STUDIES IN THE SYNTAX OF MIXTECAN LANGUAGES

Volume 4

Edited by
C. Henry Bradley and Barbara E. Hollenbach

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Studies in the
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C. Henry Bradley

and

Barbara E. Hollenbach

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Preface

The present volume constitutes the fourth and final installment of a set that includes syntactic sketches of ten languages in the Mixtecan language family, which is one of eight families included in the Otomanguean stock. It contains sketches of two languages spoken in the western part of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico: Yosonda Mixtec, a member of the Western Highlands grouping of Mixtec languages, and Copala Trique.

These sketches follow the same outline and format as the sketches in the previous three volumes of the series (Bradley and Hollenbach 1988, 1990, 1991).[1] They present the structure of the languages with minimum attention to theory, and over half of the space in each sketch is devoted to examples. As in most of the other sketches, each closes with an indigenous version of the tar-baby story as a sample text in the language.

Further information about these sketches can be found in the preface and introduction to Bradley and Hollenbach 1988.

BEH
November 1991

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[1]Volumes 1, 2, and 3 of *Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages* were published as Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics 83, 90, and 105.

Abbreviations

ADD	additive	INAN	inanimate
AFF	affirmative	INC	incompletive
AML	animal	INT	interrogative
CAUS	causative	INTS	intensifier
CF	contrafactual	LIM	limiter
cf.	compare	lit.	literally
CMP	complementizer	ME	male ego
COM	completive	NEG	negative
CON	continuative	NONCON	noncontinuative
DEC	declarative	PERS	persuasive
DEI	deity	PL	plural
DETR	detransitive	POS	possessed
DU	dual	POT	potential
EMPH	emphatic	reg. Sp.	regional Spanish
EX	exclusive	REP	repetitive
FAM	familiar	RES	respect
FE	female ego	SG	singular
GEN	general	Sp.	Spanish
HORT	hortatory	SPEC	specifier
IMP	imperative	UN	unspecified third person
IN	inclusive	?	gloss unknown

A Syntactic Sketch of Yosondúa Mixtec

Edwin R. Farris

Contents

Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Yosondúa Mixtec is spoken by approximately 7,000 people living under the jurisdiction of the municipal center of Santiago Yosondúa, in the district of Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca, Mexico. Spanish is spoken in the town center and in some of the outlying settlements, but Mixtec is spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of Cañada de Galicia, Buena Vista, Atalaya, Alacrán, Primavera, Plumas, Vergel, and Guajelotes.

Because Yosondúa is served by a truck road and functions as a commercial center for a number of surrounding towns, Yosondúa Mixtec is understood over a much wider area, which includes Santo Domingo Ixcatlán, Santa María Yolotepec, Yolotepec de la Paz, Santa Cruz Tacahua, and San Miguelito Ixcatlán, all located to the east of Yosondúa; Santa Catarina Cuanana, San Mateo Yucutindoo, and Santiago Amoltepec, all located to the south; and Chalcatongo de Hidalgo and San Miguel el Grande, both located to the north.

Yosondúa Mixtec shows some internal variation. In the area to the north bordering San Miguel el Grande and Chalcatongo, *u* is replaced by *o* in many words, and in the area to the east bordering Santo Domingo Ixcatlán, Yolotepec de la Paz, and Santa María Yolotepec, *Nn* is replaced by *ch*.

Because of the primary school system, which has been in the area for more than fifty years, and because many Mixtecs have spent time working away from the area, there exists a high degree of bilingualism. More and more people are speaking Spanish because of these factors, but in the

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outlying areas, Mixtec remains the language of preference for communication within the group, and children learn Mixtec as their first language.

This study is based on data gathered during fieldwork in Yosondúa beginning in 1969. The principal language associate was Juventino Martínez Cruz. The text in chapter 7 was recorded on tape in February 1979 by Bernardino Martínez, a resident of Atalaya; he was then about seventy-five years old. Many of the examples were drawn from a concordance of texts compiled in 1970 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

Yosondúa Mixtec has the following consonants and vowels: voiceless stops and affricate *p t ch k kw*, prenasalized stops and affricate *mb nd nj ng*, voiceless fricatives *s sy sh shy x*, voiced fricatives *v d*, simple nasals *m n ñ*, preaspirated nasals *Nn Ññ*, liquids *l r*, semivowels *w y*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e i a u o*, and nasalized vowels *in in an on un*. The consonant *b* is also found in Spanish loanwords.

There are three tones: high (written with acute accent), mid (written with macron), and low (unmarked). This variety of Mixtec exhibits extensive tone sandhi, in which the basic tone of words is changed after certain other words. The tones written in this sketch are the basic tones, not the surface tones that result from the application of sandhi rules.

This variety of Mixtec is characterized by many fast-speech rules in which underlying forms with two syllables, especially those with the shape CVV, are reduced to a single syllable when they do not receive phrase stress. In this sketch the longer forms are written.

0.3 Bibliography

Farris, Ed. 1981. Yosondúa Mixtec Kinship Terms. In *Proto Otomanguean Kinship*, edited by William R. Merrifield, pp. 193–97. International Museum of Cultures, Publication 11. Dallas: International Museum of Cultures.

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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 element, such as location and/or time. They may also have any element within them fronted to indicate focus. In addition, each type 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.

> *Nnāa*
> CON:quake
> There is an earthquake. (lit. It is quaking.)

> *ndīī*
> CON:dawn
> It is dawning.

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kɨhvɨ
CON:be:dark
It is dark.

kūñáā
CON:get:dark
It is getting dark.

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

chaa   rí
CON:arrive:here   I:FAM
I am coming.

kíshī   rá
CON:sleep   you:FAM
You are sleeping.

kátúú   dā
CON:lie   he
He is lying down.

kúhu   ī
CON:be:sick   GEN
The child is sick.

xínū   taxa
CON:run   flash
It is lightning. *or* Lightning is flashing.

(See also 7.6, 7.19, 7.21, 7.45, and 7.47.)

A subject may, however, be unexpressed if it can be supplied from the discourse context; two examples are found in 7.21 and 7.28.

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

xíhí   tī   ndūchā
CON:drink   it:AML   water
The animal is drinking water.

shíkó   ñā   nūni
CON:sell   she   corn
She is selling corn.

     ñūhū   ī   shndīki
     CON:lead   GEN   COW
     The child is leading the cow.

     sāmā   ñā   ndūchī
     CON:change she   bean
     She is exchanging beans.

     (See also 7.9, 7.10, 7.17, 7.47, and 7.51.)

Reflexive action may be indicated by using an appositional noun phrase containing either the specifier *máá* or the plural specifier *náá* as the subject of a transitive verb (see §§3.1.2 and 3.7).

     ndéhé   dā máá dā
     CON:look   he SPEC he
     He sees [himself].

     xáhni   dā máá dā
     COM:kill   he SPEC he
     He killed [himself].

     kā   ndututu dā náá   dā
     PL   CON:join he SPEC:PL he
     They got [themselves] together.

     kā   ndéhé   máá dā náá   dā
     PL   CON:look SPEC he SPEC:PL he
     They see [themselves].

Some transitive sentences allow the omission of the object when the focus is on the action, as seen by comparing the following pair of sentences.

     xáhnī   dā kītī
     CON:kill   he animal
     He hunts animals.

     xáhnī   dā
     CON:kill   he
     He hunts. *or* He is a hunter.

When they can be recovered from the context, however, any subject or object may be unexpressed. Unexpressed subjects are found in 7.30 and 7.43, and an unexpressed object is found in 7.48.

1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, associative, instrument, and

referent. Adjuncts are frequently expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see §3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see §4.3), which follows the subject in intransitive sentences 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; it includes elements traditionally classified as indirect objects. This adjunct is normally required with verbs that express change of possession, change of location, position, or placement.

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, and it has an animate, usually human, referent. It is usually signaled by the locative noun *nūu* 'face'.

kwāhā ní   kaa   nūu dā
POT:give you:RES   metal   face his
You will give him the axe.[1]

shíkó   ñā   nūni nūu dā
CON:sell she   corn face his
She is selling corn to him.

xaān   dā kaa   nūu   yó
COM:buy he metal face our:IN
He bought an axe from us.

táxí   ñā   tūtū   nūu kūhu   ñā
CON:send   she   paper   face sister:FE her
She is sending a message to her sister.

ni   kahān   dā īīn   Nnuhu   nūu dā
COM COM:speak he one   word   face his
He scolded him. (lit. He spoke one word to him.)

An example with no locative noun is found in 7.29.

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, depending on such factors as the meaning of the verb, the location of the speaker, and the

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[1]Yosondúa 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. In the above example the pronoun *dā* is the possessor of *nūu* 'face', and so it is glossed 'his' in the literal gloss line. Because the phrase *nūu dā* is the indirect object, it appears as 'him' in the free translation. In earlier examples, where *dā* functioned as the subject, it was glossed 'he'.

location of the subject; but destination is more frequent. Locative adjuncts of this type usually have inanimate referents, and they are often expressed by adverbs or nouns unmarked by any locative noun or preposition. They may, however, be signaled by *nūu* 'face' or *ichī* 'trail'; *nūu* often indicates a specific location, and *ichi* indicates that the source or destination is not in the immediate vicinity. If the location has an animate referent, *nūu* must occur. Words supplied in the free translation are enclosed in square brackets.

kīhīn   ñā   yahu
POT:go   she   market
She is going to market.

kīhīn   ñā   nūu   yahu
POT:go   she   face   market
She is going to the market.

kwāhan   dā   ndinūū
INC:go   he   Tlaxiaco
He is on the way to Tlaxiaco.

kwāhan   dā   īchī   ndinūū
INC:go   he   trail   Tlaxiaco
He is going in the direction of Tlaxiaco.

vāxī   dā   īchī   ndinūū
INC:come   he   trail   Tlaxiaco
He is coming back from Tlaxiaco.

ni   xahan   ná   nūu   "doctor"
COM   COM:go   I:RES   face   doctor
I went to [see] the doctor.

ni   kanakava   īnī   ndūchā   ún
COM   COM:fall   insides   water   that
[They] fell into the water.

(See also 7.20 and 7.48.)

With intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct usually occurs and expresses location. Its referent is commonly either inanimate or part of an animate entity, and it is usually expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see §3.6).

ñúhú   ndūchī   īnī   ndōho
CON:be:in   bean   insides   palm:basket
The beans are in the palm basket.

kánjā   *dā vehe   dā*
CON:be:located:SG he house his
He is at his house.

kánjā   *ītā   sīki   ndōho   yúkán*
CON:be:located:SG flower nape palm:basket that
That palm basket has a flower design on it. (lit. Flowers are located
on the outside of that palm basket.)

(See also 7.22, 7.31, 7.32, and 7.38.)

With transitive verbs that express placement or transport, the locative
adjunct expresses either source or destination. Sometimes the preposition
ūndi 'until' occurs to emphasize the distance involved.

chúhūn   ñā   staa   īnī   ndōho
CON:put:in she   tortilla insides palm:basket
She is putting tortillas in the palm basket.

chúshndéé   ñā   staa   nūu   mésa
CON:put:on she   tortilla face table
She is putting the tortillas on the table (Sp. *mesa*).

ndiso   ná   ndūku   vehe   ná
CON:carry I:RES firewood house my:RES
I am carrying the firewood to my house.

ndiso   ná   ndūku   ūndi vehe   ná
CON:carry I:RES firewood until house my:RES
I carry the firewood from my house.

(See also 7.1, 7.19, 7.34, and 7.48.)

The associative adjunct is marked by the preposition *xíín* 'with'; a variant
form *xíní* is used by some older speakers and appears in the text in chapter
7. This adjunct has two functions, one of which is to add a second
participant to some other element of the sentence, usually the subject.

vāxī   dā xíín   kwāyū
INC:come he with horse
He is coming with his horse (Sp. *caballo*).

sáhā   dā Nnīñū xíín   xwáa
CON:do he work   with John
He is working with John (Sp. *Juan*).

xáhnja   ná   ndūku   xíín   dā
CON:cut I:RES firewood with him
I am cutting firewood with him.

yáxí   dā   staa   xíín   sēhē   dā
CON:eat he tortilla with child his
He is eating tortillas with his son.

yésɨkɨ   suchī lúlú   xíín   Nnáhā   kwáchí   ī
CON:play child small:SG with companion small:PL GEN
The child is playing with his companions.

kā   sáhā   ná   ɨ̄n   Nnīñū   xíín   sēhē   ná
PL CON:do I:RES one work with child my:RES
We do one job with my child.

The second function of the associative adjunct is to express the addressee of a direct quotation (see §6.3); two examples are found in 7.5 and 7.7.

Instrument adjuncts are also expressed by the preposition *xíín* 'with'. With some verbs, however, instrument is expressed by a phrase in focus position (see §1.1.8) with no locative noun or preposition signaling it.

xáhnja   dā   xíín   kaa
CON:cut he with metal
He cuts [it] with an axe.

kāshin   yó   xíín   yūu
POT:crush we:IN with rock
We will crush [it] with a rock.

ni   kā   xasɨ   dā   ndūchī ya   xíín   sāhmā
COM PL COM:close he bean DEI with cloth
They close his (the statue's) eyes with a cloth.

yūNnū   kánī   dā   sɨkɨ   būrū   dā
wood CON:hit he nape donkey his
He hits his donkey (Sp. *burro*) on the back WITH A STICK.

The referent adjunct covers a broad semantic range, which includes benefactives. This adjunct is usually signaled by one of various locative nouns and prepositions. The locative nouns are *kwénta* 'account' (Sp. *cuenta*), *sɨkɨ* 'nape', *xaha* 'foot', and *nūu* 'face'; and the prepositions are *xíín* 'with', *xākū* 'with reference to', and *xā sɨkɨ* 'because of'.

káhān   yó   kwénta   ñūu   yó
CON:speak we:IN account town our:IN
We are talking about our town.

> *káhān   yó   sīkɨ   xwáa*
> CON:speak we:IN nape   John
> We are talking about John.

> *ni   kā   sahā   ī   nūu   sántu kwáchí*
> COM PL   COM:do   GEN   face   saint small:PL
> They do [things] for the little saints (Sp. *santo*).

> *kēxáhá   yó   xíín   Nnīñū*
> POT:begin we:IN with   work
> We will begin work.

> *íyó   "voluntad"   ñā   xākū   sēhē   yɨ   chaa   ún*
> CON:exist willingness   her   with:reference:to child male man   that
> She is willing to marry the man's son. (lit. Her willingness exists with
> reference to that man's son.)

> *ni   kuhu   ná   xā   sīkɨ   ɨɨn   nundóhō*
> COM COM:be:sick I:RES CMP nape   one   suffering
> I was sick with reference to a suffering.

When a referent adjunct has an animate referent and is marked by the
locative noun *xaha* 'foot', the meaning is usually benefactive.

> *káhān   dā   xaha   xwáa*
> CON:speak   he   foot   John
> He is speaking on John's behalf.

When a referent adjunct is marked by *xākū* 'with reference to' and the
verb phrase contains the additive marker *ka* 'more', the sentence expresses
a comparison of degree.

> *yāchī ka   xínū   lálo   xākū   nándo*
> fast   ADD   CON:run   Ed   with:reference:to   Ferd
> Ed (Sp. *Lalo*) runs faster than Ferd (Sp. *Nando*).

Sometimes a referent adjunct occurs with no locative noun signaling it;
this is especially common when it serves as a sentence topic, as seen in 7.2.
Sometimes a referent is expressed as the possessor of the direct object.

> *káshín   kaa   sēhē   yúkán*
> CON:ring   metal   child   that
> The bell is ringing for that child. (to announce his death)

> *xáhnja   ná   ndūku   nāna   ná*
> CON:cut   I:RES firewood   mother   my:RES
> I am cutting firewood for my mother (Sp. *nana*).

Occasionally, two adjuncts occur in a single sentence. The order of the adjuncts is free.

> kwāhan dā ndinūū   nūu   ñānī   dā
> INC:go   he Tlaxiaco face brother:ME his
> He left going to Tlaxiaco for his brother.

> vāxī   dā īchī ndinūū xíín kwāyū
> INC:come   he trail Tlaxiaco with horse
> He is coming from Tlaxiaco with [his] horse.

The following sentence contains an associative adjunct and a referent expressed as the possessor of the direct object.

> xáhnja ná   ndūku nāna ná   xíín dā
> CON:cut I:RES firewood mother my:RES with him
> I am cutting firewood for my mother with him.

1.1.5 Equative sentences. The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of a nominal complement, an equative verb, and its subject. The equative verbs are *kūū* 'to be', *ndúu* 'to become', and *kōnání* 'to be named'.

> sūtū   kúū   dā
> priest CON:be he
> He is a priest.

> kīī   nduu   ñā
> animal COM:become she
> She turned into an animal.

> "Ceniza" nání   ñūu
> Ceniza   CON:be:named   town
> The town is called Ceniza.

> xwáa nání   dā
> John CON:be:named he
> His name is John.

When the equative verb occurs with preverbal or postverbal elements (see §2.2), the nominal complement usually follows the subject.

> tu   kuu   dā "soldado"
> NEG   COM:be   he soldier
> He was not a soldier.

ni   nduu   dā   "maestro"
COM COM:become he   teacher
He became a teacher again.

As in other sentence types, a subject that can be supplied from the discourse context may be unexpressed.

sāhmā   kúū
cloth   CON:be
[It] is cloth.

(See also 7.26 and 7.50.)

It is also possible to leave the verb *kūū* unexpressed if there is an expressed subject, as seen in 7.24.

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

káhnū tī
big:SG it:AML
It (the animal) is big.

ñáhnū   ñā
mature   she
She is mature.

njī̃ dā
old he
He is elderly.

kāxīn   sāhmā
damp   cloth
The cloth is damp.

ndáhú   dā
poor   he
He is poor.

As in other sentence types, the subject may be unexpressed if it can be supplied from the context.

vixin
cold
[It] is cold.

vīī
pretty
[It] is pretty.

(See also 7.35, 7.41, and 7.44.)

Sometimes the equative verbs *kūū* 'to be' or *ndúu* 'to become', or the intransitive verbs *káā* 'to appear' or *kōō* 'to exist', occur in stative sentences following the stative verb. These verbs are inflected for aspect, and, to express an aspect other than continuative, it is necessary to use one of them together with the stative verb. Some stative verbs typically occur with one of these verbs, and other stative verbs have different sense discriminations when they occur with one of these verbs than when they occur alone.

With *kūū*:

vaha   kúū   staa   yó
good   CON:be tortilla our:IN
Our tortillas are good.

ñáhnū   kúū   dā
mature CON:be he
He is mature.

káhnū ni   kuu   tī
big:SG COM   COM:be it:AML
It (the animal) got big.

káhnū kúū   tī
big:SG CON:be it:AML
It (the animal) is big.

káhnū kūū   tī
big:SG POT:be it:AML
It (the animal) will be big.

With *ndúu*:

káhnū ndúu   tī
big:SG COM:become it:AML
It (the animal) got big again.

With *káā*:

> *vīī   káā   ñásíhí   ún*
> pretty CON:appear   woman that
> That woman is pretty.

> *vaha   káā   sāhmā*
> good   CON:appear   cloth
> The cloth looks good.

With *kōō*:

> *vaha   kā   íyó   tríu*
> good   PL   CON:exist wheat
> The wheat [crop] (Sp. *trigo*) is good.

> *shāān íyó   Nnāma*
> fierce COM:exist famine
> The famine was bad.

> *vaha   íyó   sāhmā*
> good   CON:exist cloth
> The cloth is good.

There are many intransitive verbs formed by fusing *kūū* 'to be' and *ndúu* 'to become' with a following stative verb (see §5.1.1). The resulting intransitive verbs are inflected for all three aspects.

Certain verbs of perception that are normally transitive, and a few other verbs, have special intransitive sense discriminations in stative sentences.

> *āsun   yáxí*
> delicious CON:eat
> [It] tastes delicious.

> *ndáhú   ni   sahā   "tiempo"*
> poor   COM COM:do   weather
> The weather was bad.

A few general adverbs (see §5.5) function as predicates of stative sentences containing *kūū* or *káā*.

> *syáhán   káā*
> in:this:way   CON:appear
> This is the way [it] seems.

syúkán   ni   kuu
in:that:way   COM   COM:be
That's the way [it] was.

Stative sentences sometimes occur with adjuncts. To express comparison of degree, a referent adjunct marked by *xākū* 'with reference to' occurs together with the additive *ka* 'more' in the verb phrase.

súkún ka   chíku   xākū   lálo
tall   ADD   Chico   with:reference:to Ed
Chico (Sp. *Chico*) is taller than Ed.

1.1.7 Peripheral elements. All basic sentence types optionally indicate location, time, and manner. Peripheral location describes the setting of an entire predication and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Manner is somewhat infrequent and is expressed mainly by a few quantifiers and general adverbs. Peripheral elements follow subjects, objects, and adjuncts; they may be expressed by adverbs, adverb phrases (see §4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), prepositional phrases (see §4.3), or subordinate sentences (see §6.2.1).

Location:

ni   Nnaa   "México"
COM quake   Mexico:City
There was an earthquake in Mexico City.

sáNnīñū   dā   ītū
CON:work   he   cornfield
He is working in the cornfield.

ni   yaxī   dā   staa   yúkán
COM COM:eat   he   tortilla there
He ate tortillas there.

kūndātū ná   xáhá nī
POT:wait I:RES   here LIM
I will wait right here.

kíku   ñā   īnī   vehe
CON:sew she   insides house
She is sewing in the house.

sáNnīñū   dā   ūndi "México"
CON:work   he   until Mexico:City
He works as far away as Mexico City.

(See also 7.11.)

Time:

> *ndíī   vīNnā*
> CON:shine now
> [The sun] is shining today.

> *kūsámá   yó   kaa   ūu   / vīNnā*
> POT:eat:lunch we:IN metal two   now
> We will eat at two o'clock today.

> *ni   xaha   dā nūni nūu ná   īkū*
> COM COM:give he corn face my:RES yesterday
> He gave corn to me yesterday.

> *kana   dā ɨ̄n   nūndāa   / vīNnā*
> POT:call   he one little:later   now
> He will be calling you a little bit later today.

(See also 7.11.)

Manner:

> *ni   xaha   dā nūni nūu ná   tūkū*
> COM COM:give   he corn face my:RES REP
> He gave corn to me again.

> *ni   ndenda   tūkū ná   tɨ́hlɨ̀*
> COM COM:appear:again   REP   I:RES a:little
> I just got back.

> *xwáa nání   dā sūnī*
> John CON:be:named   he also
> He's called John also.

(See also 7.2, 7.11, 7.17, 7.20, 7.41, and 7.44.)

When manner is expressed by *syáhán* 'in this way', it may occur within another phrase, as seen in 7.15. This adverb is often accompanied by a gesture.

Sometimes two peripheral elements occur in a single sentence.

> *sáNnīñū dā ītū   vīNnā*
> CON:work   he cornfield now
> He is working in the cornfield today.

> *ni   xaha   dā nūni nūu ná   īkū   tūkū*
> COM COM:give he corn face my:RES   yesterday REP
> He gave corn to me again yesterday.

(See also 7.11.)

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, one element of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase position. Throughout this sketch focused elements are indicated by capitalization in the free translation. When a noun subject is focused, a coreferential poststressed clitic pronoun (see §5.4) optionally follows the verb. A clitic pronoun may be focused only if it is preceded by a specifier or a quantifier phrase. Focused peripheral elements often occur at major transition points within the discourse.

Subject focus:

> *xwáa   tahu   ndūku*
> John   CON:split   firewood
> JOHN is splitting firewood.

> *xwáa   xáhnu   yūNnū*
> John   CON:break   wood
> JOHN is breaking the stick.

> *máá   dā chāa*
> SPEC   he CON:arrive:here
> HE is coming.

> *máá   ñā   kíshī*
> SPEC   she CON:sleep
> SHE is sleeping.

Object focus:

> *ndūchā   xíhí   tī*
> water   CON:drink   it:AML
> It (the animal) is drinking WATER.

> *yūNnū   xáhnu   dā*
> wood   CON:break   he
> He is breaking THE STICK.

(See also 7.18.)

Locative adjunct focus:

    ndinūū   kwāhan   dā
    Tlaxiaco   INC:go   he
    He left for TLAXIACO.

    nūu máá dā shíkó   ñā   nūni
    face SPEC his CON:sell she corn
    She is selling the corn TO HIM.

    ūndi yūkū   ni   kakɨhɨ   ná   ndūku
    until mountain COM COM:carry I:RES firewood
    I carried the firewood FROM THE MOUNTAINS.

    nūu máá yó   xaan   dā kaa
    face SPEC our:IN COM:buy he metal
    He bought an axe FROM US.

    xáhá kūnjā   rá
    here POT:be:located:SG you:FAM
    You live HERE.

    yúkán kándē   yāu "gentil"
    there CON:be:located:SG hole ancient:people
    The ancient people's (Sp. *gentil* 'gentile') tombs are THERE.

Associative adjunct focus:

    xíín   xwáa sáhā   dā Nnīñū
    with   John CON:do he work
    He is working WITH JOHN.

Instrument adjunct focus:

    xíín   kaa   xáhnja dā
    with   metal CON:cut he
    He is cutting [it] WITH AN AXE.

    xíín   yūu kāshin   yó
    with   rock POT:crush we:IN
    We will crush [it] WITH A ROCK.

    yūNnū kánī dā sɨkɨ būrū   dā
    wood CON:hit he nape donkey his
    He is hitting his donkey WITH A STICK.

Referent adjunct focus:

> *kwénta   ñūu   yó   ka káhān   yó*
> account town our:IN PL CON:speak we:IN
> We are speaking ABOUT OUR TOWN.

> *sɨkɨ   yúkán   kūNnīñū   ná*
> nape   that   POT:be:occupied I:RES
> THAT will be my work. (lit. I will be occupied WITH REFERENCE TO
> THAT.)

> *xaha   xwáa káhān   dā*
> foot   John CON:speak he
> He is speaking ON BEHALF OF JOHN.

> *kwénta nāna   ñā   xáān   ñā yaha*
> account mother her CON:buy she chili
> She buys chili FOR HER MOTHER.

> *xākū   "mamá" ná   kā xáhnja   ná   ndūku*
> with:reference:to mother my:RES PL CON:cut   I:RES firewood
> We are cutting firewood FOR OUR MOTHER.

Peripheral element focus:

> *ndinūū   saNnīñū   dā*
> Tlaxiaco COM:work   he
> He worked IN TLAXIACO.

> *vīNnā ndīī*
> now   CON:shine
> [The sun] is shining TODAY.

> *kaa   ūu   kūsámá   yó*
> metal two POT:eat:lunch we:IN
> We will eat lunch AT TWO O'CLOCK.

(See also 7.9, 7.35, 7.38, 7.40, and 7.50.)

When an element expressed by either an adverbial possessive noun
phrase or a prepositional phrase is focused, it is possible to front only the
possessor of the noun or the object of the preposition and leave the
locative noun or the preposition in normal order.

> *suchī ni   kahān   ñā   xaha*
> child COM COM:speak she foot
> She spoke on behalf of THE CHILD.

ñāhā   *ni*   *chahu*   *dā shuhun nūu*
woman   COM   COM:pay   he money face
He paid money to THE WOMAN.

xwáa   *sáhā*   *dā Nnīñū*   *xíín*
John   CON:do he work   with
He is working with JOHN.

Occasionally two elements may be focused. The following example shows
a focused time followed by a focused manner.

īkū   *tūkū ni*   *xaha*   *dā nūni nūu*   *ná*
yesterday   REP   COM   COM:give he corn   face   my:RES
He gave corn to me AGAIN YESTERDAY.

In equative sentences the subject may be focused, in which case the
nominal complement must follow the verb, rather than precede it.

chaa   *kúū*   *"mayordomo"*
man   CON:be sponsor
THE MAN is the sponsor (of the fiesta).

máá   *ñā nduu*   *kīlī*
SPEC   she COM:become animal
SHE became an animal.

máá   *dā kúū*   *sūtū*
SPEC   he CON:be   priest
HE is a priest.

To focus the subject of a stative sentence, the subject may simply be
fronted.

sāhmā   *kāxīn*
cloth   damp
THE CLOTH is damp.

máá   *ñā*   *ñáhnū*
SPEC   she   mature
SHE is mature.

máá   *dā ndáhú*
SPEC   he poor
HE is poor.

máá   *ñāsɨhɨ́*   *ún*   *vīī*   *káā*
SPEC   woman   that   pretty   CON:appear
THAT WOMAN is pretty.

> sāhmā   vaha   kúū
> cloth   good   CON:be
> THE CLOTH is good.

The last sentence also has a reading as an equative sentence meaning '[It] is good cloth.'

To express the days of the month, there is a special construction employing the verb *xíka* 'to walk (continuative)' with the numbers from one through thirty-one as focused temporal elements. Another temporal element may occur at the end of the sentence.

> ɨ̄n   xíka   yōō   "marzo"   vīNnā
> one   CON:walk month   March   now
> Today is March FIRST.

> ōko   ɨ̄n   xíka   yōō   "marzo"   vīNnā
> twenty   nine   CON:walk month   March   now
> Today is March TWENTY-NINTH.

This construction is often juxtaposed with another sentence; see §6.2.2.

There are several ways of expressing a stronger kind of focus, which may be termed sentence topic. The conjunctions *tī* 'and' or *chī* 'because' (used in the sense of 'indeed') can follow the fronted element. If it is a subject, a clitic pronoun occurs in normal order. A slight pause (symbolized by /) optionally precedes the *tī* or *chī*.

> īN̄ñā   / tī   kāxī   dā   ndúshyā
> tomorrow   and   POT:eat he   hominy
> As for tomorrow, he will eat hominy.

> īkū   / chī   ni   kihin   ñā   kɨsɨ   káhnū
> yesterday because COM   COM:take   she   cooking:pot   big:SG
> As for yesterday, she bought a big cooking pot.

> ñānī   dā / chī   sáNnīñū   dā   vīNnā
> brother:ME his   because   CON:work   he   now
> As for his brother, he is working now.

> "México"   / chī   sáNnīñū   dā   yúkán
> Mexico:City   because   CON:work   he   there
> As for Mexico City, he works there.

(See also 7.2 and 7.3.)

In stative sentences it is especially common to use *chī*, possibly because it breaks up what would otherwise appear to be a noun phrase, but a clitic pronoun does not usually occur.

sāhmā / chī   vaha
cloth   because good
As for the cloth, [it] is good.

sāhmā / chī   vaha kúū
cloth   because good CON:be
As for the cloth, [it] is good.

It is also possible to place the complementizer *xā* before the fronted element, with an optional pause following it.

xā ñūu yó   tī   shñūu   /
CMP town our:IN and Chalcatongo

  sáhā   yó   yāNnī ūhun óra
  CON:do we:IN near   five   hour
As for our town and Chalcatongo, we can go in about five hours (Sp. *hora*).

If the topic is the subject, sometimes only the clitic pronoun, and the optional pause following the fronted element, occur to signal topic.

xwáa / tahu   dā ndūku
John   CON:split he firewood
As for John, he is splitting firewood.

1.1.9 Sentential complements. Basic sentences occur as subject complements, as object complements, and sometimes as complements functioning as adjuncts or nominal complements within other sentences. Object complements are most frequent.

There are two kinds of subject complements. The first kind serves as the subject of an intransitive sentence, and the second kind serves as the subject of a stative sentence.

The first kind of subject complement occurs only with a restricted set of intransitive verbs. They include *kēxáhá* 'to begin', *sīīn* 'to continue', *ndihi* 'to finish', *xinu* 'to finish', *kūū* 'to be possible' (homophonous with 'to be'), *kánúú* 'to be important', and *kuni* 'to want', used with subject complements to mean 'ought'. Subject complements optionally begin with the complementizer *xā*, except for those occurring with *kūū* 'to be possible'.

With *kēxáhá* 'to begin' as the main verb, the complement verb may have the same or a different aspect.

  ni   kexāhā   Nnáā   shāān
  COM COM:begin POT:quake fierce
  A bad earthquake began.

ni   kexāhā   káyú   ná
COM COM:begin CON:cough I:RES
I began to cough.

With *sīīn* 'to continue', *ndïhï* 'to finish', and *xinu,* 'to finish', the comple-
ment verb must agree with the main verb in aspect.

sīn   káhān   dā
CON:continue CON:speak he
He keeps on speaking.

ndïhï   sáhā   dā vehe
CON:finish CON:do he house
He is finishing building the house.

ndïhï   tehnde   xïtï   yï
COM:finish COM:be:cut cord GEN
His (the baby's) umbilical cord was done being cut.

ndïhï   xā   kunu   ñā tïkachi
POT:finish CMP POT:weave she blanket
She will finish weaving the blanket.

xinu   ni   kahu   dā tūtū
COM:finish COM COM:read he paper
He finished reading the book.

With *kūū* 'to be possible', *kánuú* 'to be important', and *kuni* 'ought', the
complement verb must be in the potential aspect.

kúū   kahu   dā tūtū
CON:be:possible POT:read he paper
He can read.

kúū   sáhā   dā Nnīñū
CON:be:possible POT:do he work
He can work.

kūū   ndúu   dā vāhu
POT:be:possible POT:become he coyote
He can turn into a coyote.

kánúú   xā   kīhīn   dā
CON:be:important CMP POT:go he
It is important that he go.

  kuni kwēē kwēē sáhā ní
  POT:want slowly slowly POT:do you:RES
  You should do it very slowly.

The second kind of subject complement usually serves as the subject of
a stative sentence. It is frequently introduced by the complementizer *xā* or,
if a value judgment is involved, by the preverbal marker *ná* 'hortatory' (see
§2.1.2).

  vaha xā kíxí   dā īÑ̃ā
  good CMP POT:come he tomorrow
  It's good that he will come tomorrow.

  vaha ná chíhī dā ītū   dā
  good HORT POT:thrust he cornfield his
  It's good that he should plant his cornfield.

The sentence in 7.7 contains a subject complement of a stative sentence
that is separated from the stative verb phrase by a vocative, followed by a
pause and the conjunction *tī* 'and'.

Object complements also fall into two kinds, conditioned by the relation-
ship between the main verb and the complement sentence. In the first
kind, the main verb brings some influence to bear on the complement
sentence, and in the second kind, the main verb simply reports it.

The first kind of object complement usually shows restrictions of subject
and/or aspect between the matrix and complement sentences, depending
on the main verb. These verbs include *kuni* 'to want', *xáNnāhā* 'to like'
(used only with *īnī* 'insides' in the subject), *skwáhā* 'to study', *kūtūhvā* 'to
learn', *kūnī* 'to know' (used with object complements to mean 'to know
how'), *kēxáhá* 'to begin', and *sáhā* 'to do'.

The main verb *kuni* 'to want' restricts the complement sentence to
potential aspect. If the subjects are coreferential, the complementizer is
frequently omitted. If the subjects are noncoreferential, the complemen-
tizer must occur.

  kūni dā kahu dā tūtū
  CON:want he POT:read he paper
  He wants to read.

  kūni dā xā kahu dā tūtū
  CON:want he CMP POT:read he paper
  He wants to read.

kūni   rí   xā   kūndātū rá
CON:want I:FAM   CMP   POT:wait you:FAM
I want you to wait.

kūni   ñā   xā   kīhīn   dā yahu
CON:want she   CMP   POT:go   he market
She wants him to go to market.

With the idiom *xáNnāhā īnī* 'to like', any aspect occurs in the comple-
ment sentence. If the aspect is completive, the complementizer must be
used, but with potential and continuative aspects, the complementizer is
usually omitted if the subjects of the main sentence and the complement
sentence are coreferential. If the subjects are noncoreferential, the com-
plementizer must occur.

xáNnāhā īnī   dā kīhīn   dā yahu
CON:like   insides his POT:go he market
He likes to go to market.

tu   xáNnāhā īnī   ñā   kāxī   ñā   kuñu rī̈   kwéyáá
NEG CON:like insides her POT:eat she meat sheep thin
She doesn't like to eat lamb.

xáNnāhā īnī   ñā   xā   káhu   dā tūtū
CON:like   insides her CMP CON:read he paper
She likes it that he reads.

With *skwáhā* 'to study' and *kūtūhvā* 'to learn', the subjects of both the
main sentence and the complement sentence are always coreferential. The
complement sentence must be in potential aspect, and the complementizer
does not occur. The same restrictions hold for the verb *kūnī* 'to know'
when it means 'to know how'.

ni   skwahā   dā kahu   dā tūtū
COM COM:study he POT:read he paper
He studied reading.

skwéla ni   kutuhva   ná   kāhān   ná   san   stila
school COM COM:learn I:RES POT:speak I:RES dialect Spanish
I learned to speak Spanish (Sp. *Castilla* 'Castile') IN SCHOOL (Sp.
escuela).

tū   xínī   kwītī   ñā chūhūn   ñā   sāhmā sēhē ñā
NEG CON:know completely she POT:put:in she cloth child her
She knows absolutely nothing about dressing her children.

With *kēxáhá* 'to begin', which also occurs with subject complements, the complement verb have the same or a different aspect. The complementizer is usually omitted. The subjects are coreferential.

kā   kexāhā   dā kā xítā   dā
PL   COM:begin he PL CON:sing he
They began to sing.

kēxáhá   īna   kūnū   tí
POT:begin dog POT:run it:AML
The dog will begin to run.

(See also 7.4.)

With *sáhā* 'to do', which is used to form syntactic causatives, the complement is usually fronted and the complementizer omitted. The complement may, however, occur in normal order, in which case the complementizer occurs. The two sentences usually require noncoreferential subjects, and the aspects normally agree.

sáhā   "lombriz" xā   kūhu   yó
POT:do   worm   CMP POT:be:sick we:IN
Worms make us sick.

sáhā   ñā   xā   kāxī   dā ndīkā
POT:do she   CMP POT:eat he banana
She will make him eat a banana.

kāxī   dā ndīkā   / sáhā   ñā
POT:eat he banana   POT:do she
She will make him eat a banana.

sáhā   ñā   xā   xíka   dā skwéla
CON:do she   CMP CON:walk he school
She makes him go to school.

xíka   dā skwéla / sáhā   ñā
CON:walk he school   CON:do she
She makes him go to school.

The second kind of object complement, which occurs with verbs that simply report, generally shows no restrictions on subject or aspect between the matrix sentence and the complement sentence. The complementizer usually occurs.

ndéhé   ná   xā   vāxī   dā
CON:look   I:RES CMP   INC:come he
I see that he is coming.

xíní   ná   xā   kahān   dā
CON:know   I:RES CMP   COM:speak he
I know that he spoke.

xini   ñá   xā   kwān   kwítá   dā
COM:know   she   CMP   INC:go CON:be:tired he
She knew that he was getting tired.

kúhun   īnī   rí   xā   kíí   dā   īÑñā
CON:be:in insides my:FAM CMP   POT:come he   tomorrow
I understand that he will come tomorrow.

(See also 7.1.)

When an equative sentence occurs as an object complement within another sentence, the unmarked order is verb—subject—nominal complement.

xíní   ná   xā   kúū   dā   sūtū
CON:know   I:RES CMP   CON:be he   priest
I know that he is a priest.

Complement sentences that function as adjuncts also occur. No restrictions as to subject or aspect have been noted to date. The complementizer must occur. The following sentences contain complements that function as referent adjuncts. Two of them are signaled by the locative noun sīkɨ 'nape', and the other two have no locative noun or preposition.

káhān   dā   sīkɨ xā   shíkó   ñā   nūni
CON:speak he   nape CMP   CON:sell she   corn
He speaks against her selling corn. or He speaks about her selling corn.

kā   ndāNnūhu yó   sīkɨ xā   kwāhan   "presidente"
PL   CON:discuss we:IN nape CMP   INC:go   president
We are discussing the fact that the president has gone.

íyó   "razón" xā   kā ndúu   dā vāhu   nī
CON:exist reason   CMP   PL POT:become he coyote LIM
There are reasons why they become just coyotes.

> yúkán íyó   kwéntu xā   íyó   vehe   káhnū shāān
> there CON:exist story   CMP   CON:exist house big:SG fierce
> THERE there is a story (Sp. *cuento*) to the effect that there is a very large house.

The last two examples could also be viewed as relative clauses modifying *razón* and *kwéntu*.

It is possible to focus an element found within a complement sentence to the beginning of its own sentence or to the beginning of the matrix sentence.

> xíni   ná   xā   xwáa kíi
> CON:know I:RES CMP   John POT:come
> I know that JOHN will come.

> xíni   ná   xā   íÑñā   kíxí   dā
> CON:know I:RES CMP   tomorrow POT:come   he
> I know that TOMORROW he will come.

> sáhā   yó   kwénta   xā   ñúú   ni   ni   kā
> CON:do we:IN account CMP all:night LIM COM PL
>
> skahndɨ   kwéte
> COM:make:explode   rocket
> We realize that JUST AT NIGHT [they] fired the skyrockets.

In 7.1 the subject of an object complement sentence occurs at the beginning of the matrix sentence.

With many main verbs, an entire complement or element containing a complement may be fronted for focus. The complementizer *xā* often precedes the fronted complement, but never occurs if the main verb is *kuni* 'to want'.

> xā   chíhī   dā / vaha
> CMP POT:thrust he   good
> It is good THAT HE PLANT.

> xā   víī   íyó   / xíni   dā
> CMP pretty CON:exist   CON:know   he
> He knows THAT (IT) IS PRETTY.

> sɨkɨ   xā   shíkó   ñá   nūni / káhān   dā
> nape CMP CON:sell she corn   CON:speak he
> He speaks AGAINST HER SELLING CORN. *or* He speaks ABOUT HER SELLING CORN.

xā   vāxī   dā / ndéhé   ná
CMP INC:come he   CON:look I:RES
I see THAT HE IS COMING.

vāxī   dā / ndéhé   ná
INC:come he   CON:look I:RES
I see HE IS COMING.

kīhīn   dā / kūni   dā
POT:go   he   CON:want he
He wants TO GO.

(See also 7.47.)

Sometimes a fronted complement is followed by the conjunction *chī* 'because'. The complementizer frequently occurs.

xā   ni   sahā   dā Nnīñū / chī   ndɨhɨ
CMP COM COM:do he work   because COM:finish
HE finished WORKING.

xā   sáhā   dā kɨsɨ   / chī   kūtūhvā dā
CMP POT:do he cooking:pot because POT:learn he
He will learn TO MAKE COOKING POTS.

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 formed into a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative sentential marker *nú,* or its variant form *núh,* at the end. If it is clear from the context that the sentence is a question, however, the interrogative marker is usually unexpressed.

ni   Nnaa   nú
COM COM:quake INT
Was there an earthquake?

chaa   ní   nú
COM:arrive:here you:RES INT
Did you come?

kánjā   rá   nú
CON:be:located:SG you:FAM INT
Are you home?

> *xíhí   tí   ndūchā   nú*
> CON:drink it:AML water   INT
> Is it (the animal) drinking water?

> *máá dā kúū   sūtū   nú*
> SPEC he CON:be priest INT
> Is HE a priest?

> *káhnū tí   nú*
> big:SG it:AML INT
> Is it (the animal) big?

> *ndūchā   xíhí   tí*
> water   CON:drink it:AML
> Is it (the animal) drinking WATER?

It is also possible to place the coordinate conjunction *shí* 'or' at the beginning of a sentence to signal a YES/NO question.

> *shí kīhīn   rá*
> or   POT:go you:FAM
> Are you going?

For a description of disjunctive questions, see §6.1.1.

1.2.2 WH questions. Any element of a sentence may be questioned by using an appropriate interrogative pronoun, adverb, or noun phrase (see §§5.4, 5.5, and 3.4) in focus position.

Subjects, objects, and nominal complements are usually questioned by using *ndōō* 'what?' or a phrase. Less frequently they employ one of the other interrogative pronouns: *nā* 'what?', *nāū* 'what?' or 'who?', and *návā* 'what?' or 'who?'.

Questioning subject:

> *nāū   chaa ni   xahan   xíín   ní*
> who   man   COM COM:go with   you:RES
> Which man went with you?

> *nāū   yɨvɨ   kīhīn*
> what   person POT:go
> Who will go?

> *nāū   ñāhā   ni   kunu   tɨkachi   xáhá*
> what   woman   COM COM:weave blanket   this
> Who wove this blanket?

> *nāū   yɨvɨ   kúhu*
> what person CON:be:sick
> Who is sick?

> *nāū   chaa kúū   "presidente"   vīNnā*
> what man CON:be president   now
> Who is president now?

Questioning object:

> *ndōō   kíku   ñā*
> what CON:sew she
> What is she sewing?

> *ndōō   chīhī   rá*
> what CON:cook you:FAM
> What are you cooking?

> *ndōō   ni   kā sahā   dā*
> what COM PL COM:do he
> What did they make?

> *nāū   yɨvɨ   ni   kanā   dā*
> what person COM COM:call he/him
> Whom did he invite? *or* Who invited him?

Questioning nominal complement:

> *ndōō   nání   dā*
> what CON:be:named he
> What is his name?

> *nāū   chaa kúū   dā*
> what man CON:be he
> Who is he?

> *nāū   sēhē kúū   dā*
> what child CON:be he
> Whose child is he?

There is also an interrogative pronoun *nā* 'what?', which is presently used mainly in interrogative noun phrases (see §3.4). At an earlier time, however, this word apparently occurred frequently in an equative structure, in which *nā* was followed by *kúū* 'to be (continuative)' and a nominal complement, which consists of a relative clause introduced by the prestressed pronoun *xā* (see §§3.1.3 and 5.4).

> *nā   kúū   xā   chīhī*
> what   con:be   it:INAN con:cook
> What is cooking?

> *nā   kúū   xā   kíku   ñā*
> what   con:be   it:INAN con:sew   she
> What is she sewing?

The sequence *nā kúū* has fused to *nāū*, and the sequence *nā kúū xā* has fused to *návā*.

> *nāū   xā   káhān*
> what   it:INAN con:speak
> Who [is] the one who is talking?

> *nāū   xā   yíndáhá   róhó*
> what   it:INAN con:hold:in:hand   you:FAM
> Over whom do you have charge?

> *návā   kíku   ñā*
> what   con:sew   she
> What is she sewing?

(See also 7.23.)

Both of these words now serve as interrogative pronouns meaning 'what?' or 'who?', and *nāū* can precede *kúū*.

> *nāū   kúū   yúkán*
> what   con:be   that
> What is that?

> *nāū   kúū   xā   kíku   ñā*
> what   con:be   it:INAN con:sew   she
> What is she sewing?

(See also 7.22 and 7.24.)

The subject of a stative sentence can be questioned only by using a content or equative verb together with the stative verb or adverb, or by using the equative structure described above.

> *nāū   kúū   yāchī*
> what   con:be   fast
> Which one is fast?

    nā   kúū   xā   lúlú
    what CON:be it:INAN small:SG
    What is little?

    Adjuncts are questioned by the interrogative adverbs *náchī* 'where?' or 'in which direction?'; *nándī* 'where?', 'as far as where?', or 'from where?'; *nánū* 'where?' or 'at which place?'; or by an interrogative noun phrase (see §3.4). Other adjuncts are questioned by *nā xíín* 'with what?' or 'with whom?'; by *ndōō, nā "razón" xā,* or *nā síkī xā,* all of which mean 'why?'; or by an interrogative noun or adverb phrase (see §§3.4 and 4.2.6).

    nándī kwāhan dā
    where INC:go   he
    Where did he leave for? *or* How far is he going?

    nándī máá njáā   róhó   yúkán
    where SPEC CON:be:located you:FAM there
    Precisely where over there do you live?

    nūu nāū xaha   dā tūtū
    face what COM:give he paper
    To whom did he give the paper?

    nā   xíín káhān   maría
    what with CON:speak Mary
    With whom is Mary (Sp. *María*) speaking?

    nā   xíín chihi   rí   ndēyū
    what with POT:cook I:FAM food
    What will I cook the food with?

    ndōō shíkó   dā nūni
    why CON:sell he corn
    Why (for whose sake) does he sell corn?

    nā   "razón" xā shíkó   dā nūni
    what reason CMP CON:sell he corn
    Why does he sell corn?

    Peripheral location is questioned by the interrogative adverbs *náchī* 'where?' or 'in which direction?'; *nándī* 'where?', 'as far as where?', or 'from where?'; and *nánū* 'where?' or 'at which place?'. Time is questioned by *nāmā* 'when?', and manner is questioned by *nāsā* 'how?' and *nāsā módo* 'how?' or 'by what means?' (Sp. *modo*). Peripheral elements may also be questioned by an interrogative noun or adverb phrase.

náchī xíka   dā
where CON:walk he
Where is he walking?

nāmā ni   kuu   dā "presidente"
when COM COM:be he president
When was he president?

nāmā ni   xahan   ní
when COM COM:go you:RES
When did you go?

nāsā ni   saNnīñū   dā
how COM COM:work he
How did he work?

nāū   kwīyā ni   iyo   "eclipse"
what year COM COM:exist eclipse
Which year was the eclipse?

Subordinate cause and purpose sentences (see §6.2.1) may be questioned by *ndōō, nā "razón" xā,* or *nā síki xā,* all of which mean 'why?', or by an interrogative noun phrase.

ndōō ni   kā   sahā
why   COM PL COM:do
Why did [they] do [it]?

(See also 7.25.)

Stative verbs are questioned by *nāsā* 'how?'. A content or equative verb, such as *kōō* 'to exist', *kūū* 'to be', *ndúu* 'to become', or *káā* 'to appear', must occur together with *nāsā.*

nāsā   íyó   ītū
how CON:exist cornfield
How is the cornfield?

nāsā   kúū   rá
how CON:be you:FAM
How are you?

nāsā   káā   ndīkā
how CON:appear banana
How do the bananas appear?

The interrogative adverb *nāsā* is also sometimes used to question the nominal complement of *kōnání* 'to be named' and to question manner in

the verb phrase (see §2.1.3). In the latter use it is sometimes followed by *iyó* 'to exist (continuative)'.

nāsā   nánǐ   ní
how   CON:be:named   you:RES
What is your name?

nāsā   xāā   yó
how   POT:arrive   we:IN
How do we get there?

nāsā   ni   saNnīñū   dā
how   COM   COM:work   he
How did he work?

nāsā   sáhā   mísa
how   POT:do   mass
How do [we] do a mass (Sp. *misa*)?

nāsā   njáá
how   CON:cost
How much does [it] cost?

nāsā   íyó   ni   xahan   rá
how   CON:exist   COM   COM:go   you:FAM
How did you go?

Questions introduced by *nāsā* may be rhetorical; an example is found in 7.49.

Content verbs are questioned by using *nā* 'what?', *návā* 'what?', or *nāsā* 'how?', together with a very general verb. If the subject is agentive, the verb used is *sáhā* 'to do', and if it is not agentive, the verb is *ndoho* 'to suffer' or *Nnáhā* 'to fare'.

nā   sáhā   dā
what   CON:do   he
What is he doing?

návā   ndóho   dā
what   CON:suffer   he
What is the matter with him? *or* What is happening to him?

nāsā   Nnáhā   ñā   vīNnā
how   CON:fare   she   now
What's happening to her now?

Interrogative words and phrases occur in focus position, but it is possible for the sentence to have a topic as well.

> *tī   róhó   /   nāū   xā   kúū   rá*
> and you:FAM who it:INAN CON:be you:FAM
> And as for you, who are you?

1.2.3 Indirect questions. Both YES/NO questions and WH questions can occur as sentential complements in statements.

Indirect YES/NO questions are formed by placing the subordinate conjunction *nú* 'if' at the beginning of the question; the optional interrogative marker *nú* does not occur at the end.

> *kāNnuhu   ní   nú ni   ndenda   ñānī   dā*
> POT:ask   you:RES if COM COM:appear:again brother:ME his
> Ask [him] if his brother has returned.

> *tu   xínī   ná   nú kīhīn   dā*
> NEG CON:know I:RES if POT:go   he
> I don't know if he will go.

> *kīhīn   ná   ndéhé   nú tu   nīhi   ná   īso*
> POT:go I:RES POT:look if NEG POT:get I:RES rabbit
> I'll go see if I can't get a rabbit.

(See also 7.16.)

Indirect WH questions are indistinguishable in form from the corresponding direct questions.

> *xínī   ñā   nā   ndóho   dā*
> CON:know she what CON:suffer he
> She knows what is the matter with him. *or* She knows what has happened to him.

> *xínī   ná   nánū   kándē   dā*
> CON:know I:RES where CON:be:located he
> I know where he is.

> *xínī   ní   nāsā   sáhā   njākwáhá*
> CON:know you:RES how   CON:do tepache
> You know how to make tepache (an alcoholic beverage).

> *tu   xínī   ná   ndōō kā sáhā   xíín   kōo*
> NEG CON:know I:RES what PL CON:do with snake
> I don't know what [we] should do with the snake.

> *kāchī   tūtū   nánū   kíhin   dā nūni*
> CON:say paper where CON:take he corn
> The paper says where he buys corn.

> *tu   cháků   īnī   rí   nā   kwénta   kúū*
> NEG CON:be:alive insides my:FAM what account CON:be
> I don't understand what [it]'s all about.

(See also 7.12.)

The following example contains an indirect question in apposition with the noun *kwéntu* 'story'.

> *ná   kānī   ná   ɨ̄n   kwéntu   návā   kā sáhā*
> HORT POT:hit I:RES one story   what   PL POT:do

> *chaa kā sāka   tríu*
> man PL POT:scatter wheat
> May I tell a story [about] what men who sow wheat do.

In 7.26 an indirect question serves as the subject of an equative sentence.

1.3 Commands

To form a second person familiar positive command, a basic sentence in potential aspect is used, except that the subject is often unexpressed. Sometimes the stress of the verb shifts from the first syllable to the second in imperative forms.

> *kíkū   sāhmā*
> POT:sew cloth
> Sew cloth!

> *kíkū   rá   sāhmā*
> POT:sew you:FAM cloth
> Sew cloth! *or* You will sew cloth.

> *kāxī   staa*
> POT:eat tortilla
> Eat!

(See also 7.36.)

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

> *kāxī   ní   staa*
> POT:eat you:RES tortilla
> Eat! *or* You will eat.

> *ndétātū ní*
> POT:rest you:RES
> Rest! *or* You will rest.

(See also 7.14 and 7.15.)

For a more polite command the hortatory marker *ná* (see §2.1.2) is used.

> *ná   kāxī   rá   staa*
> HORT POT:eat you:FAM tortilla
> Eat!

> *ná   kīhin   ní*
> HORT POT:take you:RES
> You should get [it]!

Polite requests in first and third person usually take the hortatory marker *ná* and a subject.

> *ná   kāxī   yó   staa*
> HORT POT:eat we:IN   tortilla
> Let's eat!

> *ná   kīhīn   ná*
> HORT POT:go   I:RES
> Permit me to go!

> *ná   kíkū   ñā   sāhmā   īÑñā*
> HORT POT:sew she   cloth   tomorrow
> Let her sew the cloth tomorrow!

> *ná   sāNnīñū   dā*
> HORT POT:work   he
> Let him work!

(See also 7.8, 7.9, and 7.16.)

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

> *kwáhán*
> IMP:go
> Go!

ñaha
IMP:come
Come!

xáán
IMP:take
Take (it)!

yáhá
IMP:take
Take (it)!

chóhō
IMP:go:IN
Let's go!

Negative commands usually contain the imperative negative marker *koto* or *koto ma,* but they may also contain the ordinary negative marker *tu,* in which case they are less forceful.

koto   kīhīn   rá
NEG   POT:go   you:FAM
Don't go!

koto   ma   kīhīn   rá
NEG   NEG   POT:go   you:FAM
Don't go!

koto   sāNnīñū   ní   īÑñā
NEG   POT:work   you:RES   tomorrow
Don't work tomorrow!

tu   kīhīn   rá
NEG   POT:go   you:FAM
Don't go! *or* You won't go.

(See also 7.33 and 7.42.)

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur most frequently as independent utterances or in final position, but they also occur in initial position, especially when trying to attract the attention of the person addressed, and they are sometimes found following a sentence-initial conjunction or between the parts of complex sentences. Vocatives are set off from the rest of the sentence by pause. They include proper names, kinship or other terms used in direct

address, mutual relation terms like cofather, and free forms of the second
person pronouns.

> *ñaha   ní   xáhá / shīto*
> IMP:come you:RES here   uncle
> Come here, Uncle!

> *shīto / ñaha   ní   xáhá*
> uncle   IMP:come you:RES here
> Uncle, come here!

> *īna / kwáhán*
> dog   IMP:go
> Go outside, dog!

> *nāsā   kúū   rá   / maría*
> how   CON:be you:FAM Mary
> How are you, Mary?

(See also 7.7, 7.14, 7.36, and 7.42.)

1.5 Sentential Markers

The interrogative marker *nú* optionally occurs at the end of any basic
sentence and converts it into a YES/NO question; see §1.2.1 for examples.
   The temporal adverb *sáá* 'then' occurs after *nú* and converts a YES/NO
question into a tag question.

> *ndíshyā rá   nú sáá*
> correct   you:FAM INT then
> You are right, aren't you?

The markers *sūū* 'affirmation' and *vasu* 'expectation' occur at the begin-
ning of a sentence and indicate that the speaker hopes the statement is
true.

> *sūū   sáhā   dā Nnīñū*
> AFFIRMATION POT:do he   work
> I am quite sure he will work.

> *sūū   kúū*
> AFFIRMATION CON:be
> I believe [it] is.

> *vasu   īso   kúū*
> EXPECTATION rabbit   CON:be
> I'm fairly sure [it] is a rabbit.

The markers *vā* 'really' and *vānūshīī* or *vānūshīā* 'with good reason' occur sentence initial.

vā   īso   kúū   núsáá
really rabbit CON:be okay
Okay, [it] really is a rabbit.

vānūshīī   xíkāNnuhu ná   máá   ní
for:good:reason CON:ask   I:RES   SPEC   you:RES
I am asking you for good reason.

The agreement marker *vātūni* occurs sentence initial.

vātūni   kīhīn   rá
AGREEMENT POT:go you:FAM
Yes, you may go!

The sentential marker *ví* 'really' occurs sentence final.

yúhú   ndíshyā ná   ví
CON:be:afraid correct   I:RES really
I am really scared.

sēhē   máá ñā   kúū   dā ví
child SPEC her CON:be he really
He really is her son.

The contrafactual sentential marker *níkú* occurs sentence final and means the expected or desired activity did not take place.

kíxí   dā   níkú
POT:come he:RES CF
He was going to come (but didn't).

shīkó   dā   nūni núu ñā níkú
POT:sell he:RES corn face her CF
He was going to sell corn to her (but didn't).

The verb *kāchī* 'to say (continuative)' and the sentential marker *chi* 'hearsay' occur sentence final and function as disclaimers meaning that the speaker does not want to accept responsibility for the accuracy of the information in the sentence.

ūu   "vuelta" ni   sahā   dā   chi
two time   COM COM:do he:RES HEARSAY
He did it TWO TIMES, they say.

ni   nihi   dā   kwaha   shuhun / kāchī
COM COM:get he:RES much   money   CON:say
He received a lot of money, they say.

2

Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

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

2.1.1 Verb nuclei. Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are idioms composed of a content verb plus some other 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 part of each sentence not included in the verb phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

> *chíhī*   *(dā)*
> CON:thrust (he)
> (He) plants.

> *chaa*   *(ná)*
> COM:arrive:here (I:RES)
> (I) came.

> *Nnãa*
> CON:quake
> (It) is quaking.

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íyó   *(staa)*
CON:exist   (tortilla)
There are (tortillas).

kúū
CON:be
([It]) is happening.

xítā   *(dā)*
CON:sing   (he)
(He) sings.

kāhān   *(ñā)*
POT:speak   (she)
(She) will speak.

inī
COM:get:late
(It) got late (in the afternoon).

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a noun.[2] Occasionally the tone of a noun used to modify a verb is raised to high high.

xīkān   *táhū* *(dā)*
CON:ask   gift   (he)
(He) is asking a favor.

xáán   *tāchi* *(ñā)*
CON:pull   wind   (she)
(She) is breathing.

xíní   *soho* *(dā)*
CON:see   ear   (he)
(He) is listening.

xākūn   *xītī*   *(ñā)*
CON:sit   knee   (she)
(She) is kneeling.

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[2]Some Mixtecan languages have incorporated the noun *inī* 'insides' from the subject into the verb phrase to form a large class of verbs that express emotional states. In Yosondúa Mixtec, however, even though *inī* is used to form such idioms, it has not been incorporated into the verb phrase, but remains part of the subject. For an example of such an idiom see 7.36.

      kātā   xáhá   (dā)
      POT:sing on:foot   (he)
      (He) will dance. (cf. *xaha* 'foot')

Reciprocal action is indicated by a verb followed by *Nnáhā* 'companion'; this construction is somewhat productive.

      kā   xáhnī   Nnáhā   (dā)
      PL   CON:kill   companion (he)
      (They) are killing each other.

      nanúú   Nnáhā   (dā)
      CON:embrace   companion (he)
      (They) embrace each other.

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a content verb in continuative or potential aspect.

      kūnū   njáā   (dā)
      POT:run CON:be:located (he)
      (He) embraces.

      ndéñā   njáā   (dā)
      CON:be:sticky CON:be:located (he)
      (He) is sitting up against.

      yítú   njāā   (nūxīī)
      CON:stand POT:be:located (rifle)
      (The rifle) is standing on end.

A verb-plus-stative-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a stative verb (see §5.2).

      chukū   xáá   (ñā)
      CON:place new   (she)
      (She) is putting some more on. (e.g., food on the table)

      xūnū   kwáchí (dā)
      CON:complete little:PL (he)
      (He) is serving.

      núkōō   síhí   (ñā)
      CON:sit   female (she)
      (She) is sitting the way women sit.

      xíka   yátá   (dā)
      CON:walk backward   (he)
      (He) is walking backwards.

káhān   soo   (dā)
CON:speak bothered (he)
(He) is complaining.

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

kwāhā   núú   (dā)
POT:give   little:while (he)
(He) will lend.

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

xaku   nduxi   (dā)
COM:place   ?   (he)
(He) was buried.

2.1.2 Preverbal elements. There are six orders of elements preceding the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the beginning of the verb phrase they are: directional, plural, aspect, temporal, negative, and hortatory.

There are nine directionals, which are reduced forms of motion verbs; they express the notions of motion and direction. These markers immediately precede a verb nucleus in potential aspect, except that prefixes that help to signal potential aspect (see §5.1.2) do not occur following a directional. The directionals are listed in the following table, along with their meanings and the fuller forms to which they are related.

Marker		Full form	
kīn	'will go'	*kīhīn*	POT:go
xán	'goes'	*xáhan*	CON:go
xan	'went'	*xahan*	COM:go
kwān	'has gone (and has not returned)'	*kwāhan*	INC:go
kwán	'go!'	*kwáhán*	IMP:go
chó	'let's go!'	*chóhó*	IMP:go:IN
kí	'will come'	*kíxí, kíí*	POT:come
ki	'came'	*kixi, kii*	COM:come
vē	'is coming'	*vāxī*	INC:come

The following examples show directionals used in sentences.

kīn   sete   (dā)
POT:go POT:shave (he)
(He)'s going to shave.

xan   súchá   (dā)
COM:go POT:swim (he)
(He) went to swim.

xan   kīhin   (ñā   ndūchā táká kɨvɨ)
COM:go POT:take (she water   each day)
(She) went to get (water every day).

xan   njākā   (dā)
COM:go POT:deposit (he)
(He) went to leave ([something]).

kwān kūchī   (dā)
INC:go POT:bathe (he)
(He)'s going to bathe.

kwān kīhin   (dā   nūni)
INC:go POT:take (he   corn)
(He) has gone to get (corn).

kwán   kūchī
IMP:go POT:bathe
Go take a bath!

chó   ndéhé
IMP:go:IN POT:look
Let's go see!

ki   ndéhé   (dā)
COM:come POT:look (he)
(He) came to see.

ni   ki   kīhin   (dā   kɨsɨ   ñā)
COM COM:come POT:take (he   cooking:pot   her)
(He) came to get (her cooking pot).

vē   njākā   (dā)
INC:come POT:deposit (he)
(He) is coming to leave ([something]).

> *vē   kīhin   (dā   staa)*
> INC:come POT:take   (he   tortilla)
> (He) is coming to get (tortillas).

> *vē   kīhin   (ná   ndūchī)*
> INC:come POT:take   (I:RES bean)
> (I) am coming [to your house] to get (beans).

> (See also 7.12, 7.46, and 7.48.)

In addition to its directional meaning, *kwān* has also developed the aspectual meaning 'is in the process of'. In sentences with agentive subjects both meanings are possible, and in sentences without agentive subjects only the aspectual meaning is possible.

> *kwān ini*
> INC:go POT:get:late
> (It)'s getting late (in the afternoon).

> *kwān   kwahnu   (dā)*
> INC:go POT:grow (he)
> (He) is growing.

> *kwān   ndukū   (dā   nūni)*
> INC:go POT:look:for (he   corn)
> (He) has gone to look for (corn). *or* (He) is in the process of looking for (corn).

> (See also 7.3.)

Constructions containing directionals can be considered a subtype of juxtaposed purpose sentences (see §6.2.2). It is very common to leave subjects unexpressed when they can be recovered from the context, and it is also common to reduce words that do not receive sentence stress to one syllable, especially those with the form CVV or CVhV.

Plural subject may be expressed by the plural marker *kā* when the verb nucleus is in continuative or completive aspect.

> *kā   kānāā   (y̶iv̶i)*
> PL   CON:fight (person)
> (The people) were fighting.

> *kā   kahān   (dā)*
> PL   COM:speak (he)
> (They) were talking.

When the verb is in potential aspect, a plural subject cannot be marked in this way, but the plural specifier *náá* often occurs in the subject noun phrase (see §3.1.2).

Aspect is expressed only by *ni* 'completive'. For many verbs, completive aspect is already signaled unambiguously by the tone of the verb nucleus (see §5.1.2), and the use of *ni* is optional.

> *ni   kā   xíkónúú*   *(dā)*
> COM PL CON:walk:around (he)
> (They) were traveling around.

> *ni   kā   xan   shíkó*   *(dā)*
> COM PL COM:go CON:sell (he)
> (They) went to sell.

> *ni   yaxī*   *(dā   ndīkā)*
> COM COM:eat (he   banana)
> (He) ate (bananas).

> *ni   sahā*   *(dā   yōhō)*
> COM COM:do   (he   rope)
> (He) made (rope).

> *ni   kwaa*
> COM COM:get:late
> (It) got late (at night).

> (See also 7.1, 7.10, 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, 7.20, 7.38, 7.40, 7.44, 7.45, 7.46, 7.47, 7.50, and 7.51.)

The temporal elements are *xa* 'already', which occurs only with verbs in continuative or completive aspect, and *sā*, which occurs with verbs in any aspect, and, depending on the aspect, means 'about to', 'still', or 'just now'.

With *xa*:

> *xa   ni   kuu*
> already COM COM:be
> ([It]) is done. *or* ([It]) has already happened.

> *xa   ni   kā   sahā*   *(dā)*
> already COM PL COM:do (he)
> (They) already did ([it]).

> *xa   ni   kā   xan   njākā*   *(dā)*
> already COM PL COM:go POT:deposit (he)
> (They) already went to leave ([something]).

xa   yáxí   (dā   ndīkā)
already CON:eat (he   banana)
(He) is already eating (a banana).

(See also 7.45.)

With *sā*:

sā   kāhān   (dā)
just POT:speak (he)
(He) is about to speak.

sā   kōō   (ïïn   vīkō)
just POT:exist (one fiesta)
In the near future there will be (a fiesta).

sā   káhān   (dā)
just CON:speak (he)
(He) is still talking.

sā   xan   kāhnjā (dā   yūNnū)
just COM:go POT:cut (he   tree)
(He) went just now to cut (trees).

sā   ni   kahān   (dā)
just COM COM:speak (he)
(He) just finished talking.

There are five negative markers: *tu* 'not', *tūkáā* 'no more' or 'no longer', *tuxáhī* 'not yet', *koto* 'don't!', and *koto ma* 'don't!'.
The markers *tu* and *tūkáā* occur with verbs in any aspect.

With *tu*:

tu   kā   sndïhï   (dā)
NEG PL CON:finish (he)
(They) are not finishing ([it (the house)]).

tu   ni   kā   xan   njākā   (dā)
NEG COM PL COM:go POT:deposit (he)
(They) did not go to leave ([something]).

(See also 7.12, 7.16, 7.23, 7.25, 7.26, 7.33, and 7.35.)

With *tūkáā*:

> *tūkáā   kánjūkū   (yɨvɨ   vehe)*
> no:more   CON:be:located:PL (person   house)
> (The people) aren't living in ([their] houses) any longer.

> *tūkáā   ni   xini   (ná)*
> no:more   COM   COM:know   (I:RES)
> (I) didn't know any more ([about it]).

There is a longer form of *tu, tuu*, which is used when no verb follows, as seen in 7.27. Both forms are related historically to the negative verb *tūū* 'to not exist'. *tūkáā* is also sometimes used alone.

The marker *tuxáhī* 'not yet' occurs only with verbs in potential or continuative aspect.

> *tuxáhī   kāhān   (dā)*
> not:yet   POT:speak   (he)
> (He) does not talk yet.

> *tuxáhī   kā   xinu   (dā)*
> not:yet   PL   CON:finish (he)
> (They) haven't finished yet.

The markers *koto* and *koto ma* occur only with verbs in potential aspect.

> *koto   ndēhē   (rá)*
> NEG   POT:cry (you:FAM)
> Don't cry!

> *koto   ma   kīhīn   (rá)*
> NEG   NEG   POT:go (you:FAM)
> Don't go!

The hortatory marker *ná* occurs only with verbs in potential aspect or with special imperative forms, and it usually signals a command (see §1.3), but it is also used in subject complements that express a value judgment (see §1.1.9).

> *ná   ndétātū   (dā)*
> HORT POT:rest (he)
> Let (him) rest a lot!

> *ná   kīhīn   (dā)*
> HORT POT:go (he)
> Let (him) go!

> *ná   kāchī   (dā   ī̵n   kwéntu)*
> HORT POT:say (he   one   story)
> Have (him) tell (a story [Sp. *cuento*])!

> *ná   kāxī   (yó   ndúshyā)*
> HORT POT:eat (we:IN   hominy)
> Let('s) eat (hominy)!

(See also 7.8, 7.9, and 7.16.)

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are six orders of elements following the verb nucleus: manner, plural, limiter, additive, affirmative, and repetitive.

Manner is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers. Stative verbs, stative verb phrases (see §2.3), intensifying elements, general adverbs, and adverb phrases (see §4.2) are the most common elements in this position, but quantifiers and quantifier phrases (see §4.1) have also been found.

With stative verbs:

> *kahān   vaha (yɨvɨ   xíín   yó)*
> COM:speak   good (person   with   us:IN)
> (The people) spoke kindly (to us).

> *ni   kahān   kāxí   (dā)*
> COM COM:speak clear (he)
> (He) spoke clearly.

With intensifying elements:

> *xínū   shāān   (dā)*
> CON:run   fierce   (he)
> (He) runs fast.

> *ndɨhɨ   kwɨtɨ́   (ná)*
> COM:finish completely (I:RES)
> (I) completely finished ([it]).

> *tuu   kwɨtɨ́   (kɨ̄tɨ̄   dā)*
> NEG:CON:exist   completely (animal his)
> (He) has absolutely no (animals). (lit. [His animals] don't exist at all.)

With adverbs:

> *xíka*   *kwēē*   *(dā)*
> CON:walk   slowly   (he)
> (He) walks slowly.

> *xītu*   *káhá*   *(dā)*
> COM:plow   in:vain   (he)
> (He) plowed in vain.

With quantifiers:

> *sáNniñū*   *kwaha*   *(dā)*
> CON:work   much   (he)
> (He) is working a lot.

> *ni*   *ndoho*   *kwaha*   *(dā)*
> COM   COM:suffer   much   (he)
> (He) suffered a lot.

Manner may occur at the beginning of the verb phrase to indicate focus. When it is expressed by a phrase, it often occurs in that position.

> *vaha*   *xínī*   *(dā)*
> good   CON:know   (he)
> (He) knows WELL.

> *tíhlí*   *sáhā*   *(yó*   *Nniñū)*
> little:bit   CON:do   (we:IN   work)
> (We) do A LITTLE (work).

> *kwēē*   *nī*   *kíhīn*   *(dā)*
> slowly   LIM   POT:go   (he)
> (He) JUST goes SLOWLY.

> *kwēē*   *ka*   *xíka*   *(yɨ)*
> slowly   ADD   CON:walk   (GEN)
> (The people) walk MORE SLOWLY.

> *ndē*   *vaha*   *kuūn*   *(sāu)*
> INTS   good   COM:fall   (rain)
> (It) rained VERY WELL.

> *kwēē*   *shāān*   *xíka*   *(dā)*
> slowly   fierce   CON:walk   (he)
> (He) walks VERY SLOWLY.

kwaha   shǎǎn   ndoho   (dǎ)
much   fierce   COM:suffer (he)
(He) suffered VERY MUCH.

A few adverbs expressing manner occur only in preverbal position.

ndě ni   kā   xihī   (njākwíxín)
INTS COM   PL   COM:drink   (pulque)
([They]) drank a lot (of pulque [fermented century-plant juice]).

sō   xahnja   (ñā)
thus   COM:cut   (she)
(She) cut ([it (her hair)]) thus.

māni   njaa   (ná)
just   COM:arrive:here   (I:RES)
(I) came for no particular reason.

māni   skwáhā   (yó)
just   CON:study   (we:IN)
(We) just study.

When a quantifier or an intensifying element occurs as manner with a transitive verb, the manner element refers to the direct object even though it occurs within the verb phrase.

ni   nihi   kwaha (dā   chaká)
COM   COM:get   much   (he   fish)
(He) got a lot (of fish).

See also the example containing *ndě* in the paragraph above.

Manner is questioned by using *nāsā* 'how?', or *nāsā módo* 'how?' or 'by what means?' (Sp. *modo*).

nāsā   ni   saNnĩñū   (dā)
how   COM   COM:work   (he)
How did (he) work?

nāsā   módo   xíka   (dā)
how   way   CON:walk   (he)
How does (he) walk?

Such questions may be rhetorical, as seen in 7.49.

The postverbal plural *koyo* occurs in second postverbal position. Like the preverbal plural, it indicates the number of the subject even though it occurs within the verb phrase. The postverbal plural occurs only with

motion verbs, but it occurs with all aspects. The two plural markers may cooccur.

> *ni   kā   nāxāā*   *koyo*
> COM PL COM:arrive:again PL
> ([They]) got back.

> *vendī*   *koyo (ná)*
> COM:come PL   (I:RES)
> (We) came.

> *kwān nohō*   *koyo*
> INC:go POT:leave PL
> ([They]) are leaving.

> *kīhīn*   *koyo (ná)*
> POT:go PL   (I:RES)
> Let (us) go! *or* (We) will go.

Because *koyo* usually receives phrase stress, the verb that precedes it is often reduced in fast speech: *nohō* and *kīhīn* are pronounced *nu* and *kīn.* The limiter *nī* 'just' occurs in third postverbal position.

> *úhū*   *nī*
> CON:hurt   LIM
> ([It]) just hurts.

> *kwāhan nī*   *(tī)*
> INC:go   LIM   (it:AML)
> (It [the animal]) just went.

> *xítā*   *nī*   *(dā)*
> CON:sing LIM   (he)
> (He) is just singing.

> *kusū*   *nī*   *(dā)*
> POT:sleep LIM   (he)
> (He) will just sleep.

> (See also 7.1 and 7.31.)

If the subject of the sentence is expressed by a poststressed clitic pronoun, *nī* often follows the pronoun, even though it modifies the verb.

> *xítā*   *(dā)* *nī*
> CON:sing (he)   LIM
> (He) is just singing.

When *nĩ* follows a fuller noun phrase, however, it is part of that phrase; see §3.1.3.

The additive *ka* 'more' occurs in fourth postverbal position.

> *chúhũn   ka*
> CON:put:in ADD
> ([He]) is putting more in.

> *ni   xahnu   ka   (dã)*
> COM COM:grow ADD   (he)
> (He) got older.

> *kíí   ka   (dã)*
> POT:come ADD   (he)
> (He) will still come.

> *tu   kãhãn   ka   (yɨvɨ)*
> NEG POT:speak ADD   (person)
> (People) won't talk anymore.

The affirmative marker *tũ* 'really' occurs in fifth postverbal position. This marker occurs only in statements with verbs in continuative or completive aspect.

> *kachi   tũ   (dã)*
> COM:say really (he)
> (He) really said ([it]).

In the text in chapter 7, *tũ* occurs over thirty times before the climax at 7.43, where the rabbit bit the tar baby and was completely stuck, but not after that. This probably indicates that *tũ* has some discourse function. In the data available, however, *tũ* occurs only in texts given by one older speaker, and it is probably obsolescent.

The repetitive *tũkũ* 'again' occurs in the last postverbal position.

> *sáhã   tũkũ*
> POT:do REP
> ([He]) will make ([it]) again.

> *ni   sahã   tũkũ   (dã)*
> COM COM:do   REP   (he)
> (He) did ([it]) again.

> *kwãhan tũkũ (dã   ndinũũ)*
> INC:go REP   (he   Tlaxiaco)
> (He) has gone (to Tlaxiaco) again.

> ni   yaxī   tūkū (dā   kuñu)
> COM COM:eat   REP   (he   meat)
> (He) ate (meat) again.

(See also 7.39.)

Repetitive *tūkū* also expresses peripheral manner, as seen in 7.40.

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. There are two cooccurrence restrictions among preverbal elements: negative and temporal do not cooccur, and hortatory occurs only with negative, directionals in potential aspect, and the intensifier *ndē*. All other combinations of preverbal elements are possible.

> tu   ni   kā   xan   shíkó   (dā   shndīkɨ)
> NEG COM PL   COM:go POT:sell (he   bull)
> (They) didn't go to sell (the bulls).

> sā   ni   kā   xan   kāhnjā (yūNnū)
> just COM PL   COM:go POT:cut (tree)
> ([They]) just went to cut (the wood).

> tu   ni   ki   kāxī   (dā)
> NEG COM COM:come   POT:eat (he)
> (He) didn't come to eat.

> ná   kɨ́   kāxī   (dā)
> HORT POT:come   POT:eat (he)
> Have (him) come to eat!

> ndē kā xíhi   (yɨvɨ   yúkán)
> INTS PL CON:die   (person there)
> (People) are really dying (there).

(See also 7.45 and 7.46.)

Postverbal elements also show various cooccurrence restrictions. Plural does not cooccur with manner, limiter, or additive, and it is rare for any element except repetitive to follow manner directly. (This is because manner can be expressed by stative verb phrases [see §2.3] and adverb phrases [see §4.2], both of which also optionally contain the limiter and additive.) When limiter and additive cooccur, they mean 'all the time'.

> ñúhú   nī   ka
> CON:be:in LIM ADD
> ([It]) contains ([something]) all the time.

> *kīhīn   koyo tūkū (dā)*
> POT:go PL   REP   (he)
> (They) are going again.

> *sáhā   ka   tūkū*
> POT:do ADD REP
> ([He]) will make more again.

> *shīkó   kwaha tūkū (dā)*
> CON:sell much   REP   (he)
> (He) is selling a lot again.

(See also 7.31.)

There are no specific cooccurrence restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements, but complex constructions are generally avoided.

> *tu   ni   saNnīñū   vaha tūkū (dā)*
> NEG COM COM:work good REP   (he)
> (He) didn't work well again.

> *xa   ni   kā   xihī   shāān ka   tūkū (dā)*
> already COM PL COM:drink fierce ADD REP   (he)
> (They) already drank very much more again.

> *kwān sāNnīñū   ni   tūkū (dā)*
> INC:go POT:work LIM REP   (he)
> (He) has gone to just work again.

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on three equative verbs: *kūū* 'to be', *ndúu* 'to become', and *kōnání* 'to be named'. While none enter into the formation of complex nuclei, all occur with the preverbal and postverbal elements described, although preverbal directional is restricted to *kwān* with the meaning 'is in the process of' (see §2.1.2), and postverbal plural *koyo* does not occur. Also, the negative *tu* is rare with *kūū* 'to be' because it is more common to use a negative noun phrase as the nominal complement (see §3.5).

> *tu   kuu   (dā   "soldado")*
> NEG COM:be (he   soldier)
> (He) was not (a soldier).

kwān kūū   *(dā*   *"maestro")*
INC:go POT:be (he   teacher)
(He) is in the process of becoming (a teacher).

ni   *nduu*   *(dā*   *"maestro")*
COM COM:become (he   teacher)
(He) became (a teacher) again.

vaha kā ndúu   *(dā*   *vāhu)*
good PL CON:become (he   coyote)
(They) turn into (coyotes) well.

xa   *nání*   *(dā*   *xwáa)*
already CON:be:named (he   John)
(He) is already named (John [Sp. *Juan*]).

tu   *nání*   *(dā*   *xwáa)*
NEG CON:be:named (he   John)
(His) name isn't (John).

ná   *kūū*   *(dā*   *"maestro")*
HORT POT:be (he   teacher)
Have (him) be (a teacher)!

2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which are not inflected for aspect. These verbs occasionally form complex nuclei. They occur with only two preverbal elements, temporal and negative, and with all postverbal elements, but manner is expressed mainly by intensifying elements.

xa   *ñáhnū (dā)*
already mature (he)
(He) is already grown.

tu   *ñáhnū (dā)*
NEG mature (he)
(He) is not grown.

káhnū shāān   *(tī)*
big:SG fierce (it:AML)
(It [the animal]) is very big.

ndē vaha ka
INTS good ADD
([It]) is much better.

káhnū tūkū (tī)
big:SG REP (it:AML)
(It [the animal]) is big again.

lúlú   nī   (tī)
small:SG LIM (it:AML)
(It [the animal]) is just little.

lúlú   ka   (tī)
small:SG ADD (it:AML)
(It [the animal]) is smaller.

vaha shāān ka   tūkū
good fierce ADD REP
([It]) is much better again.

(See also 7.7.)

Stative verb phrases occur alone in the predicate of stative sentences as seen in the above examples. They also occur in the predicate of stative sentences followed by a verb like *kūū* 'to be' or *káā* 'to appear'.

tu   vaha (kúū   sāhmā)
NEG good (CON:be cloth)
(The cloth is) not good.

sā   lúlú   (káā   tī)
just small:SG (CON:appear it:AML)
(It [the animal]) still (looks) little.

káhnū ka   (káā   tī)
big:SG ADD (CON:appear it:AML)
(It [the animal] looks) bigger.

lúlú   ni   (káā   tī)
small:SG LIM (CON:appear it:AML)
(It [the animal]) just (looks) little.

Stative verb phrases also occur as manner in content verb phrases (see §2.1.3), either following the nucleus or at the beginning of the phrase. When stative verb phrases express manner, the only preverbal element which may occur is negative. Only three postverbal elements may occur: a limited manner, expressed only by intensifying elements; limiter; and additive. When negative occurs in a stative verb phrase, that phrase must precede the main verb in the sentence.

> *(xítā)*   *vaha nī*   *(dā)*
> (CON:sing) good LIM   (he)
> (He) just (sings) well.

> *(xítā)*   *vaha ka*   *(dā)*
> (CON:sing) good ADD   (he)
> (He sings) better.

> *vaha   shāān   (xítā   dā)*
> good   fierce   (CON:sing he)
> (He sings) very well.

> *ndē   vaha   (kuūn   sāu)*
> INTS   good   (COM:fall   rain)
> (It rained) VERY WELL.

> *tu   vaha (xítā   dā)*
> NEG   good (CON:sing he)
> (He does) NOT (sing) WELL.

It is, however, more common to place the negative in a content verb phrase than in a stative verb phrase expressing manner.

> *(tu   xítā)   vaha (dā)*
> (NEG   CON:sing) good (he)
> (He doesn't sing) well.

2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Both content and stative verbs may be repeated to indicate continued or intensified action.

A content verb in any aspect may be repeated to indicate continued action. The preverbal elements aspect and hortatory optionally precede the first occurrence of the verb, and any postverbal element except manner optionally follows the second occurrence of the verb.

> *xíka   xíka   (ñā)*
> CON:walk   CON:walk   (she)
> (She) keeps on walking.

> *ni   xika   xika   (dā)*
> COM   COM:walk   COM:walk (he)
> (He) kept on walking.

kākā   kākā   (dā)
POT:walk   POT:walk   (he)
(He) will keep walking.

ná   kātā   kātā   (dā)
HORT   POT:sing   POT:sing   (he)
Have (him) keep on singing!

xíka   xíka   nī   (dā)
CON:walk   CON:walk   LIM   (he)
(He) just keeps on walking.

xíka   xíka   ka   (dā)
CON:walk   CON:walk   ADD   (he)
(He) still keeps on walking. *or* (He) keeps on walking more.

xíka   xíka   tūkū   (tī)
CON:walk   CON:walk   REP   (it:AML)
(It [the animal]) keeps on walking again.

(See also 7.11.)

A stative verb in the predicate of a stative sentence or in the postverbal or preverbal manner position in content verb phrases may be repeated to indicate intensification. No preverbal elements occur, and of the postverbal elements, only limiter and additive occur.

In stative sentences:

ndáhú   ndáhú   (dā)
poor   poor   (he)
(He) is very poor.

ndáhú   ndáhú   nī   (dā)
poor   poor   LIM   (he)
He is just very poor.

ndáhú   nī   ndáhú   nī   (dā)
poor   LIM   poor   LIM   (he)
He is just very poor.

ndáhú   ndáhú   (dā)   nī
poor   poor   (he)   LIM
(He) is just very poor.

> *ndáhú   ndáhú   ni̱   ka   (dā)*
> poor   poor   LIM   ADD   (he)
> (He) is very poor all the time.

In manner:

> *(xíni̱)   vaha vaha (dā)*
> (CON:know)   good good (he)
> (He knows) very well.

> *(xíni̱)   vaha vaha ka   (dā)*
> (CON:know)   good good ADD   (he)
> (He knows) very much better.

> *vaha   vaha   (xíni̱   dā)*
> good   good   (CON:know he)
> (He knows) VERY WELL.

2.5 Appositional Verb Phrases

Appositional verb phrases consist of two short semantically related phrases, which are simply juxtaposed or linked by the complementizer *xā*. The phrases contain only a few preverbal or postverbal elements, such as the completive aspect marker or the limiter.

> *kayu   xā   naa*
> CON:burn   CMP   CON:destroy
> ([They]) burned ([it]) up. (lit. [(They)] burned and destroyed [(it)].)

> *chóhō   xā   tuhva   ka*
> IMP:go:IN CMP   POT:be:near ADD
> Let's get closer!

(See also 7.1.)

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.

ndāhā	'hand'
Nnuhu	'word'
vela	'grandmother (Sp. *abuela*)'
vehe	'house'
chaa	'man'
kīvi	'day'
staa	'tortilla'
chotō	'rat'
idā	'he'

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 or general quantifier, a content verb, or a stative verb. The tone of a noun used to modify another noun is sometimes raised.

Noun plus noun:

> *yōhō   kaa*
> rope   metal
> wire
>
> *sāhmā   staa*
> cloth   tortilla
> tortilla cloth
>
> *tāNna   chóhó*
> medicine   flea
> flea powder (cf. *choho* 'flea')
>
> *īshī   yūhū*
> hair   mouth
> beard
>
> *ndūchā   nūu*
> water   face
> tear
>
> *tríu   sāu*
> wheat   rain
> wheat (Sp. *trigo*) growing on nonirrigated land
>
> *ndūchā   ñꞮꞮ*
> water   salt
> salt water
>
> *ñꞮꞮ   yáhá*
> salt   chili:pepper
> salt mixed with ground chili pepper (cf. *yaha* 'chili pepper')

Noun plus numeral or general quantifier:

> *ñāhā   ūu*
> woman   two
> second wife
>
> *vītu   sāvā*
> beam   half
> a piece of a beam

Noun plus content verb:

> *yĩkĩ   xíka*
> bone   CON:walk
> legs

Noun plus stative verb:

> *ndūchā   vīshi*
> water   sweet
> soda pop

> *ndūchā   shāān*
> water   fierce
> white rum

> *xā   vīshi*
> it:INAN   sweet
> candy

(See also 7.3.)

3.1.2 Prenominal elements. There are two elements that precede the nucleus, specifier and quantifier; the specifier occurs next to the nucleus.

The specifier comprises the general specifier *máá* 'the very' and the plural specifier *náá*. *náá* has a highly restricted distribution: it occurs only preceding a poststressed clitic pronoun that refers to the subject of the sentence (see §5.4), and the sequence of *náá* and the pronoun occurs only as the second part of an appositional noun phrase (see §3.7). *náá* is especially common when the main verb is in potential aspect because the preverbal plural marker *kā* does not cooccur with potential aspect (see §2.1.2).

> *máá   vehe*
> SPEC   house
> the very house

> *máá   maría*
> SPEC   Mary
> Mary (Sp. *María*) herself

> *(kāhan)   dā náá   dā*
> (POT:speak)   he SPEC:PL   he
> They themselves (will speak).

(kānaa)   *y*ɨ*v*ɨ   *náá*   *ī*
(POT:fight)   person SPEC:PL   GEN
The people (are going to fight) among themselves.

(See also 7.17.)

Both specifiers are also used to mark reflexive constructions; see §1.1.3.
The quantifier comprises numerals and general quantifiers.

Numerals:

ūu   vehe
two house
two houses

ūhun   chaa
five   man
five men

ūna   dā
eight   he
eight of them

ūu   vétu
two   Robert
two Roberts (Sp. *Beto*)

(See also 7.20.)

General quantifiers:

kwaha   kɨtɨ
much   animal
many animals

tɨNnɨ   shndɨkɨ
several   bull
various bulls

xākū   vehe
few   house
a few houses

(See also 7.14 and 7.34.)

The numeral *ɨɨn* 'one' is often used simply as an indefinite article, and
the numeral *ūu* 'two', or the expanded numeral phrase *ūu nī* 'just two' (see
§4.1.4), sometimes mean 'a few'.

ii̯n ndi̯vi̯
one egg
an egg *or* one egg

ūu ndi̯shi̯
two ear:of:corn
a few ears of corn *or* two ears of corn

ūu nī yi̯vi̯
two LIM person
a few people *or* just two people

(See also 7.7, 7.17, 7.30, and 7.37.)

The concept 'many' is sometimes expressed in the verb phrase even when it refers to a noun phrase (see §2.1.3).

3.1.3 Postnominal elements. Four elements follow the nucleus: relative clause, deictic, limiter, and additive.

Restrictive relative clauses are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or pronouns and usually by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. The complementizer *xā* sometimes occurs between the head and the relative clause, thus functioning as a relative pronoun. There are no nonrestrictive relative clauses; their function is filled by appositional noun phrases (see §3.7).

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any noun phrase. A locative noun or preposition associated with the head noun is retained in its original position in the relative clause.

With subject as head:

ñāhā xā ni kixi īkū
woman CMP COM COM:come yesterday
the woman who came yesterday

chaa xáhnī ñāhā
man CON:kill woman
the man who kills women

yi̯vi̯ kánjūkū ndinūū
person CON:be:located:PL Tlaxiaco
the people who live in Tlaxiaco

chaa xáhnja yūNnū
man CON:cut wood
the man who cuts down trees

chaa   xā   xáhnja   yūNnū
man   CMP   CON:cut   wood
the man who cuts down trees

ñā   kúhū
she   CON:be:sick
the woman who is sick

xãrã   tu   íyó
UN   NEG   CON:exist
the stuff that doesn't exist

(See also 7.1, 7.22, and 7.23.)

With object as head:

staa   kāxī   dā
tortilla   POT:eat   he
the tortillas that he will eat

kɨ̄tɨ̄   njákā   yó
animal   CON:guide   we:IN
domesticated animals

kɨ̄tɨ̄   xā   njákā   yó
animal   CMP   COM:guide   we:IN
domesticated animals

shuhun   xā   ni   nihi   dā
money   CMP   COM   COM:get   he
the money he received

yɨvɨ   xā   chíndéé   yó
person   CMP   CON:help   we:IN
the people that we help

xãrã   xínī   dā
UN   CON:know   he
that which he knows

xā   kāxī   yó
it:INAN   POT:eat   we:IN
that which we eat *or* food

With locative adjunct as head:

> suchī xā   xáhā   ñā   staa   nūu
> child CMP   CON:give she tortilla face
> the child to whom she gives the tortillas

> suchī ni   chahu   ñā
> child COM COM:pay she
> the child she paid [the money] to

> ñūu   vāxī   vétu
> town INC:come Robert
> the town from which Robert comes

> nūu   kūndīchī
> face CON:be:placed
> the place where [it] is being built

> nūu   kīn   kihin   dā   tūtū   dā
> face POT:go POT:take he   paper his
> the place he is going to to get his documents

> īchī   kwāhan   dā
> trail INC:go   he
> the trail he was traveling on

(See also 7.48.)

With associative adjunct as head:

> suchī kwāhan dā xíin
> child INC:go he with
> the child with whom he left

> ndīshi kwāhan dā xíin
> liquor INC:go he with
> the liquor he took with him

> chaa xā   sáhā   dā Nnīñū xíin
> man   CMP CON:do he work   with
> the man with whom he works

With instrument adjunct as head:

> yūchi xáhnja   dā kuñu
> knife CON:cut he meat
> the knife with which he cuts meat

> *yūchi xáhnja   dā xíín   kuñu*
> knife CON:cut   he with   meat
> the knife with which he cuts meat

> *kaa   xáhnja   dā ndūku*
> metal CON:cut   he firewood
> the axe he cuts firewood with

With referent adjunct as head:

> *chaa   káhān   dā kwạchi sīki*
> man   CON:speak   he sin   nape
> the man whom they are accusing (lit. the man they are speaking
> blame against)

> *suchī   káhān   dā xaha*
> child   CON:speak   he foot
> the child on whose behalf he speaks

> *suchī   ni   kahān   ñā   xaha*
> child   COM   COM:speak   she   foot
> the child on whose behalf she spoke

> *xārā   íyó   kwéntu*
> UN   CON:exist   story
> the one there is a story (Sp. *cuento*) about

> *tāNna   úhū   xāta yó*
> medicine CON:hurt   back our:IN
> medicine for our backaches

With peripheral element as head:

> *ñūu   xā   shíkó   vétu   ndīkā*
> town   CMP CON:sell   Robert   banana
> the town where Robert sells bananas

> *ñūu   shíkó   xwáa ndōho*
> town   CON:sell   John palm:basket
> the town where John (Sp. *Juan*) sells palm baskets

> *kīvɨ xā   ni   xihi   vétu*
> day CMP COM   COM:die   Robert
> the day Robert died

kɨ̄vɨ ni   xihi   xwáa
day COM COM:die John
the day John died

yāNnī ūhun óra   xā   kākā   xaha yó
near   five hour CMP   POT:walk foot our:IN
about five hours (Sp. *hora*) that we walk on foot

(See also 7.19.)

A proper noun or a free personal pronoun may occur as the head of a relative clause.

vétu   xā   kwāhan   īkū
Robert CMP   INC:go   yesterday
the Robert who went yesterday

róhó   xā   kúū   yɨvɨ   san   sāu
you:FAM CMP   CON:be person dialect rain
you who are Mixtecs

A poststressed clitic pronoun may occur as the head of a relative clause only if it follows a specifier and/or a quantifier.

máá dā xā   kwāhan   īkū
SPEC he CMP   INC:go   yesterday
he who went yesterday

kwaha dā xā   ndóho   kwēhē   yúkán
much   he CMP   CON:suffer sickness that
many of those who have that sickness

Equative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject or a peripheral element.

chaa   kúū   shīni
man   CON:be head
the man who is town president

chaa   xā   kúū   shīni
man   CMP   CON:be head
the man who is town president

chaa   kúū   sūtū
man   CON:be priest
the man who is the priest

chaa   ni   nduu   "presidente"
man   COM   COM:become   president
the man who became president

suchī   nání   vétu
child   CON:be:named   Robert
the child who is named Robert

suchī   xā   nání   vétu
child   CMP   CON:be:named   Robert
the child who is named Robert

kwīyā   xā   kuu   dā   "maestro"
year   CMP   COM:be   he   teacher
the year he was a teacher

Sentences with stative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject. The complementizer *xā* rarely occurs unless another verb is used together with the stative verb (see §1.1.6).

chaa   xíní
man   drunk
drunk man

kɨtɨ   shāān
animal   fierce
fierce animal

sāhmā   vaha
cloth   good
good cloth

sāhmā   xā   vaha
cloth   CMP   good
good cloth

ītū   xā   kōō   vaha
cornfield   CMP   POT:exist   good
the cornfield that will be good

xārā   vīī   káā
UN   pretty   CON:appear
things that look pretty

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

īna   káhnū
dog big:SG
big dog

kītī   náhnū
animal   big:PL
big animals

chaa   lúlú
man   small:SG
boy

chaa   kwáchí
man   small:PL
boys

vehe   lúlú
house small:SG
little house

vétu   lúlú
Robert small:SG
little Robert

yōhō   kání
rope   long:SG
long rope

yōhō   náni
rope   long:PL
long ropes

(See also 7.17.)

There are also sequences of a noun followed by a modifying noun that should probably be considered to be relative clauses with a deleted verb. The second noun often gives the material out of which the first is made, or the topic of the first noun. These constructions are freely formed and are therefore not complex nuclei.

móno   ñūma
figure wax
wax figure (Sp. *mono*)

tūtū   kwéntu
paper   story
book of stories

kwéntu   īso
story   rabbit
rabbit story

In relative clauses, but not in main sentences, numerals function like stative verbs to express ordinals. The tone of the first syllable is replaced by high.

kɨvɨ úshi
day ten
the tenth day (cf. *ūshi*)

chaa   úni
man   three
the third man (cf. *ūni*)

Deictic function is carried by one nominal marker, *ún* 'that', and by two locative adverbs, *xáhá* 'here' and *yúkán* 'there'. The nominal marker is somewhat weaker than the locative adverb, and it is often used much like a definite article. When the locative adverbs function as deictics, they are glossed 'this' and 'that', respectively.

sāhmā   xáhá
cloth   this
this cloth

īchī xáhá
trail this
this trail

xārā   xáhá
UN   this
this one

kɨnɨ yúkán
pig that
that pig

kɨnɨ ún
pig that
that pig *or* the pig

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.9, 7.12, and 7.19.)

The limiter *nī* 'just' follows the deictic.

ndīkā   nī
banana   LIM
just a banana

maría   nī
Mary   LIM
just Mary

The additive *ka* 'more' follows the limiter and occurs only if the limiter does.

Nnīnū nī   ka
work LIM   ADD
only more work

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. All possible combinations of these elements occur, except that the additive occurs only if the limiter also does.

ūu   chaa ún
two man   that
those two men *or* the two men

ūu   chaa kwáchí   ún
two man   small:PL   that
those two boys *or* the two boys

kwaha   kīī̄   shāān   ún
much   animal fierce   that
those many fierce animals *or* the many fierce animals

kwaha   vehe   xáá   xáhá
much   house   new   this
these many new houses

kwéntu xā   tu   xínī   ná   ún
story   CMP   NEG   CON:know   I:RES that
the story that I don't know

kwēhē   ni   Nnaha   ná   ún
sickness COM   COM:fare I:RES that
that sickness I had

kūun   máá   chaa
four   SPEC   man
four of only men

tíhlí   *máá ndūchā*
little:bit SPEC water
only a little bit of water

kūun máá sāhmā xáhá
four SPEC cloth this
four of these very cloths

sāhmā   yúkán nī
cloth   that   LIM
just that cloth

táká xā   ni   kā sahā   ī
each it:INAN COM PL COM:do GEN
each thing that they did

máá   īchī káhnū
SPEC trail big:SG
the big trail in particular

máá   sāhmā lúlú   yúkán
SPEC cloth small:SG that
that little cloth itself

máá   ndīkā   nī   ka
SPEC banana LIM   ADD
just more bananas themselves

(See also 7.18 and 7.34.)

Long relative clauses, including most of those based on content verbs, usually occur at the end of a noun phrase, rather than immediately following the noun. They therefore sometimes follow the deictic and limiter, and when they follow any of these, the relative clause usually begins with the complementizer *xā*.

sāhmā   yúkán   xā   ni   kiku   ñā
cloth   that   CMP   COM   COM:sew she
that cloth she sewed

chaa lúlú   yúkán xā   xahan   ndinūū
man   small:SG that   CMP   COM:go Tlaxiaco
that boy who went to Tlaxiaco

chaa yúkán   xā   kúū   "maestro"
man   that   CMP   CON:be teacher
that man who is a teacher

(See also 7.23.)

More than one relative clause may occur in a single noun phrase. Relative clauses based on content verbs follow those based on stative verbs. Those based on stative verbs may occur in any order, although the preferred sequence seems to be color, state, and then size.

> *sāhmā*   *kwáhá*   *téhndé*   *lúlú*
> cloth   red   torn   small:SG
> little torn red cloth

> *sāhmā*   *kwáhá*   *vaha*   *lúlú*   *xā*   *ni*   *kiku*   *ñā*   *xā*
> cloth   red   good   small:SG CMP   COM   COM:sew   she   CMP

>   *ñúhú*   *sehe*   *ñā*
>   CON:be:in   child   her
> the good little red cloth she sewed that her child wears

> *chaa*   *vaha*   *kā*   *xíní*
> man   good   PL   CON:know
> good men who know.

Under certain conditions in discourse, the nucleus of a noun phrase may be unexpressed.

> *máá*
> SPEC
> [it] itself

> *yúkán*
> that
> that [one]

> *ūni*
> three
> three [things]

> *táká*   *yúkán*
> each   that
> each of those [things]

(See also 7.29.)

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, and in the following examples, the higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

> *ūshi métru (sāhmā)*
> ten meter (cloth)
> ten meters (Sp. *metro*) (of cloth)

> *i̇in yāxīn (ndūchā)*
> one gourd (water)
> one gourdful (of water)

> *ūu nūndōō (nūni)*
> two maquila (corn)
> two maquilas (four-quart measures) (of corn)

Measurement noun phrases optionally include the limiter *nī*, the additive *ka*, a deictic, and certain restricted kinds of relative clauses.

> *ūni   yāxīn nī   (ndūchā)*
> three gourd LIM   (water)
> just three gourdfuls (of water)

> *ūni   yāxīn ka   (ndūchā)*
> three gourd ADD   (water)
> three more gourdfuls (of water)

> *ūu nūndōō nī   ka   ún   (nūni)*
> two maquila LIM   ADD   that (corn)
> only two more of those maquilas (of corn)

> *ūni   yāxīn lúlú   (ndūchā)*
> three gourd small:SG (water)
> three little gourdfuls (of water)

(See also 7.17.)

Relative clauses in measurement noun phrases are limited to those based on a stative verb, as in the last example above, or to the fraction *yóso sāvā*, which consists of the verb *yóso* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition', and the general quantifier *sāvā* 'half'. This form is often reduced to *yó sāvā* or simply to *sāvā*. The fraction often follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the measurement noun phrase is embedded, even though it logically belongs with the measurement noun phrase. When the full form follows the nucleus, it may be preceded by the conjunction *tī* 'and'.

    ūu   nūndōō   yóso   sāvā (nūni)
    two maquila CON:be:on:top half (corn)
    two and a half maquilas (of corn)

    ūu   nūndōō   sāvā (nūni)
    two maquila half (corn)
    two and a half maquilas (of corn)

    ūu   kílo   (shahan) yó   sāvā
    two kilogram (lard)   CON:be:on:top half
    two and a half kilograms (Sp. *kilo*) (of lard)

    ūu   nūndōō (nūni) tī   yóso   sāvā
    two maquila (corn) and CON:be:on:top half
    two and a half maquilas (of corn)

Fraction does not cooccur with deictic, nor does it cooccur with an aggregative noun phrase (see §4.1.3) as quantifier.

3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. A quantifier or specifier may precede the nucleus, and a limiter or relative clause based on a stative verb may follow it. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to nouns that can be possessed. The possessor is a full noun phrase with no special genitive marking.

With inherently possessed nouns:

    īnī   dā
    insides his
    his insides

    ndāhā ná
    arm   my:RES
    my arm

    shīni lúsū
    head mouse
    the mouse's head

    shīshī ní
    aunt your:RES
    your aunt

sāxin   ñā
nephew her
her nephew

shīīn   vehe
owner   house
the owner of the house

ūu sēhē ñā
two child her
her two children

ūu sēhē lúlú   īna
two child small:SG dog
the dog's two little pups

(See also 7.5, 7.17, 7.33, 7.36, and 7.42.)

With optionally possessed nouns:

shndīkɨ dā
bull   his
his bulls

ñuhu yó
earth our:IN
our land

vehe   ñā
house her
her house

shiní   vétu
hat   Robert
Robert's hat

kwéntu tɨNnɨ̄ yɨvɨ   ñáhnū yúkán
story   several person mature that
the story of several of those old people

vehe   káhnū dā
house big:SG his
his big house

táká   ndāxāha dā
each   helper   his
each of his helpers

ūu   vehe   vaha dā
two house   good his
his two good houses

If the possessor is expressed by a poststressed clitic pronoun, a deictic or relative clause that modifies the nucleus sometimes follows the possessor.

sēhē   dā   yúkán
child his   that
that child of his

sēhē   dā   xā   ni   xahan
child his   CMP   COM   COM:go
his child who went

sēhē   lúlú   dā   yúkán   xā   ni   xahan
child small:SG his   that   CMP   COM   COM:go
that little child of his who went

(See also 7.17.)

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

īna   sēhē   ñānī   chaa   yúkán
dog child brother:ME   man   that
that man's brother's child's dog

3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed with the interrogative pronouns *nā* 'what?' and *nāū* 'what?' or 'who?', and the interrogative adverb *nāsā* 'how?' (used in this construction to mean 'how much?' or 'how many?'). The interrogative word is 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). Occasionally the tone of a noun is raised to high high following an interrogative word.

nā   sāhmā
what   cloth
what cloth?

nā   īchī
what   trail
what trail?

nāū   chaa
what   man
what man?

nāū   sēhē
what   child
what child?

nāū   suchī
who   child
whose child?

nāsā   yáhá
how   chili:pepper
how many chili peppers? (cf. *yaha* 'chili pepper')

Many interrogative noun phrases have acquired idiomatic meanings; they have the function of single-word interrogative pronouns or adverbs. Some of the most common ones are:

nāū   yɨvɨ
what   person
who?

nā   óra
what   hour
when?

nā   kɨvɨ
what   day
when?

nā   sɨkɨ
what   nape
why?

nā   kwénta
what   account
why? (Sp. *cuenta*)

nāū   xā   shīīn
who   CMP   owner
whose?

One idiomatic phrase has the interrogative word second.

nūu nāū
face who
to whom?

3.5 Negative Noun Phrases

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the negative marker *ansu*
to a noun phrase; they occur only in focus position in the sentence. An
equative sentence (see §1.1.5) is usually negated by using a negative noun
phrase for the nominal complement, but negative noun phrases also occur
in other sentence types. In the following sentences containing negative
noun phrases, the portion of the sentence outside the negative noun
phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

> *ansu   suchī vaha (ni   sahá   xáhá)*
> NEG   child good (COM COM:do this)
> ([It was]) NOT A GOOD CHILD ([who] did this).

> *ansu   sāhmā (ni   kihin   ñā)*
> NEG   cloth   (COM COM:take she)
> ([It was]) NOT CLOTH (she bought).

> *ansu   yūchi   vétu   (kúū)*
> NEG   knife   Robert (CON:be)
> ([It] is) not Robert's knife.

> *ansu   máá dā (kúū)*
> NEG   SPEC he (CON:be)
> ([It] is) not he himself.

3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

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

> *īchī   káhnū*
> path   big:SG
> big path

> *kīvɨ káhnū*
> day big:SG
> important day

ñūu   lúlú   yúkán
town   small:SG that
that little town

kwīyā xáhá
year   this
this year

(See also 7.38.)

Many locative noun phrases have the nouns *nūu* 'face' or *īchī* 'trail' as nucleus, followed by a relative clause.

nūu kīhīn   dā
face POT:go   he
the place where he will go

nūu xítú   dā
face CON:plow he
the place where he is plowing

nūu kwāhan   yó
face INC:go   we:IN
the future (lit. the place we are going to)

īchī kwāhan   dā
trail INC:go   he
the direction he is going (lit. the trail he is going on)

(See also 7.19 and 7.48.)

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with a locative noun as nucleus. Many of these are body-part nouns that are used with extended meanings (see §5.3.2). Adverbial possessive noun phrases are used in all noun-phrase positions, but they are especially common as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

nūu ñāhā
face woman
in front of the woman *or* to the woman

nūu īchī
face trail
on the trail

xāta vehe
back   house
in back of the house

chii   *chaa ún*
stomach   man   that
that man's stomach *or* below where that man is

īnī   *xaku*
insides   corral
in the corral

īnī   *yōō*
insides   month
within the month

shīni   yūkū
head   mountain
at the top of the mountain

shīni   yōō
head   month
the end of the month

nūu ūni   kɨvɨ
face three   day
within three days

sɨkɨ   ndōho   yúkán
nape   palm:basket   that
on the outside of that basket

xaha nāna   ñā
foot   mother   her
at her mother's (Sp. *nana*) feet *or* for the sake of her mother

(See also 7.1 and 7.48.)

The nouns *ichī* 'trail' and *kwénta* 'account', which do not refer to body parts and are not inherently possessed, also occur frequently in adverbial possessive noun phrases.

ichī   ñūu
trail town
toward town

ichī   vehe
trail house
the way to the house *or* the way from the house

īchī xāta lóma
trail back hill
the trail behind the hill (Sp. *loma*)

īchī chii   cháhá
trail stomach this:place
the trail below this one

kwénta sēhē dā
account child his
for his child

   Adverbial possessive noun phrases differ from ordinary possessive noun
phrases in that they do not permit the nucleus to have prenuclear or
postnuclear elements, whereas the nucleus of an ordinary possessive noun
phrase can take prenuclear quantifier or specifier and postnuclear limiter
or relative clause based on a stative verb (see §3.3).

3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun
phrases in the same structural position joined with no conjunction linking
them. They occur in any noun-phrase position. One function of
appositional noun phrases is to express additional information about a
noun nucleus that is already identified, a function filled by nonrestrictive
relative clauses in English.

kūhu   ñā / maría
sister:FE her   Mary
her sister, Mary

chaa lúlú   / sēhē chaa yúkán
man small:SG child man that
the boy, that man's child

vétu / chaa xā   ni   kixi   īkū
Robert man CMP COM COM:come yesterday
Robert, the man who came yesterday

ñūu / nūu njáā   dā
town face CON:be:located he
the town, the place where he lives

máá dā / chaa xā   xahan ndinūū
SPEC he   man CMP COM:go Tlaxiaco
he, the man who went to Tlaxiaco

> *vehe* / *nūu* *vāxī* *xwáa*
> house   face INC:come John
> the house, the place John is coming from
>
> *īchī* / *nūu* *kā* *xínū* *tī*
> trail face PL CON:run it:AML
> the trail, the place where the animals run
>
> *kɨtɨ* *njákā* *yó* / *ūu* *rɨ̄* *yó*
> animal CON:guide we:IN two sheep our:IN
> the animals we lead, our two sheep
>
> *músu* / *chaa* *kā* *sáhā* *Nnīñū*
> hired:hand man PL CON:do work
> the hired hands (Sp. *mozo*), the men who work
>
> *xārā* *xínī* *ní* / *nūu* *njáā*
> UN   CON:know you:RES face CON:be:located
>
> > *tāa* "*Sebastián Ojeda*" / *yúkán*
> > sir Sebastian Ojeda   there
> the one you know, the place where Mr. Sebastian Ojeda lives, over
> there

(See also 7.4, 7.17, 7.23, and 7.46.)

3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are either coordinate or disjunctive. In the
coordinate type, noun phrases are linked by the preposition *xíín* 'with', or
less frequently by the coordinate conjunction *tī* 'and'; occasionally they
have no overt link. (Noun phrases may also be linked by repeating the
verb, as described in §6.1.2.)

> *máá* *dā* *xíín* *sēhē* *dā*
> SPEC he with child his
> he and his child
>
> *ūu* *ñānī* *dā* *tī* *ɨ̄n* *kwāhā* *dā*
> two brother:ME his and one sister:ME his
> two of his brothers and one of his sisters

When three or more items are conjoined, *xíín* may precede each item,
all but the first item, just the final item, or be omitted entirely.

xíín   rǖ   xíín   shndíkɨ xíín   kɨnɨ   xíín   chuun
with   sheep   with bull   with pig   with chicken
sheep, bulls, pigs, and chickens

máá   yó   xíín   mbáá   yó
SPEC   we:IN with   child's:godparent our:IN

   xíín   táká   yɨvɨ   xā   chíndéé yó
   with   each   person CMP   CON:help us:IN
we ourselves and our child's godparents (Sp. *compadre*) and each
person who is helping us

rǖ   shndíkɨ kɨnɨ   xíín   chuun
sheep   bull   pig   with   chicken
sheep, bulls, pigs, and chickens

rǖ   shndíkɨ kɨnɨ   chuun
sheep   bull   pig   chicken
sheep, bulls, pigs, and chickens

ɨɨn ndíÑña vaha / ɨɨn   lēlu   vaha / ɨɨn   sāhmā vaha
one sandal good one   hat   good   one   cloth good
a good pair of sandals, a good hat (Sp. *sombrero*), [and] a good
piece of clothing

A sequence of two noun phrases linked by *xíín* 'with' is sometimes
ambiguous between an additive noun phrase as subject or object and a
simple noun phrase followed by an associative adjunct (see §1.1.4).

(ni   xahan)   chaa yúkán xíín   ñānī   dā
(COM   COM:go)   man that   with   brother:ME his
That man and his brother (went). *or* That man (went) with his
brother.

(ni   kihin   ñā)   ndɨkɨn xíín   tɨnānā
(COM   COM:take she) onion   with   tomato
(She bought) onions and tomatoes. *or* (She bought) onions with
tomatoes.

Additive noun phrases with *xíín* show attraction when the first component
noun phrase contains a plural quantifier and the second component noun
phrase permits the interpretation that it is included in the first one. This
construction is limited to noun phrases expressing kinship and other social
relationships. In this construction *xíín* should perhaps be translated 'including'
rather than 'with'.

ndɨndúú dā xíin   ñānī   dā
both   he with brother:ME his
both he and his brother

ndɨ̄ ūni   chaa yúkán xíin ñānī   dā xíin kwāhā   dā
all three   man that   with brother:ME his with sister:ME his
all three, including that man, his brother, and his sister

táká   dā xíin   ñēro   dā
each   he with companion his
he and his companions (Sp. *compañero*)

ndɨndúú yó   xíin ní
both   we:IN with you:RES
both you and I

To express a disjunctive relationship between two noun phrases, the coordinate conjunction *shí* 'or' occurs between the two.

īchī cháhá   shí īchī   chúkán
trail this:place or trail that:place
in this direction or that direction (lit. this trail or that trail)

kwāhā   dā shí ñānī   dā
sister:ME his or brother:ME his
his sister or his brother

tɨ́kwā   shí ndīkā
citrus:fruit or banana
either citrus fruit or bananas

To express a negative disjunction, the conjunction *nɨ̄* (or its variant form *nɨ̄*) 'nor' (Sp. *ni*) is used before each part. Only one such phrase may occur in a sentence, and the verb must also be negated.

nɨ̄ kwāhā   dā nɨ̄   ñānī   dā (tu   ni   xahan)
nor sister:ME his nor brother:ME his (NEG COM COM:go)
NEITHER HIS SISTER NOR HIS BROTHER (went).

nɨ̄ ndɨ̄shɨ dā nɨ̄   njākwáhá dā
nor liquor his nor tepache his
neither his liquor nor his tepache (an alcoholic beverage)

3.9 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Indefinite noun phrases are formed in two ways. In the first way the interrogative pronouns *nā* 'what?' or *nāū* 'what?' or 'who?' occur together

with a following noun phrase. The general quantifier *táká* 'each' may precede the interrogative pronoun, and the limiter *nī* may follow it.

> *nā   kɨvɨ*
> what   day
> any day *or* whenever

> *nāū   ɨɨn   Nnuhu*
> what   one   word
> any word

> *táká   nāū   kā kihin   dā*
> each   what   PL POT:take   he
> whatever else they may get

> *nāū   nī   yɨvɨ*
> who   LIM   person
> anyone *or* whoever

Indefinite noun phrases formed in this way are similar to interrogative noun phrases, except that they are not restricted to sentence-initial position.

In the second way the nominal marker *sāvahni* 'any', optionally followed by the additive *ka,* occurs with a following noun.

> *sāvahni   ka   ndōho*
> any   ADD   palm:basket
> any palm basket

3.10 Classifier Noun Phrases

Classifier noun phrases are formed by combining a classifier with a noun, usually one that refers to a person or animal. The classifiers include the prestressed pronouns *rā* 'he', *ñā* 'she', *xā* 'it (inanimate)', and *xārā* 'unspecified', and also the nouns *tāa* 'sir' and *nāa* 'ma'am'.

> *rā   īso*
> he   rabbit
> Mr. rabbit *or* the rabbit

> *ñā   maría*
> she   Mary
> Miss Mary

> *xā   gríyu*
> it:INAN   cricket
> the cricket (Sp. *grillo*)

xārā   chaa
UN   man
Mr. man *or* the man

xārā   vāhu
UN   coyote
Mr. coyote *or* the coyote

xārā   kōō
UN   terrace
the terrace

tāa   xwáa
sir   John
Mr. John

nāa   maña
ma'am   Mary
Mrs. Mary

(See also 7.1, 7.2, and 7.12.)

Sometimes a quantifier occurs between the classifier and the noun, and occasionally two classifiers occur together.

xārā   ïïn   gríyu
UN   one   cricket
the one cricket

xārā   táká   kïtï
UN   each   animal
each of the animals

rā   xārā   ndïkáhá
he   UN   lion
Mr. lion *or* the lion

Sometimes the classifier functions as an honorific title, and sometimes it simply slows down the flow of information.

4

Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases. In additive numeral phrases simple numerals from one to ten, fifteen, twenty, hundred, and thousand combine to form the numerals from eleven through fourteen, sixteen through nineteen, twenty-one through thirty, thirty-five, and certain combinations involving hundred and thousand. The larger numeral always occurs first.

ūshi ī̃n
ten one
eleven

shyāhun   ūni
fifteen   three
eighteen

ōko   ūshi
twenty   ten
thirty

ōko   shyāhun
twenty   fifteen
thirty-five

syéntu   ōko
hundred   twenty
one hundred (Sp. *ciento*) twenty

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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   shyāhun   kūun*
> twenty   fifteen   four
> thirty-nine

> *míil   syéntu   ōko   ūshi   ūu*
> thousand hundred   twenty   ten   two
> one thousand (Sp. *mil*) one hundred thirty-two

4.1.2 Attributive numeral phrases. Multiples of twenty, one hundred, and one thousand are expressed by attributive numeral phrases, which have two parts in a quantifier-nucleus relationship. The larger numeral occurs second. When the numeral twenty occurs as the nucleus of an attributive numeral phrase, a suppletive allomorph, *shīko,* occurs.

> *kūun   shīko*
> four   twenty
> eighty

> *ūna   syéntu*
> eight   hundred
> eight hundred

> *ūni   míil*
> three   thousand
> three thousand

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

> *ūu   shīko   shyāhun   ĩn*
> two   twenty   fifteen   one
> fifty-six

> *ūu   míil   ūshya   syéntu   ūni   shīko   ūshi   ĩn*
> two   thousand   seven   hundred   three   twenty   ten   one
> two thousand seven hundred seventy-one

4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases. A numeral higher than one, or a short expanded numeral phrase (see §4.1.4), combines with the noun *Nnáhā* 'companion' to form aggregative numeral phrases. In this construction *Nnáhā* means something like 'grouped'. These phrases occur as quantifiers in noun phrases and as nuclei in other numeral phrases. In

the following examples, an entire noun phrase is given with the part
outside the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

> *ūni   Nnáhā   (dā)*
> three companion (he)
> three (of them)

> *ūu   nī   ka   Nnáhā   (nūndōō)*
> two LIM ADD companion (maquila)
> only two more (maquilas [four-quart measures])

(See also 7.6.)

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

The prenuclear element comprises several words that quantify the
numeral nucleus. These include the locative adverb *yāNnī* 'near', used in
this construction to mean 'approximately', the general quantifiers *ndɨhɨ* or
ndɨ 'all' and *táká* 'each', and the specifier *máá*.

> *yāNnī ōko*
> near   twenty
> approximately twenty

> *ndɨhɨ syéntu*
> all   hundred
> all hundred

> *ndɨ ūshya*
> all   seven
> all seven

> *táká   ūu   (vehe)*
> each   two   (house)
> every other (house)

> *máá   ūshya*
> SPEC   seven
> only seven

The general quantifier *ndɨ* 'all' fuses with the numeral *ūu* 'two' to form
ndúú 'both'. More commonly, however, *ndɨ* fuses again with *ndúú* to create
ndɨndúú.

There are five postnuclear elements: the general adverb *kwɨtɨ* 'completely', the repetitive *tūkū,* the limiter *nī,* the additive *ka,* and the fraction *yóso sāvā* 'half'. The first four of these occur in any combination in the above order.

> *ūu kwɨtɨ*
> two completely
> exactly two

> *ūshya tūkū*
> seven REP
> seven other

> *ūhun nī*
> five   LIM
> only five

> *ūhun ka*
> five   ADD
> five more

> *ūna kwɨtɨ   tūkū*
> eight completely REP
> exactly eight other

> *ndɨ ūhun nī   ka*
> all   five LIM ADD
> five more, that's all

> *máá   ɨ̄n   nī*
> SPEC one   LIM
> just one particular *or* a single

Sometimes *ka* follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the numeral phrase occurs, thus creating a discontinuous quantifier phrase.

> *ūu   (sēhē   nī)   ka   (chaa   yúkán)*
> two (child LIM) ADD (man   that)
> (that man's only) two (children) that are left

The fraction *yóso sāvā* 'half' contains the verb *yóso* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition', and the general quantifier *sāvā* 'half'. It may be reduced to *yó sāvā* or simply *sāvā*. This element usually follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the numeral phrase occurs, thus creating a discontinuous quantifier phrase. The full form is sometimes preceded by the conjunction *tī* 'and'.

īin   (ndīkā)   yóso   sāvā
one (banana) CON:be:on:top   half
one and a half (bananas)

īin   (ndīkā)   yó   sāvā
one (banana) CON:be:on:top   half
one and a half (bananas)

īin   (ndīkā)   sāvā
one (banana) half
one and a half (bananas)

īin   (ndīkā)   tī   yóso   sāvā
one (banana) and CON:be:on:top   half
one and a half (bananas)

When fraction cooccurs with the limiter and/or the additive, the limiter and additive may either precede the noun nucleus or follow the fraction.

ūhun   nī   ka   (ndīkā)   yó   sāvā
five   LIM ADD (banana) CON:be:on:top   half
only five and a half more (bananas)

ūhun   nī   ka   (ndīkā)   sāvā
five   LIM ADD (banana) half
only five and a half more (bananas)

ūu   (stāā)   yó   sāvā   nī   ka
two (tortilla) CON:be:on:top   half   LIM ADD
only two and a half more (tortillas)

4.1.5 General quantifier phrases. Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which is a nonnumeral quantifier, two optional prenuclear elements, and three optional postnuclear elements. The prenuclear elements are the specifier *máá* and manner, expressed only by the intensifying adverb *ndē;* and the postnuclear elements are manner (expressed only by intensifying elements), the limiter *nī,* and the additive *ka.* All three postnuclear positions cooccur in the above order.

máá   tíhlï   (ndūchā)
SPEC little:bit (water)
a little bit of that very (water)

ndē   kwaha (nūni)
INTS much   (corn)
very much (corn)

kwaha   ka   (ndɨvɨ)
much   ADD   (egg)
many more (eggs)

ndɨ   kwɨtɨ   (chaa)
all   completely   (man)
every one (of the men)

xākū   nī   (kɨtɨ)
few   LIM   (animal)
just a few (animals)

tɨhlɨ   nī   (nūxīī)
little:bit   LIM   (firearm)
a few (rifles), no more

xākū   ka   (kɨtɨ)
few   ADD   (animal)
a few more (animals)

tɨhla   ka   (trɨu)
somewhat   ADD   (wheat)
some more (wheat [Sp. *trigo*])

tɨhlɨ   nī   ka   (nūxīī)
little:bit   LIM   ADD   (firearm)
a few more (rifles), that's all

xākū   kwɨtɨ   nī   ka   (kuñu)
few   completely   LIM   ADD   (meat)
just a very little bit more (meat)

Sometimes two intensifiers cooccur.

kwaha   shāān   tōndo   (kaa)
much   fierce   foolish   (metal)
very very much (metal)

4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases. A repeated numeral with no pre-
nuclear or postnuclear modifiers, or a repeated numeral preceded by *ndɨ* 'all',
constitutes a distributive numeral phrase.

ɨ̄n   ɨ̄n
one   one
each

ūu   ūu
two two
each pair

ndɨ̄   ɨ̄n   ndɨ̄   ɨ̄n
all   one   all   one
every single one

ndɨ̄   ūu   ndɨ̄   ūu
all   two   all   two
each pair

4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases. Two or three numerals, with the later ones expressing higher quantities, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The numerals may be simply juxtaposed, or the conjunction *shí* 'or' may precede the last phrase or all of them.

ɨ̄n   ūu   (ndɨ̄shɨ̄)
one   two   (ear:of:corn)
a few (ears of corn)

ɨ̄n   ūu   ūni   (ndɨ̄shɨ̄)
one   two   three   (ear:of:corn)
a few (ears of corn)

kūun   ūhun (yɨ̄vɨ̄)
four   five   (person)
four or five (people)

ūna   shí   ūshi   (kɨ̄tɨ̄)
eight   or   ten   (animal)
eight or ten (animals)

shí   ūna   shí   shyāhun   (kɨ̄vɨ̄)
or   eight   or   fifteen   (day)
one or two (weeks)

Occasionally a brief expanded numeral phrase occurs as the first part of this construction.

yāNnɨ̄ ōko   ūhun / ōko   ūshi   (kɨ̄tɨ̄)
near   twenty five   twenty ten   (animal)
approximately twenty-five or thirty (animals)

yāNnɨ̄ ōko   ūhun shí ōko   ūshi   (kɨ̄tɨ̄)
near   twenty five   or twenty ten   (animal)
approximately twenty-five or thirty (animals)

4.1.8 Negative quantifier phrases. The conjunction *nɨ* or *nɨ̵* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*), used here in the sense of 'not even', combines with a numeral, a general quantifier, or a short general quantifier phrase expressing a minimal amount to form negative quantifier phrases.

> *nɨ   ɨ̵n*
> nor   one
> not even one

> *nɨ   xākɨ̵*
> nor   few
> not even a few

> *nɨ   tɨ́hlɨ̵*
> nor   little:bit
> not even a little bit

> *nɨ   tɨ́hlɨ̵   nɨ*
> nor   little:bit   LIM
> not even just a little bit

> *nɨ   tɨ́hlɨ̵   nɨ   ka*
> nor   little:bit   LIM   ADD
> not even just a little bit more

Only one negative quantifier phrase may occur in a sentence, and the verb must also be negated unless the negative quantifier phrase is in focus position.

> *(tu   ni   kihin   ñā)   nɨ   ɨ̵n   (ndɨ́kā)*
> (NEG   COM   COM:take she)   nor   one   (banana)
> (She didn't buy) even one (banana).

> *nɨ   tɨ́hlɨ̵   nɨ   (nūni   ni   kendo)*
> nor   little:bit   LIM   (corn   COM   COM:stay)
> NOT EVEN A LITTLE (CORN was left).

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. A nucleus and three optional postnuclear elements combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus is expressed by a locative, temporal, or general adverb; and the postnuclear elements are manner (expressed only by intensifying elements), the limiter *nɨ*, and the additive *ka*. Semantically, manner and additive collocate only with certain general adverbs.

With locative adverbs:

> *xáhá   nī*
> here   LIM
> just here

> *yúkán nī*
> there LIM
> just there

With temporal adverbs:

> *īkū   nī*
> yesterday LIM
> just yesterday

With general adverbs:

> *syúkán   nī*
> in:that:way   LIM
> just that way

> *yāchī shāān   ka*
> fast   fierce   ADD
> much faster

> *kwēē shāān nī   ka*
> slowly fierce LIM ADD
> just very much more slowly

(See also 7.35.)

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.

> *yúkán / nūu   sáNnīñū   dā*
> there   face   CON:work   he
> there, the place where he works

> *yúkán / īnī   vehe*
> there   insides house
> there, inside the house

> *xáhá   nī / māhñu   ndīndúú vehe*
> here   LIM between   both   house
> just here, between both houses

yúkán / ūndi nūndūvā
there   until Oaxaca
there, as far as Oaxaca

īÑñā   / kɨvɨ ūshi
tomorrow   day ten
tomorrow, the tenth day

kaa   ūshi / xākwāā
metal ten   at:night
ten o'clock at night

kaa   ūu / vīNnā
metal two   now
at two o'clock today

ɨɨn nūndāa   / vīNnā
one little:later now
a little bit later today

4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases. There are two ways to form additive adverb phrases. Two noncoreferential adverbs may be juxtaposed with no conjunction linking them, or they may be linked by *xíín* 'with'.

ndúú   ñúú
all:day   all:night
all day and all night

ndúú   xíín   ñúú
all:day   with   all:night
all day and all night

vīNnā īÑñā
now   tomorrow
today and tomorrow *or* in the near future

īÑñā   ísá
tomorrow day:after:tomorrow
tomorrow and the day after *or* in the future

4.2.4 Alternative adverb phrases. Two adverbs or adverb phrases linked by the coordinate conjunction *shí* 'or' constitute an alternative adverb phrase. The interrogative marker occurs between the two parts and optionally before the first.

īÑñā   *shí ísá*
tomorrow or day:after:tomorrow
tomorrow or the day after

shí   īÑñā   shí ísá
or   tomorrow   or   day:after:tomorrow
tomorrow or the day after

xáhá   shí   yúkán
here   or   there
here or there

shí   xáhá   shí   yúkán
or   here   or   there
here or there

4.2.5 Repetitive adverb phrases. The simple repetition of an adverb, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. The limiter *nī* may follow both adverbs, and the additive *ka* may follow the second.

kwēē   kwēē
slowly slowly
very slowly

kwēē   kwēē   nī
slowly slowly LIM
just very slowly

kwēē   nī   kwēē   nī
slowly LIM   slowly LIM
just very slowly

kwēē   kwēē   ka
slowly slowly ADD
much more slowly

kwēē   ka   kwēē   ka
slowly ADD   slowly ADD
much more slowly

Repetitive adverb phrases occur only in content verb phrases. Those consisting of a repeated adverb phrase occur only in preverbal manner position.

kwēē   nī   kwēē   nī   (ni   kee   koyo   yɨvɨ)
slowly LIM slowly LIM (COM COM:leave PL   person)
(The people) just (left) very slowly.

In 7.13, however, a repetitive adverb phrase occurs as a sentence fragment.

4.2.6 Interrogative adverb phrases. An interrogative adverb may be combined with the specifier *máá* 'the very' to form an interrogative adverb phrase.

nándī   máá
where   SPEC
precisely where?

4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which is expressed either by a noun phrase or by an adverb or adverb phrase. The set of prepositions is small because prepositional function is carried largely by locative nouns (see §§5.3.2 and 3.6). It includes only *xíin* or *xíni* 'with', *ūndi* 'until',[3] *māhñu* 'between', *xākū* 'with reference to' or 'than', *xā sɨkɨ* 'because of', and *māhñu sāvā* 'halfway between'. Prepositional phrases occur mainly as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

xíin   sēhē   dā
with   child   his
with his children

ūndi   vīNnā
until   now
until now *or* from now on

ūndi   vīNnā   nī
until   now   LIM
just until today *or* just from today on

māhñu   vehe
between   house
between the houses

---

[3]The preposition *ūndi* has a wider distribution than other prepositions. Prepositional phrases with *ūndi* sometimes serve as subject, for example, or as part of the object of another preposition. Perhaps it could be more accurately classified as a specifier (see §3.1.2).

xākū   chíku
with:reference:to   Frank
than Frank (Sp. *Chico*) *or* as for Frank

xā   sɨkɨ   ɨɨn   nūndóhō
CMP   nape   one   suffering
because of a sickness

māhñu   sāvā   ūu   vehe
between   half   two   house
halfway between the two houses

(See also 7.5, 7.7, and 7.11.)

The object of a preposition may be unexpressed if it can be supplied from the context.

When two prepositional phrases with *ūndi* 'until' are juxtaposed, they express the spatial or temporal scope of an action; the first instance of *ūndi* is translated 'from', and the second one is translated 'to', 'until', or 'as far as'.

ūndi   "México"   ūndi   xáhá
until   Mexico:City   until   here
from Mexico City to here

ūndi   vīNnā   ūndi   kwīyā   xā   kíxí
until   now   until   year   CMP   POT:come
from now until next year

5

Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

5.1.1 Derivation. Content verbs are derived from other content verbs, stative verbs, and nouns by means of prefixes, sometimes accompanied by tone changes, and also by compounding.

The prefix *s-* or *sā-* 'causative', which is a reduced form of the verb *sáhá* 'to do', adds an agent. The *s-* form combines with content verbs in potential aspect in a highly productive derivational process. When this prefix is added, the tone of the first syllable of the stem changes to high.

> *s-káxī*
> CAUS-POT:eat
> to give to eat (cf. *kāxī* 'POT:eat')

> *s-kóhō*
> CAUS-POT:drink
> to give a drink to (cf. *kōhō* 'POT:drink')

> *s-kókó*
> CAUS-POT:swallow
> to cause to swallow (cf. *kōkó* 'POT:swallow')

> *s-kúnū*
> CAUS-POT:run
> to chase, to frighten (cf. *kūnū* 'POT:run')

s-kwáhā
CAUS-POT:?
to study (cf. *kwāhā* 'POT:give')

s-ndɨhɨ
CAUS-POT:finish
to cause to finish (cf. *ndɨhɨ* 'POT:finish')

s-káhndɨ
CAUS-POT:explode
to cause to explode (cf. *kāhndɨ* 'POT:explode')

(See also 7.9.)

The *sā-* form combines with stative verbs and nouns to create derived content verbs.

With stative verbs:

sā-vaha
POT:CAUS-good
to put away

sā-ndáhú
POT:CAUS-poor
to humble (oneself)

With nouns:

sā-Nnĩñū
POT:CAUS-work
to work

sā-kwĩhnā
POT:CAUS-demon
to steal (cf. *kwĩhna* 'demon')

The prefix *nā-* 'repetitive' combines with content and equative verbs in potential aspect. This prefix adds the meaning of repeated or resumed action, though many verbs with it have acquired idiomatic meanings.

nā-ndɨhɨ
POT:REP-POT:finish
to need

    nā-kūnī
POT:REP-POT:see
to recognize

    nā-kwāhā
POT:REP-POT:give
to hand over

Sometimes the prefix is reduced to *n-*, and a stem-initial *k* is either lost or replaced by *d*.

    n-jāā
REP-POT:arrive:here
to return, to arrive back here (cf. *chāā* 'POT:arrive here')

    n-dúu
REP-POT:be
to become (cf. *kūū* 'POT:be')

    n-dēndā
REP-POT:appear
to show up again (cf. *kēndā* 'POT:appear')

    n-dāā
REP-POT:ascend
to ascend again (cf. *kāā* 'POT:ascend')

Repetitive and causative prefixes can occur together in a word. The causative prefix occurs next to the stem.

    nā-sā-vaha
POT:REP-POT:CAUS-good
to repair

    nā-s-ndéē
POT:REP-CAUS-POT:lower
to transplant (cf. *ndēē* 'POT:lower')

    nā-s-tútú
POT:REP-CAUS-POT:be:gathered:together
to reunite (cf. *tútú* 'POT:be:gathered:together')

Compounds are formed by the fusion of a complex verb nucleus (see §2.1.1) into a single word. Often the first part of the compound, which was the main verb of the original construction, is reduced to a single syllable.

The verbs *kūū* 'to be' and *ndúu* 'to become' combine with stative verbs, adverbs, and nouns to form content verbs.

kū-kwéé
POT:be-slowly
to be slow

kū-Nnīñū
POT:be-work
to be occupied

kū-tūhva
POT:be-intelligent
to learn

kū-tīluu
POT:be-round
to be round (cf. *tílúú* 'spherical')

ndū-shāān
POT:become-fierce
to get fierce

ndū-xáhán
POT:become-fertilized
to be fertilized (cf. *xāhān* 'fertilizer')

(See also 7.3, 7.20, 7.35, 7.41, 7.44, 7.47, and 7.50.)

Many other verbs serve as the first part of compounds.

With verbs of placement:

chū-sāmā
POT:put:in-POT:change
to change direction (cf. *chūhūn* 'POT:put:in')

chū-Nnāhā
POT:put:in-companion
to join together (cf. *Nnáhā* 'companion')

chī-ndéé
POT:thrust-brave
to help (cf. *chīhī* 'POT:thrust')

chī-ndáhá
POT:thrust-hand
to push (cf. *ndāhā* 'hand')

(See also 7.48.)

With verbs of movement:

> *kūn-jūkū*
> POT:fall-POT:put
> to be located (plural) (cf. *kūūn* 'POT:fall', *chūkū* 'POT:place')

> *kūn-soho*
> POT:fall-ear
> to listen

> *kē-xāhā*
> POT:leave-foot
> to begin (cf. *xaha* 'foot')

With other verbs:

> *kā-ndahu*
> POT:speak-poor
> to beg (cf. *kāhān* 'POT:speak', *ndáhú* 'poor')

> *kɨ-ndāhā*
> POT:be:joined-hand
> to care for (cf. *kɨhɨ* 'POT:be:joined')

In some compounds it is difficult to determine the source of the first part.

> *ndá-Nnūhū*
> ?-word
> to discuss (cf. *Nnuhu* 'word')

> *nū-Nnāhā*
> ?-companion
> to embrace (cf. *Nnáhā* 'companion')

> *xā-Nnaha   (īnī)*
> ?-companion (insides)
> to like

> *ná-ndāhā*
> ?-hand
> to marry

> *kō-nēnē*
> ?-POT:be:closed
> to close the eyes

kō-ñūhū
?-earth
to rake (cf. *ñuhu* 'earth')

nī-kwehe
?-sickness
to get sick (cf. *kwēhē* 'sickness')

nū-kāvā
?-POT:rest
to lay down

(See also 7.36, 7,43, and 7.45.)

Some words must be compounds because they contain three syllables, but both parts are of indeterminate origin.

ñú-ñáhmū
?-?
to be combined

xā-kwɨñɨ
?-?
to be still

One pair of verbs is in a suppletive relationship: one occurs with a singular subject, and the other with a plural subject.

kūnjā   'to be located (singular)'
kūnjūkū   'to be located (plural)'

One verb, *tūū* 'to not exist', is inherently negative.

5.1.2 Inflection. Content and equative verbs are inflected for three aspects: potential, continuative, and completive. These three aspects are similar to future, present, and past tenses, but cannot be equated with them, because, once a time frame has been established in the discourse context, all three aspects can occur to express time relative to that frame. For example, continuative aspect is often used for ongoing action in the past.

Potential aspect is considered the basic form of the verb. Continuative and completive aspects are described by means of changes from the potential form.

There are two major inflectional classes of simple verbs. In the first class, aspect inflection is carried by tone changes, and in the second class, there are segmental changes as well.

One class of verbs that are inflected for aspect by means of tone changes alone shows changes only on the first syllable. Continuative aspect forms have high tone on the first syllable, and completive forms have low tone on the first syllable. If the potential aspect form has mid tone on the first syllable, there are three distinct aspect forms. If potential has high tone on the first syllable, continuative is homophonous with potential. (No verbs of this class have low tone on the first syllable of the potential form.) The preverbal marker *ni* 'completive' (see §2.1.2) optionally occurs with completive forms.

	POT	CON	COM
swim	*súchá*	*súchá*	*suchá*
look	*ndéhé*	*ndéhé*	*ndehé*
get wet	*ndáxí*	*ndáxí*	*ndaxí*
do	*sáhā*	*sáhā*	*sahā*
become	*ndúu*	*ndúu*	*nduu*
swallow	*kōkó*	*kókó*	*kokó*
ring	*kāshín*	*káshín*	*kashín*
plane	*yōkón*	*yókón*	*yokón*
pick fruit	*tāshín*	*táshín*	*tashín*
pat with hands	*kātū*	*kátū*	*katū*
paint	*kāhyū*	*káhyū*	*kahyū*
cover over	*sūkū*	*súkū*	*sukū*
appear like	*ndākū*	*ndákū*	*ndakū*
drip	*kōyō*	*kóyō*	*koyō*
hit	*kānī*	*kánī*	*kanī*
put out	*ndāhva*	*ndáhva*	*ndahva*
save, multiply	*kāya*	*káya*	*kaya*

In verbs of the form CVV, however, the low tone that marks completive carries across both syllables.

	POT	CON	COM
continue	*sīīn*	*sīīn*	*siin*
be	*kūū*	*kúū*	*kuu*
ascend	*kāā*	*káā*	*kaa*

Some verbs show other patterns of tone change.

	POT	CON	COM
desire	*xíhyó*	*xíhyó*	*xihyo*
dream	*xānī*	*xání*	*xani*
want, ought	*kuni*	*kūni*	*kuni*

Most verbs that have segmental changes begin with *k* or *kw* in potential, and with *x* or *y* in the other two aspects. These verbs also show various tone changes.

	POT	CON	COM
walk	*kākā*	*xíka*	*xika*
close	*kāsɨ̄*	*xásɨ̄*	*xasɨ*
be joined	*kɨ̄hɨ̄*	*yɨ́hɨ̄*	*yɨhɨ̄*
buy	*kwāān*	*xáān*	*xaan*
sing	*kātā*	*xítā*	*xitā*
be careful	*kōtō*	*xítō*	*xitō*
place	*kānī*	*xánī*	*xanī*
run	*kūnū*	*xínū*	*xinū*
see, know	*kūnī*	*xínī*	*xini*
give	*kwāhā*	*xáhā*	*xaha*
cut	*kāhnjā*	*xáhnja*	*xahnja*

Some verbs show other changes.

	POT	CON	COM
eat	*kāxī*	*yáxí, yéé*	*yaxī, yeē*
drink	*kōhō*	*xíhí*	*xihī*

die	kūu	xíhi	xihi
be sour	kwīya	íyá	xiya
exist	kōō	íyó	iyo
sleep	kūsū	kíshī	kishi

Some verbs have a prefix *kū-* or *kō-* in potential aspect. This prefix does not occur when the potential aspect form follows a directional (see §2.1.2).

	POT	CON	COM
carry	kūndīsō	ndísō	ndiso
wait	kūndātū	ndátū	ndatu
guide, deposit	kūnjākā	njákā	njaka
watch	kūndītō	ndítō	ndito
be named	kōnání	nání	naní

Verbs with derivational prefixes usually change only the tone of the prefix. If, however, the prefix has no vowel, the tone change appears on the first syllable of the stem.

	POT	CON	COM
chant	nākwātū	nákwātū	nakwātū
recognize	nākūnī	nákūnī	nakūnī
hand over	nākwāhā	nákwāhā	nakwaha
give to drink	skóhō	skóhō	skohō
study	skwáhā	skwáhā	skwahā
work	sāNnīñū	sáNnīñū	saNnīñū
put away	sāvaha	sāvaha	savaha

In compound verbs the changes that indicate aspect usually occur only on the first part of the compound. These changes sometimes involve segments as well as tone.

	POT	CON	COM
push	chīndáhá	chíndáhá	chindáhá
discuss	ndāNnūhū	ndáNnūhū	ndaNnūhū
travel around	kwīkónúú	xíkónúú	xikónúú

bite	kēyíhí	yéyíhí	yeyíhí
begin	kēxáhá	kéxāhā	kexāhā
learn	kūtūhvā	kútūhvā	kutuhva
go in front	kōshnúú	yóshnúú	yoshnuu
be located (SG)	kūnjā	kánjā	kunja
be located (PL)	kūnjūkū	kánjūkū	kunjuku

A few compounds have suppletive forms for different aspects because they contain different verb stems as the first part.

	POT	CON	COM
listen	kūnsoho	ñúsoho	ñusoho
kneel	kūnxītí	ñúxītí	ñuxītí

The first part of these two verbs is *kūun* 'to fall' in potential, and *ñúhú* 'to be in' in continuative and completive.

Two motion verbs have an incompletive aspect, used for trips that have been initiated but not yet terminated. Continuative aspect forms of motion verbs, when they occur, are used only for habitual action, never progressive.

	POT	CON	COM	INC
go	kīhīn	xáhan	xahan	kwāhan
come	kíxí, kíí	—	kixi, kii	vāxī

The potential aspect form is usually used to express imperative, but a few verbs have special imperative forms.

kwáhán	'go!' (cf. *kwāhan* 'INC:go')
chóhō	'let's go!' (cf. *yó* 'we:IN')
ñaha	'come!'
xáán	'take [it]!'
yáhá	'take [it]!'

The negative verb *tūū* 'to not exist' is defective in that it occurs only in continuative aspect.

5.2 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs differ from content and equative verbs in that they are not inflected for aspect.

vaha	'good'
vīī	'pretty'
ndáhú	'poor, sad'
kwáhá	'red'

Stative verbs are occasionally derived from nouns by raising the tone of both syllables to high.

súkún	'tall' (cf. *sūkun* 'throat')

Three stative verbs have distinct forms for singular and plural referents. They are:

	SG	PL
small	*lúlú*	*kwáchí*
big	*káhnū*	*náhnū*
long	*kánī*	*nánī*

The prefix *tí-* is used with some stative verbs to denote roundness; it is probably the same prefix that occurs with spherical nouns.

tí-kánī	'oblong' (cf. *kánī* 'long:SG')
tí-chúū	'doughnut shaped'
tí-lúú	'spherical'

(See also 7.3.)

Three stative verbs function as intensifying elements; they occur in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, quantifier phrases, and adverb phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, 4.1.4, 4.1.5, and 4.2). These stative verbs are:

shāān	'fierce'
lóko	'crazy (Sp. *loco*)'
tōndo	'foolish (Sp. *tonto*)'

5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There are, however, some prefixes, which are reduced forms of generic nouns. This is an especially common way to create animal, tree, and fruit names, and also abstract nouns.

Animal names are often derived by a prefix that has the forms *tī-*, *ndī-*, and occasionally *ndī-*, which come from *kīti* 'animal'. The meaning of the stem sometimes cannot be determined.

tī-suhmā or *ndī-suhmā*	'scorpion' (cf. *suhma* 'tail')
tī-kūchi	'bat' (cf. reg. Sp. *cuchi* 'pig')
ndī-nūñú	'chameleon'
ndī-káhá	'lion'
ndī-shīhyú	'goat' (cf. *īshī* 'hair', *yūhū* 'mouth')

Some animal names begin with *ch* or *nj*, which is probably a fused form of this prefix.

chaká	'fish'
chotō	'rat'
choho	'flea'
chukún	'fly'
njóhó	'hummingbird'

Tree names or wooden articles often have the derivational prefix *nū-*, from *yūNnū* 'tree'.

nū-ndikā	'banana tree' (cf. *ndīkā* 'banana')
nū-iñú	'sticker bush' (cf. *īñū* 'thorn')
nū-yushyá	'pine tree' (cf. *sushya* 'resin')
nū-yukún	'cypress tree'
nū-yaNnúú	'black oak tree' (cf. *Nnúú* 'black')
nū-yakwáán	'yellow oak tree' (cf. *kwáán* 'yellow')
nū-xīī	'firearm, rifle'

Some names of spherical articles, including fruit and vegetables, are formed by using a prefix of the form *tɨ-* or *ndɨ-*, which is probably related to the prefix that is used to form animal names.

tɨ-kwā	'citrus fruit'
tɨ-nānā	'tomato'
ndɨ-kɨn	'onion'

A few abstract nouns have been derived from verbs by the prefix *nu-*, or its variant form *Nnu-*, from *Nnuhu* 'word'.

nu-ndóhó	'suffering' (cf. *ndōho* 'POT:suffer')
nū-ndee	'courage, joy' (cf. *ndéé* 'brave, joyful')

Other prefixes that sometimes occur are: *njā-* (from *ndūchā* 'water'), *ndā-* (from *ndāhā* 'hand'), and *ñā-* (from *ñāhā* 'woman').

njā-kwáhá	'tepache (an alcoholic beverage)' (cf. *kwáhá* 'red')
njā-kwíxín	'pulque (an alcoholic beverage)' (cf. *kwíxín* 'white')
ndā-xāha	'helper'
ndā-Nníñú	'tool, thing' (cf. *Nnīñū* 'work')
ñā-sɨhɨ	'wife' (cf. *sɨhɨ* 'female')
ñā-táNná	'midwife' (cf. *tāNna* 'medicine')
ñā-tásɨ	'witch' (cf. *tāsɨ* 'witchcraft')

There are also compound nouns formed in other ways.

nduch-áhá	'chili sauce' (cf. *ndūchā* 'water', *yaha* 'chili pepper')
vē-ñuhu	'church' (cf. *vehe* 'house', *ñuhu* 'fire')
ñū-yɨvɨ	'world' (cf. *ñūu* 'town', *yɨvɨ* 'person')
sh-ndɨkɨ	'bull, cow' (cf. *ndɨkɨ* 'horn')

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 five gender classes according to the third person poststressed pronouns (see §5.4) that can refer to them: masculine, feminine, animal, deity, and inanimate (no pronoun). This classification is for the most part natural, but a few exceptions are given in the examples

below. A few nouns fall into two classes; for example, *sūtū* 'priest' is classified by some people as deity and by others as masculine. Animals in folktales are sometimes classified as masculine or feminine.

Masculine nouns:

chaa	'man'
velu	'old man, grandfather (Sp. *abuelo*)'
shīto	'uncle'
ñānī	'brother (of male)'

Feminine nouns:

ñāhā	'woman'
ñāsɨhɨ́	'wife'
kūhu	'woman's sister'

General nouns:

suchī	'child'
yɨvɨ	'person'

Animal nouns:

kɨtɨ́	'animal'
shndīkɨ	'cow'
tɨ́suhmā	'scorpion'
ndīnūñú	'chameleon'
īna	'dog'

Deity nouns:

yaa	'God'
sántu	'saint (Sp. *santo*)'
sāu	'rain'

Wood nouns:

yūNnū	'tree, stick'
nūxīī	'firearm, rifle'
nūyushyá	'pine tree'

Liquid nouns:

ndūchā	'water'
ndɨ̄shɨ	'liquor'

Inanimate nouns:

yūu	'rock'
yāu	'hole, grave'
kɨsɨ	'cooking pot'
ndūchī	'bean, eye'
yōō	'moon, month'
sāhmā	'cloth'

Nouns may also be divided into those that cannot be possessed and those that can. Nouns that cannot be possessed often refer to topographical or meteorological phenomena, wild animals, or supernatural beings. They also include proper names.

yucha	'river'
vīko	'cloud'
yōō	'moon'
kōo	'snake'
vāhu	'coyote'
nihna	'ghost'
xwáa	'John (Sp. *Juan*)'

Nouns in the above category may have more than one sense discrimination, one of which may be possessible.

tāchi
wind, evil spirit

tāchi   da
wind   his
his breath *or* his voice

Nouns that can be possessed are either inherently or optionally possessed. Nouns which are inherently possessed are usually kinship terms or body parts.

ñāni	'man's brother'
kwāhā	'man's sister, woman's brother'
shīto	'uncle'
īni	'insides'
xāta	'back'

Optionally possessed nouns include all others.

vehe	'house'
īso	'rabbit'
kwēhē	'sickness'
sāhmā	'cloth'
ñuhu	'earth, land'
yōhō	'rope'
nūni	'corn'
ītū	'cornfield'

The distribution classes of nouns include vocatives, proper nouns, locative nouns, temporal nouns, measurement nouns, and common nouns. Some nouns fall into more than one class.

Vocatives include personal names, kinship terms, and other terms of social relation. There is a special set of vocative kinship terms used in greetings.

Personal names:

| *xwáa* | 'John!' |
| *vétu* | 'Robert! (Sp. *Beto*)' |

Kinship terms:

ñāni	'Brother! (of male)'
shīto	'Uncle!'
tía	'Aunt! (Sp. *tía*)'
velu	'Old one!, Grandfather! (term of respect)'

Other terms of social relation:

| *tāa* | 'sir!, mister!' |
| *nāa* | 'ma'am!, missus!' |

Proper nouns include personal and place names. They are simple or complex.

Simple:

maría	'Mary (Sp. *María*)'
lolo	'Isadore (Sp. *Isidoro*)'
shñuu	'Chalcatongo' (cf. *shīni* 'head', *ñūu* 'town')
nūndūvā	'city of Oaxaca' (cf. *nūu* 'face', *ndūvā* 'guaje pod')

Complex:

lachi   bom   bo
Plácido boom   boom
Plácido (Sp. *Plácido*) Boom Boom (plays bass drum in town band)

chíka   chɨhɨn
Frances skunk
Frances (Sp. *Chica*) Skunk

xwáa   "molino"
John   mill
John Mill (owns a mill)

yūkū   námá
mountain soap
Amoltepec

Locative nouns occur as nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes place names, names of topographical features, and some other nouns.

nūndūvā	'city of Oaxaca'
īchī	'trail'
ñūu	'town'
yahu	'market'
vehe	'house'
yūkū	'mountain'
yucha	'river'

The second category includes mainly certain body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense. The most common ones are:

xāta
back
behind

chii
stomach,   intestines
under, inside of

sīki̱
nape, upper   back
on top of, about, against

xaha
foot
at the foot of, on behalf of

nūu
face
in front of, toward, to

shīni
head
at the top of

yūhū
mouth
at the edge of

īnī
insides
in

sūkun
throat
on top of

īchī
trail
toward

kwénta
account
for (Sp. *cuenta*)

The noun *nūu* 'face' also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning 'place where' or 'time when', and *kwénta* 'account' also functions as a conjunction meaning 'somewhat like'.

Temporal nouns are also divided into these two categories. The first category includes names for units of time and calendric units, which occur as nuclei of adverbial basic noun phrases.

kīvi	'day'
kwīyā	'year'
yōō	'month'
nūndāa	'a little later'
óra	'hour (Sp. *hora*)'

The second category includes only a few body-part nouns that are extended in a temporal sense; they are:

shīni
head
at the end of

xaha
foot
at the beginning of

nūu
face
within

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see §3.2).

yāxīn	'gourd, gourdful'
ndōho	'palm basket, basketful'
ndāhā	'hand, fathom'
nūndōō	'four-liter measure'
kílo	'kilogram (Sp. *kilo*)'

Common nouns are those not included in any of the above distribution classes.

īsu	'deer'
vehe	'house'
staa	'tortilla'
kwēhē	'sickness'
īna	'dog'
ndūku	'firewood'

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:

ndūchā	'water'
nūni	'corn'
ndēhyu	'mud'

Count nouns:

staa	'tortilla'
chaa	'man'
kisi	'cooking pot'
īna	'dog'

Sometimes a single noun has two or more sense discriminations, some of which fall into the class of mass nouns, while the others fall into the class of count nouns.

tāchi	'wind, breath' (mass); 'evil spirit, voice' (count)
yūNnū	'wood' (mass); 'tree, stick, board' (count)

5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns for first and second person show a distinction in respect versus familiar and in free versus postclitic forms. Respect forms are used when the addressee has a higher status than the speaker, or between equals in a formal situation. Familiar forms are used elsewhere. Except for the inclusive form, which is inherently nonsingular, number is not relevant to the system. The remaining forms are used for both singular and plural referents. The free pronouns are:

	RES	FAM
first EX	*sáñá*	*rúhú*
first IN		*yóhó*
second	*níhí*	*róhó*

The corresponding clitic pronouns are:

	RES	FAM
first EX	*ná*	*rí*
first IN		*yó*
second	*ní*	*rá*

The free pronouns show no distributional restrictions; they occur as subject, object of verb, object of preposition, and possessor of noun. In all positions except object of verb, however, they are emphatic. The clitic pronouns, on the other hand, occur commonly as subject, object of preposition, and possessor of noun, but do not occur as object of verb or in focus position unless they are preceded by a specifier or a quantifier phrase.

Personal pronouns for third person are all clitics; there are six different gender classes of poststressed pronouns, and four of prestressed pronouns. The poststressed forms occur in focus position only when preceded by a specifier or a quantifier phrase. The poststressed pronouns all appear to be reduced forms of nouns; they are:

masculine	*dā* (cf. *chaa* 'man')
feminine	*ñā* (cf. *ñāhā* 'woman')
animal	*tǐ* (cf. *kɨtɨ* 'animal')
deity	*ya* (cf. *yaa* 'God')
general	*yɨ* or *ī* (cf. *yɨvɨ* 'person')
inanimate	*∅*

The general pronoun refers to people when gender is not specified and is often used for children. A child may also be referred to by the masculine or feminine pronoun. Inanimate objects do not have any specific pronoun that refers to them, and they are usually unexpressed. Under certain infrequent conditions in discourse structure, however, they are referred to by the general pronoun. Pronouns with a human or animal referent are

also sometimes unexpressed when the referent is clear from the context, as
seen in 7.20 and 7.22.

There are four prestressed pronouns:

masculine	*rā*
feminine	*ñā*
inanimate	*xā*
unspecified	*xārā* (cf. *xā*, *rā*)

These pronouns occur mainly as classifiers preceding another noun (see
§3.10). The feminine, inanimate, and unspecified pronouns also serve as
heads of relative clauses; the unspecified pronoun may have a human,
animal, or inanimate referent.

The inanimate pronoun *xā* also functions as a complementizer (see
§1.1.9), as a relative pronoun (see §3.1.3), as a conjunction meaning both
'because' and 'in order that' (see §6.2.1), and as a focus marker (see
§1.1.8). In addition, it separates the parts of appositional verb phrases (see
§2.5) and juxtaposed coordinate sentences (see §6.1.2), and it separates a
fronted complement sentence from the matrix sentence (see §1.1.9). In all
of these functions it is glossed 'complementizer', rather than 'it (in-
animate)'.

The locative noun *nūu* 'face' also functions as a prestressed pronoun
meaning 'place where' and 'time when'.

There are four interrogative pronouns.

nā	'what?'
ndōō	'what?' (homophonous with 'why?')
návā	'what?, who?' (cf. *nā*, *kúū* 'CON:be', *xā* 'it:INAN')
nāū	'what?, who?, whose?' (cf. *nā*, *kúū*)

The pronouns *nā* and *nāū* also occur in interrogative noun phrases (see
§3.4), and in indefinite noun phrases (see §3.9).

A few fixed interrogative noun phrases function as interrogative
pronouns (see §3.4).

There are two locative demonstrative pronouns, formed by combining
īchī 'trail' with the locative adverbs *xáhá* 'here' and *yúkán* 'there'.

cháhá	'this place'
chúkán	'that place'

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.

Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns; they occur as locative adjuncts (see §1.1.4), as location peripheral elements (see §1.1.7), and as manner in the verb phrase (see §2.1.3).

xáhá	'here'
yúkán	'there'
yāNnī	'near'
xíká	'far'

The adverbs *xáhá* and *yúkán* have an additional function as deictics in noun phrases (see §3.1.3). In this function they are glossed 'this' and 'that', rather than 'here' and 'there'. Examples of the locative-adverb use are seen in 7.11 and 7.22; and examples of the deictic use are seen in 7.2 and 7.9. *yúkán* sometimes occurs in focus position, where it may be extended from a locative to a manner meaning, as seen in 7.9.

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns; they occur as time peripheral elements (see §1.1.7).

īkū	'yesterday'
vīNnā	'today'
īÑñā	'tomorrow'
ísá	'day after tomorrow'
xāhīnī	'in the afternoon' (cf. *xā* 'it:INAN', *īnī* 'POT:get:late')
xākwāā	'at night' (cf. *xā*, *kwāā* 'POT:get:late')
ndúú	'all day (daylight)'
ñúú	'all night'
sáá	'then'

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs.

syáhán	'in this way'
syúkán	'in that way' (cf. *yúkán* 'that')
sō	'thus'
kwίtί	'completely'
kwēē	'slowly'

yāchī	'fast'
yíí	'with difficulty'
káhá	'in vain'
māni	'just' (cf. *máá* 'SPEC', *nī* 'LIM')
sūnī	'also' (cf. *sūū* 'affirmation', *nī*)
núsáá	'okay' (cf. *nú* 'if', INT', *sáá* 'then')

General adverbs occur as peripheral manner (see §1.1.7) and as manner in the verb phrase (see §2.1.3). *sō* also functions as a conjunction meaning 'with the result that'.

There is one intensifying adverb; it is:

    ndē   'very'

The general adverb *kwíti* 'completely' also functions as an intensifying element, as do the stative verbs *shāān* 'fierce' and *tōndo* 'foolish' (see §5.2). Intensifying elements most commonly occur as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, quantifier phrases, and adverb phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, 4.1.4, 4.1.5, and 4.2.1).

Interrogative adverbs are simple or complex.

Simple:

náchī	'where?, in which direction?' (cf. *nā* 'what?', *īchī* 'trail')
nándī	'where?, as far as where?, from where?' (cf. *nā*, *ūndi* 'until')
nánū	'where?, at which place?' (cf. *nā*, *nūu* 'face')
nāmā	'when?' (cf. *nā*, *ama* 'when? [obsolete]')
nāsā	'how?, in what manner? how much?' (cf. *nā*, *sáá* 'then')
ndōō	'why?' (homophonous with 'what?')

Complex:

    nā   *xíín*
    what with
    with what?, with whom?

    nā   *síki*   *xā*
    what nape CMP
    why?

nā   *"razón"*   *xā*
what   reason   CMP
why?

nāsā   *módo*
how   way
how?, by what means (Sp. *modo*)?

There are also a number of interrogative noun phrases that function as interrogative adverbs (see §3.4).

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) and as nuclei in quantifier phrases (see §4.1). They also occur as manner in verb phrases (see §2.1.3) and as ordinals in relative clauses (see §3.1.3). When no noun nucleus occurs, a quantifier sometimes appears to function as a noun.

The simple numerals are:

īin	'one, a'
ūu	'two, a few'
ūni	'three'
kūun	'four'
ūhun	'five'
īñu	'six'
ūshya	'seven'
ūna	'eight'
ïïn	'nine'
ūshi	'ten'
shyāhun	'fifteen'
ōko	'twenty'
shīko	'twenty' (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
syéntu	'hundred (Sp. *ciento*)'
míil	'thousand (Sp. *mil*)'

Other numerals are expressed by phrases, as described in §§4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

Numerals have an ordinal form, in which the tone of the first syllable is replaced by high. This form occurs in relative clauses (see §3.1.3).

úni	'third'
úshi	'tenth'

The numeral *ūu* 'two' fuses with *ndɨ*, the reduced form of *ndɨhɨ* 'all', to create *ndúú* 'both', and it often fuses a second time to create *ndɨndúú*.

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. They are simple or complex. The most common simple ones are:

sāvā	'half'
kwaha	'much, many'
xākū	'few'
ndɨhɨ or *ndɨ*	'all'
tɨhlɨ	'little bit'
tɨhla	'somewhat'
tɨNnɨ	'several, various'
táká	'each'
nɨnɨ	'only'
ɨnga	'another' (cf. *ɨɨn* 'one', *ka* 'ADD')
ɨnúú	'the same' (cf. *ɨɨn, nūu* 'face')

Two common complex general quantifiers are:

táká   nūu
each   face
each kind of, all kinds of

ndɨhɨ   nūu
all   face
every kind of

5.7 Prepositions

There are four simple prepositions and two complex prepositions.

Simple:

xíín or *xíní*	'with'
ūndi	'until, to, as far as, from'
māhñu	'between, among'
xākū	'with reference to, than' (cf. *xā* 'CMP', *kúū* 'CON:be')

Complex:

xā   sīkɨ
CMP nape
because of

māhñu   sāvā
between   half
halfway between

The preposition *xíín* also occurs in additive noun phrases and additive adverb phrases (see §§3.8 and 4.2.3), and *ūndi* also functions as a conjunction meaning 'until' or 'since' (see §6.2.1).

Many prepositional functions are carried by noun phrases containing locative nouns used in an extended sense (see §3.6).

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used mainly to link combinations of sentences in a coordinate or subordinate relationship (see §§6.1.1 and 6.1.2). The coordinate conjunctions are simple or complex.

Simple:

tī	'and'
kō	'but'
shí	'or'
nī or *nɨ*	'nor (Sp. *ni*)'

Complex:

na   tī
when   and
and then

xā   tī
CMP   and
and then

chī   sūnī
because also
but also

The conjunction *tī* 'and' sometimes follows a focused element or another conjunction (see §§1.1.8, 6.1.1, and 6.4); and it also occurs in measurement noun phrases (see §3.2), in additive noun phrases (see §3.8), and in expanded numeral phrases (see §4.1.4). *shí* 'or' also occurs in additive noun phrases (see §3.8), in alternative numeral phrases (see §4.1.7), and in YES/NO questions (see §1.2.1). *nī* 'nor' also occurs in additive noun phrases (see §3.8) and in negative quantifier phrases (see §4.1.8).

The subordinate conjunctions are also simple or complex.

Simple:

chī   'because'
nú   'if, whenever, when' (cf. *nūu* 'face')
                (homophonous with ·INT·)
vasu   'although' (cf. *vá* 'really', *sūū* 'affirmation')
                (homophonous with 'expectation')
na   'when'
náva   'in order that' (cf. *na, kúū* 'CON:be', *xā* ·CMP·)
nánū   'as, exactly like' (cf. *na, nú*)

Complex:

sīkɨ   xā
nape   CMP
because

sō   xā
thus   CMP
with the result that

The conjunction *chī* 'because' sometimes follows a focused element (see §§1.1.8 and 6.4); in this use it has the meaning 'indeed'.

5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form parts of sentences or phrases that are not included in the parts of speech already described. They 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). There are nine directionals, five negatives, one of which is complex, and six other verbal markers. The directionals are:

kīn	'will go'
xán	'goes'
xan	'went'
kwān	'has gone (and has not returned)'
kwán	'go!'
chó	'let's go!'
kí	'will come'
ki	'came'
vē	'is coming'

The simple negatives are:

tu	'not' (cf. *tūū* 'to not exist')
koto	'don't!' (cf. *kōtō* 'POT:be:careful')
tuxáhī	'not yet' (cf. *tu*)
tūkáā	'no more, no longer' (cf. *tu*, *ka* 'ADD')

The complex negative is:

koto   ma
NEG   NEG
don't!

The other verbal markers are:

ni	'completive aspect'
kā	'plural'
xa	'already'
sā	'just'
ná	'hortatory'

koyo	'plural'
tū	'affirmative'

Nominal markers occur in basic, negative, and indefinite noun phrases (see §§3.1.2, 3.1.3, 3.5, and 3.9); they are:

náá	'the very ones, selves'
ún	'that, the'
ansu	'not' (cf. *sūū* 'affirmation')
savahni	'any' (cf. *sáá* 'then', *vaha* 'good', *nī* ʿLIMʾ)

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type; they are:

máá	'the very, self'
tūkū	'again, also, other'
nī	'just'
ka	'more'

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind affects the mood or truth value of a sentence, as described in §1.5. They occur in initial or final position.

Initial only:

sūū	'affirmation'
vā	'really'
vānūshīī or *vānūshīā*	'for good reason'
	(cf. *vā* 'really', *nú* 'if', *shí* 'or', *xā* ʿCMPʾ)
vātūni	'agreement' (cf. *vā*, *tū* 'really', *nī* ʿLIMʾ)
vasu	'expectation' (cf. *vā*, *sūū*)
	(homophonous with 'although')

Final only:

nú or *núh*	'YES/NO interrogative' (homophonous with 'if')
ví	'really'
níkú	'contrafactual' (cf. *ni* ʿCOMʾ, *kúū* 'CON:be')
chi	'hearsay' (cf. *kachi* 'COM:say')

The markers *vā* and *vānūshīā* also function as conjunctions meaning 'because' (see §6.2.1).

The second kind of sentential marker relates a sentence to its discourse context, as described in §6.4. Two of the most common ones are:

xā   yúkán
CMP there
therefore

sīki   yúkán
nape   there
therefore

5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences to express emotion. Some common interjections are:

aa	'ah!'
xūta	'surprise'
suukū	'agreement' (cf. *sūū* 'affirmation', *kúū* 'CON:be')
xaxan	'oh!'
nání	'pause form' (cf. *nání* 'CON:be:named')

Examples of the pause form used in sentences are found in 7.7, 7.10, and 7.14.

Some interjections do not fit the phonological system of the language. A high-pitched bilabial trill is used to call chickens and turkeys, and *sst* is used to chase dogs out of the house.

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, temporal sequence, and result.

General coordination is expressed by the conjunction *tī* 'and'.

> *ná   kīhīn   ná / tī   kāhān   yó*
> HORT POT:go I:RES and POT:speak we:IN
> I'm going, and we'll be talking [later].

> *nōhō   ná / tī   chāā   ná   īÑñā*
> POT:leave I:RES and POT:arrive:here I:RES tomorrow
> I'm leaving, and I'll be back tomorrow.

> *ni   yaxī   dā   staa / tī   ni   xihī   dā   ndūchā*
> COM COM:eat he tortilla and COM COM:drink he water
> He ate tortillas and drank water.

If the first sentence contains a negative noun phrase (see §3.5), the second sentence may be introduced by the conjunction *chī sūnī* 'but also', rather than by *tī*.

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ansu   nɨnɨ̇   ndɨshɨ̇   kōhō   yó   /   chī   sūnī
NEG   only   liquor   POT:drink   we:IN   because   also

  njākwáhá   kōhō   yó
  tepache   POT:drink   we:IN

We will NOT ONLY drink FIREWATER, but we will also drink TEPACHE
(an alcoholic beverage).

Antithesis is expressed by the conjunction *kō* 'but', or by *kō* followed by
another conjunction or adverb.

kīhīn   ná   /   kō   tu   njāā   ná
POT:go   I:RES   but   NEG   POT:arrive:back:here   I:RES
I'm going, but I'm not coming back.

kwāhan   ñā   nūu   yahu   /   kō   tu   ni   xini   ná
INC:go   she   face   market   but   NEG   COM   COM:see   I:RES
She went to the market, but I didn't see [her go].

tu   xínī   ná   /   kō   kāchī   tu   kwéntu
NEG   CON:know   I:RES   but   CON:say   really   story
I don't know, but the story (Sp. *cuento*) really tells [about it].

kīhīn   rí   /   kō   tī   kīhīn   ka   rí
POT:go   I:FAM   but   and   POT:go   DD   I:FAM
I'm going, but not yet.

vīī   íyó   kwéntu   /   kō   sáá   chī   tu   xínī
pretty   CON:exist   story   but   then   because   NEG   CON:know

  rí   nāsā   kwāhan
  I:FAM   how   INC:go

It's a nice story, but then indeed I really don't know how [it] goes.

Disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *shí* 'or' or by *shí* followed by
tī. Sentences containing *shí* alone, however, are construed as questions,
rather than as statements (see §1.2.1).

kīhīn   shīto   ná   /   shí   kīhīn   shīshī   ná
POT:go   uncle   my:RES   or   POT:go   aunt   my:RES
Is my uncle going, or my aunt?

ūni   ni   yaha   /   shí   kūun   ni   yaha
three   COM   COM:pass   or   four   COM   COM:pass
Did THREE or FOUR pass by?

xa   vāxī   / shí tī   kíí   ka   dā
already INC:come or and POT:come ADD he
[He] is already coming, or he hasn't left yet. (lit. . . . or he will still
come.)

The second part of a disjunctive sentence may be reduced; the following
example contains only a negative.

xíhí   dā ndūchā   / shí tuu
CON:drink he water   or NEG
Does he drink water, or not?

(See also 7.27.)

Negative disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *nī* or *nɨ* 'nor' (Sp.
ni). The conjunction precedes both parts of the disjunction, and a negative
marker must occur in each verb phrase.

nī   tu   yáxí   dā staa / nī   tu   xíhí   dā ndūchā
nor NEG CON:eat he tortilla nor NEG CON:drink he water
He neither eats tortillas, nor drinks water.

Temporal sequence is expressed by the complex conjunctions *na tī* and
xā tī, which mean 'and then', by the sequences *tī sáá* and *sáá tī* 'and then',
or simply by *tī* 'and'.

tī   kwaha ndūku   kāhnjā yó / xā   tī   kwīkō   yó
and much firewood POT:cut we:IN CMP and POT:stack we:IN
We will cut A LOT OF FIREWOOD, and then we'll stack [it] up.

xa   ni   xanī   dā shyāhun kɨvɨ /
already COM COM:place he fifteen   day

tī   sáá   ni   xahan tūkū ná
and then COM COM:go REP I:RES
He allowed [me] two weeks, and then I was to go back.

ndōō ni   kā sahā   dā / sáá   tī   yóhó   xini
what COM PL COM:do he then and we:IN COM:know
What did [they] do, and then WE knew [about it]?

Examples of *tī* alone are found in 7.11, 7.17, 7.19, and 7.30.
    Result may be expressed by *tī* 'and', followed by the complex sentential
markers *xā yúkán* or *sɨkɨ yúkán*, both of which mean 'therefore'.

xahan   dā   ndinūū   /   tī   xā   yúkán   tu   ni   kixi
COM:go   he   Tlaxiaco   and   CMP   there   NEG   COM   COM:come

    dā   xáhá
    he   here
He went to Tlaxiaco, and therefore he didn't come here.

ni   kuūn   vaha sāu   /   tī   sɨkɨ   yúkán   xaha
COM   COM:fall   good   rain   and   nape   there   COM:give

    vaha   ītū
    good   cornfield
It rained well, and therefore the cornfield yielded [a] good [crop].

6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions. It is possible to simply juxtapose two or more independent sentences, with no pause at the seam, to link sentences that are closely related in the mind of the speaker. These sentences have coreferential subjects and verbs that usually agree in aspect. (Incompletive aspect in motion verbs [see §5.1.2] is considered to agree with either completive or continuative aspect in other verbs.) Sometimes the sentences describe different, but related, events or states, and sometimes the two sentences describe the same event; often one sentence is more specific than the other.

    xinū   dā   /   kwāhan   dā
    COM:run   he   INC:go   he
    He left running.

    xahan   dā   /   xan   kōhō   dā   ndūchā
    COM:go   he   COM:go   POT:drink   he   water
    He went to drink water.

    ni   kundéé   dā   /   nihi   dā   īso
    COM   COM:win   he   COM:get   he   rabbit
    He won; he got the rabbit.

    (See also 7.12 and 7.47.)

The second part is often a negative counterpart of the first.

    kwāhan dā ñūu   /   tu   kánjā   dā
    INC:go   he   town   NEG   CON:be:located:SG   he
    He went to town; he isn't [here].

    vāhu   kúū   /   ansu   īna   kúū
    coyote   CON:be   NEG   dog   CON:be
    [It]'s a coyote, not a dog.

Sometimes the two juxtaposed sentences describe simultaneous events.

xitā   dā / xikónúú   dā
COM:sing he   COM:walk:around he
He traveled around singing.

kēndā   tī̵ / kūnū tī̵
POT:appear it:AML POT:run it:AML
It (the animal) will come running up.

vāxī   "Carranza"   /   xáhnī dā yi̵vi̵
INC:come Carranza   CON:kill he person
Carranza was coming along killing people.

kátúú   dā / kíshī   dā
CON:lie   he   CON:sleep he
He is lying asleep.

(See also 7.35 and 7.44.)

Sometimes the complementizer *xā* separates the parts of such a sentence; an example with three parts is found in 7.50.
Sometimes the two parts describe events that occur in close sequence.

ni   kihin   dā ichi / kwāhan dā
COM COM:take he path   INC:go   he
He took the road and went.

(See also 7.11, 7.43, 7.45, and 7.48.)

A series of items that form a list may be expressed by juxtaposition. If the items in the list serve as the subject of the sentence, the verb is stated before each item in the series.

ni   xihi   ndīshīhyú / ni   xihi   rī̵
COM COM:die goat   COM COM:die sheep
Goats and sheep were killed.

xítā   chaa / xítā   ñāhā / xítā   suchī
CON:sing man   CON:sing woman CON:sing child
Men, women, and children are singing.

If the items in the list serve as something other than the subject, the verb and subject are stated before each item.

shikó   dā nūni / shikó   dā nduchī /   shikó   dā tríu
CON:sell he corn CON:sell he bean   CON:sell he wheat
He sells corn, beans, and wheat (Sp. *trigo*).

    kāxī   *rá*   *kuñu* / *kāxī*   *rá*   *staa*
    POT:eat you:FAM meat POT:eat you:FAM tortilla
    You will eat meat and tortillas.

There is also a highly restricted juxtaposed coordinate construction that involves a verb of existence and a shared noun phrase. The first sentence must contain *kōō* 'to exist' or *tūū* 'to not exist', and a noun phrase as subject. The second sentence may have any verb, and the shared noun phrase may express any element within it. In the following examples, the solidus that signals the break between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

    íyó   *ndīkā* / *xáhā*   *ñā*   *nūu* *dā*
    CON:exist banana CON:give she face his
    There are bananas she is giving him.

    tūū   *nā*   *ñunu* / *kwāhan* *dā* *xíin*
    NEG:CON:exist what net:bag INC:go he with
    He didn't take a net bag with him. (lit. There isn't any net bag he left with.)

    tūū   *kwénta* / *sáhā*   *yó*
    NEG:CON:exist account CON:do we:IN
    We don't pay attention (Sp. *cuenta*).

6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are usually expressed using conjunctions, but purpose and one kind of temporal relation may be expressed by simple juxtaposition.

6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to express cause, result, condition, concession, purpose, time, and comparison of likeness.

    Cause sentences are usually introduced by the conjunction *chī* 'because'. Less frequently they are introduced by the complex conjunction *sīkɨ xā* 'because', by the sentential markers *vā* 'really' and *vānūshīā* 'with good reason', or simply by the complementizer *xā*. Cause sentences usually follow the main sentence.

With *chī*:

> *kwān kwítá   dā / chī   kúhu   shāān dā*
> INC:go CON:be:tired he   because   CON:be:sick fierce   he
> He is getting tired because he is very sick.

> *íyó   nūndee īnī   / kō ná   kūndātū kwēē   yó   /*
> CON:exist   joy   insides   but HORT   POT:wait slowly we:IN

>   *chī   kwēē   kīn   kōyō   yó*
>   because   slowly   POT:go POT:arrange   we:IN
> [We] are happy, but we still have to wait because we are going to
> get [things] arranged slowly.

(See also 7.9, 7.26, 7.33, 7.36, and 7.42.)

With *sīkɨ xā*:

> *kúsɨɨ   īnī   dā / sīkɨ xā   nihi   dā kwaha shuhun*
> CON:be:happy insides his   nape CMP COM:get he much   money
> He is happy because he received a lot of money.

With *vā*:

> *kā xāchā   dā / vā   shuhun nī   kā ndúkú   dā*
> PL   CON:dig   he   really   money   LIM   PL CON:look:for   he
> They are digging because they are JUST looking for MONEY.

With *vānūshīā*:

> *tu   yúhú   suchī kwáchí / vānūshīā*
> NEG POT:fear child small:PL   for:good:reason

>   *kūnjā   nāna   ī*
>   POT:be:located:SG mother   GEN
> The children will not be afraid because their mother (Sp. *nana*) will
> be [with them].

With *xā*:

> *kachi   tɨ   / xā   yúhū   tɨ   xārā kɨtɨ   ún*
> COM:say it:AML CMP COM:fear it:AML UN   animal that
> It (the cricket) said [it] because he was afraid of the [other] animal.

> *nā   xíín chihi   rí   ndēyū / xā   tuu   ɨɨn kɨsɨ*
> what   with POT:cook I:FAM food   CMP NEG:CON:exist one pot
> With what will I cook the food because there isn't [even] one pot.

A sentence with *sɨkɨ xā* often has an adjunct-complement reading, as well as a cause-sentence reading; see §1.1.9. For example, the sentence above could also be glossed 'He is happy about receiving a lot of money.'

Cause sentences can also precede the main sentence, in which case the main sentence often begins with *tī* 'and'.

> *sɨkɨ   xā   nihi   dā kwaha shuhun | kúsɨɨ   īnī   dā*
> nape CMP COM:get he much   money   CON:be:happy insides his
> Because he received a lot of money, he is happy.

> *chī   kúhu   shāān dā | tī   kwān kwítá   dā*
> because CON:be:sick fierce he   and INC:go CON:be:tired he
> Because he is very sick, he is getting tired.

Result sentences are introduced by the adverb *sō* 'thus', used in this construction to mean 'with the result that', or by the complex conjunction *sō xā*. They follow the main sentence.

> *tu   ndíshyā   dā | sō   shndáhú   dā*
> NEG true   he   thus CON:deceive he
> He is not truthful with the result that he deceives (people).

> *xíkónáá   tī | sō   xā   tūkáā   kundéé*
> CON:walk:around it:AML thus CMP no:more COM:win

> *kwɨkó   tī*
> POT:go:around it:AML
> They (the animals) have been making (a lot of) turns with the result that they no longer enjoy it.

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunction *nú* 'if', which also means 'whenever' or simply 'when'. The condition sentence may precede or follow the main sentence; when it precedes, the main sentence is introduced by *tī* 'and' or *vasu* 'expectation'.

> *tī   ná   kāchī   dā | nú   íyó   "voluntad" sēhē dā*
> and HORT POT:say he   if CON:exist willingness child his
> And let him say [so] if his child is willing. (lit. ... if his child's willingness exists.)

> *nú   nánī   īshī   ún | tī   sō   xahnja   ñā*
> if   long:PL hair that and thus COM:cut   she
> If that hair [was] long, she cut [it] thus.

> nú   tu   nīhi   yó   "pan" / vasu   staa   ná
> if   NEG   POT:get we:in bread   EXPECTATION tortilla HORT
>
> nīhi   yó
> POT:get we:in
>
> If we don't find bread, we should surely [be able to] get TORTILLAS.

Contrafactual condition sentences often precede the main sentence; both parts of the sentence have verbs in completive aspect, and the main sentence may end with the contrafactual sentential marker *níkú*.

> nú   ni   xihī   dā   tāNna   /   tī   xa   ni
> if   COM   COM:drink   he   medicine and already   COM
>
> nduvaha   dā   níkú
> COM:get:well   he   CF
>
> If he had drunk the medicine, he would have already gotten well.

An unfulfilled wish is expressed by a contrafactual condition sentence used alone.

> nú   ni   kii   dā   níkú
> if   COM   COM:come   he   CF
>
> If only he had come!

Concession sentences precede the main sentence; they are introduced by the conjunction *vasu* 'although', and the main sentence is introduced by *kō* 'but'.

> vasu   íyó   ñāsīhí   dā / kō   kunja   dā
> although   CON:exist wife   his but COM:be:located:SG he
>
> xíín   ñā
> with   her
>
> Even though he has a wife, he lived with her (another woman).

> vasu   nāndúkú   yó / kō   tu   nānīhī yó
> although   POT:look:for we:in but NEG   POT:get we:in
>
> Even though we'll look for [it], we won't get [it].

Purpose sentences are introduced by *náva* 'in order that' or by an extended use of the complementizer *xā*. A potential verb is required in the subordinate sentence except in rare instances when instructions are being given. In these cases, continuative aspect is used. (Aspect and context distinguish purpose sentences with *xā* from the cause sentences described above, which usually have completive or continuative aspect.)

kīhīn   ñā   yahu / náva   kīhīn   ñā   yaha
POT:go she market in:order:that POT:take she chili:pepper
She will go to the market to buy chili peppers.

kīhīn dā / náva   kā nándāhā dā
POT:go he in:order:that PL POT:marry he
They will go to get married.

Subordinate time sentences are introduced by the conjunctions *nú* 'when' or 'whenever' (which also means 'if') or *na* 'when', or by the preposition *ūndi* 'until', which also functions as a conjunction meaning 'until' or 'since'. When the time sentence precedes the main sentence, the main sentence often begins with *tī* 'and' or *na tī* 'and then'.

nú   ni   kākū   sēhē ñā / tī   kā kāā   ñā
when COM COM:be:born child her   and PL POT:ascend she

  ñīhī   yúkán
  steambath that
When women have borne children, they go up to the steambath.

tī nú   ni   xahnu   tríu / kwān īchi
and when COM COM:grow wheat   INC:go POT:be:dry
And when the wheat is grown, [it] gets dry.

kuūn sāu / na   ni   njaa   ní
COM:fall rain when COM COM:arrive:back:here you:RES
It was raining when you arrived.

na   ni   xahan rá   nūndūvā / tī   ni   kendo
when COM COM:go you:FAM Oaxaca   and COM COM:stay

  máá īīn   rí
  SPEC one I:FAM
When you went to Oaxaca, I was left alone.

nú   ni   ndīhī   ni   xacha dā /
when COM COM:finish COM COM:sow he

  na tī kā kexāhā   dā kā xitu   dā
  when and PL COM:begin he PL COM:plow he
When they finished sowing, they began to plow [it in].

> *syáhán*   *kachi*   *tu*   *xārā*   *chaa*   *ún*   /
> in:this:way COM:say   really   UN   man   that
>
> *ūndi*   *xaa*   *dā*   *xíín*   *yɨ̄*   *chii*   *yuku*   *ún*
> until   COM:arrive   he   with   GEN   stomach   mountain   that
> That man said THAT until he arrived with the child in the mountains.

Comparison of likeness is introduced by the conjunction *nánū* 'as' or 'exactly like', or by the locative noun *kwénta*, which functions as a conjunction meaning 'somewhat like'. No verb occurs in the subordinate sentence, but it is assumed to be the same as the verb of the main sentence.

> *íyó*   *kwéntu*   *dā*   *nánū*   *xārā*   *vāhu*
> CON:exist   story   his   exactly:like   UN   coyote
> There are stories about him just like [the story there is about] Mr. coyote.

> *xínū*   *yó*   *kwénta*   *vāhu*
> CON:run   we:IN   somewhat:like   coyote
> We run somewhat like coyotes [run].

Comparison of degree is expressed by a simple sentence containing a referent adjunct (see §1.1.4).

6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions. Two subordinate relations, purpose and one kind of temporal, may be expressed without a conjunction.

Purpose sentences follow the main sentence. They must have their verb in potential aspect.

> *xáhnja*   *rí*   *yūNnū*   /   *sáhā*   *yó*   *vehe*
> CON:cut   I:FAM   tree   POT:do   we:IN   house
> I am cutting trees in order that we might build a house.

> *ndíkō*   *ñā*   *staa*   /   *kāxɨ̄*   *yó*
> CON:grind   she   tortilla   POT:eat   we:IN
> She is grinding (making) tortillas for us to eat.

> *kɨ̄vɨ̄*   *"viernes"*   *kōshyu*   *ni*   *kā*   *xanɨ̄*   *yɨvɨ*   /   *kōhō*   *sántu*
> day   Friday   midday   COM   PL   COM:place   person   POT:drink   saint
> AT NOON ON FRIDAY (Sp. *viernes*) the people put out [something] for the saints (Sp. *santo*) to drink.

(See also 7.16 and 7.34.)

The day of the month is expressed as a basic sentence containing the verb *xíka* 'to walk (continuative)' (see §1.1.8). When such a sentence is

juxtaposed to the main sentence, it functions as a peripheral time element within it.

> *ūu   xíka   "abril" / kwāhan   dā   ndinūū*
> two CON:walk April   INC:go   he   Tlaxiaco
> ON APRIL SECOND he went to Tlaxiaco.

6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations consist of three parts: the quotation itself, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences (or fragments). The introducer and closer are both optional, but closers occur more frequently than introducers. Closers often contain only a verb of thinking or speaking, usually *kāchī* 'to say', and a subject. More detailed information is usually expressed in introducers.

With closer:

> *xáhá   ni   kande   rí   //   ndōō xañu   rá*
> here   COM   COM:be:located I:FAM   why   CON:step you:FAM
>
>   *sīki̵   rí   / kachi   ti̵*
>   nape   my:FAM   COM:say it:AML
> "I have been RIGHT HERE. Why are you stepping all over me?" it (the animal) said.

> *tu   kāxī   rá   rúhú   //   tuu   / chī   tuu //*
> NEG POT:eat you:FAM me:FAM   NEG   because NEG
>
>   *tu   kāxī   rá   rúhú   / chī   "rey"   kúū   rí   /*
>   NEG POT:eat you:FAM me:FAM because king   CON:be I:FAM
>
>   *kachi   ti̵   / xārā gríyu   ún*
>   COM:say it:AML   UN   cricket that
> "You aren't going to eat me. No, you won't. You aren't going to eat me because I am a king," it, the cricket (Sp. *grillo*), said.

> *ti̵   róhó   nāū xā   kúū   rá   / kachi   ti̵*
> and you:FAM who CMP CON:be you:FAM   COM:say it:AML
>
>   *xíní   xārā ndi̵káhá   ún*
>   with   UN   lion   that
> "And as for you, who are you?" it (the animal) said to the lion.

(See also 7.15–16, 7.22, 7.23–25, 7.27, 7.29, 7.33, 7.36, and 7.42.)

With introducer:

> *tī   ni   kachi   dā / nōhō   ná   vīNnā*
> and COM COM:say he   POT:leave I:RES now
> And he said, "I'm going back now."

> *ni   xīkāNnuhu dā rúhú   / ndōō   sáhā   ní*
> COM COM:ask   he me:FAM   what   CON:do you:RES
> He asked me, "What are you doing?"

> *tī   ni   ndōho   īnī   dā / ná   kūndéé   rí   nūu dā*
> and COM COM:think insides his   HORT POT:win   I:FAM face his
> And he thought, "May I win out over him!"

> *tī   ni   kandahu   dā   xíín dā / ná   chīndéé   ní*
> and COM COM:plead he   with him   HORT POT:help   you:RES
>
> > *sáñá*
> > me:RES
> And he pleaded with him, "Help me!"

With both introducer and closer:

> *ni   kahān   / ná   kenjaa   ndāhā   rá   /*
> COM COM:speak HORT POT:take:away hand   your:FAM
>
> > *kachi   tī*
> > COM:say it:AML
> [It] spoke, "Get your front paw off," it (the animal) said.

> *ni   kā kexāhā   kā ndaNnuhu dā / ndōō ni kahān*
> COM PL COM:begin PL COM:discuss he   why COM COM:speak
>
> > *syáhán   chaa ún / kachi   dā / kā ndaNnuhu   dā*
> > in:this:way man   that   COM:say he   PL COM:discuss he
> They began to discuss, "Why does the man speak in this way?" they
> said, discussing it.

(See also 7.7–9 and 7.14.)

For dramatic style, it is possible to omit both the introducer and the closer. The following text fragment contains three quotations, and only the last has a closer.

tī   ndíshyā   rá   nú   sáá // ndíshyā   rí //
and   correct   you:FAM   INT   then   correct   I:FAM

  ndíshyā   rá   núsáá / kāchī   ndīkáhá   ún
  correct   you:FAM   okay   CON:say lion   that

"And you are right, aren't you?" "I am right." "Okay, you are right,"
said the lion.

6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

One important way in which a sentence is related to its discourse context
is by the use of certain linking expressions in sentence-initial position.
These expressions include conjunctions, adverbs, and complex sentential
markers. These links occur commonly in narrative before the peak of the
discourse, but are not used when the speaker wants to heighten the
dramatic effect. In the text in chapter 7, they are quite common up to 7.30,
where the rabbit first hits the tar baby, and rare between 7.31 and 7.49,
the section which contains most of the action. A link occurs again in 7.50,
which is part of the conclusion.

The conjunctions that occur most frequently are the coordinate conjunc-
tions *tī* 'and', *kō* 'but', and *na tī* 'and then'; and the subordinate conjunc-
tion *chī* 'because'.

With *tī*:

  kā   xaha   dā njākwíxín nūu dā // tī   tu   ni   xihī
  PL   COM:give   he pulque   face his   and   NEG   COM   COM:drink
  They gave him pulque (an alcoholic beverage). And [he] did not
  drink [it].

  kachi   dā syáhán   nání   ñūu // tī   nduku
  COM:say   he in:this:way CON:be:named town   and   COM:look:for

    dā īīn   vehe   kēndō   dā // tī   tu   ni   xaha
    he   one   house   POT:stay he   and   NEG   COM   COM:give

    chaa   ún   vehe
    man   that   house

He said [that] thus was the town named. And he looked for a house
to stay in. And the man didn't give [him] a house.

    tī   *"sábado"*   *kā ndísō*   *dā ndūku*   //
    and   Saturday   PL CON:carry he firewood

      tī   *vē*   *koyo vīkō*
      and INC:come PL   fiesta

And ON SATURDAY they carry firewood. And [they] started out for the fiesta.

(See also 7.2–5, 7.6–7, 7.10–12, 7.13–14, 7.15–17, 7.18–19, 7.20–24, 7.26–28, and 7.29–30.)

With *kō*:

    kā   *sahā*   *dā*   *veñuhu ñūu yó*   *xáhá* //
    PL   COM:do he church town our:IN here

      ndē *vīī*   *kā* *xanī*   *dā kwéntu* //
      INTS pretty PL COM:place he story

      kō *xā* *sáñá* / *tu*   *ni*   *kā* *xini*   *ná*
      but CMP I:RES   NEG COM PL COM:see I:RES

They built the church in our town here. VERY BEAUTIFULLY they talked [about it]. But as for us, we didn't see [it].

(See also 7.1–2.)

With *na tī*:

    kuūn   *sāu* // *na* *tī*   *ka kexāhā* *dā kā xítú*   *dā*
    COM:fall rain   when and PL COM:begin he PL CON:plow he

It rained. And then they began to plow.

In 7.14 *kō* occurs at the beginning of a quotation. The narrator apparently did this to show that he was breaking into the middle of a conversation. In 7.29 the subordinate conjunction *chī* 'because' occurs at the beginning of a sentence, relating it back to 7.27.

Sometimes the conjunctions *tī* 'and' or *chī* 'because', used in the sense of 'indeed', occur after a sentence-initial conjunction, just as they sometimes occur after a focused element (see §1.1.8).

    tī   *tuu* / *chī*   *vāxī*   *ní*   // *kō* *tī* *kīhīn*
    and NEG   because INC:come you:RES   but and POT:go

      ka *ní*   *nūu kachi*   *ní*
      ADD you:RES face COM:say you:RES

But no, you were coming. But you were still going to go where you said [you would].

The adverbs that commonly link sentences are *yúkán* 'there', *syúkán* 'in that way', *sáá* 'then', *sūnī* 'also', and *núsáá* 'okay'. *yúkán* sometimes has a temporal, causal, or manner meaning, and *syúkán* is used to refer back to a fairly large span of material.

> *íyó   vekihin   //   yúkán   íyó   kwéntu xā*
> CON:exist Bequi:Cave   there   CON:exist story   CMP
>
> > *íyó   vehe   káhnū   shāān*
> > CON:exist house   big:SG   fierce
> > There's Bequi Cave. Then there's the story that there's a very big house.

> *tī   uhu   yīkī   xíka   ná   //   yúkán ni   sahā*
> and COM:hurt bone CON:walk my:RES   there COM COM:do
>
> > *"doctor"*
> > doctor
> > And my legs hurt. Therefore the doctor treated [me].

(See also 7.8–9 and 7.31–38.)

Sometimes the conjunctions *tī* 'and' or *chī* 'because', used in the sense of 'indeed', occur after a sentence-initial adverb, just as they sometimes occur after a focused element (see §1.1.8).

> *syáhán   kachi   tī   //   yúkán   tī   ni   kā kandishya tī*
> thus   COM:say it:AML   there   and COM   PL COM:believe it:AML
> It (the animal) said THAT. And then the (other) animals believed [it].

> *vātūni   kīhīn   rá   //*
> AGREEMENT   POT:go you:FAM
>
> > *núsáá   tī   nā   kī₊vī   nūñā   tūkū   rá*
> > okay   and what day POT:be:open REP   you:FAM
> > Yes, you can go. All right, what day are you free again?

> *ndōō   kāchī   rá   nūu   rí   // sáá   chī*
> why   CON:say you:FAM   face my:FAM   then   because
>
> > *vānūshīā   ná   kāchī rí   nūu   rá*
> > for:good:reason   HORT POT:say I:FAM   face your:FAM
> > Why are you asking me? Then for good reason let me tell you.

In 7.7 the narrator began a quotation with *sáá tī*, apparently to indicate that he was breaking into the middle of a conversation.

Sometimes a sentence is introduced by a sequence of conjunctions and/or adverbs.

íyó   tāNna   nú úhū   ndūchī // tī   sūnī íyó
CON:exist medicine if CON:hurt bean   and   also CON:exist

   tāNna   úhū   xāta yó   syáhán   nú
   medicine CON:hurt back our:IN in:this:way INT

There is medicine when [our] eyes hurt. And is there also medicine
for our backaches (gesturing)?

nú ndáxí   yó   / tī kīhin   kwēhē   shiNni yó   //
if POT:get:wet we:IN and POT:take sickness nose   our:IN

   tī sūnī sáhā   "lombriz" xā kúhu   yó
   and also CON:do worm   CMP CON:be:sick we:IN

If we get wet, we get a cold. And also worms make us sick.

vīī   íyó   kwéntu // kō sáá   chī   tu xínī
pretty CON:exist story   but then because NEG CON:know

   rí   nāsā kwāhan
   I:FAM   how INC:go

The stories are pretty. But then indeed I don't know how [they] go.

tī   kwaha ndūku   kāhnjā yó / xā   tī   kwīkō   yó   //
and much firewood POT:cut we:IN CMP and POT:stack we:IN

   tī xā tī xāā   yó   chindɨyɨ yó   chii ñuhu
   and CMP and POT:arrive we:IN POT:cover we:IN stomach earth

We will cut A LOT OF FIREWOOD, and then we'll stack [it] up. And then
we'll arrive [and] cover [it] with dirt.

tī náva   tu kēē   yōko / ndɨhɨ   ni
and in:order:that NEG POT:leave vapor COM:finish COM

   xasɨ   ná // tī xā tī kɨvɨ   ñā kúhu
   COM:close   I:RES   and CMP and POT:enter she CON:be:sick

kaña   ñɨhɨ   ún
POT:rise steambath that

And so that the steam wouldn't escape, I finished closing [it] up. And
then a sick woman can enter [and] take a steambath.

tī   nú kwēhē   tāsɨ   kúū / tī tāvā   dā //
and if sickness witchcraft CON:be and POT:take:out he

   yúkán na   tī tɨvɨ   dā ndɨshi tāchi
   then when and POT:blow he liquor wind

And if [it] is a sickness caused by witchcraft, he takes [it] out. And
then he blows a spray of liquor.

(See also 7.49–50.)

Two complex sentential markers that link sentences are *xā yúkán* 'therefore' and *sīkɨ yúkán* 'therefore'.

> *tī   yúkán   kwāhan   máá   "dios" ||*
> and there INC:go   SPEC god

> *xā   yúkán   kā   chákū   yó   náá   yó*
> CMP   there   PL   CON:be:alive we:IN SPEC:PL we:IN

And there went god (the sun) himself. Therefore we ourselves are alive.

7

Text

7.1   *xārā īso / kāchī   dā xā   ni   xaha   nī   xā*
      UN   rabbit CON:say   he CMP   COM   COM:give LIM   CMP

      kanī   shyɨkɨ chii   móno ndītō   ndūchī
      COM:hit fist   stomach figure COM:guard ean
      They say that THE RABBIT just gave and threw punches at the figure
      (Sp. *mono*) that was guarding the peas.

7.2   *kō xārā yúkán / chī   kā sakā   tū   rā chaa*
      but UN   that   because PL COM:plant really   he man

      ún   ndūchī syáhán
      that   bean   in:this:way
      But as for that guy (the figure), those men planted peas in this
      manner.

7.3   *tī   ndūchī tīlúú   / tī   kwān   kūvaha   ndūchī ún*
      and bean   spherical and   INC:go CON:be:good bean   that
      And as for the peas, those legumes were growing very well.

7.4   *tī   kexāhā   "cabrón" / īso   yáxí   tɨ̄   ndūchī ún*
      and COM:begin bad:one   rabbit CON:eat it:AML bean   that
      And that bad rabbit started eating the peas.

7.5   *tī   kāchī   tū   rā chaa ún   xíní tāta   dā*
      and CON:say really   he man that   with father his
      And that man said to his father (Sp. *tata*).

7.6 *íyó   ūu   Nnáhā   dā*
CON:exist   two   companion   he
There were two of them (two brothers).

7.7 *tī   kāchī   tū   dā xíní tāta   dā / nání / sáá   tī*
and CON:say   really   he with father   his   PAUSE   then   and

   vaha nī / "papá" / tī   kwāan   ní   īīn   "violín"
   good LIM   father   and POT:buy   you:RES   one   violin
And he said to his father, "And then it would just be good, Father,
for you to buy a violin.

7.8 *ná   kīhīn   ná / ná   chāā   ná   yāā*
HORT   POT:go   I:RES   HORT POT:play   I:RES   song
Let me go and play some songs.

7.9 *yúkán ná   skúnū   ná   īso / chī*
there   HORT POT:frighten   I:RES   rabbit   because

   yéé   tī   ndūchī xáhá / kachi   tū   dā
   CON:eat   it:AML   bean   this   COM:say   really   he
IN THAT WAY let me scare the rabbit because he is eating these peas,"
he said.

7.10 *nání / ni   xaan   tū   dā "violín"*
PAUSE   COM   COM:buy   really   he   violin
Then he bought a violin.

7.11 *tī   kwāhan tū   dā / núkōō dā syáhán   /*
and INC:go   really   he   CON:sit he in:this:way

   tī   cháā   cháā   tū   dā yāā
   and   CON:play   CON:play   really   he   song

   xākī   ndúú   xáhá
   with:reference:to   all:day   here
And he went [and] sat down like this, and [then] he played and
played songs here all day long.

7.12 *tī   xākwāā   tu   xíní   dā nāsā xáhan tū*
and at:night   NEG   CON:know   he   how   CON:go   really

   rā kīī   ún / xán   kāxī   tī   ndūchī ún
   he animal   that   CON:go   POT:eat   it:AML   bean   that
And he didn't know how that animal kept going out AT NIGHT to eat
up those peas.

7.13 *syáhán   nī / syáhán   nī*
in:this:way LIM   in:this:way LIM
This [is] just [the way it was].

7.14 *tī   kāchī   tū   īnga   dā / nání / kō / "papá" /*
and CON:say really another he PAUSE but father

   kwāān ní   / nání / ñūma / kāchī   tū   rā chaa ún
   POT:buy you:RES PAUSE wax   CON:say really he man that
And the other one (brother) said, "But, Father, buy [some] wax,"
that man said.

7.15 *kwāān   ní   īn   "pelota" syáhán   ñūma*
POT:buy you:RES one ball   in:this:way wax
"Buy a ball of wax like this.

7.16 *tī   ná   kīhīn   ná / ndéhé   nú tu   nīhi   ná*
and HORT POT:go I:RES POT:look if NEG POT:get I:RES

   īso / kāchī   tū   dā
   rabbit CON:say really he
And let me go to see if I can't get the rabbit," he said.

7.17 *tī   ni   xaan   tū   máá "papá" dā   ún   īn   "pelota"*
and COM COM:buy really SPEC father his that one ball

   ñūma / tī   ni   sahā   dā īn   móno lúlú   /
   wax   and COM COM:do he one figure small:SG

   móno   xā   súkún syáhán
   figure CMP tall   in:this:way
And that very father of his bought a ball of wax, and [then] he made
one little figure, a figure that was this tall.

7.18 *móno ñūma ún   ni   sahā   dā*
figure wax   that COM COM:do he
He made THAT WAX FIGURE.

7.19 *tī   ni   xaa   tū   rā chaa ún / tī   xanī*
and COM COM:arrive really he man that and COM:place

   dā nūu yéé   tū   īso   ún   ndūchī ún
   he face CON:eat really rabbit that bean   that
And that man arrived, and [then] he placed [it] in the place where
the rabbit was eating those peas.

7.20 *ni   kūxīyō   īīn   ládo   syáhán   / kánjā   dā*
      COM   COM:be:separated   one   side   in:this:way   CON:be:located:SG   he
      [He] went off to one side (Sp. *lado*), [and] he was there [waiting].

7.21 *tī   xaa   tū   rā   īso   / xakunu   tū*
      and   COM:arrive   really   he   rabbit   COM:arrive   really
      And the rabbit arrived; he got there.

7.22 *tī   návā   kúū   xārā   kándīchī   xáhá   / kachi   tū*
      and   what   CON:be   UN   CON:stand   here   COM:say   really
      "And what is the thing standing here?" [he] said.

7.23 *tī   nāū   xā   kāhān   tū   / xārā   ún   tu   kahān*
      and   who   it:INAN   POT:speak   really   UN   that   NEG   COM:speak
      "And who [is] the one who should speak, that one who did not
      speak?

7.24 *tī   nāū   róhó*
      and   who   you:FAM
      And who [are] you?

7.25 *ndōō   tu   kāhān   rā   / kāchī   tū   rā   īso*
      why   NEG   POT:speak   you:FAM   CON:say   really   he   rabbit
      Why won't you speak?" the rabbit said.

7.26 *tu   kāhān   tū   rā   ún   / chī   móno   kúū*
      NEG   POT:speak   really   he   that   because   figure   CON:be

      nā   kāchī   yó
      what   POT:say   we:IN
      That one won't speak because what we call [it] is a figure.

7.27 *tī   kāhān   rá   / shí   tuu   nú   / kachi   tū*
      and   POT:speak   you:FAM   or   NEG   INT   COM:say   really
      "And will you speak, or not?" [he] said.

7.28 *tī   ndavā*
      and   COM:jump
      And [he] jumped.

7.29 *aa   / chī   kwāhā   rí   īīn   róhó   / kachi   tī*
      ah   because   POT:give   I:FAM   one   you:FAM   COM:say   it:AML
      "Ah, because I'm going to give you one [punch]," he said.

7.30 *tī   ndavā   / tī   kanī   tū   īīn   shyiki*
      and   COM:jump   and   COM:hit   really   one   fist
      And [he] jumped, and [then he] gave [it] a punch.

7.31 *Nnɨɨ   nɨ́   tū   ndāhā chii   móno*
      COM:stick LIM   really hand stomach figure
      [His] hand was just stuck to the figure.

7.32 *Nnɨɨ   tū   ndāhā chii   móno*
      COM:stick really hand stomach figure
      [His] hand was stuck to the figure.

7.33 *xaxan / tu   yúhú   rá   / chī   íyó   ɨ̄ɨn*
      oh   NEG   POT:fear you:FAM because CON:exist one

      kā   ndāhā rí   / kachi tū
      ADD   hand   my:FAM   COM:say really
      "Oh, don't worry because I still have another hand!" [he] said.'[4]

7.34 *kɨ̄hin   tū   ɨnga   ndāhā nɨ́ / kānɨ̄   tū   chii*
      POT:take really another hand LIM   POT:hit really stomach

      móno
      figure
      [He]'s getting just another hand ready to hit the figure.

7.35 *syáhán   nɨ́   kutɨluu   tū   / ndéñā   /*
      in:this:way LIM   CON:be:round really CON:be:sticky

      tu   xíka   móno
      NEG   CON:walk figure
      IN THIS WAY [it] was round; [it] was sticky; the figure wasn't walking.

7.36 *aa / "cabrón" / ndésáhā   īnī   rá   / chī*
      ah   bad:one   POT:be:careful insides your:FAM   because

      íyó   sɨhɨn rí   / kāchī   tū
      CON:exist foot   my:FAM   CON:say really
      "Ah, bad one, you'd better be careful because I have feet!" [he] said.

7.37 *xaha   tū   ɨ̄ɨn "patada"*
      COM:give   really one   kick
      [He] gave [it] a kick.

7.38 *sūnɨ́ ni   Nnɨɨ   tū   ɨ̄ɨn ládo*
      also COM   COM:stick really one   side
      [He] was ALSO stuck on one side.

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[4]The expression *tu yúhú rá* 'Don't be afraid!' is used ironically in this sentence, and has about the same force as English 'Don't worry!'. It serves to introduce a threat.

7.39 *xaha   tūkū ïnga   "patada"   ïnga   ládo*
     COM:give   REP   another   kick   another   side
     [He] gave [it] another kick on the other side.

7.40 *tūkū   ni   Nnïï*
     REP   COM   COM:stick
     AGAIN [it] was stuck.

7.41 *kutīluu   tū   syáhán*
     CON:be:round   really   in:this:way
     [They] were balled up in this way.

7.42 *aa / "cabrón" / tu   yúhú   rá   / chī*
     ah   bad:one   NEG   POT:fear you:FAM   because

     íyó   yūhū   rí   / kachi   tū
     CON:exist   mouth   my:FAM   COM:say   really
     "Ah, bad one, don't worry because I've still got my mouth!" [he]
     said.

7.43 *ndavā   / yeyïhí   tū   chii   móno*
     COM:jump   COM:bite   really   stomach   figure
     [He] jumped up [and] bit the stomach of the figure.

7.44 *ni Nnïï   / kutīluu   syáhán   / ndeña*
     COM COM:stick   CON:be:round   in:this:way   COM:be:sticky
     [They] were stuck together in a round ball like this.

7.45 *xa   ni   kendāvā   chaa ún / ni   xahan dā*
     already COM   COM:jump:out   man   that   COM   COM:go he
     Then that man jumped out, [and] he went.

7.46 *ni   xan   Nnïï   dā / chaa ndáhú   ïso*
     COM COM:go   POT:grab he   man   poor   rabbit
     The poor man caught the rabbit.

7.47 *ni   kundéé   dā / nihi   dā īso   / kachi   dā*
     COM COM:win   he   COM:get he rabbit   COM:say   he
     He won; he got the rabbit, he said.

7.48 *ná   chūndēe dā chii   ñunu   / kwān nohō   dā*
     HORT   POT:put   he stomach   net:bag   INC:go POT:leave he

     nūu   kánjā   tāta   dā
     face   CON:be:located:SG   father   his
     Now may he put [him] inside the net bag, [and] return to the place
     where his father lives.

7.49 *nāsā   kwāhan   rā   ún*
      how   INC:go   he   that
      How that [one] did go!

7.50 *kō   syúkán   ni   kuu   rā ún / xā   ni   nihi   dā*
      but   in:that:way COM COM:be he that CMP COM COM:get he

      īso   / xā   ni   kundéé   dā
      rabbit CMP COM COM:win he
      But that man was LIKE THAT; he got the rabbit; he won.

7.51 *ni   Nnɨ̈   dā   īso*
      COM COM:grab he   rabbit
      He caught the rabbit.

A Syntactic Sketch of
Copala Trique

Barbara E. Hollenbach

Contents

Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Copala Trique is spoken by approximately 15,000 people according to an informal census taken in 1990 by local Trique officials. Most speakers live in and around the town of San Juan Copala, a dependency of the municipal center of Juxtlahuaca, the head town of the ex-district of Juxtlahuaca, Oaxaca, Mexico. Some Trique settlements extend into the northern part of the ex-district of Putla and form part of the municipal center of Constancia del Rosario. The name of this language is sometimes given as Triqui or Driqui.

There are two other varieties of Trique. One is spoken in and around the town of San Andrés Chicahuaxtla, ex-district of Putla, and the other is spoken in and around the town of San Martín Itunyoso, ex-district of Tlaxiaco. Neither of these varieties is covered in this study. Speakers of all three inhabit a contiguous area which forms a linguistic island within the Mixtec region.

Although little is known about the history of the Trique, they have almost certainly lived in their present location since preconquest times. They are not mentioned in any of the sources for the colonial period of Mexican history, presumably because they were considered to be simply another group of Mixtecs. The earliest accurate mention known to me is in Martínez Gracida (1883).

Within Copala Trique there is no discernible geographic variation, but there does exist considerable idiolectal variation in the pronunciation of particular lexemes, even within a single nuclear family. Two or more

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shapes have been noted for perhaps twenty percent of the lexical units recorded to date.

Even though the construction of roads and the availability of primary schooling are causing the situation to change rapidly, a fairly high degree of monolingualism still prevails among the Copala Trique. Many people leave to work as agricultural laborers, and they often go to Sinaloa, Sonora, and Baja California in northwestern Mexico. Some have worked in the United States. As a result, many younger men have learned some Spanish, but fluent Trique-Spanish bilinguals are found only among those who have spent considerable time away from the Trique area or who have married non-Triques. Some Trique speakers have acquired fluency in Juxtlahuaca Mixtec, which is spoken in towns only a few hours' walk from Copala. Among themselves, however, Trique speakers prefer to use Trique, and children whose parents both speak Trique usually learn it as their first language.

This study is based on data gathered by the author and her husband, Bruce E. Hollenbach, during fieldwork beginning in 1962 for her and in 1966 for him. Most examples were checked in 1978 with either Juan López Merino, then about twenty-one years old, or with Pablo Ramírez Flores, then about thirty-five years old, both of the barrio of Sabana. The text in chapter 7 was dictated in 1972 by Manuel Camilo Ramírez Santiago of San Manuel Copala, ex-district of Putla; he was then about thirty years old.

Some examples are taken from texts published elsewhere; sometimes only the relevant part of a sentence is cited. Examples from the deluge story (Hollenbach 1982) are identified by the word Deluge, followed by the number of the sentence; and examples from the three myths published in Hollenbach 1988b are identified by the words Openly, Fight, and Brother, followed by the number of the sentence. These four texts were all tape recorded in 1972 by Manuel Camilo Ramírez Santiago. Examples from the four versions of the sun and moon myth published in Hollenbach 1977a are identified by the word Sun, followed by the number of the version and the number of the sentence, separated by a colon. These texts were tape recorded by four different speakers from the barrio of Sabana during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Sometimes an example is adapted from a sentence in a published text, in which case the citation is introduced by the abbreviation *cf.*

0.2 Phonology

Copala Trique has the following nonlaryngeal consonants: fortis stops *p* (rare) *t k,* lenis stops *b* (rare) *d g,* affricates *ts ch chr* (retroflexed), fortis

sibilants *s sh shr,* lenis sibilants *z zh r,* nasals *m n,* liquid *l,* and glides *w y.* In nonfinal syllables the contrast between fortis and lenis obstruents is neutralized; in this sketch I employ the symbols for fortis sounds, except that I use *r* rather than *shr,* and lenis symbols following nasals.

There are three laryngeals: *h* (glottal stop), *x* (glottal spirant), and an abstract laryngeal akin to a ballistic accent. This abstract laryngeal occurs only in word-final position, and its most important phonetic manifestation is a shortening of the preceding vowel. In this sketch, a single vowel at the end of a word represents a vowel checked by this laryngeal, and a double vowel represents a word-final vowel unchecked by any laryngeal. The abstract laryngeal analysis is presented in greater detail in Hollenbach 1984a:129–47, 1985b, and 1987.

There are five oral vowels, *i e a o u,* and five nasalized vowels, *in en an on un;* nasalized vowels occur only in word-final syllables. As noted above, these vowels are written doubled in word-final syllables when they are unchecked by any laryngeal.

There are five tone levels, *1 2 3 4 5* (from low to high), and three tone sequences, *13 31 32.* Most nonfinal syllables do not carry contrastive tone.

Some regressive tone sandhi occurs, caused by a limited number of pronouns; this sandhi is described in §5.4 and in Hollenbach 1974 and 1984a:260–303. The tones written in this sketch show the result of the sandhi rules, rather than the underlying tones.

The phonology of Copala Trique is described in greater detail in Hollenbach 1977b, 1978, 1984a:9–167, 1985a, and 1988a. Spanish loanwords introduced the rare consonant *b* and new distributions for various other phonemes. The influence of Spanish on the phonology is described more fully in Hollenbach 1973a:83–93.

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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 by means of an equative verb. Stative sentences link
a subject to a stative verb; sometimes this linkage is provided by another
verb. Each of these sentence types may take peripheral time, location, and
manner elements. They may also have almost 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, followed by
an obligatory sentential marker that signals mood and speaker attitude
(see §1.5). Impersonal verbs are limited to a small set and usually express
meteorological and related concepts.

> *shuguun[31] a[32]*
> CON:shine DEC
> It is dawning.

tihnuu^{32}   *a^{32}*
CON:get:dark DEC
It is getting dark.

raan^{31}   *a^{32}*
CON:flash DEC
Lightning is flashing.

kamanh^1 *a^{32}*
POT:rain   DEC
It will rain. (cf. Openly 53)

kanuu^{31}   *a^{32}*
COM:explode DEC
It exploded. (i.e., thunder rolled) (Openly 81)

(See also 7.57.)

1.1.2 Intransitive sentences. The minimal form of an intransitive sentence consists of an intransitive verb, its subject, and a sentential marker.

hnah^4   *hunx^1 a^{32}*
CON:come I   DEC
I come.

otox^{32}   *zoh^1*   *a^{32}*
CON:sleep you:SG DEC
You are sleeping.

kuchih^3   *noh^3 a^{32}*
COM:arrive she   DEC
She arrived. (Fight 75)

unanx^5 shnii^3 a^{32}
CON:run boy   DEC
The boy is running.

(See also 7.43, 7.64, 7.73, 7.78, 7.86, 7.102, and various others.)

With an arbitrary subset of verbs a nonagentive personal subject is expressed by an adverbial noun phrase with the locative noun *man^3* 'body of' (see §3.6).

ahngax^{32} man^3 shnii^3 a^{32}
CON:throb body boy   DEC
The boy is in pain.

kakaa³²   man³ nehex³ a³²
COM:burn body baby   DEC
The baby was burned.

With other verbs, however, *man³* does not occur.

kawih³   chii³ a³²
COM:die man DEC
The man died.

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

ho³²   zhoh³ na³²   a³²
CON:drink it:AML water DEC
It (the animal) is drinking water.

ranx⁵   noh³ hnuu⁵ a³²
CON:buy she   corn   DEC
She buys corn.

uchrah³ zoh³ chruun³ a³²
CON:split he   wood   DEC
He splits wood.

kirii³²   sha³na¹ naa³¹   a³²
COM:take:out woman cornfield DEC
The woman harvested the cornfield. (Fight 60)

tuhwex⁵ gwaa⁴ ruhwih³ a³²
CON:sell John charcoal DEC
John (Sp. *Juan*) sells charcoal.

(See also 7.22, 7.46, 7.50, and various others.)

A personal object is often marked by *man³* 'body of', and a pronominal object always is.

nehe³   noh³ man³ gwaa⁴ a³²
CON:sense she body John DEC
She sees John.

nehe³   zoh³ gwaa⁴ a³²
CON:sense he   John DEC
He sees John.

tikawih[13] *nih*[4]   *man*[3] *zoh*[3] *a*[32]
POT:kill   we:IN body his   DEC
We will kill him.[1] (Brother 145)

(See also 7.51 and 7.76.)

A third person inanimate direct object is often unexpressed, though speakers sometimes use the phrase-final pronoun *yoh*[3] 'it (inanimate)'.

cha[4]   *zoh*[3] *a*[32]
COM:eat he   DEC
He ate [them (the tubers)]. (Fight 220)

cf. *cha*[4]   *zoh*[3] *man*[3] *yoh*[3]   *a*[32]
     COM:eat he   body it:INAN DEC
     He ate them (the tubers). (Fight 213)

(See also 7.3, 7.7, 7.17, 7.35, and 7.37.)

Objects other than third person inanimate are also sometimes unexpressed if they are clear from the context; see 7.63.

Reflexive meaning may be expressed by using a possessive noun phrase (see §3.3) containing *mahan*[13] 'self of' in the object position. The possessor of *mahan*[13] must be coreferential with the subject. See Hollenbach 1984b for further discussion of reflexives.

nehe[3]   *zoh*[3] *mahan*[13] *zoh*[3] *a*[32]
CON:sense he   self   his   DEC
He sees himself.

tikawih[3] *zoh*[3] *man*[3] *mahan*[13] *zoh*[3] *a*[32]
COM:kill he   body self   his   DEC
He killed himself.

It is also possible to use an ordinary transitive sentence without *mahan*[13] when the meaning is reflexive. If such sentences have third person objects, however, they have both a nonreflexive and a reflexive reading.

nehe[3]   *zoh*[3] *man*[3] *zoh*[3] *a*[32]
CON:sense he   body his   DEC
He sees him. *or* He sees himself.

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[1]Copala Trique 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 case form that corresponds most closely to their function in the sentence in order to help the reader understand the structure of the Trique examples more quickly.

nazhuun²   yanix⁵ zoh¹   man⁴ zoh¹   a³²
POT:pull:again apart you:SG body your:SG DEC
You will move yourself away. (Openly 53)

In similar fashion, reciprocal meaning may be expressed by using *tuwih³* 'companion of' in the direct object; such sentences also have a literal reading. See Hollenbach 1984b for further discussion of reciprocals.

nehe³   nix³   zoh³ tuwih³   nix³   zoh³ a³²
CON:sense the:PL he   companion the:PL his   DEC
They see each other. *or* They see their companions.

1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, benefactive, associative, referential, and instrument (rare). Locative adjuncts are almost required by certain verbs; the other four are optional. Adjuncts are frequently expressed by an adverbial possessive 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 follow the subject in intransitive sentences and the object in transitive sentences.

The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location, depending on the meaning of the verb, and it includes elements traditionally classified as indirect objects. This adjunct occurs mainly with verbs that express change of possession, change of location, placement, and position, and each such verb normally takes it.

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, and it is animate, usually human. When it expresses source, the locative noun that signals it is often *raha³* 'hand of', and when it expresses destination, the locative noun is often *riaan³²* 'face of'. Other locative nouns are also sometimes used; the choice seems to depend on the verb.

Source:

kitahaa³² tuhwii³   me³rke¹³ raha³ zii⁵ wax²   yoh³ a³²
COM:grab thunder sash   hand he CON:move that DEC
The thunder (god) grabbed the sash from that man going along. (Openly 76)

kahnex⁵   zhi-h⁴   yoh³ raha³
COM:take:away grandfather-our:IN that hand

   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
   grandmother-our:IN DEC
That grandfather of ours took [it (the drum)] away from our
grandmother. (Brother 164)

kahnex⁵   zoh³ chraa³ tuhwa³ shnii³ a³²
COM:take:away he   tortilla mouth boy   DEC
He took the boy's food away.

Destination:

   naruhwee³² gwaa⁴ sahanx³² riaan³² pe³dro⁴ a³²
   COM:repay John money   face   Peter DEC
   John paid the money back to Peter (Sp. *Pedro*).

   tuhwex⁵ zoh³ hnuu⁵ riaan³² ma³rya⁴ a³²
   CON:sell he   corn face   Mary   DEC
   He sells corn to Mary (Sp. *María*).

   ahnee⁵   noh³ na³na¹ rihaan³² shuhwix³² noh³ a³²
   CON:put:in she word face   sister:FE her DEC
   She sends a message to her sister.

   rke⁴   sha³na¹ tanh³   man³ zhoh³ a³²
   COM:give woman corn:ear body its:AML DEC
   The woman gave the ear of corn to it (the raven). (Fight 170)

   kachrix⁵   sha³na¹ ston³ shkaa³² yoh³ a³²
   COM:tuck:in woman finger raven   that DEC
   The woman handed [it (the ear wax)] to the raven. (Fight 195)

   A locative adjunct with *riaan³²* is also used to express the addressee with
the verb *tax³²* 'to say'.

   katax³² noh³ riaan³² shuhwix³² noh³ a³²
   COM:say she face   sister:FE her DEC
   She said [it] to her sister.

   dax¹³ tax³²   rox¹   zoh³ riaan³² tuwih³   rox¹   zoh³ a³²
   thus CON:say the:DU he   face   companion the:DU his DEC
   Thus the two of them say to their companions. (Fight 109)

   (See also 7.5, 7.6, 7.9, and various others.)

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, depending on the meaning of the verb, but destination is more frequent. These instances of the locative adjunct are usually inanimate. They are often expressed by a noun or adverb unaccompanied by any locative noun or preposition, but various locative nouns and prepositions sometimes occur.

Destination:

> *kahanx³² zoh³ makaa⁵   a³²*
> COM:go   he   Mexico:City DEC
> He went to Mexico City.

> *kahanx³² zoh³ ganh¹ a³²*
> COM:go   he   far   DEC
> He went far away.

> *kuchih³   zhoh³ ndaa¹³ raa³¹ yoho⁴   chruun³ a³²*
> COM:arrive it:AML until   head another wood   DEC
> It (the raven) arrived as far as the top of another tree.
> (cf. Fight 261)

> (See also 7.58, 7.64, 7.66, 7.71, and 7.84.)

Source:

> *kawii³²   gwaa⁴ ya³kwex²   a³²*
> COM:come:out John   Oaxaca:City DEC
> John left Oaxaca.

> *kahna-x³   tukwa-x³   a³²*
> COM:come-I POS:home-my DEC
> I came from my home. (Brother 90)

> *kahnah³   zoh³ shko⁴   kix³²   a³²*
> COM:come he   beyond mountain DEC
> He came from behind the mountain. (cf. Brother 51)

> *kawii³²   yax³ riaan³² to³²   yoh³ a³²*
> COM:come:out ash face   grindstone that DEC
> Powder came off the surface of that grindstone. (Fight 114)

> *kayuu³ tachruu³¹ tuhwa³ nehex³ a³²*
> COM:fall crumb   mouth baby   DEC
> The crumbs fell from the baby's mouth.

kunanx² rex³   chex¹ zoh³ rke³   zhee⁵   a³²
POT:run father in:law his   stomach clearing DEC
His father-in-law will run out of the clearing. (cf. Fight 26)

Either destination or source:

kahnah³   gwaa⁴ ngax³² a³²
COM:come John Putla DEC
John came to Putla. *or* John came from Putla.

In order to express source unambiguously, it is possible to use a sentence combination with a verb that means 'to leave' in the first part (see §6.1.2).

With intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct expresses location. It is often expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase (see §3.6), but is sometimes expressed by another kind of noun phrase, by a prepositional phrase (see §4.3), or by an adverb.

nuu²   sahanx³² rke³   chruun⁵ a³²
CON2:be:in money   stomach box   DEC
The money is in the box.

tax¹   yanx³ riaan³² me³sa⁴ a³²
CON2:be:on:top paper face   table   DEC
The book is on the table (Sp. *mesa*).

tax¹   yanx³ nianx⁵ a³²
CON2:be:on:top paper here   DEC
The paper is up here.

ne¹³   zoh³ weh³ a³²
CON2:sit he   house DEC
He is in the house. (Fight 51)

ne³   ho² runh⁵ weh³ ta³nuu² taa³ a³²
CON:sit one single house middle plain DEC
A single house was in the middle of the plain. (Deluge 19)

taa⁵   shrux³ yume³² ruwax³ a³²
CON:be:on:top pot   tuber fireplace DEC
The pot of tubers was on the fireplace. (Fight 208)

kinax⁵   zoh³ rke³   chruun³ a³²
COM:remain he   stomach wood   DEC
He stayed inside the tree. (Openly 21)

Further examples of the locative adjunct with position verbs are found in 7.57, 7.77, 7.79, 7.82, and several other sentences in chapter 7. Examples of position verbs without a locative adjunct are found in 7.2 and 7.59.

With transitive verbs that express placement or impingement, the locative adjunct expresses source or destination. It is expressed by the same elements that occur with position verbs.

Source:

$kirii^{32}$ sha^3na^1 $skii^5$ $shree^5$ sha^3na^1 a^{32}
COM:take:out woman resin ear   woman DEC
The woman took wax out of her ear. (Fight 194)

$kirii^{32}$ $yahanx^{32}$ $tuhwii^{13}$ $yume^{32}$ rke^3 $shrux^3$ a^{32}
COM:take:out god   of:thunder tuber   stomach pot   DEC
The thunder god took the tubers out of the pot. (cf. Fight 219)

$tanix^{32}$ zoh^3 $shrux^3$ $yume^{32}$ $ruwax^3$ a^{32}
COM:lower he   pot   tuber   fireplace DEC
He took the pot of tubers down from the fireplace. (Fight 211)

(See also 7.62.)

Destination:

$karaa^3$ zoh^3 $sahanx^{32}$ rke^3 $chruun^5$ a^{32}
COM:put:in he   money   stomach box   DEC
He put the money in the box.

$karaa^3$ zoh^3 $yume^{32}$ $shrux^3$ a^{32}
COM:put:in he   tuber   pot   DEC
He put the tubers in the pot. (Fight 147)

$kachron^4$ zoh^3 $chruun^3$ $riaan^{32}$ $chraan^{32}$ a^{32}
COM:erect he   wood   face   masonry DEC
He stood the poles up against the wall.

$uchrux^{32}$ $gwaa^4$ yax^{32} $takoo^5$ $chruun^3$ a^{32}
CON:lay John   flower foot   wood   DEC
John lays the flowers at the foot of the tree.

$kaoh^1$ nix^3 zoh^3 $yahan^{32}$ $zhee^5$ a^{32}
POT:hit the:PL he   fire   clearing DEC
They will set fire to the clearing. (Fight 14)

tanix³²   yuwii³¹ wahnux¹ gee¹   rlix³   na³²   yohoo⁵ a³²
COM:lower person three   whole bubble water earth   DEC
The person dropped exactly three drops of water on the ground.
(Sun 3:13)

(See also 7.11, 7.27, 7.74, 7.90, 7.91, 7.94, and 7.96.)

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

kutah³   gwaa⁴ kakunh³ shraa⁵ pe³dro⁴ a³²
COM:place:on John   blame   back   Peter   DEC
John blamed Peter. (lit. John placed the blame on Peter's back.)

kinax⁵   rachruun⁵ tuhwa³ ruhwee³²   a³²
COM:remain bread   mouth rich:person DEC
The bread was left over from the rich person's meal.

kachiin⁵ nahanx² noh³ tuhwa³ sno⁵ho³² a³²
COM:ask wordlike she   mouth man   DEC
She inquired of the man. (Fight 76)

nawix³   sahanx³² riaan³² gwaa⁴ a³²
COM:finish money   face   John DEC
John's money ran out. (lit. The money finished up in front of John.)

kachen⁴ sna³na¹ sno⁵ho³² riaan³² sha³na¹ a³²
COM:pass POS:word man   face   woman   DEC
The man's word prevailed over the woman. (i.e., the man got his
way) (Fight 81)

kahneh³ tinuu⁵   zhi-h⁴   zuun³² riaan³² ni³ka²
COM:cut brother:ME grandfather-our:IN work   face   spouse

   zoh³ a³²
   his DEC
Our grandfather's brother gave orders to his wife. (Brother 84)

nayon⁴   gwaa⁴ riaan³² hunx¹ a³²
CON:be:in:again John face   my   DEC
John is taking my place.

(See also 7.85.)

The benefactive adjunct must be animate; it is marked by the locative
noun *shehe⁴* 'feet of', or occasionally by the preposition *ga²* 'with'.

ahmii³²   zoh³ shehe⁴ gwaa⁴ a³²
CON:speak he   feet   John   DEC
He speaks on John's behalf.

tuhwex⁵ zoh³ hnuu⁵ shehe⁴ rex³   zoh³ a³²
CON:sell he   corn   feet   father his   DEC
He sells corn for his father.

ranx⁵   noh³ yahax³   shehe⁴ nii³   noh³ a³²
CON:buy she   chili:pepper feet   mother her   DEC
She buys chili peppers for her mother.

tikawih³ gwaa⁴ shkuu³ shehe⁴ tinuu⁵   zoh³ a³²
CON:kill John   animal feet   brother:ME his   DEC
John kills the animal for his brother.

hyax³ gwaa⁴ ze³² lux²   ga² kosee⁴ a³²
CON:do John   it:INAN generous with Joseph DEC
John is kind to Joseph (Sp. *José*).

Sometimes the benefactive adjunct refers to someone affected negatively by an action. Negative benefactive may be signaled by *ga²* 'with' or *riaan³²* 'face of'.

dax¹³ kihyax¹³ nih⁴ ga² nehex³ a³²
thus POT:do   we:IN with baby   DEC
We will act in that way toward the baby. (i.e., we will attempt to abandon him) (cf. Sun 3:22)

kirahaan³   yoh³ weh³ riaan³² rox¹   zoh³ a³²
COM:prohibit that house face   the:DU his   DEC
That [one] wouldn't let them in the house. (cf. Sun 2:89)

The associative adjunct is marked by the preposition *ga²* 'with'; it functions to add a second participant to some other element of the sentence, usually, but not always, the subject. When an associative adjunct immediately follows the element it expands, the combination of the two can also be interpreted as an additive noun phrase (see §3.8).

achraa⁵ zoh³ ga²   gwaa⁴ a³²
CON:sing he   with John   DEC
He sings with John. *or* He and John sing.

hyax³ zoh³ weh³ ga²   gwaa⁴ a³²
CON:do he   house with John   DEC
He builds the house with John.

cha⁴   zoh³ chraa³ ga²   rnee³² a³²
CON:eat he   tortilla with bean DEC
He eats tortillas with beans. *or* He eats tortillas and beans.

cha⁴   sno⁵ho³² chraa³ ga²   tahnii⁵ zoh³ a³²
CON:eat man   tortilla with child   his   DEC
The man eats tortillas with his child.

ahmii³²   ma³rya⁴ ga²   shuhwix³² noh³ a³²
CON:speak Mary   with sister:FE   her   DEC
Mary speaks with her sister. *or* Mary and her sister speak.

tiko³²   shnii³ ga²   tuwih³   zoh³ a³²
CON:play boy   with companion his   DEC
The boy plays with his companion. *or* The boy and his companion
play.

chee⁵   gwaa⁴ ga²   tuwih³   zoh³ a³²
CON:walk John   with companion his   DEC
John walks with his companion. *or* John and his companion walk.

hnah³   nike³ yume³² ga²   zoh³ a³²
CON:come back tuber   with him DEC
The tubers were coming back with him. *or* The tubers and he were
coming back. (Fight 178)

The participant expressed as an associative adjunct is less salient in the
discourse than the participant expressed by the element it doubles. This dif-
ference in salience is perhaps most noticeable with the verb *ahmii³²* 'to speak',
where the associative adjunct sometimes merely signals the addressee. In the
first example below, the raven was capable of answering, but in the second one,
the ear of corn was not.

kahmii³²   noh³ ga²   shkaa³² a³²
COM:speak she   with raven   DEC
She spoke with the raven. (Fight 154)

kahmii³²   zoh³ ga²   tanh³   nanx¹ a⁴
COM:speak he   with corn:ear indeed PERS
He spoke to the ear of corn for sure. (Fight 182)

The referent adjunct is usually signaled by the locative noun *shehe⁴* 'feet
of' or *riaan³²* 'face of', but occasionally *kwe³nda⁴* 'account' (Sp. *cuenta*) or
no locative noun occurs. Referent adjuncts with *shehe⁴* usually express
reason, medium of exchange, and general reference (about, concerning).

hnix²   *gwaa⁴ ta³gah³ shehe⁴ kakunh³ a³²*
CON2:be:wedged:in John jail   feet   blame   DEC
John is in jail because of a crime.

kahanx³² nii³   gwaa⁴ ngax³² shehe⁴ shkuu³ a³²
COM:go   mother John Putla feet   animal DEC
John's mother went to Putla on account of the animals.

rih³   zoh³ sahanx³² shehe⁴ hnuu⁵ a³²
CON:get he   money feet   corn   DEC
He gets money for the corn.

kiranx⁵ gwaa⁴ tana³² shehe⁴ mix⁵   pe³so⁴ a³²
COM:buy John goat   feet   thousand peso DEC
John bought the goat for a thousand (Sp. *mil*) pesos (Sp. *peso*).

kahmii³² gwaa⁴ shehe⁴ tahnuh³ zoh³ a³²
COM:speak John feet   uncle   his DEC
John spoke about his uncle.

kahmii³² rahngah³ shu³kwa²han-h⁴   yoh³ shehe⁴ ri³kix¹³
COM:speak snare   grandmother-our:IN that feet   frog

   yaa³² adonx²
   tongue certainly
That grandmother of ours certainly spoke a curse concerning the
leopard frog. (Sun 2:63)

kunuh³   rox¹   nika²   rox¹   zoh³ shehe⁴ tanh³   a³²
COM:fight the:DU spouse the:DU his   feet   corn:ear DEC
He and his wife fought about the ears of corn. (i.e., where to store
them) (Fight 102)

(See also 7.1.)

An animate referent signaled by *shehe⁴* can also be interpreted as a
benefactive.

kahmii³² zoh³ shehe⁴ gwaa⁴ a³²
COM:speak he   feet   John DEC
He spoke about John. *or* He spoke on John's behalf.

Referent adjuncts with *riaan³²* 'face of' usually express comparison of
degree. The general quantifier *dox³* 'more' must occur in the verb
phrase (see §§2.1.3 and 2.3).

chee⁵   dox³ gwaa⁴ riaan³² pe³dro⁴ a³²
CON:walk more John face   Peter   DEC
John walks more than Peter.

Referent adjuncts with no locative noun are found in 7.76 and 7.89.

The instrument adjunct is rare in Copala Trique; it occurs only in preverbal focus position (see §1.1.8). It is far more common to express a semantic instrument in either of two other ways. One is to use a sentence combination with a verb like *ra⁵zuun³²* 'to use' or *ni³kax²* 'to have' or 'to hold' in the first part (see §6.1.2). The second way is very common. Many verbs that commonly take a semantic instrument express it as the direct object, and express the element that is translated by a direct object in English as a locative adjunct.

karaan⁵   noh³ ro³to²   shraa⁵ nehex³ a³²
COM:cover she   blanket back   baby   DEC
She covered the baby with a blanket. (lit. She covered the blanket on the baby's back.)

kaoh³   zoh³ chruun³ shraa⁵ tana³² a³²
COM:hit he   wood   back   goat   DEC
He hit the goat with a stick. (lit. He hit a stick on the goat's back.)

This construction is found in the text in 7.27 and 7.32. In 7.28, 7.34, and 7.46, the semantic instrument is also expressed as the direct object, but no locative adjunct occurs. In each of these five sentences, the semantic instrument is a body part of the subject. It is more common, however, to incorporate body-part nouns that are the semantic instrument into the verb phrase (see §2.1.3), as seen in 7.51; or even to express them in the second part of a complex verb nucleus (see §2.1.1), as seen in 7.41. Sentence 7.42 has two body-part nouns, one as part of a complex nucleus and the other as the direct object.

The preposition *ga²* 'with' is used to express instrument only in literal translations from Spanish.

Sometimes a sentence contains two adjuncts; in such cases, one of them is usually a locative, and it precedes the other one.

goh³   ma³rya⁴ sahanx³² man³ gwaa⁴ shehe⁴ hnuu⁵ a³²
COM:give Mary   money   body John feet   corn   DEC
Mary gave money to John for the corn.

> *kahnee⁵   gwaa⁴ yanx³ rke³   chruun⁵ shehe⁴ tinuu⁵*
> COM:put:in John paper stomach box   feet   brother:ME
>
> *zoh³ a³²*
> his   DEC
> John put the documents in the box for his brother.

If, however, a locative adjunct is long or complex, it is likely to follow the simpler one.

> *goh¹   zox³   sahanx³² shehe⁴ nih⁴   riaan³² nix³ zii⁵*
> POT:give you:PL money   feet   our:IN face   the:PL he
>
> *ahnex⁵   pe³shto⁴ a³²*
> CON:take:away tax   DEC
> You will give the money on our behalf to the tax (Sp. *impuesto*) collectors.

1.1.5 Equative sentences. The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of an equative verb, a subject, a nominal complement, and a sentential marker. The order in which these elements occur is conditioned by the verb.

With *me³* 'to be', which occurs only in continuative aspect, the order is nominal complement—verb—subject.

> *tanuu³ me³   gwaa⁴ a³²*
> soldier CON:be John DEC
> John is a soldier.

> *gwaa⁴ me³   zii⁵ yoh³ a³²*
> John CON:be he that DEC
> That one is John.

> *tahnii⁵ tyo³se¹ me³   nih⁴ a³²*
> child god   CON:be we:IN DEC
> We are God's (Sp. *Dios*) children. (Fight 326)

(See also 7.13, 7.24, 7.101, 7.106, and 7.108.)

With the verbs *kuhnax¹* 'to be named', *uun³* 'to become', and *nauun³* 'to turn into', the order is either verb—subject—nominal complement or nominal complement—verb—subject. Like *me³*, *kuhnax¹* occurs only in continuative aspect.

> *kuhnax¹   zoh¹ shkwaa³ yahan² a³²*
> CON:be:named you:SG ant   of:fire DEC
> You are called fire ant. (Sun 3:30)

gwaa⁴ kuhnax¹   *tinuu⁵*   *hunx¹ a³²*
John CON:be:named brother:ME my   DEC
My brother is named John.

guun³   *gwaa⁴ tanuu³ a³²*
COM:become John soldier DEC
John became a soldier.

tanuu³ guun³   *gwaa⁴ a³²*
soldier COM:become John DEC
John became a soldier.

guun³   *yoh³ chrex³² a³²*
COM:become that trail   DEC
That [place] became a trail. (Brother 23)

kinauun³   *zoh³ yaix³ nanx¹ a⁴*
COM:turn:into he   stone indeed PERS
He turned into the stones for sure. (Brother 190)

kinauun³   *zoh³ chruun³ nanx¹ a⁴*
COM:turn:into he   wood   indeed PERS
He turned into the poles for sure. (Fight 316)

doh¹   *chruun³ kinauun³*   *zoh³ nanx¹ a⁴*
merely wood   COM:turn:into he   indeed PERS
He turned into just the poles for sure. (Fight 317)

Equative sentences sometimes have unexpressed subjects.

shkuu³ cha⁴   *me³*   *a³²*
animal CON:eat CON:be DEC
[It] is an animal that is eaten. (Sun 2:39)

Adjuncts occasionally occur in equative sentences. The following example shows a referent adjunct introduced by the locative noun *kwe³nda⁴* 'account'.

tuhwe³ noh³ kwe³nda⁴ rex³   *noh³ me³*   *pe³tra⁴ a³²*
aunt her account father her CON:be Petra DEC
Petra (Sp. *Petra*) is her aunt on her father's side.

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

shno¹ zoh³ a³²
drunk he   DEC
He is drunk.

tsinh³ yohoo⁵ nanx¹ a⁴
tiny   earth   indeed PERS
The earth is tiny for sure. (cf. Brother 39)

tinux¹   rox¹   zoh³ a³²
brother:ME:related the:DU he   DEC
They are brothers.

(See also 7.100.)

As in the case of intransitive sentences, a nonagentive personal subject is marked by the locative noun *man³* 'body of' (see §3.6) with an arbitrary subset of stative verbs.

zheh³ man³ gwaa⁴ a³²
tired body John DEC
John is tired.

Not all stative verbs occur in this simple construction, however. Some require the presence of a content verb in addition to the stative verb, and still others occur either with or without another verb. The verb that is most commonly used in such constructions is *waa³²* 'to exist'. Sometimes the stative verb precedes *waa³²*, and sometimes it follows. Some stative verbs prefer one order, some the other, and still others accept either, sometimes with different sense discriminations.

With stative verb preceding:

kanike¹³ waa³²   na³na¹ a³²
evil   CON:exist word   DEC
The words are evil.

tsinh³ waa³²   shli³nge⁴ nanx¹ a⁴
tiny   CON:exist cannibal indeed PERS
The cannibal is tiny for sure. (Brother 141)

chix² waa³²   noh³ a³²
mature CON:exist she DEC
She is old.

With stative verb following:

> *waa³²   hyoo² yatsex⁵ a³²*
> CON:exist wet   clothing DEC
> The clothes are wet.

(See also 7.66 and 7.70.)

With stative verb preceding or following:

> *zah¹ waa³²   sha³na¹ a³²*
> good CON:exist woman DEC
> The woman is good. (pretty)

> *waa³²   zah¹ sha³na¹ a³²*
> CON:exist good woman DEC
> The woman is good. (healthy, morally upright)

> *gee¹   waa³²   ta³sa⁴ a³²*
> whole CON:exist cup   DEC
> The cup (Sp. *taza*) is full.

> *waa³²   gee¹   ta³sa⁴ a³²*
> CON:exist whole cup   DEC
> The cup is unbroken. *or* The set of cups is complete.

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

> *rmih² a³²*
> dark   DEC
> It is dark.

> *waa³²   dinx⁵ a³²*
> CON:exist calm DEC
> It is peaceful. (Brother 153)

A number of nonstative verbs beside *waa³²* also occur in stative sentences, but each such verb adds some further meaning to the sentence. The verbs *uun³* 'to become' and *nuu³* 'to become again' are used for the notion of entering into a state; they usually precede the stative verb.

> *guun³   maree¹³ riaan³² gwaa⁴ a³²*
> COM:become red   face   John DEC
> John's face became red.

> *guun³*   *eh¹*   *yume³² a³²*
> COM:become bitter tuber   DEC
> The tubers became bitter. (Fight 218)

> *kunuu³*   *nuhwe¹³ riaan³² to³²   a³²*
> COM:become:again smooth face   metate DEC
> The surface of the metate (grindstone) became smooth again.

> *kunuu³*   *taa-¹³ a³²*
> COM:become:again flat-UN DEC
> It became flat again. (cf. Deluge 15)

Certain verbs of perception that are normally transitive are used intransitively in stative sentences; for example, *cha⁴* 'to eat' is used to mean 'to taste'.

> *shianh¹ cha⁴   chraa³ a³²*
> tasty   CON:eat tortilla DEC
> The tortilla tastes good.

> *eh¹   cha⁴   yume³² a³²*
> bitter CON:eat tuber   DEC
> The tubers tasted bitter. (Fight 223)

> *nix³² ni³hyax² kotoo⁴ a³²*
> ugly CON:look shirt   DEC
> The shirt (Sp. *cotón*) looks ugly.

Occasionally a position verb is used in a stative sentence, as seen in 7.53.

In order to express aspects other than continuative, it is necessary to employ one of the content verbs mentioned above together with the stative verb.

> *gaa³²   rmih² shumii³¹ a³²*
> COM:exist dark world   DEC
> The world was dark. (Sun 1:1)

> *gaa²   shno¹ zoh³ a³²*
> POT:exist drunk he DEC
> He will be drunk.

> *wehe⁴ ushra⁴ gaa²   ra³zuun² a³²*
> pretty INTS   POT:exist thing   DEC
> Things will be very pretty. (spoken in bitter sarcasm as a curse)
> (cf. Brother 133)

guun³   *tinux¹*   *nix³* *zoh³* *a³²*
COM:become brother:ME:related the:PL he   DEC
They became brothers.

Adjuncts sometimes occur in stative sentences. The first example below contains a locative adjunct used metaphorically; and the second one contains a referent adjunct expressing comparison of degree, with *dox³* 'more' following the subject.

tsinh³ yohoo⁵ riaan³² zhi-h⁴   *nanx¹ a⁴*
tiny   earth   face   grandfather-our:IN indeed PERS
The earth was tiny to our grandfather for sure. (Brother 39)

shkaan¹ rox¹   zox¹³   dox³ riaan³² zoh³ a³²
tall   the:DU you:PL more face   his DEC
You two are taller than he.

To express permanent characteristics, an equative sentence is often used instead of a stative sentence, as seen in 7.108.

1.1.7 Peripheral elements. All sentence types may indicate time, location, and manner. A peripheral location, which describes the setting of the entire predication, must be distinguished from the locative adjunct, which is required to complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements may be expressed by adverbs (see §5.5), adverb phrases (see §4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), prepositional phrases (see §4.3), or subordinate sentences (see §6.2.1). Peripheral elements follow subject and object, and they usually follow adjuncts as well.

Time:

otox³²   *noh³ kwa³no² a³²*
CON:sleep she   right:now DEC
She is sleeping right now.

kihyax¹³ gwaa⁴ weh³   rke³   shnuh² gwii³ a³²
POT:do   John house stomach fifteen day   DEC
John will build the house within two weeks.

kahanx³² zoh³ tayox³   kii³   a³²
COM:go   he   Juxtlahuaca yesterday DEC
He went to Juxtlahuaca yesterday.

guun¹³   *zoh³ tanuu³ a³yoh³   a³²*
POT:become he   soldier next:year DEC
He will become a soldier next year.

tuwih³   nih⁴   me³   zoh³ gaa¹³ naa⁴   a³²
companion our:IN CON:be he   when long:ago DEC
They were our companions long ago. (Deluge 60)

kuhluh³   zoh³ kunuh¹   yawii³² rke³   chruun³ a³²
COM:be:stuck he   complete month stomach wood   DEC
He was stuck in the tree all year long. (Openly 24)

(See also 7.22, 7.57, 7.62, 7.91, and 7.106.)

Location:

ananx⁵   sha³na¹ rohno⁴ shumanh³ a³²
CON:weave woman tunic   town   DEC
The woman is weaving the tunic in town.

kihyax³ zoh³ weh³ shraa⁵ kix³²   a³²
COM:do he   house back   mountain DEC
He built the house on the top of the mountain.

(See also 7.9.)

Manner:

kawih³   wahnux¹ mix⁵   yuwii³¹ tah¹   azuun³² a³²
COM:die three   thousand person although likely   DEC
Three thousand people died, more or less.

kahmii³²   zoh³ dax¹³ a³²
COM:speak he   thus DEC
He spoke in that way.

ax¹   kahmaan³   ra⁴   sha³na¹ asno³ shehe⁴ rex³   noh³ a³²
already COM:get:hot inside woman first   feet   father her   DEC
The woman had already become angry the first time about her
father. (Fight 99)

(See also 7.42, 7.43, and 7.46.)

In 7.1, there are two instances of peripheral manner, one preceding the
final sentential marker, and another one interrupting an adverbial noun
phrase.

Two peripheral elements may occur in one sentence.

kawih³   kahyanx³² yoh³ ta³nuu² riaa³²   yax¹³ a³²
COM:die coyote   that middle bamboo now DEC
That coyote died in the middle of the bamboo at that time.

Peripheral time is quite common, especially at major transition points in the discourse, but peripheral location and manner are relatively infrequent. It is more natural to express a location as a locative adjunct, and so sentence combinations with a motion or position verb in one part are quite common (see §6.1.2). Manner is more commonly expressed within the verb phrase (see §2.1.3).

In general, speakers prefer short basic sentences. The text in chapter 7, for example, contains no sentences with two or more adjuncts, and only three sentences with both an adjunct and a peripheral element. The most complex sentence structures in the text are found in 7.62 and 7.91, both of which have four elements beside the verb phrase. In order to express more than three constituents beside the verb phrase, it is common to employ a sentence combination, which provides an extra verb with which constituents can be associated (see §6.1.2).

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, one element of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase position. Any element may be focused in this way except that most speakers do not focus the associative adjunct. The instrument adjunct, on the other hand, occurs only in focus position; this adjunct includes the material out of which something is made. Elements in focus are indicated by small capitals in the free translation.

Subject focus:

$gwaa^4\ otox^{32}\qquad a^{32}$
John   CON:sleep DEC
JOHN is sleeping.

$shnii^3\ cha^4\qquad rnee^{32}\ a^{32}$
boy   COM:eat bean   DEC
THE BOY ate beans.

$sha^3na^1\ kananx^5\qquad rohno^4\ manx^3\qquad\qquad a^{32}$
woman COM:weave tunic   day:before:yesterday DEC
THE WOMAN wove the tunic a few days ago.

$shu^3kwa^2han\text{-}h^4\qquad kuchrux^{32}\ ya^3kwex^2\qquad a^{32}$
grandmother-our:IN COM:lay   Oaxaca:City DEC
OUR GRANDMOTHER founded Oaxaca. (Brother 44)

$shkaa^{32}\ tume^4\qquad chrex^{32}\ a^{32}$
raven   CON:guard trail   DEC
THE RAVEN was watching the trail. (Sun 2:25)

shkuu³ ruhwex³²   *kirih³*   *tuhwex³²*   *noh³ a³²*
animal ball:of:thread COM:get POS:thread her   DEC
THE POTTER WASP got her thread. (Sun 4:36)

(See also 7.2, 7.44, 7.53, 7.77, 7.88, and 7.92.)

Object focus:

na³² ho³²   *zhoh³ a³²*
water CON:drink it:AML DEC
It (the animal) is drinking WATER.

sahanx³² naruhwee³² gwaa⁴ riaan³² sha³na¹ shehe⁴ skux⁵ a³²
money COM:repay John face   woman feet   OX   DEC
John paid THE MONEY back to the woman for the ox.

ta⁵nux¹³ shu³kwa²han-h⁴   *kahnex⁵*   *zhi-h⁴*
POS:drum grandmother-our:IN COM:take:away grandfather-our:IN

    nanx¹ a³²
    indeed PERS
Our grandfather took OUR GRANDMOTHER'S DRUM away for sure.
(Brother 166)

ichix² skii⁵ tamanh³   *rex³*   *chex¹ zoh³ rke³*
seven resin COM:sprinkle father in:law his   stomach

    zhee⁵   *a³²*
    clearing DEC
His father-in-law scattered SEVEN [pieces of] INCENSE in the clearing.
(Fight 20)

ichix² tanh³   *ka³ta¹³*   *naa³¹*   *gaa¹³ naa⁴*   *a³²*
seven corn:ear COM:carry cornfield when long:ago DEC
Corn plants used to bear SEVEN EARS OF CORN [each] long ago.
(Fight 58)

Adjunct focus:

tayox³   *kahanx³² zoh³ a³²*
Juxtlahuaca COM:go he   DEC
He went TO JUXTLAHUACA.

weh³ ka²ne⁴ zoh¹   *a³²*
house POT:sit you:SG DEC
You will sit IN THE HOUSE. (cf. Fight 71)

shehe⁴ gwaa⁴ ahmii³²   noh³ a³²
feet   John   CON:speak she DEC
She speaks ABOUT JOHN. *or* She speaks ON BEHALF OF JOHN.

shehe⁴ yahanx³² gwii¹³ yoh³ ranh³   tahnii⁵ yoh³ kwanh³
feet   god   of:sun that CON:suffer child that today

   nianx⁵ a³²
   here DEC
ON ACCOUNT OF THAT SUN GOD the children of that [one suffer here [and] now. (Sun 2:114)

nee³² kahneh¹ zoh³ nee³¹ a³²
knife POT:cut he   flesh DEC
He will cut the meat WITH A KNIFE.

agah³ neh²   kanokoh³ yahanx³² shtah¹ a³²
metal ropelike COM:follow god   high   DEC
The god hung from the sky BY A CHAIN. (Sun 2:118)

maan¹ yoh³ kishihnanx² ndoho³² shkuu³ a³²
only   that POT:abound INTS   animal DEC
Many animals will abound FROM JUST THAT [stuff (blood)].
(Brother 147)

(See also 7.79 and 7.80.)

Peripheral element focus:

   ngax³² kananx²   ma³rya⁴ rohno⁴ a³²
   Putla POT:weave Mary   tunic DEC
   Mary will weave the tunic IN PUTLA.

   kii³   kahanx³² zoh³ niaan⁵ a³²
   yesterday COM:go he   Tlaxiaco DEC
   He went to Tlaxiaco YESTERDAY.

   kunuh¹   yawii³² kahanx³² maan³¹ a³²
   complete month COM:go rain   DEC
   The rain went away ALL YEAR LONG. (Openly 25)

(See also 7.37 and 7.49.)

  When a focused element is expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see §3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see §4.3), the locative noun or preposition may either be fronted along with the rest of the phrase or left in its

original position, except that *man³* 'body of' is usually unexpressed in focused elements.

riaan³² ma³rya⁴ naruhwee³² gwaa⁴ sahanx³² a³²
face   Mary   COM:repay John   money   DEC
John paid the money back TO MARY.

ma³rya⁴ naruhwee³² gwaa⁴ sahanx³² riaan³² a³²
Mary   COM:repay John   money   face   DEC
John paid the money back to MARY.

shehe⁴ gwaa⁴ ahmii³²   zoh³ a³²
feet   John   CON:speak he   DEC
He speaks ABOUT JOHN. *or* He speaks ON BEHALF OF JOHN.

gwaa⁴ ahmii³²   zoh³ shehe⁴ a³²
John   CON:speak he   feet   DEC
He speaks about JOHN. *or* He speaks on behalf of JOHN.

zoh³ karakwix⁵ hunx¹ a³²
him   COM:help I   DEC
I helped HIM.

shnii³ oh³   ma³rya⁴ sahanx³² a³²
boy   CON:give Mary   money   DEC
Mary gives money TO THE BOY.

In equative sentences, the subject may be focused, in which case the nominal complement follows the verb.

gwaa⁴ me³   tanuu³ a³²
John   CON:be soldier DEC
JOHN is a soldier.

neko⁴   me³   zii⁵ rih³   yahan³² a³²
opossum CON:be he   CON:get fire   DEC
THE OPOSSUM is the one who got the fire. (Sun 4:9)

zoh³ kuhnax¹   gwaa⁴ a³²
he   CON:be:named John   DEC
HE is named John.

(See also 7.60.)

If some other element in the sentence is focused, the nominal complement follows the subject.

kwa³no² me³   zoh³ shrex³ a³²
right:now CON:be he   priest DEC
He is a priest RIGHT NOW.

In stative sentences, the subject or some other element may be focused.

sha³na¹ wehe⁴ waa³²   a³²
woman pretty CON:exist DEC
THE WOMAN is pretty.

gox³   kunuu³   zah¹ zoh³ a³²
last:year COM:become:again good he   DEC
He got well LAST YEAR.

(See also 7.44.)

Occasionally two elements are focused.

asno³ skii⁵ kaoh¹ nih⁴ rke³   zhee⁵   a³²
first   resin POT:hit we:IN stomach clearing DEC
FIRST we'll toss INCENSE in the clearing. (Fight 16)

There are various ways to create stronger focus. The most common way is to place the general marker *roh³*, followed by pause, after the fronted element. A pronoun copy may occur in the normal order, especially if the focused element is the subject and it has a human referent.

With pronoun copy:

ne² ho² runh⁵ shahwaa⁵ roh³ / ne³ otox³²   zhoh³ a³²
and one single macaw   TOPIC   NEG CON:sleep it:AML DEC
And as for only the macaw, it wasn't sleeping. (cf. Sun 3:105)

tsax² ne² shli³nge⁴ roh³ / ne³   zoh³ kwa³no² nanx¹ a⁴
but   and cannibal TOPIC   CON:sit he   right:now indeed PERS
But as for the cannibal, he is living now for sure. (Brother 186)

tsax² ne² mahan¹³ yahanx³² tuhwii¹³   shana¹ roh³ / zah¹
but   and self   god   of:thunder female TOPIC   good

   ushra⁴ nokoh³   shex³² man³ noh³ a³²
   INTS   CON:follow weight body her   DEC
But as for the thunder goddess herself, prosperity follows her very well. (Fight 59)

Without pronoun copy:

> *mahan¹³ zoh³ roh³ / kunuu³² shumanh³ kopa³la⁴ a³²*
> self   his TOPIC   COM:be:in town   Copala   DEC
> As for him himself, [he] was in the town of Copala (Sp. *Copala*).
> (Brother 64)

> *ne² shee⁵   zoh³ roh³ / kinauun³   kox³²*
> and spouse's:younger:relative his TOPIC   COM:turn:into plant
>
>   *shnee⁴   nanx¹ a⁴*
>   bean:plant indeed PERS
> And as for his sister-in-law, [she] turned into the bean plant for sure.
> (Fight 318)

> *ne² maan¹ tuneh⁴ zoh¹   roh³ / tukwa²hanx³²   uun¹ zoh¹*
> and only   tail   your:SG TOPIC   POT:cause:to:go LIM you:SG
>
>   *rke³   yahan³² a³²*
>   stomach fire   DEC
> And as for only your tail, you will just put [it] in the fire.
> (cf. Sun 3:160)

> *shtah¹ roh³ / nuu³²   na³na¹ yahax¹³ a³²*
> high   TOPIC   CON:be:in wind   of:chili DEC
> As for the sky, the chili wind is [there]. (Brother 173)

> *yohoo⁵ katsii¹ roh³ / kihyax³ zoh³ man³ zii⁵ tanuu¹³   a³²*
> earth   white   TOPIC   COM:do he   body his soldierlike DEC
> As for white earth, he made the soldier people [out of it].
> (Deluge 34)

> *ne² yax¹³ nianx⁵ roh³ / kuruwih³   yahanx³² gwii¹³ a³²*
> and now here   TOPIC   COM:appear god   of:sun DEC
> And as for then [and] there, the sun god appeared. (Sun 2:17)

In the following sentences, the same element is focused both by simple
fronting and by using the topic marker; both involve the nominal marker
maan¹ 'only'.

> *maan¹ ton³² man³ shli³nge⁴ roh³ / maan¹ yoh³ kishihnanx²*
> only   blood body cannibal TOPIC   only   that POT:abound
>
>   *ndoho³² shkuu³ nanx¹ a⁴*
>   INTS   animal indeed PERS
> As for only the cannibal's blood, OUT OF ONLY THAT [stuff] many
> animals will abound for sure. (cf. Brother 147)

gaa¹³ ne² maan¹ riaan³² na³na¹ roh³ / maan¹ dan³²
when and only face wind TOPIC only that

    hnah³   ndoho³² nix³   sha³na¹ nanx¹ a⁴
    CON:come INTS   the:PL woman indeed PERS
And then as for only after the wind, ONLY [at] THAT [time] many of
the women were coming for sure. (Fight 303)

A second way to strengthen focus is to place the general adverb *shiah¹*
'truly' before the fronted element, a pause after the fronted element, and
the complex coordinate conjunction *tsax² ne²* 'but' at the beginning of the
main sentence. The focused element is also expressed by a noun or
pronoun in the usual order.

shiah¹ ma³rya⁴ / tsax² ne² achiin³   sahanx³² man³ noh³ a³²
truly Mary   but and CON:lack money   body her DEC
As for Mary, she needs money. (lit. ... money is lacking to her.)

shiah¹ tanh³   / tsax² ne² kinawix³   tanh³   nanx¹ a⁴
truly corn:ear   but and COM:finish corn:ear indeed PERS
As for the ears of corn, they were finished up for sure. (Fight 164)

The following sentence uses both *roh³* and *tsax² ne²*.

ne² shli³nge⁴ roh³ / tsax² ne² ne³ awih³   zoh³ a³²
and cannibal TOPIC   but and NEG CON:die he   DEC
And as for the cannibal, he doesn't die. (Brother 137)

Another way to strengthen focus is to use a cleft construction. The
equative verb *me³* 'to be' and the non-phrase-final inanimate pronoun *ze³²*,
which functions as a complementizer, occur between the fronted element
and the rest of the sentence.

ni³ka² zoh³ me³   ze³² kunanx⁵ nanx¹ a⁴
spouse his CON:be CMP COM:run indeed PERS
It was his wife who ran away for sure. (cf. Fight 135)

dan³² me³   ze³² tinuu⁵   zoh³ me³   ze³² kihyax³
that CON:be CMP brother:ME his   CON:be CMP COM:do

    kinahax⁵   zoh³ a³²
    COM:become:weak he DEC
And then it was his brother who made him get weak. (Brother 62)

The cleft construction superficially resembles an equative sentence that
contains a nominal complement, the equative verb *me³*, and a subject that
consists of the non-phrase-final inanimate pronoun *ze³²* as the nucleus,

modified by a relative clause (see §3.1.3). The cleft construction differs from the relative clause construction, however, because the inanimate pronoun is always used in the cleft construction, even for a human referent. Compare the last sentence above with the following equative sentence containing a relative clause introduced by the non-phrase-final masculine pronoun.

> *tinuu⁵   zoh³ me³   zii⁵ kunuu³²   niaan⁵   a³²*
> brother:ME his   CON:be he   COM:be:in Tlaxiaco DEC
> HIS BROTHER was the one that was in Tlaxiaco. (Brother 63)

Sometimes *me³* alone is used in the cleft construction, without the complementizer.

> *tsax² ne² kix³²   yoh³ me³   kachix³² riaan³² na³²*
> but   and mountain that CON:be COM:grow face   water
>
> *yahanx² a³²*
> divine   DEC
> But [it] is that mountain [that] grew above the flood water.
> (Deluge 4)

> *doh¹   maan³¹ me³   kahnah³   nanx¹ a⁴*
> merely rain   CON:be COM:come indeed PERS
> [It] is only rain [that] came for sure. (Fight 301)

The use of *me³* alone is especially common after the interrogative noun phrase *me³ shehe⁴* 'why?'.

> *me³   shehe⁴ me³   hyax³   zoh³ dax¹³ ga²*
> which feet   CON:be CON:do he   thus   INT
> Why is [it that] he acts that way? (Brother 70)

It is also possible to use only pause after the fronted element, or to use pause followed by the conjunction *tsax² ne²* 'but' or *ne²* 'and'. The use of *ne²* is particularly common following focused time elements.

With pause:

> *ne² sno⁵ho³² / n-ahwee³   kushuman¹ ra⁴   zoh³ mah³*
> and man   NEG-CON:be:possible POT:arrive inside he   NEG
> And as for the man, it was not possible for him to believe [it].
> (cf. Fight 95)

With *tsax² ne²*:

> *ne² zhii¹³   nih⁴   / tsax² ne² kawih³ zoh³ nanx¹ a⁴*
> and grandfather our:IN but and COM:die he   indeed PERS
> And as for our grandfather, he died for sure. (Brother 187)

> *yax¹³ / tsax² ne² ne³ nehe³   nih⁴ man³ zoh³ mah³*
> now   but and NEG CON:sense we:IN body his NEG
> As for the present, we don't see him. (Openly 84)

With *ne²*:

> *yax¹³ / ne² nauun³   zoh³ kuruwii³ nianx⁵ yax¹³ a³²*
> now   and CON:turn:into he   monkey here   now DEC
> As for the present, they have turned into monkeys here [and] now.
> (Deluge 61)

> *gaa¹³ naa⁴   / ne² shianh¹ cha⁴   yume³² yoh³ a³²*
> when long:ago and tasty CON:eat tuber that DEC
> As for long ago, the tubers were tasty. (Fight 216)

> *kuruwii³ / ne² ne³ kahanx² nihya² zoh³ mah³*
> monkey   and NEG COM:go lost he   NEG
> As for monkeys, they did not disappear. (Deluge 57)

> *ne² rex³² nikunh³   tanx³² / ne² kutah³   uun⁴*
> and place CON:stand thorn   and COM:place:on:top REP

>> *yoh³ a³²*
>> that DEC
> And as for the thorn patch, that [one] placed [them] on top [of it]
> also. (cf. Sun 3:41)

1.1.9 Sentential complements. Basic sentences occur both as subject complements and as object complements within other sentences, though object complements are more frequent. Complement sentences do not, however, contain sentential markers, which occur only in independent sentences.

There are two kinds of subject complements. The first kind serves as the subject of an intransitive verb. The most common verbs in this group are phasal verbs, such as *nawix³* 'to finish', and verbs with modal meaning, such as *ahwee³* 'to be possible'. The phasal verb *zix⁵* 'to be complete' is also used to express the spatial concept 'to have room' or 'to be enough'. In this type, no complementizer occurs, the complement sentence must contain a verb inflected for aspect, and the main verb and the complement

verb either agree in aspect, or else the main verb is continuative, and the complement verb is completive.

zix^5 $kuno^3$ $zhoh^3$ na^3na^1 yoh^3 a^{32}
CON:be:complete COM:hear it:AML word that DEC
It (the raven) finishes hearing that word. (Fight 226)

$kizix^5$ $kawii^{32}$ naa^{31} a^{32}
COM:be:complete COM:come:out cornfield DEC
The cornfield finished producing. (Fight 46)

zix^5 $hyax^3$ zoh^3 weh^3 a^{32}
CON:be:complete CON:do he house DEC
He finishes building the house.

$kizix^2$ $kinax^{13}$ $tanh^3$ yoh^3 dox^{13} $skux^5$ weh^3 $nianx^5$
POT:be:complete POT:lie corn:ear that some angle house this

$nanx^1$ a^4
indeed PERS
There is room for those ears of corn to lie in this little corner of the house for sure. (Fight 86)

$kinawix^3$ $koho^{32}$ zoh^3 ri^3nde^4 a^{32}
COM:finish COM:drink he rum DEC
He has stopped drinking rum (Sp. *aguardiente*).

$kanikunh^3$ $kachix^{32}$ kix^{32} a^{32}
COM:stand COM:grow mountain DEC
The mountain stopped growing. (Deluge 13)

$guun^{13}$ $shehe^1$ $kihyax^{13}$ zoh^3 weh^3 a^{32}
POT:become based POT:do he house DEC
He will begin to build the house.

$kahwee^{13}$ $kahanx^2$ $gwaa^4$ ya^3kwex^2 a^{32}
POT:be:possible POT:go John Oaxaca:City DEC
It will be possible for John to go to Oaxaca. *or* John can go to Oaxaca.

$kahwee^3$ $kihyax^3$ $gwaa^4$ weh^3 a^{32}
COM:be:possible COM:do John house DEC
It was possible for John to build the house. *or* John could build the house.

(See also 7.16, 7.18, 7.47, and 7.105.)

When, however, the main verb is in completive aspect and it is negated, it has the form of potential aspect (see §2.1.2). Following a negated completive, the complement verb is in potential aspect.

> *ne³ guun¹³   yukwanh¹ kirih¹   zoh³ ze³²   anuu³¹*
> NEG COM:become in:time   POT:get he   it:INAN CON:explode
>
> *ni³kax² zoh³ mah³*
> CON:have he   NEG
> He wasn't in time to get the explosives that he has. (Openly 68)

Some verbs do not require aspect agreement.

> *guun³   raan¹   naman¹   zoh³ a³²*
> COM:become delayed POT:arrive:home:here he   DEC
> He wouldn't get home for a long while. (Fight 174)

Verbs that express noises often occur with the action that produces the noise expressed as a subject complement.

> *ka³yux² wax²   chraa⁵ a³²*
> CON:roar CON2:move river   DEC
> The river roars [as it] moves. (lit. The moving of the river roars.)

The verb *achen⁴* 'to pass', when used with a subject complement, means 'too much'; no complementizer occurs, and the two verbs must agree in aspect.

> *kachen⁴ koho³²   zoh³ ri³nde⁴ a³²*
> COM:pass COM:drink he   rum   DEC
> He drank too much rum. (lit. His drinking rum passed.)

The verbs *waa³²* 'to exist' and *uun³* 'to become' often take a sentence of any type as a subject complement, with no complementizer. These verbs serve to affirm the truth of the complement sentence, and they can follow the complement as well as precede it.

> *waa³²   kahanx³² zoh³ a³²*
> CON:exist COM:go   he   DEC
> It is [the case that] he went.

> *kahanx² zoh³ / gaa²   a³²*
> POT:go   he   POT:exist DEC
> It will be [the case that] he will go.

> *kahanx² zoh³ / guun¹³   a³²*
> POT:go   he   POT:become DEC
> It will happen [that] he will go.

The general adverb *dax^{13}* 'thus' sometimes precedes *waa^{32}*.

dax^{13} waa^{32} kinax^5 ra^{3}zuun^2 riaan^{32} rox^1 zoh^3 a^{32}
thus CON:exist COM:remain thing face the:DU his DEC
It was in that way [that] the things stayed with the two of them. (i.e., the things were divided up between them) (Openly 14)

The verbs *waa^{32}* 'to exist' and *dax^{32}* 'to not exist' may take a special kind of subject complement in which the complement sentence lacks a subject and functions something like a gerund.

waa^{32} uno^{32} hnuu^5 a^{32}
CON:exist CON:sow corn DEC
[People] are sowing corn. *or* Sowing corn is taking place.

dax^{32} tukuhyon^4 kwanh^3 mah^3
CON:NEG:exist CON:teach today NEG
There's no school today. (lit. There's no teaching today.)

dax^{32} cha^4 man^3 yoh^3 mei^{32}
CON:NEG:exist CON:eat body it:INAN NEG:EMPH
It's definitely not eaten.

The second kind of subject complement usually serves as the subject of a stative sentence. It is often introduced by the complementizer *ze^{32} waa^{32}* (or, less commonly, *ze^{32}* alone), and there are no aspect restrictions between the two parts.[2]

zah^1 waa^{32} ze^{32} waa^{32} kahanx^{32} gwaa^4 ya^{3}kwex^2 a^{32}
good CON:exist CMP CON:exist COM:go John Oaxaca:City DEC
It is good that John went to Oaxaca.

ya^{13} ze^{32} kawih^3 noh^3 a^{32}
true CMP COM:die she DEC
It is true that she died.

---

[2]The complex complementizer *ze^{32} waa^{32}* is a combination of the simple complementizer *ze^{32}*, which is basically a non-phrase-final third person pronoun that refers to inanimate objects (see §5.4), and the continuative aspect form of *waa^{32}* 'to exist'. Sentences with the complex complementizer can be viewed as sentences with the simple complementizer followed by sentences in which *waa^{32}* is the main verb and everything that follows is a subject complement, as described above. This is probably the historical source of *ze^{32} waa^{32}*, but it has become grammaticalized, as shown by the fact that *waa^{32}* is not inflected for aspect when it forms part of the complex complementizer.

kunax[1] ushra[4] kahnah[4] zoh[1] a[32]
good INTS COM:come you:SG DEC
It is very good [that] you came. (Brother 82)

Object complements also fall into two kinds, conditioned by the relationship between the main verb and the complement sentence. In the first kind, the main verb brings some influence to bear on the complement sentence, and in the second kind, the main verb simply reports it.

In the first kind of object complement, there is usually no complementizer. Some verbs, such as *zix[5] ra[4]* 'to dare', require potential aspect in the complement verb, and also require the subjects of the complement sentence and the matrix sentence to be coreferential. Other verbs, such as *me[3] ra[4]* 'to want', also require potential aspect, but allow the subjects to be either coreferential or noncoreferential.

zix[5]   ra[4]   zoh[1] ki[2]hyaa[5] zoh[1] dax[13] a[32]
CON:be:complete inside you:SG POT:do   you:SG thus DEC
You dare to act that way. (cf. Sun 3:68)

me[3]   ra[4]   gwaa[4] kahanx[2] zoh[3] ya[3]kwex[2]   a[32]
CON:be inside John POT:go   he   Oaxaca:City DEC
John wants to go to Oaxaca.

me[3]   ra[4]   gwaa[4] kahanx[2] hunx[1] ya[3]kwex[2]   a[32]
CON:be inside John POT:go   I   Oaxaca:City DEC
John wants me to go to Oaxaca.

me[3]   ra[4]   zoh[3] kuno[2] zoh[3] hnuu[5] rke[3]   yohoo[5] a[32]
CON:be inside he POT:sow he   corn   stomach earth   DEC
He wanted to plant the corn in the ground. (Fight 185)

kahwex[32]   gwaa[4] guun[13]   zoh[3] rto[3]mo[4]   a[32]
COM:be:willing John POT:become he mayordomo DEC
John was willing to become the mayordomo (sponsor of a fiesta; Sp. *mayordomo*).

n-ahwex[32]   sha[3]na[1] kahanx[2] sno[5]ho[32] a[32]
NEG-CON:be:willing woman POT:go   man   DEC
The woman doesn't want the man to go. (Fight 65)

nahwix[1] hunx[1] kuchih[1]   zoh[1]   a[32]
POT:wait I   POT:arrive you:SG DEC
I will wait for you to arrive. (Fight 281)

Other verbs, such as *uun[3] shehe[1]* 'to begin' (which also occurs with subject complements) and *uun[3] nukwax[13]* 'to be strong enough' or 'to be

enough', require coreferential subjects, and they also require the two parts
to agree in aspect.

guun³   shehe¹ gwaa⁴ kihyax³ zoh³ weh³   a³²
COM:become based John COM:do he   house DEC
John began to build the house.

guun³   yukwanh¹ yawii³ kirih³   yoh³ rex³² nuwah¹
COM:become in:time   moon COM:get that place right:side

   shkwaa⁵ a³²
   snake   DEC
The moon was quick enough to get [the one on] the right side of
the snake. (Sun 2:79)

guun¹³   nukwax¹³ gwaa⁴ na²shkax³² zoh³ yuwex³² a³²
POT:become strong   John POT:lift   he   rock   DEC
John will be strong enough to lift the rock.

guun³   nukwax¹³ kix³²   yoh³ kachen⁴ yoh³   riaan³²
COM:become strong   mountain that COM:pass it:INAN face

   na³²   a³²
   water DEC
The mountain was strong enough to surpass the water (in height).
(Deluge 8)

kihyax³ kanaan⁴ tuhwii³ yoh³ ku³rianx¹   zoh³ katuun³¹
COM:do gain   thunder that COM:appear he   waist

   chruun³ a³²
   wood   DEC
That thunder succeeded (Sp. *ganar*) in leaving the tree trunk.
(Openly 58)

(See also 7.104.)

   When, however, the main verb is in completive aspect and it is negated,
the complement verb is in potential aspect.

ne³ guun¹³   yukwanh¹ reh³   chex¹ zoh³ kunanx² rex³
NEG COM:become in:time   father in:law his   POT:run father

   chex¹ zoh³ rke³   zhee⁵   mah³
   in:law his   stomach clearing NEG
His father-in-law wasn't quick enough to run out of the clearing.
(Fight 26)

ne³ guun¹³   nukwax¹³ na³² nazix²   yoh³
NEG COM:become strong   water POT:be:complete:again it:INAN

  raa³¹ kix³²   mah³
  head mountain NEG
The water wasn't strong enough to reach the top of the mountain.
(Deluge 7)

The verb *hyax³* 'to do', which creates syntactic causatives, often takes the complementizer *ze³² waa³²*, usually requires the two parts to have non-coreferential subjects, and requires the two parts to have the same aspect, or the main verb to be completive and the complement verb continuative.

  hyax³ zoh³ ze³² waa³²   uno³   tahnii⁵ zoh³ a³²
  CON:do he   CMP CON:exist CON:hear child his DEC
  He makes his children obey.

  kihyax³ gwaa⁴ ze³² waa³²   nax⁵   shuwee³ zheh³   a³²
  COM:do John CMP CON:exist CON:remain dog   outside DEC
  John caused the dog to stay outside.

  hyax³ yoh³ hnah³   nike³ chruun³ a³²
  CON:do that CON:come back wood   DEC
  Those [ones (the boys)] caused poles to come back. (i.e., they brought poles back) (cf. Sun 1:26)

  hyaa⁵ dih¹   tax³²   ze³² nia-x²   mah³
  CON:do you:SG:FAM CON:NEG:exist POS hominy-my NEG
  You cause my hominy not to exist. (i.e., you ate it up) (Sun 3:81)

In the second kind of object complement, the main verb often refers to cognition or speech, the complementizer *ze³² waa³²* usually occurs, and there are no restrictions of aspect or subject person. This kind of object complement includes sentences that are usually called indirect quotations.

  nehe³   gwaa⁴ ze³² waa³²   kahanx³² noh³ ya³kwex²   a³²
  CON:sense John CMP CON:exist COM:go   she Oaxaca:City DEC
  John knows that she went to Oaxaca.

  katax² gwaa⁴ ze³² waa³²   kawii³²   noh³ kii³   a³²
  POT:say John CMP CON:exist COM:come:out she yesterday DEC
  John will say that she left yesterday.

ne³ achrix⁵   ra⁴   zoh³ ze³² man¹   shkuu³ rke³
NEG CON:tuck:in inside he   CMP CON2:exist:PL animal stomach

  na³²   mah³
  water NEG
He didn't realize that there were animals in the water. (Openly 64)

guun³   ya¹³ ra-x³   kuchih¹ zoh¹ a³²
COM:become true inside-I POT:arrive you:SG DEC
I have been convinced [that] you will arrive. (Fight 281)

ne³ kenehe¹³   sno⁵ho³² kunanx⁵ noh³ mah³
NEG COM:sense man   COM:run she NEG
The man didn't see [that] she ran away. (Fight 118)

ni³hyax² yoh³ tax¹   ra³zuun² ra⁴   weh³ a³²
COM:look that CON2:be:on:top thing   inside house DEC
That [one] observed [that] the utensils were [out] on top in the
house. (Sun 3:115)

When an equative sentence serves as an object complement, the order
is verb—subject—nominal complement, even with *me³* 'to be', which usual-
ly has the nominal complement first.

tax³²   gwaa⁴ ze³² waa³²   me³   zoh³ me³stro⁴ a³²
CON:say John CMP CON:exist CON:be he   teacher DEC
John says that he is a teacher (Sp. *maestro*).

It is possible for sentences containing sentential complements to show
focus in various ways. First, it is possible to focus some element within the
complement sentence.

nehe³   gwaa⁴ ze³² waa³²   ma³rya⁴ kawih³ a³²
CON:sense John CMP CON:exist Mary   COM:die DEC
John knows that MARY died.

kuno³   gwaa⁴ ze³² waa³²   kii³   kawih³ noh³ a³²
COM:hear John CMP CON:exist yesterday COM:die she DEC
John heard that YESTERDAY she died.

tax³²   zoh³ dox¹³ tsinh³ tanh³   kawii³²   a³²
CON:say he   some tiny   corn:ear COM:come:out DEC
He said VERY FEW EARS OF CORN were produced. (Fight 89)

ne³ nehe-x³   ze³² zoh¹ ne³   a³²
NEG CON:sense-I CMP you:SG CON:sit DEC
I didn't know that YOU lived [here]. (Deluge 26)

The above examples all involve object complements because no examples of this kind of focus in subject complements have been found to date.

If no complementizer occurs, it is possible to extract an element from a complement sentence and place it at the beginning of the matrix sentence.

> yuwii^{31} ahwex^{32} zoh^3 katuu^2 ra^4 weh^3 a^{32}
> person CON:be:willing he   POT:enter inside house DEC
> He is willing for PEOPLE to enter the house.

> weh^3 nawih^3 tirno^4 zoh^3 a^{32}
> house COM:finish COM:paint he   DEC
> He finished painting THE HOUSE.

> chii^3 n-ahwex^{32} sha^{3}na^1 nianx^5 shkax^2 yoh^3 mah^3
> man NEG-CON:be:willing woman this   POT:take that NEG
> This woman doesn't want to marry A MAN. (Sun 3:7)

It is also possible to focus the entire complement sentence, in which case the complementizer is usually omitted.

> ganh^1 hna-x^3 / nehe^3 shkuu^3 a^{32}
> far   CON:come-UN   CON:sense animal DEC
> The animals saw SHE WAS COMING FAR AWAY. (Sun 3:99)

> yume^{32} cha^4 zoh^3 / ni^{3}hyax^2 shkaa^{32} yoh^3 a^{32}
> tuber   CON:eat he   COM:look raven   that DEC
> The raven observed [that] HE WAS EATING TUBERS. (Fight 159)

> nawix^3 tuwih^3 zoh^3 / kawih^3 / tax^{32} zoh^3 a^{32}
> COM:finish companion his   COM:die   CON:say he   DEC
> He said HIS COMPANIONS HAD ALL DIED. (Deluge 18)

> kihyax^{13} uun^4 zoh^3 shumanh^3 / tax^{32} zoh^3 a^{32}
> POT:do REP he   town   CON:say he   DEC
> He said HE WOULD BUILD THE TOWN AGAIN. (Brother 159)

In the case of subject complements of waa^{32} 'to exist' and uun^3 'to become', the complement often precedes the main verb, but no special prominence seems to be implied.

> kahanx^2 zoh^3 / gaa^2 a^{32}
> POT:go he   POT:exist DEC
> It will be the case [that] he will go.

With hyax^3 'to do', it is far more common to place the object complement in sentence-initial position than in the usual order following the subject. No special prominence seems to be involved.

katux⁵   shnii³ ra⁴   weh³   /   kihyax³ noh³ a³²
COM:enter boy   inside house   COM:do she   DEC
She made the boy enter the house.

kawih¹ sha³na¹ / kihyax¹³ shihii³¹ a³²
POT:die woman   POT:do   sickness DEC
The sickness will make the woman die.

kahnah³   ushra⁴ yaix³ / kihyax³ zoh³ a³²
COM:come INTS   stone   COM:do he   DEC
He caused a lot of stones to come. (i.e., he brought a lot of stones)
(Brother 56)

zix⁵   weh³ / hyax³ rox¹   yoh³ a³²
CON:be:complete house   CON:do the:DU that DEC
Those two [persons] caused the house to be finished. (Sun 1:27)

(See also 7.58, 7.70, 7.71, 7.83, 7.90, and 7.97.)

If, however, the subject of *hyax³* is focused, the complement sentence occurs at the end.

tinuu⁵   zoh³ kihyax³ kinahax⁵   zoh³ a³²
brother:ME his   COM:do COM:become:weak he   DEC
HIS BROTHER caused him to become weak. (Brother 65)

With *ra⁴* 'to think' or 'to be of the opinion', the object complement occurs only in sentence-initial position. No special prominence seems to be implied by this order.

kawih¹ noh³ / ra⁴   zoh³ a³²
POT:die she   CON:think he   DEC
He thinks she will die.

tuhwa³ rmahan¹³ sha³na¹ / ra⁴   sno⁵ho³² a³²
CON:talk in:vain   woman   CON:think man   DEC
The man thought the woman didn't really mean [it (what she said)].
(Fight 110)

kane²   zoh³ na³² / ra⁴   zoh³ a³²
POT:bathe he   water   CON:think he   DEC
He thought he would bathe in the water. (Openly 65)

nike¹³ gwaa⁴ / ra⁴   hunx¹ a³²
poor   John   CON:think I   DEC
I think John is poor. (i.e., to be pitied)

(See also 7.17, 7.54, 7.60, 7.89, 7.92, and 7.101.)

It is possible to focus an element within the complement sentence even when the complement sentence occurs at the beginning of the matrix sentence.

$shuwee^3$ $katux^5$ ra^4 weh^3 / $kuno^{13}$ zoh^3 a^{32}
dog   COM:enter inside house   POT:hear he   DEC
He will hear [that] THE DOG ENTERED THE HOUSE.

ya^3kwex^2 $kahanx^{32}$ $gwaa^4$ / $kinarih^3$ noh^3 a^{32}
Oaxaca:City COM:go   John   COM:find she   DEC
She found out [that] JOHN WENT TO OAXACA.

ni^3ka^2 zoh^3 $hnah^3$ / ra^4 zoh^3 a^{32}
spouse his CON:come   CON:think he   DEC
He thought HIS WIFE was coming. (Fight 313)

$kunuh^1$ $yawii^{32}$ $kahanx^{32}$ $maan^{31}$ / $kihyax^3$ zoh^3 a^{32}
complete month COM:go   rain   COM:do he   DEC
He made the rain go away ALL YEAR LONG. (Openly 25)

One complement sentence may be embedded in another one. In the example below, the subject complement of n-$ahwee^3$ is a sentence containing an object complement.

n-$ahwee^3$ $guun^{13}$ $nukwax^{13}$ zoh^3 $kurianx^1$ zoh^3
NEG-CON:be:possible POT:become strong   he   POT:appear he

   rke^3 $chruun^3$ mah^3
   stomach wood   NEG
It wasn't possible for him to be strong enough to leave the inside of the tree. (Openly 23)

A juxtaposed sentence (see §§6.1.2. and 6.2.2) may serve as an object complement; this is especially common with verbs of speech and thought. In the example below, a purpose sentence serves as the object complement of ra^4 'to think'.

$guun^{13}$ $nukwax^{13}$ $kuchruu^{31}$ $tanh^3$ yoh^3 / cha^2 zoh^3 /
POT:become strong   corncrib   corn:ear that   POT:eat he

   ra^4 zoh^3 a^{32}
   CON:think he   DEC
He thought that those corncribs [full] of ears of corn would be enough for him to eat. (Fight 120)

1.2 Questions

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

1.2.1 YES/NO questions. Any basic sentence may be made into a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative sentential marker *nah³* at the end in place of a declarative marker like *a³²*.

raan³¹   nah³
CON:flash INT
Is lightning flashing?

otox³²   zoh¹   nah³
CON:sleep you:SG INT
Are you sleeping?

kuchih¹   ya⁴ ya⁴ zoh¹   nah³
POT:arrive true true you:SG INT
Will you really truly arrive? (Fight 276)

nakuun⁵ sha³na¹ nah³
CON:call woman INT
Is the woman inviting [me]? (Fight 249)

narih⁴   zoh¹   ree⁵   zoh¹   nah³
COM:find you:SG father your:SG INT
Did you find your father? (Sun 3:176)

oh³   zoh³ sahanx³² man³ gwaa⁴ nah³
CON:give he   money   body John INT
Is he giving money to John?

tanuu³ me³   gwaa⁴ nah³
soldier CON:be John   INT
Is John a soldier?

zah¹ waa³²   ro³to²   nah³
good CON:exist blanket INT
Is the blanket good?

sahanx³² oh³   zoh³ man³ gwaa⁴ nah³
money   CON:give he   body John INT
Does he give money to John?

There is a second interrogative sentential marker, *zhah²*, which implies that an affirmative answer is expected.

raan³¹   *zhah²*
CON:flash INT:AFF
Lightning is flashing, isn't it?

tiko²   *hunx¹ yanx³ zhah²*
POT:play I   paper INT:AFF
I can play with the paper, can't I?

Disjunctive questions are expressed by a sentence combination (see §6.1.2).

1.2.2 WH questions. Any element of a basic sentence can be questioned by using an appropriate interrogative noun phrase (see §3.4) or interrogative adverb (see §5.5) in focus position, and by using the interrogative sentential marker *ga²* at the end. The most common interrogatives are: *me³ zii⁵* 'who?', *me³ nii⁵* 'which woman?', *me³ ze³²* 'what?', *tunx³* or *me³ rex³²* 'where?', *aman³*, *me³ o³ra⁴* (Sp. *hora* 'hour'), or *me³ gwii³* 'when?', *a³zah¹* 'how?', *me³ shehe⁴* 'why?', *dax¹* 'how?', and *me³* 'which?'.

The interrogatives *me³ zii⁵*, *me³ nii⁵*, and *me³ ze³²* are used to question subject, object, nominal complement, and occasionally adjuncts.

me³   *zii⁵ kahnah³   ga²*
which he COM:come INT
Who came?

me³   *zii⁵ me³*   *zoh³ ga²*
which he CON:be he   INT
Who is he?

me³   *nii⁵ kananx⁵   rohno⁴ ga²*
which she COM:weave tunic   INT
Who (which woman) wove the tunic?

me³   *ze³²*   *achiin³   man⁴ zoh¹   ga²*
which it:INAN CON:lack body your:SG INT
What do you need? (lit. What is lacking to you?) (cf. Deluge 25)

me³   *ze³²*   *kiranx⁵ gwaa⁴ ga²*
which it:INAN COM:buy John   INT
What did John buy?

It is also possible to use more specific noun phrases in such questions.

> *me³   shnii³ unanx⁵ ga²*
> which boy   CON:run INT
> Which boy is running?

> *me³   kotoo⁴ kiranx⁵ gwaa⁴ ga²*
> which shirt   COM:buy John   INT
> Which shirt did John buy?

The interrogatives *tunx³* and *me³ rex³²* 'where?' are used to question the locative adjunct and the location peripheral element; *tunx³* is somewhat obsolescent.

> *tunx³   rahanx⁵   gwaa⁴ ga²*
> where CON:dance John   INT
> Where is John dancing?

> *me³   rex³² nuu³²   wito⁴   ga²*
> which place CON:be:in handkerchief INT
> Where is the handkerchief?

> *me³   rex³² rahanx⁵   gwaa⁴ ga²*
> which place CON:dance John   INT
> Where is John dancing?

> *me³   rex³² kawii³²   zoh¹ ga²*
> which place COM:come:out you:SG INT
> Where did you come from? (cf. Fight 181)

> *me³   rex³² karaa¹³   nih⁴ tanh³   ga²*
> which place POT:put:in we:IN corn:ear INT
> Where will we store the ears of corn? (Fight 76)

The interrogatives *aman³*, *me³ o³ra⁴*, and *me³ gwii³* 'when?' are used to question the time peripheral element; *aman³* is somewhat obsolescent.

> *aman³ kawih³ gwaa⁴ ga²*
> when   COM:die John   INT
> When did John die?

> *me³   o³ra⁴ kizix²   nix³ zoh³ ga²*
> which hour POT:be:complete the:PL he   INT
> When will they arrive? *or* What time will they arrive?

> *me   gwii³ kawih³ gwaa⁴ ga²*
> which day COM:die John   INT
> When did John die? *or* Which day did John die?

The interrogative *a³zah¹* 'how?' is used to question manner; it often expresses surprise or questions a motive.

a³zah¹ zix⁵   *ra⁴   zoh¹   ki²hyaa⁵ zoh¹   dax¹³ ga²*
how   CON:be:complete inside you:SG POT:do   you:SG thus   INT
How dare you do that? (cf. Sun 3:68)

a³zah¹ ahwee³   *kirih³   zoh³ sahanx³² ga²*
how   CON:be:possible COM:get he   money   INT
How is it possible [that] he got the money?

The interrogative *me³ shehe⁴* 'why?' is used to question benefactives and some referents, as well as subordinate cause and purpose sentences (see §6.2).

me³   shehe⁴ kahanx³² gwaa⁴ ngax³² ga²
which feet   COM:go   John   Putla   INT
Why did John go to Putla?

me³   shehe⁴ kirii²   *zoh¹   naa³¹   ga²*
which feet   POT:take:out you:SG cornfield INT
Why should you harvest the cornfield? (Fight 48)

(See also 7.23 and 7.26.)

This interrogative phrase often occurs in a reduced cleft construction, in which it is followed by *me³* 'to be'.

me³   shehe⁴ me³   ne⁴   zoh¹   tuhwa³ chrex³² ga²
which feet   CON:be CON:sit you:SG mouth   trail   INT
Why is [it that] you are sitting at the side of the trail? (cf. Sun 3:107)

me³   shehe⁴ me³   hyax³   zoh³ dax¹³ ga²
which feet   CON:be CON:do he   thus   INT
Why is [it that] he acts that way? (Brother 70)

This interrogative phrase is also sometimes followed by the conjunction *ne²* 'and'.

me³   shehe⁴ ne² hyax³   zoh³ dax¹³ ga²
which feet   and CON:do he   thus   INT
Why does he act that way? (Brother 73)

me³   shehe⁴ ne² hnah⁴   zoh¹   ga²
which feet   and CON:come you:SG INT
Why do you come? (Fight 69)

Questions using *me³ shehe⁴* are often used rhetorically to scold.

me^3 $shehe^4$ ne^3 uno^4 zoh^1 / $ahmii^{32}$ nih^4 ga^2
which feet   NEG CON:hear you:SG   CON:speak we:IN INT
Why don't you do what I say? (lit. Why don't you hear [when] we speak?) (Fight 85)

me^3 $shehe^4$ me^3 $tinax^5$ zoh^1 man-x^3 ga^2
which feet   CON:be COM:leave you:SG body-my INT
Why is [it that] you left me? (cf. Sun 3:112)

me^3 $shehe^4$ $hyaa^5$ zoh^1 dax^{13} ga^2
which feet   CON:do you:SG thus INT
Why do you do that? (cf. Sun 3:188)

The interrogative dax^1 'how?' is used to question stative verbs. A content verb such as waa^{32} 'to exist' must occur in such questions.

dax^1 waa^{32} $gwaa^4$ ga^2
how CON:exist John INT
What is John like?

This interrogative is also used to question manner.

dax^1 $kahwee^{13}$ $kiri$-h^1 onx^{32}
how POT:be:possible POT:get-we:IN INT:INSISTENT
How can we get [it]? (Sun 3:135)

To question content verbs, dax^1 'how?' or me^3 'which?' is used together with a very general verb. If the subject of the verb is agentive, the verb used is $hyax^3$ 'to do'; and if the subject is not agentive, the verb used is $ranh^3$ 'to suffer' or 'to fare', or uun^3 'to become' or 'to happen'.

dax^1 $kihyax^{13}$ nih^4 ga^2
how POT:do   we:IN INT
What should we do? (cf. Sun 2:43)

me^3 $kihyax^{13}$ nih^4 ga^2 $nehex^3$ ga^2
which POT:do   we:IN with baby   INT
What will we do with the babies? (cf. Sun 3:22)

dax^1 $ranh^3$ $gwaa^4$ ga^2
how CON:suffer John INT
What is happening to John? *or* How is John faring?

dax^1 uun^3 man^3 $gwaa^4$ ga^2
how CON:become body John INT
What is happening to John?

(See also 7.8.)

When an adjunct or peripheral element is expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase (see §3.6), there are two ways of questioning it that include the locative noun. It is possible to leave the locative noun in its usual position and front only the interrogative noun phrase that serves as its possessor.

> *me³   ze³²   ahmïï³²   zoh³ shehe⁴ ga²*
> which it:INAN CON:speak he   feet   INT
> What is he speaking about?

> *me³   zii⁵ naruhwee³² gwaa⁴ sahanx³² riaan³² ga²*
> which he COM:repay John   money   face   INT
> Who did John pay the money back to?

It is also possible to front the locative noun too, in which case the fronted element forms an interrogative possessive noun phrase (see §3.4); the locative noun follows the interrogative basic noun phrase and lowers its tone (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering).

> *me³   ze³²   shehe¹ ahmïï³²   zoh³ ga²*
> which it:INAN feet   CON:speak he   INT
> About what is he speaking? (cf. *shehe⁴* 'feet of')

> *me³   zii⁵ riaan² naruhwee³² gwaa⁴ sahanx³² ga²*
> which he face   COM:repay John   money   INT
> To whom did John pay the money back? (cf. *riaan³²* 'face of')

When an adjunct or peripheral element is expressed by a prepositional phrase, the formation of questions is governed largely by the individual preposition (see §4.3). Associative adjuncts with *ga²* 'with' cannot be questioned. The object of *ra⁴* 'inside' may be questioned by fronting the entire prepositional phrase to sentence-initial position, and placing the interrogative nominal marker *me³* 'which?' before it.

> *me³   ra⁴   weh³ ne³   zoh³ ga²*
> which inside house CON:sit he   INT
> In which house does he live?

The object of *ndaa¹³* 'until' can be questioned in various ways, though not all speakers accept them all.

> *me³   rex³² kunanx⁵ zoh³ ndaa¹³ ga²*
> which place COM:run he   until   INT
> Where did he run to?

> *me³ rex³² ndaa¹³ kunanx⁵ zoh³ ga²*
> which place until   COM:run he   INT
> Where to did he run?

> *ndaa¹³ me³   rex³² kunanx⁵ zoh³ ga²*
> until   which place COM:run he   INT
> To where did he run?

WH questions can occur with the sentential marker *onx³²*, rather than *ga²*; *onx³²* indicates insistence on the part of the speaker, and sometimes even irritation.

> *dax¹ ki²hya-h⁴   ga² yoh¹ onx³²*
> how POT:do-we:IN with that INT:INSISTENT
> What should we do with those [ones (the babies)]? (said after two unsuccessful attempts to get rid of them) (Sun 3:39)

> *dax¹ hyaa-³   yax¹³ onx³²*
> how CON:do-UN now   INT:INSISTENT
> And so what is he doing now? (Fight 229)

If no complementizer occurs, it is possible to question an element within a sentential complement.

> *me³ ze³² ahwex³²   zoh³ kiraan² hunx¹ ga²*
> which it:INAN CON:be:willing he   POT:buy I   INT
> What is he willing for me to buy?

> *me³ zii⁵ kahnah³ / kenehe³ gwaa⁴ ga²*
> which he COM:come   COM:sense John INT
> Who did John see come?

1.2.3 Indirect questions. Both YES/NO and WH questions can occur as object complements in statements. In neither case, however, does an interrogative sentential marker occur.

Indirect YES/NO questions are signaled by the subordinate conjunction *seze³²* 'if', used in this construction to mean 'whether'.

> *shna⁵hanx³²   gwaa⁴ seze³² kahnah³ pe³dro⁴ a³²*
> COM:ask:question John if   COM:come Peter   DEC
> John asked whether Peter had come.

ne³ nehe³   gwaa⁴ seze³² nuu³²   sahanx³² rke³
NEG CON:sense John if   CON:be:in money   stomach

   chruun⁵ a³²
   box   DEC
John doesn't know whether the money is in the box.

(See also 7.95.)

Sometimes, however, *seze³²* seems to function simply as a complementizer.

ne³ kachrii²   ra⁴   zoh³ seze³² tuhwii³ no⁴
NEG COM:tuck:in inside he if   thunder CON:be:attached

   katuun³¹ chruun³ mah³
   waist   wood   NEG
He didn't realize that the thunder was stuck in the trunk of the tree.
or He didn't consider whether the thunder ... (Openly 46)

Indirect disjunctive questions are expressed by a sentence combination (see §6.1.2).

Indirect WH questions are identical in form to ordinary WH questions except that they do not have an interrogative sentential marker. No complementizer occurs.

nehe⁴   hunx¹ me³   zii⁵ kahanx³² a³²
CON:sense I   which he COM:go   DEC
I know who went.

shna⁵hanx³²   gwaa⁴ me³   rex³² kahanx³² pe³dro⁴ a³²
COM:ask:question John which place COM:go   Peter   DEC
John asked where Peter went.

(See also 7.3 and 7.7.)

Indirect WH questions frequently occur at the beginning of the matrix sentence.

dax¹ kihyax¹³ zoh³ ga² tanh³   / ni²hyax³² nih⁴ a³²
how POT:do he   with corn:ear   POT:look we:IN DEC
We will observe WHAT HE DOES WITH THE EAR OF CORN. (Fight 167)

dax¹ waa³²   re-x⁵   / kene²he-x³ a³²
how CON:exist father-my   POT:sense-I DEC
I will see WHAT MY FATHER IS LIKE. (cf. Sun 3:113)

me³   zii⁵ hyax³   /   ra-x³   a³²
which he CON:do   CON:think-I DEC
I was wondering who was doing [it]. (Sun 3:110)

me³   hyaa⁵ zoh¹   /   ra-x³   a³²
which CON:do you:SG   CON:think-I DEC
I was wondering what you were doing? (cf. Fight 70)

(See also 7.15.)

1.3 Commands

Commands are signaled largely by the presence of an appropriate
sentential marker. The marker *a⁴* 'persuasive' signals a command when it
occurs in a sentence with potential aspect and second person or inclusive
subject.

kananx²   zoh¹   rohno⁴ a⁴
POT:weave you:SG tunic   PERS
Weave the tunic!

kahanx² zox³   niaan⁵   ahyox³   a⁴
POT:go   you:PL Tlaxiaco tomorrow PERS
Go to Tlaxiaco tomorrow!

kihyax¹³ nih⁴   weh³   a⁴
POT:do   we:IN house PERS
Let's build the house!

If, however, the imperative sentence is followed by a vocative and/or is
combined with another sentence, no sentential marker occurs. Only the
context shows that it is an imperative.

cha²   zoh¹   nee³¹ /   'na³iin³²
POT:eat you:SG flesh   Mama
Eat the meat, Mama! *or* You will eat the meat, Mama. (Sun 1:54)

(See also 7.9, 7.29, 7.41, 7.68, and various others.)

The sentential marker *ru³gwanx³²* 'polite imperative' occurs only in
commands.

kananx²   zoh¹   rohno⁴ ru³gwanx³²
POT:weave you:SG tunic   IMP:POLITE
Please weave the tunic!

Various other markers, including *ei³²* 'emphatic', *mah³* 'negative', and *mei³²* 'negative emphatic', occur in both statements and commands. When they occur in sentences with potential aspect, an agentive verb, and an appropriate subject, the command reading is more likely.

> *kahanx² zoh¹   ei³²*
> POT:go   you:SG EMPH
> By all means, go! *or* You will definitely go.

> *ze² cha⁴   zoh¹   man-x³ mah³*
> NEG POT:eat you:SG body-my NEG
> Don't eat me! *or* You won't eat me. (Sun 3:36)

> *ze² kahanx³² zoh¹   mei³²*
> NEG POT:go   you:SG NEG:EMPH
> By all means, don't go! *or* You definitely won't go.

> *ze² kata-h³   ze² narih-ix³ nehex³ mah³*
> NEG POT:say-we:IN NEG POT:find-I baby   NEG
> Let it not be said [that] I can't conceive a child! (Sun 3:89)

In order to make a command more polite, a diminutive, such as the general quantifier *dox¹³* 'some' or 'a little', may be used somewhere within it.

> *kachen² zoh¹   dox¹³ yaan³² a⁴*
> POT:pass you:SG some salt   PERS
> Pass a little salt! *or* Please pass the salt!

There are no specific ways of expressing a first or third person command, but such a reading is possible for any sentence that has potential aspect, an agentive subject, and an appropriate sentential marker.

> *kihyax¹³ gwaa⁴ weh³ a⁴*
> POT:do   John house PERS
> Believe me, John will build the house. *or* Let John build the house!

> *kahanx² nux⁵   niaan⁵ ei³²*
> POT:go   we:EX Tlaxiaco EMPH
> We will definitely go to Tlaxiaco. *or* By all means, let us go to Tlaxiaco!

There are special imperative forms of the verbs 'to go' and 'to come'. These forms are used only with second person subjects in short sentences referring to an immediate action, and they signal a lack of respect.

gwix² zoh¹ a⁴
IMP:go you:SG PERS
Go away! *or* Scram!

kuwah² zox³ nianx⁵ a⁴
IMP:come you:PL here   PERS
Come here!

(See also 7.82.)

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur almost exclusively in sentence-final position and are separated from the rest of the sentence by pause. Vocatives tend to be single words, and they rarely contain more than two. Many nouns have special vocative forms (see §5.3.2).

Sometimes a sentence ending in a vocative does not have a sentential marker.

naru²hwee³² hunx¹ sahanx³² riaan³² zoh¹   / 'pe³dro³²
POT:repay I   money face   your:SG   Peter
I will pay the money back to you, Peter.

kuwah² zoh¹   / sha³la¹ kunii³
IMP:come you:SG   girl   little
Come, young woman!

kahnah⁴ zoh¹   / 'ti³nux¹
COM:come you:SG   brother:ME
You came, Brother! (Brother 80)

nawix³   sahanx³² / 'a³tax¹
CON:finish money   papa
The money is about gone, Papa (Sp. *tata*).

nuwix¹³   ushra-x³ / shu³kwa²han-h⁴
CON:be:chilled INTS-I   grandmother-our:IN
I am very cold, Grandmother. (Sun 3:158)

gwex³² kachix³² zoh¹   / rex³²
quickly COM:grow you:SG   son
You grew up quickly, Son. (Sun 1:35)

guun³   na²ko-x³ / 'na³iin³²
COM:become big-I   mama
I got big, Mama. (Sun 1:37)

(See also 7.6, 7.9, 7.29, and various others.)

In other cases the marker precedes the vocative, and sometimes the pause comes between the sentence and the marker, rather than between the marker and the vocative. Some markers have special forms when they precede a vocative. The negative marker is *man³²* rather than *mah³*, and one of the emphatic markers is *nanx¹* rather than *nanx¹ a⁴*.

> *ze² nano⁴ ra⁴   zoh¹   / man³² 'na³iin³²*
> NEG POT:tell inside you:SG   NEG   mama
> Don't be sad, Mama! (Sun 2:31)

> *ranh⁴   zoh¹   / nanx¹ 'pe³dro³²*
> CON:suffer you:SG   indeed Peter
> You're sick for sure, Peter.

Vocatives have a special interrogative form ending in *h* (see §5.3.2). The YES/NO interrogative sentential marker is *nih³*, rather than *nah³*, preceding a vocative, and the other interrogative sentential markers do not occur with vocatives.

> *kenehe⁴   zoh¹   shuwaa³¹ / nih³ 'pe³droh³²*
> COM:sense you:SG cougar   INT Peter:INT
> Did you see the cougar, Peter?

> *kahanx² zoh¹   / nih³ 'pe³droh³²*
> POT:go   you:SG   INT Peter:INT
> Will you go, Peter?

> *me³   rex³² kahanx² zoh¹   / 'pe³droh³²*
> which place POT:go you:SG   Peter:INT
> Where will you go, Peter?

> *dax¹ hyaa⁵ zoh¹   / 'ti³nuh¹*
> how CON:do you:SG   brother:ME:INT
> What are you doing, Brother?

(See also 7.8.)

1.5 Sentential Markers

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind occurs in sentence-initial position and links a sentence to the preceding discourse context; these markers are described in 6.4. The second kind, which is described here, occurs in sentence-final position and expresses something about the truth value of the sentence and the attitude of the speaker

toward the information contained in it. There is a strong correlation between the grammatical mood of the sentence and the markers that can occur in it. Questions and commands, which show the greatest restrictions, are discussed first, followed by statements.

Two markers signal YES/NO questions: nah^3, which is neutral as to which answer is expected, and $zhah^2$, which expects an affirmative answer. The presence of one of these markers is the only formal signal of a YES/NO question. See §1.2.1 for examples of these markers used in sentences. A third form, nih^3, occurs before a vocative; see §1.4 for an example. This form also occurs in embedded disjunctive questions; examples are given in §6.1.2.

In WH questions, two different markers occur: ga^2, which simply signals WH question, and onx^{32}, which signals insistence, and sometimes irritation, as well. WH questions are also marked by the presence of an interrogative word or phrase at the beginning of the sentence. See §1.2.2 for examples of these markers used in sentences.

Various sentential markers occur in commands. Of these, ru^3gwanx^{32} 'polite imperative' is limited to commands; the others occur in statements as well. When the verb takes an agentive subject, and it appears in potential aspect with a second person or first person inclusive subject, a^4 'persuasive' always signals a command, and ei^{32} 'emphatic', mah^3 'negative', and mei^{32} 'negative emphatic' usually signal a command. See §1.3 for examples of these markers used in sentences. The form man^{32} occurs instead of mah^3 preceding a vocative; see §1.4 for an example.

In statements, a wide range of sentential markers occurs. The most common and least marked one is a^{32} 'declarative', which occurs in more than three-fourths of the sentences in the text in chapter 7. Other narrative texts show a similar percentage.

The remaining markers covered in this study can be somewhat arbitrarily classified into emphatic, negative, and miscellaneous.

There are various emphatic markers, some of them consisting of two words, and it is difficult to distinguish the precise meaning associated with each marker. Some of these markers, such as a^4 'persuasive' and ei^{32} 'emphatic', occur in both statements and commands. Other emphatics occur only in statements; some common ones are: $adonx^2$ 'certainly', $shugwanx^{32}$ 'obviously', $shtonx^{32}$ 'agreement', $nanx^1 a^4$ 'for sure', $nanx^1 ei^{32}$ 'definitely for sure', $zhix^{32}$ 'cheerful', and $a^1 zhix^{32}$ 'yes indeed'. Of these, only $nanx^1 a^4$ is common in narrative; the others are more frequent in dialogue.

With *a⁴*:

> *kahanx³² zoh³ a⁴*
> COM:go   he   PERS
> He went for sure.

With *ei³²*:

> *kahanx³² zoh³ ei³²*
> COM:go   he   EMPH
> He definitely went.

> *guun³   yoh³ gaa¹³ naa⁴   / ra⁴   zox³   ei³²*
> COM:become that when long:ago   CON:think you:PL EMPH
> You definitely think that happened long ago. (Sun 2:127)

With *adonx²*:

> *shehe⁴ dan³² me³   kahmii³²   rahngah³ shu³kwa²han-h⁴*
> feet   that CON:be COM:speak snare   grandmother-our:IN
>
>   *yoh³ shehe⁴ ri³kix¹³ yaa³²   adonx²*
>   that feet   frog   tongue certainly
> Therefore that grandmother of ours certainly spoke a curse about
> the leopard frog. (Sun 2:63)

> *tuhwa³ rmahan¹³ ri³kix¹³ yaa³²   adonx²*
> CON:talk in:vain   frog   tongue certainly
> The leopard frog certainly doesn't mean [it (what it says)].
> (Sun 3:182)

> *kawii²   zah¹ ndoho³² shnaa⁴   zoh¹   adonx²*
> POT:come:out good INTS   POS:cornfield your:SG certainly
> Your cornfield will certainly yield very well. (Openly 44)

With *shugwanx³²*:

> *dax¹ katax² noh³ / kuno¹³   nih⁴ shugwanx³²*
> how POT:say she   POT:hear we:IN obviously
> We will hear WHAT SHE WILL SAY of course! (Sun 3:70)

> *ax¹   kenehe⁴ zoh¹   shugwanx³²*
> already COM:sense you:SG obviously
> You already know [it] of course.

With *shtonx³²*:

    ne³ wex⁵   nih⁴ / *nuwee⁴ rex¹³ nih⁴ me³*
    NEG CON:jump WE:IN   NEG   father our:IN CON:be

        yoh³ shtonx³²
        that AGREEMENT
    We don't jump; that [one] is clearly not our father. (Sun 3:129)

With *nanx¹ a⁴*:

    yume³² cha-x³   nanx¹ a⁴
    tuber CON:eat-UN indeed PERS
    He is eating TUBERS for sure. (Fight 163)

    hnah³   nix³   noh³ nanx¹ a³²
    CON:come the:PL she indeed PERS
    The women were coming for sure. (Fight 312)

    dax¹³ kiranh³   rox¹   zoh³ gaa¹³ naa⁴   nanx¹ a³²
    thus COM:suffer the:DU he when long:ago indeed PERS
    The two of them fared thus long ago for sure. (Fight 320)

    (See also 7.35, 7.44, 7.46, 7.53, 7.88, 7.99, 7.102, and 7.104.)

With *nanx¹ ei³²*:

    dax¹³ waa³²   kwe³ndo⁴ / *tax³²   nii³ nanx¹ ei³²*
    thus CON:exist story   CON:say they indeed EMPH
    That's definitely how the story (Sp. *cuento*) goes, they say for sure.
    (Sun 4:53)

With *zhix³²*:

    kahnah⁴ zoh¹ zhix³²
    COM:come you:SG CHEERFUL
    It's so nice that you came. (Fight 268)

With *a¹ zhix³²*:

    kahanx³² zoh³ a¹ zhix³²
    COM:go he ? CHEERFUL
    He went, yes indeed.

    (See also 7.61.)

Both *ei³²* and *nanx¹ ei³²* frequently occur at the end of a discourse. Sun 4:53 and Sun 2:127 in the examples above are both the final sentences of their texts.

The negative markers include two that occur also in commands, *mah³* 'negative' and *mei³²* 'negative emphatic', as well as some that occur only in statements: *a¹ mah³* 'negative emphatic', *madonx²* 'certainly not', and *marah²* 'negative quotative'. Negative sentential markers occur only if the sentence contains a negative marker in the verb phrase (see §2.1.2), a negative emphatic noun phrase in focus position (see §3.5), or an inherently negative verb (see §5.1.1).

> *ne³ otox³² pe³dro⁴ mah³*
> NEG CON:sleep Peter NEG
> Peter isn't sleeping.

> *ne³ kachrii² ra⁴ sno⁵ho³² mah³*
> NEG COM:tuck:in inside man NEG
> The man didn't realize [it (that she meant it)]. (Fight 111)

> *dax³² sahanx³² mei³²*
> CON:NEG:exist money NEG:EMPH
> There's definitely no money.

> *nuwee⁴ shnii¹³ me³ zoh³ a¹ mah³*
> NEG boy CON:be he NEG NEG
> He's really not a boy.

> *ne³ kawih¹ zoh³ madonx²*
> NEG COM:die he NEG:certainly
> He certainly didn't die.

> *ne³ kano¹ yoh³ shtah¹ marah²*
> NEG COM:grab that high NEG:QUOTATIVE
> That [one] didn't become attached to the sky, they say. (Sun 1:79)

> *ne³ kawih¹ zoh³ marah²*
> NEG COM:die he NEG:QUOTATIVE
> He didn't die, she says.

See also 7.3, 7.7, 7.12, 7.25, 7.65, 7.69, 7.93, 7.95, and 7.101 for further examples of *mah³*, and 7.31, 7.33, 7.36, 7.40, 7.48, 7.52, 7.56, 7.76, 7.87, and 7.105 for further examples of *a¹ mah³*.

Even when a sentence contains a negative marker or negative verb, a nonnegative sentential marker sometimes occurs.

ne³ otox³² zoh³ a³²
NEG CON:sleep he   DEC
He isn't sleeping.

The miscellaneous markers include *nianh³* 'urgent', *ne³dih¹* 'you know', and *rah²* 'quotative'. The quotative marker is used to repeat something that someone else has just said, and for some speakers it also serves as an evidential.

weh³ ka²ne⁴ zoh¹ / tax³² hunx¹ kwanh³ nianh³
house POT:sit you:SG   CON:say I   today   URGENT
I said firmly today [that] YOU SHOULD SIT IN THE HOUSE. (i.e., you should stay home) (cf. Fight 71)

kahanx³² pe³dro⁴ ne³dih¹
COM:go   Peter   you:know
Peter went, you know.

nehex³ me³ yahanx³² gwii¹³ rah²
baby CON:be god   of:sun QUOTATIVE
The sun god is the baby, they say. (Sun 1:10)

achiin³ rme³dyo⁴ rah²
CON:lack medicine QUOTATIVE
He says [he] needs medicine (Sp. *remedio*). (lit. He says medicine is lacking.)

chee⁵ shkaa³² / cha⁴ yoh³ naa³¹ rah²
CON:walk raven   CON:eat that cornfield QUOTATIVE
The raven walks around eating cornfields, they say. (Sun 1:34)

In sentences containing contrafactual conditions, the contrafactual marker *zax²* may occur preceding another sentential marker; an example is given in §6.2.1.

The sentential marker usually fits the final independent sentence, but in the following example, the negative marker fits the object complement, which comes last.

hyaa⁵ dih¹ tax³² ze³² nia-x² mah³
CON:do you:SG:FAM CON:NEG:exist POS hominy-my NEG
You cause my hominy not to exist. (i.e., you ate it up) (Sun 3:81)

2

Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

Content verb phrases consist of a nucleus, which may be simple or complex, two optional preverbal elements, and three optional postverbal elements.

2.1.1 Verb nuclei. Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are idioms composed of a content verb plus some other word, which may be a noun, another content verb, a stative verb, an adverb, a numeral, or an indeterminate element. Because there are no productive morphological processes for creating new verbs (see §5.1.1), the creation of complex nuclei is an important lexical resource.

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

> $unanx^5$ $(zoh^3 a^{32})$
> CON:run (he   DEC)
> (He) runs.

> $nehe^3$ $(zoh^3 a^{32})$
> CON:sense (he   DEC)
> (He) knows ([it]).

ahneh³ (zoh³ yanx³ a³²)
CON:cut (he   paper DEC)
(He) cuts (the paper).

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus a noun. Nouns which do not refer to body parts may be the logical direct object or a manner element.

Object:

utah³   ruhna⁴ (shnii³ a³²)
CON:place:on:top knot   (boy   DEC)
(The boy) ties a knot.

hyax³   suun³² (sha³na¹ a³²)
CON:do work   (woman DEC)
(The woman) works.

achrix⁵   shkuun⁵ (pe³dro⁴ sahanx³² a³²)
CON:tuck:in debt   (Peter   money   DEC)
(Peter [Sp. *Pedro*]) lends (money).

kinarih³ nukwax³ (yahan³² nanx¹ a⁴)
COM:find strength (fire   indeed PERS)
(The fire) got stronger (for sure). (Fight 24)

kihyax³ kwe³nda⁴ (rex³   chex¹ zoh³ skii⁵ a³²)
COM:do account   (father in:law his   resin DEC)
(His father-in-law) counted (Sp. *cuenta*) (the [pieces of] incense).
(Fight 19)

kahmii³²   rahngah³ (zoh³ riaan³² tinuu⁵   zoh³ a³²)
COM:speak snare   (he   face   brother:ME his   DEC)
(He) cursed (his brother). (cf. Brother 134)

Manner:

chee⁵   kwa³yo⁴ (nehex³ a³²)
CON:walk horse   (baby   DEC)
(The baby) crawls (Sp. *caballo*).

anuu³¹   tohloo³ (hnuu⁵ a³²)
CON:explode rooster (corn   DEC)
(The corn) pops.

Sometimes the noun refers to a body part of the subject.

tigix⁵   shehe⁴ (gwaa⁴ yuwex³² a³²)
COM:poke feet   (John   rock   DEC)
(John [Sp. *Juan*]) kicked (the rock).

kano⁴   shraa⁵ (zoh³ a³²)
COM:grab back   (he   DEC)
(He) was asphyxiated. (cf. Brother 180)

(See also 7.41 and 7.42.)

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus a verb without aspect inflection, i.e., a stem in its basic continuative form.[3]

ahmii³²   achron⁴ (gwaa⁴ a³²)
CON:speak CON:write (John DEC)
(John) speaks in a veiled manner.

ahmii³²   unuh³   (rox¹   zoh³ a³²)
CON:speak CON:fight (the:DU he   DEC)
(They) argue.

Occasionally a continuative two form occurs (see §5.1.2).

nokoh³   wax²   (yoo⁴   a³²)
CON:follow CON2:move (palm:basket DEC)
(The palm basket) is hanging ([there]).

(See also 7.76, 7.77, and 7.87.)

The second verb may also be a Spanish loanword.

kihyax³ kanaan⁴ (tuhwii³ yoh³ a³²)
COM:do gain   (thunder that DEC)
(That thunder [god]) succeeded (Sp. *ganar*) ([at it]). (cf. Openly 58)

kihyax³ kanaan⁴ (yoh³ riaan³² na³²   a³²)
COM:do gain   (that face   water DEC)
(That [one (the mountain)]) won out (over the water).
(cf. Deluge 10)

kachee⁵   pasyaa⁴ (noh³ a³²)
COM:walk stroll   (she DEC)
(She) went for a walk (Sp. *pasear*).

---

[3]Sometimes the second verb agrees with the first one in aspect, rather than taking the continuative form. Further study is needed to determine if this is a matter of speaker preference, or if specific idioms take different patterns.

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).

With basic stative verbs:

$araa^3$ zah^1 $(noh^3$ $a^{32})$
CON:put:in good (she   DEC)
(She) puts ([it]) away.

$kawih^3$ $ihnah^1$ $(zoh^3$ $a^{32})$
COM:die alive   (he   DEC)
(He) became unconscious.

$nakihyax^3$ $chreh^2$ $(rox^1$ zoh^3 $tanh^3$ $a^{32})$
COM:remake compact (the:DU he   corn:ear DEC)
(The two of them) gathered (the ears of corn) together.
(cf. Openly 11)

(See also 7.71.)

With derived stative verbs:

$kachee^5$ $takox^1$ $(pe^3dro^4$ $a^{32})$
COM:walk by:foot (Peter   DEC)
(Peter) went on foot. (cf. $takoo^5$ 'foot of')

$guun^3$ $shehe^1$ $(shahanx^{32}$ $a^{32})$
COM:become based   (celebration DEC)
(The celebration) began. (cf. $shehe^4$ 'feet of')

$nano^4$ $shrex^1$ $(zhoh^3$ $a^{32})$
COM:grab:again by:ear (it:AML DEC)
(It [the animal]) listened ([to it]). (cf. Fight 205) (cf. $shree^5$ 'ear of')

$nakihyax^3$ $rmii^1$ $(nehex^3$ man^3 sha^3na^1 $a^{32})$
COM:remake idle   (baby   body woman DEC)
(The baby) bothered (the woman). (cf. $rmii^{31}$ 'lazy person')

$guun^3$ $tahnix^1$ $(ma^3rya^4$ man^3 $nehex^3$ $a^{32})$
COM:become child:related (Mary   body baby   DEC)
(Mary [Sp. $María$]) adopted (the baby). (cf. $tahnii^5$ 'child of')

guun³   *stax²*   *(rox¹   zoh³ man³ zii⁵*
COM:become relative's:husband:related (the:DU he   body   he

   kahnah³   a³²)
   COM:come DEC)
(The two of them) became parents-in-law (of the man who came).
(cf. Fight 6) (cf. *stax³²* 'relative's 'husband of')

(See also 7.104.)

A verb-plus-adverb-nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus
either a basic adverb or one derived from a locative noun or a preposition
(see §5.5).

With basic adverbs:

   nax³   nituu² (shnii³ a³²)
   CON:lie prone (boy   DEC)
   (The boy) lies facedown.

   tuhwa³ rmahan¹³ (sha³na¹ a³²)
   COM:talk in:vain   (woman DEC)
   (The woman) didn't really mean ([it (what she said)]). (cf. Fight 110)

With a derived locative adverb:

   chee⁵   shko¹   (zoh³ a³²)
   CON:walk beyond (he   DEC)
   (He) walks backward. (cf. *shko⁴* 'beyond')

A verb-plus-quanitifier nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus
a numeral or general quantifier.

   chee⁵   wahnux¹ (nix³   zoh³ a³²)
   CON:walk three   (the:PL he   DEC)
   (They) go on the third visit. (i.e., to arrange a marriage)

   kuchrah³ tahax² (rox¹   zoh³ tanh³   a³²)
   COM:split part   (the:DU he   corn:ear DEC)
   (The two of them) divided up (the ears of corn). (Openly 12)

   kishrah³   manh¹ (chruun³ a³²)
   COM:be:split two   (wood   DEC)
   (The tree) split in two. (Openly 20)

A verb-plus-indeterminate-element nucleus consists of a verb inflected
for aspect plus a word that occurs only in one or a few frozen phrases. It

is therefore not possible to assign the second element to a part of speech without access to historical or comparative data.

>*hnah³   nike³ (zhi-h⁴   chrex³ a³²)*
> CON:come back (grandfather-our:IN trail   DEC)
> (Our grandfather) was coming toward home (on the trail).
> (Brother 165)

>*cha²   nihyanx⁵ (nih⁴   a³²)*
> POT:eat at:noon   (we:IN DEC)
> (We) will eat the noon meal. (Brother 82)

2.1.2 Preverbal elements. There are two orders of optional elements in preverbal position, truth value and temporal.

The truth-value position is expressed by the markers *ne³* 'not', *ze²* 'not', *ataa³* 'not yet', and *wee⁴* 'affirmative'; and by the preposition *ndaa¹³* 'until', used in this construction to mean 'even'.

To negate a verb in continuative aspect, *ne³* is used. To negate a verb in completive aspect, *ne³* is used together with the potential-aspect form of the verb. To negate a verb in potential aspect, *ze²* is used together with the completive-aspect form. In spite of this interchange, verb forms are glossed in this sketch according to their meaning. In the following examples, the positive counterpart of each sentence containing a negative marker is given for comparison. (See Hollenbach 1976a and 1984a:204–11 for further discussion of this interchange.)

Continuative:

>*ne³ ahmii³²   (zoh³ a³²)*
> NEG CON:speak (he   DEC)
> (He) isn't speaking.

> cf. *ahmii³²   (zoh³ a³²)*
>   CON:speak (he   DEC)
>   (He) is speaking.

> (See also 7.20, 7.23, 7.25, 7.26, 7.31, 7.33, 7.40, and 7.52.)

Completive:

>*ne³ kahmii²   (zoh³ a³²)*
> NEG COM:speak (he   DEC)
> (He) didn't speak.

cf. *kahmii³²*   *(zoh³ a³²)*
COM:speak (he   DEC)
(He) spoke.

(See also 7.3, 7.7, 7.65, 7.69, and 7.95.)

Potential:

ze² kahmii³²   *(zoh³ a³²)*
NEG POT:speak (he   DEC)
(He) won't speak.

cf. *kahmii²*   *(zoh³ a³²)*
POT:speak (he   DEC)
(He) will speak.

Both of these negative markers often cooccur with negative sentential
markers (see §1.5).

ne³ ahmii³²   *(chii³ mah³)*
NEG CON:speak (man NEG)
(The man) isn't speaking.

ze² kahmii³²   *(chii³ mei³²)*
NEG POT:speak (man NEG:EMPH)
(The man) definitely won't speak.

(See also 7.3, 7.31, and various others.)

Negated completive verbs often require potential aspect in complement
sentences (see §1.1.9).

ne³ kizix²   *(kihyax¹³ zoh³ weh³   mah³)*
NEG COM:be:complete (POT:do   he   house NEG)
(He) didn't finish (building the house).

The marker *ne³* fuses with the continuative aspect form of *ahwex³²* 'to
be willing' and *ahwee³* 'to be possible' to create the forms *n-ahwex³²* and
n-ahwee³.

n-ahwex³²   *(sha³na¹ kahanx² sno⁵ho³² a³²)*
NEG-CON:be:willing (woman POT:go   man   DEC)
(The woman) doesn't want (the man to go). (Fight 65)

n-ahwee³   *(kahanx² zoh³ a³²)*
NEG-CON:be:possible (POT:go   he   DEC)
(It) is not possible (for him to go). *or* (He) can't (go).

The marker *ataa³* 'not yet' occurs only with verbs in potential aspect; it does not cooccur with negative sentential markers.[4]

ataa³   kahmii²   (zoh³   a³²)
not:yet POT:speak (he   DEC)
(He) hasn't spoken yet.

ataa³   kurianx¹   (rex³   chex¹   zoh³   rex³²   tanuu²
not:yet POT:appear (father in:law his   place middle

   zhee⁵   a³²)
   clearing DEC)
(His father-in-law) hadn't yet left (the middle of the clearing). (Fight 22)

The affirmative marker *wee⁴* expresses agreement. It occurs with verbs in any aspect.

wee⁴ nanoh¹   (yoh³ yanx³ a³²)
AFF POT:look:for (that paper DEC)
Yes, (that [one]) should look for (bark fiber). (cf. Sun 3:142)

wee⁴ kawih³   (pe³dro⁴ adonx²)
AFF COM:die (Peter   certainly)
Yes, (Peter certainly) died.

The preposition *ndaa¹³* 'until' or 'even' occurs with verbs in any aspect.

ndaa¹³ ku³rianx¹   (shtax³ a³²)
until COM:appear (deer DEC)
(The deer) even showed up. (Sun 2:37)

ndaa¹³ na²shkax³²   (zuun³² shiaan⁵ zoh¹   a³²)
until POT:be:raised (work POS:town your:SG DEC)
(Work) will even be accomplished (in your hometown). (spoken in bitter sarcasm as a curse) (Brother 170)

The temporal marker is *ax¹* 'already'; it occurs only with verbs in continuative and completive aspects. Verbs with *ax¹* and completive aspect are used in discourse much like the English perfect and pluperfect.

---

[4]*ataa³* 'not yet' is sometimes followed by *dox³* 'more', which often occurs in postverbal quantifier (see §2.1.3). This fact suggests that *ataa³* may originally have been a verb meaning something like 'to be lacking'. Furthermore, it is rare for words that are not verbs to begin with a vowel.

ax¹   nuu³²   (yax³² ra⁴   yoo⁴   a³²)
already CON:be:in (flower inside palm:basket DEC)
(The flower) is already in (the palm basket).

ax¹   hnix³²   (tuhwii³ yoh³ tuhwa³ shkwaa⁵
already CON:be:wedged:in (thunder that mouth snake

  rkax²   a³²)
  lizardlike DEC)
(That thunder [god]) was already wedged in (the mouth of the dragon). (Openly 75)

ax¹   kahmii³²   (zoh³ a³²)
already COM:speak (he   DEC)
(He) has already spoken.

ax¹   nawix³   (kahmii³² zoh³ ga² na³² yahanx² a³²)
already COM:finish (COM:speak he   with water divine   DEC)
(He) had already finished (speaking with the ocean). (Brother 115)

(See also 7.18.)

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are three orders of optional elements in postverbal position: manner, quantifier, and incorporated noun.

Manner 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 adverbs and adverb phrases, quantifiers, content verbs uninflected for aspect, and at least one noun also occur.

With stative verbs:

  chee⁵   zah¹ (nehex³ a³²)
  CON:walk good (baby   DEC)
  (The baby) walks well.

  kanikunh¹ nika²   (tana³² a³²)
  POT:stand straight (goat   DEC)
  (The goat) will stand upright.

With adverbs:

  chee⁵   nanax³² (chii³ nga¹³ a³²)
  CON:walk slowly   (man old   DEC)
  (The old man) walks slowly.

yanx¹   kwanh³ (shrux³ a³²)
CON2:sit barely (clay:pot DEC)
(The clay pot) is barely sitting. (i.e., it is about to fall over)

kahnah³   rmahan¹³ (gwaa⁴ a³²)
COM:come in:vain   (John DEC)
(John) came for nothing.

a³riin²   rmahan¹³ (shtah¹ nanx¹   a⁴)
CON:roar in:vain   (high   indeed PERS)
It is roaring (up in the sky) for no reason for sure. (Brother 120)

kahanx³² yuun¹ (zoh³ a³²)
COM:go   once (he   DEC)
(He) went once.

kahnah³   yuun⁴ (zhoh³ a³²)
COM:come again (it:AML DEC)
(It [the animal]) came again. (Fight 199)

ra⁵zuun³² inanx² (sha³na¹ man³ shkaa³² a³²)
COM:use   just   (woman body raven   DEC)
(The woman) just used (the raven). (Fight 198)

unanx⁵ ndoho³² (zoh³ a³²)
CON:run INTS   (he   DEC)
(He) runs a lot.

(See also 7.4 and 7.97.)

With quantifiers:

cha⁴   wix¹ (zoh³ a³²)
COM:eat two (he   DEC)
(He) ate for the second time.

kakaa³²   nuh¹   (rex³   chex¹ zoh³ nanx¹ a⁴)
COM:burn complete (father in:law his   indeed PERS)
(His father-in-law) burned up completely for sure. (Fight 28)

(See also 7.28.)

With a content verb:

cha⁴   ako⁴   (yoh³ nee³¹ shtax³ a³²)
COM:eat CON:sob (that flesh deer DEC)
(That [one]) was sobbing [as she] ate (the venison). (Sun 2:60)

With a noun:

>*kishrah³   mahan¹³ (kox³² a³²)*
>COM:be:split self   (plant DEC)
>(The plant) sprouted by itself. (i.e., it was not planted)
>
>*ayuu³   mahan¹³ (tanh³   a³²)*
>CON:fall self   (corn:ear DEC)
>(The ears of corn) were falling down by themselves. (Fight 63)

Manner sometimes occurs in preverbal position, rather than in postverbal position.

>*wehe⁴ ahmii³²   (zoh³ a³²)*
>pretty CON:speak (he   DEC)
>(He) speaks graciously.
>
>*dax¹³ ahmii³²   (zoh³ a³²)*
>thus CON:speak (he   DEC)
>(He) speaks that way.
>
>*nanx¹³ waa³²   (rohno⁴ a³²)*
>thus   CON:exist (tunic DEC)
>(The tunic) is like this.
>
>*ushra⁴ kunanx⁵ (kwa³yo⁴ a³²)*
>INTS   COM:run (horse   DEC)
>(The horse) ran very fast. (Brother 126)
>
>*tikix¹³ guun³   raan¹ (zoh¹ a³²)*
>INTS   COM:become delayed (you:SG DEC)
>(You) were gone a long time. (cf. Fight 70)
>
>*ho² kotox³²   (wichix³²   yoh³ a³²)*
>one COM:sleep (old:woman that DEC)
>(That old woman) slept continuously. (Sun 1:73)
>
>(See also 7.61, 7.67, and 7.107.)

This is especially common when manner is expressed by a phrase.

>*yoo¹³   ndoho³² chee⁵   (zoh³ a³²)*
>quickly INTS   CON:walk (he   DEC)
>(He) walks very quickly.
>
>*inanx² dax¹³ hyaa(-³   a³²)*
>just   thus CON:do(-UN DEC)
>She acted in just that way. (cf. Sun 3:93)

The position of manner is often linked to the specific lexical item that expresses it. While some stative verbs and adverbs seem to require one position or the other, others occur in either position, sometimes with no apparent meaning difference, and sometimes with two different sense discriminations.

> *nanax^{32} chee^5 (zoh^3 a^{32})*
> slowly   CON:walk (he   DEC)
> (He) walks slowly.

> *chee^5 nanax^{32} (zoh^3 a^{32})*
> CON:walk slowly   (he   DEC)
> (He) walks slowly.

> *zah^1 ahmii^{32} (zoh^3 a^{32})*
> good CON:speak (he   DEC)
> (He) speaks well.

> *ahmii^{32} zah^1 (zoh^3 a^{32})*
> CON:speak good (he   DEC)
> (He) speaks well.

> *unanx^5 zah^1 (zoh^3 a^{32})*
> CON:run good (he   DEC)
> (He) runs well. (i.e., without problems)

> *zah^1 unanx^5 (zoh^3 a^{32})*
> good CON:run (he   DEC)
> (He) runs well. (i.e., gracefully)

When an intensifying adverb or quantifier expresses manner, it often refers to the subject of an intransitive verb or to the direct object of a transitive verb, even though it occurs within the verb phrase.

> *hnah^3 ndoho^{32} (nix^3 sha^{3}na^1 a^{32})*
> CON:come INTS   (the:PL woman DEC)
> A lot of (the women) were coming. (cf. Fight 303)

> *todoh^1 man^4 (yuwii^{31} gaa^{13} naa^4 a^{32})*
> tiny:bit CON:exist:PL (person when long:ago DEC)
> There were very few (people long ago). (Brother 3)

> *cha^2 ndoho^{32} (zoh^3 nehex^3 a^{32})*
> POT:eat INTS   (he   baby   DEC)
> (He) will eat a lot of (babies). (cf. Brother 138)

ichix² ka³ta¹³   (naa³¹   tanh³   a³²)
seven COM:carry (cornfield corn:ear DEC)
(Corn plants) used to bear seven (ears of corn [each]). (cf. Fight 56)

(See also 7.6.)

Compare Fight 56 above with Fight 58, which restates the same idea, but has the numeral in a focused noun phrase.

(ichix² tanh³)   ka³ta¹³   (naa³¹   gaa¹³ naa⁴   a³²)
(seven corn:ear) COM:carry (cornfield when long:ago DEC)
(Corn plants) used to bear (SEVEN EARS OF CORN [each] long ago). (Fight 58)

Manner is questioned by the interrogative adverbs *dax¹* 'how?' and *me³ dax³²* 'how much?', 'to what extent?', or 'how many times?'.

dax¹ kawih³   (zoh³ ga²)
how COM:die (he   INT)
How did (he) die?

me³   dax³²   kahanx³² (gwaa⁴ ga²)
which how:much COM:go   (John   INT)
How many times did (John) go?

Often *dax¹* is followed by the verb *waa³²* 'to exist'. In the analysis adopted in this study, this construction is viewed as a stative sentence with a sentential complement as the subject.

dax¹ gaa²   (kihyax¹³ zoh³ weh³   ga²)
how POT:exist (POT:do   he   house INT)
How will it be ([the case that] he will build the house)?

Following manner is the quantifier, which is expressed by the verbal marker *uun⁴* 'again' or 'also', the general marker *uun¹* 'just', and the general quantifiers *dox¹³* 'some' and *dox³* 'more'.

kinix³²   uun⁴ (shahax³² a³²)
COM:fall REP (gopher   DEC)
(The gopher) fell again. (Sun 2:124)

cha⁴   uun¹ (zoh³ a³²)
COM:eat LIM (he   DEC)
(He) just ate.

chee⁵   dox¹³ (zoh³ a³²)
CON:walk some (he   DEC)
(He) walks somewhat.

chee⁵   dox³   (zoh³ a³²)
CON:walk more (he   DEC)
(He) walks more.

(See also 7.17, 7.22, 7.76, and various others.)

The final position in the verb phrase is incorporated element, which is expressed by an inherently possessed kinship term, a body-part noun, or a preposition. There are four kinds of incorporated elements, differing according to productivity and meaning.

When the incorporated element is a kinship term, the subject is plural, and the meaning is reciprocal. The verb nucleus and the kinship term form an idiomatic unit, even though the two parts can be separated by manner and/or quantifier, because the existence of the combination cannot be predicted and because of the reciprocal meaning. (See Hollenbach 1979 and 1984b for further discussion of this construction.)

ano⁴   tuwih³   (rox¹   zoh³ a³²)
CON:grab companion (the:DU he   DEC)
(They) fight with each other.

kinarih³   tuwih³   (rox¹   zoh³ a³²)
COM:find companion (the:DU he   DEC)
(They) met each other. (Fight 270)

guun³   mane⁴   (nih⁴ a³²)
COM:become comadre (we:IN DEC)
(We) became comadres (child's godmother; Sp. *comadre*) of each other.

tax³²   bax⁵   (rox¹   zoh³ a³²)
CON:say compadre (the:DU he   DEC)
(They) call each other compadre (child's godfather; Sp. *compadre*).

When the incorporated element is the preposition *ra⁴* 'inside', the verb nucleus and *ra⁴* form an idiomatic unit that refers to a psychological state.[5]

kahmaan³   ra⁴   (sno⁵ho³² a³²)
COM:get:hot inside (man   DEC)
(The man) became angry. (Fight 97)

---

[5]*ra⁴* was apparently a body-part noun meaning 'heart of' at an earlier stage in the history of Trique, but it survives at present only as a preposition meaning 'inside', as an incorporated element in expressions that refer to psychological states, and in a few other frozen expressions. The Spanish loanword *niman⁴* (from *ánima* 'soul') is currently used as the noun for 'heart of'.

kahneh³ ra⁴   (zoh³ a³²)
COM:cut inside (he   DEC)
(He) changed his mind.

Some idioms with *ra⁴* contain three parts.

guun³   ya¹³ ra⁴   (yoh³ a³²)
COM:become true inside (that DEC)
(That [one]) was convinced ([of it]). (cf. Sun 2:35)

The incorporated noun may also be a body-part of the subject.[6]

nahaan³ rke³   (noh³ a³²)
CON:sting stomach (she   DEC)
(She) is hungry.

(See also 7.51.)

If the verb is transitive and the body part is logically part of the object, the idiom comprising the verb and the body-part noun is intransitive.

rii³²   talux⁵ (zoh³ a³²)
CON:take:out saliva (he   DEC)
(He) spits.

na³shkax² raha³ (zoh³ a³²)
COM:raise hand (he   DEC)
(He) raised [his] hand.

It is also possible to use a transitive sentence in which the body-part noun serves as the direct object with its possessor coreferential with the subject (see the discussion of the instrument adjunct in §1.1.4).

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[6]There are four points along a scale where a body-part noun may occur. The body part may be the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase (see §3.3) expressing the subject, as seen in 7.55 and 7.56. It may occur in the final incorporated-element position in the verb phrase, as described in §2.1.3. It may be the modifier in a complex nucleus, in which case it immediately follows the verb (see §2.1.1). Finally, the verb and body-part noun may be fused into a compound verb (see §5.1.1).

These points represent four stages in an historical process in which a body-part noun moves from the subject toward the verb. This process begins when there is a close lexical tie between a particular verb and a body-part noun. Sometimes a particular combination falls at one point for some speakers, and at a different point for others.

Nouns may also move from the object into the verb phrase if there is a close lexical tie between the verb and the noun.

na³shkax² (zoh³ raha³ zoh³ a³²)
COM:raise (he   hand his   DEC)
(He) raised (his hand).

(See also 7.46.)

When the incorporated noun is a body part and the nucleus contains a position verb, the combination shows a reversal of polarity when compared to the position verb alone, i.e., the subject becomes the direct object.

hnix²   *tuhwa³ (shuwee³ yanx³ a³²)*
CON2:be:wedged:in mouth (dog   paper DEC)
(The dog) is holding (the paper) in [its] mouth.

ax¹   hnix³²   *tuhwa³ (shkwaa⁵ rakax²   man³*
already CON:be:wedged:in mouth (snake   lizardlike body

  zoh³ a³²)
  his   DEC)
(The dragon) was already holding (him) in [its] mouth. (Openly 67)

hnix²   *raha³ (shnii³ sahanx³² a³²)*
CON2:be:wedged:in hand (boy   money   DEC)
(The boy) grasps (the money) in [his] hand.

tax¹   *shia⁴ (chii³ kax³² a³²)*
CON2:be:on:top neck (man log   DEC)
(The man) is carrying (the log) on [his] shoulder.

The position verbs in these idioms are intransitive and take a locative adjunct; but the idioms containing them are transitive. Compare the following intransitive sentences with the above.

hnix²   *(yanx³ tuhwa³ shuwee³ a³²)*
CON2:be:wedged:in (paper mouth dog   DEC)
(The paper) is in (the dog's mouth).

tax¹   *(kax³² shia⁴ chii³ a³²)*
CON2:be:on:top (log   neck man DEC)
(The log) is on (the man's shoulder).

Occasionally two incorporated nouns occur in an idiom.

natah³   *shraa⁵ tuwih³   (yanx³ a³²)*
CON:be:stacked back   companion (paper DEC)
(The papers) are stacked on top of each other.

See Hollenbach 1979 for further discussion of these kinds of incorporated nouns.

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. The two preverbal elements do not cooccur, but all possible combinations of postverbal elements occur, and all occur with preverbal elements.

unanx^5 zah^1 uun^4 (shnii^3 a^{32})
CON:run good REP (boy DEC)
(The boy) is running well again. *or* (The boy) is also running well.

guun^3 yaan^2 uun^4 (zoh^3 a^{32})
COM:become first REP (he DEC)
(He) moved ahead again. (Brother 126)

kuyanx^{32} ndoho^{32} ra^4 (noh^3 a^{32})
COM:boil INTS   inside (she DEC)
(She) was very furious. (Fight 101)

ne^3 nokoh^3 zah^1 (hnuu^5 man^3 tuhwii^3 sno^{2}ho^{32} mah^3)
NEG CON:follow good (corn body thunder male   NEG)
(The corn) doesn't grow well for (the male thunder [god]).
(Openly 8)

ne^3 ahmaan^3 ndoho^{32} ra^4 (zoh^3 a^2)
NEG CON:get:hot INTS   inside (he DEC)
(He) doesn't become very angry.

ataa^3 kahmaan^{13} dox^3 ra^4 (zoh^3 a^{32})
not:yet POT:get:hot more inside (he DEC)
(He) hasn't become angrier yet.

ax^1 cha^4 ndoho(-x^{32} a^{32})
already COM:eat much(-I DEC)
(I) have already eaten a lot. (Brother 90)

Sometimes the quantifier follows an incorporated element.

kahmaan^3 ra^4 uun^4 (sha^{3}na^1 shehe^4 tanh^3 a^{32})
COM:get:hot inside REP (woman feet   corn:ear DEC)
(The woman) became angry again (about the ears of corn).
(Fight 100)

When preverbal manner cooccurs with the truth-value marker, manner precedes, as seen in 7.40 and 7.52. When manner follows a truth-value marker, however, the truth-value marker is analyzed as part of a stative verb phrase (see §2.3) or an adverb phrase (see §4.2.1).

When a negative marker cooccurs with the intensifying adverb *ndoho³²*, the meaning is 'not much'; but when a negative marker cooccurs with the intensifying adverb *ushra⁴*, the meaning is 'not at all'. See Hollenbach 1976b for further discussion.

> *ne³ cha⁴   ndoho³² (shnii³ a³²)*
> NEG CON:eat INTS   (boy   DEC)
> (The boy) doesn't eat much.

> *ne³ cha⁴   ushra⁴ (shnii³ a³²)*
> NEG CON:eat INTS   (boy   DEC)
> (The boy) doesn't eat at all.

> *ushra⁴ ne³ cha⁴   (shnii³ a³²)*
> INTS   NEG CON:eat (boy   DEC)
> (The boy) doesn't eat at all.

Further examples of a negative marker with *ushra⁴* are found in 7.33, 7.40, and 7.52. In 7.105, *ushra⁴* cooccurs with the inherently negative verb *dax³²* 'to not exist' with the meaning 'to not exist at all'.

When the verb *tiko³²* 'to play' occurs as postverbal manner, a negative marker must occur.

> *ne³ ahngax³² tiko³²   (tako-x⁵ mah³)*
> NEG CON:throb CON:play (foot-my NEG)
> (My foot) throbs a lot. (lit. [My foot] does not throb playing.)

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on four verbs: *me³* 'to be', *kuhnax¹* 'to be named', *uun³* 'to become', and *nauun³* 'to turn into'. These verbs do not enter into complex nuclei, but *me³* and *uun³* combine with the incorporated preposition *ra⁴* 'inside' to form idioms that function like transitive content verbs.

> *me³   ra⁴   (shnii³ cha² zoh³ yuhweh³ a³²)*
> CON:be inside (boy   POT:eat he   ice   DEC)
> (The boy) wants (to eat ice cream).

> *guun¹³   ra⁴   (noh³ ku²nuu³² noh³ yatsex⁵ a³²)*
> POT:become inside (she POT:be:in she   clothing DEC)
> (She) will want (to put the garment on).

These verbs otherwise take only the truth-value markers and the quantifier, except that *me³* 'to be' does not occur with the negative markers.

Equative sentences with me^3 are negated by means of negative noun phrases (see §3.5).

> *(tanuu³) me³   uun⁴ (zoh³ a³²)*
> (soldier) CON:be REP   (he   DEC)
> (He) is (a soldier) again.

> *ze² guun³   (zoh³ me³stro⁴ mah³)*
> NEG POT:become (he   teacher NEG)
> (He) won't become (a teacher [Sp. *maestro*]).

> *kinauun³   uun⁴ (zoh³ shkuu³ a³²)*
> COM:turn:into REP   (he   animal DEC)
> (He) turned into (an animal) again.

2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which do not take aspect inflection. These verbs do not enter into complex nuclei, but they sometimes occur with the incorporated preposition ra^4 'inside' to form idioms, some of which function as transitive content verbs.

> *yahaan¹³ ra⁴   (zoh³ a³²)*
> hot   inside (he   DEC)
> (He) is hotheaded.

> *nukwax¹³ ra⁴   (zoh³ man³ tinuu⁵   zoh³ a³²)*
> strong   inside (he   body brother:ME his   DEC)
> (He) is trusting (in his brother).

> *hee¹ ra⁴   (zoh³ nehex³ a³²)*
> heavy inside (he   baby   DEC)
> (He) feels compassion (for babies). (cf. Brother 13)

> (See also 7.81.)

Stative verbs occur with the negative marker ne^3, the affirmative marker wee^4, and the preposition $ndaa^{13}$ 'until', used in this construction to mean 'even'. They also occur with a limited manner, expressed mainly by intensifying adverbs and the stative verb gee^1 'whole', used in this construction to mean 'exactly'; and with a limited quantifier, expressed by the general marker uun^1 'just' or the general quantifier dox^3 'more'.

Stative verb phrases occur in the predicate of stative sentences, either alone or together with a content or equative verb like waa^{32} 'to exist' or uun^3 'to become' (see §1.1.6).

Alone:

> *zah¹ ushra⁴ (ro³to² a³²)*
> good INTS   (blanket DEC)
> (The blanket) is very good.

> *chreh² uun¹ (shnii³ a³²)*
> short LIM (boy   DEC)
> (The boy) is just short.

> *ne³ ya¹³ (ri³kix¹³ a³²)*
> NEG true (frog   DEC)
> (The frogs) are not truthful. (cf. Sun 4:17)

> (See also 7.100.)

With a content or equative verb:

> *wee⁴ nix³² (waa³²   nanx³   a³²)*
> AFF ugly (CON:exist net:bag DEC)
> Yes, (the bag is) ugly.

> *ndaa¹³ skah¹ (gaa²   zoh¹   a³²)*
> until   hard (POT:exist you:SG DEC)
> (You will be) even strong! (spoken in bitter sarcasm as a curse)
> (Brother 170)

> *chron¹ dox¹³ tsinh⁵ (waa³⁴   zoh³ a³²)*
> dark   some tiny   (CON:exist he   DEC)
> (He is) a little bit dark-skinned. (cf. Deluge 35)

> *kunix¹³ dox³ (waa³²   zoh³ a³²)*
> young   more (CON:exist he   DEC)
> (He is) younger. (cf. Brother 70)

> *ne³ shix¹ (waa³²   zoh³ mah³)*
> NEG big   (CON:exist he   NEG)
> (He is) not big. (Brother 144)

> *(waa³²)   raan³² gee¹ (rke-x³   a³²)*
> (CON:exist) firm   whole (stomach-my DEC)
> (My stomach is) exactly full. (Brother 90)

(guun³)   *ganh¹ ndoho³² (kuchrux³² zhi-h⁴*
(COM:become) far   INTS   (COM:lay   grandfather-our:IN

    shumanh³ makaa⁵   nanx¹ a⁴)
    town   Mexico:City indeed PERS)
(It came to be) very far away ([that] our grandfather founded
Mexico City for sure). (Brother 42)

    Stative verb phrases also occur in the manner position of the verb phrase
in other sentence types (see §2.1.3).

    zah¹ dox³ (awii³²   naa³¹   rex³² muu³² a³²)
    good more (CON:come:out cornfield place coast DEC)
    (The cornfields yield) better (on the coast). (Openly 17)

    zah¹ ushra⁴ dox³ (ananx⁵   noh³ a³²)
    good INTS   more (CON:weave she DEC)
    (She weaves) much better.

    (kahmii³²)   chree¹³ ndoho³² (zii⁵ chix³²   dox³ yoh³ a³²)
    (COM:speak) evil   INTS   (he mature more that DEC)
    (That older one spoke) in a very evil manner. (Brother 130)

    When the negative marker cooccurs with the intensifying adverb *ushra⁴*,
the meaning is 'not at all' (see §2.1.4).

    ne³ zah¹ ushra⁴ (ananx⁵   noh³ mah³)
    NEG good INTS   (CON:weave she NEG)
    (She does) not (weave) well at all.

    Sometimes an intensifying adverb precedes the stative verb.

    ushra⁴ wehe⁴ (waa³²   sha³na¹ a³²)
    INTS   pretty (CON:exist woman DEC)
    (The woman is) very pretty.

    dox³ a¹ nukwax¹³ (chee⁵   zoh³ a³²)
    more ? strong   (CON:walk he DEC)
    (He walks) even faster.

    When the negative marker *ne³* or the affirmative marker *wee⁴* occurs in
a stative verb phrase, however, that phrase must precede any content verb
that occurs in the sentence, and no truth-value marker can occur in that
content verb phrase. In other words, only one truth-value marker can
occur in any full verb phrase, and it must occur at the beginning.

ne³ chee⁵   zah¹ ushra⁴ (zoh³ a³²)
NEG CON:walk good INTS   (he   DEC)
(He) doesn't walk well at all.

ne³ zah¹ ushra⁴ chee⁵   (zoh³ a³²)
NEG good INTS   CON:walk (he   DEC)
(He) doesn't walk well at all.

2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Repetitive verb phrases are formed by repeating a content or stative verb
nucleus.

Repetitive content verb phrases usually repeat a simple verb nucleus in
continuative aspect, but the repeated verb occasionally has another aspect.
Sometimes an optional verb phrase element follows the repeated verb.
This construction indicates the repetition or continuation of an action or
process.

chee⁵   chee⁵   (wichix³² yoh³ a³²)
CON:walk CON:walk (old:woman that DEC)
(That old woman) kept on walking. (cf. Sun 1:24)

agwax⁵   agwax⁵   (zhoh³ a³²)
CON:cry:out CON:cry:out (it:AML DEC)
(It [the animal]) kept on crying out. (Fight 256)

rahyunx³² rahyunx³² (rox¹ zoh³ maan-³ a³²)
CON:harm CON:harm (the:DU he   body-UN DEC)
(The two of them) kept on mistreating (her). (Sun 4:46)

ganx⁵   ganx⁵   (zoh³ yume³² a³²)
COM:dig COM:dig (he   tuber DEC)
(He) kept on digging (tubers). (Fight 143)

kinax⁵   kinax⁵   (zhi-h⁴   rex³² nanx¹³ a³²)
COM:remain COM:remain (grandfather-our:IN place thus DEC)
(Our grandfather) continued staying (in this place). (cf. Brother 129)

nokoh³   nokoh³   uun⁴ (zoh³ a³²)
CON:follow CON:follow REP (he   DEC)
(He) kept on following again. (Fight 263)

Sometimes a complex nucleus is repeated, or some modifier is repeated
along with the verb nucleus.

kuruhmaan³ shehe⁴ kuruhmaan³ shehe⁴ (zhi-h⁴   a³²)
COM:press   feet   COM:press   feet   (grandfather-our:IN DEC)
(Our grandfather) kept on stamping ([it]). (Brother 22)

guun¹³   yaan² guun¹³   yaan² uun⁴ (zoh¹   a³²)
POT:become first   POT:become first   REP   (you:SG DEC)
(You) will keep on becoming first again. (Brother 124)

maan¹ dax¹³ kihyax³ maan¹ dax¹³ kihyax³ (rox¹   zoh³
only   thus   COM:do only   thus   COM:do (the:DU he

  nanx¹ a⁴)
  indeed PERS)
Just in that fashion (the two of them) kept on doing (for sure).
(cf. Fight 265)

It is also possible to repeat a combination of a verb nucleus and a subject
pronoun.

kagwax² hunx¹ / kagwax² hunx¹ a³²
POT:cry:out I   POT:cry:out I   DEC
I will keep on crying out. (Fight 252)

In the analysis adopted in this sketch, however, this construction is
considered to be a kind of juxtaposed coordinate sentence (see §6.1.2).
   Repetitive stative verb phrases consist simply of a repeated stative verb.
They are infrequent except for the following one.

ya¹³ ya¹³ (ahmii³² zoh³ a³²)
true true (CON:speak he   DEC)
(He speaks) very truly.

(kuchih¹)   ya⁴ ya⁴ (zoh¹   nah³)
(POT:arrive) true true (you:SG INT)
(Will you) really truly (arrive)? (Fight 276)

2.5 Additive Verb Phrases

Additive content verb phrases are formed by linking two content verbs
with the preposition *ndaa¹³* 'until', used in this construction to mean 'and
even'. The two verbs must be in the same aspect, and the second one must
express an action or process that is similar to, and usually more intense
than, that expressed by the first verb. No preverbal or postverbal elements
occur.

chee⁵   ndaa¹³ unanx⁵ (zoh³ a³²)
CON:walk until CON:run (he   DEC)
(He) walks [and] even runs.

araa³   ndaa¹³ ayanx³² (na³² a³²)
CON:be:full until   CON:spill (water DEC)
(The water) is full to overflowing.

Additive stative verb phrases are formed either by juxtaposing two
stative verbs, or by placing the preposition *ndaa¹³* before each one.

shkaan¹ kashrah¹ (waa³²   skux⁵ a³²)
tall   wide   (CON:exist ox   DEC)
(The ox is) tall [and] wide.

ndaa¹³ niah¹   ndaa¹³ kochrox¹³ ra⁴   (zoh³ a³²)
until   colorful until   fragrant inside (he   DEC)
(He) is very very happy.

2.6 Appositional Verb Phrases

Appositional verb phrases are doublets that serve as a literary device. Two
semantically related verb phrases are juxtaposed for rhetorical effect.
These phrases follow the schema A B, A C. A repeated verb is followed by
different, but semantically related, elements, which often have some degree
of phonological similarity as well. In the first example, the B and C
elements are intensifying adverbs; and in the second example, they are the
second part of complex verb nuclei.

kahanx³² tiah³ / kahanx³² tihunh³ (neko⁴   yoh³ a³²)
COM:go INTS   COM:go INTS   (opossum that DEC)
(That opossum) really went in a big hurry. (Sun 1:49)

natux⁵   siuu²   / natux⁵   rmii²   (noh³ a³²)
COM:reenter by:bottom   COM:reenter ball-like (she   DEC)
(She) rolled over and over. (Sun 4:42)

A similar use of repetition with variation is also found in appositional
noun and adverb phrases (see §§3.7 and 4.2.2) and in juxtaposed coor-
dinate sentences (see §6.1.2).

3

Noun Phrases

3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

na^3na^1	'word'
$chraa^5$	'river'
$shkuu^3$	'animal'
weh^3	'house'
$chraa^3$	'tortilla'
to^{32}	'metate'
$hnuu^5$	'corn'
zoh^3	'he'

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that comprises a fairly generic noun or a non-phrase-final pronoun followed by a frozen modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral, or a stative verb. A stative verb in this position may be either a basic stative verb or a stative verb derived from a noun by means of a tone change (see §5.2). Complex nuclei probably developed

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historically from a sequence of a noun plus a reduced relative clause which acquired an idiomatic meaning.

Noun plus noun:

> *rme³dyo⁴ shluu⁵*
> medicine worm
> worm medicine (Sp. *remedio*)

> *chruun³ me³sa⁴*
> wood   table
> wooden table (Sp. *mesa*)

> *shkuu³ kohoo³*
> animal bowl
> ant lion

> *tuku³ya³² u³ro⁴*
> rabbit   donkey
> jackrabbit (Sp. *burro*)

Noun plus numeral:

> *we³rne⁴   wix¹*
> Friday:of:Lent two
> second Friday (Sp. *(viernes)* of Lent

> *kohoo³ chix²*
> bowl   seven
> seven ritual bowls of food (given to symbolize transfer of
> responsibility to new mayordomo [sponsor of a religious fiesta])

Noun or pronoun plus basic stative verb:

> *na³² tsih¹*
> water sweet
> soda pop

> *ze³² tsih¹*
> it:INAN sweet
> candy

> *shrux³ maree³¹*
> pot   green
> glazed pot

Noun plus derived stative verb:

> *agah³ neh²*
> metal ropelike
> chain (Sun 2:118) (cf. *neh³* 'rope')

> *na³² yahanx²*
> water divine
> ocean or flood (Openly 63, Deluge 1) (cf. *yahanx³²* 'saint, god')

> *na³na¹ yahax¹³*
> wind of:chili
> chili wind (a harsh choking wind) (Brother 175) (cf. *yahax³* 'chili')

Terms for owner are formed from a noun or non-phrase-final pronoun (see §5.4) followed by a possessed noun that has undergone a tone lowering. These nuclei usually occur in possessive noun phrases.

> *chii³ tahnix¹*
> man child:related
> the father (Sun 3:11) (cf. *tahnii⁵* 'child of')

> *zii⁵ tahnix¹*
> he child:related
> the parents (Brother 69)

> *zii⁵ daan¹*
> he POS:animal:related
> the owner (of the animal) (cf. *daan⁴* 'animal of')

> *zii⁵ tohox¹*
> he POS:earth:related
> the owner (of the land) (cf. *tohoo⁵* 'land of')

> *zii⁵ tukwa¹*
> he POS:home:related
> the owner (of the house) (cf. *tukwa⁴* 'home of')

> *nii⁵ sihyax¹³*
> she possession:related
> the (female) owner (of the object) (cf. *sihyax³* 'possession of')

This tone lowering is also used to derive stative verbs from nouns; it is described in §5.2. In owner constructions, however, the possessed noun retains its definiteness, which would not be the case if the tone lowering converted it into a stative verb. For example, *zii⁵ tohox¹* refers to the

owner of a specific plot of land, i.e., one that has a role in the discourse, not to landowners in general.

3.1.2 Prenominal elements. There are three elements that precede the nucleus: prenuclear limiter, quantifier, and article.

There are four prenuclear limiters: the nominal markers *doh¹* 'merely' (scornful), *nanx²* 'merely' (mildly deprecative), and *maan¹* 'only', and the general adverb *inanx²* 'just'. Occasionally two limiters occur in sequence.

> *doh¹   maan³¹*
> merely rain
> merely rain (Fight 299)

> *doh¹   chruun³*
> merely wood
> merely poles (Fight 317)

> *nanx²   sha³na¹*
> merely woman
> merely a woman (Brother 36)

> *maan¹   shtax³*
> only   deer
> only a deer (Sun 1:18)

> *inanx²   nehex³*
> just   baby
> just babies (Brother 11)

> *maan¹   inanx²   yume³²*
> only   just   tuber
> only just tubers (Fight 145)

> (See also 7.88 and 7.101.)

A noun phrase containing one of these limiters usually occurs at the beginning of the sentence, as seen in 7.88. (Each of the above examples from texts also occurs in initial position.) In the following example, a limiter follows a pronoun nucleus. The part of the sentence outside the noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

> *zoh¹   inanx²   (hyax³   ra⁴   weh³   nianx⁵   a³²)*
> you:SG just   (CON:do inside house this   DEC)
> JUST YOU (are doing [it] in this house). (Sun 3:110)

The quantifier comprises numerals and general quantifiers.

Numerals:

> *ho² yatsex⁵*
> one clothing
> one garment
>
> *kahanx¹³ sno⁵ho³²*
> four   man
> four men
>
> *uhunh¹ chruun³*
> five   wood
> five trees
>
> *ichix² skii⁵*
> seven resin
> seven [pieces of] incense (Fight 20)
>
> *iko²   sanx³²*
> twenty bit
> two pesos and fifty centavos
>
> *yoho⁴   ra³zuun²*
> another thing
> another thing (Fight 191)
>
> *yoho⁴   zoh³*
> another he
> the other one (Brother 108)
>
> (See also 7.1, 7.32, 7.36, 7.42, 7.46, 7.47, and 7.50.)

General quantifiers:

> *kehee¹ shkuu³*
> many   animal
> many animals
>
> *kunudax¹³ shkuu³*
> all   animal
> all the insects (Sun 4:33)
>
> *dax³²   a¹ shtax³²*
> how:many ? bird
> all sorts of birds (Sun 2:116)

tahax² yuwii³¹
part   person
some of the people

tahax² kix³²
part   mountain
part of the mountain (Brother 60)

dox¹³ tsinh³ naa³¹
some tiny   cornfield
a tiny bit of cornfield (Fight 86)

The numeral *ho²* 'one' often functions as an indefinite article. The first example under numerals could therefore be glossed 'a garment', as well as 'one garment'. See also 7.15, 7.76, and 7.89.

The concept many is sometimes expressed by an intensifying adverb or quantifier in the verb phrase even when it refers to a noun phrase (see §2.1.3).

There are two definite articles, *rox¹* 'the two' and *nix³* 'the (plural)'.

rox¹   shnii³
the:DU boy
the two boys (Sun 1:42)

nix³   sha³na¹
the:PL woman
the women (three or more) (Fight 303)

(See also 7.7, 7.15, and 7.109.)

In that there is no singular definite article, the absence of both a quantifier and an article often signals definite singular, especially if the nucleus has a human or animal referent.

shnii³
boy
the boy

(See also 7.17, 7.79, 7.84, and various others.)

See §3.1.3 below for the use of a deictic as a singular definite article.

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

There are three deictics. The locative adverbs *nianx⁵* 'here' and *yoh³* 'there' function as deictics, and they are glossed 'this' and 'that', respectively. There is

also a somewhat obsolescent nominal marker *dan³²* 'that', which refers to something previously mentioned.

skii⁵ nianx⁵
resin this
this ear wax (Fight 196)

shkaa³² yoh³
raven that
that raven (Fight 159)

shnii³ dan³²
boy that
that boy (the one we were talking about)

(See also 7.23.)

A weakly stressed form of *yoh³* is developing a further function as a singular definite article.

weh³ yoh³
house that
the house

(See also 7.23 and 7.32.)

The postnuclear limiter is expressed by the general marker *uun¹* 'just'.

shnii³ uun¹
boy LIM
just the boy

Restrictive relative clauses follow the nucleus. There are no relative pronouns; relative clauses are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or non-phrase-final pronouns (see §5.4), sometimes by the presence of a low-tone continuative aspect form of a verb (see §5.1.2), and by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. Non-phrase-final pronouns are very common as heads of relative clauses; see Hollenbach 1992 for a more detailed treatment. For most speakers there are no nonrestrictive relative clauses; their function is filled by appositional noun phrases (see §3.7).

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any noun or prepositional phrase within them, except that most speakers do not accept relative clauses based on an associative adjunct. (Because of the intrinsic reciprocal nature of this adjunct, speakers prefer to say 'the one who went with John', rather than 'the one John went with'.) A locative noun or preposition associated with the head noun is retained in its

original position in the relative clause, except that *man³* 'body of' may be unexpressed.

With subject as head:

> *sno⁵ho³² ahneh³ chruun³*
> man   CON:cut wood
> the man who cuts trees

> *naa³¹   awii³²   zah¹*
> cornfield CON:come:out good
> cornfields that yield well (Openly 9)

> *zii⁵ cha⁴   yuwii³¹*
> he CON:eat person
> the one who was eating people (Brother 9)

> *zii⁵ kahneh³ zuun³² riaan³² zoh³*
> he COM:cut work   face   his
> the one who gave orders to him (Brother 19)

> *ri³kix¹³ man¹   ra⁴   chraa⁵*
> frog   CON2:exist:PL inside river
> the frogs that are in the river (Sun 4:17)

> *zii⁵ ne³ nehe³*
> he NEG CON:sense
> the one who doesn't know

> (See also 7.26, 7.36, 7.40, 7.60, 7.77, 7.91, 7.94, and 7.100.)

With object as head:

> *shnii³ nehe³   gwaa⁴*
> boy   CON:sense John
> the boy that John (Sp. *Juan*) sees

> *shnii³ nehe³   gwaa⁴ man³*
> boy   CON:sense John body
> the boy that John sees

> *shumanh³ kihyax¹³ zoh³*
> town   POT:do   he
> the town he was going to build (Brother 65)

ra³zuun² ra⁵zuun³² nix³   zoh³
thing   COM:use   the:PL he
the utensils that they used (Deluge 45)

sahanx³² naruhwee³² noh³ riaan³² gwaa⁴
money   COM:repay she face   John
the money that she paid back to John

With adjunct as head:

shnii³ naruhwee³² noh³ sahanx³² riaan³²
boy   COM:repay she   money   face
the boy she paid the money back to

shumanh³ kahanx³² gwaa⁴
town   COM:go   John
the town John went to

shumanh³ kane¹³ zoh³
town   POT:sit he
the town where he was going to live (Brother 72)

rex³² tax¹   zoh³
place CON2:be:on:top he
the place where he is on top (Openly 9)

shnii³ kiranx⁵   noh³ kotoo⁴ shehe⁴
boy   COM:buy she   shirt   feet
the boy she bought the shirt (Sp. *cotón*) for

shnii³ kahmii³²   zoh³ shehe⁴
boy   COM:speak he   feet
the boy he spoke about

shnii³ yoo¹³ dox³ unanx⁵ zoh³ riaan³²
boy   fast   more CON:run he   face
the boy he runs faster than

nee³² kahneh³ gwaa⁴ nee³¹
knife COM:cut John   flesh
the knife John cut the meat with

agah³ neh²   wax²   mahan¹³ zhoh³
metal ropelike CON2:move self   its:AML
the chain by which it (the gopher) itself was moving along
(Sun 2:122)

(See also 7.84.)

With peripheral element as head:

> *shumanh³ tuhwex⁵ noh³ rohno⁴*
> town   CON:sell she tunic
> the town where she sells tunics

> *yan³² nee-¹³   tukwa-x³*
> place CON2:sit-UN POS:home-UN
> the place where he is living in his home (Fight 153)

> *rex³² kutunh³   na³² yoh³*
> place COM:dry:up water that
> the place where that (flood) water dried up (Deluge 22)

> *gwii³ kuchih¹   noh³*
> day POT:arrive she
> the day she would arrive (Fight 283)

All occurrences of a noun phrase coreferential with the head can be unexpressed in a relative clause.

> *sha³na¹ kinanh³   tukwa⁴ shehe⁴ mahan¹³*
> woman COM:go:home POS:home feet   self
> the woman who went home to [her] house for [her] own sake

> *shnii³ uun³   yaan² riaan³² tuwih³*
> boy   CON:become first face   companion
> boys who get ahead of [their] friends (Brother 109)

A relative clause may occur within another relative clause.

> *yan³² nikunh¹   zii⁵ guun³   yaan²*
> place CON2:stand he COM:become first
> the place where the one who got ahead was standing (Brother 108)

The head of a relative clause may be part of a sentential complement (see §1.1.9). In the following example, the subject of an embedded object complement serves as the head.

> *yaix³ kahnah³ / kihyax³ zoh³*
> stone COM:come   COM:do he
> the stones that he caused to come (i.e., the stones that he brought)
> (Brother 57)

In 7.58, the locative adjunct of an embedded object complement serves as
the head; and in 7.105, the subject of an embedded subject complement
serves as the head.

A relative clause may also contain a combination of two or more
sentences, either juxtaposed or linked by a conjunction.

    zii⁵ wax²   / nanoh³   shtax³
    he CON2:move   CON:look:for deer
    the one who was going along hunting deer (Openly 39)

    ra³zuun² ra⁵zuun³² nix³   zoh³ / gaa¹³ nanii³²   zoh³ rihaan³²
    thing   COM:use   the:PL he   when COM:escape he   face

      na³² yahanx²
      water divine
    the things they used when they escaped from the flood (Deluge 46)

Some relative clauses containing content verbs have acquired an
idiomatic meaning.

    zii⁵ akox⁵   chruun³
    he CON:shape wood
    carpenter

    yatsex⁵ nuu²   chraa³
    clothing CON2:be:in tortilla
    woven bag used to hold tortillas

    kuchrih³ chee⁵   shtah¹
    vehicle CON:walk high
    airplane

Equative sentences with verbs other than *me³* 'to be' may become
relative clauses based on the subject.

    shnii³ kuhnax¹   gwaa⁴
    boy   CON:be:named John
    the boy who is named John

    zii⁵ guun³   tanuu³
    he COM:become soldier
    the person who became a soldier

Stative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

    yatsex⁵ maree³¹
    clothing green
    the green garment

weh³ zah¹
house good
the good house (i.e., large, expensive)

shihyanx³² nakoo¹³ ndoho³²
celebration large INTS
a very large celebration (Brother 99)

zii⁵ chron¹   dox¹³ tsinh⁵ waa³²
he dark:skinned some tiny CON:exist
the ones who are a little bit dark skinned (Deluge 35)

(See also 7.59, 7.96, and 7.108.)

Some stative verbs occur only with the content verb *waa³²* 'to exist', and other stative verbs have a different sense discrimination when they occur with *waa³²* (see §1.1.6).

yatsex⁵ wehe⁴ waa³²
clothing pretty CON:exist
the pretty garment *or* the garment that is pretty

weh³ waa³² zah¹
house CON:exist good
the house that is good (i.e., in good condition)

There are sequences of a noun followed by a modifying noun that should probably be considered to be relative clauses with an unexpressed verb. The second noun often gives the material out of which the first is made.

wito⁴   sa³da⁴
handkerchief silk
silk (Sp. *seda*) handkerchief

nee³¹ shtax³
flesh deer
venison (Sun 2:60)

niaa³² nehex³
stew   baby
baby stew (i.e., stew made from the meat of human babies) (Brother 87)

yax³ to³²
ash   grindstone
powder from the grindstone (Fight 115)

nanx³   yume³²
net:bag tuber
the net bag [full] of tubers (Fight 210)

(See also 7.12, 7.13, and 7.16.)

In relative clauses, but not in main sentences, numerals function like stative verbs to express ordinals.

shnii³ wahnux¹
boy   three
the third boy

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. All possible combinations of elements occur in the order prenominal limiter, quantifier, article, nucleus, relative clause, deictic, and postnominal limiter. It is, however, rare to have more than five elements in a single noun phrase. There are also certain cooccurrence restrictions involving semantics. For example, quantifier and article must agree in number, and a limiter may occur with a relative clause only if a deictic also does. Deictics occur with relative clauses based on stative verbs, but they occur with other relative clauses only if there is little possibility that they could be parsed as part of the relative clause.

wix¹ rox¹   zoh³
two the:DU he
the two of them (Sun 1:12)

kehee¹ ndoho³² nix³   noh³
many INTS   the:PL she
very many of them (the women) (Fight 307)

kwe³ndo⁴ nga¹³ yoh³
story   old   that
that old story (Sp. *cuento*) (Brother 195, Deluge 62)

zii⁵ wax²   / nanoh³   shtax³ yoh³
he CON2:move   CON:look:for deer   that
that one who was going along hunting deer (Openly 40)

doh¹   niaa³² nehex³
merely stew   baby
merely baby stew (Brother 87)

yoho² tuhwii³ shana¹
one   thunder female
one female thunder (Openly 5)

ho² shnii³ chreh² nianx⁵ uun¹
one boy   short   this   LIM
just this one short boy

nix³   shnii³ chreh² nianx⁵ uun¹
the:PL boy   short   this   LIM
just these short boys

nanx² watanh¹ nix³   sha³na¹
merely six   the:PL woman
merely the six women

wahnux¹ nix³   nee³² zah¹ yoh³
three   the:PL knife good that
those three good knives

(See also 7.106.)

Sometimes two relative clauses occur in a single noun phrase, in which case one based on a stative verb precedes one based on a content verb.

shnii³ lehex¹³   nii³
boy   babylike small
the very tiny boy

shkwax³² kunii³ wah²   ra⁴   na³²
fish   little CON2:move inside water
the little fish that were moving around in the water (Sun 2:9)

ze³²   anuu³¹   ni³kax² zoh³
it:INAN CON:explode CON:have he
the explosives that he has (Openly 68)

(See also 7.15.)

Sometimes the nucleus of a noun phrase is unexpressed, leaving a quantifier or a deictic as the only manifestation of a phrase.

tahax²
part
part [of them (the ears of corn)] (Openly 13)

dan³²
that
that [place] (Fight 137)

> *nianx⁵*
> this
> this [stuff (the stew)] (Brother 89)

In 7.93, 7.95, and 7.101, the deictic *yoh³* is the only element in its noun phrase.

It is also possible to have a quantifier or deictic plus a limiter or a relative clause.

> *maan¹ dan³²*
> only   that
> only that [stuff (its blood)] (Brother 149)

> *me³   a¹ a³ta¹³   yoh³*
> which ?   con:carry that
> all sorts of [things] which that [one] was carrying (Sun 1:66)

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, and in the following examples, the higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

> *wix¹ ta³nex¹   (hnuu⁵)*
> two maquila (corn)
> two maquilas (four-liter dry measures) (of corn)

> *ho² yoo⁴   (rkoo³²   natox¹)*
> one palm:basket (custard:apple sleep:inducing)
> a basketful (of yellow zapote fruit *[Lucuma salicifolia]*) (Sun 2:101)

> *watanh¹ me³tro⁴ (ma³nda⁴)*
> six   meter   (cloth)
> six meters (Sp. *metro*) of cloth [Sp. *manta*])

> *ichix² kuchruu³¹ (tanh³)*
> seven corncrib   (corn:ear)
> seven corncribs [full] (of ears of corn) (Fight 116)

> *wahnux¹ gee¹   rlix³   (na³²)*
> three   whole bubble (water)
> exactly three drops (of water) (Sun 3:13)

> *ho² takox¹ (kanx³)*
> one pair   (sandal)
> a pair (of sandals)

Measurement noun phrases optionally include a relative clause based on a stative verb or one based on the verb *tax¹* or *taa⁵* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition'. Relative clauses with *tax¹* usually follow the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the measurement noun phrase is embedded, even though they logically belong with the measurement noun phrase.

> *ho² ta³sa⁴ shix¹ (a³skwa⁴)*
> one cup   big   (sugar)
> one big cup (Sp. *taza*) (of sugar [Sp. *azúcar*])

> *ho² nanx³ yah³   (hnuu⁵)*
> one net:bag century:plant:fiber (corn)
> one century-plant-fiber sack (of corn)

> *wahnux¹ li³tro⁴ (ri³nde⁴) tax¹   yanee⁵*
> three   liter   (rum)   CON2:be:on:top other:side
> three and a half liters (Sp. *litro*) (of rum [Sp. *aguardiente*])

3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a possessed noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. Prenuclear limiter, quantifier, and article may precede the nucleus, but postnuclear modifiers occur only rarely. The possessor is a full noun phrase with no special genitive marking.

Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to those considered capable of being possessed. They are either inherently possessed nouns or optionally possessed nouns. Inherently possessed nouns are largely body parts and kinship terms.

> *raha³ shnii³*
> hand boy
> the boy's hand

> *maan¹ tuneh⁴ zoh⁵*
> only tail   your:SG
> only your tail (Sun 3:160)

> *tuwih³   nih⁴*
> companion our:IN
> our companions (Deluge 60)

doh¹ shee⁵   *zoh³*
merely spouse's:younger:relative his
merely his wife's younger relatives (Fight 314)

wix¹ tinuu⁵   *shnii³*
two brother:ME boy
two brothers of the boy

rox¹   *tahnuh³ sha³na¹*
the:DU uncle   woman
the woman's two uncles

maan¹ inanx² nix³   shee⁵   *zoh³*
only   just   the:PL spouse's:younger:relative his
only just his wife's younger relatives (Fight 309)

nix³   zii⁵ tahnix¹   *nehex³ yoh³*
the:PL he child:related baby   that
the parents of those babies (Brother 69)

(See also 7.27, 7.42, 7.46, 7.53, 7.57, and various others.)

When optionally possessed nouns occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase, they occur in a special morphologically marked possessed form. This form may have *d* or *t* replacing initial *y*; the prefix *ta-, ti-, s-,* or *sh-;* or the nominal marker *ze³²* preceding a low-tone form of the noun. These tone replacements are described in §5.3.2.

With *d* or *t* replacing *y*:

dax³²   *zoh³*
POS:flower his
his flower (cf. *yax³²* 'flower')

tachruh³ noh³
POS:gourd her
her gourd (Sun 4:40) (cf. *yachruh³* 'gourd')

tuhwex³² noh³
POS:thread her
her thread (Sun 4:36) (cf. *yuhwex³²* 'thread')

With a prefix:

wahnux¹ taneh³   sno⁵ho³²
three   POS:rope man
the man's three ropes (cf. *neh³* 'rope')

takanx³   noh³
POS:sandal her
her sandals (Sun 4:37) (cf. *kanx³* 'sandal')

tihnuu⁵   noh³
POS:corn her
her corn (cf. *hnuu⁵* corn')

ichix² sto³²   hunx¹
seven POS:grindstone my
my seven grindstones (Fight 108) (cf. *to³²* 'grindstone')

ichix² kuchruu³¹ stanh⁴   hunx¹
seven corncrib POS:corn:ear my
the seven corncribs [full] of my ears of corn (Fight 107) (cf. *tanh³*
'ear of corn')

maan¹ shnaa³¹   gwaa⁴
only   POS:cornfield John
only John's cornfield (cf. *naa³¹* 'cornfield')

(See also 7.9.)

With a fused prefix:

raa⁵   noh³
POS:tortilla her
her tortillas (Sun 4:39) (cf. *chraa³* 'tortilla')

ra-x⁵
POS:tortilla-my
my tortillas

With *ze³²*:

ze³² mi²shte⁴ shnii³
POS   machete boy
the boy's machete (Sp. *machete*) (cf. *mi³shte⁴* 'machete')

ze³² kwe²ndo⁴ nix³   zoh³
POS   story   the:PL his
their story (i.e., the story about them) (Fight 334, Deluge 37) (cf.
kwe³ndo⁴ 'story')

nuh¹   ze³² razuun² nix³ zoh³
complete POS thing   the:PL his
all of their things (Deluge 44) (cf. *ra³zuun²* 'thing')

(See also 7.28, 7.34, 7.107, and 7.109.)

Postnuclear modifiers are usually expressed by using an appositional noun phrase (see §3.7). A short relative clause based on a stative verb may, however, come between the nucleus and the possessor when the nucleus and relative clause form a close-knit unit.

> *tuwih³   shana¹ noh³*
> companion female her
> her female companion *or* her fellow woman

If the possessor is expressed by a phrase-final pronoun (see §5.4), a deictic that follows the possessor refers to the nucleus. (If the deictic referred to the possessor, the possessor would be expressed by a non-phrase-final pronoun.) The deictic that most frequently occurs in this position is the weakly stressed form of *yoh³* 'that', which serves as a definite article.

> *tohoo⁵   zoh³ yoh³*
> POS:earth his   that
> that land of his *or* the land of his *or* his land (cf. *yohoo⁵* 'earth')

(See also 7.4, 7.5, 7.8, 7.10, 7.61, 7.76, and 7.89.)

One special use of the possessive noun phrase is to express a partitive. The inherently possessed noun *tuwih³* 'companion of' serves as the nucleus. It must be preceded by a quantifier.

> *kahanx¹³ tuwih³   nix³   shnii³*
> four   companion the:PL boy
> four of the boys *or* four companions of the boys

Another special use of the possessive noun phrase is to express an emphatic meaning. The inherently possessed noun *mahan¹³* 'self of' serves as the nucleus.

> *mahan¹³ nix³   shnii³*
> self   the:PL boy
> the boys themselves (lit. the selves of the boys)

> *mahan¹³ zoh³*
> self   his
> himself (Fight 44)

> *ma²han⁴ hunx¹*
> self   my
> I myself (Sun 3:88)

ma²han-x³
self-my
I myself (Fight 49)

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

raa³¹ raha³ sno⁵ho³²
head hand man
the man's fingertips

shuhwix³² ni³ka² tahnuh³ shnii³
sister:FE   spouse uncle   boy
the boy's uncle's wife's sister

ni³ka² tinuu⁵   zhi-h⁴
spouse brother:ME grandfather-our:IN
our grandfather's brother's wife (Brother 7)

(See also 7.2, 7.5, and various others.)

Nouns that refer to parts of the possessor's body that are not localized do not normally occur in possessive noun phrases. They may, however, be followed by *man³* 'body of' and the possessor.

kuu⁵ man³ zoh³
bone body his
his bones (Brother 189)

maan¹ ton³² man³ zoh³
only   blood body his
only his [own] blood (Brother 146)

nuh¹   nee³¹ man³ shkwaa⁵ rkax²   yoh³
complete flesh body snake   lizardlike that
all the flesh of that dragon (Openly 81)

When these nouns do not refer to the possessor's own body, however, they occur in possessive noun phrases.

snee³¹   zoh³
POS:flesh his
his meat (i.e., which he bought)

3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

There are two kinds of interrogative noun phrases, basic and possessive.

Basic interrogative noun phrases are formed with the interrogative nominal markers me^3 'which?' and dax^{32} or me^3 dax^{32} 'how much?' or 'how many?', and with the interrogative adverb dax^1 'how?'. 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).

me^3 $shnii^3$
which boy
which boy?

me^3 $kohoo^3$
which bowl
which bowl?

dax^{32} $sahanx^{32}$
how:much money
how much money?

me^3 dax^{32} $skux^5$
which how:much ox
how many oxen?

dax^1 $shnii^3$
how boy
what sort of boy?

(See also 7.3 and 7.7.)

Many interrogative noun phrases with me^3 have acquired idiomatic meanings; they have the function of single-word interrogative pronouns or adverbs. Some of the most common ones are:

me^3 zii^5
which he
who? *or* which man?

me^3 nii^5
which she
who? *or* which woman?

me^3 ze^{32}
which it:INAN
what? (Deluge 25)

me^3 rex^{32}
which place
where? (Fight 76)

me³   o³ra⁴
which hour
when (Sp. *hora*)?

me³   gwii³
which day
when?

me³   shehe⁴
which feet
why? (Fight 48, Sun 3:188)

(See also 7.23 and 7.26.)

Interrogative possessive noun phrases are used to question a possessor. They are formed by combining a phrase like *me³ zii⁵* 'who?' with a possessed noun whose tone has been lowered (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering).

me³   zii⁵   tohox¹
which he POS:earth
whose land? (cf. *tohoo⁵* 'land of', *yohoo⁵* 'earth')

me³   zii⁵   tukwa¹
which he POS:home
whose house? (cf. *tukwa⁴* 'home of')

me³   zii⁵   daan¹
which he POS:animal
whose animal? (cf. *daan⁴* '[domestic] animal of')

Adjuncts signaled by a locative noun are often questioned in a similar fashion (see §1.2.2).

me³   zii⁵   riaan²
which he face
to whom? *or* whose face? (cf. *riaan³²* 'face of')

3.5 Emphatic Noun Phrases

Emphatic noun phrases have two subtypes, negative and affirmative.

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the nominal marker *nuwee⁴* 'not' to a noun phrase and lowering the tone of an immediately following noun nucleus (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering). Negative noun phrases occur only in focus position in the sentence, and they often cooccur with negative sentential markers (see §1.5). Equative

sentences with *me³* 'to be' (see §1.1.5) can be negated only by using a negative noun phrase for the nominal complement. In the following sentences containing negative noun phrases, the portion of the sentence outside the negative noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

> *nuwee⁴ shana¹ (me³   yoh³ mah³)*
> NEG   woman (CON:be that NEG)
> (That [one] is) not a woman. (Fight 300) (cf. *sha³na¹* 'woman')

> *nuwee⁴ yahanx² tuhwii¹³   (me³   rox¹   zoh³ kwa³no² mah³)*
> NEG   god   of:thunder (CON:be the:DU he   right:now NEG)
> (The two of them are) not the thunder gods (now). (Fight 323) (cf. *yahanx³²* 'saint, god')

> *nuwee⁴ rex¹³   nih⁴   (me³   yoh³ shtonx³²)*
> NEG   father our:IN (CON:be that AGREEMENT)
> (That [one] is clearly) not our father. (Sun 3:129)

> *nuwee⁴ niaa² zah¹ (me³   yoh³   mah³)*
> NEG   stew good (CON:be it:INAN NEG)
> (It was) not good stew. (Brother 86) (cf. *niaa³²* 'stew')

> *nuwee⁴ hunx¹ (ra⁴   mah³)*
> NEG   I   (CON:think NEG)
> I (did) NOT (think [of it]). (i.e., it wasn't my idea) (Fight 35)

> (See also 7.12, 7.93, and 7.101.)

If some other word comes between *nuwee⁴* and the noun, the tone of the noun is not lowered.

> *nuwee⁴ wix¹ shnii³ (kahanx³² mah³)*
> NEG   two boy (COM:go NEG)
> ([It was]) NOT TWO BOYS ([that] went).

> *nuwee⁴ uruun³   ni³ka² zoh³ (kahnah³   mah³)*
> NEG   the:only spouse his (COM:come NEG)
> NOT ONLY HIS WIFE (came). (Fight 304)

Affirmative noun phrases are formed by preposing the general marker *wee⁴* 'affirmative' to a noun phrase. Such phrases confirm some fact asked or suggested by another speaker. *wee⁴* also occurs in verb phrases, where it has a similar function (see §2.1.2).

> *wee⁴ gwaa⁴ (kawih³   adonx²)*
> AFF John (COM:die certainly)
> Yes, JOHN (certainly died).

wee⁴ noh³ (kachee⁵   a³²)
AFF   she   (COM:walk DEC)
Yes, SHE (walked). (Sun 2:6)

wee⁴ nuh¹   yaix³ yoh³ (nax³   nuh¹   kix³²   yoh³
AFF   complete stone that (CON:lie complete mountain that

   kwa³no²   a³²)
   right:now DEC)
Yes, ALL THOSE STONES (are lying all over that mountain at present).
(Brother 59)

wee⁴ tanuu³ (me³   zoh³ a³²)
AFF   soldier (CON:be he   DEC)
Yes, (he is) a soldier.

In the text in chapter 7, affirmative noun phrases are found only in the
complex sentential marker *wee⁴ dan³² ne²* 'and in addition to that', 'and
after that', or 'and as a result of that', as, for example, in 7.19 and 7.27.

If the affirmative noun phrase is the possessor of another noun, the
possessor precedes the nucleus.

wee⁴ noh³ (ni³ka² me³   shtax³ a³²)
AFF   her (spouse CON:be deer   DEC)
Yes, HER (HUSBAND is a deer). *or* Yes, (a deer is) her (husband).
(Sun 2:6)

3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Adverbial noun phrases have two subtypes, basic and possessive.

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

chrex³² kahaan¹
trail   big
road

shumanh³ raha¹³
town   handlike
little town

nuh¹   kix³²   yoh³
complete mountain that
all over that mountain (Brother 59)

gwii³ gee¹
day   delicate
holy day

dox¹³ gwii³
some day
a few days (Fight 121)

kunuh¹   yawii³²
complete month
all year long (Openly 25)

dox¹³ o³ra⁴ nii³
some hour little
a little while (Sun 3:72)

(See also 7.49.)

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 that are used with extended meanings (see §5.3.2), but *kwe³nda⁴* 'account of' (Sp. *cuenta*) is also included. Adverbial possessive noun phrases are used in all noun-phrase positions, but they are especially common as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

riaan³² sha³na¹
face   woman
to the woman (Fight 48)

riaan³² to³²   yoh³
face   grindstone that
the surface of that grindstone (Fight 114)

ston³ shkaa³² yoh³
finger raven   that
to the raven (Fight 195)

rke³   shrux³ yume³²
stomach pot   tuber
in the pot of tubers (Fight 203)

rke³   naa³¹
stomach cornfield
in the cornfield (Fight 53)

rke³   sma³na⁴
stomach week
during the week (Sp. *semana*) *or* within a week

shraa⁵ makaa⁵
back   Mexico:City
uphill from Mexico City (Brother 176)

ta³nuu² taa³
middle plain
in the middle of the plain (Brother 177, Deluge 19)

raa³¹ chruun³
head wood
on the top of the tree (Fight 186)

shehe⁴ rex³   noh³
feet   father her
about her father (Fight 99)

takoo⁵ kix³²   shrox³
foot   mountain Shroj
at the base of *Shroj* mountain (Brother 17)

takoo⁵ yawii³²
foot   month
at the beginning of the month

man³ noh³
body her
to her (Fight 94)

kwe³nda⁴ rex³   noh³
account   father her
on her father's side *or* on acco·ᴧt of her father

    Adverbial possessive noun phrᴜses differ from ordinary possessive noun
phrases in that the locative noun often has a relational, rather than a
nominal function. When the locative noun has a relational function, these
phrases do not permit prenuclear elements, and it is possible to front their
possessors to preverbal focus position without them (see §1.1.8). When the
locative noun has a nominal function, the phrases can take prenuclear
elements, and their possessors cannot be fronted for focus without them.
Sometimes the function of a locative noun in a given sentence cannot be
determined, and either reading is possible.

In the text in chapter 7, the clearest instances of relational function are found with *shehe⁴* 'feet of' in 7.1, *man³* 'body of' in 7.81, and *riaan³²* 'face of' to mark a referent adjunct in 7.85 and the addressee of a quotation in 7.6, 7.9, and various other sentences. Compare these with the indeterminate instances of *riaan³²* 'face of' in 7.91 and 7.94, and *man³* 'body of' in 7.24, 7.28, 7.29, 7.54, 7.76, and 7.105. Consider also *tuhwa³* 'mouth of', which in 7.9, 7.11, and 7.16 is indeterminate in function, but in 7.53 and 7.55 is clearly nominal. See Hollenbach 1990 for a discussion of metaphorical extensions and category shifts in body-part terms.

The non-phrase-final pronoun *rex³²* 'place' (see §5.4) may precede the nucleus of an adverbial noun phrase. In this construction the meaning of *rex³²* is often 'in the direction of'. The tone of the locative noun is often lowered following *rex³²* (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering).

> *rex³² rnuu³²*
> place coast
> down at the coast (Fight 135)

> *rex³² shiaan⁵ nih⁴*
> place POS:town our:IN
> at the place of our hometown (Brother 29)

> *inanx² rex³² raa¹ tanh³*
> just   place head corn:ear
> just the top part of the ears of corn (Openly 15) (cf. *raa³¹* 'head of')

> *nuh¹   rex³² siuu²   tanh³*
> complete place bottom corn:ear
> all the bottom parts of the ears of corn (Openly 16) (cf. *siuu³²* 'bottom of')

> *rex³² tanuu² zhee⁵*
> place middle clearing
> the middle of the clearing (Fight 22) (cf. *ta³nuu²* 'middle of')

3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun phrases in the same structural position joined with no conjunction linking them. They occur in any noun-phrase position.

> *sahanx³² / tuhwee³² zoh³*
> money   POS:value his
> the money, his salary

shuhwix³² hunx¹ / *ma³rya⁴*
sister:FE   my   Mary
my sister, Mary (Sp. *María*)

ni³ka² zoh³ / *tuhwii³ shana¹*
spouse his   thunder female
his wife, the female thunder (goddess) (Fight 136)

ho² shu³kwahanx¹³ nih⁴ / *ni³ka² zoh³*
one grandmother   our:IN   spouse his
one grandmother of ours, his wife (Brother 4)

ni²chrex³² rlix³   riaan³² shkwaa⁵ / *rex³² nichruun¹³ zhoh³*
one:side bubble face   snake   place left:side its:AML
one side of the snake's eyes, [the one on] its left side (Sun 2:77)

sha³na¹ / *tahnii⁵ rox¹   zoh³*
woman   child   the:DU his
The woman, their child (Fight 5)

weh³ / *tukwa⁴   yahanx³² tuhwii¹³   sno²ho³²*
house POS:home god   of:thunder male
the house, the home of the thunder god (Fight 200)

(See also 7.2, 7.60, and 7.67.)

The phrase in 7.2 is conventionalized and probably functions as a proper
name.

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 clauses in
English. Such appositional noun phrases often have a proper name or a
phrase-final pronoun (see §5.4) as the nucleus of the first part, and a
non-phrase-final pronoun modified by a relative clause as the second part.

gwaa⁴ / *zii⁵ kawih³   kii³*
John   he COM:die yesterday
John, the one who died yesterday

noh³ / *nii⁵ kuhnax¹   ma³rya⁴*
she   she CON:be:named Mary
she, the one who is called Mary

shumanh³ kopa³la⁴ / *shiaan⁵   nih⁴*
town   Copala   POS:town our:IN
the town of Copala (Sp. *Copala*), our hometown (Brother 47)

If the first part of the appositional noun phrase is a first or second person pronoun, and the second part begins with a non-phrase-final pronoun, the non-phrase-final pronoun lowers its tone (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering).

> $hunx^1$ / zix^1 $kuhnax^1$ pa^3blo^4
> I   he   CON:be:named Paul
> I, who am called Paul (Sp. *Pablo*)

> zox^3 / zix^1 $kushuman^4$ ra^4 na^3na^1
> you:PL   he   COM:arrive inside word
> you, the ones who believed the word

This tone lowering clarifies participant reference; compare the following two sentences.

> $tahnuh^4$ zoh^1 / zix^1 zah^1
> uncle   your:SG   he good
> the uncle of you, a person who is good (i.e., you are good)

> $tahnuh^4$ zoh^1 / zii^5 zah^1
> uncle   your:SG   he good
> your uncle, a person who is good (i.e., your uncle is good)

A second use of appositional noun phrases is to include a postnuclear modifier with the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase. Postnuclear noun modifiers cannot follow the nucleus directly because the possessor occurs there, but they can follow the coreferential nucleus of a basic noun phrase in apposition with the possessive noun phrase.

> $tukwa^4$ zoh^3 / weh^3 $shix^1$
> POS:home his   house big
> his big house

> sto^{32} sha^3na^1 / to^{32} $naka^1$ $nianx^5$
> POS:metate woman   metate new   this
> this new metate of the woman

> zhi-h^4 / zii^5 $kunix^{13}$ dox^3
> grandfather-our:IN   he young more
> our grandfather, the younger one (Brother 69)

> $rlix^3$ $riaan^{32}$ $shkwaa^5$ / ze^{32} waa^{32} zah^1
> bubble face   snake   it:INAN CON:exist good
> the snake's eye, the good one (Sun 2:83)

A third use is to express comparison. The nucleus of the second part is the inherently possessed noun *tuwih³* 'companion of'.

> *yuhwex³² mii⁵   /   tuwih³   yoh³*
> thread   yellow   companion that
> yellow thread like that (lit. yellow thread, the companion of that [one])

A fourth use is to express the possessor of a specific animal. Nouns referring to specific kinds of animals cannot occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase; they occur instead in a basic noun phrase in apposition with a possessive noun phrase that has the inherently possessed noun *daan⁴* '(domestic) animal of' as its nucleus.

> *daan⁴   zoh³ / shuwee³*
> POS:animal his   dog
> his dog

> *ho² dan-x³   / kwa³yo⁴*
> one POS:animal-my   horse
> one of my horses (Sp. *caballo*)

> *matsinx³² maruu³¹ / daan⁴   zoh³*
> sheep   black   POS:animal his
> his black sheep

A fifth use of apposition creates doublets which serve as a literary device. Two semantically related noun phrases are juxtaposed for rhetorical effect. These phrases follow the schema A B, A C; a repeated noun is followed by different, but semantically related, elements, which often have some degree of phonological similarity as well. The following example is a derogatory epithet found in folktales.

> *tuhwa³ luu⁵   /   tuhwa³ taan⁵*
> mouth worm   mouth fly
> worm mouth, fly mouth (Sun 3:168)

This expression also occurs twice in the text; see 7.60 and 7.67. In each place, the frozen appositional expression is itself in apposition with something else, and in 7.67, the entire appositional phrase is modified by a relative clause. These facts suggest that this expression is so conventionalized that it functions as a complex noun nucleus.

Doublets are fairly common in Copala Trique, and the structure is not limited to noun phrases. Category membership does not seem to matter as long as the schema is followed. See §§2.6, 4.2.2, and 6.1.2 for a description of other constructions that show repetition with variation.

3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

There are various ways of conjoining noun phrases within the bounds of a single basic sentence. A further way to link noun phrases involves repeating the verb; this is described in §6.1.2.

One way to conjoin noun phrases is to use a conjunction. The preposition ga^2 'with' sometimes occurs between two noun phrases and functions as a conjunction meaning 'and'.

> $yoho^2$ sha^3na^1 ga^2 $yoho^2$ sno^5ho^{32}
> one   woman   with one   man
> one woman and one man (Fight 2)

> $gwii^3$ ga^2 $yawii^3$
> sun   with moon
> the sun and the moon (Sun 4:17)

> zoh^3 ga^2 $tuwih^3$ zoh^3
> he   with companion his
> he and his companion

(See also 7.1.)

A sequence of two noun phrases linked by ga^2 can sometimes be interpreted either as an additive noun phrase or as a simple noun phrase followed by an associative adjunct (see §1.1.4).

> $kahanx^{32}$ zoh^3 ga^2 $tuwih^3$ zoh^3 a^{32}
> COM:go   he   with companion his   DEC
> He and his companion went away. *or* He went away with his companion.

> $kenehe^3$ zoh^3 man^3 ni^3ka^2 zoh^3 ga^2 $tahnii^5$ zoh^3 a^{32}
> COM:sense he   body spouse his   with child   his   DEC
> He saw his wife and child. *or* He, with his child, saw his wife. *or* He saw his wife with his child.

(See also 7.47.)

Additive noun phrases with ga^2 show attraction when the first noun phrase contains a dual or plural quantifier or article, and the second permits the interpretation that it is included in the first one. In such cases ga^2 should perhaps be translated 'including', rather than 'with'.

> rox^1 zoh^3 ga^2 $tinuu^5$ zoh^3
> the:DU he   with brother:ME his
> he and his brother

rox¹   zoh³ ga² shu³kwa²han-h⁴
the:DU he   with grandmother-our:IN
he and our grandmother (Brother 27)

runx⁵   ga² gwaa⁴
we:DU:EX with John
John and I

nux⁵ ga² tanuu³
we:EX with soldier
we, including the soldier

It is also possible to use the conjunction *ne²* 'and', which usually joins full
sentences, to conjoin noun phrases. The examples recorded are all in the
nominal complement of equative sentences.

yoho² yawii³ ne² yoho² yahanx³² gwii¹³ (me³   nehex³ a³²)
one   moon and one   god   of:sun (CON:be baby   DEC)
(The babies were) one moon and one sun god. (Sun 1:11)

ri³kix¹³ ne² shkwax³² (me³   zoh³ a³²)
frog   and fish   (CON:be he   DEC)
(They were) frogs and fish. (Sun 4:15)

It is also possible to use the preposition *ndaa¹³* 'until' to conjoin two
noun phrases; in this construction it means 'and even'.

tahnii⁵ dih¹   ndaa¹³ daan⁴   dih¹
child   your:SG:FAM until   POS:animal your:SG:FAM
your children and even your animals (Sun 4:50)

In the other ways of conjoining, any number of noun phrases may be
linked. In one common way, each conjunct is followed by the general
marker *doh¹* 'and' plus pause. Additive phrases using *doh¹* usually occur in
focus position in the sentence (see §1.1.8).

yumih³ doh¹ / ku³yanx¹ doh¹ / ri³nde⁴ doh¹ / (kiranx⁵
soap   and   candle   and   rum   and   (COM:buy

   gwaa⁴ a³²)
   John   DEC)
(John bought) SOAP, CANDLES, AND RUM.

Sometimes a pause alone marks one or more of the conjuncts.

yumih³ doh¹ / ku³yanx¹ / ri³nde⁴ doh¹ / (kiranx⁵ gwaa⁴ a³²)
soap   and   candle   rum   and   (COM:buy John DEC)
(John bought) SOAP, CANDLES, AND RUM.

If the additive noun phrase is the final element in its basic sentence, the sentential marker *a³²* 'declarative' (see §1.5) may be used instead of *doh¹*.

(karaa³   rox¹   zoh³) shkuu³ kahaan³¹ a³² / shkuu³
(COM:put:in the:DU he)   animal steam   DEC   animal

   chron⁴   a³² / shkuu³ takanx³   a³² / shkuu³
   black:person DEC   animal POS:sandal DEC   animal

   kwahax³² a³² / shianh³   a³² / shkuu³ shongo⁴   a³²
   steambath DEC   brown:wasp DEC   animal bumblebee DEC
(The two of them put in) wild bees, black wasps, paper wasps, mud dauber wasps, brown wasps, [and] bumblebees. (Sun 4:30)

Occasionally some word preceding a noun, such as the general quantifier *nuh¹* 'complete' or the locative noun *riaan³²* 'face of', is repeated before each conjunct and optionally after the last.

nuh¹   tohoo⁵   nix³   zoh³ / nuh¹   sihyax³   nix³
complete POS:earth the:PL his   complete possession the:PL

   zoh³ / nuh¹
   his   complete
all their lands [and] possessions

nuh¹   stanh³   sha³na¹ / nuh¹   stanh³   sno⁵ho³²
complete POS:corn:ear woman   complete POS:corn:ear man
all of the woman's ears of corn [and] all of the man's ears of corn (Openly 11)

riaan³² gwaa⁴ / riaan³² pe³dro⁴ / riaan³² ma³rya⁴ / riaan³²
face   John   face   Peter   face   Mary   face
to John, Peter (Sp. *Pedro*), [and] Mary

shkuu³ kuhnax¹   shnayux⁵ / shkuu³ kuhnax¹   shawii³¹
animal CON:be:named weevil   animal CON:be:named moth
the animals that are called weevils [and] the animals that are called moths (Fight 129)

This construction is similar to the method of conjoining by repeating a verb, or a verb and its subject, described in §6.1.2. In this construction, however, the repeated element is not a verb and therefore does not create a sentence combination.

3.9 Possessor-Included Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessor-included possessive noun phrases are syntactically simple but
function semantically like additive noun phrases. They contain an article, a
kinship term (or other term of social relation) with its tone lowered (see
§5.2 for a description of this tone lowering), and the possessor of the
kinship term; and they refer to both the possessor and the nucleus.[7] The
possessor usually contains the same article as the nucleus.

> *rox¹*   *tahnix¹ rox¹*   *zoh³*
> the:DU child   the:DU his
> he and his son (cf. *tahnii⁵* 'child of')

> *rox¹*   *tinux¹*   *rox¹*   *zoh³*
> the:DU brother:ME the:DU his
> he and his brother (Brother 194) (cf. *tinuu⁵* 'brother of')

> *nix³*   *tinux¹*   *nix³*   *zoh³*
> the:PL brother:ME the:PL his
> the brothers of each other

> *rox¹*   *nika²*   *rox¹*   *zoh³*
> the:DU spouse the:DU his
> he and his wife (Fight 102) (cf. *ni³ka²* 'spouse of')

Compare the last two examples above with the corresponding ordinary
possessive noun phrases.

> *nix³*   *tinuu⁵*   *nix³*   *zoh³*
> the:PL brother:ME the:PL his
> their brothers

> *rox¹*   *ni³ka²*   *rox¹*   *zoh³*
> the:DU spouse the:DU his
> the two wives of the two of them

(See also 7.7 and 7.15.)

3.10 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Indefinite noun phrases are similar in form to basic interrogative noun
phrases, but they are not limited to sentence-initial position. They consist
of an interrogative, which may be *me³* 'which?', or *dax¹* 'how?', a nucleus,

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[7]To my knowledge, the only other language that has a similar construction is
Chicahuaxtla Trique, as described by Longacre 1964:90–91 and 1991:138–39.

the inherently possessed noun *mahan¹³* 'self of', and an optional relative clause. When the nucleus forms an idiomatic phrase with *me³* (see §3.4), *mahan¹³* usually follows the nucleus.

> *me³ rex³² mahan¹³*
> which place self
> wherever *or* anywhere

> *me³ zii⁵ mahan¹³*
> which he self
> whoever *or* anyone

> *me³ gwii³ mahan¹³*
> which day self
> whenever *or* any day

> *dax¹ rex³² mahan¹³*
> how place self
> wherever *or* anywhere

When, however, the nucleus is not part of an idiomatic noun phrase, or when a relative clause modifies it, *mahan¹³* usually occurs between the interrogative and the nucleus.

> *me³ mahan¹³ ra³zuun²*
> which self   thing
> any implement

> *me³ mahan¹³ weh³ karanh¹³ zox³*
> which self   house POT:stop you:PL
> any house you may lodge at

> *me³ mahan¹³ rex³² kahanx² zoh¹*
> which self   place POT:go you:SG
> wherever you may go

> *me³ mahan¹³ ho⁴   ra³zuun² shihii¹*
> which self   another thing   evil
> any other evil thing

4

Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases. Some additive numeral phrases occur without a connector, and others have *tax[1]* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition', linking the parts. The larger numeral always occurs first.

In additive numeral phrases without a connector, simple numerals from one to fifteen and twenty combine to form the numerals from sixteen to nineteen, and from twenty-one to thirty-five. When the numeral one occurs in additive numeral phrases with no connector, a suppletive allomorph, *yaan[1]*, occurs.

> *shnuh[2] yaan[1]*
> fifteen one
> sixteen

> *iko[2]   watanh[1]*
> twenty six
> twenty-six

> *iko[2]   shahnux[1]*
> twenty thirteen
> thirty-three

Additive numeral phrases without a connector may contain three elements to form the numerals from thirty-six to thirty-nine.

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iko² shnuh² kahanx¹³
twenty fifteen four
thirty-nine

Additive numeral phrases connected by *tax¹* are used to form numerals over one hundred. The word *tax¹* and the numeral that follows it form a relative clause modifying the first numeral.[8]

sya³ndo⁴ tax¹   ho²
hundred CON2:be:on:top one
[one] hundred (Sp. *ciento*) one

mix⁵   tax¹   sya³ndo⁴
thousand CON2:be:on:top hundred
[one] thousand (Sp. *mil*) [one] hundred

Following *sya³ndo⁴* 'hundred' and *mix⁵* 'thousand', numbers sometimes occur in their additive form (see §5.6).

sya³ndo⁴ tax¹   yu³hunh³
hundred CON2:be:on:top another:five
[one] hundred five

mix⁵   tax¹   ya³wix⁵
thousand CON2:be:on:top another:two
[one] thousand two

Additive numeral phrases may contain two relative clauses.

mix⁵   tax¹   sya³ndo⁴ tax¹   iko²
thousand CON2:be:on:top hundred CON2:be:on:top twenty
[one] thousand [one] hundred twenty

Additive numeral phrases with no connector may combine with additive numeral phrases with *tax¹*.

sya³ndo⁴ tax¹   iko²   chih²
hundred CON2:be:on:top twenty ten
[one] hundred thirty

Some speakers use *ta¹* or *taa¹*, rather than *tax¹*, to link numerals. For these speakers the reduced form is no longer identified with the verb *tax¹*, but has developed into a conjunction.

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[8]The use of *tax¹* with numerals is similar to its use to express fractions in measurement noun phrases and expanded numeral phrases (see §§3.2 and 4.1.4). In numeral phrases, however, there is no noun nucleus either in the relative clause or in the higher phrase.

4.1.2 Attributive numeral phrases. Multiples of twenty, one hundred, and one thousand are expressed by attributive numeral phrases, which have two parts in a quantifier-nucleus relationship. The larger numeral occurs second. When the numeral twenty occurs as the nucleus of an attributive numeral phrase, a suppletive allomorph, $shiaa^2$, occurs.

> $kahanx^{13}$ $shiaa^2$
> four   twenty
> eighty

> $tunx^2$ sya^3ndo^4
> eight hundred
> eight hundred

> wix^1 mix^5
> two thousand
> two thousand

Sometimes the numerals for one hundred and one thousand are formed by means of an attributive numeral phrase.

> ho^2 sya^3ndo^4
> one hundred
> one hundred

> ho^2 mix^5
> one thousand
> one thousand

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

> wix^1 $shiaa^2$ $shnuh^2$ $yaan^1$
> two twenty fifteen one
> fifty-six

> $chix^2$ sya^3ndo^4 tax^1 $chih^2$
> seven hundred CON2:be:on:top ten
> seven hundred ten

> $uhunh^1$ sya^3ndo^4 tax^1 ya^3hnux^5 $shiaa^2$ $shiaan^1$
> five   hundred CON2:be:on:top another:three twenty eleven
> five hundred seventy-one

> $wahnux^1$ mix^5 tax^1 $yoho^4$ uun^2 sya^3ndo^4
> three   thousand CON2:be:on:top another nine hundred
> three thousand nine hundred

4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases. A numeral and either of two numerical markers combine to form aggregative numeral phrases. *runh⁵* occurs only with the numeral one, and means 'single'; the combination means 'only'. *ranh³* occurs with any numeral except one, and means 'grouped'.[9]

> *ho² runh⁵ (tanh³)*
> one single (corn:ear)
> just one (ear of corn) (Fight 167)

> *ho² runh⁵ (kix³² yoh³)*
> one single (mountain that)
> just (that) one (mountain) (Deluge 53)

> *wix¹ ranh³ (rox¹ tinux¹ roo-¹³)*
> two grouped (the:DU brother:ME the:DU-UN)
> the two (brothers of each other) (Sun 3:133)

> *ya³wix⁵ ranh³ (rox¹ nika² rox¹ zoh³)*
> another:two grouped (the:DU spouse the:DU he)
> the other two, (the man and his wife) (Fight 45)

(See also 7.53 and 7.77.)

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

One prenuclear element is a quantifier, expressed only by the numerals *yoho²* or *ho²* 'one', used in the sense of 'approximately', and *yoho⁴* 'another'; by the general quantifier *nuh¹* 'complete', used in this construction to mean 'all'; and by the preposition *ndaa¹³* 'until', used in this construction to mean 'even'.

> *ho² iko²*
> one twenty
> about twenty

> *yoho⁴ iko²*
> another twenty
> twenty more

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[9]The word *runh⁵* is cognate with Mixtec *tuhun 'word', which occurs in a similar construction to mean 'single'; and *ranh³* is cognate with Mixtec *tahan 'companion', which occurs in a similar construction to mean 'grouped'. In Copala Trique, however, the words *runh⁵* and *ranh³* occur only in aggregative numeral phrases. Their presence witnesses to the antiquity of this construction in Mixtecan.

nuh¹   iko²
complete twenty
all twenty

ndaa¹³ wix¹
until   two
even two (Sun 3:17)

The numeral *yoho⁴* 'another' fuses with numerals from two to six to create other additive forms (see §5.6).

ya³wix⁵
another:two
the other two (Fight 45)

The second prenuclear element is a limiter that precedes the quantifier and is expressed by the numerical marker *dax¹* 'only'. This word is usually followed by an additive numeral. The combination, however, does not have an additive meaning. Phrases containing this limiter must occur in focus position in the sentence.

dax¹ yoho⁴   ichih²
only another ten
only ten

dax¹ ya³hnux⁵
only another:three
only three

(See also 7.53.)

There are two postnuclear elements. One is fraction, expressed by a relative clause containing the verb *tax¹* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition'. Even though fraction is logically a part of the numeral phrase, it usually follows the noun nucleus, which is enclosed in parentheses in the following examples.[10]

wahnux¹ (chraa³) tax¹   yanee⁵
three   (tortilla) CON2:be:on:top another:side
three and a half (tortillas)

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[10]Fractions are expressed in a similar way in measurement noun phrases (see §3.2). The fraction follows the noun nucleus of the matrix noun phrase even though it belongs logically with the measurement noun phrase that serves as the quantifier within the matrix noun phrase.

kahanx¹³ (yanx³) tax¹   *yanee⁵*   *skux¹*
four   (paper) CON2:be:on:top another:side angled
four and a quarter ([sheets of] paper)

sya³ndo⁴ (yuwii³¹) tax¹   *dox³*
hundred (person) CON2:be:on:top more
more than a hundred (people)

The other postnuclear element is the limiter, expressed by the stative
verb *gee¹* 'whole', used in this construction to mean 'exactly (no more)'.

wahnux¹ gee¹ (rlix³ na³²)
three   whole (bubble water)
exactly three (drops of water) (Sun 3:13)

Fraction and postnuclear limiter do not cooccur. Each cooccurs with
prenuclear limiter and with quantifier, except that *nuh¹* 'all' does not
cooccur with *tax¹ dox³* 'more than', and *yoho²* or *ho²* 'one' is rare with *gee¹*
'whole' or with a specific fraction.

dax¹ yu³kwahanx³ gee¹ (nato³²)
only another:four whole (banana)
only exactly four (bananas)

dax¹ yoho⁴ iko² (kax³²) tax¹   *yanee⁵*
only another twenty (log)   CON2:be:on:top another:side
only twenty and a half (logs)

nuh¹ wahnux³ (chraa³) tax¹   *yanee⁵*
all   three   (tortilla) CON2:be:on:top another:side
all three and a half (tortillas)

yoho⁴ uun² gee¹ (tana³²)
another nine whole (goat)
exactly nine more (goats)

yoho² mix⁵ (te³xa⁴) tax¹   *dox³*
one   thousand (tile) CON2:be:on:top more
about a thousand (tiles [Sp. *teja*]), or more

4.1.5 General quantifier phrases. Approximate quantities may be ex-
pressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which
is a general quantifier, an optional prenuclear quantifier or limiter, and an
optional postnuclear intensifier. Phrases containing the limiter must occur in
focus position in the sentence.

yoho⁴   tahax²
another part
another part

dax¹   yanee⁵
only other:side
only the other side

dax¹   dox¹³   tsinh⁵
only some tiny
only a very few (Deluge 11)

kehe¹   ndoho³²
many INTS
very many (Fight 307)

(See also 7.44.)

Sometimes a postnuclear element in the quantifier phrase follows the noun nucleus.

kehee¹   (zox³)   dox³
many   (you:PL)   more
many more (of you) (Sun 3:70)

At least one general quantifier can take the general marker *ne³* 'not' in prenuclear position.

ne³   dox¹³
NEG some
not a little (Sun 3:170)

This phrase should perhaps be treated as an idiom meaning 'a lot'. It often occurs in the prenuclear manner position in verb phrases.

ne³   dox¹³   ushra⁴   (ahmii³²   shu³gwa²han-h⁴   mah³)
NEG some INTS   (CON:speak grandmother-our:IN NEG)
(Our grandmother was speaking) not a little at all. (i.e., she really spoke a lot, which means she was angry) (Sun 3:74)

4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases. A repeated basic or additive numeral, with no prenuclear or postnuclear modifiers, constitutes a distributive numeral phrase. These phrases indicate the size of a group.

ho²   ho²
one one
each

wix¹ wix¹
two two
pairs of

iko²   iko²
twenty twenty
in groups of twenty

yoho⁴   yoho⁴
another another
from one to another

4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases. Two simple numerals, with the second one expressing a somewhat higher quantity, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. This construction expresses an approximation.

wix¹ wahnux¹
two three
a few

wahnux¹ kahanx¹³
three   four
three or four

shnuh² iko²
fifteen twenty
about fifteen or twenty

4.1.8 Negative quantifier phrases. The negative numerical marker *a¹* and a numeral or general quantifier expressing a minimal amount combine to form negative quantifier phrases. The numeral or general quantifier may occur in either a basic or additive form (see §5.6), depending on the speaker.

a¹   ho²
NEG one
not one

a¹   ho⁴
NEG another
not one

a¹   wix¹
NEG two
not even two

a¹   ya³wix⁵
NEG another:two
not even two

a¹   dox¹³
NEG some
not any

a¹   dox³
NEG more
not any

Only one negative quantifier phrase normally occurs in a sentence, and the verb must also be negated. The noun phrase containing the negative quantifier phrase usually occurs in focus position in the sentence.

a¹   ho²   (sno⁵ho³² ne³ kahmii²   ga-x²   mah³)
NEG one (man   NEG COM:speak with-me NEG)
NOT ONE (MAN spoke with me). (i.e., not one man had sex with me)
(Sun 3:19)

a¹   dox³   (a³skwa⁴ ne³ kiraan² gwaa⁴ mah³)
NEG more (sugar   NEG COM:buy John   NEG)
(John [Sp. *Juan*] did) NOT (buy) ANY (SUGAR [Sp. *azúcar*]).

The preference for placing a negative quantifier phrase in sentence-initial position is so strong that one sometimes precedes a locative noun even though it logically belongs with its possessor.

a¹   ho⁴   (riaan³² shnii³ ze² naruhwee³² hunx¹
NEG another (face   boy   NEG POT:repay   I

    sahanx³² mah³)
    money   NEG)
(I will) NOT (pay the money back TO) EVEN ONE (BOY).

Negative quantifier phrases also occur in the preverbal manner position of content verb phrases (see §2.1.3).

a¹   dox³   (ne³ rahanx⁵   gwaa⁴ mah³)
NEG more (NEG CON:dance John   NEG)
(John does not dance), not at all.

a¹   dox³   (ne³ cha⁴   gwaa⁴ nee³¹ mah⁴)
NEG more (NEG CON:eat John   flesh NEG)
(John does not eat meat), not at all.

a^1 dox^3 $(ze^2$ cha-x^3 $nianx^5$ $mah^3)$
NEG more (NEG POT:eat-I this   NEG)
(I won't eat this [stuff]), not at all. (Brother 89)

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. A nucleus, two optional prenuclear elements, and two optional postnuclear elements combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus is expressed by a locative, temporal, or general adverb. The prenuclear elements are truth value, expressed by the general markers ne^3 'not' and wee^4 'affirmative', and limiter. The postnuclear elements are manner, expressed mainly by intensifying adverbs, and quantifier, expressed by the general marker uun^1 'just' and the general quantifier dox^3 'more'.

ne^3 $nanax^{32}$
NEG slowly
not slowly

wee^4 $nanax^{32}$
AFF   slowly
yes, slowly

doh^1 kwa^3no^2
merely right:now
at the present time (Fight 218)

$maan^1$ dax^{13}
only   thus
just in that fashion (Sun 1:23, Fight 265)

$inanx^2$ dax^{13}
just   thus
just in that fashion (Sun 3:93)

$nanax^{32}$ $ushra^4$
slowly   INTS
very slowly

$nuwaa^{32}$ uun^1
supine   LIM
just faceup

$ganh^1$ dox^3
far   more
farther (Brother 36)

nanax³² dox³
slowly   more
more slowly

nanax³² ushra⁴ uun¹
slowly   INTS   LIM
just very slowly

The intensifying adverbs *ushra⁴* and *ndoho³²* interact differently with a negative marker in adverb phrases, just as they do in content verb phrases and stative verb phrases (see §§2.1.4 and 2.3).

ne³ nanax³² ndoho³²
NEG slowly   INTS
not very slowly

ne³ nanax³² ushra⁴
NEG slowly   INTS
not slowly at all

The non-phrase-final pronoun *rex³²* 'place' (see §5.4) may precede the nucleus of an adverb phrase. In this construction, the meaning of *rex³²* is 'in the direction of' before a locative adverb and 'at the approximate time of' before a temporal adverb.

rex³² shrax¹
place uphill
up the hill (Openly 18)

rex³² tashrex¹
place wee:hours
in the hours before dawn

4.2.2 Appositional adverb phrases. Any two of the following structures may be juxtaposed to form appositional adverb phrases: adverbs (see §5.5), adverb phrases (see §4.2.1), adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), and prepositional phrases (see §4.3).

rex³² kix³²   / rex³² shrax¹
place mountain   place uphill
on the mountain, up high (Openly 7)

rex³² shrax¹ / shiaan⁵   nih⁴
place uphill   POS:town our:IN
up high, in our hometown (Openly 18)

rex³² rnuu³² / *rex³² tuhwa³ na³² yahanx²*
place coast   place mouth water divine
at the coast, at the edge of the ocean (Openly 63)

rex³² man¹   nih⁴ / *makaa⁵   * / *nianx⁵*
place CON2:exist:PL we:IN   Mexico:City   here
the place where we are, Mexico, here (Brother 138)

taa³ / *rex³² kutunh³   na³² yoh³*
plain   place COM:dry:up water that
the plain, the place where that (flood) water dried up (Deluge 22)

raa³¹ chruun³ / *ndaa¹³ yoh³*
head wood   until   there
on the top of the tree, over there (Fight 252)

ko³ra⁴ / *tihnuu³²*
later   dusk
later today (Sp. *ahora* 'now'), at dusk (Openly 53)

*ahyox³   * / *ku³wix¹*
tomorrow   Tuesday
tomorrow, on Tuesday

(See also 7.75.)

Some appositional adverb phrases are literary doublets that follow the schema A B, A C; see §§2.6, 3.7, and 6.1.2 for a description of other constructions that show repetition with variation.

doh¹   kwanh³ / *doh¹   kwa³no²*
merely today   merely right:now
just now, at the present time (Fight 231)

*azix² kahnah³   * / *azix² rnuu³² yoh³*
since COM:come   since coast that
since ancient times (Deluge 42)

Some doublets that function as appositional adverb phrases include idioms.

*nuh¹   kawii³²   * / *nuh¹   kahnah³*
complete COM:come:out   complete COM:come
forever and ever in the past (Fight 334)

*nuh¹   kawii³²   * / *nuh¹   kahanx³²* / *yax¹³*
complete COM:come:out   complete COM:go   now
forever and ever from now on (Brother 169)

4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases. There are two ways to form additive adverb phrases. Two noncoreferential adverbs, adverb phrases, or adverbial noun phrases may be juxtaposed with no conjunction linking them.

rex^{32} $shrax^1$ rex^{32} rke^{13}
place uphill place downhill
all over

yax^{13} $ahyux^3$
now   tomorrow
day after day (Fight 149, Sun 3:103)

$ahyox^3$ $yatax^3$
tomorrow day:after:tomorrow
in the future

$nianx^5$ kwa^3no^2
here   right:now
here [and] now (Fight 334, Deluge 59)

kwa^3no^2 $nianx^5$
right:now   here
here [and] now (Deluge 39)

$kwanh^3$ $nianx^5$
today   here
here [and] now (Sun 2:114)

yax^{13} $nianx^5$
now   here
here [and] now (Sun 2:17)

Many of these phrases are fairly conventionalized. The ones that mean 'here and now' may also mean 'then and there' in the appropriate discourse context.

Conventionalized phrases function like complex nuclei and permit some of the optional elements described in §4.2.1.

doh^1 kwa^3no^2 $nianx^5$
merely right:now here
just right now [and] here (Fight 218)

$inanx^2$ yax^{13} $ahyux^3$
just   now tomorrow
just every day (Sun 3:102)

They can also serve as one element of an appositional adverb phrase.

yax¹³ ahyux³ / *rangah³*
now tomorrow early
every morning (Sun 3:93)

It is also possible to form additive adverb phrases by using the general marker *doh¹* 'and' plus pause after each conjunct; this construction is similar to one method of conjoining noun phrases described in §3.8.

nianx⁵ doh¹ / *yoh³ doh¹*
here and there and
here and there

ra⁴ weh³ doh¹ / *zheh³ doh¹*
inside house and outside and
inside and outside

4.2.4 Repetitive adverb phrases. The simple repetition of an adverb, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. This construction appears to be limited to certain general adverbs.

nanax³² nanax³²
slowly slowly
very slowly

ganh¹ ganh¹
far far
very far

nanx¹³ nanx¹³
thus thus
in precisely this way (Sun 3:146)

Repetitive adverb phrases occur mainly in preverbal manner position in content verb phrases (see §2.1.3).[11]

4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which is expressed either by a noun phrase or by certain adverbs. The set of prepositions is small because prepositional function is carried largely by

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[11]Note the similarity of this construction to the repetitive verb phrases described in §2.4. The doubling found in these repetitive structures seems to be a process that extends to various categories.

locative nouns (see §§5.3.2 and 3.6). It includes only *ga²* 'with'; *ndaa¹³* 'until', 'as far as', 'over', 'from', or 'even'; *shko⁴* 'beyond'; *skahnux⁵* 'among'; *ra⁴* 'inside'; and the complex preposition *nuh¹ a³nikax¹* 'all around'.[12]

Simple:

> *ga²   nehex³*
> with baby
> with the baby (Sun 3:22)

> *ga²   shkaa³²*
> with raven
> with the raven (Fight 154)

> *ndaa¹³ shumanh³ yoh³*
> until   town   that
> as far as that town (Brother 96)

> *ndaa¹³ tuhwa³ na³² yahanx²*
> until   mouth water divine
> as far as the shore of the ocean (Fight 137)

> *ndaa¹³ shko¹*
> until   beyond
> over to the rear (Fight 310)

> *ndaa¹³ ko³ra⁴*
> until   later
> until later today (Brother 91)

> *shko⁴   kix³²*
> beyond mountain
> on the other side of the mountain (cf. Brother 51)

> *skahnux⁵ nix³   zoh³*
> among   the:PL him
> among them

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[12]Of the five simple prepositions, two are historically related to body-part nouns: *shko⁴* 'beyond' is a shortened form of *shkoo⁵* 'shoulder of', and *ra⁴* 'inside' formerly meant 'heart of' (see Longacre 1957:42, 139). Two of the remaining three, *ndaa¹³* and *ga²*, were perhaps originally members of other parts of speech. *ndaa¹³* has a wider distribution than other prepositions, and it sometimes seems to function like a prenuclear limiter. *ga²* sometimes functions as a conjunction. This leaves only *skahnux⁵* unaccounted for. It seems clear that in the history of Trique, the class of prepositions has been marginal at best.

ra⁴   weh³   yoh³
inside house that
in that house (Fight 167)

(See also 7.71, 7.74, and various others.)

Complex:

nuh¹   a³nikax¹   shumanh³
complete CON:turn town
all around the town

nuh¹   a³nikax¹   tuhwa³ na³²   yahanx²
complete CON:turn mouth water divine
all around the ocean shore (Brother 139)

There are four words from other parts of speech that sometimes function as prepositions: the locative adverb *nichrunh¹* 'near', the verb *a³nikax¹* 'to turn', and the conjunctions *gaa¹³* 'when' and *azix²* 'since'.

nichrunh¹   shumanh³
near   town
near the town

a³nikax¹   tuhwa³   riaa³²
CON:turn mouth bamboo
around the edge of the bamboo [patch]

gaa¹³   ko³hngo²
when Monday
on Monday

gaa¹³   naa⁴
when long:ago
a long time ago (Openly 1, Deluge 3)

azix²   manx³
since day:before:yesterday
since the day before yesterday

azix²   rnuu³²   yoh³
since coast   that
since long ago (Deluge 42)

(See also 7.14.)

The meaning of *ndaa¹³* in a given sentence is often determined by the verb, as seen in the following compound sentence.

(ho² kawii³²   tanh³)   ndaa¹³ takoo⁵ naa³¹   /   (ne²
(one COM:come:out corn:ear) until   foot   cornfield   (and

   kizix⁵   tanh³)   ndaa¹³ raa³¹ naa³¹   (a³²)
   COM:be:complete corn:ear) until   head cornfield (DEC)
(The ears of corn were borne continuously) from the base of the
corn plants, (and they arrived) up to the top of them. (Fight 57)

When two prepositional phrases with *ndaa¹³* are juxtaposed within a
single basic sentence, the first instance of *ndaa¹³* is translated 'from', and
the second one is translated 'to' or 'as far as'.

ndaa¹³ ngax³² ndaa¹³ tayox³
until   Putla   until   Juxtlahuaca
from Putla to Juxtlahuaca

ndaa¹³ nianx⁵ ndaa¹³ yoh³
until   here   until   there
from here to there

A prepositional phrase may serve as the object of another preposition.

ndaa¹³ shko⁴   kix³²
until   beyond mountain
from behind the mountain (cf. Brother 50)

ndaa¹³ nichrunh¹ riaan³² ruskah³   shtah¹
until   near   face   heartwood high
as far away as near the dome of heaven (Brother 174)

The non-phrase-final pronoun *rex³²* 'place' (see §5.4) may precede a
prepositional phrase with the meaning 'in the direction of'. The tone of the
preposition is often lowered following *rex³²* (see §5.2 for a description of
this tone lowering).

rex³² shko¹   na³²   yahanx²
place beyond water divine
on the other side of the ocean (Brother 129) (cf. *shko⁴* 'beyond')

The use of *rex³²* in this construction is similar to its use in adverbial noun
phrases and basic adverb phrases (see §§3.6 and 4.2.1).

5

Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

The class of content and equative verbs, defined by the presence of aspect inflection, is essentially closed. It contains only about three hundred members, virtually all of which are either roots, or stems derived from verb roots by prefixes or compounding.

5.1.1 Derivation. Content verbs are either simple roots or are derived, mainly from other verbs, by means of prefixes or compounding.

Simple verb roots usually have one or two syllables; one has three. Monosyllabic roots usually begin with a consonant, and disyllabic roots usually begin with a vowel. The disyllabic roots that begin with a consonant are probably old compounds. The trisyllabic root begins with a vowel, but is probably also an old compound.

hyax³	'to do'
nuu³²	'to be in'
me³	'to be'
uun³	'to become, to come to be'
unanx⁵	'to run'
akaa³²	'to burn'
rakwix⁵	'to help'

kuhnax¹   'to be named'

a³nikax¹   'to turn'

Derived content and equative verbs are formed from other verbs by means of three prefixes: *na-* 'repetitive', *shi-* 'detransitive', and *tV-* 'causative'. None of these prefixes is, however, synchronically productive. As is common with derivational prefixes, neither the existence of a derived stem nor its meaning can be predicted from any general principles. All derived stems must therefore be listed in the lexicon.

The prefix *na-* 'repetitive' usually combines with a stem that consists of the verb root plus the inflectional prefix *k-*, *g-*, or *kV-* 'noncontinuative aspect' (see §5.1.2), but it is sometimes combined directly with the verb root. This prefix adds the meaning of repeated or resumed action. When *na-* is added to a vowel-initial root, the prefix vowel is lost.

na-k-uchrah³
REP-NONCON-split
to open (book)

na-ki-hyax³
REP-NONCON-do
to remake

na-rih³
REP-get
to find, to meet

na-nuwa⁴
REP-sew
to mend

na-ruwih³
REP-appear
to turn up

n-ahmii³²
REP-speak
to become reconciled (requires plural subject)

(See also 7.29 and 7.86.)

The verb *uun³* 'to become' has two repetitive forms with different meanings.

n-uu³
REP-become
to become again, to become (used in stative sentences)

na-uun³
REP-become
to turn into, to be healed

The second of these may be a reduced form of **na-g-uun³*, which contains the noncontinuative prefix.

In one case *na-* appears to create a verb from a noun.

na-rmïï³²
REP-ball
to wad up

The prefix *shi-* 'detransitive' combines with only seven transitive verb roots, all of which refer to some kind of deformation. It undergoes various phonological changes, sometimes fusing completely with the root.

shi-hneh³
DETR-cut
to be broken off (cf. *ahneh³* 'to cut')

shi-hnex⁵
DETR-take:away
to be taken away (cf. *ahnex⁵* 'to take away')

shi-hnux⁵
DETR-open
to be opened (door) (cf. *ahnux⁵* 'to open')

sh-tunh³
DETR-break:in:pieces
to be crushed, to be used up (cf. *utunh³* 'to break in pieces')

sh-tuu³¹
DETR-scratch
to be worn out, to be tattered (cf. *utuu³¹* 'to scratch')

sinh³
DETR:tear
to be torn (cf. *utsinh³* 'to tear')

shrah³
DETR:split
to be split, to be shattered, to sprout, to hatch (cf. *uchrah³* 'to split, to shatter')

(See also 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56.)

The prefix *tV-* 'causative' usually combines with a stem that consists of an intransitive verb root plus the inflectional prefix *k-*, *g-*, or *kV-* 'noncontinuative aspect', but it is sometimes combined directly with the verb root. This prefix adds an agent, and it occurs mainly with roots that do not normally take agentive subjects. The vowel varies and cannot be predicted; sometimes it is lost before a root-initial vowel.

ti-k-ahmii³²
CAUS-NONCON-speak
to knock, to cause a fight to be over

ti-k-awih³
CAUS-NONCON-die
to kill

tu-shuhwih³
CAUS-be:afraid
to frighten

t-amanh³
CAUS-rain
to sprinkle, to scatter

(See also 7.91.)

When the prefix has the form *tu-*, a following *ka* or *ki* becomes *kwa* or *kwi*.

tu-kwa-hanx³²
CAUS-NONCON-go
to put in (cf. *kahanx³²* 'went')

tu-kw-ane³²
CAUS-NONCON-take:bath
to bathe (baby or corpse) (cf. *kane³²* 'took a bath')

Sometimes *tV-* occurs with a verb that is already transitive.

to-ko-ho³²
CAUS-NONCON-drink
to give a drink to (a baby)

ta-cha⁴
CAUS-eat
to feed (a baby)

tu-k-uhyon⁴
CAUS-NONCON-be:accustomed:to
to teach

A word with *tV-* may have sense discriminations with more than one degree of transitivity. The verb *tukuhyon⁴* means 'to be a student' and 'to study', as well as 'to teach'. The verb *tamanh³* means 'to be scattered', as well as 'to sprinkle' or 'to scatter'.

In one case *tV-* appears to create a verb from a noun.

tu-kwachriin³
CAUS-circle
to surround (cf. *kachriin³* 'circle, wheel')

There is also a syntactic causative, based on the verb *hyax³* 'to do', described in §1.1.9.

A number of apparently simple verb roots begin with *n, sh,* or *t;* those with initial *sh* are usually intransitive, and those with *t* are usually transitive. These roots are probably frozen forms with derivational prefixes for which the corresponding simple form has been lost.

anoh³	'to look for'
nikunh³	'to stand'
shuhwih³	'to be frightened'
shihnanx³²	'to abound'
tituun⁵	'to pinch'
tuhwex⁵	'to sell'

Occasionally two derivational prefixes occur in a single stem. The one closer to the root probably became frozen to it before the second one was added.

ti-n-atux⁵
CAUS-REP-enter
to turn inside out (cf. *natux⁵* 'to be turned inside out', *atux⁵* 'to enter')

na-t-ugwax⁵
REP-CAUS-?
to drive (a vehicle) (cf. *tugwax⁵* 'to twist', *shugwax⁵* 'to be twisted')

There are many pairs of verbs that show no morphological relation, but which enter into transitive-intransitive pairs. One important set of such pairs contains intransitive verbs that express a position and corresponding transitive verbs that express placement in that position. The most common ones are:

Position verb	Placement verb
ne³, yaan⁵	*uneh³*
'to sit'	'to seat'
nax³	*uchrux³²*
'to lie'	'to lay'
nikunh³	*achron⁴*
'to stand'	'to erect'
taa⁵	*utah³*
'to be on top'	'to place on top'
nuu³²	*araa³, tukwahanx³²*
'to be in'	'to put in'
hnix³²	*anuh³*
'to be wedged in'	'to wedge in'
zhix⁵	*achrix⁵*
'to be tucked in'	'to tuck in'

The idioms and collocations that occur for one member of these pairs are usually matched by corresponding idioms and collocations for the other member. For example, to express the location of a town, the verb used is *nax³* 'to lie', and the verb used to found a town is *uchrux³²* 'to lay'.

There is no productive process for forming compounds, but complex verb nuclei, which are idioms that consist of a verb plus a modifier (see §2.1.1), sporadically fuse into single words.

ri⁵-nee³²
tuck:in-knife
to clear (a field) (cf. *achrix⁵* 'to tuck in')

ri⁵-tseh³
tuck:in-smoke
to fumigate (with incense) (cf. *achrix⁵, katseh³* 'smoke')

ra⁵-zuun³²
?-work
to use (cf. *arax⁵* '?')

ra⁵-yahanx¹³
?-noteworthy
to make a fuss over (cf. *arax⁵*)

ti⁵-she⁴
poke-feet
to trip over (cf. *tigix⁵* 'to poke', *shehe⁴* 'feet')

sh-na⁵hanx²
ask-wordlike
to ask (a question) (cf. *achiin⁵* 'to ask', *nahanx²* 'wordlike')

sh-ianh³
eat-toothlike
to bite (cf. *cha⁴* 'to eat', *yanh³* 'toothlike')

(See also 7.51 and 7.54.)

The verb *ahwee³* 'to be possible' is derived historically from *ahwex³²* 'to be willing' plus the third person unspecified postclitic pronoun (see §5.4). One verb of existence requires a plural reading for its subject.

> *man⁴*   'to exist'

Two verbs are inherently negative.

> *dax³²* or *tax³²*   'to not exist'
> *nuwih³*   'to not be present'

In the text in chapter 7, *dax³²* occurs in the idiomatic expression *dax³² ze³² ki²hya-h⁴* 'there is nothing that can be done' in 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56; and *nuwih³* occurs in the complex nucleus *nuwih³ wax²* 'to not be present' in 7.76 and 7.87.

Many verbs have specialized uses to mark some grammatical function. *me³* 'to be' is used in the cleft focus construction (see §1.1.8). *a³nikax¹* 'to turn' functions as a preposition meaning 'around' (see §4.3). *tiko³²* 'to play' is used in the manner position in verb phrases together with a negative

marker as an intensifier (see §2.1.3). *taa⁵* 'to be on top' is used to connect
numerals and fractions (see §§3.2, 4.1.1, and 4.1.4). A number of verbs
have a specialized use when they take a sentential complement (see
§1.1.9), or when they occur in a sentence combination (see §§6.1.1, 6.1.2,
and 6.2.2).

5.1.2 Inflection. Content and equative verbs are inflected for three
aspects: continuative, completive, and potential. Continuative is used to
express both habitual and progressive. Completive appears to be more
highly marked than continuative and is used when the speaker wants to
specify that an action is completed. Continuative is often used, however, in
contexts where past tense forms are used in English, such as for ongoing
activity in the past. Potential is similar to future tense, but it also includes
modal ideas like those expressed by English *can, should,* and *would.* It is
also used in dependent constructions where many Indo-European
languages use the subjunctive.

Continuative aspect is the basic form of the verb. It consists of the root
or stem alone. Completive and potential aspects are best described by
means of changes from the continuative form. Completive aspect is usually
marked by a prefix added to the root or stem, and potential aspect has the
same prefix as completive and also a replacement of the tone pattern. The
prefix and the tone replacement each have a complex set of realizations,
only some of which are phonologically conditioned.

The noncontinuative prefix has the forms *k-, g-,* and *kV-.* Polysyllabic
vowel-initial verbs take the form *k-.*

	CON	COM
die	*awih³*	*kawih³*
turn	*a³nikax¹*	*ka³nikax¹*
hear	*uno³*	*kuno³*

Monosyllabic vowel-initial verbs take the form *g-.*

	CON	COM
become	*uun³*	*guun³*
give	*oh³*	*goh³*

Polysyllabic verbs with initial *w* replace the *w* with *k,* and monosyllabic
verbs with initial *w* replace the *w* with *g.*

	CON	COM
ache	*wehee³¹*	*kehee³¹*
grind	*wax⁵*	*gax⁵*

Other consonant-initial verbs often take a prefix of the form *kV-*. The prefix vowel tends to agree with the vowel in the following syllable, but it is not entirely predictable. Frequently the vowel is *i* preceding a stem with initial *n* or *r*.

	CON	COM
get	*rih³*	*kirih³*
sense, see, know	*nehe³*	*kenehe³*
help	*rakwix⁵*	*karakwix⁵*
drink	*ho³²*	*koho³²*
be in	*nuu³²*	*kunuu³²*
appear	*ruwih³*	*kuruwih³*
tell	*nano⁴*	*kinano⁴*
wash	*naan⁵*	*kinaan⁵*
buy	*ranx⁵*	*kiranx⁵*
do, make, cause, act	*hyax³*	*kihyax³*
grab	*tahaa³²*	*katahaa³²*, *kitahaa³²*

Some consonant-initial verbs take no prefix, in which case the continuative and completive forms are homophonous.

	CON	COM
eat	*cha⁴*	*cha⁴*
look for	*nanoh³*	*nanoh³*

Some consonant-initial verbs with two syllables have two forms, one with the prefix and one without.

	CON	COM
finish	*nawix³*	*kinawix³*, *nawix³*
help	*rakwix⁵*	*karakwix⁵*, *rakwix⁵*
find	*narih³*	*kinarih³*, *narih³*

The tone replacements that mark potential aspect are complex and sometimes involve the addition or loss of the word-final laryngeal *x*. These tone replacements are treated in greater detail in Hollenbach 1984a:214–229.

In regular verbs, contrastive tones, including the tone replacements that mark potential aspect, occur only on word-final syllables. The tone patterns that occur with continuative and completive aspects are *3, 4, 5, 31,* and *32;* and the patterns that occur with potential aspect are *1, 2,* and *13.* Each continuative tone pattern corresponds to one or two characteristic potential patterns, as shown in the following table. Because the laryngeal that checks the vowel sometimes affects the tone replacement, the checked *(Vh, Vx, V)* and unchecked *(VV)* vowel patterns that are associated with each correspondence are noted in parentheses. Some combinations of tones with checked and unchecked vowels do not appear in the table, either because they do not occur in the language, or because they do not occur with verb stems.

CON/COM	POT
3 (VV, Vx, V)	*13*
3 (Vh)	*13 or 1*
4 (V)	*1 or 2*
5 (VV)	*1 (Vx)*
5 (Vx)	*2 (Vx) or 2 (VV)*
31 (VV)	*1*
32 (VV, Vx, V)	*2*

The following table shows all three aspects of sample verbs that take regular tone replacements.

	CON	COM	POT
put in, fill	*araa³*	*karaa³*	*karaa¹³*
finish	*nawix³*	*kinawix³*	*kinawix¹³*
hear	*uno³*	*kuno³*	*kuno¹³*
follow, hang	*nokoh³*	*kanokoh³*	*kanokoh¹³*
kill	*tikawih³*	*tikawih³*	*tikawih¹³*
get	*rih³*	*kirih³*	*kirih¹*
grab, become attached	*ano⁴*	*kano⁴*	*kano¹*
pass	*achen⁴*	*kachen⁴*	*kachen²*

wash	*naan⁵*	*kinaan⁵*	*kinanx¹*
run	*unanx⁵*	*kunanx⁵*	*kunanx²*
buy	*ranx⁵*	*kiranx⁵*	*kiraan²*
explode	*anuu³¹*	*kanuu³¹*	*kanuu¹*
burn	*akaa³²*	*kakaa³²*	*kakaa²*
go	*hanx³²*	*kahanx³²*	*kahanx²*
sow	*uno³²*	*kuno³²*	*kuno²*

Two verbs with tone *5* and an unchecked vowel have tone *2* and no *x* in potential.

	CON	COM	POT
walk	*chee⁵*	*kachee⁵*	*kachee²*
sing	*achraa⁵*	*kachraa⁵*	*kachraa²*

There are also a number of verbs that show tone changes in nonfinal syllables to mark potential aspect.

One group of verbs leaves the tone on the final syllable unchanged in potential aspect and adds tone *2* on the penult. Most causative stems with the *tV-* prefix fall into this group, except for those with tone *3*, which take the sequence *13* on the final syllable. This group also includes a few verbs that appear to be simple roots, but which may be frozen compounds.

	CON	COM	POT
feed	*tacha⁴*	*tacha⁴*	*ta²cha⁴*
knock	*tikahmïï³²*	*tikahmïï³²*	*tika²hmïï³²*
make explode	*tukwanuu³¹*	*tukwanuu³¹*	*tukwa²nuu³¹*
urinate	*rehe⁴*	*rehe⁴*	*re²he⁴*
cover	*araan⁵*	*karaan⁵*	*ka²raan⁵*
help	*rakwix⁵*	*karakwix⁵*	*kara²kwix⁵*

Some verbs have a tone *3* or *5* on a nonfinal syllable, as well as a tone on the final syllable. These verbs leave the tone of the final syllable unchanged and replace the tone of the nonfinal syllable with tone *2*. If, however, the first tone of the final syllable is *1* or *2*, the tone of the nonfinal syllable is simply lost. The verbs in this group are probably all compounds, although the etymology of some of them is obscure.

	CON	COM	POT
care for	$ta^3yahanx^{32}$	$ta^3yahanx^{32}$	$ta^2yahanx^{32}$
appear, show up	u^3rianx^1	ku^3rianx^1	$kurianx^1$
sigh	ra^5chex^{32}	$kara^5chex^{32}$	$kara^2chex^{32}$
fumigate	ri^5tseh^3	ri^5tseh^3	ri^2tseh^3
ask question	$shna^5hanx^2$	$shna^5hanx^2$	$shnahanx^2$
fuss over	$ra^5yahanx^{13}$	$kara^5yahanx^{13}$	$karayahanx^{13}$

Five verbs change the tones of both the final syllable and a nonfinal syllable in potential aspect. These verbs all have *3* on the first syllable and *2* on the final syllable in continuative and completive, and they have *2* on the first syllable and a *32* sequence on the final syllable in potential.

	CON	COM	POT
have	ni^3kax^2	ni^3kax^2	ni^2kax^{32}
look	ni^3hyax^2	ni^3hyax^2	ni^2hyax^{32}
wrap around	ni^3kee^2	ni^3kee^2	ni^2kee^{32}
raise	na^3shkax^2	na^3shkax^2	na^2shkax^{32}
sit up	$na^3shagaa^2$	$na^3shagaa^2$	$na^2shagaa^{32}$

Two motion verbs have suppletive imperative forms that are used only in short sentences with second person subjects (see §1.3).

$gwix^2$
IMP:go
scram!

$kuwah^2$
IMP:come
come!

(See also 7.82.)

About twelve common content verbs have two different continuative aspect forms. One is the root or stem alone, and the other is a form with a lower tone. See §5.2 below for a description of this set of tone replacements, which is similar to the set of tone replacements that mark potential aspect. The verbs in this group are all consonant-initial, and most refer to position. The following table shows the full set of aspect forms for these verbs, with the low-tone continuative form in the column labeled CON2.

	CON	CON2	COM	POT
lie	nax^3	nax^{13}	$kinax^3$	$kinax^{13}$
sit, live	ne^3	ne^{13}	$kane^3$	$kane^{13}$
follow, hang	$nokoh^3$	$nokoh^1$	$kanokoh^3$	$kanokoh^{13}$
stand	$nikunh^3$	$nikunh^1$	$kanikunh^3$	$kanikunh^{13}$
be attached	no^4	no^1	$kano^4$	$kano^1$
be in	$shion^4$	$shion^1$	$kishion^4$	$kishion^1$
exist (PL)	man^4	man^1	$kuman^4$	$kuman^1$
sit, live	$yaan^5$	$yanx^1$	$kayaan^5$	ka^2yaan^5
be on top	taa^5	tax^1	$kitaa^5$	$kitax^5$
be in	nuu^{32}	nuu^2	$kunuu^{32}$	ku^2nuu^{32}
be wedged in	$hnix^{32}$	$hnix^2$	$kihnix^{32}$	ki^2hnix^{32}
move	wax^{32}	wax^2	—	—

The two continuative forms show no difference in aspectual meaning, but occur in different syntactic environments. The low-tone form occurs in sentence-initial position, including initial position in relative clauses, as seen in 7.26, 7.84, 7.91, and various others. The basic (high-tone) form occurs in noninitial position in sentences, as seen in 7.2, 7.20, 7.53, 7.77, 7.79, and various others. Sometimes the high-tone form occurs after an initial sentential marker that ends in waa^{32} 'to exist', as seen in 7.57, 7.59, and 7.73, or after another sentence juxtaposed with it, as seen in 7.72, 7.75, and 7.90. Following a conjunction, however, the low-tone form usually occurs, as seen in 7.89.

There is some variation among speakers about which form is used in certain environments, and about which verbs belong to this class. The role of the two continuative forms in helping the hearer distinguish sentences containing relative clauses from those containing a noun in focus position is discussed in greater detail in Hollenbach 1992.

Most content verbs begin with a vowel, most commonly *a*. A few pairs of verbs exist with and without initial *a*, which suggests that the vowel was formerly a productive morpheme that had the meaning 'process' or 'inchoative'.

no^4	'to be attached'
ano^4	'to grab, to become attached'
$nokoh^3$	'to follow, to hang'
$anokoh^3$	'to move beyond zenith (sun)'

| *nikunh³* | 'to stand' |
| *anikunh³* | 'to stop' |

A few verbs are defective in that they are not inflected for aspect. The forms that occur are considered to be continuative.

me³	'to be'
kuhnax¹	'to be named'
ra⁴	'to think, to be of the opinion, to wonder'
dax³² or *tax³²*	'to not exist'
nuwih³	'to not be present'

5.2 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs differ from content and equative verbs in that they are not inflected for aspect. They commonly occur as the predicate of stative sentences (see §1.1.6) and as manner in content verb phrases (see §2.1.3).

Stative verbs are either basic or derived from nouns by replacing their tone with a lower tone. This derivational process is only moderately productive; derived stative verbs often have idiomatic meanings, and many occur only in certain complex nuclei.

Basic stative verbs:

zah¹	'good'
nix³²	'ugly, bad'
shix¹	'big'
chreh²	'short'
laruu¹³	'soft'
katsii¹	'white'
ikwaan²	'pink'
wehe⁴	'pretty'
shianh¹	'tasty, pleasing'

Derived stative verbs:

Stative verb	Noun
katuun¹	*katuun³¹*
'slender'	'waist of'

nee^1	*nee^{31}*
'bare, naked'	'flesh, meat'
kux^1	*kuu^5*
'uncluttered'	'bone'
yohox^1	*yohoo^5*
'muddy'	'earth'
yanx^1	*yanx^5*
'waxy, of wax'	'wax'
chron^1	*chron^4*
'dark colored'	'black person'
yahanx^2	*yahanx^{32}*
'divine'	'saint, god'
yanx^{13}	*yanx^3*
'papery'	'paper'
shana^1	*sha^{3}na^1*
'female'	'woman'
sno^{2}ho^{32}	*sno^{5}ho^{32}*
'male'	'man'
taa^{13}	*taa^3*
'flat'	'plain'
agah^{13}	*agah^3*
'metallic'	'metal'
neh^2	*neh^3*
'ropelike'	'rope'

The set of tone replacements used to derive stative verbs from nouns is similar to the set that marks potential aspect in content and equative verbs, but not identical to it. These replacements are shown in the following table.

Noun	Stative verb
3 (VV, Vx, V)	*13*
3 (Vh)	*13* or *2*
4 (VV, V)	*1*
5 (VV)	*1 (Vx)*
5 (Vx)	*1*
31 (VV)	*1*
32 (VV, Vx, V)	*2*

This set of replacements has several other syntactic functions; see §§1.2.2, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.9, 4.3, 5.1.2, 5.3.2, 5.5, and 5.6. It is described in greater detail in Hollenbach 1984a:229–47.

The stative verb *gee¹* 'whole' has a special use as a limiter meaning 'exactly' in stative verb phrases and expanded numeral phrases (see §§2.3 and 4.1.4).

5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There are, however, many compound nouns formed by the fusion of a complex noun nucleus, which consists of a fairly generic noun or non-phrase-final pronoun followed by various modifiers (see §3.1.1).

ta³-gah³	'jail' (cf. *tukwa⁴* 'home of', *agah³* 'metal')
ya⁵-nux¹³	'drum' (cf. *yahanx⁵* 'musical instrument', *nux¹³* 'of leather')
ra-chruun⁵	'bread' (cf. *chraa³* 'tortilla', *chruun⁵* 'box, oven')
ku³-yanx¹	'candle' (cf. *kuu⁵* 'bone', *yanx¹* 'of wax')
s-no⁵ho³²	'man' (cf. *zii⁵* 'he', *noho³²* 'male')
ku³-wix¹	'Tuesday' (cf. *gwii³* 'day', *wix¹* 'two')

Fusions such as the above have resulted in many tree and fruit names with initial *r* or *ru*, from *chruun³* 'wood, tree' and *chrux³* 'fruit, egg', and a number of animal names with initial *sh* or *shkw*, from *shkuu³* 'animal'.

With fused 'tree':

 r-achih³   'pine tree'
 r-kwaan⁵   'Montezuma baldcypress tree *(Taxodium mucronatum)*'
 r-ichrux³   'oak tree with small untoothed leaves'
 r-anex³²   'oak tree with large felty leaves'
 r-izhax³²   'coralbean tree *(Erythrina americana)*'
 r-amix³²   'sausage tree *(Hymenaea courbaril)*'

With fused 'fruit':

 ru³-tsih¹   'guava' (cf. *tsih¹* 'sweet')
 r-kwehe⁴   'peach'
 r-koo³²   'custard apple *(Annona* sp.)'
 r-ahwii³²   'orange'

With fused 'animal':

 shkw-aa⁵   'snake' (cf. *yaa⁵* 'root')
 shkw-ax³²   'fish' (cf. *wax³²* 'to move')
 sh-luu⁵   'worm, caterpillar'
 sh-uwee³   'dog'
 sh-tuu³²   'rat, mouse' (cf. *ituu³²* 'stealing')
 sh-uwaa³¹   'cougar' (cf. *yuwaa¹* 'fierce')

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 four natural gender classes according to the third person phrase-final pronouns (see §5.4) that can refer to them: masculine, feminine, animal, and inanimate. Some nouns belong to more than one class.

Masculine nouns:

 chii³   'man'
 tahnuh³   'uncle of'
 tanuu³   'soldier'
 yahanx³²   'saint, god'

Feminine nouns:

    sha³na¹   'woman'

    tuhwe³   'aunt of'

    yahanx³²   'saint, god'

(See also 7.15.)

Animal nouns:

    shkuu³   'animal'

    shtax³   'deer'

    kachrinx⁵   'clam'

    zhoo³   'turtle'

    kahux³   'raccoon'

    shuwaa³¹   'cougar'

    ri³kix¹³   'frog'

    matsinx³²   'sheep'

    shuchee³²   'hen, chicken'

(See also 7.2, 7.3, and 7.78.)

Inanimate nouns:

    chruun³   'wood, tree'

    mi³shte⁴   'machete (Sp. *machete*)'

    yuwex³²   'rock, cliff'

    rtaa³¹   'tamale'

(See also 7.1, 7.9, 7.16, 7.27, 7.64, 7.71, 7.74, and various others.)

Nouns may also be classified into those that cannot be possessed and those that can. Nouns that cannot be possessed often refer to topographical or meteorological phenomena.

    yatih³   'star'

    chraa⁵   'river'

    maan³¹   'rain'

    yuun⁴   'earthquake'

Nouns in the above category may have more than one sense discrimination, some of which may be possessible.

na³na¹	'wind, air' (unpossessible);
	'breath, speech, word' (possessible)

A few nouns that cannot be possessed are related to special inherently possessed nouns.

weh³	'house' (cf. *tukwa⁴* 'home of')
yatsex⁵ or *yatsix⁵*	'clothing, garment' (cf. *sa³ganh¹* 'clothing of')
shkuu³	'animal' (cf. *daan⁴* '[domestic] animal of')

Nouns that refer to specific animals cannot be possessed. Instead, an appositional construction is used, in which the name of the specific animal follows a possessive noun phrase with *daan⁴* '(domestic) animal of' (see §3.7).

Nouns that can be possessed are either inherently or optionally possessed. Nouns which are inherently possessed are usually kinship terms or body parts.

ni³ka²	'spouse of'
rex³	'father of'
takuun⁵	'nose of'
raha³	'hand of'

Inherently possessed nouns also include a number of other nouns.

man³	'body of'
mahan¹³	'self of' (probably related etymologically to *man³*)
nuwah¹	'right side of'
nichruun¹³	'left side of'
se³shuwii¹³	'name of'
tuwih³	'companion of, relative of'
shiaan⁵	'hometown of'
tukwa⁴	'home of'
sa³ganh¹	'clothing of'
daan⁴	'(domestic) animal of'

The noun *man³* 'body of' is used to mark a nonagentive subject of certain verbs (see §§1.1.2 and 1.1.6), an animate or pronominal direct object (see §1.1.3), and a nonlocalized body part that is possessed (see §3.3). The nouns *mahan¹³* 'self of' and *tuwih³* 'companion of' also have specialized uses. *mahan¹³* is used to express reflexives (see §1.1.3), lack of an agent (see §2.1.3), and emphatic and indefinite noun phrases (see §§3.3 and 3.10). *tuwih³* is used to express reciprocals (see §§1.1.3 and 2.1.3), partitives (see §3.3), and comparison (see §3.7).

For many speakers, citation forms of inherently possessed nouns include the generalized inclusive postclitic pronoun (see §5.4).

re-h⁴
father-our:IN
our father *or* father (cf. *rex³* 'father of')

takun-h⁴
nose-our:IN
our noses *or* nose (cf. *takuun⁵* 'nose of')

Optionally possessed nouns include all nouns not in either of the above groups. These nouns have a special form that is used only when they occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase (see §3.3), i.e., when they occur with a possessor. This form is created from the basic noun stem in various ways.

Many common nouns with initial *y* replace the *y* with *d* in monosyllabic words, and with *t* in polysyllabic words.

	Basic	Possessed
flower	*yax³²*	*dax³²*
paper	*yanx³*	*danx³*
palm basket	*yoo⁴*	*doo⁴*
instrument	*yahanx⁵*	*tahanx⁵*
earth, land	*yohoo⁵*	*tohoo⁵*

Some common nouns take a prefix of the form *ta-*, *ti-*, *s-*, or *sh-*. Sometimes the tone changes from 3 to 5 (in one case with loss of final *x*), and sometimes *sh-* fuses with the stem.

	Basic	Possessed
rope	neh^3	$taneh^3$
corn	$hnuu^5$	$tihnuu^5$
flesh, meat	nee^{31}	$snee^{31}$
metate	to^{32}	sto^{32}
ear of corn	$tanh^3$	$stanh^3$
cornfield	naa^{31}	$shnaa^{31}$
net bag	$nanx^3$	$shnanx^5$
wood, tree	$chruun^3$	$shruun^5$
fruit, egg	$chrux^3$	$shruu^5$
tortilla	$chraa^3$	raa^5

The most common way to express possession, however, is to place the nominal marker ze^{32} before the noun, and to replace the tone of the noun with a lower tone. The marker ze^{32} is homophonous with the third person inanimate non-phrase-final pronoun, but does not appear to be the same morpheme. The tone replacements that mark possession are usually the same as those used to derive stative verbs from nouns, described in §5.2.

	Basic	Possessed
metal	$agah^3$	$ze^{32}\ agah^{13}$
honey	$katsih^3$	$ze^{32}\ katsih^2$
tunic	$rohno^4$	$ze^{32}\ rohno^1$
nail, earring	$kakii^5$	$ze^{32}\ kakix^1$
language	$shnahanx^5$	$ze^{32}\ shnahanx^1$
pitcher	$siuu^{31}$	$ze^{32}\ siuu^1$
custard apple	$rkoo^{32}$	$ze^{32}\ rkoo^2$

When, however, the noun has an unchecked vowel and tone *4*, the tone *4* is unchanged, and tone *2* is added on the penultimate syllable. Also, nouns that have tone *3* on the penultimate syllable replace the *3* by *2*. These words are often Spanish loanwords.

	Basic	Possessed
shirt (Sp. *cotón*)	$kotoo^4$	$ze^{32}\ ko^2too^4$
silk (Sp. *seda*)	sa^3da^4	$ze^{32}\ sa^2da^4$

The distribution classes of nouns include vocatives, proper nouns, locative nouns, temporal nouns, measurement nouns, and common nouns. Some nouns fall into more than one class.

Vocatives include personal names, kinship terms, and certain other nouns. Many kinship terms have special vocative forms that are not inherently possessed. Vocative forms of names and common nouns usually show a stress shift from the ultima to the penult, and also certain tone changes.

Personal names:

> $gwaa^{32}$ 'John! (Sp. *Juan*)' (cf. $gwaa^4$)
>
> $'pe^3dro^{32}$ 'Peter! (Sp. *Pedro*)' (cf. pe^3dro^4)

Kinship terms:

> $'a^3tax^1$ 'Papa! (Sp. *tata*)' (cf. rex^3 'father of')
>
> $'na^3iin^{32}$ 'Mama!' (cf. nii^3 'mother of')
>
> $'ti^3nux^1$ 'Brother! (of male)' (cf. $tinuu^5$ 'brother:ME')
>
> $'so^3ko^1$ 'Brother! (of female)' (cf. $rahwix^{32}$ 'brother:FE')

Other nouns:

> $'shu^3wee^{32}$ 'dog!' (cf. $shuwee^3$)
>
> $'me^3stro^{32}$ 'teacher! (Sp. *maestro*)' (cf. me^3stro^4)

When a vocative occurs at the end of a YES/NO or WH question, it often ends with a glottal stop, which replaces any stem-final laryngeal (see §1.4).

> $'pe^3droh^{32}$ 'Peter?' (cf. $'pe^3dro^{32}$ 'Peter!')
>
> $'ti^3nuh^1$ 'Brother? (of male)' (cf. $'ti^3nux^1$ 'Brother! [of male]')

(See also 7.8.)

Proper nouns include personal and place names.

> pe^3to^4 'Bob (Sp. *Beto*)'
>
> $shtuu^{32}$ 'Mouse' (nickname)
>
> $makaa^5$ 'Mexico City'
>
> ya^3kwex^2 'Oaxaca City' (cf. yan^{32} 'place', $kwex^2$ 'of edible greens')
>
> $natax^5$ 'Sabana'

The proper noun category also includes many complex nuclei. See Hollenbach 1980b for a description of personal names, and Hollenbach 1980d for a description of place names.

Locative nouns occur as nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes place names, names of topographical features, and some other nouns.

ngax³²	'Putla'
tihinx⁵	'Huajuapan'
kix³²	'mountain'
chraa⁵	'river'
chrex³²	'trail'
shumanh³	'town'
rnuu³²	'coast, long ago'

The second category includes certain inherently possessed body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense, and also one Spanish loanword. This loanword also functions as a conjunction meaning 'because' (see §6.2.1).

man³
body
to

riaan³²
face
to, in front of, on top of, instead of

ston³
finger
to

raha³
hand
from

shehe⁴
feet
for, about, because of

shraa⁵
back
on top of, over, uphill from

rke³
stomach
under, in, among

raa³¹
head
on the top of

takoo⁵
foot
at the base of

tuhwa³
mouth
at the edge of

ta³nuu²
middle
in the middle of

kwe³nda⁴ or *kwenda⁴*
account
on the side of, on account of, because (Sp. *cuenta*)

The extended meanings of these nouns are often determined by the verb they occur with. In some cases, such as *ston³* 'finger of' and *raha³* 'hand of', the relational meaning seems to be almost entirely in the verb. In other cases, however, such as *riaan³²* 'face of', the body-part noun clearly carries the relational meaning. See Hollenbach 1990 for further discussion.

Temporal nouns also occur as nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6) and are divided into the same two categories. The first category occurs as nuclei of adverbial basic noun phrases, and it includes names for units of time and calendric units.

gwii³	'day'
yoh³	'year'
dyo⁴	'season (Sp. *tiempo* 'time')'
kwe³hnux¹	'Wednesday'
rnuu³²	'coast, long ago'

The second category occurs as nuclei of adverbial possessive noun phrases, and it includes only a few body-part nouns that are extended in a temporal sense.

> *rke³*
> stomach
> within, during
>
> *takoo⁵*
> foot
> at the beginning of
>
> *raa³¹*
> head
> at the end of

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases.

ta³nex¹	'maquila (four-liter dry measure)'
li³tro⁴	'liter (Sp. *litro*)'
shkoo⁵	'fathom (distance between outstretched fingertips), shoulder of'
zhee⁵	'load (amount a man can carry on his back)'
takox¹	'pair (of shoes)' (cf. *takoo⁵* 'foot of')

Common nouns are those not included in any of the above distribution classes.

shuwee³	'dog'
kox³²	'plant'
too³²	'milk'

Nouns may also be classified as either mass or count. Mass nouns do not permit a numeral or numeral phrase as quantifier, whereas count nouns do.

Mass nouns:

too³²	'milk'
tsih³	'tepache (fermented sugarcane juice)'
sigih³	'mud'

kachix³²	'cotton'
yanx⁵	'wax'

Count nouns:

shluu⁵	'worm, caterpillar'
rachruun⁵	'bread'
nee³	'plow'
shrux³	'(clay) pot'

Sometimes a single noun has two or more sense discriminations, some of which fall into the class of mass nouns, while the others fall into the class of count nouns.

na³²	'water' (mass); 'fontanel' (count)
na³na¹	'wind, air, breath, speech' (mass); 'word' (count)
chruun³	'wood' (mass); 'tree, pole, stick' (count)

5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns are free or postclitic. Free pronouns occur for all persons and numbers. First and second persons have a clear number distinction, with singular, dual, and plural forms. They also have an inclusive-exclusive distinction, and a contrast between familiar and unmarked in second person singular.

		SG	DU	PL
first				
	EX	*hunx¹*	*runx⁵, rox¹ nux⁵*	*nux⁵*
	IN	—	*roh¹, rox¹ nih⁴*	*nih⁴*
second				
	unmarked	*zoh¹*	*rox¹ zox¹³*	*zox³, nix³ zox³*
	familiar	*dih¹*	—	—

The first person singular pronoun occurs in 7.32.

The exclusive pronouns *runx⁵* and *nux⁵* appear to be fusions of the definite articles *rox¹* 'the two' and *nix³* 'the (plural)' with the first person singular pronoun *hunx¹*. There is also a rise in tone, which may be related to the rise that indicates additive numerals and quantifiers (see §5.6).

The inclusive pronouns *roh¹* and *nih⁴* appear to be fusions of the definite articles with the generalized inclusive postclitic pronoun described below. An example of *nih⁴* is found in 7.8.

The second person singular unmarked pronoun *zoh¹* is usually unstressed and is sometimes reduced to *z* in fast speech. This pronoun occurs in 7.9, 7.29, 7.82, and various other sentences in chapter 7.

The second person singular familiar pronoun *dih¹* is used both to children as a sign of affection and to adults as a way of showing politeness. It is used in the text in 7.61 in an apparently facetious way.

The three singular pronouns cause an immediately preceding word with the tone patterns *3*, *13*, and *31* on the final syllable to undergo tone sandhi. Any word with *3* or *13* that ends with the laryngeal *x* loses the laryngeal and replaces the basic tone with *5*. A polysyllabic word with *13* also adds tone *2* on the penult. (There is one word with *x* and *31*; it does not undergo sandhi.)

	Basic	Sandhi
lay	*kinax³*	*kinaa⁵*
will lie	*kinax¹³*	*ki²naa⁵*

An example of this change is found in the first word of 7.9.

Any word with tone *3*, *13*, or *31* that ends with one of the other two laryngeals or with an unchecked vowel replaces the basic tone with *4*. Tone *2* is added to the penult of a polysyllabic word with *13*.

	Basic	Sandhi
spoiled	*tirih³*	*tirih⁴*
heard	*kuno³*	*kuno⁴*
filled	*karaa³*	*karaa⁴*
will become	*guun¹³*	*guun⁴*
will spoil	*tirih¹³*	*ti²rih⁴*
will hear	*kuno¹³*	*ku²no⁴*
will fill	*karaa¹³*	*ka²raa⁴*
washed face	*kanaan³¹*	*kanaan⁴*

An example of this change is found in the fifth word of 7.9.

Tone sandhi is discussed further in Hollenbach 1974 and Hollenbach 1984a:260–303.

Third person pronouns are either phrase-final or non-phrase-final. Non-phrase-final pronouns occur when something else follows within the noun phrase (and in a few idiomatic expressions), and phrase-final pronouns occur when the pronoun is the final element within its own noun phrase. Non-phrase-final pronouns most commonly occur to introduce relative clauses; their function is treated more extensively in Hollenbach 1992. Third person pronouns have six gender categories, but neither set contains all genders. Number is not marked, but may be optionally shown in all genders except indefinite by using the dual and plural definite articles rox^1 and nix^3.

	Phrase-final	Non-phrase-final
masculine	zoh^3	zii^5
feminine	noh^3	nii^5
animal	$zhoh^3$	—
inanimate	yoh^3	ze^{32}
locative	—	rex^{32}, yan^{32}
indefinite	nii^3	—

The inanimate phrase-final pronoun yoh^3 is related to the locative adverb yoh^3 'there', which also functions as a deictic meaning 'that'. As a pronoun, it is never stressed and is sometimes reduced to h. It appears to be a recent addition to the pronoun system and is often unexpressed in positions other than subject. The masculine, feminine, and animal phrase-final pronouns appear to be fusions containing yoh^3. The pronoun yoh^3 is used in 7.24 and 7.33 to refer to the tar baby, and in 7.36 to refer to the rabbit's fists.

The masculine non-phrase-final pronoun is often used for animals; an example is found in 7.60. In 7.23 and 7.26 this pronoun refers to the tar baby, an inanimate figure believed to be human. The masculine and feminine phrase-final pronouns are occasionally used in folktales to refer to animals.

The inanimate non-phrase-final pronoun ze^{32} also functions as a complementizer (see §1.1.9); in this function it is glossed complementizer, rather than 'it (inanimate)'. It is also used in the cleft focus construction (see §1.1.8). An example of its use as a pronoun is found in the frozen expression in 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56; the remaining occurrences of ze^{32} in the text are in complex sentential markers (see §6.4).

The two locative pronouns are reduced forms of the nouns $chrex^{32}$ 'trail' and $riaan^{32}$ 'face of'. An example of yan^{32} is found in 7.58. They sometimes

function as conjunctions to express purpose (see §6.2.1). *rex³²* also precedes adverbial noun phrases, basic adverb phrases, and prepositional phrases (see §§3.6, 4.2.1, and 4.3); in these constructions it adds the meaning 'in the direction of' or 'at the approximate time of'.

The indefinite pronoun *nii³* 'they' is used to refer to people in general, or to avoid stating a more precise referent. For at least some speakers, *nii³* is used only for subjects. The following sentence illustrates its use.

> *ne²   shli³nge⁴ roh³* / *tsax² ne² ne³ awih³   zoh³* / *tax³²*
> and cannibal TOPIC   but   and NEG CON:die he   CON:say
>
> *nii³   a³²*
> they DEC
>
> And as for the cannibal, he doesn't die, they say. (Brother 137)

There are also three postclitic phrase-final pronouns, realized solely by tone and laryngeal replacements. Like free pronouns, they express the subject of a sentence, the possessor of a noun, and the object of a preposition. Postclitic pronouns are attached to the word that immediately precedes them. For example, a postclitic pronoun that expresses the subject is attached to the final word in the verb phrase, which is often a postverbal element, rather than the verb itself.

Even though these pronouns are tightly fused to the preceding word, they must be treated as full syntactic elements because they occur instead of, never in addition to, noun phrases or free pronouns. A full treatment of postclitic pronouns, including a discussion of this issue, is found in Hollenbach 1984a:304–79.

One of these pronouns is first person singular; it consists of a final x plus some tone changes. The tone changes include the tone sandhi changes that take place between the free first person singular pronoun and the preceding stem, and also the replacement of the unpermitted $*x^4$ combination by x^3.

A second postclitic pronoun is a generalized inclusive, which consists of a final h plus tone changes similar to those for the first person singular postclitic. It has a range of meaning somewhat different from the free inclusive pronouns, which refer to more definite groups of people. It is currently used mainly for citation forms of inherently possessed nouns, and in soliloquy to refer to oneself, but some younger speakers no longer use it.

The third postclitic pronoun is a third-person singular pronoun that is unspecified as to gender. It is often used as a fourth person to keep participants separate in discourse. It is always realized by a tone *3* or a *13* sequence and by either x or an unchecked vowel, depending on the tone

and final laryngeal of the stem. Some tone-laryngeal classes are divided
into two arbitrary groups, one of which takes x and the other of which
takes an unchecked vowel.

The following table shows the three postclitic pronouns with a repre-
sentative selection of stems. Throughout this study, postclitic pronouns are
separated from the stem by a hyphen.

	Stem	First	Inclusive	Third
fills	$araa^3$	ara-x^3	ara-h^4	$araa$-^{3}
lies	nax^3	na-x^5	na-h^4	naa-^{3}
animal of	$daan^4$	dan-x^3	dan-h^4	dan-x^3
sings	$achraa^5$	$achra$-x^5	$achra$-h^4	$achraa$-^{3}
runs	$unanx^5$	$unan$-x^5	$unan$-h^4	$unaan$-^{3}
washes face	$anaan^{31}$	$anan$-x^3	$anan$-h^4	$anan$-x^3
burned	$kakaa^{32}$	$kaka$-x^{32}	$kaka$-h^3	$kakaa$-^{3}
drew	$narii^{32}$	$nari$-x^{32}	$nari$-h^3	$nari$-x^3
went	$kahanx^{32}$	$kahan$-x^{32}	$kahan$-h^3	$kahaan$-^{3}
will pass	$kachen^2$	$kachen$-x^2	$kachen$-h^2	$kachen$-x^{13}
lover	$shrah^2$	$shra$-x^2	$shra$-h^2	$shra$-x^{13}
will wash	$kinanx^1$	$kinan$-x^1	$kinan$-h^1	$kinaan$-^{13}
will fill	$karaa^{13}$	ka^2ra-x^3	ka^2ra-h^4	$karaa$-^{13}

Note that, for each of the three postclitic pronouns, the combination of a
stem with the pronoun is sometimes homophonous with the stem alone. A
stem plus a first person postclitic is also sometimes homophonous with a
stem plus a third person postclitic.

Examples of the first person singular postclitic are found in 7.6, 7.15,
7.16, 7.29, and many other sentences in chapter 7. Two examples of the
inclusive postclitic with its literal meaning are found in 7.68. An example
of its use in soliloquy is found in 7.24. Other occurrences of this pronoun
are either with the inherently possessed kinship term 'grandmother of',
which occurs in 7.2 and in many other sentences, or in the idiomatic
expression dax^{32} ze^{32} ki^2hya-h^4 'there is nothing that can be done', which
occurs in 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56. Examples of the third person singular
postclitic are found in 7.68 and 7.101. Some further examples are found in
the following sentences.

dax¹ hyaa-³   yan³² nee-¹³   tukwa-x³   yax¹³ onx³²
how CON:do-UN place CON:sit-UN POS:home-UN now INT:INSISTENT
What is he doing in the place where he is living in his house now?
(cf. Fight 153) (cf. *hyax³* 'CON:do', *ne³* 'CON:sit', *tukwa⁴* 'POS:home')

ne² naman-x³   *weh³ | ne² kihyaa-³*
and COM:arrive:home:here-UN house   and COM:do-UN

  ruzhaan³ | ne² kahnii-³   nehex³ yoh³ rah²
  hanging:cradle   and COM:put:in-UN baby   that QUOTATIVE
And she arrived at her house, and she made a hanging cradle, and
she put that baby in [it], they say. (Sun 3:90) (cf. *naman⁴*
'COM:arrive:home:here', *kihyax³* 'COM:do', *kahnii⁵* 'COM:put:in')

For some older speakers, certain stems with final *h* have a longer form
when the first and third person postclitic pronouns are attached to them.
Instead of replacing the final *h* with *x*, they repeat the final stem vowel
and add *x*.

kirih-ix³   nee³¹ shkuu³ a³²
COM:get-I flesh animal DEC
I got the meat of an animal. (Sun 3:190) (cf. *kirih³* 'COM:get')

kunuu³   zah-ax¹³ a³²
COM:become:again good-UN DEC
She got well. (cf. *zah¹* 'good')

It is fairly common to repeat a noun, rather than using a pronoun, even
within a single sentence. Compare 7.14, which has a repeated noun, with
7.18, which has a pronoun.

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.
   Locative adverbs comprise all locational words that are not nouns; they
occur as locative adjuncts (see §1.1.4), as location peripheral elements (see
§1.1.7), and as manner in the verb phrase (see §2.1.3).

nianx⁵	'here'
yoh³	'there'
tihyax³	'there (out of sight)'
zheh³	'outside'
nituu²	'prone, facedown'

kaya¹³	'vertical'
shtah¹	'high, above, in the sky'
nichrunh¹	'near'

The adverb *nichrunh¹* 'near' also functions as a preposition; see §4.3.

The locative adverbs *nianx⁵* 'here' and *yoh³* 'there' 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'. Examples of the locative adverb function are found in 7.26, 7.40, 7.52, 7.54, 7.79, 7.80, and 7.82. Examples of the deictic function are found in 7.4, 7.5, 7.8, 7.10, 7.23, and various other sentences. It is also possible for locative adverbs functioning as deictics to occur without a noun nucleus, in which case they appear to be functioning as demonstrative pronouns, as seen in 7.93 and 7.101.

The adverb *yoh³* 'there' has developed a form with reduced stress, which has two functions. When it follows a noun, it serves as a singular definite article for some speakers (see §3.1.3). An example of this use is found in 7.32. This appears to be a natural development from the deictic function by means of concomitant phonological and semantic weakening. When *yoh³* occurs with reduced stress and no noun preceding, it serves as a third person inanimate pronoun, and it is included in the list of third person phrase-final pronouns given in §5.4. Some examples of *yoh³* functioning as a pronoun are found in 7.12, 7.24, 7.33, 7.36, 7.48, and various others. It would also be possible, however, to view any of these as a deictic with an unexpressed noun nucleus (see §3.1.4). (In 7.93, 7.95, and 7.101, on the other hand, the deictic interpretation is required because the gender of the referents is clearly animate.)

Some locative adverbs are derived from locative nouns or prepositions by replacing the tone with a lower one. (These replacements are the same as those used to derive stative verbs from nouns, described in §5.2.)

rke¹³	'below, downhill' (cf. *rke³* 'stomach of, in, under')
shrax¹	'above, uphill' (cf. *shraa⁵* 'back of')
shko¹	'backwards, beyond' (cf. *shko⁴* 'beyond')

Temporal adverbs comprise all temporal words that are not nouns; they occur mainly as time peripheral elements (see §1.1.7). They are either basic or derived from nouns by means of a tone replacement.

Basic temporal adverbs:

kwa³no²	'right now, just then'
yax¹³	'now, today, from now on, at that time'
ko³ra⁴	'later today (Sp. *ahora*)'
ahyox³ or *ahyux³*	'tomorrow'
yatax³	'day after tomorrow'
kwahaa¹³	'last night'
kii³	'yesterday'

Derived temporal adverbs:

rke¹³	'in the past' (cf. *rke³* 'stomach of, in, under')
shrax¹	'in the future' (cf. *shraa⁵* 'back of')

The adverb *yax¹³* 'now' also functions as a conjunction meaning 'now that' or 'given the fact that' (see §6.2.1).

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs; they occur mainly as manner peripheral elements (see §1.1.7) and as manner in the verb phrase (see §2.1.3). They are simple or complex.

Simple:

dax¹³ or *danx¹³*	'thus'
nanx¹³	'thus' (often with accompanying gesture)
nanax³²	'slowly'
shiah¹	'truly'
rmahan¹³	'in vain' (cf. *mahan¹³* 'self of')
yuun¹	'once'
yuun⁴	'another time'
inanx²	'just'

Complex:

tah¹	*azuun³²*
although	likely
more or less, probably	

See §5.6 for a description of the tone raising that distinguishes *yuun⁴* 'another time' from *yuun¹* 'once'.

The adverb *shiah[1]* 'truly' has a special function to express strong focus (see §1.1.8). *inanx[2]* 'just' also serves as a prenuclear limiter in noun phrases (see §3.1.2).

Intensifying adverbs occur as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, basic adverb phrases, and general quantifier phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, 4.2.1, and 4.1.5). They are simple or complex.

Simple:

ndoho[32]	'very'
ushra[4]	'very'
tiah[3]	'very'
tihunh[3]	'very'
tikix[13]	'very'

Complex:

dox[3] a[1]
more   ?
even more

Interrogative adverbs occur in WH questions and indirect questions (see §§1.2.2. and 1.2.3).

tunx[3]	'where?'
aman[3]	'when?'
a[3]zah[1]	'how? (expressing surprise)' (homophonous with 'when [in the future]')
dax[1]	'how?'

The words for where and when are obsolescent, and their function is usually filled by idiomatic interrogative noun phrases (see §3.4)

The category adverb has less unity than most of the other parts of speech. Some adverbs are much like stative verbs, but do not occur as the predicate of stative sentences. These adverbs are likely to occur in repetitive adverb phrases (see §4.2.4) or to take the negative marker *ne[3]* when they occur in basic adverb phrases (see §4.2.1). Other adverbs are more like nouns, but do not occur with all the elements found in basic noun phrases. These adverbs are likely to occur in appositional adverb phrases (see §4.2.2) or as the object of prepositions (see §4.3). Still other adverbs, for example, the intensifying adverbs, are mainly function words.

5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. These elements occur commonly as quantifiers in noun phrases (see chapter 3, especially §§3.1.2 and 3.2), and as the nucleus in various quantifier phrases (see §§4.1.3–4.1.8). They also occur occasionally as manner in verb phrases (see §2.1.3) and as ordinals in relative clauses (see §3.1.3). When no noun nucleus occurs, a quantifier sometimes appears to function as a noun.

The simple numerals are:

$yoho^2$ or ho^2	'one'
$yaan^1$	'one' (in additive numeral phrases following fifteen and twenty)
wix^1	'two'
$wahnux^1$	'three'
$kahanx^{13}$	'four'
$uhunh^1$ or $hunh^1$	'five'
$watanh^1$	'six'
$ichix^2$ or $chix^2$	'seven'
$itunx^2$ or $tunx^2$	'eight'
uun^2	'nine'
$ichih^2$ or $chih^2$	'ten'
$shiaan^1$	'eleven' (cf. $chih^2$ 'ten', $yaan^1$ 'one')
$shuwix^3$	'twelve' (cf. $chih^2$, wix^1 'two')
$shahnux^1$	'thirteen' (cf. $chih^2$, $wahnux^1$ 'three')
$shikahanx^{13}$	'fourteen' (cf. $chih^2$, $kahanx^{13}$ 'four')
$shnuh^2$	'fifteen'
iko^2 or ko^2	'twenty'
$shiaa^2$	'twenty' (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
sya^3ndo^4	'hundred (Sp. $ciento$)'
mix^5	'thousand (Sp. mil)'
$manh^1$	'two, a pair' (used mainly of tortillas)

Other numerals are expressed by phrases, as described in §§4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

The numeral *yoho²* 'one' has three special functions. It serves as an indefinite article (see §3.1.2), it occurs in preverbal manner position to mean 'continuously' (see §2.1.3), and it modifies other numerals to mean 'approximately' (see §4.1.4).

The numerals from one to six have special additive forms that involve a raising of the tone of the numeral. The relation between the raised form and the original low tone of the numeral is similar to the relation between the tone of a noun and the tone of a stative verb derived from it (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering). (See Hollenbach 1984a:248–52 for a detailed description of these changes.) The additive form of the numeral for one is created simply by raising the tone, while the additive forms of the numerals from two through six are created by fusing the additive form of one to the raised-tone form of the numeral. These additive forms are:

yoho⁴ or *ho⁴*	'another'
ya³wix⁵	'another two'
ya³hnux⁵	'another three'
yu³kwahanx³	'another four'
yu³hunh³	'another five'
ya³tanh³	'another six'

The forms from two to six occur in additive numeral phrases and expanded numeral phrases (see §§4.1.1. and 4.1.4) as a composite realization of the prenuclear quantifier and the numeral nucleus.

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. They are simple or complex. The most common simple ones are:

kehee¹	'many' (used with count nouns)
nokoo¹³	'much' (used with mass nouns)
nuh¹ or *kunuh¹*	'complete, all'
kunudax¹³ or *kunudanx¹³*	'all' (cf. *kunuh¹* 'complete', *dax¹³* or *danx¹³* 'thus')
tahax²	'part of, some of'
nahyanh¹	'half'
kano⁴	'all sorts of' (cf. *kano⁴* 'COM:grab')
dox¹³	'some, a little'
yanex¹	'side, part, half'
ni²chrex³²	'one side of' (cf. *yanex¹* 'side', *chrex³²* 'trail')

The general quantifier *nuh¹* 'complete' has a special function as a correlative conjunction meaning 'as soon as' (see §6.2.1).

The last three general quantifiers in the list above have additive forms with a higher tone, in one case also with loss of final *x*.

dox³	'more'
yanee⁵	'other side, other part, other half'
ni⁵chrex³²	'other side of'

The general quantifiers *dox¹³* 'some' and *dox³* 'more' have a special function as quantifier in content verb phrases (see §2.1.3); *dox³* also occurs as quantifier in stative verb phrases and adverb phrases (see §§2.3 and 4.2.1). In addition, *dox¹³* is used to make a command more polite (see §1.3).

Some common complex general quantifiers are:

naa⁵ guun³
any   COM:become
any

nax¹ guun³
any   COM:become
any

yanex⁵ skux¹
side   angled
a quarter

dox¹³ tsinh³
some tiny
very few, a very little bit (some speakers)

dox¹³ tsinh⁵
some tiny
very few, a very little bit (some speakers)

dox³ tsinh³
more tiny
very few more, a very little bit more (some speakers)

dox³ tsinh⁵
more tiny
very few more, a very little bit more (some speakers)

me³   a¹
which ?
every, all sorts of

dax³²   a¹
how:many ?
every, all sorts of

5.7 Prepositions

There are five simple prepositions and one complex preposition.

Simple:

    ga²   'with'

    ndaa¹³   'until, as far as, over, from, even, and even'

    shko⁴   'beyond' (cf. *shkoo⁵* 'shoulder of')

    skahnux⁵   'among'

    ra⁴   'inside'

Complex:

    nuh¹   *a³nikax¹*
    complete   CON:turn
    all around

    Three prepositions have special functions. *ga²* links the parts of additive noun phrases (see §3.8). *ra⁴* occurs in the incorporated-element position in content, equative, and stative verb phrases to create idioms that express emotions (see §§2.1.3, 2.2, and 2.3). *ndaa¹³* occurs in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, and expanded numeral phrases to mean 'even' (see §§2.1.2, 2.3, and 4.1.4), and in additive verb phrases and additive noun phrases to mean 'and even' (see §§2.5 and 3.8).

    Four words from other parts of speech also function as prepositions: the locative adverb *nichrunh¹* 'near', the subordinate conjunctions *gaa¹³* 'when' and *azix²* 'since', and the verb *a³nikax¹* 'to turn', which means 'around'. Many prepositional functions are also carried by locative nouns used in an extended sense (see §§3.6 and 5.3.2).

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used mainly to link combinations of sentences in a coordinate or subordinate relationship (see §§6.1.1 and 6.2.1). The coordinate conjunctions are simple or complex.

Simple:

   ne^2 'and'

   $tsax^2$ 'but'

Complex:

   $tsax^2\ ne^2$
   but   and
   but

   $gaa^{13}\ ne^2$
   when and
   and then

The conjunctions ne^2 and $tsax^2\ ne^2$ are also used to separate focused elements and fronted subordinate sentences from the rest of the sentence (see §§1.1.8, 1.2.2, and 6.2.1). ne^2 is also used to link the parts of additive noun phrases (see §3.8).

The subordinate conjunctions are also simple or complex:

Simple:

   e^5ze^{32} 'because' (cf. $shehe^4$ 'feet of', ze^{32} 'CMP')

   don^3 or $duun^3$ 'with the result that'

   $seze^{32}$ 'if, whether, or else'

   gaa^{13} 'when'

   a^3zah^1 'when (in the future)' (homophonous with 'how? [expressing surprise]')

   $azix^2$ 'since'

   aze^{32} 'as, whether'

Complex:

   $shehe^4\ ze^{32}$
   feet   CMP
   because

shehe⁴ rex³²
feet   place
because

shehe⁴ yan³²
feet   place
because

kwe³nda⁴ yan³²
account   place
because

tah¹   ze³²
although CMP
although (some speakers)

ndah¹   ze³²
although CMP
although (some speakers)

nikih¹   ze³²
although CMP
although

ze² gaa³²   nanx¹³
NEG POT:exist thus
lest

ndaa¹³ ze³²
until   CMP
until, since

dax¹ ze³²
how CMP
as

aze³² waa³²
as   CON:exist
as

ndaa¹³ waa³²
until   CON:exist
as

The conjunctions *gaa¹³* 'when' and *azix²* 'since' also function as preposi-
tions. *seze³²* 'if' and *aze³²* 'as' also function as complementizers in indirect
questions (see §§1.2.3 and 6.1.2).

Some words from other parts of speech also function as conjunctions: the locative noun *kwe³nda⁴* 'account' means 'because', the temporal adverb *yax¹³* 'now' means 'now that' or 'given the fact that', and the non-phrase-final pronouns *rex³²* 'place' and *yan³²* 'place' mean 'in order that'.

5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form part of sentences or phrases that are not included in the parts of speech already described. They are verbal, nominal, numerical, general, or sentential.

Verbal markers include three words that occur in preverbal position and also the postverbal repetitive.

ze²	'not' (for potential aspect)
ataa³	'not yet'
ax¹	'already'
uun⁴	'again, also' (cf. *yuun⁴* 'another time')

Nominal markers include three postnuclear limiters, the two definite articles, one deictic, the possessed marker, two interrogatives, and the nominal negative.

Limiters:

doh¹	'merely (deprecative)' (homophonous with 'and')
nanx²	'merely'
maan¹	'only'

Articles:

rox¹	'the two'
nix³	'the (plural)'

Other nominal markers:

dan³²	'that (previously mentioned)'
ze³²	'possessed'
me³	'which?'
dax³²	'how much?, how many?'
nuwee⁴	'not' (cf. *ne³* 'NEG', *wee⁴* 'AFF')

There is also a complex interrogative nominal marker.

me^3 dax^{32}
which how:much
how much?, how many?

Numerical markers occur in aggregative numeral phrases, expanded numeral phrases, and negative quantifier phrases (see §§4.1.3, 4.1.4, and 4.1.8).

$runh^5$	'single'
$ranh^3$	'grouped'
dax^1	'only'
a^1	'not (even)'

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type; they are:

Simple:

ne^3	'not' (for verbs in continuative and completive aspects and for stative verbs and adverbs)
uun^1	'just' (cf. $yuun^1$ 'once')
wee^4	'affirmative'
roh^3	'topic'
doh^1	'and' (homophonous with 'merely')

Complex:

ze^{32} waa^{32}
it:INAN CON:exist
that (complementizer)

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind affects the mood of a sentence, and also speaker attitude; these markers occur in sentence-final position (see §1.5). This class of markers is rather large, but many of its members are infrequent and/or limited to a few speakers. Only some of the most common ones are listed here.
Some markers occur only in questions.

nah^3	'YES/NO interrogative'
nih^3	'YES/NO interrogative' (used before a vocative and in embedded disjunctive questions)

> *zhah²*   'YES/NO interrogative with affirmative answer expected'
> *ga²*   'WH interrogative'
> *onx³²*   'WH interrogative (insistent)'

One marker occurs only in commands.

> *ru³gwanx³²*   'polite imperative, please'

The following markers occur in both commands and statements.

> *a⁴*   'persuasive, for sure'
> *ei³²*   'emphatic, by all means, definitely'
> *mah³*   'negative'
> *man³²*   'negative' (used vefore a vocative)
> *mei³²*   'negative emphatic, by all means not, definitely not'
>   (cf. *man³²*, *ei³²*)

The markers that occur only in statements can be divided into neutral, emphatic, negative, and miscellaneous.

Neutral:

> *a³²*   'declarative'

Emphatic:

> *adonx²*   'certainly'
> *shugwanx³²*   'obviously, of course'
> *shtonx³²*   'agreement, clearly'
> *zhix³²*   'cheerful, it's so nice that'

Negative:

> *madonx²*   'certainly not' (cf. *man³²* 'NEG', *adonx²* 'certainly')
> *marah²*   'negative quotative' (cf. *man³²*, *rah²* 'quotative')

Miscellaneous:

> *nianh³*   'urgent'
> *ne³dih¹*   'you know' (cf. *nehe³* 'CON:sense', *dih¹* 'you:SG:FAM')
> *rah²*   'quotative'

The marker a^{32} 'declarative' is sometimes used to conjoin noun phrases (see §3.8).

One marker occurs before other markers, rather than in final position (see §6.2.1).

> zax^2 'contrafactual' (cf. $tsax^2$ 'but')

There are also a number of complex sentential markers.

> $nanx^1$ a^4
> indeed PERS
> for sure

> $nanx^1$ ei^{32}
> indeed EMPH
> definitely for sure

> a^1 mah^3
> NEG NEG
> negative emphatic, really not

> a^1 $zhix^{32}$
> ? CHEERFUL
> yes indeed

The second kind of sentential marker occurs in sentence-initial position and relates a sentence to its discourse context, as described in §6.4. Most of these markers are complex. The list is not fixed, and there is much variation between speakers. The most common markers used in expository discourse are:

Simple:

> $tananx^{13}$ 'in addition, on the other hand' (cf. $ndaa^{13}$ 'until',
> $nanx^{13}$ 'thus')

Complex:

> dax^{13} $inanx^2$
> thus   just
> likewise

> $ndaa^{13}$ $nanx^{13}$
> until   thus
> in addition, on the other hand

maan¹ ze³²
only   CMP
only, it's only that

taa⁵   ze³²
CON:be:on:top CMP
let me suggest that

ho² ze³²
one CMP
consider that

shehe⁴ dan³²
feet   that
therefore

shehe⁴ dan³² me³
feet   that CON:be
therefore

The most common markers that express narrative sequence are:

zix⁵   gaa¹³ ne²
CON:be:complete when and
and after that

ndaa¹³ zix⁵   gaa¹³ ne²
until   CON:be:complete when and
and after that

yoh³ gaa¹³ ne²
that when and
and after that

dan³² gaa¹³ ne²
that   when and
and after that

wee⁴ dan³² ne²
AFF   that   and
and in addition to that, and after that, and as a result of that

wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³²
AFF   thus CON:exist
in that way, and so it is that

wee⁴ dax¹³
AFF   thus
in that way, and so it is that

nanx¹³ waa³²
thus   CON:exist
in that way, and so it is that

dan³² me³   ze³²
that   CON:be CMP
and then, it happened that, and so it is that

dan³² me³
that   CON:be
and then, it happened that, and so it is that

5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences to express emotion. They are systemic or extrasystemic.

Systemic interjections fit the phonological system of the language, but often take the stress and tone patterns typical for vocatives. Some common systemic interjections are:

ʹ*u³*ta³²	'surprise' (cf. Sp. *puta* 'harlot')
tyoo³²	'mild surprise and displeasure'
ʹ*aii³²*	'pain, sorrow'

The fox's cry of pain in 7.98 is the only example of an interjection in chapter 7.

One systemic interjection occurs sentence-medially, usually with a pause preceding and following, to indicate that the speaker wishes to correct what he just said.

       naa³¹   'correction'

The following sentence illustrates its use.

kahanx³² gwaa⁴ ya³kwex²   / naa³¹   / ka³nihyaa¹ a³²
COM:go John   Oaxaca:City CORRECTION   Puebla   DEC
John went to Oaxaca City—I mean Puebla.

Extrasystemic interjections do not fit the phonological patterns of the language. Some common extrasystemic interjections are:

xmh^4	'mild annoyance'
$m^{45}xm^{32}$	'what a pity!'
$u^4ti^3ti^2$ ...	'it's hot!, ouch!'

Some extrasystemic interjections are used as calls.

kst	'used to urge pack animals on'
pst	'used to get someone's attention'
$brrr^4$ (bilabial trill)	'used to call chickens'

6

Intersentential Relations

Full sentences are marked as such by the presence of a sentential marker at the end (see §1.5). Each numbered sentence in the text in chapter 7 ends with one of these markers. Two or more basic sentences may be combined into a full sentence with either a coordinate relation or a subordinate relation between the parts.

6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some sentence combinations are connected by conjunctions, and others are not.

6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions. Coordinate sentences with conjunctions express coordination, antithesis, and temporal sequence.
The conjunction ne^2 'and' expresses general coordination.

> $kahanx^{32}$ zoh^3 ya^3kwex^2 / ne^2 $kahanx^{32}$ zoh^3
> COM:go   he   Oaxaca:City   and COM:go   he
>
> $makaa^5$ a^{32}
>   Mexico:City DEC
> He went to Oaxaca, and he went to Mexico City.

tahax² kinax⁵   *riaan³² sno⁵ho³²* / *ne² tahax² kinax⁵*
part   COM:remain face   man   and part   COM:remain

  riaan³² sha³na¹ a³²
  face   woman DEC
PART [of them (the ears of corn)] stayed with the man, and PART [of them] stayed with the woman. (Openly 13)

zoh¹   *kuchrux² makaa⁵*   / *ne² hunx¹ kuchrux²*
you:SG POT:lay   Mexico:City,   and I   POT:lay

  ya³kwex²   a³²
  Oaxaca:City DEC
YOU will found Mexico City, and I will found Oaxaca. (Brother 35)

(See also 7.27, 7.28, 7.36, 7.90, and various others.)

When the verb *shrah³* 'to split' has the third person unspecified postclitic pronoun as its subject, and it occurs as the first part of a compound sentence with *ne²* 'and'; it expresses a possibility.

shra-x³   / *ne² kahanx² zoh³ a³²*
CON:split-UN   and POT:go   he   DEC
He may go.

The conjunction *tsax² ne²* 'but' expresses antithesis; less commonly *tsax²* is used alone.

ax¹   *hnix³²*   *tuhwii³ yoh³ tuhwa³ shkwaa⁵*
already CON:be:wedged:in thunder that mouth snake

rkax²   / *tsax² ne² kachrix⁵*   *zii⁵ wax²*   *yoh³ me³rke¹³*
lizardlike   but   and COM:tuck:in he   CON2:move that sash

  ston³ tuhwii³ a³²
  finger thunder DEC
That thunder (god) was already wedged in the mouth of the dragon, but that man going along handed the sash to the thunder (god). (Openly 75)

dyo⁴   *manh³*   *me³*   *yoh³*   / *tsax² ne² kunuh¹*   *yawii³²*
season CON:rain CON:be it:INAN   but   and complete month

  kahanx³² maan³¹ / *kihyax³ zoh³ nanx¹*   *a⁴*
  COM:go   rain   COM:do he   indeed PERS
It was the rainy season (Sp. *tiempo* 'time'), but ALL YEAR LONG he had made the rain go away for sure. (Openly 28)

n-ahwex³²   *sha³na¹ kahanx² sno⁵ho³²* / *tsax² ne²*
NEG-CON:be:willing woman POT:go man   but and

  kuchih³   *sno⁵ho³² rke³*   *naa³¹*   *a³²*
  COM:arrive man   stomach cornfield DEC
The woman didn't want the man to go, but he arrived in the
cornfield. (Fight 65)

kahanx³² shu³nee³ / *tsax² ne³ rih³*   *zoh³ yahan³² mah³*
COM:go fox   but NEG CON:get he fire   NEG
The fox went, but he wasn't getting the fire. (Sun 4:8)

(See also 7.101.)

The conjunction *gaa¹³ ne²* 'and then' expresses temporal sequence.

kahanx² zoh¹   / *gaa¹³ ne² kurian-x¹*   *a³²*
POT:go you:SG   when and POT:appear-I DEC
You will go away, and then I will come out. (cf. Openly 43)

asno³ skii⁵ kaoh¹ nih⁴ rke³   *zhee⁵* / *gaa¹³ ne² kaoh¹*
first resin POT:hit we:IN stomach clearing   when and POT:hit

  nih⁴   *yahan³² zhee⁵*   *a³²*
  we:IN fire   clearing DEC
FIRST we'll toss INCENSE in the clearing, and then we'll set fire to it.
(Fight 16)

Sometimes, however, *ne²* 'and' is used for sequence.

tanii-³   *shrux³ yume³² ruwax³* / *ne² cha-x³*   / *ne²*
COM:lower-UN pot   tuber fireplace and COM:eat-UN   and

  aax / *taa-³*   *nanx¹ a⁴*
  ahhh   CON:say-UN indeed PERS
He took the pot of tubers down from the fireplace, and he ate
[them], and he said "ahhh" for sure. (Fight 230)

kurian-x¹   / *ne²* ·*kamanh¹ ko³ra⁴* / *tihnuu³²* / *ne²*
POT:appear-I   and POT:rain later   dusk   and

  kawii²   *zah¹ shnaa⁴*   *zoh¹*   *a³²*
  POT:come:out good POS:cornfield your:SG DEC
I will come out, and it will rain later today (Sp. *ahora* 'now'), at dusk,
and your cornfield will yield well. (Openly 53)

(See also 7.2, 7.68, 7.76, and 7.94.)

There is no conjunction that expresses disjunction, but this concept may be expressed by a juxtaposed construction containing the verb *ahwee³* 'to be possible' or interrogative sentential markers (see §6.1.2).

6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions. It is very common to juxtapose two or more independent sentences, usually with no pause at the seam. This construction can be used to express a variety of semantic relations.

Restatement, in which a single situation is described in different ways, is often expressed by juxtaposition. This is a very common device to highlight an event in discourse.

nazhuun²   yanix⁵ zoh¹   man⁴ zoh¹ | kahanx² zoh¹   a³²
POT:pull:again apart you:SG body your:SG   POT:go   you:SG DEC
You will move yourself away; you will go away. (Openly 53)

kano⁴   zhi-h⁴   yoh³ ya⁵nux¹³ /   kahnex⁵
COM:grab grandfather-our:IN that drum   COM:take:away

    zhi-h⁴   yoh³ raha³ shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
    grandfather-our:IN that hand grandmother-our:IN DEC
That grandfather of ours grabbed the drum; he took [it] away from our grandmother. (Brother 164)

ne² yax¹³ nianx⁵ roh³ | kuruwih³   yahanx³² gwii¹³ |
and now here TOPIC COM:appear god   of:sun

    shrah³   yahanx³² gwii¹³ / guun³   zoh³ nehex³ /
    COM:split god   of:sun   COM:become he baby

    kahngaa³²   zoh³ ra⁴   na³² a³²
    COM:be:born he inside water DEC
And as for then [and] there, the sun god appeared; the sun god hatched; he became the baby; he was born in the water. (Sun 2:17)

(See also 7.15.)

Sometimes the second basic sentence simply repeats part of the first.

kahaan-³   ra⁴   chraa⁵ / kahaan-³   a³²
COM:go-UN inside river   COM:go-UN DEC
She went to the river; she went. (Sun 1:2)

kahwee¹³   kunanx² zoh¹ | kahwee¹³   nanx¹ a⁴
POT:be:possible POT:run you:SG   POT:be:possible indeed PERS
It's all right for you to run away; it's all right for sure. (Fight 105)

Restatement may be used to create doublets that serve as a literary device. Like the doublets found in appositional verb, noun, and adverb phrases (see §§2.6, 3.7, and 4.2.2), they follow the schema A B, A C. Either a verb is repeated with different, but semantically related, subjects; or a verb and short subject are repeated with different objects or adjuncts. The parts of the sentence that differ often show some degree of phonological similarity.

kakaa² kix³²   / kakaa² takux³² a³²
POT:burn mountain   POT:burn slope   DEC
The mountain will burn; the slope will burn. (cf. Sun 2:54)

kano¹   yahan³² takaan³ / kano¹   yahan³² takux³² a³²
POT:grab fire   hillside POT:grab fire   slope   DEC
The fire will ignite the hillside; the fire will ignite the slope.
(Sun 1:47)

Sometimes one part of a restatement construction is the negative counterpart of the other.

kahanx³² gwaa⁴ shumanh³ / ne³ kinax²   zoh³ mah³
COM:go   John town   NEG COM:remain he   NEG
John (Sp. *Juan*) went to town; he didn't stay [here].

tuhwa³   rmahan¹³ ho² ri³kix¹³ yaa³²   / ne³ ya¹³ ri³kix¹³
CON:talk in:vain   one frog   tongue   NEG true frog

  man¹   ra⁴ chraa⁵ a³²
  CON2:exist:PL inside river DEC
A leopard frog doesn't mean [it (what it says)]; the frogs that are in the river aren't truthful. (Sun 4:17)

(See also 7.20.)

A generic-specific relation may also be expressed by juxtaposition.

kiranh³   zoh³ sayuun³² / kachranh³ takoo⁵ zoh³ a³²
COM:suffer he   trouble   COM:break foot   his DEC
He suffered misfortune; his leg got broken.

kaoh³ zoh³ chruun³ / kishrah³   manh¹ chruun³ / kihyax³
COM:hit he wood   COM:be:split two   wood   COM:do

  zoh³ a³²
  he   DEC
He hit the tree; he caused it to split in two. (Openly 20)

kiri-x²   *se³shu²wii⁴ zoh¹*   / *kuhnax¹*   *zoh¹*
POT:take:out-I POS:name   your:SG   CON:be:named you:SG

    shkwaa³ yahan² a³²
    ant   of:fire DEC
I will choose your name; you are called fire ant. (Sun 3:30)

ne³ guun¹³   *yukwanh¹ yahanx³² gwii¹³* / *kirih³*   *zoh³*
NEG COM:become in:time   god   of:sun   COM:get he

    rex³² nichruun¹³ shkwaa⁵ a³²
    place left:side   snake   DEC
The sun god wasn't quick enough; he got [the one on] the left side
of the snake. (Sun 2:79)

(See also 7.54 and 7.98.)

    The last sentence above has a very different structure from the following
sentences, which contain an object complement.

ne³ guun¹³   *yukwanh¹ rex³*   *chex¹ zoh³ kunanx² rex³*
NEG COM:become in:time   father in:law his   POT:run father

    chex¹ zoh³ rke³   *zhee⁵*   *mah³*
    in:law his   stomach clearing NEG
His father-in-law wasn't quick enough to run out of the clearing.
(Fight 26)

ne³ guun¹³   *nukwax¹³ na³²*   *nazix²*   *yoh³*
NEG COM:become strong   water POT:be:complete:again it:INAN

    raa³¹ kix³²   *mah³*
    head mountain NEG
The water wasn't strong enough to reach the top of the mountain.
(Deluge 7)

Note that the juxtaposed sentence ends with the declarative sentential
marker *a³²*, even though there is a negative in the first part. The sentences
with an object complement, on the other hand, end with the negative
sentential marker *mah³*.

    Sometimes, however, it is difficult to decide whether a sentence should
be read as juxtaposed or as a sentence containing an object complement.
The following sentences, which do not contain a negative, permit either
reading.

> guun³   yukwanh¹ yawii³ / kirih³   yoh³ rex³² nuwah¹
> COM:become in:time   moon   COM:get that place right:side
>
>   shkwaa⁵ a³²
>   snake   DEC

The moon was quick enough; that [one] got [the one on] the right
side of the snake. *or* The moon was quick enough to get . . .
(Sun 2:79)

> guun³   nukwax¹³ kix³²   yoh³ / kachen⁴ yoh³   riaan³²
> COM:become strong   mountain that   COM:pass it:INAN face
>
>   na³² a³²
>   water DEC

That mountain was strong enough; it surpassed the water (in height).
or That mountain was strong enough to surpass . . . (Deluge 8)

A variety of temporal relations between what are viewed as two or more
distinct situations may also be expressed by juxtaposition if the juxtaposed
sentences have coreferential subjects.

To express simultaneous actions, the verbs must agree in aspect.

> chee⁵   zoh³ / achraa⁵ zoh³ a³²
> CON:walk he   CON:sing he   DEC

He walks along singing.

> dinx⁵ waa³²   tuhwa³ shkaa³² / chee⁵   zhoh³ gaa¹³
> silent CON:exist mouth raven   CON:walk it:AML when
>
>   naa⁴   a³²
>   long:ago DEC

The raven had no voice [as] it walked long ago. (Fight 233)

> a³ta¹³   zoh³ yume³² / hnah³   nike³ zoh³ a³²
> CON:carry he   tuber   CON:come back he   DEC

He was carrying tubers [as] he was returning. (Fight 207)

> aax / tax³²   zoh³ / ne³   zoh³ / cha⁴   zoh³ yume³²
> ahhh   CON:say he   CON:sit he   CON:eat he   tuber
>
>   ra⁴   weh³ a³²
>   inside house DEC

He said "ahhh" [as] he was sitting [and] eating tubers in the house.
(Fight 224)

agwax⁵   agwax⁵   zhoh³ / taa⁵   zhoh³ a³²
CON:cry:out CON:cry:out it:AML   CON:be:on:top it:AML DEC
It (the raven) kept on crying out [as] it was on top [of it]. (Fight 256)

(See also 7.72 and 7.75.)

Also common is temporal inclusion. To express inclusion, the including predicate must be in continuative aspect, and the included one in completive or potential. The two parts may occur in either order.

wax²   zoh³ / nashruh³   zoh³ a³²
CON2:move he   COM:fall:down he   DEC
He was moving along [when] he fell down. *or* [As] he was moving along, he fell down.

nax³   zoh³ takaan³ / kotox³²   zoh³ a³²
CON:lie he   hillside   COM:sleep he   DEC
He slept [as] he was lying on the hillside. (Sun 4:20)

kuno³   shkaa³² / taa⁵   zhoh³ raa³¹ chruun³ a³²
COM:hear raven   CON:be:on:top it:AML head wood   DEC
The raven heard [it as] it was on the top of the tree. (Fight 225)

(See also 7.21 and 7.66.)

In 7.70 and 7.90, the juxtaposed sentences serve as the object complement of *hyax³* 'to do' (see §1.1.9).
Temporal sequence is also sometimes expressed by juxtaposition.

kawii³²   zoh³ kwa³yo⁴ / kahanx³² zoh³ / ku³rianx¹   zoh³
COM:come:out he   horse   COM:go   he   COM:appear he

  niaan⁵   a³²
  Tlaxiaco DEC
He got on the horse (Sp. *caballo*), he went away, [and then] he showed up in Tlaxiaco. (Brother 79)

kahanx³² shkwax³² / kuzhuun³² shkwax³² niax³²   a³²
COM:go   fish   COM:pull   fish   hominy DEC
The fish went, [and then] they pulled at the hominy. (Sun 3:67)

kahanx³² noh³ ngax³² / kiranx⁵   noh³ yuhwex³² a³²
COM:go   she Putla   COM:buy she thread   DEC
She went to Putla, [and then] she bought thread.

(See also 7.2, 7.82, 7.86, and 7.99.)

Often a string of juxtaposed sentences occurs with a variety of relations between them.

kawii³²   *noh³* / *kunanx⁵ noh³* / *kahanx³² noh³*
COM:come:out she   COM:run she   COM:go   she

   nanx¹ a⁴
   indeed PERS
She left; she ran away; she went away for sure. (Fight 117)

kachrix⁵   *zhoh³ tuneh³ zhoh³* / *kunanx⁵ zhoh³* / *kahanx³²*
COM:tuck:in it:AML tail   its:AML   COM:run it:AML   COM:go

   zhoh³ / *kirih³*   *zhoh³ yahan³² a³²*
   it:AML   COM:get it:AML fire   DEC
It stuck its tail [in the fire]; it ran; it went away; it got the fire.
(Sun 2:53)

chrunx¹ chrunx¹ chrunx¹ / *tax³²*   *takoo⁵ shtax³* / *gwex⁵*
thump   thump   thump   CON:say foot   deer   COM:jump

   yoh³ / *kahnah³*   *yoh³* / *kuno³*   *rox¹*   *shnii³ a³²*
   that   COM:come that   COM:hear the:DU boy   DEC
The two boys heard the deer's feet saying thump thump thump [as]
that [one] came jumping. (Sun 1:41)

In 7.17 the first basic sentence precedes the others in time, and the remaining two basic sentences, the second of which contains an object complement, express simultaneous actions.

A series of items that form a list may be expressed by juxtaposition. If the items in the series serve as the subject, the verb is stated before each item and optionally following the last.

kawih³   skux⁵ / *kawih³   tana³²* / *kawih³   matsinx³² a³²*
COM:die ox   COM:die goat   COM:die sheep   DEC
The oxen, goats, [and] sheep died. (i.e., they were butchered)

kawih³   skux⁵ / *kawih³   tana³²* / *kawih³   matsinx³²* /
COM:die ox   COM:die goat   COM:die sheep

   kawih³ a³²
   COM:die DEC
The oxen, goats, [and] sheep died.

kayuu³ tuhwex³² nga³   / *kayuu³ takanx³ nga³*
COM:fall POS:thread old:woman   COM:fall POS:sandal old:woman

   yoh³ / *kayuu³ a³²*
   that   COM:fall DEC
The balls of thread [and] the sandals of the old woman fell.
(Sun 1:65)

kinakoo³¹ naa³¹   / *kinakoo³¹ yohoo⁵* / *kinakoo³¹ nanx¹ a⁴*
COM:dry   cornfield   COM:dry   earth   COM:dry indeed PERS
The cornfields [and] the earth dried up for sure. (Openly 32)

hnah³   *shuhwix³² noh³* / *hnah³*   *nii³*   *noh³* / *hnah³*
CON:come sister:FE   her   CON:come mother her   CON:come

   nuh¹   *nix³* *sha³na¹* / *hnah³*   *ga²* *noh³ nanx¹ a⁴*
   complete the:PL woman   CON:come with her   indeed PERS
Her sisters, her mother, [and] all the women were coming with her
for sure. (Fight 306)

hyax³ yoh³ hnah³   *nike³ chruun³* / *hnah³*   *nike³ kawee³¹*
CON:do that CON:come back wood   CON:come back rafter   /

   hnah³   *nike³ a³²*
   CON:come back DEC
Those [ones (the boys)] caused poles [and] rafters to come back.
(i.e., they brought poles and rafters back) (Sun 1:26)

If the items in the series serve as something other than the subject, the
verb and subject are stated before each item and optionally following the
last.

kiranx⁵ noh³ yuhwex³² / *kiranx⁵ noh³ yumih³* / *kiranx⁵ noh³*
COM:buy she thread   COM:buy she soap   COM:buy she

   yaan³² a³²
   salt   DEC
She bought thread, soap, [and] salt.

kiranx⁵ noh³ yuhwex³² / *kiranx⁵ noh³ yumih³* / *kiranx⁵ noh³*
COM:buy she thread   COM:buy she soap   COM:buy she

   yaan³² / *kiranx⁵ noh³ a³²*
   salt   COM:buy she DEC
She bought thread, soap, [and] salt.

cha⁴   zhoh³ rto³²   / *cha⁴   zhoh³ ra³zuun³²* / *cha⁴*
CON:eat it:AML banana:plant   CON:eat it:AML thing   CON:eat

zhoh³ kwa³no² a³²
it:AML right:now DEC

It (the gopher) eats banana plants [and other] things right now.
(Sun 2:126)

kahngaa-³   nuh¹   tahman-x³ / kahngaa-³   nuh¹
COM:rub-UN complete thigh-UN   COM:rub-UN complete

takoo-³ / kahngaa-³   a³²
foot-UN   COM:rub-UN DEC

She rubbed [them (pokeberries)] all over her thighs [and] legs.
(cf. Sun 3:87)

nayon⁴   na³² ra⁴ chraa⁵ / nayon⁴   na³²
CON:be:in:again water inside river   CON:be:in:again water

nuh¹   gee¹ kix³²   / nayon⁴   na³²
complete whole mountain   CON:be:in:again water

nanx¹ a⁴
indeed PERS

Water was in the river [and] all over the mountains for sure.
(Openly 57)

There are three ways in which disjunction may be expressed without
conjunctions. A disjunctive statement may be expressed by juxtaposing
sentences which contain *ahwee³* 'to be possible' and a subject complement.
Sometimes *ahwee³* occurs after the last disjunct also.

ahwee³   yaan⁵ noh³ ya³kwex²   / ahwee³
CON:be:possible CON:sit she Oaxaca:City   CON:be:possible

yaan⁵ noh³ makaa⁵   a³²
CON:sit she   Mexico:City DEC

She may be living in Oaxaca, [or] she may be living in Mexico City.

kahwee¹³   kiraan² gwaa⁴ mi³shte⁴ / kahwee¹³   kiraan²
POT:be:possible POT:buy John machete   POT:be:possible POT:buy

gwaa⁴ nee³² / kahwee¹³   a³²
John   knife   POT:be:possible DEC

John may buy a machete (Sp. *machete*), [or] he may buy a knife.

A disjunctive question may be expressed by using the YES/NO interroga-
tive marker *nah³*, followed by pause, on the first and any other nonfinal

disjuncts, and using the YES/NO interrogative marker *zhah²* on the final disjunct. Even though *zhah²* expects an affirmative answer when used alone, it does not necessarily do so when used correlatively with *nah³*.

kawih³ pa³blo⁴ nah³ / kinanii³²   zoh³ zhah²
COM:die Paul INT   COM:escape he   INT:AFF
Did Paul (Sp. *Pablo*) die, [or] did he escape?

kiranx⁵ zoh³ skux⁵ nah³ / kiranx⁵ zoh³ tana³² nah³ /
COM:buy he   ox   INT   COM:buy he   goat   INT

   kiranx⁵ zoh³ matsinx³² zhah²
   COM:buy he   sheep   INT:AFF
Did he buy an ox, a goat, [or] a sheep?

A disjunctive question may be embedded as the object complement of another sentence. Each disjunct is introduced by *seze³²* 'if' or *aze³²* 'as' and ends with the interrogative sentential marker *nih³*. The main verb in such a sentence is often a verb of knowing, usually in the negative, and the main verb and its subject are usually repeated following the last disjunct.

ne³ nehe³   gwaa⁴ seze³² kahnah¹ li³na⁴ nih³ / seze³²
NEG CON:sense John if   POT:come Lina INT   if

   kahnah¹ ma³rya⁴ nih³ / ne³ nehe³   zoh³ a³²
   POT:come Mary   INT   NEG CON:sense he   DEC
John doesn't know whether Lina (Sp. *Lina*) will come, [or] whether Mary (Sp. *María*) will come.

ne³ nehe³   gwaa⁴ aze³² otox³²   pe³dro⁴ nih³ / aze³² ne³
NEG CON:sense John as   CON:sleep Peter   INT   as   NEG

   otox³²   pe³dro⁴ nih³ / ne³ nehe³   gwaa⁴ a³²
   CON:sleep Peter   INT   NEG CON:sense John DEC
John doesn't know whether Peter (Sp. *Pedro*) is sleeping, [or] not.

Juxtaposition is also used for a number of close-knit constructions in which at least one of the verbs is highly restricted, and the meaning is conventionalized. Even though these constructions have no pause at the boundary between the two parts, a solidus is used in the examples to show the boundary.[13]

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[13]A number of similar sentence types were described for Chicahuaxtla Trique by Longacre 1966.

To express the addressee with a verb of saying, a juxtaposed sentence with the verb *uno³* 'to hear' in the second part may be used. This construction often occurs in quotation closers (see §6.3).

kahmii³² shnii³² / kuno³ nii³ zoh³ a³²
COM:speak boy   COM:hear mother his   DEC
The boy spoke to his mother.

Sometimes the reduced form *no³* occurs; this form is not inflected for aspect and functions much like a preposition.

kahmii³² shnii³² / no³ nii³ zoh³ a³²
COM:speak boy   CON:hear mother his   DEC
The boy spoke to his mother.

(See also 7.29, 7.67, and 7.68.)

It is also possible to express an addressee as a locative adjunct (see §1.1.4) signaled by the locative noun *riaan³²* 'face of'; see, for example, 7.6, 7.9, and 7.10. The juxtaposed sentence method appears to be losing ground to the locative adjunct method, perhaps because of Spanish influence.

For many older speakers, idioms with the preposition *ra⁴* 'inside', which refer to emotional and psychological states (see §§2.1.3, 3.2, and 3.3), are intransitive. In order to express an object, the sentence containing the idiom must be juxtaposed with a transitive sentence that has the verb *ni³hyax²* 'to look' or *nehe³* 'to sense' or 'to see' and a coreferential subject.

kahmaan³ ra⁴ noh³ / ni³hyax² noh³ ni³ka² noh³ a³²
COM:get:hot inside she   COM:look she spouse her   DEC
She became angry at her husband.

kahmaan³ ra⁴ noh³ / kenehe³ noh³ ni³ka² noh³ a³²
COM:get:hot inside she   COM:sense she spouse her   DEC
She became angry at her husband.

Many speakers, however, treat the idiom as a transitive verb, and the object occurs in the same basic sentence as the idiom, usually introduced by *man³* 'body of'. An example of this is found in 7.81.

There are no verbs that mean 'to bring' or 'to take'; these concepts may be expressed by juxtaposing a sentence that has a motion verb like *hnah³* 'to come' or *hanx³²* 'to go' with a sentence that has a verb such as *ni³kax²* 'to have'. The two verbs must agree in aspect, and they must have coreferential subjects.

ni³kax² gwaa⁴ mi³shte⁴ / kahnah³ zoh³ a³²
COM:have John machete COM:come he DEC
John brought a machete.

ni³kax² noh³ chraa³ / kahanx³² noh³ a³²
COM:have she tortilla COM:go she DEC
She took the tortillas. (Sun 4:22)

ni²kax³² zoh¹ ho² runh⁵ tanh³ / kahanx² zoh¹ a⁴
POT:have you:SG one single corn:ear POT:go you:SG PERS
Take a single ear of corn! (cf. Fight 167)

a³ta¹³ rox¹ zoh³ nee³¹ shtax³ / naman⁴ rox¹
CON:carry the:DU he flesh deer CON:arrive:home:here the:DU

   zoh³ weh³ a³²
   he house DEC
The two of them were bringing the venison home to the house.
(Sun 2:56)

An example of this construction is found in 7.63, which has an unexpressed object.

The order of the two sentences may be reversed, in which case the motion verb has an unexpressed subject.

kahnah³ / ni³kax² gwaa⁴ mi³shte⁴ a³²
COM:come COM:have John machete DEC
John brought a machete.

kahanx² / ni²kax³² shnii³ shuwee³ ahyox³ a³²
POT:go POT:have boy dog tomorrow DEC
The boy will take the dog tomorrow.

kahanx³² / ni³kax² yoh³ chraa³ a³²
COM:go COM:have that tortilla DEC
That [one] took tortillas. (Sun 1:19)

In the following example, the construction expressing bring serves as a subject complement (see §1.1.9).

kinawix³ kahanx³² / ni³kax² zhi-h⁴ tinuu⁵
COM:finish COM:go COM:have grandfather-our:IN brother:ME

   zoh³ rex³² shko¹ na³² yahanx² a³²
   his place beyond water divine DEC
Our grandfather finished taking his brother across the ocean.
(Brother 156)

In the following example a juxtaposed construction expressing bring is itself juxtaposed with a sentence that precedes it in temporal sequence.

> *ne² kirih³ zoh³ yahan³² / ni³kax² zoh³ / kahnah³*
> and COM:get he fire COM:have he COM:come
>
> *zoh³ a³²*
> he DEC

And he got the fire, [and then] he brought it. (Sun 4:11)

A sentence with *a³nikax¹* 'to turn' is sometimes combined with a sentence expressing an action subsequent to the previous full sentence. Even though there is usually a literal change of direction between the two actions, this construction seems to be developing into a marker of temporal sequence.

> *ne² zix⁵ kuchrux³² rox¹ nika² rox¹ zoh³ wix¹*
> and CON:be:complete COM:lay the:DU spouse the:DU he two
>
> *shumanh³ yoh³ a³² // gaa¹³ ne² a³nikax¹ rox¹ zoh³ /*
> town that DEC when and CON:turn the:DU he
>
> *me³ ra⁴ rox¹ zoh³ kuchrux² rox¹ zoh³ shumanh³*
> CON:be inside the:DU he POT:lay the:DU he town
>
> *kopa³la⁴ / shiaan⁵ nih⁴ a³²*
> Copala POS:town our:IN DEC

And he and his wife finished founding those two towns. And then the two of them turned; they wanted to found the town of Copala (Sp. *Copala*), our hometown. (Brother 46–47)

> *dan³² me³ ze³² zix⁵ kahanx³² zoh³ rex³² rnuu³²*
> that CON:be CMP CON:be:complete COM:go he place coast
>
> *a³² // a³nikax¹ zoh³ / nazix⁵ uun⁴ zoh³ a³²*
> DEC CON:turn he COM:be:complete:again REP he DEC

And then he was finished going to the coast. He turned and arrived back. (Brother 25–26)

(See also 7.10–11.)

Instrument may be expressed by combining a sentence containing *ra⁵zuun³²* 'to use' or *ni³kax²* 'to have' or 'to hold' with another sentence.

> *ra⁵zuun³² gwaa⁴ agah³ a³cha⁴ / kahneh³ zoh³ chruun³ a³²*
> CON:use John metal axe COM:cut he wood DEC

John cut the tree with an axe (Sp. *hacha*).

ni³kax² gwaa⁴ nee³² / *tikawih³ zoh³ skux⁵ a³²*
CON:have John knife   COM:kill he OX   DEC
John butchered the ox with a knife.

To express source with a motion verb, a sentence with a verb like *awii³²* 'to come out' or 'to leave' may be juxtaposed to the sentence containing the motion verb.

kawii³²   gwaa⁴ ngax³² / *kahanx³² zoh³ a³²*
COM:come:out John Putla   COM:go he DEC
John went away from Putla.

kawii²   zoh³ makaa⁵   / *kahnah¹ zoh³ a³²*
POT:come:out he   Mexico:City POT:come he DEC
He will come from Mexico City.

Peripheral location is infrequent. It is more common to express such a location as a locative adjunct in a separate juxtaposed sentence containing a motion or position verb.

kahanx³² zoh³ shumanh³ / *kahmii³²   natax⁵ zoh³ a³²*
COM:go he   town   COM:speak publicly he DEC
He went to town; he gave a speech. *or* He gave a speech in town.

nuu²   noh³ ra⁴   weh³ / *otox³²   noh³ a³²*
CON2:be:in she inside house   CON:sleep she DEC
She is in the house; she is sleeping. *or* She is sleeping in the house.

kuno³   shkaa³² / *taa⁵   zhoh³ raa³¹ chruun³ a³²*
COM:hear raven   CON:be:on:top it:AML head wood   DEC
The raven heard [it]; it was on the top of the tree. *or* The raven heard it on the top of the tree. (Fight 186)

ne¹³   sha³na¹ shumanh³ / *ananx⁵   noh³ rohno⁴ a³²*
CON2:sit woman town   CON:weave she tunic   DEC
The woman is in town; she is weaving a tunic. *or* The woman is weaving a tunic in town.

The number of times an action takes place may be expressed by combining a sentence containing *zix⁵* 'to be complete' or *uun³* 'to become' and a quantifier with another sentence.

kizix⁵   kehee¹ / *kano⁴   shihii³¹ man³ zoh³ a³²*
COM:be:complete many   COM:grab sickness body his DEC
He has gotten sick many times. (lit. [It] totaled many [times that] sickness grabbed him.)

kizix⁵   *shnuh² / chee⁵*   *yawii³² shkih⁴ a³²*
COM:be:complete fifteen   CON:walk month August DEC
August fifteenth arrived. (lit. August has finished walking fifteen [times].) (Fight 292)

kizix⁵   *wix¹ / kihyax³ ituu²*   *zoh³ a³²*
COM:be:complete two   COM:do stealing he   DEC
He has stolen twice.

guun³   *kehee¹ / tahyunx³²*   *zoh³ a³²*
COM:become many   COM:deceive he   DEC
He has deceived [people] many times.

Two juxtaposed sentences may have a shared noun phrase that serves as a pivot between them. Only a few verbs occur in the first sentence of this construction. The most common ones are: *nawix³* 'to finish', *nuwih³* or *nuwih³ wax²* 'to not be present', and *dax³²* or *dax³² wax²* 'to not exist'. When the verb in the first sentence is negative, a negative sentential marker often occurs at the end of the juxtaposed construction.

nawix³   *weh³ / kakaa³²*   *a³²*
COM:finish house   COM:burn DEC
The house burned up. (lit. The house finished; [it] burned.)

nawix³   *tuwih³*   *zoh³ / kawih³ a³²*
COM:finish companion his   COM:die DEC
His companions all died. (Deluge 18)

nuwih³   *wax²*   *zoh¹ / kuchih³*   *mah³*
CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move you:SG   COM:arrive NEG
You haven't arrived. (cf. Fight 272)

nuwih³   *wax²*   *maan³¹ / kamanh³ mah³*
CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move rain   COM:rain NEG
There wasn't any rain at all. (Openly 26)

dax³²   *wax²*   *zoh³ / ne³*   *mah³*
CON:NEG:exist CON2:move he   CON:sit NEG
He wasn't home. (Fight 173)

kinawix³ ichix² kuchruu³¹ tanh³   *yoh³ / kizhix⁵*
COM:finish seven corncrib corn:ear that   COM:be:tucked:in

   shkuu³ nanx¹ a⁴
   animal indeed PERS
Those seven corncribs [full] of ears of corn were all riddled with insects for sure. (Fight 126)

kinawix³   naa³¹   / kirii³²   noh³ a³²
COM:finish cornfield   COM:take:out she   DEC
She harvested the cornfield thoroughly. (Fight 74)

(See also 7.76 and 7.87.)

The order of elements in these sentences is identical to that in basic sentences in which the subject is modified by a relative clause, but the two constructions are different. Sentence combinations with a shared noun phrase have phrase-final pronouns and the high-tone continuative form of position verbs; while a relative clause is introduced by a non-phrase-final pronoun head and takes the low-tone continuative form of position verbs (see §5.1.2). Compare the following two sentences; the first one contains a shared noun phrase, and the second one contains a relative clause.

nuwih³   *noh³ / ne³   ra⁴   weh³ a³²*
CON:NEG:be:present she   CON:sit inside house DEC
She isn't home. (lit. She isn't there sitting in the house.)

nuwih³   *nii⁵ ne¹³   ra⁴   weh³ a³²*
CON:NEG:be:present she CON2:sit inside house DEC
The woman who lives in the house is not there.

6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are usually expressed using conjunctions, but a few relations may be expressed using simple juxtaposition.

6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to express cause, result, condition, concession, purpose, negative purpose, time, and comparison of equality.

Cause sentences are introduced by the conjunction *shehe⁴ ze³²* 'because'; some speakers prefer the fused form *e⁵ze³²*, and some use *shehe⁴ rex³²*, *shehe⁴ yan³²*, or *kwe³nda⁴ yan³²* (Sp. *cuenta* 'account'). Sometimes the nominal marker *maan¹* 'only' precedes one of the above. Cause sentences may precede or follow the main sentence. When they precede, there is a pause at the boundary, and the main sentence is often introduced by the conjunctions *ne²* 'and', *gaa¹³ ne²* 'and then', or *don³* or *duun³* 'with the result that', or by the complex sentential marker *shehe⁴ dan³²* 'therefore'.

dax¹³ katax³² noh³ / shehe⁴ ze³² nokoh³   ushra⁴ shex³² man³
thus COM:say she   feet   CMP CON:follow INTS   weight body

  noh³ a³²
  her DEC
She said that because prosperity really follows her. (Fight 93)

ze² nano⁴ ra⁴   zoh¹ / shehe⁴ rex³² guun⁴   zoh¹
NEG POT:tell inside you:SO   feet   place COM:become you:SG

  chii³ nga¹³ a³²
  man old   DEC
Don't be sad because you have become an old man!

shehe⁴ ze³² nokoh¹   ndoho³² shex³² man³ noh³ / ne²
feet   CMP CON2:follow INTS   weight body her   and

  kawii³²   ndoho³² tanh³   / kihyax³ noh³ a³²
  COM:come:out INTS   corn:ear COM:do she DEC
Because prosperity really follows her, she caused many ears of corn
to be produced. (Fight 94)

shehe⁴ ze³² dax¹³ kiranh³   rox¹   zoh³ gaa¹³ naa⁴   /
feet   CMP thus COM:suffer the:DU he   when long:ago

  don³   a³ta¹³   naa³¹   ho² runh⁵ tanh³
  with:the:result:that CON:carry cornfield one single corn:ear

  kwa³no² a³²
  right:now DEC
Because the two of them fared thus long ago, that's why corn plants
bear just one ear of corn at present. (Fight 68)

shehe⁴ ze³² ranh³   zoh³ / shehe⁴ dan³² kahanx³² zoh³ riaan³²
feet   CMP CON:suffer he   feet   that COM:go   he   face

  totoo⁴ a³²
  doctor DEC
Because he was sick, he went to the doctor (Sp. doctor).

The locative noun *kwe³nda⁴* 'account' sometimes functions as a conjunction meaning 'because'.

rahanx⁵   yuwii³¹ / kwe³nda⁴ niah¹   ra⁴   yuwii³¹ a³²
CON:dance person   account colorful inside person DEC
People dance because they are happy.

The temporal adverb yax^{13} 'now' sometimes functions as a conjunction with the meaning 'now that' or 'given the fact that'.

me^3 ki^2hya-x^5 / yax^{13} $hnah^3$ $shuchee^{32}$ yoh^3 ga^2
which POT:do-I   now CON:come hen   that INT
What should I do now that the hen is coming?

Result sentences are introduced by the conjunction don^3 or $duun^3$ 'with the result that'; they always follow the main sentence.

dax^1 ki^2hya-h^4 / don^3 $kahwee^{13}$
how POT:do-we:IN   with:the:result:that POT:be:possible

  $kiri$-h^1 / cha-h^2 yax^{13} onx^{32}
  POT:get-we:IN   POT:eat-we:IN now INT:INSISTENT
What should we do so that we will be able to get [something] to eat from now on? (i.e., what should I do ...) (Fight 134)

man^1 $ushra^4$ $tanuu^3$ $tume^4$ $shumii^{31}$ /
CON2:exist:PL INTS   soldier CON:guard world

  don^3 $ahwee^3$ waa^{32} $dinx^5$ a^{32}
  with:the:result:that CON:be:possible CON:exist calm DEC
There are a lot of soldiers who guard the world so that it can be peaceful. (Brother 153)

tyo^3se^1 $kihyax^3$ / $duun^3$ waa^{32} nih^4 dax^{13} a^{32}
god   COM:do   with:the:result:that CON:exist we:IN thus DEC
GOD (Sp. *Dios*) made [people] with the result that we are that way. (cf. Deluge 41)

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunction $seze^{32}$ 'if' and usually have verbs in potential or continuative aspect. Condition sentences commonly precede the main sentence, which is usually introduced by ne^2 'and'.

$kinax^2$ $yohoo^5$ $riaan^{32}$ $tahnii^5$ zoh^3 / $seze^{32}$ $kawih^1$ zoh^3 a^{32}
POT:remain earth   face   child   his   if   POT:die he   DEC
His son will inherit the land if he dies. (lit. The land will stay in the presence of his son ...)

dax*13* kihyax*13* zoh*3* / seze*32* natuu*2*   zoh*3* makaa*5*
thus POT:do he   if   POT:reenter he   Mexico:City

   nianx*5* a*32*
   here DEC
That's what he will do if he comes back here to Mexico.
(Brother 152)

kahmi-x*2* ga-x*13* / seze*32* kahna-x*13*   a*32*
POT:speak-I with-UN   if   POT:come-UN DEC
I will speak with him if he comes. (Fight 241)

seze*32* kawih*1* zoh*3* / ne*2* kinax*2*   yohoo*5* riaan*32* tahnii*5*
if   POT:die he   and POT:remain earth   face   child

   zoh*3* a*32*
   his DEC
If he dies, his son will inherit the land.

seze*32* tikawih*13* nih*4*   man*3* zoh*3* / ne*2* ze*2* kawih*3* zoh*3* mah*3*
if   POT:kill   we:IN body his   and NEG POT:die he   NEG
If we kill him, he won't die. (Brother 145)

seze*32* ne*3* aman*4*   ra*4*   zox*3* / ne*2* kahanx*2* / ni*2*hyax*32*
if   NEG CON:arrive inside you:PL   and POT:go   POT:look

   nih*4* raa*31* kix*32*   a*32*
   we:IN head mountain DEC
If you don't believe [it (what I say)], we will go look on the
mountaintop. (Deluge 55)

(See also 7.24.)

A reduced condition with no subject, seze*32* dax*32* 'if not', sometimes
occurs in appropriate discourse contexts.

seze*32* dax*32*   / ne*2* kawih*1* zoh*3* a*32*
if   CON:NEG:exist   and POT:die he   DEC
If not, he will die.

Contrafactual condition sentences are also introduced by seze*32* 'if'. They
usually have verbs in completive aspect in both the condition sentence and
the main sentence. They often contain the contrafactual sentential marker
zax*2* preceding the final sentential marker.

seze*32* ne*3* kahanx*2* zoh*3* / ne*2* ne*3* kawih*1* zoh*3* zax*2* mah*3*
if   NEG COM:go he   and NEG COM:die he   CF   NEG
If he hadn't gone, he wouldn't have died.

seze³² kahanx³² / kirii²   zoh³ naa³¹   / ne² dox¹³ tsinh³
if   COM:go   POT:take:out he   cornfield   and some tiny

tanh³   kirii³²   mahan¹³ zoh³ a³²
corn:ear COM:take:out self   his   DEC

If he had gone to harvest the corn, he himself would have harvested
VERY FEW EARS OF CORN. (Fight 87)

Concession sentences are introduced by *tah¹ ze³²*, *ndah¹ ze³²*, or *nikih¹*
ze³² 'although'. They usually precede the main sentence, which is often
introduced by *tsax² ne²* 'but'.

kawih³ zoh³ / tah¹   ze³² kihyax³ konoho⁴ totoo⁴ man³
COM:die he   although CMP COM:do remedy   doctor body

zoh³ a³²
his   DEC

He died even though the doctor treated him.

ndah¹   ze³² kihyax³ konoho⁴ totoo⁴ man³ zoh³ / tsax² ne²
although CMP COM:do remedy   doctor body his   but   and

kawih³ zoh³ a³²
COM:die he   DEC

Even though the doctor treated him, he died.

nikih¹   ze³² kihyax³ zuun³² zoh³ / tsax² ne² ne³ kawii²
although CMP COM:do work   he   but   and NEG COM:come:out

zah¹ zoh³ mah³
good he   NEG

Even though he worked, he wasn't successful.

Purpose sentences are sometimes introduced by the non-phrase-final
locative pronouns *rex³²* and *yan³²*, both of which mean 'place', but which
function as conjunctions meaning 'in order that' in this construction. Pur-
pose sentences usually follow the main sentence, and their verb must be in
potential aspect.

kiranx⁵ zoh³ chruun³ riah¹   / yan³² tikawih¹³ zoh³
COM:buy he   wood   CON:shoot   place POT:kill   he

yuwii³¹ a³²
person DEC

He bought a rifle in order to kill people.

Negative purpose sentences are often introduced by ze^2 gaa^{32} $nanx^{13}$ 'lest' or, in commands, by $seze^{32}$ 'if', here used to mean 'or else'. They must follow the main sentence, and their verb must be in potential aspect.

ne^3 $kahanx^2$ zoh^3 / ze^2 gaa^{32} $nanx^{13}$ $tikawih^{13}$ nii^3 man^3
NEG COM:go he   NEG POT:exist thus   POT:kill they body

zoh^3 a^{32}
his DEC
He didn't go lest they kill him.

ra^2kwix^5 zoh^1 man-x^3 / $seze^{32}$ $tika^2wi$-x^3 man^4 zoh^1 a^{32}
POT:help you:SG body-my if   POT:kill-I body your:SG DEC
Help me, or else I'll kill you!

(See also 7.32, 7.41, and 7.51.)

Time sentences are introduced by the conjunctions gaa^{13} 'when', a^3zah^1 'when (in the future)', $azix^2$ 'since', and $ndaa^{13}$ or $ndaa^{13}$ ze^{32} 'until' or 'since'. They may either precede or follow the main sentence. When they precede, the main sentence is usually introduced by ne^2 'and' or gaa^{13} ne^2 'and then'. a^3zah^1 usually introduces a sentence with its verb in completive aspect, and the meaning is often future perfect.

With gaa^{13}:

$kuman^4$ nix^3 zoh^3 raa^{31} kix^{32} yoh^3 / gaa^{13} $kahnah^3$
COM:exist:PL the:PL he   head mountain that   when COM:come

na^{32} yoh^3 a^{32}
water that DEC
They were all on the top of that mountain when that (flood) water came. (Deluge 50)

ho^2 tya^3mbo^4 $kinakoo^{31}$ nuh^1 $yohoo^5$ / gaa^{13} $kahanx^{32}$
one long:time COM:dry complete earth   when COM:go

$maan^{31}$ $nanx^1$ a^4
rain   indeed PERS
The earth dried up completely FOR A LONG TIME (Sp. *tiempo* 'time') when the rain went away for sure. (Openly 27)

kahanx³² nga³   *kahax³² chraa⁵ | gaa¹³ gaa³²   rmih²*
COM:go old:woman Ca'aj river   when COM:exist dark

  shumii³¹ a³²
  world   DEC

Old woman *Ca'aj* went to the river when the world was dark.
(Sun 1:1)

kawii³²   *ndoho³² tanh³* | *kihyax³ noh³* | *gaa¹³*
COM:come:out INTS   corn:ear COM:do she   when

  kirii³²   *noh³ a³²*
  COM:take:out she DEC

She caused a lot of ears of corn to be produced when she harvested
[them]. (Fight 93)

gaa¹³ ne³ kenehe¹³   shkaa³² | *ne² kanikunh³*
when NEG COM:sense raven   and COM:stand

  shu³kwa²han-h⁴   *yoh³ a³²*
  grandmother-our:IN that DEC

When the raven didn't see [it (her coming)], that grandmother of
ours stopped. (Sun 2:27)

(See also 7.57.)

With *a³zah¹*:

  a³zah¹ hna-x³ | *ne² kagwax² zoh¹* | *kuno¹³*
  when CON:come-UN   and POT:cry:out you:SG POT:hear

  nih⁴ a⁴
  WE:IN PERS

When she will be coming, then cry out so that we can hear [it]!
(cf. Sun 3:98)

a³zah¹ kahanx³² yuun⁴   *zoh¹* | *ne² ni²kax³² zoh¹ ho²*
when COM:go another:time you:SG   and POT:have you:SG one

  runh⁵ tanh³ | *kahanx² zoh¹   a³²*
  single corn:ear POT:go you:SG DEC

When you go again, you will take just one ear of corn. (Fight 167)

a³zah¹ kahanx³² yuun⁴   zoh¹ | ne² rke-x² yoho⁴
when COM:go another:time you:SG and POT:give-I another

  ra³zuun² | ni²kax³² zoh¹ | kahanx² zoh¹ a³²
  thing POT:have you:SG POT:go you:SG DEC
When you go again, I will give you something else to take.
(Fight 191)

With *azix²*:

ho² nano⁴ ra⁴ zoh³ | azix² kawih³ ni³ka² zoh³ a³²
one CON:tell inside he since COM:die spouse his DEC
He has been sad continually since his wife died.

azix² kawih³ ni³ka² zoh³ | ne² ho² nano⁴ ra⁴ zoh³ a³²
since COM:die spouse his and one CON:tell inside he DEC
Since his wife died, he has been sad continually.

With *ndaa¹³*:

ne³ na²nuu³² ra⁴ shu³kwa²han-h⁴ | ndaa¹³
NEG COM:get:dressed inside grandmother-our:IN until

  ti³gwanx³² kahnah³ a³²
  squirrel:cuckoo COM:come DEC
Our grandmother didn't wake up until THE SQUIRREL CUCKOO came.
(Sun 2:116)

ndaa¹³ guun¹³ raan¹ | kuchi-x¹ adonx²
until COM:become delayed POT:arrive-I certainly
After a long time has passed, I will certainly arrive. (Fight 275)

With *ndaa¹³ ze³²*:

wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³² | ndaa¹³ ze³² kawih³ zoh³ a³²
AFF thus CON:exist until CMP COM:die he DEC
In that way [it] has been since he died. (Brother 182)

na³hwix¹ ndoho³² zoh³ | ndaa¹³ ze³² naman¹ rex³
CON:wait INTS he until CMP POT:arrive:home:here father

  zoh³ a³²
  his DEC
He is waiting a lot until his father returns home.

ndaa¹³ ze³² naman¹   *rex³   zoh³ | ne²   na³hwix¹*
until   CMP POT:arrive:home:here father his   and CON:wait

  ndoho³² zoh³ a³²
  INTS   he DEC
Until his father returns home, he is waiting a lot.

Immediate temporal sequence may be signaled by a correlative use of
the general quantifier *nuh¹* 'complete' at the beginning of each part; the
subordinate sentence comes first.

nuh¹   kahnah³ zoh³ | nuh¹   kahanx³² ni³ka² zoh³ a³²
complete COM:come he   complete COM:go   spouse his   DEC
As soon as he came, his wife went away.

Comparison of equality sentences that precede the main sentence are
usually introduced by the conjunctions *dax¹ ze³²* or *aze³²* 'as'. The com-
parison sentence often ends with the topic marker *roh³*, and the main
sentence is usually introduced by the general adverb *dax¹³* 'thus' or the
complex sentential marker *dax¹³ inanx²* 'likewise'. The same verb must
occur in the comparative sentence as in the main sentence. Comparison is
frequently expressed by stative sentences with *waa³²* 'to exist'.

dax¹ ze³² waa³²   ruhwee³² | waa³²   tuhwii³ gaa¹³
how CMP CON:exist rich:person   CON:exist thunder when

  naa⁴   a³²
  long:ago DEC
As a rich person is, the thunder was long ago. (Openly 2)

dax¹ ze³² waa³²   shkwaa³ | waa³²   nih⁴ riaan³²
how CMP CON:exist ant   CON:exist we:IN face

  zhi-h⁴   a³²
  grandfather-our:IN DEC
As ants are, we are to our grandfather. (Brother 40)

dax¹ ze³² waa³²   ni³ka² zoh³ roh³ | waa³²
how CMP CON:exist spouse his TOPIC   CON:exist

  shee⁵   zoh³ a³²
  spouse's:younger:relative his   DEC
As his wife was, his sister-in-law was. (Fight 311)

(See also 7.19.)

Sometimes comparison is expressed by content verbs, but they are often
very generic.

dax¹ ze³² hyax³ shnii³ uun³   yaan² riaan³² tuwih³
how CMP CON:do boy   CON:become first   face   companion

   roh³ / dax¹³ kihyax³ rox¹   zoh³ a³²
   TOPIC   thus COM:do the:DU he   DEC

As boys do who get ahead of [their] friends, thus they did.
(Brother 109)

Sometimes a juxtaposed sentence expressing an action is added to a comparison based on a stative sentence.

dax¹ ze³² waa³²   zii⁵ katux⁵   ta³gah³ / waa³²   zoh³ /
how CMP CON:exist he COM:enter jail   CON:exist he

   katux⁵   zoh³ rke³   chruun³ a³²
   COM:enter he   stomach wood   DEC

He was like a person that went to jail is in that he went into the tree. (Openly 22)

dax¹ ze³² waa³²   sha³na¹ / shee⁵   zoh³
how CMP CON:exist woman   spouse's:younger:relative his

   roh³ / dax¹³ waa³²   kox³² shnee⁴   / nakutax⁵
   TOPIC   thus CON:exist plant bean:plant   CON:wrap:around

   yoh³   katuun³¹ chruun³ kwa³no² a³²
   it:INAN waist   wood   right:now DEC

As the woman, his wife's younger sister, was, that's how the bean plant is; it wraps around the pole at the present time. (Fight 321)

When the comparison is expressed by a content verb, the conjunction is often followed by *waa³²* 'to exist', and the adverb *dax¹³* 'thus' at the beginning of the main sentence may also be followed by *waa³²*.

dax¹ ze³² waa³²   kawih³ rex³   zoh³ roh³ / dax¹³ waa³²
how CMP CON:exist COM:die father his   TOPIC   thus CON:exist

   kawih³   mahan¹³ zoh³ a³²
   COM:die self   'his   DEC

As it is [the case that] his father died, thus it is [the case that] he himself died.

In the following sentence, there are three comparisons, which are linked together by repeating *dax¹ ze³² waa³²* before each one and also following the last.

dax¹ ze³² waa³²   tahnax³² | dax¹ ze³² waa³²   shuwee³ | dax¹
how CMP CON:exist ghost   how CMP CON:exist dog   how

ze³² waa³²   shuchee³² | dax³² ze³² waa³² | waa³²
CMP CON:exist hen   how CMP CON:exist   CON:exist

zoh³ nanx¹ a⁴
he   indeed PERS

As a ghost is, as a dog is, as a hen is, he is for sure. (cf. Brother 143)

Comparison of equality sentences may also follow the main sentence, in which case they may be introduced by the complex conjunctions *ase³² waa³²* or *ndaa¹³ waa³²* 'as'.

natux⁵   zah¹ nehex³ ruzhaan³ | ase³² waa³²
COM:reenter good baby   cradle   as   CON:exist

kahnii-³   man³ nehex³ yoh³ a³²
COM:put:in-UN body baby   that DEC

The babies got back in the cradle as she had put those babies in [it]. (Sun 3:99)

kihyax³ zoh³ weh³ | ndaa¹³ waa³²   kihyax³ rex³   zoh³ a³²
COM:do he   house   until CON:exist COM:do father his   DEC

He built the house just as his father did.

Comparison of degree is usually expressed within a single sentence by a referent adjunct (see §1.1.4).

More than one subordinate sentence may occur within a single full sentence. The following example contains both a cause sentence and a comparison sentence, which itself contains a subordinate time sentence, preceding the main sentence.

tsax² ne² shehe⁴ ze³² narii³²   zhoh³ ze³² tuhwa³
but   and feet   CMP COM:take:out:again it:AML it:INAN COM:talk

tuhwii³ chii¹³ | ne² dax¹ ze³² tuhwa³ tuhwii³ chii¹³ |
thunder male   and how CMP COM:talk thunder male

gaa¹³ cha⁴   zoh³ yume³² roh³ | dax¹³ tuhwa³ gee¹
when COM:eat he   tuber   TOPIC thus COM:talk whole

zhoh³ nuh¹   kwa³no² a³²
it:AML complete right:now DEC

But because it imitated the way the male thunder (god) spoke, and as the male thunder (god) spoke when he ate the tubers, that's exactly how it speaks right up to the present. (Fight 234)

6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions. The subordinate relation most frequently expressed by simple juxtaposition is purpose. Purpose sentences follow the main sentence, and their verb must be in potential aspect. The subjects of the two sentences may be coreferential or noncoreferential.

With coreferential subjects:

$kahanx^{32}$ zoh^3 $shumanh^3$ / $kiraan^2$ zoh^3 $hnuu^5$ a^{32}
COM:go he town POT:buy he corn DEC
He went to town to buy corn.

cha^2 $gwaa^4$ $chraa^3$ / $kinarih^1$ $nukwax^3$ zoh^3 a^{32}
POT:eat John tortilla POT:find strength he DEC
John will eat tortillas in order to be strong.

$tuhwex^5$ zoh^3 $yuhwex^{32}$ / $kihyax^{13}$ $kanaan^4$ zoh^3 $sahanx^{32}$ a^{32}
CON:sell he thread POT:do gain he money DEC
He sells thread in order to earn (Sp. *ganar*) money.

dax^1 $kihyax^{13}$ nih^4 / $kirih^1$ nih^4 ga^2
how POT:do we:IN POT:get we:IN INT
What should we do to get [it (the deer)]? (cf. Sun 2:40)

$kiri-h^1$ / $cha-h^2$ a^{32}
POT:get-we:IN POT:eat-we:IN DEC
We will get [something] to eat. (Fight 134)

With noncoreferential subjects:

me^3 $kihyax^{13}$ nih^4 / $kawih^1$ $shkuu^3$ ga^2
which POT:do we:IN POT:die animal INT
What should we do in order that the animal will die? (cf. Sun 2:69)

$guun^{13}$ $nukwax^{13}$ $kuchruu^{31}$ $tanh^3$ yoh^3 / cha^2
POT:become strong corncrib corn:ear that POT:eat

zoh^3 a^{32}
he DEC
Those corncribs [full] of ears of corn will be enough for him to eat. (cf. Fight 120)

kahneh³ rox¹   zoh³ zuun³² riaan³² neko⁴   / kahanx² shkax²
COM:cut the:DU he   work face   opossum   POT:go POT:get

zoh³ yahan³² a³²
he   fire   DEC

The two of them gave orders to the opossum to go get fire.
(Sun 4:7)

In the text in chapter 7 there are three examples of a purpose sentence following the idiomatic expression *dax³² ze³² ki²hya-h⁴* 'there is nothing that can be done': 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56.

In the following sentence, a single noun in focus position serves as a locative adjunct in the main sentence and as the object of the purpose sentence.

weh³   ka²ne⁴ zoh¹   / tu²me⁴   zoh¹   a⁴
house POT:sit you:SG   POT:guard you:SG PERS

You sit IN THE HOUSE to guard [it]! (cf. Fight 71)

When the verb of the first sentence is either *hanx³²* 'to go' or *hnah³* 'to come', its subject may be unexpressed if nothing intervenes between the motion verb and the verb of the purpose sentence.

kahnah³   / kachraa² zoh³ kii³   a³²
COM:come   POT:sing he   yesterday DEC

He came to sing yesterday.

kahanx³² / ni²hyax³² sno⁵ho³² a³²
COM:go   POT:look man   DEC

The man went to look. (Fight 55)

sha³na¹ kahanx³² / kirii²   naa³¹   a³²
woman COM:go   POT:take:out cornfield DEC

THE WOMAN went to harvest the cornfield. (Fight 52)

nii³¹   kahanx³² / kenehen¹³ rox¹   zoh³ shu³kwa²han-h⁴   /
night COM:go   POT:sense the:DU he   grandmother-our:IN

kahax³² a³²
Ca'aj   DEC

AT NIGHT the two of them went to see our grandmother *Ca'aj*.
(Sun 4:44)

Juxtaposition is used to express the day of the month. An idiom which contains a numeral expressing preverbal manner, the verb *chee⁵* 'to walk', and the name of a month usually precedes the main sentence.

wix¹ chee⁵   yawii³² ka³yahanx³² / kahanx³² zoh³
two CON:walk month January   COM:go   he

  makaa⁵   a³²
  Mexico:City DEC
On January second he went to Mexico City.

shnuh² chee⁵   yawii³² shkih⁴ / kuchi-x¹   a³²
fifteen CON:walk month August   POT:arrive-I DEC
On August fifteenth I will arrive. (Fight 286)

kawih³ noh³ / shnuh² chee⁵   yawii³² a³²
COM:die she   fifteen CON:walk month DEC
She died on the fifteenth of the month.

Various other subordinate relations are occasionally expressed by means of juxtaposition when the relation is clear from the context. If the first part contains an interrogative element, an interrogative sentential marker occurs at the end; and if the first part contains a negative element, a negative sentential marker may occur at the end.

guun³   niah¹   ra⁴   shtax³ / kahngaa³²   nehex³ a³²
COM:become colorful inside deer   COM:be:born baby DEC
The deer became very happy [because] the babies were born.
(Sun 2:19)

kahmaan³ ndoho³² ra⁴   noh³ / kawih³ rex³   noh³
COM:get:hot INTS   inside she   COM:die father her

  nanx¹ a⁴
  indeed PERS
She became very angry [because] her father died for sure. (Fight 32)

me³ ze³² achiin³ man⁴ zoh¹   / hnah⁴   zoh¹ ga²
which it:INAN CON:lack body your:SG   CON:come you:SG INT
What do you need [so that] you come? (lit. What is lacking to you . . . ?) (cf. Deluge 25)

ne³ wex⁵   nih⁴ / nuwee⁴ rex¹³ nih⁴   me³
NEG CON:jump we:IN   NEG   father our:IN CON:be

  yoh³ shtonx³²
  that AGREEMENT
We don't jump, [and so] that [one] is clearly not our father.
(Sun 3:129)

kushuman⁴ ra⁴   zoh³ / kahmii³² tinuu⁵   zoh³ / zii⁵
COM:arrive inside he   COM:speak brother:ME his   he

   kunix¹³ a³²
   young DEC
He believed [it when] his brother, the young one, spoke.
(Brother 102)

ne³ katah¹   shrex¹ sno⁵ho³² / kahmii³²   sha³na¹ mah³
NEG COM:be:put:down by:ear man   COM:speak woman NEG
The man didn't pay attention [when] the woman spoke. (Fight 80)

   It would be possible to analyze some of these examples as sentences
containing an object complement (see §1.1.9).

6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations consist of three parts: the quotation itself, the quotation
introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation is obligatory and
consists of one or more sentences or fragments. The closer is also
obligatory and sometimes includes only *tax³²* 'to say' plus a subject and a
final sentential marker. The verb *tax³²* is usually in continuative aspect.
   Sometimes quotations do not contain a sentential marker.

   kirih¹   hunx¹ sahanx³² / tax³²   gwaa⁴ a³²
   POT:get I   money   CON:say John DEC
   "I'll get money," said John.

   kahwee¹³   / tax³²   zoh³ a³²
   POT:be:possible   CON:say he DEC
   "All right," he said. (Fight 50, Brother 125)

   (See also 7.10 and 7.82.)

   It is also possible to use a sentential marker.

   kahwee¹³   a³² / tax³²   zoh³ a³²
   POT:be:possible DEC   CON:say he   DEC
   "All right," he said. (Brother 83)

   kahna-x³   a⁴ / tax³²   zoh³ a³²
   COM:come-I PERS   CON:say he   DEC
   "I came for sure," he said. (Brother 81)

me³   shehe⁴ me³   hyax³   zoh³ dax¹³ ga² / tax³²   zii⁵
which feet   CON:be CON:do he   thus   INT   CON:say he

   kunix¹³ dox³ a³²
   young more DEC
"Why is [it that] he acts that way?" said the younger one.
(Brother 70)

(See also 7.16, 7.61, and 7.101.)

Many sentences have a vocative, rather than a sentential marker.

kahnah⁴ zoh¹   / 'ti³nux¹   / tax³²   tinuu⁵
COM:come you:SG   brother:ME   CON:say brother:ME

   zhi-h⁴   a³²
   grandfather-our:IN DEC
"You came, Brother," our grandfather's brother said.
(cf. Brother 80)

nehe⁴   zoh¹   / 'a³tax¹ / tax³²   gwaa⁴ a³²
CON:sense you:SG   papa   CON:say John DEC
"You know, Papa (Sp. *tata*)," said John.

(See also 7.6, 7.8, 7.9, 7.15, 7.29, 7.30, and various others.)

It is also possible to have both a marker and a vocative.

ze² nano⁴ ra⁴   zoh¹   / man³² 'na³iin³² / tax³²   rox¹
NEG POT:tell inside you:SG   NEG   mama   CON:say the:DU

   zoh³ a³²
   he   DEC
"Don't be sad, Mama!" the two of them said. (Sun 2:31)

Sometimes another verb of speech is combined with *tax³²* by means of a
sentence combination (see §6.1.2). The expression 'to speak a lot', which
occurs in two of the examples, connotes anger.

me³   rex³² karaa¹³   nih⁴ tanh³   ga² / tax³²   sha³na¹ /
which place POT:put:in we:IN corn:ear INT   CON:say woman

   kachiin⁵ nahanx² noh³ tuhwa³ sno⁵ho³² a³²
   COM:ask wordlike she   mouth man   DEC
"Where will we store the ears of corn?" the woman said; she
inquired of the man. (Fight 76)

me³   shehe⁴ me³   cha⁴   zoh¹   niax³² | tax³²   nga³
which feet CON:be CON:eat you:SG hominy   CON:say old:woman

   kahax³² | kahmii³²   tihunh³ yoh³ riaan³² shkwax³² a³²
   Ca'aj   COM:speak INTS   that face   fish   DEC
"Why is [it that] you are eating the hominy?" the old woman *Ca'aj*
said; that [one] spoke a lot to the fish. (Sun 3:73)

me³   shehe⁴ kuchrux³² uun⁴ zoh¹   nehex³ ga² | tax³²   chii³
which feet COM:lay REP   you:SG baby   INT   CON:say man

   tahnix¹ | ahmii³²   ushra⁴ yoh³ a³²
   child:related   CON:speak INTS   that DEC
"Why did you also give birth to babies?" said the father; that [one]
spoke a lot. (cf. Sun 3:18)

(See also 7.15 and 7.98.)

Quotations with two or more complete sentences are infrequent because
speakers prefer to break up long quotations by including a quotation closer
after every sentence of reported speech. This can be seen in the text in
chapter 7 in 7.23 and 7.24, and also in 7.80, 7.81, and 7.82. Quotations that
are two sentences long are found in 7.60–61 and 7.100–101.

The addressee may be expressed by a locative adjunct (see §1.1.4) or by
a sentence combination containing *uno³* or *no³* 'to hear' (see §6.1.2).

With a locative adjunct:

   kahwee¹³ | tax³²   wichix³²   riaan³² shnii³ a³²
   POT:be:possible CON:say old:woman face   boy   DEC
   "All right," the old woman said to the boy.

   yahan³² ra⁴   a³² | tax³²   zoh³ riaan³² ni³ka² zoh³ a³²
   fire   CON:think DEC   CON:say he   face   spouse his   DEC
   "THE FIRE thought [of it]," he said to his wife. (i.e., it was the fire's
   idea) (Fight 36)

(See also 7.6, 7.9, 7.10, 7.16, 7.32, and various others.)

With a sentence combination containing *no³*:

   kahwee¹³ | tax³²   noh³ | no³   nix³   zoh³ a³²
   POT:be:possible CON:say she   CON:hear the:PL he   DEC
   "All right," she said to them.

ndaa¹³ man³² kani²kunh⁴ zoh¹   / tax³²   tuhwii³ / no³
until   there POT:stand you:SG   CON:say thunder   CON:hear

zoh³ a³²
he   DEC

"Stand OVER THERE!" the thunder said to him. (cf. Openly 77)

(See also 7.29, 7.67, and 7.68.)

The verb *ra⁴* 'to think' occurs in direct quotations, as well as in indirect quotations (see §1.1.9).

dax¹ ki²hya-h⁴   / don³   kahwee¹³
how POT:do-we:IN   with:the:result:that POT:be:possible

kiri-h¹   / cha-h²   yax¹³ onx³²   / ra⁴
POT:get-we:IN   POT:eat-we:IN now INT:INSISTENT CON:think

zoh³ a³²
he   DEC

"What should we do so that we will be able to get [something] to eat from now on?" he thought. (i.e., what should I do . . .)
(Fight 134)

Further examples of direct quotations with *ra⁴* are found in 7.23, 7.24, and 7.26; and some examples of indirect quotations with *ra⁴* are found in 7.17, 7.54, and 7.92. In 7.15 and 7.61, an indirect quotation with *ra⁴* is embedded in a direct quotation with *tax³²*.

Quotation introducers are optional and infrequent for many speakers. Sometimes a quotation opener consists solely of a conjunction, an initial sentential marker (see §6.4), or both.

ne² / nu²wi-x⁵   / shu³kwa²han-h⁴   / tax³²   zhoh³ a³²
and   CON:be:cold-I grandmother-our:IN CON:say it:AML DEC
And, "I'm cold, Grandmother," it said. (Sun 2:51)

gaa¹³ ne² / nuwee⁴ re-h⁴   me³   mah³ / tax³²
when and   NEG   father-our:IN CON:be NEG   CON:say

zoh³ a³²
he   DEC

And then, "[It] is not our father," he said. (Sun 2:38)

gaa¹³ ne² / me³   kihyax¹³ nih⁴ ga² yoh³ yax¹³ onx³²   /
when and   which POT:do we:IN with that now INT:INSISTENT

tax³²   sha³na¹ yoh³ a³²
CON:say woman that DEC

And then, "What should we do with those [ones (the babies)] now?"
that woman said. (Sun 3:53)

dan³² me³   ze³² / kinax⁵   tuwih³   nih⁴ a³² / tax³²
that CON:be CMP   COM:remain companion our:IN DEC   CON:say

zoh³ a³²
he   DEC

And then, "Our companions remained," he said. (Deluge 20)

ne² ndaa¹³ nanx¹³ / ze² guun³   / seze³² sha³na¹
and until thus   NEG POT:become if   woman

n-ahwex³²   mah³ / tax³²   mahan¹³ zii⁵ tahnix¹
NEG-CON:be:willing NEG   CON:say self   he   child:related

yoh³ rah²
that QUOTATIVE

And this also, "[It] will not happen if THE WOMAN doesn't want to,"
said the parent of that [one], they say. (cf. Sun 3:8)

(See also 7.8, 7.23, and 7.41.)

Sometimes a quotation introducer is a sentence containing a verb of
speech. Such a sentence may lack a direct object, which is logically supplied
by the quotation itself, as seen in 7.5–6 and 7.38–39, or it may contain an
object, as seen in 7.50–51.

6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

One important way in which a sentence is related to its discourse context
is by the use of certain linking expressions in sentence-initial position.
These expressions include certain coordinate conjunctions and initial
sentential markers.

The conjunctions that link full sentences are *ne²* 'and', *gaa¹³ ne²* 'and
then', and *tsax² ne²* 'but'.

With *ne²*:

> *kahaan-³ ra⁴ chraa⁵ / kahaan-³ a³² // ne² nuu³²*
> COM:go-UN inside river COM:go-UN DEC and CON:be:in
>
> *shkwax³² yoh³ ra⁴ na³² a³²*
> fish that inside water DEC

She went to the river; she went. And those fish were in the water.
(Sun 1:2–3)

> *yoho² zoh³ roh³ / guun³ yaan² ushra⁴ a³² // ne²*
> one he TOPIC COM:become first INTS DEC and
>
> *yoho⁴ zoh³ kinax⁵ shko¹ a³²*
> another he COM:remain beyond DEC

As for one of them, [he] got way ahead. And THE OTHER ONE stayed
behind. (Brother 106–107)

(See also 7.83–84 and 7.93–94.)

With *gaa¹³ ne²*:

> *dan³² me³ ze³² katux⁵ zoh³ ra⁴ weh³ a³² // gaa¹³ ne²*
> that CON:be CMP COM:enter he inside house DEC when and
>
> *tanix³² zoh³ nanx³ yume³² / kuchrux³² zoh³ ra⁴*
> COM:lower he net:bag tuber COM:lay he inside
>
> *weh³ a³²*
> house DEC

And then he entered the house. And then he lowered the net bag
[full] of tubers; he laid [it] in the house. (Fight 209–210)

> *maan¹ dan³² kunuu¹³ ihnah¹ uun⁴ nanx¹ a⁴ // gaa¹³*
> only that POT:become:again alive REP indeed PERS when
>
> *ne² guun¹³ kehee¹ ndoho³² nix³ zoh³ nanx¹ a⁴ //*
> and POT:become many INTS the:PL he indeed PERS
>
> *gaa¹³ ne² nawix¹³ yuwii³¹ / cha² nix³ zoh³ nanx¹ a⁴*
> when and POT:finish person POT:eat the:PL he indeed PERS

ONLY THAT will come back to life again for sure. And then they will
multiply a lot for sure. And then they will eat people all up for sure.
(Brother 149–151)

(See also 7.7–8, 7.24–25, 7.27–28, 7.63–64, 7.70–71, 7.71–72, and
various others.)

With *tsax² ne²*:

kahmii³²   zoh³ ga²   tanh³   nanx¹   a⁴   //   tsax² ne² ne³
COM:speak he   with corn:ear indeed PERS   but   and NEG

  cha²   zoh³ tanh³   yoh³ mah³
  COM:eat he   corn:ear that NEG
He spoke with the ear of corn for sure. But he didn't eat that ear
of corn. (Fight 182–83)

nawix³   tuwih³   zoh³ / kawih³ / tax³²   zoh³ a³²   //
COM:finish companion his   COM:die   CON:say he   DEC

  tsax² ne² ne³   ho² runh⁵ weh³ ta³nuu² taa³   a³²
  but   and CON:sit one single house middle plain DEC
He said HIS COMPANIONS HAD ALL DIED. But one solitary house was in
the middle of the plain. (Deluge 18–19)

(See also 7.11–12, 7.19–20, 7.60–61, 7.64–65, 7.68–69, 7.92–93, and
7.100–101.)

Note that there is a final sentential marker for each sentence of these
two-sentence sequences. This fact distinguishes them from the
constructions described in §6.1.1, which have only a single marker at the
end.

Discourse linkage is also provided by a set of sentence-initial sentential
markers.

The markers *dax¹³ inanx²* 'likewise', and *ndaa¹³ nanx¹³* or *tananx¹³* 'in
addition' or 'on the other hand' are used in expository discourse to
introduce additional information.

yoo¹³ unanx⁵ gwaa⁴ a³² // dax¹³ inanx² yoo¹³ unanx⁵ tahnii⁵
fast   CON:run John DEC   thus just   fast   CON:run child

  zoh³ uun⁴ a³²
  his   REP DEC
John runs fast. Likewise, his son runs fast too.

n-ahwex³²   zoh³ kahanx² zoh³ mah³ // tananx¹³
NEG-CON:be:willing he   POT:go he   NEG   in:addition

  n-ahwex³²   zoh³ kinax²   zoh³ uun⁴ a³²
  NEG-CON:be:willing he   POT:remain he   REP DEC
He doesn't want to go. On the other hand, he doesn't want to stay,
either.

nano-x³   yanx³ / ne² kachen⁴ yoh³ yanx³ a³² // ndaa¹³
COM:look:for-UN paper   and COM:pass that paper DEC   until

nanx¹³ yoho⁴   yoh³ nanoh³   chruun³ a³²
thus   another that COM:look:for wood   DEC

He looked for bark fiber, and that [one] twisted it. In addition, THE OTHER OF THOSE [ones] looked for wood. (cf. Sun 3:144–45)

The marker *maan¹ ze³²* 'only' or 'it's only that' introduces some new fact of lesser magnitude. It often follows a negative.

ne³ uhyah³   rke³   nehex³ mah³ // maan¹ ze³²
NEG CON:have:diarrhea stomach baby   NEG   only   CMP

wehee³¹ rke³   zoh³ a³²
CON:hurt stomach his DEC

The baby doesn't have diarrhea. It's only that his stomach aches.

ne³ kawih¹ zoh³ mah³ // maan¹ ze³² kinahax⁵
NEG COM:die he NEG   only   CMP COM:become:weak

ndoho³² zoh³ a³²
INTS   he DEC

John didn't die. He only got very weak.

(See also 7.75–76.)

The marker *taa⁵ ze³²* 'let me suggest that' introduces a suggestion or proposal.

ne² nehex³ yoh³ naman⁴   uun⁴ weh³ rah²   //
and baby   that COM:arrive:home:here REP   house QUOTATIVE

ne² / taa⁵   ze³² ni²hyax³² zoh¹   nokoh³
and   CON:be:on:top CMP POT:look you:SG CON:follow

kanee³² / ne² shkax² zoh¹   / ta²nix³² zoh¹   a³²
landslide   and POT:take you:SG POT:lower you:SG DEC

And THOSE BABIES came back home, they say. And, "Let me suggest that you observe [that] there is a landslide, and take [them and] drop [them there]. (lit. . . . a landslide is hanging . . .) (Sun 3:47–48)

The marker *ho² ze³²* 'consider that' introduces supporting evidence.

zii⁵ yahaan¹³ ra⁴   me³   gwaa⁴ a³² //   ho² ze³² ax¹
he hot   inside CON:be John   DEC   one CMP already

tikawih³ zoh³ kahanx¹³ yuwii³¹ a³²
COM:kill he   four   person DEC

John is a hothead. Consider that he has already killed four people.

The markers *shehe⁴ dan³²* and *shehe⁴ dan³² me³* 'therefore' express a causal relation between a sentence and the previous context.

nuwih³   wax²   tahngah³ shex³² / nokoh³   man³
CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move measure weight   CON:follow body

zoh³ mah³ //   shehe⁴ dan³² tax³²   zoh³ dox¹³ tsinh³ tanh³
his   NEG   feet   that CON:say he   some tiny corn:ear

kawii³²   a³²
COM:come:out DEC

There wasn't much prosperity that followed him. Therefore he said [that] VERY FEW EARS OF CORN were produced. (Fight 88–89)

ne² / ze² cha-h⁴   nee³¹ ni³ka-h²   / tax³²   ri³kix¹³
and   NEG POT:eat-we:IN flesh spouse-our:IN   CON:say frog

yaa³²   yoh³ a³² //   shehe⁴ dan³² me³   kahmii³²   rahngah³
tongue that DEC   feet   that CON:be COM:speak snare

shu³kwa²an-h⁴   yoh³ shehe⁴ ri³kix¹³ yaa³²   adonx² //
grandmother-our:IN that feet   frog   tongue certainly

shehe⁴ dan³² cha⁴   nih⁴ ri³kix¹³ yaa³²   yoh³ kwanh³ a³²
feet   that CON:eat we:IN frog   tongue that today DEC

And, "We shouldn't eat the meat of our spouse," said those leopard frogs. Therefore that grandmother of ours certainly spoke a curse about the leopard frog. Therefore we eat those leopard frogs today. (Sun 2:62–64)

There are also a number of markers used commonly to mark sequence in narrative; some common ones are: *zix⁵ gaa¹³ ne²*, *ndaa¹³ zix⁵ gaa¹³ ne²*, *yoh³ gaa¹³ ne³*, or *dan³² gaa¹³ ne²* 'and after that'; *wee⁴ dan³² ne²* 'and in addition to that', 'and after that', or 'and as a result of that'; *wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³²*, *wee⁴ dax¹³*, or *nanx¹³ waa³²* 'in that way' or 'and so it is that'; and *dan³² me³ ze³²* or *dan³² me³* 'and then', 'it happened that', or 'and so it is that'. *dan³² me³ ze³²* and *dan³² me³* usually indicate larger breaks in narrative discourse than the other markers; they are often used to signal a return to the eventline after a digression by the narrator.

With *zix⁵ gaa¹³ ne²*:

> *nuh¹*   *stanh³*   *sha³na¹* / *nuh¹*   *stanh³*   *sno⁵ho³²*
> complete POS:corn:ear woman   complete POS:corn:ear man
>
>   *nakihyax³*   *chreh²*   *rox¹*   *zoh³ a³²* // *zix⁵*
>   COM:remake compact the:DU he   DEC   CON:be:complete
>
>   *gaa¹³ ne²* *kuchrah³* *tahax²* *rox¹*   *zoh³* *tanh³*   *a³²*
>   when and COM:split part   the:DU he   corn:ear DEC

The two of them gathered together ALL OF THE WOMAN'S EARS OF CORN [and] ALL OF THE MAN'S EARS OF CORN. And after that the two of them divided up the ears of corn. (Openly 11–12)

With *dan³² gaa¹³ ne²*:

> *ne³ kano¹*   *zah¹ yahan³²* / *tsax² ne² tukwahanx³²*   *uun⁴*
> NEG COM:grab good fire   but and COM:cause:to:go REP
>
>   *yoh³* / *ne² kano⁴*   *zah¹ yahan³² adonx²* // *dan³² gaa¹³*
>   that and COM:grab good fire   certainly   that when
>
>   *ne² yuun¹ shehe¹ kirii³²*   *yoh³* / *kunanx⁵ ushra⁴ yoh³* /
>   and once based COM:take:out that   COM:run INTS   that
>
>   *kahanx³² yoh³ a³²*
>   COM:go   that DEC

The fire didn't catch well, but that [one] put [it (its tail)] back in, and the fire certainly caught well. And after that that [one] took [it] out FOR GOOD; that [one] ran very fast; that [one] went away. (Sun 3:165–66)

With *wee⁴ dan³² ne²*:

> *kanuu³¹*   / *ne² kitamanh³*   *nuh¹*   *nee³¹ man³ shkwaa⁵*
> COM:explode   and COM:sprinkle complete flesh body snake
>
>   *rkax²*   *yoh³ gaa¹³ naa⁴*   *a³²* // *wee⁴ dan³² ne²*
>   lizardlike that when long:ago DEC   AFF that and
>
>   *ku³rianx¹*   *tuhwii³* / *kahanx³² zoh³ nanx¹ a⁴*
>   COM:appear thunder   COM:go he   indeed PERS

It exploded, and all the flesh of that dragon was scattered long ago. And after that the thunder came out; he went away for sure. (Openly 81–82)

kishrah³   shawii³¹ rke³   hnuu⁵ a³² // wee⁴ dan³² ne²
COM:be:split moth   stomach kernel DEC   AFF that and

  kinawix³ ichix² kuchruu³¹ tanh³   yoh³ / kizhix⁵
  COM:finish seven corncrib corn:ear that   COM:be:tucked:in

  shkuu³ nanx¹ a⁴
  animal indeed PERS

Moths hatched in the corn. And after that those seven corncribs
[full] of ears of corn were all riddled with insects for sure.
(Fight 125–26)

(See also 7.18–19, 7.26–27, 7.33–34, 7.34–35, 7.45–46, and 7.54–55.)

With *wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³²*:

  ku³rianx¹   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   / kahax³² / koshro³ yoh³
  COM:appear grandmother-our:IN   Ca'aj   COM:slap that

  riaan³² nux³ shtax³ a³² // wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³²   tamanh³
  face   skin deer DEC   AFF thus CON:exist COM:sprinkle

  kunudax¹³ shkuu³ a³²
  all   animal DEC

Our grandmother *Ca'aj* showed up; that [one] slapped the face of
the deerskin. And so it was that all the insects were scattered.
(Sun 4:32–33)

(See also 7.56–57 and 7.72–73.)

With *wee⁴ dax¹³*:

  neko⁴   me³   zii⁵ rih³   yahan³² a³² // wee⁴ dax¹³ kihyax³
  opossum CON:be he CON:get fire   DEC   AFF thus COM:do

  zoh³ / ne² kanuh³   zoh³ tuneh³ zoh³ riaan³²
  he   and COM:wedge:in he   tail   his   face

  yahan³² a³²
  fire   DEC

THE OPOSSUM was the one who got fire. In that way he did, and he
stuck his tail in the fire. (Sun 4:9–10)

dax³²   wax²   shiaan⁵   nih⁴   kizix⁵   /
CON:NEG:exist CON2:move POS:hometown our:IN COM:be:complete

kihyax³ zoh³ mah³ // wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³²   ndaa¹³ ze³² kawih³
COM:do he   NEG   AFF thus CON:exist until   CMP COM:die

zoh³ a³² // wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³²   nih⁴ kwa³no² a³²
he   DEC   AFF thus CON:exist we:IN right:now DEC

He caused our hometown not to be completed. In that way [it] has
been since he died. In that way we exist right now. (Brother 181–83)

(See also 7.74–75 and 7.108–109.)

With nanx¹³ waa³²:

nukwih³   zoh³ a³² // nanx¹³ waa³²   ne³   zoh³
COM:arrive:home he   DEC   thus   CON:exist CON:sit he

weh³   a³²
house DEC

He arrived home. And so it was that he was living in the house

(See also 7.58–59.)

With dan³² me³ ze³²:

ne² uruun³ tuhwii³ sno²ho³² kinax⁵   tukwa⁴   zoh³
and the:only thunder male   COM:remain POS:home his

a³² // dan³² me³   ze³² nano⁴ ra⁴   zoh³ a³²
DEC   that CON:be CMP CON:tell inside he   DEC

And ONLY THE MALE THUNDER (god) stayed in his house. And then he
was sad. (Fight 138–39)

kinahax⁵   zoh³ a³² // dan³² me³   ze³² tinuu⁵
COM:become:weak he   DEC   that COM:be CMP brother:ME

zoh³ me³   ze³² kihyax³ kinahax⁵   zoh³ a³²
his   CON:be CMP COM:do COM:become:weak he   DEC

He got weak. And so it was that his brother was the one who made
him get weak. (Brother 61–62)

(See also 7.1, 7.37–38, and 7.49–50.)

The following example contains five sentences. The last sentence shows
the use of dan³² me³ ze³² 'and so it is that' to signal a return to the
eventline after a three-sentence digression.

dan³² me³   ze³² hyax³   zuun³² nix³   zoh³ a³² //   tsax² ne²
that   CON:be CMP CON:do work   the:PL he   DEC   but   and

tuhwii³   me³   nix³   zoh³ a³² // tuhwii³   me³   sha³na¹ /
thunder CON:be the:PL he   DEC   thunder CON:be woman

ne² tuhwii³   me³   sno⁵ho³² a³² // tuhwii³   kunix¹³   me³
and thunder CON:be man   DEC   thunder young   CON:be

yoho⁴   zii⁵ hnah³   kachiin⁵ man³ tahnii⁵ rox¹   nika²
another he CON:come COM:ask body child the:DU spouse

rox¹   zoh³ a³² // dan³² me³   ze³² chee⁵   nix³   zoh³ /
the:DU he   DEC   that CON:be CMP CON:walk the:PL he

hyax³   zuun³² nix³   zoh³ a³²
CON:do work   the:PL he   DEC

And so it was that they were working. But they were thunder (gods).
The woman was a thunder (god), and the man was a thunder (god).
The other one who came and asked for the daughter of him and his
wife was the young thunder (god). And so it was that they were
walking [and] working. (Fight 7–11)

It is possible to combine a conjunction and a sentential marker at the
beginning of the same sentence.

ne² yax¹³ ahyux³   tume⁴   shkuu³ / ne² ne³ guun¹³
and now tomorrow CON:guard animal   and NEG COM:become

nukwax¹³ shkuu³ kutu²me⁴ yoh³ mah³ // ne² wee⁴ dax¹³
strong   animal POT:guard that NEG   and AFF thus

ne³   shkuu³ / otox³²   yoh³ rah²
CON:sit animal   CON:sleep that QUOTATIVE

And the animals were watching DAY AFTER DAY, and they weren't
strong enough to [keep] watch[ing]. And so it was that the animals
were sitting; those [ones] were sleeping, they say. (Sun 3:103–104)

dax³²   *wax²*   *naa³¹*   *awii³²*   *zah¹ rex³²*
CON:NEG:exist CON2:move cornfield CON:come:out good place

   tax¹   *zoh³ mah³* // *tsax² ne² dan³² me³*   *ze³²*
   CON2:be:on:top he   NEG   but   and that CON:be CMP

   karakwix⁵ sha³na¹ man³ zoh³ a³²
   COM:help woman body his DEC
There weren't any cornfields that were yielding well in the place
where he was. But it happened that the woman helped him.
(Openly 9–10)

naman⁴   *nee³¹* / *kirih-ix³* *nee³¹ shkuu³* / *dax¹³*
COM:arrive:home:here flesh   COM:get-I flesh animal   thus

   tax³²   *uun⁴ shnii³ a³²* // *ne² wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³²*
   CON:say REP boy   DEC   and AFF thus CON:exist

   nawii-³   *a³²*
   CON:finish-UN DEC
"Meat has come home; I got the meat of an animal," thus the boy
said also. And that's how it ends. (Sun 3:190–91)

(See also 7.4–5 and 7.16–17.)

Sometimes such a combination occurs between the parts of a coordinate
sentence, as seen in 7.76 and 7.89.

The following example contains six sentences. The final sentence con-
taining a conjunction and a complex sentential marker returns to the
eventline following a four-sentence digression.

kahanx³² / ni²hyax³² sno⁵ho³² a³² // ne² gaa¹³ naa⁴   / ne²
COM:go   POT:look man   DEC   and when long:ago   and

  ichix² ka³ta¹³   naa³¹   tanh³   a³² // ho² kawii³²
  seven COM:carry cornfield corn:ear DEC   one COM:come:out

tanh³   ndaa¹³ takoo⁵ naa³¹   / ne² kizix⁵
corn:ear until   foot   cornfield   and COM:be:complete

tanh³   ndaa¹³ raa¹³ naa³¹   a³² // ichix² tanh³
corn:ear until   head cornfield DEC   seven corn:ear

ka³ta¹³   naa³¹   gaa¹³ naa⁴   a³² // tsax² ne² mahan¹³
COM:carry cornfield when long:ago DEC   but   and self

yahanx³² tuhwii¹³   shana¹ roh³ / zah¹ ushra⁴ nokoh³
god   of:thunder female TOPIC   good INTS CON:follow

shex³² man³ noh³ a³² // ne² dan³² me³   ze³² kirii³²
weight body her DEC   and that CON:be CMP COM:take:out

sha³na¹ naa³¹   a³²
woman   cornfield DEC

The man went to look. And as for long ago, corn plants used to bear seven ears of corn [each]. The ears of corn were borne continuously from the base of the corn plants, and they arrived up to the top of them. Corn plants used to bear SEVEN EARS OF CORN [each] long ago. But as for the thunder goddess herself, prosperity follows her very well. And so it was that the woman harvested the cornfield. (Fight 55–60)

It is also possible to combine two sentential markers at the beginning of the same sentence.

otox³²   kuwix⁵   / ne³ / ne² otox³²   shkaa³² / ne²
CON:sleep nighthawk   CON:sit and CON:sleep raven   and

  ho² runh⁵ shahwaa⁵ roh³ / ne³ otox³²   zhoh³ a³² //
  one single macaw   TOPIC   NEG CON:sleep it:AML DEC

maan¹ ze³² dan³² me³   ze³² hna-x³   rah²
only   CMP that CON:be CMP CON:come-UN QUOTATIVE

The nighthawk was sleeping [as it] sat, and the raven was sleeping, and as for only the macaw, it was not sleeping. It's only that it happened that she was coming, they say. (Sun 3:105–106)

7

Text

7.1   *dan³² me³   ze³² waa³²   yoho⁴   na³na¹ shehe⁴ uun⁴ zhoh³*
     that CON:be CMP CON:exist another word   feet   REP   it:AML

> *ga² yuwii³¹ uun⁴ a³²*
> with person REP   DEC

And then there's another story about it (the rabbit) and people too.[14]

7.2   *shnaa³¹   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   / kuyux⁵ nax³   / gaa¹³ ne²*
     POS:cornfield grandmother-our:IN   Cuyúj CON:lie   when and

> *atux⁵   tuku³ya³² / cha⁴   zhoh³ a³²*
> CON:enter rabbit   CON:eat it:AML DEC

Grandmother *Cuyúj* had A CORNFIELD, and then the rabbit was going in and eating [it].[15] (lit. THE CORNFIELD OF OUR GRANDMOTHER *CUYUJ* was lying, and then . . .)

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[14]This story was dictated immediately after other stories about the rabbit. 7.1 links the story to the earlier stories and is therefore not a typical discourse-initial sentence. Also, at the end of the story, sentences 7.103–109 summarize the entire cycle of rabbit stories, not only the tar baby story.

[15]Grandmother *Cuyúj* is a prominent figure in Trique oral literature. She is the sister of Grandmother *Ca'aj*, who is a major character in the myth explaining the origin of the sun and moon (see Hollenbach 1977a). The two sisters live together inside the snow-capped mountains, and they send wind and frost because they are envious of people.

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7.3 *gaa¹³ ne² ne³ kenehe¹³ shu³kwa²han-h⁴   me³ shkuu³*
when and NEG COM:sense grandmother-our:IN which animal

    cha⁴   mah³
    CON:eat NEG
And then our grandmother didn't know which animal was eating [it].

7.4 *tume⁴   ushra⁴ shu³kwa²han-h⁴   yoh³ shnaa³¹*
CON:guard INTS   grandmother-our:IN that POS:cornfield

    shu³kwa²han-h⁴   yoh³ a³²
    grandmother-our:IN that DEC
Our grandmother was guarding her cornfield very carefully.

7.5 *gaa¹³ ne² dan³² me³ ze³² tax³² shu³kwa²han-h⁴   riaan³²*
when and that CON:be CMP CON:say grandmother-our:IN face

    mane⁴   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   yoh³ a³²
    comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN that DEC
And then it happened that our grandmother said to her comadre
(child's godmother; Sp. *comadre*).

7.6 *cha⁴   ushra⁴ shkuu³ shna-x³   / ma³ne³²   / tax³²*
CON:eat INTS   animal POS:cornfield-my   comadre:FE   CON:say

    shu³kwa²han-h⁴   riaan³² mane⁴   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
    grandmother-our:IN face   comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN DEC
"An animal is eating my cornfield a lot, Comadre," our grandmother
said to her comadre.

7.7 *ne³ kenehe¹³ rox¹ ma²ne⁴   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   me³*
NEG COM:sense the:DU comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN which

    shkuu³ cha⁴   mah³
    animal CON:eat NEG
Our grandmother and her comadre didn't know which animal was
eating [it].

7.8 *gaa¹³ ne² / dax¹ kihyax¹³ nih⁴ / ma³neh³²   / tax³²*
when and   how POT:do we:IN   comadre:FE:INT   CON:say

    shu³kwa²han-h⁴   yoh³ a³²
    grandmother-our:IN that DEC
And then our grandmother said, "What should we do, Comadre?"

7.9 *ki²hyaa⁵ zoh¹   tahnax³² tuhwa³ shnaa⁴   zoh¹   /*
     POT:do   you:SG ghost   mouth POS:cornfield your:SG

     ma³ne³²   / tax³²   mane⁴   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   riaan³²
     comadre:FE   CON:say comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN face

     shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
     grandmother-our:IN DEC
     "Make scarecrows at the edge of your cornfield, Comadre," our
     grandmother's comadre said to her.

7.10 *kahwee¹³   / tax³²   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   yoh³ riaan³²*
     POT:be:possible   CON:say grandmother-our:IN that face

     mane⁴   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   yoh³ a³²
     comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN that DEC
     "All right," our grandmother said to her comadre.

7.11 *ka³nikax¹ shu³kwa²han-h⁴   / kuneh³   noh³ tahnax³² tuhwa³*
     COM:turn grandmother-our:IN   COM:seat she   ghost   mouth

     shnaa³¹   noh³ a³²
     POS:cornfield her   DEC
     And then our grandmother turned and placed scarecrows at the
     edge of her cornfield.

7.12 *tsax² ne² nuwee⁴ tahnax² yatsex⁵ me³   yoh³   mah³*
     but   and NEG   ghost   clothing CON:be it:INAN NEG
     But they weren't scarecrows made out of clothing.

7.13 *tahnax³² yanx⁵ me³   yoh³   a³²*
     ghost   wax   CON:be it:INAN DEC
     They were wax scarecrows.

7.14 *kuneh³   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   tahnax³² a³nikax¹ tuhwa³*
     COM:seat grandmother-our:IN ghost   CON:turn mouth

     shnaa³¹   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
     POS:cornfield grandmother-our:IN DEC
     Our grandmother placed scarecrows all around the edge of her
     cornfield.

7.15 *dax¹ waa³²   ho² shkuu³ chree¹³ cha⁴   shna-x³*   /
      how CON:exist one animal evil   CON:eat POS:cornfield-my

      ra-x³   / ma³ne³²   / tax³²   rox¹   ma²ne⁴
      CON:think-I   comadre:FE   CON:say the:DU comadre:FE

      nga³   / kahmii³² rox¹   noh³ a³²
      old:woman   COM:speak the:DU she   DEC
      "I wonder what sort of an evil animal is eating my cornfield,
      Comadre," the two old comadres said [as] they spoke.

7.16 *nawix³   kune-x³   sinduh³ yanx⁵ tuhwa³ shna-x³*
      COM:finish COM:seat-I doll   wax   mouth POS:cornfield-my

      a³² / tax³²   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   riaan³² mane⁴
      DEC   CON:say grandmother-our:IN face   comadre:FE

      shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
      grandmother-our:IN DEC
      "I've finished placing the wax dolls at the edge of my cornfield," our
      grandmother said to her comadre.

7.17 *gaa¹³ ne² wee⁴ dan³² ne² ku³rianx¹   uun⁴ tuku³ya³² /*
      when and AFF that   and COM:appear REP rabbit

      wax³²   zhoh³ / cha²   uun⁴ zhoh³ / ra⁴   zhoh³ a³²
      CON:move it:AML   POT:eat REP   it:AML   CON:think it:AML DEC
      And then after that the rabbit showed up again moving along
      thinking it would eat [it (the cornfield)] again.

7.18 *ax¹   nawix³   kuneh³   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   tahnax³² yanx⁵*
      already COM:finish COM:seat grandmother-our:IN ghost   wax

      tuhwa³ shnaa³¹   noh³ a³²
      mouth POS:cornfield her   DEC
      Our grandmother had already finished placing the wax scarecrows at
      the edge of her cornfield.

7.19 *wee⁴ dan³² ne² aze³² waa³²   yuwii³¹ / waa³²   yoh³   a³²*
      AFF   that   and as   CON:exist person   CON:exist it:INAN DEC
      And in addition to that, they were just as people are.

7.20 *tsax² ne² ne³ naskih³   yoh³ / dinx⁵ ne³   yoh³ a³²*
      but   and NEG CON:wiggle it:INAN still   CON:sit it:INAN DEC
      But they weren't moving; they sat still.

7.21 *ku³rianx¹   tuku³ya³² / wax³²   zhoh³ a³²*
COM:appear rabbit   CON:move it:AML DEC
The rabbit showed up; it was moving along.

7.22 *cha²   uun⁴ zhoh³ naa³¹   kwa³no² a³²*
POT:eat REP it:AML cornfield right:now DEC
It was going to eat the cornfield again just then.

7.23 *kahanx³² zhoh³ / ne² / me³   shehe⁴ ne³ naskih³   zii⁵*
COM:go it:AML   and   which feet NEG CON:wiggle he

      nianx⁵ / ra⁴   tuku³ya³² yoh³ a³²
      this   CON:think rabbit   that DEC
The rabbit went along and wondered, "Why doesn't this person
move?

7.24 *seze³² yuwii³¹ me³   yoh³   / ne² kaoh¹ yoh³   man-h⁴   /*
if   person CON:be it:INAN   and POT:hit it:INAN body-our:IN

      ra⁴   zhoh³ a³²
      CON:think it:AML DEC
If it's a person, then it will shoot me," it thought.

7.25 *gaa¹³ ne² ne³ naskih³   yoh³   mah³*
when and NEG CON:wiggle it:INAN NEG
And then it (the scarecrow) wasn't moving.

7.26 *me³   shehe⁴ ne³ naskih³   zii⁵ ne¹³   nianx⁵ / ra⁴*
which feet   NEG CON:wiggle he CON2:sit here   CON:think

      zhoh³ a³²
      it:AML DEC
"Why doesn't the person sitting here move?" it wondered.

7.27 *wee⁴ dan³² ne² kahanx³² zhoh³ / ne² kaoh³ zhoh³ kushruh³*
AFF that and COM:go it:AML   and COM:hit it:AML fist

      shree⁵ yoh³   a³²
      ear   its:INAN DEC
And after that it went, and it hit it in the ear with [its] fist.

7.28 *gaa¹³ ne² kaoh³ zhoh³ kushruh³ / ne² kuta³   nuh¹   ze³²*
when and COM:hit it:AML fist   and COM:stick complete POS

      kushruh² zhoh³ man³ yanx⁵ a³²
      fist   its:AML body wax   DEC
And then it hit [it] with [its] fist, and its fist got completely stuck in
the wax.

7.29 *nahnex¹   zoh¹   man-x³ /   'ti³nux¹   / tax³²   zhoh³ /*
POT:let:go you:SG body-my   brother:ME   CON:say it:AML

    no³   yanx⁵ a³²
    CON:hear wax   DEC
"Let me go, Brother!" it said to the wax.

7.30 *nahnex¹   zoh¹   man-x³ /   'ti³nux¹   / tax³²   zhoh³ a³²*
POT:let:go you:SG body-my   brother:ME   CON:say it:AML DEC
"Let me go, Brother!" it said.

7.31 *ne³ ahmii³²   tahnax³² yanx⁵ a¹   mah³*
NEG CON:speak ghost   wax   NEG NEG
The wax scarecrow really wasn't speaking.

7.32 *nahnex¹   zoh¹   man-x³ /   seze³² kaoh¹ hunx¹ yoho⁴   kushruh³*
POT:let:go you:SG body-my   if   POT:hit I   another fist

    shree⁵ zoh¹   /   'ti³nux¹   / tax³²   zhoh³ riaan³² tahnax³²
    ear   your:SG   brother:ME   CON:say it:AML face   ghost

    yoh³ a³²
    that DEC
"Let me go, or else I'll hit you in the ear with [my] other fist,
Brother!" it said to the scarecrow.

7.33 *ne³ ahmii³²   ushra⁴ yoh³ a¹   mah³*
NEG CON:speak INTS   it:INAN NEG NEG
It (the scarecrow) really wasn't speaking at all.

7.34 *wee⁴ dan³² ne² kaoh³   zhoh³ ni⁵chrex² ze³² kushruh² zhoh³ a³²*
AFF that and COM:hit it:AML other:side POS fist   its:AML DEC
And after that it hit [it] with its other fist.

7.35 *wee⁴ dan³² ne² kuta³   uun⁴ yoh³ nanx¹ a⁴*
AFF that and COM:stick REP   it:INAN indeed PERS
And after that it (the second fist) got stuck [to it] too for sure.

7.36 *zix⁵*   *wix¹ kushruh³ kano⁴*   / *ne² dax³²*
     CON:be:complete two   fist   COM:grab   and CON:NEG:exist

     ze³²   *ki²hya-h⁴*   / *shihnee²*   *yoh³*   *a¹*   *mah³*
     it:INAN POT:do-we:IN   POT:be:taken:away it:INAN NEG NEG
     That made two fists that were stuck, and there really wasn't any way
     for them to get free.[16]

7.37 *yuun¹ shehe¹ kuta³*   *yoh³*   *a³²*
     once based COM:stick it:INAN DEC
     They were stuck [to it] FOR GOOD.[17]

7.38 *dan³² me³*   *ze³² katax³² uun⁴ zhoh³ a³²*
     that CON:be CMP COM:say REP it:AML DEC
     And then it said again.

7.39 *nahnex¹ zoh¹*   *man-x³* / *'ti³nux¹*   / *tax³²*   *uun⁴*
     POT:let:go you:SG body-my   brother:ME   CON:say REP

     zhoh³ a³²
     it:AML DEC
     "Let me go, Brother!" it said again.

7.40 *ushra⁴ ne³ ahmii³²*   *zii⁵ ne¹³*   *yoh³ a¹ mah³*
     INTS   NEG CON:speak he CON2:sit there NEG NEG
     The person sitting there really wasn't speaking at all.

7.41 *gaa¹³ ne²* / *nahnex¹*   *zoh¹*   *raha-x³* / *seze³² shux²*
     when and   POT:let:go you:SG hand-my   if   POT:shove

     shehe-x³ shree⁵ zoh¹   /   *'ti³nux¹*   / *tax³²*   *zhoh³ a³²*
     feet-I   ear   your:SG   brother:ME   CON:say it:AML DEC
     And then, "Let my hands go, or else I'll kick you in the ear,
     Brother!" it said.

7.42 *shux³²*   *shehe⁴ zhoh³ ho² takanx³ zhoh³ uun⁴ a³²*
     COM:shove feet   it:AML one hoof   its:AML REP DEC
     It kicked [it] with one of its hoofs too.

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[16]*dax³² ze³² ki²hya-h⁴* is a frozen expression that always takes the generalized
inclusive postclitic pronoun (see §5.4). It means 'there is nothing that can be done',
and it is followed by a purpose sentence with its verb in potential aspect. See 7.48 and
7.56 for further examples.

[17]*yuun¹ shehe¹* is an idiom that means 'for good' or 'permanently'.

7.43 *kuta³   takanx³ zhoh³ uun⁴ a³²*
COM:stick hoof   its:AML REP DEC
Its hoof got stuck too.

7.44 *dax¹ yanee⁵   takanx³ zhoh³ waa³²   yahnux⁵ nanx¹ a⁴*
only other:side hoof   its:AML CON:exist open   indeed PERS
ONLY ITS OTHER HOOF was [still] free for sure.

7.45 *nahnex¹ zoh¹   man-x³ / 'ti³nux¹ / tax³²   zhoh³ a³²*
POT:let:go you:SG body-my   brother:ME   CON:say it:AML DEC
"Let me go, Brother!" it said.

7.46 *wee⁴ dan³² ne² kaoh³ zhoh³ yoho⁴   takoo⁵ zhoh³ uun⁴*
AFF that and COM:hit it:AML another foot   its:AML REP

    nanx¹ a⁴
    indeed PERS
And after that it hit [it] with its other foot too for sure.

7.47 *zix⁵   kano⁴   wix¹ raha³ zhoh³ ga² wix¹ takoo⁵*
CON:be:complete COM:grab two hand its:AML with two foot

    zhoh³ a³²
    its:AML DEC
Its two hands and its two feet finished getting stuck.

7.48 *dax³²   ze³²   ki²hya-h⁴ / shihnee²   yoh³*
CON:NEG:exist it:INAN POT:do-we:IN   POT:be:taken:away it:INAN

    a¹   mah³
    NEG NEG
There really wasn't any way for them to get free.

7.49 *yoho² dyo⁴   kuta³   yoh³ a³²*
one   season COM:stick it:INAN DEC
They were stuck FOR A LONG TIME (Sp. *tiempo* 'time').

7.50 *dan³² me³   ze³² tax³²   zhoh³ yoho⁴   na³na¹ uun⁴ a³²*
that   CON:be CMP CON:say it:AML another word   REP DEC
And then it said something else too.

7.51 *nahnex¹ zoh¹   man-x³ / seze³² kushianh¹³ tuhwa-x³ man⁴*
POT:let:go you:SG body-my   if   POT:bite   mouth-I body

    zoh¹   / 'ti³nux¹ / tax³²   uun⁴ zhoh³ a³²
    your:SG   brother:ME   CON:say REP it:AML DEC
"Let me go, or else I'll bite you with [my] mouth, Brother!" it said
too.

7.52

ushra⁴ ne³ ahmii³² zii⁵ ne¹³ yoh³ a¹ mah³
INTS NEG CON:speak he CON2:sit there NEG NEG
The person sitting there really wasn't speaking at all.

7.53 *dax¹ ho⁴ runh⁵ tuhwa³ zhoh³ taa⁵ yahnux⁵*
only another single mouth its:AML CON:be:on:top open

nanx¹ a⁴
indeed PERS
ONLY ITS (the rabbit's) ONE MOUTH was [still] free for sure.

7.54 *kano¹ zhoh³ / shianh¹³ zhoh³ man³ zii⁵ ne¹³ yoh³ /*
POT:grab it:AML POT:bite it:AML body he CON2:sit there

ra⁴ zhoh³ a³²
CON:think it:AML DEC
It would grab the person sitting there [and] would bite him, it thought.

7.55 *wee⁴ dan³² ne² kuta³ tuhwa³ zhoh³ uun⁴ a³²*
AFF that and COM:stick mouth its:AML REP DEC
And after that its mouth got stuck too.

7.56 *dax³² ze³² ki²hya-h⁴ / shihnee² tuhwa³*
CON:NEG:exist it:INAN POT:do-we:IN POT:be:taken:away mouth

zhoh³ a¹ mah³
its:AML NEG NEG
There really wasn't any way for its mouth to get free.

7.57 *wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³² no⁴ zhoh³ katuun³¹ tahnax³² /*
AFF thus CON:exist CON:be:attached it:AML waist ghost

gaa¹³ rangah³ a³²
when COM:dawn DEC
And so it was that it was stuck to the middle of the scarecrow when dawn came.

7.58 *ku³rianx¹ shu³kwa²han-h⁴ yan³² ne¹³ tahnax³² / hyax³*
COM:appear grandmother-our:IN place CON2:sit ghost CON:do

shu³kwa²han-h⁴ a³²
grandmother-our:IN DEC
Our grandmother showed up at the place where she had placed the scarecrows. (lit. ... where she was causing the scarecrows to be sitting.)

7.59 *nanx¹³ waa³² no⁴   shkuu³ chree¹³ a³²*
thus CON:exist CON:be:attached animal evil   DEC
And so it was that the evil animal was stuck.

7.60 *tuhwa³ luu⁵ / tuhwa³ taan⁵ / zoh¹   me³   zii⁵ cha⁴*
mouth worm   mouth fly   you:SG CON:be he CON:eat

   shna-x³   / ra-x³   a³²
   POS:cornfield-my   CON:think-I DEC
   "YOU, DISGUSTING CREATURE, are the one who is eating my cornfield, I
   think.

7.61 *tsax² ne² nanx¹³ waa³² dih¹   / cha⁴ dih¹*
but   and thus CON:exist you:SG:FAM   CON:eat you:SG:FAM

   shna-x³   a¹ zhix³² / tax³²   shu³kwa²han-h⁴
   POS:cornfield-my ? CHEERFUL   CON:say grandmother-our:IN

   yoh³ a³²
   that DEC
   But you are like this, yes indeed, you who are eating my cornfield,"
   our grandmother said.

7.62 *kahnex⁵   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   tuku³ya³² katuun³¹ tahnax³²*
COM:take:away grandmother-our:IN rabbit   waist   ghost

   kwa³no² a³²
   right:now DEC
   Our grandmother took the rabbit off of the middle of the scarecrow
   just then.

7.63 *ni³kax² shu³kwa²han-h⁴   / kahanx³² shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²*
COM:have grandmother-our:IN COM:go grandmother-our:IN DEC
Our grandmother took [it] along with her.

7.64 *gaa¹³ ne² kuchih³   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   weh³ a³²*
when and COM:arrive grandmother-our:IN house DEC
And then our grandmother arrived at the house.

7.65 *tsax² ne² ne³ kawih¹   tuku³ya³² mah³*
but   and NEG COM:die rabbit   NEG
But the rabbit hadn't died.

7.66 *waa³²   ihnah¹ zhoh³ / kahanx³² zhoh³ weh³ a³²*
CON:exist alive it:AML   COM:go it:AML house DEC
It was alive [as] it went to the house.

7.67 *nanx¹³ waa³²   shkuu³ chree¹³ / tuhwa³ luu⁵ / tuhwa³ taan⁵ /*
    thus   CON:exist animal evil   mouth worm   mouth fly

    cha⁴   shna-x³   / ma³ne³²   / tax³²
    CON:eat POS:cornfield-my   comadre:FE   CON:say

    shu³kwa²han-h⁴   / no³   mane⁴
    grandmother-our:IN   CON:hear comadre:FE

    shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
    grandmother-our:IN DEC

"The evil animal, the disgusting creature who was eating my cornfield is like this, Comadre," our grandmother said to her comadre.

7.68 *cha-h²   maan-³ / gaa¹³ ne² kene²he-h⁴   /*
    POT:eat-we:IN body-UN   when and POT:sense-we:IN

    ma³ne³²   / tax³²   mane⁴   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   /
    comadre:FE   CON:say comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN

    no³   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
    CON:hear grandmother-our:IN DEC

"Let's eat it, and then we'll know, Comadre," our grandmother's comadre said to her.

7.69 *tsax² ne² ne³ kawih¹ tuku³ya³² mah³*
    but   and NEG COM:die rabbit   NEG
    But the rabbit hadn't died.

7.70 *waa³²   ihnah¹ zhoh³ / kahanx³² zhoh³ weh³ / kihyax³*
    CON:exist alive   it:AML   COM:go   it:AML house COM:do

    shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
    grandmother-our:IN DEC

Our grandmother took it to the house alive.

7.71 *gaa¹³ ne² katux⁵   zah¹ zhoh³ ra⁴   ro³kohoo¹³ / kihyax³*
    when and COM:enter good it:AML inside gourd:bowl   COM:do

    shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
    grandmother-our:IN DEC

And then our grandmother put it away in a gourd bowl.

7.72   *gaa¹³ ne² waa³²   ihnah¹ zhoh³ / nuu³²   zhoh³ ra⁴*
       when and CON:exist alive   it:AML   CON:be:in it:AML inside

      ro³kohoo¹³ a³²
      gourd:bowl DEC
    And it was alive [as] it was in the gourd bowl.

7.73   *wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³²   nuu³²   zhoh³ a³²*
       AFF   thus CON:exist CON:be:in it:AML DEC
       And so it was that it was in [there].

7.74   *gaa¹³ ne² kahnee⁵   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   ro³kohoo¹³ ra⁴*
       when and COM:put:in grandmother-our:IN gourd:bowl inside

      yoo⁴   a³²
      palm:basket DEC
    And then our grandmother put the gourd bowl in a palm basket.

7.75   *wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³²   ihnah¹ zhoh³ / nuu³²   zhoh³ ra⁴*
       AFF   thus CON:exist alive   it:AML   CON:be:in it:AML inside

      ro³kohoo¹³ shtah¹ a³²
      gourd:bowl high   DEC
    And so it was alive [as] it was in the gourd bowl up high.

7.76   *maan¹ ze³² kahnee⁵   uun¹ shu³kwa²han-h⁴   yoh³ man³*
       only   CMP COM:put:in LIM grandmother-our:IN that body

      zhoh³ / ne² wee⁴ dan³² ne² kawii³²
      its:AML   and AFF   that   and COM:come:out

      shu³kwa²han-h⁴   ho² suun³² / ne² kahanx³²
      grandmother-our:IN one work   and COM:go

      shu³kwa²han-h⁴   / gaa¹³ ne² nuwih³   wax²
      grandmother-our:IN   when and CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move

      shu³kwa²han-h⁴   / ne³   weh³   a¹   mah³
      grandmother-our:IN   CON:sit house NEG NEG
    It's only that our grandmother just put it in [there], and after that
    our grandmother left on an errand, and she went away, and then she
    really wasn't in the house.

7.77 *ho² runh⁵ tuku³ya³² nuu³²   ra⁴   yoo⁴   nokoh¹*
     one single rabbit   CON:be:in inside palm:basket CON2:follow

    wax²   shtah¹ a³²
    CON2:move high   DEC
    ONLY THE RABBIT was in the palm basket that was hanging up high.

7.78 *ku³rianx¹   shu³nee³ a³²*
     COM:appear fox   DEC
     The fox showed up.

7.79 *nianx⁵ nuu³²   zoh¹   /   'ti³nux¹   /   tax³²   shu³nee³ riaan³²*
     here   CON:be:in you:SG   brother:ME   CON:say fox   face

    tuku³ya³² a³²
    rabbit   DEC
    "HERE you are, Brother," the fox said to the rabbit.

7.80 *nianx⁵ nu-x³²   /   'ti³nux¹   /   tax³²   tuku³ya³² riaan³²*
     here   CON:be:in-I   brother:ME   CON:say rabbit   face

    shu³nee³ a³²
    fox   DEC
    "HERE I am, Brother," the rabbit said to the fox.

7.81 *hee¹   ushra⁴ ra⁴   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   man-x³   /   'ti³nux¹   /*
     heavy INTS   inside grandmother-our:IN body-my   brother:ME

    tax³²   tuku³ya³² riaan³² shu³nee³ a³²
    CON:say rabbit   face   fox   DEC
    "Our grandmother is very fond of me, Brother," the rabbit said to
    the fox.

7.82 *kuwah² zoh¹   /   ku²nuu³² zoh¹   nianx⁵ /   tax³²   tuku³ya³²*
     IMP:come you:SG   POT:be:in you:SG here   CON:say rabbit

    riaan³² shu³nee³ a³²
    face   fox   DEC
    "Come get in here," the rabbit said to the fox.

7.83 *kushuman⁴ ra⁴   shu³nee³ /   kihyax³ tuku³ya³² a³²*
     COM:arrive inside fox   COM:do rabbit   DEC
     The rabbit convinced the fox.

7.84 *ne² katux⁵   shu³nee³ ra⁴   yoo⁴   nuu²   tuku³ya³²*
      and COM:enter fox   inside palm:basket CON2:be:in rabbit

      kwa³no² a³²
      right:now DEC
      And the fox got into the palm basket where the rabbit was just then.

7.85 *gaa¹³ ne² nayon⁴   shu³nee³ riaan³² tuku³ya³² a³²*
      when and COM:be:in:again fox   face   rabbit   DEC
      And then the fox took the rabbit's place.

7.86 *nanix³²   tuku³ya³² / kahanx³² zhoh³ a³²*
      COM:go:down rabbit   COM:go   it:AML DEC
      The rabbit got down [and] went away.[18]

7.87 *nuwih³   wax²   zhoh³ / nuu³²   ra⁴*
      CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move it:AML   CON:be:in inside

      yoo⁴   a¹   mah³
      palm:basket NEG NEG
      It really wasn't there in the palm basket.

7.88 *maan¹ shu³nee³ nuu³²   ra⁴   yoo⁴   nanx¹ a⁴*
      only   fox   CON:be:in inside palm:basket indeed PERS
      ONLY THE FOX was in the palm basket for sure.

7.89 *kahanx³² shu³kwa²han-h⁴   ho² zuun³² / ne² wee⁴ dan³² ne²*
      COM:go   grandmother-our:IN one work   and AFF that and

      naman⁴   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   / ne² nuu²
      COM:arrive:home:here grandmother-our:IN   and CON2:be:in

      tuku³ya³² ra⁴   yoo⁴   / ra⁴   shu³kwa²han-h⁴
      rabbit   inside palm:basket CON:think grandmother-our:IN

      yoh³ a³²
      that DEC
      Our grandmother had gone on an errand, and after that she
      returned home, and she thought the rabbit was in the palm basket.

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[18]The narrator apparently forgot to mention the fact that the rabbit needed the fox's
help to get safely down from the hanging palm basket.

7.90 gaa^{13} ne^2 $kutah^3$ shu^3kwa^2han-h^4 na^{32} $yahaan^{13}$
when and COM:place:on:top grandmother-our:IN water hot

  $ruwax^3$ / ne^2 $kuyanx^{32}$ na^{32} $yahaan^{13}$ / taa^5
  fireplace and COM:boil water hot CON:be:on:top

  yoh^3 $ruwax^3$ / $kihyax^3$ shu^3kwa^2han-h^4 a^{32}
  it:INAN fireplace COM:do grandmother-our:IN DEC

And then our grandmother put hot water on the fireplace, and she boiled the hot water [as] it was on the fireplace.

7.91 gaa^{13} ne^2 $tanix^{32}$ shu^3kwa^2han-h^4 yoo^4 $nokoh^1$
when and COM:lower grandmother-our:IN palm:basket CON2:follow

  $shtah^1$ $riaan^{32}$ $yohoo^5$ kwa^3no^2 a^{32}
  high face earth right:now DEC

And then our grandmother lowered the palm basket that was hanging up high to the ground just then.

7.92 $tuku^3ya^{32}$ nuu^{32} ra^4 yoo^4 / ra^4
rabbit CON:be:in inside palm:basket CON:think

  shu^3kwa^2han-h^4 a^{32}
  grandmother-our:IN DEC

Our grandmother thought THE RABBIT was in the palm basket.

7.93 $tsax^2$ ne^2 $nuwee^4$ $tuku^2ya^{32}$ me^3 yoh^3 mah^3
but and NEG rabbit CON:be that NEG
But that [one] wasn't the rabbit.

7.94 ne^2 $kuneh^3$ shu^3kwa^2han-h^4 yoo^4 $riaan^{32}$ $yohoo^5$ /
and COM:seat grandmother-our:IN palm:basket face earth

  gaa^{13} ne^2 $kirii^{32}$ shu^3kwa^2han-h^4 ro^3kohoo^{13}
  when and COM:take:out grandmother-our:IN gourd:bowl

  nuu^2 ra^4 yoo^4 a^{32}
  CON2:be:in inside palm:basket DEC

And our grandmother placed the palm basket on the floor, and then she took out the gourd bowl that was in the palm basket.

7.95 ne^3 ni^2hyax^{32} shu^3kwa^2han-h^4 $seze^{32}$ $tuku^3ya^{32}$ me^3
NEG COM:look grandmother-our:IN if rabbit CON:be

  yoh^3 mah^3
  that NEG

Our grandmother didn't observe whether that [one] was the rabbit.

7.96 *gaa¹³ ne² kutax⁵   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   na³² yahaan¹³*
when and COM:pour:over grandmother-our:IN water hot

    shraa⁵ shu³nee³ a³²
    back   fox   DEC
And then our grandmother poured the hot water over the fox.

7.97 *kagwax⁵   ndoho³² zhoh³ / kihyax³ shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²*
COM:cry:out INTS   it:AML   COM:do grandmother-our:IN DEC
Our grandmother made it cry out a lot.

7.98 *'wa³oo³² / tax³²   zhoh³ / agwax⁵   zhoh³ a³²*
ouch   CON:say it:AML   CON:cry:out it:AML DEC
It said "ouch" [as] it was crying out.

7.99 *ku³rianx¹   zhoh³ / kahanx³² zhoh³ nanx¹ a⁴*
COM:appear it:AML   COM:go it:AML indeed PERS
It came out [of it (the gourd bowl) and] went away for sure.

7.100 *mayon⁴ ndoho³² kwene³xo⁴ cha⁴   shna-x³   a³²*
tricky INTS   rabbit   CON:eat POS:cornfield-my DEC
"The rabbit (Sp. *conejo*) that was eating my cornfield is very tricky
(cf. Sp. *maña* 'cleverness').[19]

7.101 *tsax² ne² cha-x²   maan-³ / ra-x³   / tsax² ne² doh¹*
but   and POT:eat-I body-UN CON:think-I   but   and merely

    shu³nee³ me³   yoh³ / ne² nuwee⁴ tuku²ya³² me³   yoh³
    fox   CON:be that   and NEG   rabbit CON:be that

    mah³ / tax³²   shu³kwa²han-h⁴   a³²
    NEG   CON:say grandmother-our:IN DEC
But I was thinking I would eat it, but that [one] was just a fox, and
that [one] wasn't a rabbit," our grandmother said.

7.102 *gaa¹³ ne² kunanx⁵ shu³nee³ / kahanx³² zhoh³ nanx¹ a⁴*
when and COM:run fox   COM:go it:AML indeed PERS
And then the fox ran [and] went away for sure.

7.103 *kinanii³²   uun⁴ tuku³ya³² a³²*
COM:escape REP rabbit   DEC
The rabbit escaped again.

_____

[19]*kwene³xo⁴* is not an established loanword in Trique; the narrator apparently used
it for variety.

7.104 *guun³*   *nukwax¹³ zhoh³ kinanii³²*   *uun⁴ zhoh³ nanx¹   a⁴*
COM:become strong   it:AML COM:escape REP   it:AML indeed PERS
It was able to escape again for sure.

7.105 *dax³²*   *ushra⁴ zii⁵ kahwee¹³*   *cha²   man³ zhoh³*
CON:NEG:exist INTS   he POT:be:possible POT:eat body its:AML

      a¹   mah³
      NEG NEG
There really isn't anyone at all who can eat it.

7.106 *inanx² shkuu³ tiah³*   *nuh¹   kahnah³ me³   zhoh³ a³²*
just   animal CON:deceive complete COM:come CON:be it:AML DEC
It's just an animal that has been deceiving forever.[20]

7.107 *dax¹³ waa³²   ze³² kwendo¹ zhoh³ a³²*
thus CON:exist POS story   its:AML DEC
That's how its story (Sp. *cuento*) is.

7.108 *shkuu³ zhax³² me³   zhoh³ a³²*
animal tricky CON:be it:AML DEC
It's a tricky animal.

7.109 *wee⁴ dax¹³ nawix³   ze³² kwendo¹ nix³   zoh³ a³²*
AFF thus CON:finish POS story   the:PL his   DEC
And so their story ends.

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[20]*nuh¹ kahnah³* is an idiom that means 'forever (in the past)'.