, who is very good' *or* 'a very good priest'

> *xwaan / ná   e   dóo dūkún*
> John   boy   CMP   INTS tall
> 'John, who is very tall'

> *vihi   na / e   dóo dūkún*
> house   him UN   INTS tall
> 'his house, which is very tall'

> *tahan kó / tanu   lúhndī*
> sister   me   female   small:SG
> 'my sister, who is little' *or* 'my little sister'

> *tīná tun / kiti   dóo diin*
> dog   her   animal   INTS fierce
> 'her dog, which is very fierce' *or* 'her very fierce dog'

> *dutu / ñá   sāhá*
> priest   person   this
> 'this priest'

> *maria / tanú   sāhá*
> Mary   female   this
> 'this Mary'

tīná   ko / kɨtɨ   tsīkán
dog   me   animal   that
'that dog of mine'

Likewise, an appositional phrase is required in order to express a stress-ed deictic with a relative clause based on a content verb. The nucleus of the first phrase is repeated as nucleus of the second; either phrase may occur first.

tánū   kíshi   iku /   tanú   tsīkán
female   COM:come   yesterday   female   that
'the girl who came yesterday, that one' or 'that girl who came yesterday'

tánu   tsīkan / tánū   kíshi   iku
female   that   female   COM:come   yesterday
'that girl, the one who came yesterday' or 'that girl who came yesterday'

An appositional phrase is also required in order to express two relative clauses with the same noun nucleus if one of the relative clauses is based on a content verb.

tánū   lúhndi / tãnú   kaeku
female   small:SG   female   CON:cry
'the little girl who is crying'

Several successive phrases may be in apposition.

vihi   na / vi   kahnu   na / vi   vãhá /
house   him   house   big:SG   him   house   good
'his house, his big house, the good house,

vi   kwĩhshín / vi   shuu
house   white   house   rock
'the white house, the stone house' or 'his nice big white stone house'

In order for a noun that cannot be possessed to occur with a possessor, it must be followed appositionally by a possessive noun phrase based on the inherently possessed noun íñā 'thing' (see 3.3). The relation between

the two parts of such a construction is close knit, and there is no pause potential between them.

> *nduvi iñá tun*
> day thing her
> 'her life'

> *kwendu iña tsídō*
> story thing rabbit
> 'story about a rabbit' *or* 'rabbit story'

> *predende iña fúnda*
> leader thing committee
> 'leader (Sp. *presidente*) of a committee (Sp. *junta*)' *or* 'committee chairman'

(See also 7.1 and 7.123.)

3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are simple coordinate, coordinate with attraction, or disjunctive. In the simple coordinate noun phrase, a pause follows all noun phrases in a list, and the additive marker *di* 'also' optionally precedes each pause.

> *námā / tsumē / túūn*
> soap candle charcoal
> 'soap, candles, and charcoal'

> *ndika di / títsin / tíkwē di*
> banana also avocado guava also
> 'also bananas, avocados, and also guavas'

> *tsīdó di / rkuhú di / shishí di / tímāhá di*
> rabbit also deer also coati also raccoon also
> 'also rabbits, deer, coatis, and raccoons'

> *átā ko / díkī kó / ndaha kó / díhín ko di*
> back me head me hand me foot me also
> 'my back, my head, my hands, and also my feet'

It is also possible to link two noun phrases by using an associative adjunct (see 1.1.4).

Coordinate noun phrases exemplifying attraction consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases with no pause between them. The first noun phrase must contain an expanded numeral phrase (see 4.1.3) containing the general quantifier *ndɨhɨ* 'all'. This quantifier fuses with numerals from two to four (see 5.6). The second noun phrase must permit the interpretation that its referents are included in the referents of the first one.

> *nduvi*   *ndɨ*   *xwaan*
> all:two   we:EX   John
> 'both John and I'

> *nduvi*   *ná*   *ení*   *na*
> all:two   he   brother:ME   him
> 'both he and his brother'

> *nduni*   *ndó*   *tun*
> all:three   you:PL   she
> 'the three of you, including her'

Disjunctive noun phrases consist of two or three parts. Each part is preceded by either *o* 'or' (Sp.) or *ndé* 'nor', except that *o* is optional before the first part. The topic marker *ne* 'and' followed by pause optionally follows each part except the last.

> *o*   *vi*   *sāhá*   *o*   *vi*   *tsɨkán*
> or   house   this   or   house   that
> 'either this house or that house'

> *un*   *shoó*   *ne* / *o*   *uni*   *víte*   *ne* / *o*   *kɨmi*   *víte*
> one   moon   and   or   three   week   and   or   four   week
> 'a month, or three or four weeks'

> *nde*   *láā*   *ne* / *ndé*   *kōó*   *ne* / *ndé*   *kɨtɨ*
> nor   bird   and   nor   snake   and   nor   animal
> 'neither birds, nor snakes, nor animals'

3.9 Distributive Noun Phrases

Distributive noun phrases express the notion of 'each' or 'every'. They are of two types: temporal and locative. In temporal phrases the noun nucleus is simply repeated.

> *kwia   kwíā*
> year   year
> 'every year' *or* 'yearly'

In locative phrases, *tán*, the prestressed form of *tahan* 'companion', precedes the nucleus, and the entire phrase is repeated.

> *tán   vi   tán   vihi*
> companion   house   companion house
> 'from house to house'

3.10 Partitive Noun Phrases

Partitive noun phrases have a structure and distribution similar to that of measurement noun phrases. They have a noun nucleus, which is either *ñaha* 'person' or *díkī* 'head', preceded by a quantifier, and they are used to refer to one or more members of a determinate group of persons or animals.

> *un   ñaha   (dūtú)*
> one   person (priest)
> 'one (of the priests)'

> *úhun   ñāha   (tún)*
> five   person (she)
> 'five (of them [girls])'

> *úshi   ñāha   (ña)*
> ten   person (person)
> 'ten (of them [people])'

> *úshi   díkī   (ti)*
> ten   head   (it:AML)
> 'ten (of them [animals])'

3.11 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Indefinite noun phrases are of two kinds, both of which may be used alone or in combination with a following noun phrase. The first kind is formed by using an interrogative as nucleus, preceded by the subordinate conjunction *dā* 'when', in the sense of 'even', and frequently followed by *ká* 'more', the limiter *tsi* 'just', and sometimes the quantifier *ndɨhɨ* 'all'.

> *da   shōó*
> when   who
> 'anyone'

> *da   shōó   ka*
> when   who   more
> 'whoever'

> *da   shōó   ka   (ñaha)*
> when   who   more   (person)
> 'whoever'

> *da   nēé   ka   tsi*
> when   what   more   LIM
> 'whatever'

> *da   nēé   ka   ndɨhɨ*
> when   what   more   all
> 'whatever'

> *da   nēé   ka   (nduvi)*
> when   what   more   (day)
> 'whenever' *or* 'any (day)'

> *dā   míhī   ká*
> when   where   more
> 'wherever' *or* 'anywhere'

> *dā   míhī   ká   tsi   (ñuú)*
> when   where   more   LIM   (town)
> 'wherever' *or* 'any (town)'

The second kind is formed by using an interrogative as nucleus, followed by *ndɨhɨ* 'all', or by *ndɨ ndɨhɨ*.

shó   ndɨhɨ (ñaha)
who   all   (person)
'who-all'

né   ndɨ ndɨhɨ (tsiñu)
what   all   all   (work)
'what-all (jobs)'

[blank]

4

Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases. In additive numeral phrases, simple numerals from one to ten, fifteen, and twenty are combined to form the numerals eleven to fourteen, sixteen to nineteen, twenty-one to thirty, and thirty-five. In each case the larger numeral precedes the smaller one. The numeral *uun* 'one' has a suppletive allomorph *ün* following ten.

> *úshi   ün*
> ten   one
> 'eleven'

> *shéun   uvī*
> fifteen   two
> 'seventeen'

> *oko   úhshī*
> twenty   ten
> 'thirty'

An additive numeral phrase containing three numerals is used to form the numerals from thirty-one to thirty-four and from thirty-six to thirty-nine.

> *oko   ush   únī*
> twenty   ten   three
> 'thirty-three'

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oko   *sheun*   *kɨmɨ*
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 for 'twenty' occurs as the nucleus of an attributive phrase, a suppletive allomorph, *díkō,* occurs; this must be preceded by a numeral between two and four.

kɨmi   *díkō*
four   twenty
'eighty'

un   *syendu*
one   hundred
'one hundred (Sp. *ciento*)'

úhūn   *mīīl*
five   thousand
'five thousand (Sp. *mil*)'

Attributive numeral phrases combined with additive numeral phrases are used to form all the remaining nonsimple numerals.

úvi   *dīko*   *shéun*   *un*
two   twenty   fifteen   one
'fifty-six'

un   *syendu*   *oko*   *iñu*
one   hundred   twenty   six
'one hundred twenty-six'

un   *mīīl*   *ūshe*   *syendu*   *uni*   *díko*   *una*
one   thousand   seven   hundred   three   twenty   eight
'one thousand seven hundred sixty-eight'

ɨ̄n   *syendu*   *kɨmi*   *díko*   *ushi*   *ɨ̄n*   *mīīl*
nine   hundred   four   twenty   ten   one   thousand
'nine hundred ninety-one thousand'

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

The prenuclear element quantifies the numeral nucleus and is expressed by *dá* 'only', *tē* 'if' (here used in the sense of 'approximately'), or *ndɨ* (reduced form of *ndɨhɨ* 'all').

> *dá   ūvi   (kɨtɨ)*
> only   two   (animal)
> 'only two (animals)'

> *te   ōko   (víhi)*
> if   twenty (house)
> 'about twenty (houses)'

> *ndɨ   ūhun   (ñáha)*
> all   five   (person)
> 'all five (persons)'

ndɨ fuses with numerals two through four (see 5.6).

The six postnuclear elements are: fraction, additive, limiter, repetitive, emphatic, and deprecative. All of these except fraction also occur in content verb phrases (see 2.1.3).

Fraction occurs in first postnuclear position and is expressed only by *nde dáva* 'and a half'; *ndé* is a reduced form of the verb *ndeé* 'to be against (singular)'.

> *úni   ndē   dáva   (itá)*
> three CON:be:against:SG   half   (tortilla)
> 'three and a half (tortillas)'

Additive occurs in second postnuclear position and is expressed by *ká* 'more' or 'still' and *sá* 'only a bit more'.

> *kɨmɨ   ká   (ndika)*
> four   more   (banana)
> 'four more (bananas)'

> *úvɨ   sá   (tsiñu)*
> two   only   (work)
> 'only two more (jobs)'

(See also 7.94 and 7.95.)

Limiter occurs in third postnuclear position and is expressed by *tsi* 'just'.

> *úni   tsi   (vīhi)*
> three   LIM   (house)
> 'just three (houses)'

(See also 7.90.)

Repetitive occurs in fourth postnuclear position and is expressed by *tuku* 'other'; it requires the presence of the additive in order to occur in a quantifier phrase.

> *uun   ká   tuku   (ihshá)*
> one   more   REP   (child)
> 'another (child)'

Emphatic occurs in fifth postnuclear position and is expressed by *ku* 'indeed' or 'definitely'.

> *íñu   ku   (īdu)*
> six   EMPH   (horse)
> 'definitely six (horses)'

Deprecative occurs in sixth postnuclear position and is expressed by *kūdii* 'merely'.

> *uun   kudii   (ndika)*
> one   merely   (banana)
> 'merely one (banana)'

The deprecative can be fronted to focus position before the quantifier.

> *kūdii   kími   (íta)*
> merely   four   (tortilla)
> 'merely four (tortillas)'

All of the prenuclear and postnuclear elements may occur.

> *ndi   īñú   ka   sh   ku   (kiti)*
> all   six   more   LIM   EMPH   (animal)
> 'definitely just all six more (animals)'

> *te   ūvi   nde   dáva   ká   tuku kudii   (vihi)*
> if   two   CON:be:against:SG   half   more   REP merely (house)
> 'merely about another two-and-a-half more (houses)'

If the noun nucleus that the expanded numeral phrase modifies is a temporal or measurement noun (see 3.2), it directly follows the numeral nucleus and may be followed by any of the above-mentioned postnuclear elements, thus creating a discontinuous structure.

> *uni   (kwía)   ndē   dáva*
> three   (year)   CON:be:against:SG   half
> 'three-and-a-half (years)'

> *úni   (ndūvi)   ká*
> three   (day)   more
> 'three more (days)'

> *un   (shoó)   sa*
> one   (moon)   only
> 'only one more (month)'

> *kímī   (métrū)   ká*
> four   (meter)   more
> 'four more (meters [Sp. *metro*])'

> *ǖn   (kílu)   tsī*
> nine (kilogram)   LIM
> 'just nine (kilograms [Sp. *kilo*])'

> *un   (shoó)   ka   túku*
> one   (moon)   more   REP
> 'another (month)'

> *úshi   (nāhá)   ku*
> ten   (pair)   EMPH
> 'definitely ten (pairs)'

> *úvi   (ūra)   kúdii*
> two   (hour)   merely
> 'merely two (hours [Sp. *hora*])'

Note, however, that when an expanded numeral phrase occurs as the quantifier of a measurement noun phrase, postnuclear elements may follow the measurement noun, but not the higher noun.

> *úhūn*   *(lítru)*   *ndē*   *dáva (ndute)*
> five   (liter)   CON:be:against:SG   half   (water)
> 'five-and-a-half (liters [Sp. *litro*] of water)'

> *dava (etun)   tsí   (nuni)*
> half   (box)   LIM   (corn)
> 'just half (a four-liter measure of corn)'

When an expanded numeral phrase is questioned, the interrogative marker *ndu* occurs following the postnuclear elements. However, it optionally precedes or follows the deprecative *kūdií* without apparent change of meaning, as seen by comparing the last two examples.

> *ūvi   (shoó)   ka   ndu*
> two   (moon)   more   INT
> 'two more (months)?'

> *ūví   ka   tuku   ndu   (ihshá)*
> two   more   REP   INT   (child)
> 'two other (children)?'

> *ūun   kudii   ndu   (íta)*
> one   merely   INT   (tortilla)
> 'merely one (tortilla)?'

> *ūun   ndu   kudii   (íta)*
> one   INT   merely   (tortilla)
> 'merely one (tortilla)?'

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, followed by any of the postnuclear elements which occur in expanded numeral phrases except for the fraction. No prenuclear elements occur.

> *ndehvi   tsi   (ita)*
> few   LIM   (tortilla)
> 'just a few (tortillas)'

    t�̱tín   ka   tuku kudii (tsídō)
    several   more   REP   merely (rabbit)
    'merely several other (rabbits)'

In 7.37 the specifier *divī* serves as the nucleus of a general quantifier phrase.

4.1.5 Distributive numeral phrases. A repeated numeral or general quantifier, which is usually grammatically simple, constitutes a distributive numeral phrase. These phrases express the meaning 'numeral by numeral'.

    uni   úni   (ĩhshá)
    three three (child)
    'three-by-three (children)'

    uvi   úvi   (kӣti̱)
    two two   (animal)
    'two-by-two (animals)'

    uvívi   (kӣti̱)
    two:two (animal)
    'two-by-two (animals)'

    dava   dava (∅)
    half   half   (UN)
    'by halves' *or* 'in equal parts'

The numeral *uun* 'one', when repeated, must be preceded by a reduced form of the verb *kuvi* 'to become' or *shéē* 'to arrive', or by the complementizer *é*.

    kwi   un   kwi   un   (ti̱)
    CON:become one CON:become one (it:AML)
    'one (animal) at a time'

    shé   un   shé   un   (ñā)
    CON:arrive one CON:arrive one (person)
    'each (person)'

é   un   é   un   *(ña)*
CMP   one   CMP   one   (person)
'each (person)'

4.1.6 Alternative numeral phrases. Two or three numerals in ascending order combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The numerals are usually grammatically simple and indicate an approximate rather than specific number. They frequently are preceded by the conjunction *tē* 'if' or 'when', which in this context means 'approximately', and sometimes they are separated by *ō* 'or' (Sp. *o*).

uvi   úni   (ndīka)
two   three (banana)
'two or three (bananas)'

te   ūvi   uni   kɨmi   (kwíā)
if   two   three four   (year)
'about two to four (years)'

úni   o   kɨmi   (ihshá)
three or   four   (child)
'three or four (children)'

4.1.7 Negative quantifier phrases. Negative quantifier phrases contain a numeral or general quantifier as nucleus, frequently preceded by prenuclear *dá* 'only' or 'just'. They are introduced by *ñá tē* 'definitely not' (see 1.5) and are used to express exaggeration. These phrases occur only in sentence-initial position.

ñá   te   da   ūhshi   (víhi)
NEG   if   only ten   (house)
'more than ten (houses)'   (lit. 'definitely not just ten [houses]')

ñá   te   da   dīi   (ñaha)
NEG   if   only bit   (person)
'a whole lot of (people)'   (lit. 'definitely not just a few [people]')

This construction also occurs with the idiomatic expression *un siin* 'a bit' as nucleus.

ñá   te   da   un   sīin   *(davi)*
NEG   if   only one   bit   (rain)
'a whole lot (of rain)'   (lit. 'not just a bit [of rain]')

The quantifier nucleus is sometimes an interrogative expression (see 3.4).

ñá   tē   ndé   kaa   *(kɨtɨ)*
NEG   if   how   CON:be (animal)
'a lot of (animals)'   (lit. 'not how many [animals]')

ñá   dā   né   ndɨhɨ   *(tsiñu)*
NEG   only what all   (work)
'all sorts of (jobs)'   (lit. 'not just what-all [work]')

(See also 7.84.)

For added emphasis, sometimes a quantifier nucleus is repeated.

ñá   tē   ndé   ka   ndé   kaa   *(ñaha)*
NEG   if   how   CON:be how   CON:be (person)
'A WHOLE LOT (of people)'

ñá   te   da   dɨ̄   da   díi   *(tsídō)*
NEG   if   only bit   only bit   (rabbit)
'A WHOLE LOT (of rabbits)'

ñá   te   ūn   sín   un   sīin   *(davi)*
NEG   if   one   bit   one   bit   (rain)
'A WHOLE LOT (of rain)'

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. Basic adverb phrases consist of a nucleus, which may be a locative, temporal, or general adverb, with optional prenuclear and postnuclear modifying elements that vary considerably depending upon the particular adverb they modify. The prenuclear element is commonly expressed by the intensifier *dōó* 'very'. The postnuclear elements comprise all of those found in verb phrases (see 2.1.3) except personal involvement. In addition, phrases with a locative adverb nucleus often terminate in a poststressed locative adverb or poststressed deictic, while phrases with a temporal adverb nucleus often terminate in

a poststressed temporal or locative adverb or deictic (see 3.1.3 and 5.5).
This construction is similar to the adverbial noun phrase (see 3.6).

With locative adverbs:

dōó   ikā
INTS   far
'very far'

iha   tsi
here   LIM
'right here'

nínu   tsi   ā
above   LIM   here
'just up above here'

nínū   kwehen   tsí   kān
above   completely   LIM   there
'just way up above there'

ikan   tsi   kūdií
there   LIM   merely
'merely just there'

kīhí   tsi   kudii   kán
outside   LIM   merely   there
'merely just outside there'

daha   kān
over   there
'over there'

daha   sán
over   that
'over there'

(See also 7.12, 7.13, 7.19, 7.34, 7.99, 7.102, 7.122, and various
   others.)

With temporal adverbs:

> *dōo   kwáa*
> INTS   late
> 'very late (in the evening)'

> *iku   tsi*
> yesterday   LIM
> 'just yesterday'

> *tévăá   duhva*
> early   thus
> 'quite early (in the morning)'

> *vevií   duhva   tsi   a*
> today   thus   LIM   here
> 'right away'

> *kwaá   ve*
> late   now
> 'this afternoon'   *or*   'this evening'

> *utén   san*
> tomorrow   that
> 'the next day'

(See also 7.51, 7.86, 7.116, and various others.)

With general adverbs:

> *dōó   kwĩ̄*
> INTS   slowly
> 'very slowly'

> *dotō   tsí*
> haphazardly   LIM
> 'just any old way'

> *kwĩ̄   kwehen   tsí*
> slowly   completely   LIM
> 'just extremely slowly'

dukwan   kūdií
thus   merely
'merely thus'

In one idiomatic expression the adverb nucleus is followed by both a poststressed locative and a poststressed temporal adverb.

vihi   a   ve
while   here   now
'right now' *or* 'in a little while'

(See also 7.48, 7.52, and various others.)

4.2.2 Appositional adverb phrases. Any two of the following structures may be juxtaposed to form appositional adverb phrases: adverbs (full forms), adverb phrases, adverbial noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and subordinate clauses. This construction is fairly rare. Note, however, that the use of a poststressed locative or temporal adverb in the general adverb phrase is very frequent, and is appositional in meaning.

utén   /   lune
tomorrow   Monday
'tomorrow, Monday (Sp. *Lunes*)'

iha   /   ñushiví
here   world
'here on earth'

ikan   /   kūchaña
there   Tehuacán
'there in Tehuacán'

ikan   /   īní   ukun   kān
there   insides church   there
'there in the church'

itsi   kān   /   ikān   mí   shihi   tí
trail there   there   where   COM:die it:AML
'on the road, there where it died'

See also 7.1 which contains an appositional adverb phrase embedded in an appositional noun phrase.

Two adverb phrases sometimes occur appositionally in a kind of discontinuous structure that is used as a highlighting device in narrative discourse (see Small 1979:364). The first phrase occurs in focus position and is expressed by *ikan tsī* 'just there', used in the sense of 'right then and there'; the second phrase occurs in the usual position for locative adjuncts or location peripheral elements.

> *ikan   tsī   (shihi   tï)   nú   itsi   kãn*
> there   LIM   (COM:die it:AML)   face   trail   there
> '(It died) right there on the trail.'

(See also 7.102, 7.109, and 7.122.)

4.2.3 Alternative adverb phrases. Alternative adverb phrases are quite rare; they are formed by juxtaposing two related adverbs and indicate approximate time. (See 4.1.6 for a description of a similar construction based on numerals.)

> *utén   īdá*
> tomorrow   day:after:tomorrow
> 'tomorrow or the day after'   *or*   'in the near future'

4.2.4 Distributive adverb phrases. In distributive adverb phrases the adverb is repeated to indicate 'every'; the limiter *tsi* optionally follows the second one. (For a description of similar constructions based on nouns and numerals, see 3.9 and 4.1.5.)

> *tévã   teváa*
> early   early
> 'every morning'

> *utén   ūtén*
> tomorrow tomorrow
> 'every day'   *or*   'daily'

> *shio   shio   tsi*
> away   away   LIM
> 'just in every direction'

4.2.5 Negative adverb phrases. Negative adverb phrases are similar to negative quantifier phrases (see 4.1.7), except that they usually have an adverb or basic adverb phrase as nucleus. They express exaggeration by

means of irony and occur only in preverbal manner position in a sentence (see 2.1.2).

> ñá   te   dā   vévií   (kaeku   ∅)
> NEG   if   only   today   (CON:cry   UN)
> '(It has been crying) a long time!' (lit. 'Not just today [is it crying].')

> ñá   te   da   ētsin   tsi   (tuví   ∅)
> NEG   if   only   near   LIM   (CON:sit:SG   UN)
> '(It is) a long ways away!' (lit. '[It is] not simply nearby.')

Occasionally, these phrases have as their nucleus a noun phrase used adverbially.

> ñá   te   da   un   sīin   tsi   (kaeku   ∅)
> NEG   if   only   one   bit   LIM   (CON:cry   UN)
> '(It is crying) a whole lot!' (lit. 'Not just a little bit [is it crying].')

> ñá   tē   do   díki̱   (uhvi   ∅)
> NEG   if   word   CON:play   (CON:hurt   UN)
> '(It) really (hurts)!' (lit. 'Not in jest [does it hurt].')

In order for prenuclear dá 'only' to occur with do díki̱, the main verb must intervene, thus creating a discontinuous structure; do díki̱ may optionally follow the subject of such a sentence.

> ñá   te   da   (ūhvi)   do   díki̱   (kúñū   kó)
> NEG   if   only   (CON:hurt)   word   CON:play   (body   me)
> '(My body) really (hurts)!' (lit. 'Not simply in jest [does my body hurt].')

> ñá   te   da   (ūhvi   kúñū   kó)   do   díki̱
> NEG   if   only   (CON:hurt   body   me)   word   CON:play
> '(My body) really (hurts)!' (lit. 'Not simply [does my body hurt] in jest.')

For added emphasis, sometimes the nucleus is repeated.

> ñá   te   dā   vévi   vévií   (tuví   ∅)
> NEG   if   only   today   today   (CON:sit:SG   UN)
> '(It has been [here]) A LONG TIME!'

ñá	tē	do	díkɨ	do	díkɨ	(uhvi	Ø)
NEG	if	word	CON:play	word	CON:play	(CON:hurt	UN)

'(It) REALLY (hurts)!'

4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which may be a noun phrase, an adverb phrase, or another prepositional phrase. Rarely, the preposition is preceded by a quantifier. They are distinguished from adverbial possessive noun phrases which employ inherently possessed nouns, usually referring to body parts, which often have a relational function (see 3.6). The prepositions are *nihī* 'with'; *ndeé* 'against', 'as far as', 'from', 'since', or 'even'; *náā* 'in place of'; *méhñū* 'in the middle of'; *máā* 'under'; *ninú* 'above'; *shuvi* 'below'; and *kwenda iñá* 'for', 'on behalf of', 'about', or 'in place of' (Sp. *cuenta*).

ni	*enī*	*ná*
with	brother:ME	him

'with his brother'

nde	*kucháñā*
against	Tehuacán

'as far as Tehuacán'

nde	*kidáā*
against	then

'since then'

náā	*kó*
in:place:of	me

'in place of me'

méhñu	*ī*
in:middle:of	UN

'in the middle of it'

méñu	*ndute*	*kān*
in:middle:of	water	there

'in the middle of the water there'

má   ētun
under   box
'under a box'

má   vihī
under   house
'in the house' *or* 'indoors'

ninú   vihī   tún
above   house   her
'above her house'

shuvi   ukún   kān
below   church   there
'below the church there'

kwenda   iñá   ko
account   thing   me
'for me' *or* 'on my behalf'

(See also 7.5, 7.16, 7.22, 7.26, 7.41, 7.103, and 7.123.)

The conjunctions *dā* 'when' and *dá ndē* 'until' also function as preposi-
tions meaning 'until'.

da   kidáā
when   then
'until then'

da   nde   kidáā
when   against   then
'until then'

da   nde   kwía   vē
when   against   year   now
'until a year from now'

(See also 7.106.)

Both *dá ndē* and *ndé* may be preceded by the quantifier phrase *un tsi* 'just
one', which here functions as an intensifier.

un   tsi   da   nde   kwia   ve
one   LIM   when   against   year   now
'as long as a year from now'

un   tsi   nde   maa   i   kãn
one   LIM   against   under   UN   there
'all the way down there'

(See also 7.12, 7.16, 7.19, and 7.22.)

[blank]

5

Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

5.1.1 Derivation. Content verbs are derived from other content verbs, from stative verbs, or from nouns by means of derivational prefixes, sometimes accompanied by tone changes.

The causative prefix *nā-* combines with content verbs in potential aspect, adding an agent. The low accent inherent in the prefix is usually realized on the following syllable.

> *na-kāhshí*
> CAUS-POT:eat
> 'to feed'   (cf. *kahshí* 'to eat')

> *na-kōhshó*
> CAUS-POT:fall
> 'to drop'   (cf. *kóhshō* 'to fall')

> *na-kwēku*
> CAUS-POT:cry
> 'to play (an instrument)'   (cf. *kweku* 'to cry')

> *na-tsīhó*
> CAUS-POT:be:cooked
> 'to cook'   (cf. *tsíhō* 'to be cooked')

> *na-ndōho*
> CAUS-POT:suffer
> 'to persecute'   (cf. *ndoho* 'to suffer')

na-ndōto
CAUS-POT:wake:up
'to wake (someone) up'   (cf. *ndoto* 'to wake up')

(See also 7.12, 7.13, 7.60, 7.91, and 7.95.)

The prefix *nă-* also combines with stative verbs to create derived content verbs.

na-ndīhi
CAUS-fine
'to grind up'   (cf. *ndihi* 'fine')

na-nēé
CAUS-dark
'to turn off (a light)'   (cf. *neé* 'dark')

   The repetitive prefix *na-* combines with content verbs in potential aspect to add the meaning of repeated or resumed action. Many verbs with it have acquired idiomatic meanings.

na-shee
REP-POT:arrive
'to arrive back'

na-nihi
REP-POT:get
'to find (something lost)'

na-kíku
REP-POT:sew
'to mend'   (cf. *kíkū* 'to sew')

na-kate
REP-POT:dig
'to wash (clothes)'

na-kahan
REP-POT:speak
'to remember'

(See also 7.3, 7.12, 7.27, 7.28, 7.43, 7.52, 7.54, and 7.69.)

This prefix also combines with stative verbs to create derived content verbs.

> *na-ītsí*
> REP-dry
> 'to get dry again'   (cf. *ītsí* 'dry')

> *na-ihnī*
> REP-hot
> 'to get hot again (weather)'

When *na-* is combined with some verbs with initial *k*, the derived form begins with *nd*, rather than the expected *nak*.

> *ndɨhvī*
> REP:POT:enter
> 'to re-enter'   (cf. *kɨhvī* 'to enter')

> *nduvi*
> REP:POT:become
> 'to turn into'   (cf. *kuvi* 'to become')

> *ndava*
> REP:POT:lie:down
> 'to fall over'   (cf. *kava* 'to lie down')

> *ndaa*
> REP:POT:go:up
> 'to go uphill'   (cf. *kaa* 'to go up [e.g., a ladder]')

> *ndaa*
> REP:CON:be
> 'to be (PL)'   (cf. *kaa* 'to be [SG]')

> *ndoto*
> REP:POT:look
> 'to wake up'   (cf. *koto* 'to look')

Both the causative *nā-* and the repetitive *na-* may occur in the same verb; either one may precede.

na-nā-kahshí
CAUS-POT:REP-POT:eat
'to cause to resume eating'

na-na-kāhshí
REP-POT:CAUS-POT:eat
'to feed again'

Some verbs with initial *nā, na,* or *n* appear to be frozen forms with derivational prefixes for which the corresponding simple form has been lost.

nanduté
POT:untie
'to untie'

nadūví
POT:whistle
'to whistle'

nadíkɨ
POT:play
'to play'   (cf. *ē díkɨ* 'plaything, toy')

nakwāha
POT:?
'to read, to study, to teach'

naíhva
POT:yawn
'to yawn'

nēhshín
POT:sweep
'to sweep'

nēkín
POT:comb
'to comb'

Intransitive verbs are derived from stative verbs by adding the inceptive prefix *ku-*, a reduced form of *kuvi* 'to become', or its repetitive form *ndu-*,

a reduced form of *nduvi* 'to become', which indicates a return to an original state.

> *ku-neé*
> POT:become-dark
> 'to get dark'

> *ku-ihnī*
> POT:become-hot
> 'to get hot'

> *ku-iā*
> POT:become-sour
> 'to get sour'

> *ku-diin*
> POT:become-angry
> 'to get angry'

> *ndu-váha*
> POT:REP:become-good
> 'to get well'   (cf. *váhā* 'good')

> *ndu-ndɨɨ*
> POT:REP:become-smooth
> 'to get ironed'   *or*   'to get tidied up'

In rare instances the prefix *ku-* is added to a noun to form an intransitive verb.

> *ku-choho*
> POT:become-herb
> 'to be treated with medicine'   (cf. *chóhō* 'herb')

> *ku-viko*
> POT:become-fiesta
> 'to be blessed'

A significant number of transitive verbs with initial *k* in the potential aspect have corresponding intransitive forms with *t* or *nd*. This seems to be a remnant of a formerly productive derivational process.

Transitive		Intransitive	
kádīn	'to squash'	*tádīn*	'to be squashed'
káhnū	'to break'	*táhnū*	'to be broken'
kahndé or			
kehndé	'to cut'	*téhndē*	'to be cut'
katsin	'to cut up, to tear up'	*ndātsin*	'to be cut up, to be torn up'

In a few cases, a form with initial *nd* that appears to be the intransitive counterpart of a transitive verb requires the inceptive prefix *ku-*. The *nd*-initial form occurs alone only as a stative verb.

Transitive	Intransitive	Stative
kɨkū	*ku-ndɨkú*	*ndɨku*
'to sew'	'to be sewn'	'sewn'
kahvī	*ku-ndēhví*	*ndehvi*
'to count'	'to be counted'	'few'

Position verbs differ from other content verbs in that they occur only in unmarked continuative aspect and characteristically have separate forms for singular and plural subjects.

	SG	PL
be in	*nuu*	*ñuhu*
be upon	*ndekú*	*odo*
be against	*ndeé*	*uve*
be underneath	*nihni*	*shɨhɨ*
be sitting	*tuví*	*ndoo*
be standing	*ndɨtsí*	*ndâñɨ*
be hanging	*rkaa*	*atā*

These verbs combine with special derivational prefixes to express the act of assuming a position or of placing something in a position.

Intransitive verbs that express the act of assuming a position are derived from position verbs by means of the motion prefix *i-*,[1] which is realized as a high accent on verbs with initial vowel, *ñ*, or *sh;* these verbs likewise have separate forms for singular and plural subjects.

	SG	PL
get in	*i-núū*	*ñúhū*
get upon	*i-ndékū*	*ódō*
get against	*i-ndéē*	*úvē*
get underneath	*i-níhnī*	*shíhɨ*
sit down	*i-túvī*	*i-ndóō*
stand up	*i-ndítsī*	*i-ndáñɨ*
hang	*i-rkáā*	*átā*

Transitive verbs of placement are derived from position verbs by means of the collocative prefix *ts-*, which is realized as *sh-* before a consonant. There are separate singular and plural forms, as in the verbs described above, but in these verbs it is the number of the object that is relevant, rather than the number of the subject.

	SG	PL
put in	*sh-nūu*	*ts-uhun*
put upon	*sh-ndēkú*	*ts-odō*
put against	*sh-ndēé*	*ts-uvē*
put underneath	*sh-níhni*	*ts-ihi*
set down	*sh-tūví*	*ts-oo*
stand up	*sh-ndītsí*	*sh-ndāñɨ*

In one pair of verbs, the collocative prefix occurs only on the singular form.

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[1]The motion prefix is probably historically related to the motion auxiliaries described in 2.1.2, but shows a greater degree of fusion and semantic weakening.

	SG	PL
hang up	*sh-kaa*	*kata*

5.1.2 Inflection. Most content verbs are inflected for three aspects: continuative, completive, and potential. The unmarked continuative aspect is the basic form of the verb; in regular verbs, the remaining aspect forms can be predicted from it.[2] The form of the continuative aspect that occurs in most constructions, however, consists of this basic form preceded by the prefix *ka-* (or its optional plural form *ndá-*). Completive aspect is usually marked by a tone change, and potential aspect is sometimes marked by a prefix. For descriptive convenience, verbs that take these three aspects may be divided into six classes. The first two classes comprise regular verbs, while the remaining four classes are irregular in various ways, and contain only a few members each.

Verbs of Class I begin with a vowel, usually *e* or *i*. The completive aspect is marked by a low accent on the first syllable, and the potential aspect is marked by a *kw-* or *kV-* prefix, which fuses with the stem-initial vowel in various predictable ways.[3]

	CON	COM	POT
cry	*ka-eku*	*ēku*	*kweku*
burn	*ka-ehmi*	*ēhmi*	*kahmi*
hit	*ka-ehní*	*ēhní*	*kahní*
cut	*ka-ehndé*	*ēhndé*	*kahndé*
spill	*ka-etí*	*ētí*	*katí*
walk	*ka-ika*	*īka*	*kaka*
run	*ka-inu*	*īnu*	*kunu*
bathe	*ka-itsi*	*ītsi*	*kutsi*
carry	*ka-ido*	*īdo*	*kwido*

---

[2]This form is, however, somewhat rare. It occurs following the nonmotion auxiliary *ini* (see 2.1.2), and certain verbs take it in other constructions (see 1.1.6, 1.1.9, 5.1.1, and 6.3).

[3]There is evidence of vowel harmony in the formation of the potential prefix. Verbs with initial *e* add *kw-* if the second vowel of the couplet is *u*, but replace *e* with *ka-* if the second vowel is *i, e,* or *i*. Verbs with initial *i* add *kw-* if the second vowel is *e* or *o*, but replace *i* with *ku-* if the second vowel is *i* or *u*, and with *ka-* if the second vowel is *a*.

Verbs of Class II begin with a consonant. They fall into two groups, depending on the tone of the penultimate syllable of the stem. If this syllable has no accent, the verb adds a low accent on the first syllable of the completive aspect form. If, however, the penultimate syllable of the stem has a low accent in the basic form, completive aspect is marked by adding a high accent at the beginning of the word. In a three-syllable stem, the high accent falls on the first syllable, and the low accent on the second syllable remains unchanged. If, however, the stem contains only two syllables, the high accent is added to the first syllable, which already has a low accent, giving a high-low pattern. In Class II verbs, the potential aspect form has no prefix, and it is thus homophonous with the unmarked continuative aspect form.

With no accent on the penultimate syllable:

	CON	COM	POT
grind	*ka-ndiko*	*ndīko*	*ndiko*
tie	*ka-kihní*	*kīhní*	*kihní*
get dark	*ka-kuneé*	*kūneé*	*kuneé*
wash	*ka-nakate*	*nākate*	*nakate*

With a low accent on the penultimate syllable:

	CON	COM	POT
fight	*ka-nāá*	*nâá*	*nāá*
shave	*ka-dēté*	*dêté*	*dēté*
sweep	*ka-nēhshín*	*nêhshín*	*nēhshín*
drop	*ka-nakōhshó*	*nákōhshó*	*nakōhshó*

Verbs of Class III, like those of Class I, begin with a vowel and take the prefix in the potential. They differ, however, in that completive aspect is marked by a high accent on the first syllable and a low accent on the second syllable. This tone pattern is also found in potential aspect.

	CON	COM	POT
explode	*ka-ite*	*ítē*	*kwítē*
bury	*ka-íhshi*	*íhshī*	*kúhshī*

Verbs of Class IV are like those of Class II in that they begin with a consonant and take no prefix in the potential. They are like verbs of Class III, however, in that the completive and potential aspects are marked by a high accent on the first syllable and a low accent on the second syllable. In this verb class the completive and potential aspect forms are homophonous.

	CON	COM	POT
speak	ka-kahán	káhān	káhān
fall	ka-kohshó	kóhshō	kóhshō
sew	ka-kɨkʉ	kɨkū	kɨkū
cover	ka-dáhvi	dáhvī	dáhvī

Verbs of Class V begin with a consonant. Like verbs of Classes II and IV, they do not take the potential prefix, but they differ from these classes in that the basic tone pattern is retained in all three aspects. As in Class IV, the completive and potential aspect forms are homophonous.

	CON	COM	POT
push	ka-tɨhvī	tɨhvī	tɨhvī
put upon (PL)	ka-tsodō	tsodō	tsodō
put upon (SG)	ka-shndēkʉ́	shndēkʉ́	shndēkʉ́

Verbs of Class VI all have potential aspect forms that show segmental differences from the other two aspects.[4] The tone change that marks completive aspect may be like Class I, Class III, or neither.

With completive like Class I:

	CON	COM	POT
burn	ka-ihshi	īhshi	koko
drink	ka-shihi	shīhi	koho
buy	ka-ñii	ñī̄	kwiin

---

[4]Verbs with stem-initial palatals *sh* or *ñ* are like verbs with initial vowels in that they take the *kw-* or *kV-* potential prefix; in such verbs the palatal consonant is deleted in potential aspect forms.

With completive like Class III:

	CON	COM	POT
give, hit	*ka-shéhē*	*shéhē*	*kwéhē*
die	*ka-shihi*	*shíhī*	*kuví*
exist[5]	*ka-shio, īó*	*shīō*	*koó*

With completive like neither:

	CON	COM	POT
do[6]	*ka-de*	*dé*	*kada,vií*

Motion verbs have, in addition to the three regular aspects, an incompletive aspect, which indicates an action that has been initiated and is still in effect. This aspect is marked by the prefix *kú-*, indicating motion in a given direction without return to the point of departure. The irregular forms *véhshī* in the verb 'to come' and *kwéhēn*, a fusion of *kú-* plus *ñéhē*, in the verb 'to go' likewise express this aspect.[7] The other three aspects of these verbs, which are all consonant-initial, are like Classes II, IV, or VI. These motion verbs are:

	CON	INC	COM	POT
come	*ka-kihshi*	*véhshī*	*kīhshi*	*kihshi*
come back	*ka-ndihshi*	*kú-ndīhshi*	*ndīhshi*	*ndihshi*
go uphill	*ka-ndaa*	*kú-ndāa*	*ndāa*	*ndaa*
go downhill	*ka-ndii*	*kú-ndīi*	*ndīi*	*ndīi*
go down	*ka-kii*	*kú-kīi*	*kīi*	*kīi*
go back	*ka-nuhu*	*kú-nūhú*	*núhū*	*núhū*
go up	*ka-shee*	*kú-shēe*	*shēe*	*kaa*
go	*ka-ñehe*	*kwéhēn*	*ñéhē*	*kíhīn*

[5]The unmarked continuative form *īó* 'there is' or 'there are' is difficult to classify. It resembles a position verb in meaning (see 5.1.1), although it has no separate form for a plural subject, and a position verb *tuví* 'to be sitting' substitutes for it in negative sentences.

[6]There are two potential forms of the verb 'to do': *vií* occurs independently, whereas *kada* occurs only as the first member of a complex verb nucleus (see examples in 2.1.1).

[7]For further discussion of aspectual problems in motion verbs in Mixtec, see Kuiper and Merrifield (1975) and Macaulay (1982 and 1985).

Verbs of assuming a position also have an incompletive aspect form. Most of these verbs fall into suppletive pairs that correlate with the number of the subject. All of the singular verbs and some of the plural ones contain the motion prefix *i-*, while the remaining plural ones do not (see 5.1.1). Verbs in both groups show irregular patterns of prefixation and tone that do not fall into any of the six types described above.

The verbs that contain *i-* in their basic continuative form also have it in the completive form, where its tone is raised to high, but not in incompletive or potential. Continuative aspect is marked by the prefix *ka-*, incompletive aspect is marked by the prefix *ká-*, and potential aspect is marked by *ku-*. The continuative form usually has a high accent on the first syllable of the stem, and the other three aspects have a low accent on the first syllable.

	CON	INC	COM	POT
get in (SG)	*ka-i-núu*	*ká-nūu*	*í-nūu*	*ku-nūu*
sit down (SG)	*ka-i-túvi*	*ká-tūví*	*í-tūví*	*ku-tūví*
stand up (SG)	*ka-i-nдítsi*	*ká-ndītsí*	*í-ndītsí*	*ku-ndītsí*
get hung (SG)	*ka-i-rkáa*	*ká-rkāa*	*í-rkāa*	*ku-rkāa*
sit down (PL)	*ka-i-ndóo*	*ká-ndōo*	*í-ndōo*	*ku-ndōo*
stand up (PL)	*ka-i-ndáñɨ*	*ká-ndāñɨ*	*í-ndāñɨ*	*ku-ndāñɨ*

The verbs that do not contain *i-* have a *ka-* prefix on both the continuative and incompletive forms, and a fused *kV-* prefix on the potential. They have a high accent on the first syllable of the stem in the basic continuative aspect form, and this pattern is retained in the incompletive. Completive aspect has a high-low tone pattern, and potential is characterized by the lack of any accent.

	CON	INC	COM	POT
get on (PL)	*ka-ódo*	*ka-ódo*	*ódō*	*kodo*
get against (PL)	*ka-úve*	*ka-úve*	*úvē*	*kuve*
get in (PL)	*ka-ñúhu*	*ka-ñúhu*	*ñúhū*	*kuhun*
get underneath (PL)	*ka-shíhɨ*	*ka-shíhɨ*	*shíhɨ*	*kɨhɨ*

In most verbs the potential aspect form is used in commands. There are, however, two classes of special imperative forms. For second person imperatives, motion verbs of going (but not coming) use the segmental form

of the incompletive aspect, but replace its tones by a pattern that usually involves introducing a high accent.

	Imperative	Incompletive
go	*kwēhén*	*kwéhēn*
go back	*ku-núhu*	*kú-nǔhú*
go down	*ku-kïi*	*kú-kïi*
go downhill	*ku-ndîi*	*kú-ndïi*
go uphill	*ku-ndáa*	*kú-ndāa*
go up	*ku-shée*	*kú-shēe*

When the subject of a command is some other person, however, the potential aspect form is used (see 1.3).

In addition, there are six special forms that are used exclusively as imperatives.

nihí	'come!'
ūhun	'take (this)!'
kamá	'hurry up!'
tïhí	'hurry up!'
tsihñū	'go ahead!'
duhshēn	'shut up!' (cf. *duhshēn* 'war')

The content verbs *kaa* 'to be (singular)', 'to be characterized by', or 'to appear' and its plural counterpart *ndáa*,[8] which characteristically occur in stative sentences (see 1.1.6), occur only in unmarked continuative aspect.

Of the three verbs that occur in equative sentences (see 1.1.5), *nani* 'to be named' occurs only in unmarked continuative aspect, but *kuvi* 'to become' and its repetitive counterpart *nduvi* are regularly inflected for the three basic aspects; they belong to Class II.

	CON	COM	POT
become	*ka-kuvi*	*kūvi*	*kuvi*
turn into	*ka-nduvi*	*ndūvi*	*nduvi*

---

[8]The inherently plural verb *ndáā* is morphologically a fused form composed of the repetitive prefix *na-* followed by *kaa* (see 5.1.1). The use of the plural form is optional for many speakers.

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, usually by means of
a change of accent. The meanings are frequently idiomatic.

Basic stative verbs:

váhā	'good'
vidē	'wet'
vií	'heavy'
ihni	'hot'
nee	'dark'
ndāhví	'poor'
kwīhshín	'white'

Derived stative verbs:

Stative Verb		Noun	
áhnā	'rubbery'	*ahna*	'rubber'
úhmē	'smoky'	*uhme*	'smoke'
tátsīn	'windy'	*tátsīn*	'wind'
déhen	'greasy'	*dēhén*	'lard'
ndôhshó	'muddy'	*ndōhshó*	'mud'
kwīhí	'thin'	*kwíhī*	'sickness'
tūún	'black'	*túūn*	'charcoal'
atā	'old'	*átā*	'back'
ditsīn	'weepy'	*dítsīn*	'nose'
dūkún	'tall, high'	*dúkūn*	'neck'
duhshēn	'bothersome, lazy'	*duhshēn*	'war'
nduhu	'fat'	*nduhu*	'trunk, log'

(See also 7.101 and 7.105.)

Three stative verbs expressing size have distinct forms for singular and
plural referents.

	SG	PL
long	*kani*	*nani*
big	*kahnu*	*nahnu*
small	*lúhndī*	*kwetsī*

5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There is, however, extensive fusion of complex noun nuclei (see 3.1.1) into single words. Such fusions have resulted in a large number of plant names with initial *t* or *ch*, from fused *utun* 'tree', as well as a number of animal names with initial *t, ts, s, sh,* or *kɨt*, from fused *kɨtɨ* 'animal'. In many cases, the identity of the second part cannot be determined.

With fused 'tree':

tdenū	'sweetgum'
chāá	'oak'
chuhshē	'pine'
chɨɨn	'bamboo'
cháhā	'chili plant' (cf. *shaha* 'chili')

With fused 'animal':

tīná	'dog'
trītá	'woodpecker'
tduhmé	'scorpion' (cf. *dúhmē* 'tail')
tsīdó	'rabbit'
tsoo	'turtle'
tsɨɨ	'snail'
smīī	'bumblebee'
skundi	'cricket, grasshopper'
shteé	'coyote'
shtɨ́ñɨ́	'rat, mouse'
shndohó	'spider' (cf. *ndōhó* 'adobe')
kɨtume	'bee' (cf. *shúmē* 'wax')

| *kɨtdɨhɨ* | 'female animal' (cf. *dɨhɨ* 'mother') |
| *kɨchɨɨ* | 'male animal'   (cf. *shɨɨ* 'husband') |

Other compound nouns:

rkɑhu	'deer' (cf. *idú* 'horse', *kuhu* 'wild')
rkādún	'tostada' (cf. *ítā* 'tortilla', *kādún* 'toasted')
díhū	'beard' (cf. *idi* 'hair', *shuhu* 'mouth')
dōshó	'disaster, miracle' (cf. *doo* 'word', *íshō* 'fearful')

Since simple nuclei are characteristically disyllabic in Mixtec, it can be assumed that words of three or more syllables, as well as the majority of words with initial consonant clusters, are the result of fusion of complex nuclei, although it is frequently impossible, apart from historical and comparative study, to identify the individual morphemes.

tengɨmī	'onion' (cf. *ite* 'grass')
ngoñūhú	'orange'
ngāndɨɨ	'sun'
rkótūún	'Spanish (language)'
rkwāhndɨ	'rainbow'
shndɨví	'star'
ñukɨtɨ	'firecracker'

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 five gender classes, according to the third person pronouns that can substitute for them (see 5.4): adult, masculine, feminine, animal/spherical, and unspecified. Adult nouns include deities as well as adult humans and do not distinguish masculine and feminine. There is some overlap between adult and masculine or feminine nouns, but the use of a specifically masculine or feminine noun or pronoun to refer to an adult is usually considered disrespectful. Animal/spherical nouns include round inanimate objects along with birds, fish, insects, and other animals. Unspecified nouns include small children along with nonround inanimate objects.

Adult nouns:

ñaha	'person, people'
dɨhɨ̄	'mother'
uvā	'father'
dutu	'priest'
sandu	'saint (Sp. *santo*)'
ngāndií	'sun'
shóō	'moon'
dávī	'rain'

Masculine nouns:

naha	'boy'
shɨɨ	'husband'
ení	'brother (of male)'
sndadun	'soldier (Sp. *soldado*)'

Feminine nouns:

táhnū	'female, girl'
dyōkó	'daughter'

Animal/spherical nouns:

kɨtɨ	'animal, round object'
tsāká	'fish'
lūhún	'roadrunner'
kóō	'snake'
tɨtsín	'avocado'
ndéhā	'peach'
kanika	'marble (Sp. *canica*)'

Unspecified nouns:

vihi	'house'
kāá	'metal, machete, bell'
utun	'tree, wood'
shúū	'rock'

ndute	'water'
ndika	'banana'
kwíā	'year'
íñā	'thing'
ihshá	'child'

Nouns may also be divided into those that can be possessed and those that cannot. Nouns that cannot be possessed are those that refer to topographical and meteorological phenomena, as well as certain Spanish loans that refer to abstractions. These nouns cannot be followed directly by a possessor but may occur in an appositional construction with *íñā* 'thing' and a possessor (see 3.3 and 3.7).

shuku	'mountain'
shndɨví	'star'
nduvī	'day'
lei	'law (Sp. *ley*)'
kwendu	'story (Sp. *cuento*)'

Some nouns have more than one sense discrimination, some of which can be possessed while others cannot.

tátsīn	'wind' (not possessible); 'breath, voice' (possessible)

Possessible nouns are either inherently or optionally possessed. Inherently possessed nouns are usually kinship terms or body parts.

tahan	'companion, sister, brother (of female)'
shɨ̈	'husband'
dɨhɨ̄	'mother'
dítsīn	'nose'
ndaha	'arm, hand, branch (of tree), page (of book)'
dɨ̄ví	'name'

(See also 7.2, 7.12, 7.16, 7.23, 7.34, 7.40, and various others.)

If such nouns are elicited without a specified possessor, they are usually given with a first person singular or inclusive poststressed pronoun (see 5.4) as possessor. All other nouns are optionally possessed.

vihi	'house'
dahma	'skirt'
tsīdó	'rabbit'
kwíā	'year'
ñuú	'town'
ihshá	'child'

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.28, and 7.96.)

Possessed nouns occur as the nucleus of possessive noun phrases; see 3.3 and 3.6 for examples of phrases containing these nouns.

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 special terms used exclusively as vocatives, special vocative forms of nouns, and special forms of proper nouns. Nouns have three vocative forms. In ordinary vocative forms, stress and length fall on the first syllable of a couplet, just as they do in nonvocative forms, but the accent patterns sometimes differ. In vocative forms used when calling from a distance, the final syllable is stressed and lengthened and carries a high-low accent. In emphatic vocative forms used to gain someone's attention, *VV* and *VhV* sequences reduce to *V*, and stress shifts to the final syllable, which is checked by *h*.

Forms used only as vocatives:

	Ordinary	Calling	Emphatic
Mother!	*ñāá*	*ñāâ*	*ñáh*
dear!	*lāá*	*lāâ*	*láh*
boy! (ws)	—	—	*dúnh*

Vocative forms of nouns:

	Ordinary	Calling	Emphatic
Father!	*uvā*	*ūvâ*	*ūváh*
Uncle!	*dītó*	*dītô*	*dītóh*

child!	*īhshá*	*īshâ*	*īsháh*
baby!	*pāhá*	*pāâ*	*páh*
boy!	*na kudïi*	*na kudïi̧*	*díh*
teacher!	*mastru*	*mastrû*	*mastruh*
(Sp. *maestro*)			

Proper nouns used as vocatives:

	Ordinary	Calling	Emphatic
Peter!	*pelu*	*pelû*	*peluh*
(Sp. *Pedro*)			
John!	*xwaan*	*xwaân*	*xwanh*
(Sp. *Juan*)			
Mary!	*maria*	*mariâ*	*mariah*
(Sp. *María*)			

See 1.4 for examples of vocatives used with sentences.

Proper nouns include personal names and place names, many of which are compound nuclei. Most personal names are borrowed from Spanish; they often are replaced by nicknames of Mixtec origin, which are frequently names of animals.

Personal names:

pedru or *pelu*	'Peter'
maria or *lia*	'Mary'
tsīhvá	'Pheasant'
létoō	'Inchworm'

Place names:

ñukóhshō	'Mexico City'
kuchaña	'Tehuacán'
núndūvé	'City of Oaxaca'
tenjohō	'City of Puebla'

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 a few other nouns.

kuchaña	'Tehuacán'
itsi	'trail'
útē	'water hole, spring'
ñuú	'town'

The second group includes mainly names for body parts which are used in an extended sense; they are:

núū
face
'at, on, on top of, in front of'

átā
back
'in back of, outside of, behind'

iní
insides
'in, inside of'

ndaha
hand
'in the presence of, to (a person)'

dɨkɨ
head
'at the top of'

etɨ
bottom
'at the foot of, at the base of'

diñɨ
side
'beside, at the edge of (town)'

shuhu
mouth
'on the edge of, on the rim of'

íñā
thing
'for, about, of'

Temporal nouns include names for units of time and calendric units; some are complex nuclei.

Simple:

ura	'hour, time (Sp. *hora*)'
nduvī	'day'
vite	'week'
shóō	'moon, month'
kwíā	'year'
vierne	'Friday (Sp. *Viernes*)'

Complex:

shó   māu
moon   May
'May (Sp. *Mayo*)'

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see 3.2).

naha	'pair'
toō	'span'
tïïn	'pinch'
sïin	'bit'
étūn	'box, maquila (four-liter measure used for corn)'
metru	'meter (Sp. *metro*)'
litru	'liter (Sp. *litro*)'
kilu	'kilogram (Sp. *kilo*)'

Common nouns are all those not included in any of the above categories.

tīná	'dog'
dɨkwí	'milk'
chóhō	'herb, medicine'
túūn	'charcoal'
utun	'tree, wood'

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:

dɨkwí	'milk'
ndute	'water'
túūn	'charcoal'
uhshen	'dough, paste'
utsi	'powder'

Count nouns:

ítā	'tortilla'
étūn	'box'
tutú	'paper'
ñaha	'person'
tsiñu	'work, job'

5.4 Pronouns

First and second person pronouns show a distinction between free and poststressed forms. Both kinds distinguish between singular and plural, and some of the poststressed pronouns also distinguish two case forms.

Free pronouns are used primarily when the pronoun is fronted for focus, as seen in 1.1.8. The free pronouns are:

	SG	PL
first EX	*shuhú*	*ndɨhɨ*
first IN	—	*shohō*
second	*shōhon*	*ndōho*

The noninclusive plural forms appear to be a fusion of *ndɨhɨ* 'all' with the corresponding singular forms.

Poststressed pronouns have separate case forms for subject and object in first and second person singular and inclusive, but not in first person exclusive and second person plural. The poststressed pronouns are:

	Subject		Object	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
first EX	*ú*	*ndɨ*	*kó*	*ndɨ*
first IN	—	*ō*	—	*kō*
second	*-n*	*ndo*	*o*	*ndo*

Object pronouns function as object, locative adjunct, possessor, or as subject of an arbitrary class of verbs, most of which involve sensory perception (see 1.1.2, 1.1.3, 1.1.4, and 3.3). Subject pronouns function as subject with most verbs.

The second person singular clitic pronoun *-n* has the effect of regressively nasalizing the entire verb to which it is attached (see Pike and Small [1973.124-25]).

> *kada*   *vaha-n*
> POT:do   good-you:SG
> 'you will make'

> *kakidi*   *ndu-n*
> CON:sleep   INT-you:SG
> 'are you sleeping?'

> (See also 7.6, 7.10, 7.11, 7.15, 7.18, 7.21, 7.29, 7.38, and various others.)

In all sets of pronouns the singular/plural contrast carries overtones of a familiar/respect distinction. That is, a plural form often is used with a singular referent to show respect or social distance, as discussed in Small (1979.365–66). This is especially common with second person, as seen in 7.37, 7.59, 7.60, 7.76, and various others. In 7.39, the singular form of the verb occurs together with a plural pronoun used to show respect for a singular referent. The inclusive pronouns often are used in soliloquy (see 7.3, 7.4, 7.44, 7.48, 7.52, and 7.107).

Third person pronouns show a distinction among free forms, post-stressed forms, and prestressed forms. These kinds all show distinctions in gender, rather than in number or case. The masculine pronoun has variant forms depending upon the sex of the speaker. The third person free pronouns are:

adult (respect)	*ñaha*
masculine (respect)	*shtaha*
masculine (MS)	*naha*
(WS)	*chéhnū*
feminine	*táhnū*
animal/spherical	*kiti*

The third person clitic pronouns are:

	Poststressed	Prestressed
adult (respect)	*ña*	*ña*
masculine (respect)	*shta*	*shta*
masculine (MS)	*na*	*na*
(WS)	*chí*	*chénū*
feminine	*tún*	*tánū, tá*
animal/spherical	*ti*	*kiti*
unspecified	*i, 0*	*é*

Note that the first three gender classes show no distinction between the two forms. Poststressed pronouns are used as subjects and objects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions. Poststressed pronouns occur in focus position, however, only if preceded by a specifier (see 3.1.2). Prestressed pronouns, on the other hand, are used as nuclei of noun phrases when something else follows in the same noun phrase (see 3.1.3 and 3.7).

The choice of pronoun is determined partly by the gender class of its referent (see 5.3.2) and partly by the age, sex, and respect relationship of the speaker to the referent. The generic pronouns *ñaha* and *ña* are used to refer to adults, whether male or female; throughout this sketch they are glossed 'person'. The specific masculine and feminine pronouns, on the other hand, are used to refer to younger people. The pronouns *shtaha* and *shta*, which correspond somewhat to the Spanish title *don*, are used occasionally to refer to certain men who are well known and respected in the

community. The reduced form *tá* of the feminine prestressed pronoun is used only with personal names of girls and pets (see 3.1.1). The animal/ spherical pronouns *kíti* and *tí* refer to round objects as well as to animals. The unspecified gender class has no specific free pronoun form. Its post-stressed form is either expressed by *i* or unexpressed, depending upon whether it functions as subject of verb, as object of verb, or as possessor of noun or object of preposition; and whether its referent is an inanimate object, a child, or an indefinite person.[9] The following diagram illustrates its distribution.

	Subject	Object	Possessor
inanimate object	∅	∅	*i*
child	∅	*i*	*i*
indefinite person	*i*	∅	*i*

Of these nine categories, seven occur in the text in chapter 7. Examples of the zero pronoun expressing inanimate subject are found in 7.7, 7.9, 7.20, 7.46, 7.64, 7.80, 7.98, 7.99, and 7.102; those expressing a child subject are found in 7.17, 7.24, 7.25, 7.41, 7.54, 7.66, 7.89, and 7.106; and those expressing an inanimate object are found in 7.5, 7.90, 7.91, 7.92, 7.93, 7.94, 7.95, 7.97, and 7.99. Examples of the *i* pronoun expressing an indefinite subject are found in 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4; those expressing a child object are found in 7.6, 7.52, 7.53, 7.54, and 7.107; those expressing an inanimate possessor are found in 7.16, 7.22, 7.92 and 7.103, and those expressing a child possessor are found in 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.23, 7.41, 7.44, 7.101, 7.102 and 7.103. A locative adjunct that is not signaled by a locative noun or preposition is treated like the object of a verb, as seen in 7.6.

There are three interrogative pronouns, one of which is complex.

Simple:

    shoó   'who?'

    neé   'what?'

---

[9]It is possible that the distribution pattern of the unspecified pronoun *i/∅* reflects three distinct sources of this pronoun, all of which share a palatal component: *iñá* 'thing', *iʰshá* 'child', and *shoó* 'who?'.

Complex:

> *ne*   *iñá*
> what   thing
> 'what?'

Interrogative pronouns occur alone in WH questions (see 1.2.2) or in combination with nouns or personal pronouns to form interrogative noun phrases (see 3.4).

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.

Locative adverbs comprise all locational words that are not nouns or prepositions; they occur mainly as locative adjuncts and locative peripheral elements.

iha or a	'here'
ikān or *kān*	'there'
shio	'elsewhere, away'
ikā	'far'
etsin	'near'
daha	'ahead, over'
kīhí	'outside'

The poststressed forms *a* 'here' and *kān* 'there' are frequently used to terminate adverbial noun phrases and basic adverb phrases (see 3.6 and 4.2.1).

Temporal adverbs are simple or complex; they comprise all temporal words and idioms that are not nouns. They occur as time peripheral elements.

Simple temporal adverbs:

vevií or *ve*	'today, now'
kidáā or *dá*	'then'
iku	'yesterday'
vetun	'last night'
utén	'tomorrow'

tévāa	'tomorrow morning, early'
īdá	'day after tomorrow'
kwaa	'afternoon, evening'
vihi	'a while'
naha	'a long time'
dihna	'earlier, first'

Complex temporal adverbs:

nɨ   dukwān
whole   thus
'while, meanwhile, in the meantime'

rko   ndûví
?   day
'afterwards, later on'

ngwen   ndúvi
whole:completely   day
'always, all the time'

kwén   nīñu   vétūn
completely   night   last:night
'all night long'

General adverbs comprise all manner words that are not stative verbs.
They are simple or complex.

Simple general adverbs:

dukwān or *kwān*	'thus, still'
duhva or *va*	'thus'
kwīi	'slowly'
tii	'nicely'
kini	'in an ugly manner'
dōtó	'haphazardly'
kwán	'thus'
dadɨɨ	'same'

Complex general adverbs:

> *dókō*   *sá*
> almost   only
> 'almost'

> *dií*   *sa*
> bit   only
> 'nearly'

> *dií*   *ka*
> bit   more
> 'even more'

Intensifying adverbs most commonly occur as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, and basic adverb phrases.

> *dōó* or *ōó*   'very'
> *kwehén*   'completely'

The intensifier *dōó* precedes the nucleus, whereas *kwehén* may either precede or follow it.

Interrogative adverbs comprise all simple interrogatives that are not pronouns; they are:

> *míhī* or *mí*   'where?'
> *ama*   'when?'
> *ndé*   'how?'

The first two occur singly, while *ndé* 'how?' occurs most frequently in combination with verbs of happening and existing (see 1.2.2, 2.1.2, 2.3, and 3.4). For a description of interrogative noun phrases that function as interrogative adverbs, see 3.4.

5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. They function as quantifiers in noun phrases (see chapter 3, especially 3.1.2, 3.2, and 3.10), as the nucleus in various quantifier phrases (see 4.1), and as ordinals in relative clauses (see 3.1.3).

Simple numerals include the numerals from one through ten, fifteen, and twenty, plus two Spanish loans for one hundred and one thousand. The numerals one and twenty each have suppletive allomorphs, which are used in combination with certain other numerals in additive and attributive numeral phrases (see 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). The simple numerals are:

uun	'one'
ɨɨn	'one' (only following ten)
úvī	'two'
únī	'three'
kɨ́mī	'four'
úhūn	'five'
íñū	'six'
úhshē	'seven'
únā	'eight'
ɨ̄ɨn	'nine'
úhshī	'ten'
shéhūn	'fifteen'
ókō	'twenty'
diko	'twenty' (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
syendu	'hundred (Sp. *ciento*)'
mɨɨl	'thousand (Sp. *mil*)'

When the numerals for two, three, and four follow *ndɨhɨ* 'all' in expanded numeral phrases (see 4.1.3), they fuse with it.

nduvi	'both'
nduni	'all three'
ngɨmi	'all four'

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words; the most common ones are:

kwéhē	'much, many'
lɨɨn	'several'
ndehvī	'few'
ndɨhɨ	'all'

| *nɨɨ* | 'whole, complete' |
| *dava* | 'half, part of' |

The quantifiers *tɨtɨn* 'several' and *ndehvɨ* 'few' are used only with count nouns.

5.7 Prepositions

There are seven simple prepositions and one complex preposition based on a Spanish loan. Even though none of them has a clear etymology, a few show resemblances to other parts of speech that may indicate a historical connection.

Simple:

nihɨ	'with'
ndeé	'against, as far as, from, since, even' (cf. *ndeé* 'to be against')
máā	'under'
náā	'in place of' (cf. *naa* 'altar')
méhñū	'in the middle of'
nínū	'above'
shuvi	'below' (cf. *shuvi* 'palm mat')

Complex:

kwenda   *iñá*
account   thing
'for, on behalf of, about, in place of (Sp. *cuenta*)'

Prepositions occur only in prepositional phrases (see 4.3).

Other prepositional functions are carried by noun phrases containing body-part nouns used in an extended sense (see 3.6 and 5.3.2). Two conjunctions, *dā* 'when' and *dá ndē* 'until' (see 5.8) also function as prepositions.

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are coordinate or subordinate, and simple or complex.

Simple coordinate:

    ne   'and'
    ō   'or'
    ndá   'but'

Complex coordinate:

    ndá   *tsi*
    but   LIM
    'but'

    ne   *dá*
    and when
    'and then'

Simple subordinate:

    dā   'when, then'
    tē   'if, when'
    tsí   'because, that'
    vata   'as'

Complex subordinate:

    da   *é*
    when   CMP
    'since'

    dá   *ndē*
    when   against
    'until'

    da   *nɨ*
    when   whole
    'while'

    da   *ti*
    when   ?
    'so that'

> *vata   ko   é*
> as   POT:exist CMP
> 'in order that'

> *vata   ō*
> as   CON:exist
> 'as'

> *vata   dá*
> as   when
> 'whenever'

> *ndé   dā*
> against   when
> 'ever since'

> *tē   dí*
> if   also
> 'if only'

> *kwān   te*
> thus   if
> 'even if, even though'

Coordinate conjunctions are used to link two or more basic sentences; see 6.1.1 for examples. They also occur in sentence-initial position to link a sentence to the preceding discourse context; see 6.4 for examples. The conjunction *ne* 'and' also occurs at the end of a preverbal constituent of the sentence, where it serves to define the end of the fronted constituent. Such a constituent may be a noun phrase (see 1.1.8) or a subordinate sentence (see 6.2.1).

Subordinate conjunctions occur at the beginning of a basic sentence that is in a subordinate relation to another sentence; see 6.2.1 for examples.

The complementizer *é*, which is basically a pronoun (see 5.4), frequently functions like a conjunction to mean 'because' (see 6.2.1); it also occurs in complex conjunctions.

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. Markers are verbal, nominal, general, or sentential.

Verbal markers occur as preverbal elements in verb phrases (see chapter 2, especially 2.1.2); they are simple or complex.

Simple:

ñá   'not'

vátā   'not yet'

nā   'hortatory'

nī   'contrafactual'

é   'already'

Complex:

dā   ve
when   now
'just now'

Nominal markers occur in noun phrases (see chapter 3, especially 3.1.2 and 3.1.3); they are:

á   'diminutive'

divī   'same'

sáhā or *sá*   'this'   (cf. *iha* 'here')

tsíkān or *sán*   'that'   (cf. *ikān* 'there')

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type; they are:

tsi   'just'

dá   'only'

sá   'only'

ká   'more, still'

ndihshe   'truly'

tuku   'other, again'

ku   'emphatic'

kūdií   'merely'

miī   'alone'

Sentential markers express the mood or truth value of a sentence (see 1.2.1 and 1.5); they are simple or complex.

Simple:

ndu	'interrogative'
vá	'doubtfully'
ní	'therefore'
kwán	'thus, so'
dɨ	'also'

Complex:

vata   *tē*
as   if
'apparently'

á   *tē*
?   if
'probably'

ñá   *tē*
NEG if
'definitely not'

5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words or fixed phrases used outside of sentences to express emotion, agreement, or disagreement; they are simple or complex.

Simple:

ahan	'okay'
xúun	'yes'
ñáhā	'no'
mbá	'wow! (Sp. ¡caramba!)'

Complex:

> *ñāhá*   *ni*   *san*
> NEG   CF   that
> 'definitely not!'

> *ishi*   *ko*   or   *ii*   *ko*
> ?   us   ?   us
> 'expression of fear'

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, disjunction, and temporal sequence.

Coordination is expressed by the conjunction *ne* 'and', which is usually accompanied by a pause before and/or after it.

> *shéē*   *tún*   /   *ne*   *iní*   *u*   *tún*
> COM:arrive   she   and   COM:see   I   her
> 'She arrived, and I saw her.'

> *shéē*   *tún*   *ne* / *iní*   *u*   *tún*
> COM:arrive   she   and   COM:see   I   her
> 'She arrived, and I saw her.'

> (See also 7.16, 7.19, 7.22, and 7.60.)

Sometimes two sentences that have a semantic relation such as sequence or result are joined by the conjunction *ne* 'and', rather than by some more specific coordinate or subordinate conjunction.

> *ñéhe*   *na*   *ñūkohshó*   /   *ne*   *ikān*   *kúnaá*   *na*
> COM:go   he   Mexico:City   and   there   COM:become:lost   he
> 'He went to Mexico City, and THERE he got lost.'

> (See also 7.2, 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.23, and 7.43.)

When the relationship is not sequential, the final sentence often ends with
the sentential marker *di* 'also'.

> *ñéhē   tun   núndūvé ne / ñéhē   tún   kuchañá   di*
> COM:go she   Oaxaca and   COM:go she   Tehuacán also
> 'She went to Oaxaca, and she also went to Tehuacán.'

> *kahshí o   ītá / ne   koho   o   kāfeé di*
> POT:eat we:IN tortilla and POT:drink we:IN coffee also
> 'We'll eat tortillas, and we'll drink coffee (Sp. *café*), too.'

Antithesis is expressed by *ndá* or, more commonly, *ndá tsi* 'but'. Nonfinal
sentences optionally end with *ne* 'and'.

> *kava   o   vē / ndá dīhna kahshí   ō   Ø*
> POT:lie:down we:IN now but earlier POT:eat we:IN   UN
> 'We'll go to bed now, but FIRST we'll eat something.'

> *ñéhē   ú   ñukohshó   ne   /*
> COM:go I   Mexico:City and
> 'I went to Mexico City,

> > *ndá tsi   ña   ni kunáa   ú*
> > but LIM   NEG CF COM:become:lost I
> > but I didn't get lost.'

The conjunction *ō* 'or' expresses a disjunctive relation; it frequently
introduces each sentence. Nonfinal sentences often end with *ne* 'and'.

> *kīhin   ndú tun ñukohsho / ō   ña   kíhín   tun*
> POT:go INT she Mexico:City or NEG POT:go   she
> 'Will she go to Mexico City, or won't she?'

> *ō   kihín   tun ñúkohshó   ne / ō   kihín   tun núndūvé*
> or   POT:go she Mexico:City and or POT:go   she Oaxaca
> 'She will either go to Mexico City, or she will go to Oaxaca.'

> *ō   shuhú kahán   u   ne / ō   xwaan káhan   ná ne /*
> or   I   POT:speak I   and or John   POT:speak he and
> 'Either I will speak, or JOHN (Sp. *Juan*) will speak,

> o   pēlu   káhan   ná
> or   Peter   POT:speak   he
> or PETER (Sp. *Pedro*) will speak.'

The second part of a disjunctive sentence may contain only the interjection *ñáhā* 'no'.

> ō   kɨhɨn   tún   ne / ō   ña   kɨhɨn   tun
> or POT:go she   and   or NEG POT:go she
> 'Either she will go, or she won't go.'

> ō   kɨhɨn   tún   ne / ō   ñahá
> or POT:go she   and   or no
> 'Either she will or will not go.'

Temporal sequence is expressed by the complex conjunction *ne dá* 'and then'; a pause either precedes the conjunction or follows the *ne*.

> ñɨɨ   na vihi / né   dā   nádiko   nā   ∅
> COM:buy   he house   and   when COM:REP:sell he   UN
> 'He bought a house, and then he resold it.'

> kɨhɨn   tun   núndūvé   ne / dá   kɨhɨn   tun   kúchaña
> POT:go she   Oaxaca   and   when   POT:go she   Tehuacán
> 'She will go to Oaxaca, and then she will go to Tehuacán.'

(See also 7.5, 7.49, 7.52, and 7.101.)

6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions. Coordinate relations can also be expressed by simple juxtaposition or by repetition of part of a sentence.

Almost any coordinate relation can be expressed by simply juxtaposing two sentences without pause at the boundary, if the context is clear enough. Such sentences usually have coreferential subjects.

One of the most common relations expressed in this way is simultaneous action; one of the verbs usually expresses motion or position.

> kaita   na / kwehen   ná
> CON:sing   he   INC:go   he
> 'He went along singing.'

odō   tún   tutún   / sheé   tun
CON:carry she   firewood COM:arrive she
'She arrived carrying firewood.'

ndoo   ña   / ndáehshi   ña
CON:sit:PL   person CON:PL:eat   person
'They are sitting down eating.'

Further examples of simultaneous action with coreferential subjects are
found in 7.25, 7.30, 7.55, and 7.103. An example of such a sentence with
different subjects is found in 7.29.

Sequential action can also be expressed using juxtaposition.

kūdiin   na / kunúhu   na
COM:become:fierce he   INC:go:back he
'He got mad and went home.'

(See also 7.27, 7.104, and 7.106.)

Restatement of a positive sentence by a negative one is often expressed
by juxtaposition.

kúnūhú   na / ñá   nī   kátuví   na
INC:go:back   he   NEG   CF   INC:sit:SG he
'He went back; he didn't stay.'

(See also 7.82.)

Instrument may be expressed by a sentence containing a verb such as 'to
use' preceding the sentence describing the action. (Instrument may also be
expressed as an adjunct; see 1.1.4.)

kāá   kade   tsun nihi nā / kaendé   nuu na 0   utun
metal   CON:do work with he   CON:cut   face he UN   wood
'He is using A MACHETE to cut wood.' *or* 'He is cutting wood with
A MACHETE.'

Repetition of part of the first sentence in the second one is sometimes
used to simplify long sentences and slow down the information flow. The
first sentence usually contains a motion verb, and the second one often
contains an equivalent motion auxiliary, which expresses purpose in addi-
tion to motion (see 2.1.2).

kwéhen	*na*	*kūchaña*	/	*kú*	*kadá*	*tsiñu*	*na*
INC:go	he	Tehuacán		INC:go	POT:do	work	he

'He has gone to Tehuacán to work.'

kakihshi	*tún*	/	*kakish*	*kwiin*	*tún*	*tuun*	*íha*
CON:come	she		CON:come	POT:buy	she	charcoal	here

'She comes to buy charcoal here.'

(See also 7.53 and 7.108.)

Repetition is also used to express coordination of noun phrases. If the noun phrases function as subject, the verb is given once for each noun phrase and optionally following the last one. If the noun phrases function as something other than subject, the verb and its subject are given once for each noun phrase and optionally following the last one.

ndio	*nuni*	/	*ndio*	*ndutsi*	/	*ndio*	*ñīi*
CON:want	corn		CON:want	bean		CON:want	salt

'Corn, beans, and salt are needed.'

ndio	*nuni*	/	*ndio*	*ndutsi*	/	*ndio*	*ñīi*	/	*ndio*
CON:want	corn		CON:want	bean		CON:want	salt		CON:want

'Corn, beans, and salt are needed.'

ñīi	*tún*	*nama*	/	*ñīi*	*tún*	*shuhve*	/	*ñīi*	*tún*	*nuni*
COM:buy	she	soap		COM:buy	she	thread		COM:buy	she	corn

'She bought soap, thread, and corn.'

ñīi	*tún*	*nama*	/	*ñīi*	*tún*	*shuhve*	/
COM:buy	she	soap		COM:buy	she	thread	

'She bought soap and thread

ñīi	*tún*	*nuni*	/	*ñíi*	*tún*
COM:buy	she	corn		COM:buy	she

and corn.'

6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are for the most part expressed by conjunctions; a limited number are expressed by juxtaposition.

6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to express cause, condition, concession, purpose, temporal relations, and comparison. The subordinate sentence normally follows the main sentence, but most kinds may also precede the main sentence. When a subordinate sentence precedes, it usually ends with the conjunction *ne* 'and', which helps to separate the two parts of the construction.

Cause is usually expressed by the subordinate conjunctions *tsí* 'because' or *da é* 'since'. Occasionally *tsí* occurs followed by *da é*. The subordinate sentence almost always follows the main sentence, but a sentence introduced by *da é* may precede.

> *ñéhe   nā kánjutsi /   tsí   kandio   na nuni*
> COM:go he San:Miguel   because CON:want he corn
> 'He went to San Miguel because he needed corn.'

> *ña   kwūn   ú 0̸ / da   é   ña   tuví   dyuhun*
> NEG POT:buy I UN when CMP NEG CON:sit:SG money
> 'I won't buy it, since there isn't any money.'

> *kɨhɨn   ú nī   tun / tsí   da é   lúhndī   ká   tun*
> POT:go I with her because   when CMP small:SG more she
> 'I'll go with her, since she's still little.'

> *da   é   njo   kuví   u ne / ñá kɨhín   u*
> when CMP CON:want POT:die I and   NEG POT:go I
> 'Since I'm sick, I won't go.'

(See also 7.7.)

Cause can also be expressed by simply using the complementizer *é*.

> *ña   ni kúvi   kɨhɨn / tun é   njo   kuví   tun*
> NEG CF COM:be:able POT:go she CMP CON:want POT:die she
> 'She wasn't able to go as she was sick.'

> *dōo diní   ko / é   ña   kɨhɨn   ú*
> INTS CON:be:happy:inside me CMP NEG POT:go I
> 'I am very happy that I am not going.'

(See also 7.14, 7.26, 7.40, 7.42, and 7.80.)

In some sentences, the relationship expressed by *é* is not strictly cause, but can perhaps be expressed best by English 'in that' (see 7.11 and 7.68).

A subordinate sentence introduced by *tsí* 'because' often follows the interjection *ñáhā* 'no', as seen in 7.61, 7.78, 7.81, and 7.86.

There are three types of condition: simple, wishful, and contrafactual. The first two types occur with verbs in potential or continuative aspect, while the third type occurs with verbs in completive aspect. The main sentence is usually, but not always, in potential aspect. A simple condition is expressed by *tē* 'if' or 'when'.

ihshá	*ña*	*nihi*	*na*	*ñuhu*	*ña*	/	*te*	*kuví*	*ña*
child	person	POT:get	he	land	person		if	POT:die	person

'THEIR SON will inherit their land if they die.'

ña	*kwíín*	*ú*	*∅*	/	*tē*	*dóo*	*ahví*	*i*
NEG	POT:buy	I	UN		if	INTS	CON:cost	UN

'I won't buy it if it is very expensive.'

tē	*ndio*	*ndo*	*∅*	*ne*	/	*kȉhin*	*ō*
if	CON:want	you:PL	UN	and		POT:go	we:IN

'If you want to, we'll go.'

tē	*ña*	*kȉhȉn*	*tún*	*ne*	/	*ñá*	*kȉhȉn*	*u*	*dȉ*
if	NEG	POT:go	she	and		NEG	POT:go	I	also

'If she won't go, I won't go either.'

(See also 7.119 and 7.120.)

A wishful condition is expressed by *tē dȉ* 'if only'.

kwiin	*ú*	*∅*	/	*tē*	*dȉ*	*kadiko*	*nā*	*∅*
POT:buy	I	UN		if	also	CON:sell	he	UN

'I would buy it if only he were selling it.'

dōo	*diní*	*ko*	/	*tē*	*dȉ*	*kȉhȉn*	*u*
INTS	happy	me		if	also	POT:go	I

'I would be very happy if I were going.'

(See also 7.39.)

To express a contrafactual condition, *tē* or *tē dí* must occur with the preverbal contrafactual marker (see 2.1.2), and the verb must be in completive aspect.

te	*ni*	*ñīī*	*ú*	*ñii*	*ne*	/	*kutāví*	*u*	*∅*
if	CF	COM:buy	I	skin	and		POT:get:covered	I	UN

'If I had bought a hat, I would wear it.'

tē	*dí*	*ni*	*ñēhé*	*u*	*ne*	/	*e*	*shéē*	*ú*	*ve*
if	also	CF	COM:go	I	and		already	COM:arrive	I	now

'If only I had gone, I would have arrived by now.'

tē	*dí*	*ña*	*ni*	*ñéhe*	*ña*	*ne*	/
if	also	NEG	CF	COM:go	person	and	

'If only they hadn't gone,

kwan	*tsī*	*ó*	*kandito*	*ña*
thus	LIM	CON:exist	CON:live	person

they would still be alive.'

Concession is expressed by *kwān te* 'even if' or 'even though'. If the subordinate sentence precedes the main sentence, the main sentence is usually introduced by *ndá tsi* 'but'.

kwiin	*ú*	*∅*	/	*kwān*	*te*	*dóo*	*ahví*	*i*
POT:buy	I	UN		thus	if	INTS	CON:cost	UN

'I'll buy it even if it's very expensive.' *or* 'I'll buy it even though it's very expensive.'

ñá	*nīhi*	*ení*		*na*	*ñuhu*	*na*	/	*kwān*	*te*	*kuví*	*na*
NEG	POT:get	brother:ME		him	land	him		thus	if	POT:die	he

'His brother won't inherit his land even if he dies.'

kwān	*té*	*ña*	*vá*	*ēhshí*	*∅*	/	*ndá*	*tsi*	*ehshí*	*u*	*∅*
thus	if	NEG	good	CON:eat	UN		but	LIM	COM:eat	I	UN

'Even though it didn't taste good, yet I ate it.'

Purpose is most commonly expressed by *vata ko é* 'in order that', *da ti* 'in order that', or simply *dā* 'then'; sometimes it is expressed by the complementizer *é*. The subordinate sentence is always in potential aspect.

kadĕ   tsiñu   na / vata ko   é   nīhi   ná   dyuhun
CON:do work   he   as   POT:exist CMP POT:get him   money
'He is working in order to earn money.'

ñá   kīhin-n /   vata   ko   é   ña   kahní
NEG   POT:go-you:SG   as   POT:exist CMP   NEG   POT:kill
'Don't go lest he kill

na   o
he   you:SG
you!'

vata ko   é   kandíhi   shee   ó   ne /
as   POT:exist CMP   quickly   POT:arrive we:IN and
'In order to arrive quickly,

kunu   ō
POT:run   we:IN
let's run.'

kaeku   tún / da   ti   nihí   tun   é   ndio   tún
CON:cry she   when   ?   POT:get   her   CMP CON:want   her
'She cries in order to get what she wants.'

natsīhó   u   ndutsi / dá   kāhshi   ó   Ø
POT:CAUS:cook I   bean   when POT:eat   we:IN UN
'I will cook beans for us to eat.'

kada   tsiñu   ō /   é   nīhi   kó   dyuhun
POT:do work   we:IN   CMP   POT:get us:IN   money
'We'll work to earn money.'

(See also 7.4, 7.35, 7.53, 7.75, and 7.107.)

A variety of temporal relations may be expressed by conjunctions. The most common of these conjunctions is *dā* 'when'. It occurs mainly with verbs in completive aspect.

ndōto   ihsha / dá   ite   ñukíti
COM:wake:up   child   when COM:explode   firecracker
'The child woke up when the firecracker exploded.'

> *dā   ñehe   ná   ñukohshó   ne   / nduku   na tsīñu*
> when COM:go he Mexico:City and COM:look:for he work
> 'When he went to Mexico City, he looked for work.'

> *dā   dóo ihnī né / kaish duté   u*
> when INTS hot and CON:gopot:swim I
> 'When it's very hot out, I go swimming.'

(See also 7.1, 7.3, 7.6, 7.25, 7.26, 7.28, and various others.)

The conditional conjunction *tē* 'if' or 'when' is used sometimes to refer to future events, implying a degree of uncertainty.

> *kahshi   o   0   / té   shee   o*
> POT:eat we:IN UN if POT:arrive we:IN
> 'We'll eat when we arrive.'

> *tē   shihi   ñá   ne / ihshá   ña   nihi   na*
> if COM:die person and child person POT:get him
> 'When they have died, their son will inherit

> *ñuhu   ña*
> land   person
> their land.'

Various complex conjunctions based on *dā* also express temporal relations; these include *vata dá* 'whenever', *ndé dā* 'since', and *dá ndē* 'until'.

> *kaehshí   u   ita   / vata dá   kakakin   kó*
> CON:eat I tortilla as when CON:be:hungry me
> 'I eat tortillas whenever I am hungry.'

> *vata   dá   kañehe ná   ñukohshó   ne / kakunáa   na*
> as when CON:go he Mexico:City and CON:become:lost he
> 'Whenever he goes to Mexico City, he gets lost.'

> *iní   u   tún / nde   da   kúlúhndī   tún*
> CON:know I her against when COM:become:small:SG she
> 'I have known her since she was little.'

ndé   dā   kulúhndī   tún / iní   u   tún
against   when   COM:become:small:SG she   CON:know   I   her
'Ever since she was little, I've known her.'

kandétu   na / da   ndé   nāshee   úva   nā
CON:wait   he   when   against COM:REP:arrive   father   him
'He waited until his father got back.'

When a subordinate sentence introduced by dá ndē 'until' or tē 'when'
precedes, the main sentence is often introduced by dā or da kidáā 'then'.

dá   nde   kūvi   tsiho   ndutsi ne   /
when   against   POT:finish POT:cook   bean   and
'When (until) the beans finish cooking,

    dá   kāhshí   u   ∅
    when   POT:eat   I   UN
    then I'll eat them.'

tē   kúvi   éhshi   ō   ne / da   kidáa   kīhɨn o
if   COM:finish COM:eat   we:IN and when   then   POT:go we:IN
'When we've finished eating, then we'll go.'

(See also 7.105.)

Simultaneous or included action is expressed by da nɨ or nɨ dukwán
'while' or 'meanwhile', which often introduce both sentences, the first of
which is subordinate.

    da   nɨ   kúkwií   na   ne   /
    when   whole   COM:become:slow   he   and
    'While he delayed,

        da   nɨ   ínu   tɨ
        when   whole   COM:run   it:AML
        meanwhile it ran away.'

    nɨ   dukwan   kākidí   tun   ne   /
    whole   thus   CON:sleep   she   and
    'While she sleeps,

> ni   dukwan   kada   tsiñu   ō
> whole thus   POT:do work   we:IN
> in the meantime we'll work.'

The day of the month is expressed as an idiomatic subordinate sentence introduced by the complementizer *é;* it either precedes or follows the main sentence without pause at the boundary.

> *ñéhē   ú   ñukohsho / é   ūvi   ndóo   o   āvrii*
> COM:go   I   Mexico:City CMP two   CON:sit:PL   we:IN   April
> 'I went to Mexico City on April (Sp. *Abril*) second.'

> *é   ūni   ndóo   ō   sho   máu / nāsheé   u*
> CMP   three CON:sit:PL we:IN moon   May   COM:REP:arrive I
> 'On the third of May (Sp. *Mayo*) I got back.'

Comparison of likeness is expressed by the conjunction *vata* 'as', optionally followed by the limiter *tsi*. The same verb usually occurs in both sentences. When the subordinate sentence precedes, the main sentence often begins with *kwān* 'thus' and often ends with *di* 'also'. Comparison sentences are most commonly stative sentences (see 1.1.6).

> *kaa   ∅ / vata kaa   shuú*
> CON:be:SG   UN   as   CON:be:SG rock
> 'It is like a rock.'

> *vata ndáa   ihsha / ndáa   ña*
> as   CON:be:PL   child   CON:be:PL   person
> 'They are like children.'

> *vata tsi ēhshí   tsákā né / kwan   ēhshí   ∅   di*
> as   LIM CON:eat   fish   and   thus   CON:eat   UN   also
> 'It tastes just like fish.'   (lit. 'Just as fish tastes, so it tastes also.')

(See also 7.5.)

When sentence types other than stative occur, however, it is usually necessary to recast the sentence as the subject complement of the verb *koo* 'to exist'.

kade   na / vatā   ó   de   uva   nā
CON:do he   as   CON:exist CON:do father him
'He behaves like his father does.'

vata   tsī   ó   ita   láā   né /
as   LIM CON:exist CON:sing bird and
'She sings just like a bird.'   (lit. 'Just like a bird

   kwān   ó   kaita   tún
   thus CON:exist CON:sing   she
   sings, so she sings.')

(See also 7.119.)

Comparison of degree is expressed by the complementizer *é*, followed by the subject. No verb phrase occurs in the subordinate sentence, but it is always understood to contain the same verb as the main sentence. The main sentence must contain *ká* 'more' in the verb phrase.

kahnu   ká   tun / é   shūhú
big:SG more   she   CMP   I
'She is bigger than I am.'

dii ka   kahnu tun / é   tāhan   tún
bit more big:SG she   CMP   sister her
'She is even bigger than her sister.'

dí   dii ka   kandíhi   ínu   na / é   shohō
bit bit more quickly COM:run he   CMP   we:IN
'He ran a lot faster than we did.'

dii ka   kwehe kaéhshi na / é   enī   ná
bit more much   CON:eat he   CMP brother:ME him
'He eats even more than his brother does.'

dii ka   īó   iñá   tun / é   shūhú
bit more CON:exist thing her   CMP I
'She has even more than I have.'

dii   ka   ña víi   ∅ / é   sāhá
bit   more NEG heavy UN   CMP this
'It is not as heavy as this.' *or* 'It is lighter than this.'

6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions. Juxtaposition without
pause at the boundary is sometimes used to express purpose, or rarely,
cause. It also expresses the time of day.

In juxtaposed purpose sentences, the second part expresses the purpose
of the first. Its verb must be in potential aspect, and the hortatory *nā*
sometimes occurs.

> *ñīī*   *tún*   *doo* / *kada* *váhā*   *tún*   *dahma* *tún*
> COM:buy she   cloth POT:do good   she   skirt   her
> 'She bought cloth to make her skirt.'

> *tāhshí-n*   *∅* / *na*   *kōto*   *ndeé*   *u* *∅*
> POT:give-you:SG   UN   HORT POT:look against I UN
> 'Give it to me in order that I may examine it.'

(See also 7.100.)

In such sentences an object is often shared; in the following examples the
solidus that marks the break between sentences is arbitrarily placed after
the shared noun phrase.

> *tāhshi*   *ndo*   *tsiñu* / *vií*   *u*
> POT:give   you:PL work   POT:do I
> 'Give me work to do.'

> *kañii*   *tún* *ita* / *káhshi* *ihshá* *tun*
> CON:buy she   tortilla POT:eat   child   her
> 'She buys tortillas for her children to eat.'

A further example of this phenomenon is found in 7.91. In 7.90 and 7.94,
a shared noun phrase occurs in focus position, rather than between the
two parts. In 7.92, a similar construction occurs with an unexpressed
object.

Juxtaposition also occasionally expresses cause, as seen in 7.83. Perhaps
other subordinate relations can also be expressed in this way if the context
is clear enough.

The time of day is expressed as an idiomatic subordinate sentence either
preceding or following the main sentence without intervening pause.

> *kaeku*   *uni*   *kwáa* / *ñehé*   *u*
> CON:cry three   late   COM:go I
> 'I went at three o'clock in the afternoon.'

> *kihshi*   *ndo* / *kaeku*   *uni*
> POT:come   you:PL   CON:cry   three
> 'Come at three o'clock!'

6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations consist of three parts: the quotation, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences or fragments. The introducer is optional, but the closer is obligatory except in dramatic dialogue where the speakers are clearly distinguished by tone of voice, speech style, or content. The introducer usually contains the verb *káhān* 'to speak' or 'to say' in continuative aspect; occasionally a more specific verb, such as *tsishehē* 'to ask', occurs. The closer nearly always contains the verb *káhān* in unmarked continuative aspect. Both introducer and closer contain an obligatory subject and an optional addressee. The addressee is expressed as an associative adjunct with *káhān* or as a locative adjunct with *tsishehē* (see 1.1.4).

> *kakahan*   *tún* / *kīhīn*   *ú*   *dī* /   *kahan*   *tún*
> CON:speak   she   POT:go   I   also   CON:speak   she
> 'She said, "I'm going too," she said.'

> *koho-n*   *ndute* / *kahan*   *tún*   *nī*   *kó*
> POT:drink-you:SG   water   CON:speak   she   with   me
> ' "Drink some water!" she said to me.'

> *katsishehē*   *ú*   *na* / *míhi*   *ndu*   *kīhīn-n* /   *kahán*   *u*
> CON:ask   I   him   where   INT   POT:go-you:SG   CON:speak   I
> 'I asked him, "Where are you going?" I said.'

(See also 7.6, 7.10, 7.11, 7.21, 7.29, 7.31, and various others.)

Sometimes both *káhān* and a more specific verb occur in a juxtaposed coordinate construction, as described in 6.1.2 above.

> *shoó*   *ndu*   *kakahan*   *í* / *kahan*   *tún* / *tsishehē*   *tún*
> who   INT   CON:speak   UN   CON:speak   she   CON:ask   she
> ' "Who is speaking?" she said; she asked.'

Sometimes the verb phrase of the introducer is expanded to include a postverbal element (see 2.1.3).

kakahan	túku	na	/	kíhīn	ó	/	kahan	ná
CON:speak	REP	he		POT:go	we:IN		CON:speak	he

'He said again, "Let's go!" he said.'

kakahán	sh	tun	/	shuhú	di	/	kahan	tún
CON:speak	LIM	she	I		also		CON:speak	she

'She just said, "Me too," she said.'

(See also 7.8, 7.15, 7.18, 7.67, and 7.93.)

Note that in 7.8 a postverbal element also appears in the closer, but this is rare. In all but one of the examples in chapter 7, *káhān* is preceded by *sá* 'so'. Its use here seems to indicate a peculiar speech style, as for instance, that of animals.

Soliloquy is similar to dialogue but is characterized by a lack of addressee and by the use of a first person plural inclusive pronoun.

kakahan	tún	/	ndé	ko	vii	o	ve	/
CON:speak	she		how	POT:exist	POT:do	we:IN	now	

'She said, "What shall I do now?"

kahan	tún
CON:speak	she

she said.'

(See also 7.3, 7.4, 7.44, 7.48, 7.52, and 7.107.)

In future speech, the verb of the introducer is in potential aspect, and the closer is a subject complement construction (see 1.1.9) with the pre-stressed potential aspect form of the verb *koo* 'to exist' as its main verb.

káhān	tún	/	kwiin	ú	Ø	/	ko	kahan	tún
POT:speak	she		POT:buy	I	UN		POT:exist	POT:speak	she

'She will say, "I'll buy it," she'll say.'

Two quotations in chapter 7 span more than a single sentence; they are: 7.97–99 and 7.119–20.

6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

In sentence-initial position certain elements occur that serve to link the sentence to its preceding discourse context. These elements include con-

junctions, adverbs and short adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, and occasionally, a deictic or preposition.

Sentences within a discourse are most commonly introduced by the conjunction *ne* 'and', which serves to move the action or argument forward as well as to provide continuity within the discourse.

> *ñéhē   u   núndūvé sho   máū // ne   dōó kakɨ� davi*
> COM:go I   Oaxaca moon   May   and INTS CON:fall rain
> 'I went to Oaxaca in May. And it was raining a lot

> *íkān   // ne   ndavā   ú   itsi   kān*
> there   and   COM:slip I   trail   there
> there. And I slipped on the road.'

(See also 7.1–2, 7.4–5, 7.5–6, 7.6–7, 7.7–8, 7.8–9, 7.9–10, 7.12–13, and various others.)

An unexpected circumstance or sequence of events is frequently intro- duced by *ndá* or *ndá tsi* 'but'.

> *shéē   ú   nu   vihi   ñā //*
> COM:arrive I   face house   person
> 'I arrived at their house.

> *ndá tsi   shosho   ndóo   i   kān*
> but   LIM   nobody   CON:sit:PL UN   there
> But there was nobody there.'

(See also 7.3–4, 7.36–37, 7.91–92, and 7.95–96.

The conjunction *tsí* 'because' or 'for' often introduces explanatory material.

> *kɨhɨn   o   ñūkohsho // tsi   dóo njo   kɨhɨn   u*
> POT:go we:IN   Mexico:City because INTS CON:want POT:go I
> 'Let's go to Mexico City! For I really want to go.'

(See also 7.11–12, 7.15–16, 7.18–19, 7.39–40, 7.41–42, 7.69–70, and 7.97–98.)

Sometimes an adverb, adverb phrase, or prepositional phrase in focus position (see 1.1.8) has a discourse-linking function. Some of the adverbs

that occur in this position are complex, and certain locative forms are used with temporal meanings.

> *téni*   *tḯ*   *nú*   *ndute*   *kān* //
> COM:drown   it:AML   face   water   there
> 'It drowned in the water.

>> *ikan*   *tsī*   *shihi*   *tḯ* //
>> there   LIM   COM:die   it:AML
>> It died RIGHT (THEN AND) THERE.

>> *ikan*   *ndḯhḯ*   *kwendu*   *iña*   *tsídō*
>> there   COM:finish   story   thing   rabbit
>> THERE ends the story (Sp. *cuento*) about the rabbit.'

> *ndio*   *tún*   *nuni* //
> CON:want   she   corn
> 'She needed corn.

>> *dukwān*   *é*   *ñehé*   *tun*   *kánjutsi*
>> thus   CMP   COM:go   she   San:Miguel
>> THUS (it was) that she went to San Miguel.'

(See also 7.46–47, 7.47–48, 7.56–57, 7.73–74, 7.74–75, and 7.105–106.)

In the following example, the second sentence contains a prepositional phrase, and the other three contain simple or complex temporal adverbs.

> *dihna*   *kḯhḯn*   *ná*   *kuchaña* //
> earlier   POT:go   he   Tehuacán
> 'FIRST he will go to Tehuacán.

>> *da*   *kidáā*   *ne* /   *kḯhḯn*   *nā*   *núndūvé* //
>> when   then   and   POT:go   he   Oaxaca
>> THEN he will go to Oaxaca.

>> *da*   *rko*   *ndûví*   *kḯhḯn*   *ná*   *ñukohsho* //
>> when   ?   day   POT:go   he   Mexico:City
>> AFTERWARDS he will go to Mexico City.

ni̵   dukwan   kundētu   ú   na
whole   thus   POT:wait I   him
MEANWHILE I will wait for him.'

It is possible for a sentence to begin with both a conjunction and a focused adverb, adverb phrase, or prepositional phrase, as seen in 7.5, 7.10, 7.24, 7.29, 7.43, 7.46, 7.92, 7.102, 7.122, and 7.123.)
Sometimes the deictic tsíkän 'that' is used to express cause.

dōo   vihshín   vevií   //
INTS cold   today
'It's very cold out today.

tsíkān   ne /   ñá   ki̵hi̵n   u
that   and   NEG   POT:go I
THEREFORE, I'm not going.'

dōo   vihshín   vevií   //
INTS cold   today.
'It's very cold out today.

tsíkān   é   ña   ki̵hi̵n   ú
that   CMP   NEG   POT:go I
THAT'S WHY I'm not going.'

The preposition ndeé 'against' sometimes occurs at the beginning of a negative sentence following another negative sentence, in which case it means 'nor'.

ñá   ni   ñēhé   xwaan   //
NEG   CF   COM:go John
'John didn't go.

ndē   ña   ni   ñéhe   ú   di̵
against NEG CF   COM:go I   also
Nor did I go.' or 'John didn't go. I didn't go either.'

[blank]

7

Text

7.1   *iha   ndaa   ú   un   kwendu iña   a   tsídō /*
here POT:tell I   one   story   thing   DIM rabbit
'NOW I'll tell a story (Sp. *cuento*) about a rabbit,

      ndé   o   dé   ti   nduvi dihna /
how CON:exist COM:do it:AML day   earlier
about what it did when it lived a long time ago,

      da   íka   ti / un kwendu   iña   a   tsído /
when COM:walk it:AML one story   thing   DIM rabbit
a story about a rabbit

      kɨtɨ   éshi   itú
animal COM:eat cornfield
that ate a cornfield.'

7.2   *ne / tōhó itú   san ne / ñá kaīní   tun*
and owner cornfield that and   NEG CON:see she
'As for the owner of the cornfield, she didn't know

      shoó   kaehshí i   itú   tun /
who CON:eat UN cornfield her
who was eating her cornfield,

      ne dōó dutsī kwiní   tun
and INTS angry CON:feel her
and she was very angry.'

7.3   *shoó   ndu   kaehshí   i   itú   kō /*
      who   INT   CON:eat   UN   cornfield   us:IN
      ' "Who has been eating our cornfield?"

      sá   kahan   tún   da   násheé   tun
      so   CON:speak   she   when   COM:REP:arrive   she
      she said when she arrived back

      nú   vīhi   tún   kān
      face   house   her   there
      at her house.'

7.4   *ndá   tsi   īo   é   vii   ō*
      but   LIM   CON:exist   UN   POT:do   we:IN
      ' "But there is something we can do

      dá   nīhi   ko
      when   POT:get   us:IN
      to find out

      shoo   é   kaehshí   i   itú   kō /
      who   CMP   CON:eat   UN   cornfield   us:IN
      who it is that has been eating our cornfield,"

      sá   kahan   tún
      so   CON:speak   she
      she said.'

7.5   *ne / kidáā   né / dē   váha   tún   shume   ñúñu /*
      and then   and   COM:do good   she   wax   wild:bee
      'So then, she formed beeswax

      vata   kaa   un   ñaha
      as   CON:be:SG   one   person
      to look like a person,

      ne / dā   í   shtûví   tun   ∅
      and when   COM:go   POT:COL:sit:SG   she   UN
      and then she went and set it

     má   itú   tun   kān
     under cornfield her   there
     in her cornfield.'

7.6   *ne   dā   sheé   a   tsídō   sán ne /*
     and when COM:arrive DIM rabbit that and
     'And when the rabbit arrived,

     katsishehe ti   ī
     CON:ask   it:AML UN
     it asked it,

     ndé o   de-n /
     how CON:exist CON:do-you:SG
     "What are you doing

     kwán o   nuu-n   iha /
     thus CON:exist CON:be:in:SG-you:SG here
     in here like this?"

     sá   kahan   ti
     so   CON:speak it:AML
     it said.'

7.7   *ne / ñá   ni   kāhan   ∅ /*
     and NEG CF COM:speak UN
     'But it didn't answer

     tsí   ña   te ñaha ni kuvi   ∅ /
     because NEG if person CF COM:become UN
     because it wasn't A PERSON

     tsí   kūdii   shúme   kúvi   ∅
     because merely wax   COM:become UN
     for it was only made of WAX.'

7.8   *ne / kakahan   túku a   tsídō   sán /*
     and CON:speak REP DIM rabbit that
     'And the rabbit spoke again,

"buenos   días" | sá   kahan   túku   tɨ
good   days   so   CON:speak   REP   it:AML
"Good (Sp.) morning (Sp.)!" it said again.'

7.9   *ne | ñá   ni kāhan   túku ∅*
        and   NEG   CF COM:speak   REP   UN
        'But again it didn't answer.'

7.10   *ne | kidáā   ne | kakahan   tɨ/*
        and   then   and   CON:speak   it:AML
        'So then, it said,

        ndé   kwi   kakudiin   ndu-n /
        how   CON:happen   CON:become:fierce   INT-you:SG
        "Why are you getting angry?"

        sá   kahan   tɨ
        so   CON:speak   it:AML
        it said.'

7.11   *ndé   kwi   ña   te   kakáhan   ndu-n /*
        how   CON:happen   NEG   if   CON:speak   INT-you:SG
        ' "Why don't you answer

        é   kākahán   u   ni   ō / sá   kahan   tɨ
        CMP   CON:speak   I   with you:SG so   CON:speak   it:AML
        when I speak to you?" it said.'

7.12   *tsí   tē   ñá   ne /*
        because   if   NEG   and
        ' "Because if not,

        nakīhshi   ú   un   nda kwaha kó   sa /
        POT:CAUS:come   I   one   hand right   me   this
        I'll punch (you with) my right hand,

        ne   un   tsi   nde   dáha kan
        and   one   LIM   against   over there
        and I'll leave you sitting

> *nashtūví*   *u*   *o*   /
> POT:REP:COL:sit:SG   I   you:SG
> WAY OVER THERE!"

> *sá*   *kahan*   *a*   *tsídō*   *sán*
> SO   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
> said the rabbit.'

7.13 *ne*   *nákāhin*   *ndíhshe*   *sá*   *tsi*   ∅
      and   COM:CAUS:go   truly   only   LIM   UN
      'And it really did punch (it) just then

> *á*   *ndaha*   *i*   /   *ne*   /
> DIM   hand   UN   and
> (with) its paw, and

> *ikan*   *tsī*   *tín*   *ndēe*   *á*   *ndaha*   *i*
> there   LIM   COM:grab   against   DIM   hand   UN
> RIGHT THERE its paw stuck to it.'

7.14 *ne*   *dōó*   *dutsī*   *kwiní*   *a*   *tsídō*   *sán*
      and   INTS   angry   CON:feel   DIM   rabbit   that
      'And the rabbit was very angry

> *e*   *tíin*   ∅   *ndaha*   *tí*
> CMP   COM:grab   UN   hand   it:AML
> that it grabbed its paw.'

7.15 *ne*   /   *kakahán*   *sa*   *ti*   /
      and   CON:speak   only   it:AML
      'And it just said,

> *ndé*   *kwi*   *katiin*   *ndu-n*   *ndaha*   *kó*/
> how   CON:happen   CON:grab   INT-you:SG   hand   me
> "Why are you grabbing my hand?"

> *sá*   *kahan*   *tí*.
> SO   CON:speak   it:AML
> it said.'

7.16   *tsí*   *tȩ*   *ñá*   *ne* / *nakȋhshi*   *ú*
       because if   NEG   and   POT:CAUS:come I
       ' "Because if not, I'll kick (you with)

       un   *díhȋn*   *dātsin*   *kó*   *san* /
       one   foot   left   me   that
       my left foot,

       ne / *un*   *tsi*   *nde*   *maa*   *i*   *kan*
       and one   LIM   against   under   UN   there
       and I'll leave you

       nashnúu   *ú*   *o* /
       POT:REP:COL:be:in:SG   I   you:SG
       ALL THE WAY DOWN THERE!"

       sá   *kahan*   *tȋ*
       SO   CON:speak   it:AML
       it said.'

7.17   *ne*   *nákȋhȋn*   *ndíhshe*   *sá*   *tsi*   ∅
       and   COM:CAUS:go truly   only   LIM   UN
       'And it really did kick (it with)

       díhȋn   *dātsin*   *i* /
       foot   left   UN
       its left foot,

       ne   *ikan*   *tsȋ*   *tȋn*   *ndēe*   *túku*   *díhȋn*   *tȋ*
       and   there   LIM   COM:grab   against   REP   foot   it:AML
       and RIGHT THERE its foot stuck again.'

7.18   *ne* / *kakahan*   *túku* *tȋ* /
       and   CON:speak   REP   it:AML
       'And again it said,

       ndé   *kwi*   *katȋin*   *ndu-n*   *díhȋn*   *kó* /
       how   CON:happen   CON:grab INT-you:SG   foot   me
       "Why are you grabbing my foot?"

sa   kahan   tɨ
so   CON:speak   it:AML
it said.'

7.19   *tsí   tē   ñá   ne /*
        because if   NEG   and
        ' "Because if not,

        nakɨ̄hshi   u   díhɨn   kwãha   kó   san /
        POT:CAUS:come   I   foot   right   me   that
        I'll kick (you with) my right foot,

        ne   un   tsi   nde   dáha   kan
        and   one   LIM   against   over   there
        and I'll toss you

        nakwɨ̄tá   u   o /   sá   kahan   tɨ
        POT:CAUS:go:down   I   you:SG so   CON:speak   it:AML
        WAY OVER THERE!" it said.'

7.20   *ne / nákɨ̄hɨn   ndíhshe   sá   tsi   ∅*
        and   COM:CAUS:go   truly   only   LIM   UN
        'And it really did kick (it) just then

        díhɨn   kwãha   i /
        foot   right   UN
        (with) its right foot,

        ne   ikan   tsī   tín   ndēe   túku   ∅
        and   there   LIM   COM:grab against   REP   UN
        and RIGHT THERE it stuck again.'

7.21   *ne / kakahan   tɨ /   ndé   kwi*
        and   CON:speak   it:AML   how   CON:happen
        'And it said, "Why

        katɨ̄n   ndu-n   díhɨn kó / sa   kahan   tɨ
        CON:grab INT-you:SG   foot   me   so   CON:speak   it:AML
        are you grabbing my foot?" it said.'

7.22 *tsí*   *tē* *ñá*   *ne* /
      because   if   NEG   and
      ' "Because if not,

      nakīhshi   *ú*   *nda*   *dātsin*   *kó*   *san* /
      POT:CAUS:come   I   hand   left   me   that
      I'll hit (you with) my left hand,

      ne   *un*   *tsi*   *nde*   *maa*   *i*   *kan*
      and   one   LIM   against   under   UN   there
      and I'll toss you

      nakwītá   *u*   *o* /   *sá*   *kahan*   *ti*
      POT:CAUS:go:down   I   you:SG   so   CON:speak   it:AML
      WAY DOWN THERE!" it said.'

7.23 *ne* / *nákīhin*   *túku*   *sá*   *tsi*   Ø
      and   COM:CAUS:go   REP   only   LIM   UN
      'And it punched (it) again just then

      nda   *dátsin*   *i* /
      hand   left   UN
      (with) its left paw,

      ne   *ikan*   *tsī*   *tín*   *ndēe*   *ndíhi*   *ndaha*   *i*
      and   there   LIM   COM:grab   against   all   hand   UN
      and all its paws stuck RIGHT THERE.'

7.24 *ne*   *ikan*   *tsī*   *tín*   *ndēé*   *kanii*   Ø   *kídaa*
      and   there   LIM   COM:grab   against   whole   UN   then
      'And the whole thing stuck then RIGHT THERE.'

7.25 *ne* / *kó*   *da*   *kāka*   *chu*   *ndáa*   Ø
      and   ?   only   CON:speak   ?   straight   UN
      'And it was sitting there in the cornfield

      tuví   Ø   *má*   *itú*   *kān* /
      CON:sit:SG   UN   under   cornfield   there
      doing nothing but hollering

     dá   shēe   tánū   tó   ītú   san
     when   COM:arrive female owner cornfield   that
     'when the owner of the cornfield arrived.'

7.26 ne / dōo diní   tun / é   tūví   tɨ
      and INTS happy her CMP   CON:sit:SG   it:AML
      'And she was delighted (to find) it sitting

      má   itú   kān / dá   sheé   tun
      under cornfield there when COM:arrive   she
      there in the cornfield when she arrived.'

7.27 ne / náku   nīhi   tún tɨ /
      and COM:REP:become   with   she it:AML
      'And she picked it up

      kunú   nīhí tun   tɨ   nú   vīhi   tún   kān
      INC:return with she it:AML face house her   there
      and took it home with her.'

7.28 ne / dā   násheé   tun
      and when   COM:REP:arrive she
      'And when she got back

      nú   vihi   tún   kān   ne /
      face house her   there and
      to her house,

      shnu   kutū tún tɨ   ini   akú   kān
      COM:COL:be:in:SG tight she it:AML insides fence there
      she locked it up in a cage.'

7.29 ne / ikān   nuu   tɨ /
      and there   CON:be:in:SG it:AML
      'And it was in THERE

      sheé   a   shteé   san ne / katsishehē ∅ /
      COM:arrive DIM   coyote that and CON:ask   UN
      when the coyote arrived, and it asked,

ndé   o   de-n   /
how   CON:exist   CON:do-you:SG
"What are you doing

kwán   o   nuu-n   íha   /
thus   CON:exist CON:be:in:SG-you:SG   here
in here like this?"

sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
SO   CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
said the coyote.'

7.30 *iha   nuu   ú   /   kade   tsiñu   ú   /*
here   CON:be:in:SG   I   CON:do work   I
' "I'm in HERE working,"

sa   kahan   a   tsídō   sán
SO   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
said the rabbit.'

7.31 *katsishehē   á   shteé   san   ti   /*
CON:ask   DIM   coyote   that   it:AML
'The coyote asked it,

vāhá   ō   kandáhwi   ña   o   /
good   CON:exist CON:pay   person   you:SG
"Do they pay you WELL?"

sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
SO   CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
said the coyote.'

7.32 *kandávi   váha   ñā   kó   /*
CON:pay   good   person   me
' "They pay me well,"

sá   kahan   á   tsídō   san
SO   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
said the rabbit.'

7.33   ne / dōo   vá   o   kaito   ña   kó   dɨ /
        and INTS good   CON:exist CON:look person   me   also
        ' "And they also take VERY GOOD care of me,"

        sá   kahan   tɨ
        so   CON:speak it:AML
        it said.'

7.34   daha   kān   dɨ   ne / iha   kakahan   ña /
        over   there   also   and   here CON:speak   person
        ' "Moreover,[1] NOW they say

        é   kāni   vihi   ú   nī   dyóko   ñā /
        CMP   POT:set:up house   I   with   daughter   person
        that I should marry their daughter,"

        sá   kahan   a   tsídō   san
        so   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
        said the rabbit.'

7.35   kūdii   dá   kakáhan   ña /
        merely   only   CON:speak   it:AML
        'It was only saying (that)

        da   ti   kukíi   ∅   nima   á   shteé   san /
        when   ?   POT:go:down   UN   heart   DIM   coyote   that
        in order that the coyote would agree (Sp. ánima)

        nakunúu   ∅
        POT:REP:get:in:SG   UN
        to get in

        kwenda   iña   tɨ
        account   thing   it:AML
        in its place (Sp. cuenta).'

7.36   sá kahan   tɨ   tsí   ña   shkúndení   tɨ /
        so CON:speak   it:AML   because   NEG   CON:like   it:AML
        'It said that it didn't want

        ――――――――――――――――――――――

        [1]The expression daha kān dɨ is an idiom meaning 'moreover'.

é   kani   vi   nihi   ti   dyóko   ñā
CMP   POT:set:up house   with   it:AML daughter   person
to marry their daughter.'

7.37   *ndá   tē   dí   divi   ka   ku   ndō /*
       but   if   also   same   more   EMPH   you:PL
       ' "If only (it were) YOU!"

       sá   kahan   tí   nī   á   shteé   san
       SO   CON:speak   it:AML   with   DIM   coyote   that
       it said to the coyote.'

7.38   *ndāa   kahan-n /*
       straight   CON:speak-you:SG
       ' "Are you telling THE TRUTH?"

       sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
       SO   CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
       said the coyote.'

7.39   *tē   dí   kaindení   ndo   ne /*
       if   also CON:like   you:PL   and
       ' "If you'd like to,

       nakunúu   ndo
       POT:REP:get:in:SG   you:PL
       get in (here)

       kwenda   iñá   ko /
       account   thing   me
       in my place,"

       sá   kahan   a   tsídō   san
       SO   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
       said the rabbit.'

7.40   *tsi   dóo   kandiní   i   ndé   koo*
       because   INTS CON:worry   UN   how   POT:exist
       'For it was very worried about how

nakâku   Ø / e   téku   i
POT:REP:be:born   UN   CMP   COM:hear   UN
it would escape, having heard

é   kāhan   tun   é   tāka   íhni
CMP   COM:speak she   CMP poker hot
her say that she would

kāmi   nuu   tún   etí   i
POT:burn face she   bottom   UN
burn its bottom WITH A HOT POKER.'

7.41   ne / á   shteé   san   ne /
       and DIM   coyote   that and
       'As for the coyote,

kúkīí   ndihshe sá   tsi   Ø   nima   i /
INC:go:down   truly   only LIM   UN   heart UN
it really did just then agree

nakunúu   Ø
POT:REP:get:in:SG   UN
to get in

kwenda iña   ti
account thing it:AML
in place of it.'

7.42   tsi   dóo diní   i / é   kāhan   ti
       because INTS happy UN   CMP   COM:speak   it:AML
       'For it was very happy that it said

é   divi   Ø   kani   vi   nihī   Ø
CMP   same   UN   POT:set:up house with   UN
that IT should be the one to marry

dyóko   ñā
daughter person
their daughter.'

7.43 *ne   ikān   nakáku   ti̷/*
      and   there   COM:REP:be:born   it:AML
      'And THERE it escaped,

      ne / kwéhen   ti̷
      and   INC:go   it:AML
      and it took off.'

7.44 *ne / dā   kwáa   ne / kakahan   túku   tún /*
      and   when   COM:become:late and   CON:speak REP   she
      'And when it got late, she said,

      nē   ndú   ura   kami   núu   o   tāka   íhni
      what   INT   hour   POT:burn face   we:IN   poker   hot
      "What time (Sp. *hora*) shall we burn

      eti̷   i   é   nuu
      bottom   UN   CMP   CON:be:in:SG
      with a hot poker the bottom of that one

      ini   akú   kān / kahan   tún
      insides   fence   there   CON:speak   she
      that is in the cage?" she said.'

7.45 *ne / da   kúduhva   á   shteé   san /*
      and   only   COM:become:thus   DIM   coyote   that
      'And the coyote was astonished

      da   téku   i   é   kāhan   tun
      when   COM:hear   UN   CMP   COM:speak   she
      when it heard her say that she was going to

      é   kāmi   nuu   tún   tāka   íhni   eti̷   i
      CMP   POT:burn   face   she   poker   hot   bottom   UN
      burn its bottom with a hot poker.'

7.46 *ne / kidáā   ne / dōo   dé   kwe   iní   i /*
      and   then   and   INTS COM:do   measure   insides   UN
      'And so then, it thought very hard,

ndé   koo   ndu / é   kwan   koó   ∅ /
how   POT:exist INT   CMP   thus   POT:exist UN
"How can this be?"

sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
so   CON:speak DIM coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.47   duhva ndū   ó   sa
       thus INT   CON:exist   only
       ' "Is THIS why the fellow

un   ínu   na   inúu   díhna /
one   COM:run   he   COM:get:in:SG earlier
who was in (here) before ran (away)?"

sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
so   CON:speak DIM coyote that
said the coyote.'

                                                    ╵
7.48   vihi   a   ve   ne / tahvi   o   ∅   vē /
       while here now and POT:break we:IN UN   now
       ' "In a little while now we will break it

dá   ndii   ō /
when   POT:REP:go:down   we:IN
and get out,"

sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
so   CON:speak DIM coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.49   ne / tahvi   ndīhshe ti   ∅/
       and COM:break truly   it:AML   UN
       'And it really did break it,

né   dā   ndii   ti
and   when COM:REP:go:down   it:AML
and then it got out.'

7.50   *ne   dā   ndíi   tɨ   ne /*
       and   when   COM:REP:go:down   it:AML   and
       'And when it got out,

       dōó   dutsī   kwiní   tɨ
       INTS   angry   CON:feel   it:AML
       it was very angry.'

7.51   *vevíí   tsi   kahshi   tɨ   a   tsídō   sán*
       today   LIM   POT:eat   it:AML   DIM   rabbit   that
       'It was going to eat that rabbit RIGHT AWAY.'

7.52   *ne   kakahan   tɨ /   vihi   a   ve   ne /*
       and   CON:speak   it:AML   while   here   now   and
       'And it said, "In a little while now

       kɨ   nandúku   o   ɨ/
       POT:go   POT:REP:look:for   we:IN   UN
       we'll go look for it,

       ne   dá   kāhshi   o   i /
       and   when   POT:eat   we:IN   UN
       and then we'll eat it,"

       sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
       SO   CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
       said the coyote.'

7.53   *ne /   kwéhen   ndīhshe   tɨ /*
       and   INC:go   truly   it:AML
       'And it really did go

       ku   nandúku   tɨ   a   tsídō   san
       INC:go   POT:REP:look:for   it:AML   DIM   rabbit   that
       look for the rabbit

       dá   kāhshi   tɨ   i
       when   POT:eat   it:AML   UN
       to eat it.'

7.54 *ne / dā   nánihi   ti   i   ne /*
and   when   COM:REP:get   it:AML   UN   and
'And when it found it, it was already

é   mastrú   sa   tsi   kade   Ø
already   teacher   only   LIM   CON:do   UN
just then acting as a teacher (Sp. *maestro*).'

7.55 *nuu   sá   Ø   / kanakwahā   Ø /*
CON:be:in:SG   only   UN   CON:CAUS:learn   UN
'It was inside teaching

dá   shee   ti
when   COM:arrive   it:AML
when it arrived.'

7.56 *ne / dā   shee   ti   ne /*
and   when   COM:arrive   it:AML   and
'And when it arrived,

kakahan   ti   /   ndé   o   de-n /
CON:speak   it:AML   how   CON:exist   CON:do-you:SG
it said, "What are you doing

kwán   o   nuu-n   íha /
thus   CON:exist   CON:be:in:SG-you:SG   here
in here like this?"

sá   kahan   ti
so   CON:speak   it:AML
it said.'

7.57 *iha   nuu   ú   a /*
here   CON:be:in:SG   I   here
' "Here I am in HERE,"

sá   kahan   a   tsídō   san
so   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
said the rabbit.'

7.58 *ne / kakahan   á   shteé   san /*
      and CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
      'And the coyote said,

      vihi   a   ve   ne /
      while   here   now   and
      "In a little while now,

      kahshi   ú   o   ve /   sá   kahan   tɨ
      POT:eat   I   you:SG now   so   CON:speak it:AML
      I'm going to eat you!" it said.'

7.59 *ne / a   tsídō   sán   ne /   kakahan   tɨ /*
      and DIM rabbit   that and   CON:speak it:AML
      'And as for the rabbit, it said,

      ndé   kwi   kahshí   ndo   ko /
      how   CON:happen   POT:eat you:PL me
      "Why are you going to eat me?"

      sá   kahan   a   tsídō   sán
      so   CON:speak DIM   rabbit that
      said the rabbit.'

7.60 *te   kākakɨn   ndo   ne/*
      if   CON:be:hungry you:PL   and
      ' "If you're hungry,

      nakwaha   ndo   na   kwetsī   sán /
      POT:CAUS:learn   you:PL   boy   small:PL   that
      you teach the children,

      ne   nā   kɨ   kihí   u   é   kāhshi   ndo /
      and HORT POT:go POT:take I   UN   POT:eat   you:PL
      and let me go get something for you to eat!"

      sá   kahan   a   tsídō   sán
      so   CON:speak DIM   rabbit that
      said the rabbit.'

7.61 *ne / a   shteé   san   ne   / kakahan   tɨ /*
     and DIM coyote that and   CON:speak it:AML
     'And as for the coyote, it said,

     ñáhā / tsí   dɨvī-n   é   kāhshi   ú   o /
     no   because same-you:SG CMP POT:eat I   you:SG
     "No, because YOU are the one I'm going to eat,"

     sá   kahan   tɨ
     so   CON:speak it:AML
     it said.'

7.62 *ñáhā / sá kahan   a   tsídō   sán*
     no   so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
     ' "No!" said the rabbit.'

7.63 *nakwāha   ndo   na   kwetsi   sán /*
     POT:CAUS:learn you:PL boy small:PL that
     ' "You teach the children;

     nā   kɨ   kihí   u   é   kāhshi   ndo /
     HORT POT:go POT:take I UN POT:eat you:PL
     let me go get something for you to eat!"

     sá   kahan   tɨ
     so   CON:speak it:AML
     it said.'

7.64 *ne / kúkɨ́ī   sa   tsi   ∅*
     and INC:go:down only LIM UN
     'And the coyote just then

     nima   á   shteé   san
     heart DIM coyote that
     agreed to it.'

7.65 *ndāa   kahan-n   /   sá kahan   tɨ*
     straight CON:speak-you:SG so CON:speak it:AML
     ' "Do you mean it?" it said.'

7.66 *ne / kĩhi   sá   tsi   á   shteé   san   regla /*
      and COM:take only LIM DIM coyote   that ruler
      'And the coyote just picked up a ruler (Sp. *regla*)

      kánakwaha   ∅   na   kwetsĩ   sán
      CON:CAUS:learn UN   boy   small:PL that
      and taught the children.'

7.67 *ne / kakahán   sa   ∅ / "atención, niños" /*
      and CON:speak only UN   attention children
      'And it just said, "Attention (Sp.),

      sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
      so   CON:speak DIM coyote   that
      children (Sp. *niños*)!" said the coyote.'

7.68 *ne   dōtó   kandétu   tĩ*
      and haphazardly CON:wait   it:AML
      'And it waited in vain (to find out)

      né   ura   nasheé   a   tsídō   san /
      what hour POT:REP:arrive DIM rabbit   that
      what time the rabbit would get back

      é   kũ   nakihí   tĩ
      CMP   INC:go POT:REP:take   it:AML
      from going to get

      é   kāhshi   á   shteé   san
      UN   POT:eat   DIM coyote   that
      something for the coyote to eat.'

7.69 *míhi   ndu   kũ   nakihí   tĩ   ∅*
      where   INT   INC:go POT:REP:take   it:AML   UN
      'Where did it ever go get it?'

7.70 *tsí   kⱥdii   ínu   kwehen   tĩ*
      because   merely   COM:run completely   it:AML
      'For it simply ran away.'

7.71 *ne   dā   ña   ni   nashée   kwéhen   tɨ*
     and   when   NEG   CF   COM:REP:arrive   completely   it:AML
     'And when it didn't arrive back at all,

     ne / kwéhēn   á   shteé   san /
     and   INC:go   DIM   coyote   that
     the coyote went

     kū   nandúku   tɨ   tɨ
     INC:go   POT:REP:look:for   it:AML   it:AML
     to look for it.'

7.72 *ne / dā   nánihi   tɨ   a   tsídō   sán*
     and   when   COM:REP:get   it:AML   DIM   rabbit   that
     'And when it found the rabbit,

     ne / e   díkɨ   tun   mīhnde   tsí   kan
     and   already   head   tree   prickly:pear   LIM   there
     the rabbit was already perched

     ndēku   a   tsídō   sán
     CON:be:on:SG   DIM   rabbit   that
     ON TOP OF A PRICKLY PEAR.'

7.73 *ne / dā   shee   á   shteé   san   ne /*
     and   when   COM:arrive   DIM   coyote   that   and
     'And when the coyote arrived,

     kakahan   tɨ   /   ndé   o   de-n /
     CON:speak   it:AML   how   CON:exist   CON:do-you:SG
     it said, "What are you doing,

     kwán   o   ndeku-n   a/
     thus   CON:exist   CON:be:on:SG-you:SG   here
     sitting up here like this?"

     sá   kahan   tɨ
     SO   CON:speak   it:AML
     it said.'

7.74   *iha   ndekú   u /*
       here   CON:be:on:SG   I
       ' "I'm sitting UP HERE

       kaehshi   ú   kiti   mihndé   san /
       CON:eat   I   fruit   prickly:pear   that
       eating the prickly pears,"

       sá   kahan   a   tsídō   san
       SO   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
       said the rabbit.'

7.75   *vihi   a   ve   ne /   nuu-n*
       while   here   now   and   POT:come:down-you:SG
       ' "So now, come down

       ñuhu   a   /   dá   kāhshi   ú   o /
       ground   here   when   POT:eat   I   you:SG
       to the ground here; then I'll eat you!"

       sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
       SO   CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
       said the coyote.'

7.76   *ne /   kakahan   a   tsídō   san /*
       and   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
       'And the rabbit said,

       ndé   kwi   kahshi   ndó   ko /
       how   CON:happen   POT:eat   you:PL   me
       "Why are you going to eat me?"

       sá   kahan   ti
       SO   CON:speak   it
       it said.'

7.77   *ña   káhshi   ndo   é   kaehshi   ú   san /*
       NEG   POT:eat   you:PL   UN   CON:eat   I   that
       ' "Won't you eat what I'm eating?"

sá   *kahan*   *a*   *tsídō*   *sán*
so   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
said the rabbit.'

7.78   *ñáhā / tsí*   *divī-n*   *é*   *kāhshi*   *ú*   *o /*
       no   because   same-you:SG   CMP   POT:eat   I   you:SG
       ' "No, because IT'S YOU that I'm going to eat!"

sá   *kahan*   *á*   *shteé*   *sán*
so   CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
said the coyote.'

7.79   *ñáhā / kahshí*   *ka*   *ndo*   *é*   *kaehshi*   *ú*   *san*   *ni /*
       no   POT:eat   more   you:PL   UN   CON:eat   I   that   therefore
       ' "No, eat what I'm eating!"

sá   *kahan*   *a*   *tsídō*   *sán*
so   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
said the rabbit.'

7.80   *ña*   *dínī*   *ndo / e*   *dóo*   *vá*   *ehshí*   *∅ /*
       NEG   happy   you:PL CMP   INTS   good   CON:eat   UN
       ' "Aren't you glad that it really tastes good?"

sá   *kahan*   *a*   *tsídō*   *sán*
so   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
said the rabbit.'

7.81   *ñáhā / tsí*   *divī-n*   *é*   *kāhshi*   *ú*   *o /*
       no   because   same-you:SG   CMP   POT:eat   I   you:SG
       ' "No, because it's YOU that I'm going to eat!"

sá   *kahan*   *á*   *shteé*   *san*
so   CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
said the coyote.'

7.82   *ne / kaehshí*   *a*   *tsídō*   *sán /*
       and   CON:eat   DIM   rabbit   that
       'And the rabbit (went on) eating,

> *ña   káde   tɨ   kwenda*
> NEG CON:do it:AML account
> not paying any attention.'

7.83 *un   tsi   kúkwehe   shúhu   tɨ /*
     one   LIM   COM:become:red   mouth   it:AML
     'Its mouth got all red

> *kaehshi   tɨ   kɨtɨ   mihndé   san*
> CON:eat   it:AML fruit   prickly:pear   that
> from eating the prickly pears.'

7.84 *ne / kakahan   tɨ /*
     and   CON:speak   it:AML
     'And it said,

> *ñá   tē   ndé   kaa   vá   ēhshi   é   kaēhshi   ú /*
> NEG   if   how   CON:be good CON:eat   UN   CON:eat   I
> "These things I'm eating taste REALLY GOOD,"

> *sá   kahan   a   tsídō   sán*
> SO   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
> said the rabbit.'

7.85 *ña   káshi   ndíhshe   ndú   ndo   ∅ /*
     NEG   POT:eat   truly   INT   you:PL UN
     ' "Won't you really eat any?"

> *sá   kahan   tɨ   nī   á   shteé   san*
> SO   CON:speak   it:AML with DIM   coyote   that
> it said to the coyote.'

7.86 *ñáhā / tsí   dɨvī-n*
     no   because   same-you:SG
     ' "No, because it's YOU

> *é   vevií   tsi   kahshi   ú o   /   kwiní   ko /*
> CMP   today   LIM   POT:eat   I you:SG   CON:feel   me
> that I'm going to eat RIGHT NOW, I think,"

> sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
> so   CON:speak DIM   coyote   that
> said the coyote.'

7.87 ñáhā / sá kahan   a   tsídō   sán
      no   so CON:speak DIM   rabbit   that
      ' "No!" said the rabbit.'

7.88 kahshí   ka   ndo   é   kaēhshi   ú   sa   ni /
      POT:eat   more   you:PL UN   CON:eat   I   this   therefore
      ' "Eat what I'm eating!"

      sá   kahan   tɨ   nī   á   shteé   san
      so   CON:speak it:AML with   DIM   coyote   that
      it said to the coyote.'

7.89 ne / kúkīi   ∅   nima   á   shteé   san /
      and INC:go:down UN   heart   DIM   coyote   that
      'And the coyote agreed

      éhshi   ∅   ∅
      COM:eat UN   UN
      to eat it.'

7.90 uun   tsi ∅   nakɨhshi-n /
      one   LIM UN   POT:CAUS:come-you:SG
      ' "Toss me JUST ONE;

      na   kōto   ndeé   u   ∅   ni /
      HORT POT:look against I   UN   therefore
      let me try it then!"

      sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
      so   CON:speak DIM   coyote   that
      said the coyote.'

7.91 ne / nákōshó   ndihshe tɨ   uun ∅ /
      and COM:CAUS:fall truly   it:AML   one UN
      'And it really did drop one

éhshi   á   shteé   san
COM:eat   DIM   coyote   that
for the coyote to eat.'

7.92   ndá   tsi   dihna   de   váha   tɨ   iñu   i /
        but   LIM   earlier COM:do good it:AML thorn UN
        'But FIRST it removed its spines;

        da   shēhé   tɨ   ∅ /
        when   COM:give   it:AML UN
        then it gave it

        éhshi   á   shteé   san
        COM:eat   DIM   coyote   that
        to the coyote to eat.'

7.93   ne / kakahan   túku   a   tsídō san /
        and   CON:speak REP   DIM   rabbit that
        'And the rabbit said again,

        kahshí   ka   ndo   ∅ / sá kahan   tɨ
        POT:eat more you:PL UN   so CON:speak it:AML
        "Eat another one!" it said.'

7.94   uun   sá   ∅   nakwɨtá-n /
        one   only UN   POT:CAUS:go:down-you:SG
        ' "Toss down JUST ONE MORE

        na   kāhshi   ú   ∅ / sá kahan   á   shteé   san
        HORT   POT:eat   I   UN   so CON:speak DIM coyote   that
        for me to eat!" said the coyote.'

7.95   nákwɨtá   ndihshe   tɨ   uun   ká   ∅
        COM:CAUS:go:down   truly   it:AML one   more UN
        'It really did toss another one down.'

7.96   ndá   tsi   ña   ni   de   váha   ká   tɨ   iñu   i
        but   LIM   NEG   CF   COM:do good   more   it:AML thorn UN
        'But it no longer removed its spines.'

7.97 *ne / kakahan ti̱ /*
and CON:speak it:AML
'And it said,

    ndá tsi ña ni̱hi kahshi ndó/
    but LIM NEG POT:get POT:eat you:PL
    "But you won't get any of it to eat

    te nakwi̱tá u ∅
    if POT:CAUS:go:down I UN
    if I toss it down.'

7.98 *tsi sáha ne / un váha tsi itsi ∅*
because this and one good LIM ripe UN
'Because this one, it's REALLY ripe.'

7.99 *te nakō̱hshó u ∅ ne/*
if POT:CAUS:fall I UN and
'If I drop it,

    dikán tsi kunaa ∅ /
    same:there LIM POT:become:lost UN
    it'll get spoiled RIGHT THERE,"

    sá kahan ti̱ ni̱ á shteé san
    so CON:speak it:AML with DIM coyote that
    it said to the coyote.'

7.100 *ndi̱ká ndo shuhu ndo /*
POT:open you:PL mouth you:PL
' "Open your mouth;

    na nakō̱shó nuu ú ∅ /
    HORT POT:CAUS:fall face I UN
    let me drop it in!"

    sá kahan ti̱ ni̱ á shteé san
    so CON:speak it:AML with DIM coyote that
    it said to the coyote.'

7.101   *ne* / *ndĩká*   *ndihshe*   *sá*   *tsi*   *∅*
       and   COM:open   tru   only   LIM   UN
       'And it really did just   n open

       shuhu   *i*   /   *ne*   *dừ*   *nakwíta*   *nuu*   *tǐ*
       mouth   UN   and   when   COM:CAUS:go:down   face   it:AML
       its mouth, and then it tossed

       shuhu   *i*   *kǐtǐ*   *iñu*   *sán*
       mouth   UN   fruit   thorny   that
       that spiny fruit down into ITS MOUTH.'

7.102   *ne* / *ikan*   *tsī*   *inú*   *tāhu*   *∅*
       and   there   LIM   COM:get:in:SG   tight   UN
       'And it got stuck RIGHT THERE

       ini   *dukun*   *i*   *kan*
       insides   neck   UN   there
       in its throat.'

7.103   *ne* / *kó*   *da*   *kanatừví*   *∅*   *kúñu*   *i*   /
       and   ?   only   CON:CAUS:roll   UN   body   UN
       'And it just went tumbling

       kwēhen   *∅*   *máa*   *i*   *kān*
       INC:go   UN   under   UN   there
       down (the hill).'

7.104   *ne* / *da*   *nǐ*   *núu*   *nánehe*   *tǐ*   /
       and   when   whole   COM:come:down   quickly   it:AML
       'And in the meantime, it quickly got down

       ínu   *tǐ*
       COM:run   it:AML
       (and) ran away.'

7.105   *ne* / *dá*   *ndē*   *shee*   *tsóko*   /
       and   when   against   POT:arrive   ant
       'And it wasn't until some ants arrived

dā   nátavá   tɨ   kɨtɨ   iñu   san
when   COM:REP:take:out it:AML fruit   thorny that
that they removed the spiny fruit

dukun   á   shteé   san
neck   DIM   coyote   that
from the coyote's throat.'

7.106   da   kidáā   nákaká   Ø   /   kwehen   Ø
        when   then   COM:REP:walk UN   INC:go   UN
        'Then it finally escaped (and) took off.'

7.107   ne   kakahan   túku   á   shteé   san /
        and   CON:speak REP   DIM   coyote   that
        'And the coyote again said,

        nda   víhi   a   ve   ne /
        but   while   here   now   and
        "But in a little while now

        kɨ   nandúku   o   iña   ko   ve /
        POT:go   POT:REP:look:for we:IN thing   us:IN   now
        we'll go look for our thing now;

        dá   kāhshi   o   i /
        when   POT:eat   we:IN UN
        then we'll eat it,"

        sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
        so   CON:speak DIM   coyote that
        said the coyote.'

7.108   ne   kwéhen   ndɨhshe   sa   á   shteé   san /
        and   INC:go   truly   only   DIM   coyote   that
        'And the coyote really did then go

        ku   nandúku   tɨ   a   tsídō   sán
        INC:go POT:REP:look:for it:AML DIM   rabbit   that
        to look for the rabbit.'

7.109 *ne / dā   nánihi   tɨ   a   tsídō   sán   ne /*
      and   when   COM:REP:get   it:AML   DIM   rabbit   that   and
      'And when it found the rabbit,

      é   ikan   tsī   nuu   sá   0
      already   there   LIM   CON:be:in:SG   only   UN
      it was already RIGHT THERE

      diñɨ   ndute   kān
      side   water   there
      beside the river.'

7.110 *ne / dā   shee   á   shteé   san   ne /*
      and   when   COM:arrive   DIM   coyote   that   and
      'And when the coyote arrived,

      katsishehe   tɨ   /   ndé   o   de-n /
      CON:ask   it:AML   how   CON:exist   CON:do-you:SG
      it asked, "What are you doing

      kwán   o   nuu-n   íha/
      thus   CON:exist   CON:be:in:SG-you:SG   here
      here like this?"

      sá   kahan   tɨ
      so   CON:speak   it:AML
      it said.'

7.111 *ne / kakahan   á   shteé   san /*
      and   CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
      'And the coyote said,

      vihi   a   ve   ne / kahshi   ú   o   ve /
      while   here   now   and   POT:eat   I   you:SG   now
      "In a little while now I'm going to eat you!"

      sá   kahan   tɨ
      so   CON:speak   it:AML
      it said.'

7.112 *ndé   kwi   káhshi   ndó   ko /*
     how   CON:happen   POT:eat   you:PL   me
     ' "Why are you going to eat me?"

     sá   kahan   a   tsídō   sán
     so   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
     said the rabbit.'

7.113 *ndé   kwi   éni   ndâhví   ku-n*
     how   CON:happen   COM:set:up   poor   EMPH-you:SG
     ' "Why did you indeed deceive me?"

     kó   kwan / sá   kahan   á   shteé   san
     me   thus   so   CON:speak   DIM   coyote   that
     said the coyote.'

7.114 *ne / kakahan   a   tsídō   sán /*
     and   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
     'And the rabbit said,

     ama   éni   ndâhví   u   ndo /
     when   COM:set:up   poor   I   you:PL
     "When did I ever deceive you?"

     sá   kahan   a   tsídō   sán
     so   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
     said the rabbit.'

7.115 *shú   ne / ñá   īní   u /*
     I   and   NEG   CON:know   I
     ' "Me, I don't know

     kwán   o   kahan   ndó   san /
     thus   CON:exist   CON:speak   you:PL   that
     what you're talking about,"

     sá   kahan   a   tsídō   sán
     so   CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
     said the rabbit.'

7.116 *vevií   tsi   kahshi   ú   o /*
       today   LIM   POT:eat   I   you:SG
       ' "I'm going to eat you RIGHT NOW,

       kwiní   ko / sá kahan   á   shteé   san
       CON:feel   me   so CON:speak DIM   coyote   that
       I think," said the coyote.'

7.117 *ñáhā / sá kahan   a   tsídō   sán*
       no   so CON:speak   DIM   rabbit   that
       ' "No!" said the rabbit.'

7.118 *ne   kwéhen   tsī   a   tsídō   san*
       and   INC:go   LIM   DIM   rabbit   that
       'And the rabbit just went

       iní   ndute   san
       insides   water   that
       into the water.'

7.119 *ne / kakahan   tí /*
       and   CON:speak   it:AML
       'And it said,

       tē   njo   kahshi   ndó   ko   ne /
       if   CON:want   POT:eat   you:PL me   and
       "If you want to eat me,

       kihshi   ndó /   vata ō   véhshī   ú   san
       POT:come you:PL as   CON:exist INC:come   I   that
       come after me (lit. as I have come).'

7.120 *ne / tē   she   ndikɨn   ndó   ko   ne /*
       and   if   POT:arrive CON:follow you:PL   me   and
       'And if you catch up with me,

       dá   kāhshi   ndó   ko /
       when   POT:eat   you:PL me
       then eat me!"'

sá	*kahan*	*a*	*tsídō*	*sán*
so	CON:speak	DIM	rabbit	that

said the rabbit.'

7.121
ne /	*kwéhen*	*ndīhshe*	*så*	*tsi*	*á*	*shteé*	*san*
and	INC:go	truly	only	LIM	DIM	coyote	that

'And the coyote really did just then go (in).'

7.122
ne /	*ikan*	*tsī*	*téni*	*á*	*shteé*	*san*
and	there	LIM	COM:drown	DIM	coyote	that

'And the coyote drowned RIGHT THERE

nú	*ndute*	*kān*
face	water	there

in the water.'

7.123
ne /	*ikān*	*ndīhi*	*kwendu*
and	there	COM:finish	story

'And THERE ends the story

iña	*a*	*tsído*	*nī*	*á*	*shteé*
thing	DIM	rabbit	with	DIM	coyote

about the rabbit and the coyote.'