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# Studies in the
# Syntax of Mixtecan Languages
# 3

C. Henry Bradley

and

Barbara E. Hollenbach

Editors

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# Abbreviations

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

# A Preliminary Syntactic Sketch of Concepción Pápalo Cuicatec

David P. Bradley

# Contents

# Introduction

## 0.1 Orientation

Cuicatec is spoken by about 10,000 speakers in the district of Cuicatlán, in the northeastern part of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. These people live primarily in the following towns: Concepción Pápalo, San Andrés Teotilalpan, San Francisco Chapulapa, San Juan Bautista Cuicatlán, San Juan Tepeuxila, San Pedro Teutila, Santa María Pápalo, Santa María Tlalixtac, and Santos Reyes Pápalo (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:vii). Although there are various vocabulary differences and phonetic variations, the inhabitants of the different towns can understand each other's speech with a relatively high degree of intelligibility (Egland 1978:9).

This study is based primarily on data from four published folklore texts (Davis 1954, 1962), all in the Concepción Pápalo dialect. I would like to express my appreciation to the publishers of the *International Journal of American Linguistics* and of *Tlalocan* for granting permission to cite these texts in full as part of this study. They are reproduced, in modified orthographic form and with various other adjustments, including some changes in the location of sentence breaks, in chapter seven. Each of the sentences is numbered for purposes of citation throughout the sketch. Examples from the text about the lion will be cited by sentence number with L as a prefix, while Lo will be used as the prefix for examples from the locust text. Examples from the text about the woman will be prefixed by w and those from the text about the ghost by G. Sometimes only the relevant part of a sentence is cited.

In an effort to supplement this material, several articles published about this dialect (Needham and Davis 1946, Davis 1952, and Davis and Walker

1955) were consulted, as well as a reconstruction of Proto-Mixtecan (Long-acre 1957) and personal communication from Robert E. Longacre. Reference has also been made to a Cuicatec-Spanish dictionary (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983) in the Santa María Pápalo dialect, which showed 98% intelligibility with Concepción Pápalo (Egland 1978:9). Data from the dictionary are cited by page number with the prefix D and data from Needham and Davis by page number prefixed by N. Some unpublished data from an early linguistic survey of the area were also of value; these data are cited by s followed by the page number.

Since most of the data are from narrative texts, this study describes the syntactic structure characteristic of narrative discourse, and any structural differences that might mark other genres of Cuicatec discourse are not reflected here.

Because of the nature of the available data, this study is necessarily limited in some ways. The analysis would be more complete, and more accurate as well, if a native speaker of Cuicatec were available from whom to gather additional data. However, because the available data are from the work of several different analysts, each having used a somewhat different transcription system from the others, there are various inconsistencies within the data corpus as well as some apparent errors. For the sake of uniformity within the sketch, the transcriptions have been modified according to the phonological analysis presented below.

## 0.2 Phonology

Cuicatec has the following segmental phonological units: voiceless stops and affricate *p t ch k kw*, voiceless fricatives *f* (only in Spanish loanwords) *s x*, voiced fricatives *v d*, nasals *m n*, liquids *l r*, semivowel *y*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e a o u*, and nasalized vowels *in en an on un* (Longacre 1957:16–17,21). Longacre (1957:6) notes that this analysis is essentially the same as that of Needham and Davis (1946) with some minor modifications intended to make the transcription more phonemic. Both the oral set of vowels and the nasalized set can be modified by laryngealization, which is represented by *h* directly preceding the vowel: *hi he ha ho hu* and *hin hen han hon hun*.

There are three tones: high (written with acute accent), mid (written with macron), and low (unmarked). Cuicatec exhibits tone sandhi in which the basic tone of words in isolation is changed in the context of the tones on certain other words (Longacre 1957:96–100). In this sketch the tones have been reproduced as found in the source data and represent surface rather than underlying tone.

The data cited in this sketch vary in transcription from those in the source materials in several ways. As indicated above, nasalized vowels are represented orthographically by *n* following the vowel. In bisyllablic roots with a nasalized final vowel, the nasalization carries backward to the vowel of the preceding syllable if the medial consonant is *h* or *y*, but any other nonnasal consonant effectively blocks this nasalization spreading process (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:775). Medial vowels that are nasalized as a result of this phenomenon are not orthographically represented with a following *n*, and any letter *m* or *n* that occurs medially represents a nasal consonant rather than nasalization on the preceding vowel. Any vowels that are contiguous to a nasal consonant are nasalized, but this is not represented in the orthography.

A second feature which varies from the transcription in the source materials is the location of the laryngeal *h*. When *h* occurs alone intervocalically, i.e., at syllable boundaries, it represents a full glottal stop. In the source materials, laryngeals are often also written preceding onset consonants and seem to correspond to what Anderson and Concepción R. (1983:776) call interrupted (laryngealized) vowels. In this sketch, however, these are represented by *h* preceding the vowel which is laryngealized, rather than preceding the onset consonant. Thus, if *h* is preceded by another consonant in the onset of a syllable or if it is in the first syllable of a word, it represents laryngealization on the following vowel. (There should be no confusion with the sequence *ch*, which represents the alveopalatal affricate, because there is no phoneme represented by *c* alone. A morpheme with a laryngealized vowel following *ch* has the sequence *chh*.) Laryngealization spreads forward across syllable boundaries when there is an intervocalic *y* or *h*, and is not orthographically represented in the second syllable of a word in such cases. However, when other consonants intervene, if both syllables have a laryngealized vowel, the laryngealization is represented orthographically in both syllables.

Because the source data were all in written form rather than oral, there are certain unresolved questions regarding laryngealized vowels. There are occasional inconsistencies in the source data, which may be the result of transcription errors, free variation, or laryngealization loss in unstressed syllables. In this sketch, these discrepancies are resolved in favor of the form used in the dictionary.

A third feature which varies from the transcription in the source materials is vowel length. Stress and vowel length are easily predictable. Roots are either bisyllabic or monosyllabic, and stress occurs on the first syllable. Vowel length is a concomitant of stress and hence does not need to be represented in the orthography (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:777). However, a single syllable frequently carries a tone sequence,

and in such cases the vowel is written twice, each occurrence with the appropriate tone value. This is simply a convenience for writing tone sequences and does not represent vowel length.

Finally, the data from the dictionary, which employs four tones in the orthography, were modified to conform to the three-tone system which was used in the other data sources. Anderson and Concepción R. (1983:780) show that in various situations the two middle tones vary freely with each other. In this sketch, then, in any data from the dictionary the two intermediate tones are both marked with macron, corresponding to the single mid tone in the other sources.

For more on Cuicatec phonology see Needham and Davis (1946), Longacre (1957), and Anderson and Concepción R. (1983).

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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 either impersonal, intransitive, or transitive; transitive and intransitive sentences optionally take various kinds of adjuncts. Equative sentences link a subject with a nominal complement, and stative sentences link a subject and a stative verb. Each of these sentence types may take a peripheral location or time element, and they may also be used as a sentential complement within another sentence.

**1.1.1 Impersonal sentences.** The minimal form of an impersonal sentence consists of an impersonal verb, with neither subject nor object. These generally express meteorological or ambient concepts such as dawn or nightfall. Although no examples of a minimal impersonal sentence occurred in the data, there were a few examples with peripheral elements or in subordinate sentences.

L12  *chīdávā    támá xūvī*
COM:dawn  next  day
It dawned the next day.

D36  *yīdhāhāa*
CON:nightfall
Night falls.

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

S12    *xáā            tá*
       CON:get:up    she
       She is getting up.

S13    *xākū          tá*
       CON:cry        she
       She is crying.

L3     *chīnīyáan        dāyā      ti*
       COM:be:born       child     its:AML
       Their child was born.

L12    *kwēhén    ntō      īnó      ti*
       COM:go     all      three    it:AML
       All three animals set out.

W1     *chēhēn    tá*
       COM:go     she
       A woman went.

**1.1.3 Transitive sentences.** The minimal form of a transitive sentence consists of a transitive verb followed by its subject and its object. Sometimes the subject is unexpressed if it is readily supplied from the context. In example L5 below, the nucleus of the object noun phrase is also unexpressed (see §3.1.4). Unexpressed elements are enclosed in square brackets in the free translation.

S13    *xēhē         túhú       nīnū*
       CON:eat       chicken    corn
       The chicken is eating the corn.

L5     *dīn       tāví     ālīmēntáar    lhín    mí*
       COM:do    INTS     to:feed        little   that
       [They] did much to feed the little [animal]. *or* [They] fed the little [animal] very well.

L14    *nthīchí    ti        yhān    tāví    īī*
       COM:see     it:AML    many    INTS    animal
       They saw very many animals.

L28    *kāanhu    sā      chúhūnh*
       POT:kill    he      us:IN
       He can kill us.

L63    *nānthāá   ti      sāhan  mī*
       COM:untie  it:AML  man     that
       He freed the man.

L82    *chhīinhu  sā  ītī*
       COM:kill    he   animal
       He killed the animal.

G8     *ntāi      tá    yūuntu*
       COM:bring  she   tortilla
       She brought [out] tortillas.

G15    *nkwá tūné      sá  ītī*
       NEG    COM:catch  he  animal
       He could not catch the animal.

**1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts.** Both transitive and intransitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, benefactive, associative, instrument, and referent. Adjuncts are frequently expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see §3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see §4.3), which follows the subject in intransitive sentences or the object in transitive sentences.

The locative adjunct is manifested by a noun phrase, often without the use of a locative noun or preposition. The meaning of the verb often includes information about the specific locative relationship (see §5.1.1), and sometimes it can be determined from the context of the predication.

With intransitive verbs that express motion or change of location, the locative adjunct expresses position, destination, or source, depending on the meaning of the verb.

L1     *ūvī īyháyan chīnúū   ti      īkyahan*
       two  lion     COM:walk it:AML  forest
       TWO LIONS were walking in the forest.

L11    *kāhán ti      īkyáhan*
       POT:go  it:AML  forest
       He could go to the forest.

G2     *kwēhen sá  ntūvā*
       COM:go  he  Oaxaca
       He went to the city of Oaxaca.

L25  *tōmhē  lhín  mí  dīín  ti  rēsīvíir*
then     little  that  COM:do  it:AML  to:receive

    *kōnséxo  yēhen  chīdā  ti*
    advice     base     father  its:AML
Then THE LITTLE [LION] received [some] advice from his father.

With transitive verbs expressing placement or change of possession, the locative adjunct usually expresses destination.

G12  *chhíī  sā  xīimá  yútā  mī*
COM:put  he  salt  meat  that
He salted the meat. (lit. He put salt on the meat.)

The locative adjunct also includes elements traditionally classified as indirect objects. Normally the direct object precedes the locative adjunct if both are present, unless the direct object comprises a sentential comple-ment (see §1.1.9), in which case it follows the adjunct.

L08  *téché  sá  nínún  ú*
POT:give  he  corn  me
He is going to give me [some] corn. (lit. He is going to give [some] corn to me.)

L70  *nkwá  kūmhī  dī  sāhan  mī  ú*
NEG   POT:show  you:SG  man         that  me
You won't show me the man.

L72  *chhíhīn  sā  thūuvi  mī  ītī*
COM:show   he  trap     that  animal
He showed the trap to the animal.

L06  *kúchī  dī  chāk-ú  chī  nkwā-á  vāha*
POT:tell  you:SG  mother-my  CMP  NEG:CON:exist-I  house
You tell my mother that I am not home.

G6  *xāhan  tā / xī  tá  sāhan /*
CON:say  she  CON:tell  she  man

    *dēhe  chúka  nhān  dī*
    why   much   late  you:SG
She said to him, "Why are you so late?"

L16   *tōmhé*   *xāhan*   *lyóon* / *xīi*     *sa*  *dāyá* *ti*    / *mā*  *né*
     then   CON:say   lion   CON:tell   he  child  its:AML  now  and

       *chāa*   *ītī*    *chhūn*
       which  animal  this:PL
       Then the lion said to his son, "NOW, which of these animals..."

The benefactive adjunct is marked by the prepositions *ntūku* 'with' and *kwēnta yehen* 'on account of' (Sp. *cuenta* 'account'), or the locative noun *yehen* 'base', which has the extended meaning 'for'.

L59   *nēhen*    *dī*     *ámá fāvóor*  *ntūk-ú*
     CON:want  you:SG  one  favor    with-me
     You want to do a favor for me.

D751  *chīni*     *nhúun āmā vahā*  *yehēn*  *kun*  *máēstro*
     CON:make  we:EX  one  house  base     four  teacher
     We are building a house for four teachers (Sp. *maestro*).

D470  *ntīyūn khu*  *né*   *kwēnta*  *yehen*  *vakyan*
     job   this  and  account  base    town
     THIS JOB is for the town.

The associative adjunct is marked by the preposition *ntūku* 'with'; it adds a second participant to some other element of the sentence, usually the subject.

L9   *kūhun-h*    *ntúku*  *dī*     *īkyáhan*
    POT:go-we:IN  with   you:SG  forest
    We will go with you to the forest.

L11  *kāhán*  *ti*     *īkyáhan ntūkū*    *chīdá*  *ti*
    POT:go  it:AML  forest  with     father  its:AML
    He could go to the forest with his father.

L65  *kwēhēn sā ntúkū*  *ti*
    COM:go  he  with     it:AML
    He went with the animal.

Instrument adjuncts also use the preposition *ntūku* 'with', or a shortened form *ntū*. In both of the following examples the adjunct is fronted to precede the verb. This may be the typical position for instrument adjuncts, or it may simply indicate a semantic focus (see §1.1.8).

L19  *ntū*    *ámá tāhā ti*     *stāhā*    *ti*    *ītī*    *lhín*  *mí*
    with  one  hand  its:AML  COM:grab  it:AML  animal  little  that
    He grabbed the little animal WITH ONE OF HIS PAWS.

L63  *lyóon   ntūúku   dīyhūn   ti          chīkā        ti /*
     lion     with     teeth    its:AML     COM:walk     it:AML

     *chēhé       ti       hīiyu*
     COM:eat     it:AML   rope
     THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH.

The referent adjunct may be expressed by a noun phrase alone, but it may also be marked by the locative noun *yehen* 'base', which has the extended meaning 'about' or 'with reference to'.

Lo3  *chākū    sā    xēhén   ya    /   xīkā     ya    nínún   sáhan*
     mother   his   CON:go  person   CON:ask  person  corn    man
     HIS MOTHER would go [and] ask him for corn.

Lo8  *chākū    sā    ītēxúnán   yá        sāhan*
     mother   his   CON:ask    person    man
     HIS MOTHER asked [about] the man.

Lo0  *kwēntó    yēhen    lānkósta*
     story     base     locust
     The story about the locusts

W0   *ámá    kwēntó yēhen   ámá   nthātā    chí    chhēno*
     one    story   base    one   woman     CMP   COM:happen
     A story about a woman that happened *or* A true story about a woman

More than one adjunct may occur in a given sentence, and the relative order is not fixed. For example, an associative adjunct precedes a locative adjunct in the first example below while in the second the order is reversed.

L9   *kūhun-h        ntúku   dī       īkyáhan*
     POT:go-we:IN   with    you:SG   forest
     We will go with you to the forest.

L11  *kāhán    ti        īkyáhan   ntūkū   chīdá     ti*
     POT:go   it:AML    forest    with    father    its:AML
     He could go to the forest with his father.

**1.1.5 Equative** sentences. The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of an equative verb phrase followed by its subject and the nominal complement. Equative verbs include *kūvī* 'to be', *nāvākūntáā* 'to turn into', and *ōséa* 'to be' (probably a loan from Sp. *o sea* 'or perhaps it is' or 'or may it be'). The continuative aspect form of *kūvī* is null (Anderson and

Concepción R. 1983:348). The examples below with no copula all have a focused subject followed by *né* (see §1.1.8).

With no copula:

D348  *sāhan lhín khu né dhīn-ú sāhan*
man little this and brother-my man
THIS BOY is my brother.

L2  *ītī chhūn né ītī réi yēhen īkyáhan*
animal this:PL and animal king base forest
THESE ANIMALS are the kings of the forest.

L15  *ītī chhén né kūchí chēenu yhūuvi yhūdú chēenu*
animal that:PL and pig mountain coati horse mountain

*chīvī kōnēxó hīímha īyāáta ntūkū más ka ītī*
armadillo rabbit skunk opossum with more ADD animal
THE ANIMALS are peccaries, coatis, deer, armadillos, rabbits, skunks, opossums, and many other animals.

With copula:

G13  *yūta mī nāvākūntáā yáhán tōo*
meat that COM:turn:into wood rotten
THE MEAT turned into rotten wood.

L20  *ōséa ámá kūchí chēeno lhín*
COM:be one pig mountain little
[It] was a small peccary.

**1.1.6 Stative sentences.** The minimal form of a stative sentence consists of a stative verb followed by its subject. These verbs do not carry inflectional morphology as do the other verb types. Aspect is often interpreted according to the discourse context.

W3  *lóka tā*
crazy she
She was crazy.

L69  *ú né kwīkū ú*
I and hungry I
I am hungry.

L30   *dītī*     *tāvī*   *ú*
    strong   INTS   I
    I am very strong.

L7    *a*       *chhātā*  *tāvī*   *ti*
    already  big     INTS    it:AML
    He was already very big.

W2    *amtá*    *kwīku*   *tā*
    no:longer hungry she
    She was no longer hungry.

Sometimes inflected forms of the equative verb *kūvī* 'to be', or the position verb *kēnú* 'to be inside', are used preceding the stative verb to clarify aspect.

W1    *chī*     *kwīkū*   *tāvī*   *tá*
    COM:be   hungry   INTS    she
    She became very hungry.

Lo4   *chī*     *dāanthi*  *sā*    *hīyan*
    COM:be   lazy            he     person
    He became lazy.

G3    *táhan*   *mī*   *kēnú*          *dāanthi*  *náá*  *tá*
    woman    that   COM:be:inside  lazy              face   her
    THE WOMAN became lazy.

**1.1.7 Peripheral elements.** All basic sentence types optionally indicate location and time. Peripheral location describes the setting of an entire predication and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements often occur at the major transition points within a discourse, and they may be expressed by adverbs, adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), or subordinate sentences (see §6.2.1).

Location:

L57   *sáhan*  *mī*    *chīkyāatū*  *sā*   *ú*   *mūhūn*
    man     that    COM:knot     he    me    here
    THE MAN tied me here.

G7    *ā*       *vena*   *vén-é*     *dí*     *mūhūn*
    already  before   CON:wait-I   you:SG   here
    I have been waiting A LONG TIME for you here.

G4   *chēno      tá    sāhan   rānchō   chhātā*
     COM:wait    she   man     ranch    big
     She waited for him at the big ranch.

Time:

L31  *támá   xūvī   né   dīin      ti       dēspēdīir*
     next    day    and  COM:do    it:AML   to:say:goodbye
     THE NEXT DAY, he said goodbye.

Lo3  *xīkā      ya      nínún   sāhan   xūvī   xūvī*
     CON:ask    person  corn    man     day    day
     Ask the man for corn every day.

G6   *tāchī   ntāa          sā /   tōmhē   xāhan    tā*
     when    COM:arrive    he     then    CON:say  she
     When he arrived, she said . . .

L7   *tāchí   chhītī            xān   īyu /   a      chhātā   tāvī   ti*
     when    COM:complete     six   month   already big      INTS   it:AML
     When six months had passed, he was already very big. *or* When [he]
     was six months old, he was already very big.

**1.1.8 Focus permutations.** In appropriate discourse contexts, an element
of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase
position. Such an element is often followed by the conjunction *né* 'and',
which has the specialized function of indicating the end of that particular
element and setting it off from the rest of the sentence (Anderson and
Concepción R. 1983:630). This process may be used to maintain topicality
or thematicity of a particular nominal within a paragraph. Subject focus is
especially common. When a subject noun phrase is focused, a coreferential
noun or clitic pronoun follows the verb phrase.

L2   *ītī        chhūn   né    ītī      réi    yēhen    ikyáhan*
     animal     this:PL  and   animal   king   base     forest
     THESE ANIMALS are the kings of the forest.

L6   *ītī        lhín    mí    nú     tāvī    chītá       ti*
     animal     little  that  quickly INTS    COM:grow    it:AML
     THE LITTLE ANIMAL grew very quickly.

L41  *sāhan   mī     āstúto   tāvī   sā*
     man     that   sly      INTS   he
     THE MAN is very sly.

Various other types of elements may also be focused, including direct objects, instrument and referent adjuncts, as well as peripheral elements.

Direct object focus:

L4   *ītī*      *lhín  dīnéhēn  tāvī  chākú  ti      ntúku*
     animal  little  CON:love  INTS  mother  its:AML  with

     *chīdá   ītī*
     father  animal
     His mother and father dearly loved THE LITTLE ANIMAL.

L45  *lō   míīsmo  tēxūnā    ti      /  dōho  dí*
     the  same    COM:ask  it:AML     who   you:SG
     He asked THE SAME [QUESTION], "Who are you?"

Instrument adjunct focus:

L19  *ntū    ámá  tāhā  ti      stāhā    ti      ītī     lhín  mí*
     with   one  hand  its:AML  COM:grab  it:AML  animal  little  that
     He grabbed the little animal WITH ONE OF HIS PAWS.

Referent adjunct focus:

L27  *sāhan  mī    né   dīn    tāvī  dī      /  kwīdádo  dī*
     man    that  and  POT:do  INTS  you:SG     care     you:SG
     You must be very careful of THE MAN.

Peripheral element focus:

L9   *kāvyān      né   kūhun-h        ntúku  dī      īkyáhan*
     tomorrow    and  POT:go-we:IN    with   you:SG  forest
     We will go with you to the forest TOMORROW.

L31  *támá  xūvī  né   dīín   ti       dēspēdīir*
     next  day   and  COM:do  it:AML   to:say:goodbye
     THE NEXT DAY, he said goodbye.

L60  *mīnīyūn   chōho   sā*
     just:now  COM:pass  he
     He passed by JUST NOW.

G11  *īnānkákǎ*          *sá  nā*   *sīrvyětá*  *yēhen*  *sā  kēnē*
     CON:remember       he   face  napkin     base     his  COM:be:located

     *tālhín  xīima*
     some     salt
     He remembered [that] he had some salt IN HIS HANDKERCHIEF.

The complementizer *chī* may also be used to set apart a focused element.

L75  *ānkūtá  chī  kādī      nākēntáā     ti*
     never    CMP  POT:be:able  POT:escape  it:AML
     He will NEVER be able to escape.

The use of *chī* is especially common in equative sentences with focused
subject. The continuative aspect form of the equative verb *kūvī* is null, and
the complementizer occurs in the position normally occupied by the verb.
In this construction no noun or pronoun copy of the subject occurs.

L46  *á  nkwá  dí       chí  sāhan  mī*
     INT  NEG  you:SG  CMP  man    that
     Are YOU NOT the man?

L47  *nāvākútāha  yhǔudu  mī /  nkwá  ú   chī  sāhan  mī*
     COM:reply    horse    that  NEG   I   CMP  man    that
     The horse answered, "I am NOT the man."

It is also possible to focus more than one element in a given sentence.
The following sentence shows both a subject and an instrument in focus.

L63  *lyóon  ntūúku  dīyhūn  ti       chīkā      ti     /  chēhé*
     lion    with    tooth   its:AML  COM:walk   it:AML    COM:eat

     *ti       hīiyu /  mí   nānthāā     ti       sāhan  mī*
     it:AML   rope   and   COM:untie  it:AML   man    that
     THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH, and he freed the man.

**1.1.9 Sentential complements.** Basic sentences occur both as subject
complements and as object complements within other sentences, but object
complements occur more frequently. Object complements are generally
introduced by the complementizer *chī*, but sometimes they are juxtaposed
directly to the main sentence.

With complementizer:

L30  *dī-ín      dēsēáar   chī  ntīch-í     sáhan  mī*
     POT:do-I   to:desire  CMP  POT:see-I   man    that
     I want to see the man.

L42   *nī    nkwá nākádīnō dī        chī    ntīchī    dī      sāhan*
      nor   NEG  POT:think you:SG  CMP   POT:see  you:SG  man
      Don't you even think about seeing the man.

G5    *sāhan khu   ākū         sā  chī   táhan  mī   vā          tá /*
      man   this  CON:think  he  CMP  woman  that  CON:exist  she

      *vēnō        tá     sāhan  nīnū   nā     rānchō  chhātā*
      CON:wait  she   man    near   face   ranch    big
      THE MAN thought that THE WOMAN was waiting for him at the big
      ranch.

G13   *nthīchī  sā  chī    nthātā  míī   nāvākūntáā   ya      kú*
      COM:see  he  CMP  woman  that  COM:turn:into  person  snake
      He saw that THE WOMAN turned into a snake.

L06   *kúchī    dī     chāk-ú       chī    nkwā-á          vāha*
      POT:tell  you:SG  mother-my  CMP  NEG:CON:exist-I  house
      You tell my mother that I am not home.

G2    *mí   xāhan   sā /  xī        sā   nthāta  yēhen  sā  chī*
      and  CON:say  he   CON:tell  he   woman   base   his  CMP

      *kwēnō      tá     sāhān  rānchō  chhātā*
      POT:wait  she   man    ranch   big
      And he told his wife to wait for him at the big ranch.

Without complementizer:

L9    *thīka  kwhēe          dī       nhūu        dī*
      thus  POT:learn you:SG  POT:hunt  you:SG
      You will learn to hunt.

L62   *ú   nēh-én        ntīch-í      sāhan  mī*
      I   CON:want-I  POT:see-I  man    that
      1 want to see the man.

L16   *chāa   ītī      chhūn   nēhēn      dī       chēhē      dī       ītī*
      which  animal  this:PL  CON:want  you:SG  POT:eat  you:SG  animal
      Which of these animals do you want to eat?

G4    *nkwá  tīmīkūun    tá     chēhen tá*
      NEG   COM:want  she   COM:go she
      She did not want to go.

G11  *īnānkáká        sá nā    sīrvyētá   yēhen   sā   kēnē*
     CON:remember   he face   napkin    base    his   COM:be:located

     *tālhín   xīima*
     some     salt
     He remembered that he had some salt IN HIS HANDKERCHIEF.

L17  *kūchā-á        kwhīnū      chēh-é     ītī*
     POT:be:able-I   POT:finish   POT:eat-I   animal
     I will be able to finish eating.

Sentential complements that function as subjects are not as common, but
they also occur with and without the complementizer *chī*.

With complementizer:

W4   *chīnkāha    chī   nīxéen     yēhen   tā    chī   lóka   tā*
     COM:begin   CMP   COM:appear   base    her   CMP   crazy   she
     It began to show that she was crazy.

G10  *dēhe   kūvī            chī   nkwá   nthíī    dī*
     why    POT:be:possible   CMP   NEG    COM:put   you:SG

     *xīima   yútā   khu*
     salt      meat   this
     Why is it possible that you didn't put [any] salt on the meat?

Without complementizer:

W4   *chīnkāha    hīyūn      tā*
     COM:begin   CON:laugh   she
     She began to laugh.

L81  *dyóká    nthāī   kānh-ú     dī*
     better   good    POT:kill-I   you:SG
     It is better to kill you.

L17  *kwhīnū      chēh-é     ītī*
     POT:finish   POT:eat-I   animal
     I will finish eating.

## 1.2 Questions

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

**1.2.1** YES/NO **questions.** Any basic sentence may be made into a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative sentential marker *á* at the beginning.

L46   *á    nkwá   dí      chí    sāhan   mī*
      INT  NEG    you:SG  CMP    man     that
      Are NOT YOU the man?

L55   *á    dī     chī    sāhan   mī*
      INT  you:SG  CMP    man     that
      Are YOU the man?

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

L36   *dōho   dí*
      who    you:SG
      Who are you?

D541  *daha   nēhēn   khamhā   chūu*
      what   want    POT:say  this
      What does this mean?

L16   *chāa   ītī     chhūn     nēhēn     dī*
      which  animal  this:PL   CON:want  you:SG
      Which of these animals do you want?

Peripheral elements are questioned using *tīín* 'where?' or *tikwáhān* 'when?'. Noun phrases can probably also be used to question these, but there were no examples of such in the source data.

L08   *tīín   kwēhen   dāy-á*
      where  COM:go   child-my
      Where did my son go?

D715  *tikwáhān   nāhan    nthīsthi*
      when       POT:go   you:PL
      When will you be going?

Cause and purpose sentences can be questioned using *dēhe* 'why?'.

G6    *dēhe   chúka   nhān   dī*
      why    much    late   you:SG
      Why are you so late?

G10  *dēhe   kŭvĭ            chī   nkwá   nthíī    dī     xīima*
     why   POT:be:possible  CMP   NEG   COM:put  you:SG  salt

     *yútā   khu*
     meat   this
     Why is it possible that you didn't put [any] salt on the meat?

Stative verbs can be questioned using *tākā* 'how?'. Manner elements can probably also be questioned the same way, although there were no examples of this found in the data.

D102  *taka   yī          yehen   dī*
      how   CON:happen  base   you:SG
      How are you? *or* How do you feel?


**1.2.3 Indirect questions.** WH questions may occur as sentential complements in statements. They are introduced by *tākā* 'how?'. Yes/no questions can probably also occur as indirect questions, but there were no examples found in the data.

L18  *ntīíchī   dī     tākā   dī-ín    chī   tūnkā-án*
     POT:see   you:SG  how   POT:do-I  CMP   POT:hunt-I
     You watch how I hunt.


**1.3 Commands**

To form a second person command, a basic sentence in potential aspect is used. The subject may or may not be expressed.

L64  *kēnthā      dī      ú*
     POT:follow  you:SG  me
     You follow me!

L78  *nānchhākú    ú*
     POT:pardon   me
     Pardon me!

Negative commands are identical in form to negative statements with the verb in potential aspect. The semantic difference is determined by the context.

L79  *nkwá   kāanhu    di      ú*
     NEG   POT:kill   you:SG  me
     Don't kill me! *or* You will not kill me.

First person plural inclusive commands are also formed using a basic sentence with the verb in potential aspect.

L62   *kūhūn-h*
      POT:go-we:IN
      Let's go!

L64   *kūhūn-h       mā*
      POT:go-we:IN   now
      Let's go now!

## 1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives may occur in either sentence-initial or sentence-final position.
They include kinship or other terms used in direct address, and probably
proper names, as well as free forms of the second person pronouns.

S12   *táta /  á   vá       tátá*
      papa   INT CON:be tile
      Papa, are there [any] tiles?

S12   *nēh-én     nāá     mā / nána*
      CON:want-I  POT:wash now  mama
      I want to wash now, Mama.

S13   *dūdé / vá      ká    kūhū dá   ká*
      aunt   CON:exist ADD  plate dirty ADD
      Aunt, there are many plates [that are] very dirty.

## 1.5 Sentential Markers

The interrogative marker *á* may occur at the beginning of a basic sentence
and convert it to a YES/NO question; see §1.2.1 for examples.
    Strong negation may be expressed by *ni* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*) at the beginning
of the sentence or following a focused element; the verb phrase must also
contain a negative marker.

L58   *nī   nkwá nākádīnō dī     chí  ntīchī  dī      sāhan*
      nor  NEG  POT:think you:SG CMP  POT:see you:SG  man
      Don't you even think about seeing the man!

L28   *sāhan mī   nī   nkwá   ntīchī   sā / né*
      man   that  nor  NEG    POT:see  he  and

          *kāanhu   sā   chúhūnh*
          POT:kill  he   us:IN
          THE MAN doesn't even [need to] see [us], and [yet] he can kill us.

# 2

# Verb Phrases

## 2.1 Content Verb Phrases

Content verb phrases consist of a nucleus, at least four optional prenuclear elements, and at least one optional postnuclear element.

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

S13   *xēhē*   *(tūhū*   *nīnū)*
     CON:eat  (chicken  corn)
     (The chicken) is eating (corn).

L18   *kwhīnō*  *(dī)*
     POT:see  (you:SG)
     (You) will see.

L82   *chhīinhu*  *(sā*  *īlī)*
     COM:kill  (he  animal)
     (He) killed (the animal).

G2   *(ámá xūvī) kwēhen*  *(sá*  *ntūvā)*
     (one  day)  COM:go  (he  Oaxaca)
     (ONE DAY he) went (to the city of Oaxaca).

There is one construction in the data that should probably be analyzed as a kind of discontinuous complex nucleus. It consists of the verb *dīn* 'to

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do' inflected for aspect plus a Spanish infinitive; the subject of the sentence comes between the two parts.

L25  *diín*     *(ti)*        *rēsivíir*      *(kōnséxo)*
     COM:do   (it:AML)   to:receive   (advice)
     (It) received ([some] advice).

L30  *dī(-ín)*        *dēsēáar*
     POT:do(-I)   to:desire
     (I) want (...).

No examples of other kinds of complex nuclei were found in the data, but there are many examples of compound verbs (see §5.1.1), which are derived from the combination of a content verb plus either another content verb, a stative verb, or a noun. These were probably complex nuclei at an earlier stage in the history of the language.

**2.1.2 Preverbal elements.** There are at least four elements that precede the verb nucleus: negative, temporal, intensifier, and manner.

The negative element *nkwá* is homophonous with, and is probably derived from, a negative verb meaning 'to not exist'. Its meaning has been extended to that of a general negative marker, not only for verbs, but for other classes of words as well.

L70  *nkwá*   *kūmhī*       *(dī*       *sāhan*   *mī*     *ú)*
     NEG    POT:show   (you:SG   man      that    me)
     (You) won't show (me the man).

L79  *nkwá*   *kāanhu*      *(di*        *ú)*
     NEG    POT:kill      (you:SG   me)
     Don't kill (me)!

Lo16  *nkwá*   *kāha*        *(sā*       *nínú*   *chākū*   *sā)*
     NEG    COM:give   (he     corn     mother   his)
     (He) did not give (his mother corn).

L28  *(sáhan*   *mī*     *nī)*      *nkwá*   *ntīchī*   *(sā)*
     (man      that    nor)   NEG    POT:see   (he)
     (THE MAN) doesn't (even) [need to] see [us].

The temporal element includes *a* 'already' and probably *amtá* 'no longer' as well, but *amtá* was found only in a stative verb phrase in the source data.

L29   *a        chīnīvī         (sā    vída   yūhūn-h)*
      already  POT:take:away  (he   life   base-our:IN)
      (He) will take away (our lives).

L67   *(mī   né)   a       vá      yān      (sā   ámá   thūuvi)*
      (and   and)  already  CON:exist prepared  (he   one   trap)
      (He) had already prepared (a trap).

The intensifying adverb *néné* occurs before the verb, and is found only
in verb phrases. Note the contrast with the intensifying adverb *tāvī* (see
§2.1.3).

D631  *néné   yīta       (kāhā   sā)*
      much   CON:hurt   (foot   his)
      (His foot) hurts a lot.

The manner element can include an individual adverb or a complete
adverb phrase, or a stative verb or stative verb phrase.

L9    *thíka   kwhēe    (dī)*
      thus   POT:learn  (you:SG)
      In this way (you) will learn.

L6    *(ītī   lhín   mí)   nú    tāvī   chītá     (ti)*
      (animal little that) quickly INTS  COM:grow  (it:AML)
      (THE LITTLE ANIMAL) grew very quickly.

L24   *yēnó   tāvī   kūnāhán     (ti)*
      happy  INTS  POT:go:home  (it:AML)
      (They) went home very happily.

**2.1.3 Postverbal elements.** There is at least one postverbal element: the
intensifying adverb *tāvī*, which is used with other classes of words in
addition to verbs.

L4    *(ītī   lhín)   dīnéhēn   tāvī   (chākú   ti        ntúku*
      (animal little)  CON:love  INTS  (mother  its:AML   with

      *chīdá   ītī)*
      father  animal)
      (His mother and father) dearly loved (THE LITTLE ANIMAL).

W5    *hīyun   tāvī   (tá)*
      CON:laugh  INTS  (she)
      (She) laughed wildly.

## 2.2 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which are not inflected for
aspect. There are two temporal markers, *amtá* 'no longer' and *a* 'already',
and two intensifying adverbs, *chúka* 'much' or 'so' and *néné* 'much' or
'very', which may precede the nucleus.

W2    *amtá        kwīku  (tā)*
      no:longer   hungry (she)
      (She) was no longer hungry.

L8    *a        dámá    (ti      ntūkū   chīdā    ti)*
      already  same   (it:AML  with    father  its:AML)
      (He and his father) were already the same [size].

G6    *chúka  nhān  (dī)*
      much   late  (you:SG)
      (You) are so late.

D632  *(chkhāyáa    né)    néné  yēnó*
      (child             and)   very   happy
      (THE CHILDREN) are very happy.

The intensifying adverb *tāvī* may follow the nucleus, as may the repetitive
marker *tūun* 'again'. These two elements can cooccur.

L7    *a        chhātā  tāvī    (ti)*
      already  big     INTS   (it:AML)
      (He) was already very big.

L27   *āstútō  tāvī    (sā)*
      sly     INTS   (he)
      (He) is very sly.

W7    *dákā    tāvī    tūun*
      tangled INTS   again
      ([It]) was very tangled again.

# 3

# Noun Phrases

## 3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lo7 | *váha* | 'house' |
| L2 | *ītī* | 'animal' |
| L19 | *tāhá* | 'hand' |
| G1 | *sāhan* | 'man' |
| G2 | *ntūvā* | 'city of Oaxaca' |
| G6 | *dí* | 'you:SG' |
| Lo6 | *ú* | 'I' |

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that consists of a noun followed by a modifier. Only two examples of complex nuclei occur in the available data, and in both the modifier is a noun, but the modifier can probably be a content verb or a stative verb also.

L15   *yhūdú chēenu*
      horse   mountain
      deer

L15   *kūchí chēenu*
      pig     mountain
      peccary

**3.1.2 Prenominal elements.** There are two elements that precede the nucleus: specifier and quantifier. The specifier is expressed only by the general marker *mā*.

L40   *mā     yāhan*
      SPEC    ground
      the ground (right here)

The quantifier comprises numerals as well as general quantifiers.

Numerals:

L1    *ūvī   īyháyan*
      two    lion
      two lions

L7    *xān   īyu*
      six    month
      six months

General quantifiers:

G11   *tālhín   xīima*
      some      salt
      some salt (cf. *lhín* 'little')

W8    *kādā    hīyan*
      each     person
      everybody

L14   *yhān   tāvī   ītī*
      many    INTS   animal
      very many animals

Lo3   *tāvī   nínú*
      INTS    corn
      much corn

The numeral *āmā* 'one' often functions simply as an indefinite article.

G1    *ámá   sāhan*
      one    man
      a man


**3.1.3 Postnominal elements.** Certain elements optionally follow the nucleus. These include deictics and relative clauses. Other Mixtecan languages also have optional limiter and additive elements, and so Cuicatec may also have similar elements that simply do not occur in the available data. Note that an additive element occurs in the general quantifier phrase (see §4.1.4).

Deictic function is carried by the nominal markers *khu* 'this', *thi* 'that' (nearby), and *kha* 'that' (at a distance), and by the locative adverb *mī* 'there', which is a shortened form of *mīyān.* When *mī* occurs as a deictic, it is glossed 'that', rather than 'there', but it often functions simply as a definite article.

G5    *sāhan   khu*
      man      this
      this man

D177  *būrrú    thi*
      donkey    that
      that donkey (Sp. *burro*) (nearby)

D43   *yāhān   kha*
      tree     that
      that tree (at a distance)

G3    *táhan    mī*
      woman     that
      that woman *or* the woman

There are also two words which appear to be plural forms of deictics.

L16   *ītī       chhūn*
      animal    this:PL
      these animals

L15   *ītī       chhén*
      animal    that:PL
      those animals *or* the animals

Restrictive relative clauses follow the nucleus. They are often marked by the complementizer *chī*, by the prestressed pronoun *nāchī* 'place', or by the subordinate conjunction *tāchī* 'when', all of which also serve as relative pronouns. When a subject is relativized, a clitic pronoun copy referring to the subject usually follows the verb in addition to the relative pronoun that introduces the relative clause. When other elements are relativized, a clitic

pronoun copy also occasionally occurs within the relative clause. Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any noun phrase.

With subject as head:

Lo5   *hīyan     chí     kūchiī      ya*
      person    CMP    COM:come   person
      [the] person who was coming

L71   *īī       chī     kēné                 mūhūn*
      animal   CMP    COM:be:located     here
      [the] animal that is here

With object as head:

G8    *xādē     chī     kāhan     tā*
      tepache  CMP    COM:give  she
      tepache, which she gave

With adjunct as head:

Lo12  *vāha    nāchī    kēnúū             sá*
      house   place   COM:be:inside    he
      building where he was

L35   *nāchī   kēné                ámá    ītīntū*
      place   COM:be:located     one    cow
      place [where] there was a cow.

With peripheral element as head:

L51   *ámá     lūgáar   náchí    ntāyāatu        ámá    pāstóor*
      one     place   place   COM:be:tied     one    shepherd
      a place where a shepherd was tied up.

Relative clauses based on stative verbs are translated as adjectives in English. Except for one instance in the data (L17), no complementizer is used.

L17   *ámá     ītī       chī     lhín*
      one     animal   CMP    little
      an animal that is small *or* a small animal

G2    *rānchō   chhātā*
      ranch    big
      ranch [that is] big *or* big ranch

L18   *lyóon   ntīíku*
      lion    old
      lion [that is] old *or* old lion

**3.1.4 Combinations of elements.** In the available data there were no
examples of specifier and quantifier occurring together, and so their
relative order preceding the nucleus is not known. Following the nucleus,
relative clauses based on a stative verb precede the deictic.

L32   *lyóon   chhātā   mí*
      lion    big      that
      the lion [that is] big *or* the big lion

L35   *ītī      lhín    mí*
      animal   little   that
      the animal [that is] little *or* the little animal

Two relative clauses may occur in a single noun phrase; those based on
content verbs follow those based on stative verbs.

Lo1   *kwīkū    dán     chí    kénū*
      hunger   strong   CMP    COM:be:inside
      a great famine that was in [there]

Relative clauses based on content verbs generally directly follow their
head noun, but sometimes another element may occur between the two.
In the following examples the intervening element is enclosed in paren-
theses.

Lo2   *tá    (yáan   mī)    chí    vá          ámá    dáyá*
      she   (land   that)   CMP    CON:exist   one    child
      woman (in a town) who had a child

W0    *ámá    kwēntó (yēhen  ámá    nthatā)   chí    chhēno*
      one    story  (about  one    woman)    CMP    COM:happen
      A story (about a woman) which happened *or* A true story (about a
      woman)

G0    *ámá    kwénto (yēhen  tá     ntīiyū)   chí    chīi*
      one    story  (about  she    ghost)    CMP    COM:be
      A story (about a ghost) that happened *or* A true story (about a
      ghost)

When it is evident from the context, the nucleus of a noun phrase may
be deleted, leaving a quantifier, relative clause, and/or a deictic as the only
manifestation of the phrase.

L26    *nākwhéhe chī    ntīichu-h*
       all              CMP    POT:see-we:IN
       all [the animals] that we see

L5     *lhín    mí*
       little   that
       the little [animal]

## 3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

Measurement noun phrases have a noun expressing a unit of measurement as their nucleus, which must be preceded by a quantifier phrase (see §4.1). Measurement noun phrases occur only as quantifiers in other noun phrases, and in the following example, the higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

D563   *āmā    dīnu    (cáfe)*
       one     sack    (coffee)
       one sack (of coffee [Sp. *café*])

D230   *āmā    kīlu         (yūta)*
       one     kilogram    (meat)
       one kilogram (Sp. *kilo*) (of meat)

D418   *inu    litró    (nīnū)*
       three   liter    (seed)
       three liters (Sp. *litro*) (of seed)

D230   *uvi xākū    ntīchī    kīlōmetro    (chīn    chhēnuú)*
       two twenty ten     kilometer    (stuff    long)
       fifty kilometers (Sp. *kilómetro*) (of length)

## 3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. A quantifier may precede the nucleus. Nuclei may be either inherently possessed nouns, which are largely body parts and kinship terms, or optionally possessed nouns. Inherently possessed nouns exhibit direct possession, in which the possessor is expressed immediately after the head noun.

W6     *tīin    tā*
       head    her
       her head (hair)

W9    *chākū   tá*
       mother  her
       her mother

L06   *chāk-ú*
       mother-my
       my mother

L63   *dīyhūn   ti*
       tooth    its:AML
       its teeth

L56   *āmíko   lyóon*
       friend   lion
       the lion's friend

Optionally possessed nouns exhibit indirect possession and are expressed using the inherently possessed noun *yehen* 'base' in an extended sense meaning 'possession'. These phrases are appositional in nature (see §3.7).

Lo3   *nínú / yēhen   sā*
       corn   base   his
       his corn (lit. corn, his possession)

L68   *chīvú / yēhen   sā*
       goat      base   his
       his goats (lit. goats, his possession)

W8   *tīnó / yēhén   ya*
       cloth   base     person
       her clothes (lit. clothes, her possession)

G17   *nthātā   / yēhen   sā*
       woman     base   his
       his woman (wife) (lit. woman, his possession)

## 3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed with the interrogatives *chāa* 'which?', *daha* 'what?', and *tavā* 'how much?'. The interrogative occurs initially in its noun phrase and the interrogative noun phrase occurs in focus position in its sentence (see §§1.1.8 and 1.2.2).

L16   *chāa   ītī     chhūn*
       which  animal  this:PL
       which of these animals?

D349 *daha   ōra*
      what   hour
      when? (Sp. *hora* 'hour') *or* what time?

D707 *tavā        ntŭyu*
      how:much year
      how old?

## 3.5 Negative Noun Phrases

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the negative marker *nkwá* to a noun phrase. Negative noun phrases probably occur only in focus position in a sentence. In the following sentences containing negative noun phrases, the portion of the sentence outside of the negative noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

L37 *(á)     nkwá    dī      (chí    sáhan   mī)*
      (INT)   NEG     you:SG  (CMP   man     that)
      (Are) not YOU (the man)?

L38 *nkwá    ú    /  (nāvhākŭtāhá    ti)*
      NEG     I       (COM:reply      it:AML)
      "Not I," (it replied.) *or* "I [am] not ([he]," it replied.)

## 3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

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

G4  *rānchō   chhātā*
      ranch    big
      [at the] big ranch

L12 *támá    xŭvī*
      next    day
      [the] next day

   Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with a locative noun as nucleus. Many of these are body-part nouns that are used with extended meanings (see §5.3.2).

L13   *chhīitū  ámá  xīkū*
     side     one   river
     beside a river

Lo6   *chētē     vāha*
     stomach   house
     inside the house

L66   *nā  ráāncho*
     face ranch
     at the ranch

D96   *tīín  yikū*
     head  mountain
     top of the mountain

## 3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun phrases in the same structural position but with no conjunction linking them. They are often used to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified, similar to the use of nonrestrictive relative clauses in English.

L17   *ámá  ītī    chī  lhín  / kōsá chī  kūchā-á*
     one   animal CMP little   thing CMP  POT:be:able-I

       *kwhīnū    chēh-é   ītī*
       POT:finish  POT:eat-I animal
       an animal that is small, something that I will be able to finish eating

Noun phrases expressing indirect possession are also appositional in nature. The inherently possessed noun *yehen* 'base' has a secondary sense of 'possession' and is coreferential with the preceding noun; see §3.3 for examples of this construction.

## 3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are either coordinate or disjunctive. In the coordinate type, noun phrases are linked by the preposition *ntūku* 'with'.

L10   *chīdá  ti      ntúkū  chākú    ti*
     father its:AML with    mother  its:AML
     his father and mother

S13   *tá    āna*
      she   Ann
      Ann (Sp. *Ana*)

G0    *tá    ntīiyū*
      she   ghost
      a ghost

# 4

# Other Phrases

## 4.1 Quantifier Phrases

**4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases.** In additive numeral phrases simple numerals from one to ten, fifteen, twenty, hundred, and thousand are combined to form the numerals from eleven through fourteen, sixteen through nineteen, twenty-one through thirty, thirty-five, and certain combinations involving hundred and thousand. The larger numeral always occurs first.

s7　*ntīchī ínú*
　　ten　　three
　　thirteen

s7　*ntītíyhún kūun*
　　fifteen　　four
　　nineteen

s7　*ntīkū xúhún*
　　twenty　five
　　twenty-five

s7　*ntíkú ntīchī*
　　twenty ten
　　thirty

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s7    *ntīkū    ntītíyhún*
       twenty   fifteen
       thirty-five

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

s7    *ntīkū    ntīchī    ínú*
       twenty   ten        three
       thirty-three

s7    *ntīkū    ntītí    kúun*
       twenty   fifteen   four
       thirty-nine

**4.1.2 Attributive numeral phrases.** Multiples of twenty, one hundred, and one thousand are expressed by attributive numeral phrases, which have two parts in a quantifier-nucleus relationship. The larger numeral occurs second. When the numeral twenty occurs as the nucleus of an attributive numeral phrase, it takes the form *xākū*.

D279   *kun    xakú*
        four    twenty
        eighty

D96    *āmā    syēntó*
        one     hundred
        one hundred (Sp. *ciento*)

D260   *āmā    mīil*
        one     thousand
        one thousand (Sp. *mil*)

In the survey data there is another form for one hundred, which seems to be part of the number system originally used by speakers of Mixtecan languages and would predate the use of the borrowed Spanish term.

s7    *xūhun xākū*
       five   twenty
       hundred

The original number system was vigesimal and probably went at least as high as four hundred, or twenty twenties (Robert E. Longacre, personal communication).

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

D319  *uvi   xākū    xān*
      two   twenty  six
      forty-six

D349  *inu    xākū    ntīchī*
      three  twenty  ten
      seventy

**4.1.3 Expanded numeral phrases.** The only examples of expanded numeral phrases in the available data consist of a simple numeral as the nucleus with *ntō* 'all' preceding it and adding an additional quantifying sense to the numeral nucleus. Probably at least additive and attributive numeral phrases could also serve as a nucleus of this type of phrase. In the examples, an entire noun phrase is given with the part not included in the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

L12   *ntō   īnó    (ti)*
      all   three  (it:AML)
      all three (animals)

L23   *ntō   ūvī    (īī      ntīíku)*
      all   two    (animal  old)
      both (old animals)

**4.1.4 General quantifier phrases.** Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which is a nonnumeral quantifier, and an optional postnuclear element, which may be either the intensifying adverb *tāvī* or the additive *ka*. Other Mixtecan languages have an optional prenuclear element, which may be a negative or a specifier, and at least two other optional postnuclear elements, a repetitive and a limiter. It is possible that these elements also occur in Cuicatec, but none were found in the source data.

L14   *yhān   tāvī   (īī)*
      many   INTS   (animal)
      very many (animals)

L15   *más    ka     (īī)*
      more   ADD    (animal)
      many other (animals)

## 4.2 Adverb Phrases

**4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases.** A nucleus and an optional postnuclear intensifying adverb *tāvī* combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus may be either a locative or a general adverb.

L49    *yāhān tāvī*
       far    INTS
       very far

L6     *nú        tāvī   (chītá)*
       quickly INTS   (COM:grow)
       (grew) very quickly

**4.2.2 Repetitive adverb phrases.** The simple repetition of an adverb, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. The additive *ka* may also follow the second adverb.

N141   *tyān    tyān*
       early   early
       very early

S4     *tūnū    tūnū   kā*
       little   little   ADD
       gently *or* little by little

## 4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object. There is a very limited set of prepositions because much of their function is carried by locative nouns (see §§5.3.2 and 3.6). The prepositions include only *ntúku* 'with', *ménos* 'except' (Sp. *menos*), and *ntí* 'until' or 'even'; and the complex forms *kwēnta yehen* 'on account of' (Sp. *cuenta* 'account') and *nīnū nā* 'at', 'by', or 'near'.

L63    *ntūúku   dīyhūn ti*
       with       tooth   its:AML
       with its teeth

W7     *ntúku   āséite*
       with     oil
       with oil

L26    *ménos   ámá   sáhan*
       except   one   man
       except a man

Lo13   *ntí   túnú   chhākū*
       until   much   sound
       even a tremendous noise

D470   *kwēnta yehen   vakyan*
       account base    town
       for the town

G5     *nīnū   nā   rānchō chhātā*
       near   face   ranch   big
       at the big ranch

# 5

# Parts of Speech

## 5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

**5.1.1 Derivation.** Content verbs are derived from other content verbs, from nouns, and probably also from stative verbs by means of derivational prefixes, as well as by means of compounding.

The causative prefix *dī-* is a shortened form of *dīn* 'to do'. It is used with content verbs, with nouns, and probably also with stative verbs to form derived content verbs.

L4  *dī-néhēn*
    CAUS-CON:want
    to love (cf. *néhēn* 'CON:want')

D367  *di-kwhinú*
    CAUS-POT:end
    to finish (cf. *kwhīnū* 'POT:end')

L26  *dī-chhīívha*
    CAUS-value
    to have value (cf. *chhīvha* 'value')

There is also a repetitive marker, *na-* or *n-*, which may be prefixed to certain verbs to derive another verb.

D621  *n-kahā*
    REP-COM:give
    to give back (cf. *kāhá* 'to give')

W8    *ī-nā-ntāchī*
CON-REP-vomit
to vomit (repeatedly)

W7    *ī-nā-dī-daūn*
CON-REP-CAUS-?
to make smooth

W9    *nā-dī-xīkū*
REP-CAUS-medicine
to heal (cf. *xiku* 'medicine')

G11   *ī-nā-nkáká*
CON-REP-?
to remember

G17   *nā-ntāa*
REP-COM:arrive
to return

W10   *nā-ntuvā*
REP-COM:be:healed
to get well

Compounds are formed by the fusion of a complex verb nucleus into a single word. The first example below contains an epenthetic *n* between the two parts; see Needham and Davis (1946:145).

Lo6   *kūnūn-tēhé*
POT:be:inside-hidden
to hide (cf. *kūnū* 'to be inside')

L10   *chīnī-vēén*
COM:sit:down-ear
to listen

L38   *nā-vākú-tāhá*
REP-COM:turn:around-hand
to reply

G13   *nā-vākū-ntáā*
REP-COM:turn:around-COM:arrive
to turn into

L42   *nā-ká-dīnō*
REP-under-bonnet
to think

L39   *īkū-yatū*
      CON:?-knot
      to tie

L51   *ntǎ-yǎatu*
      COM:arrive-knot
      to be tied

L61   *kēntá-nā*
      POT:follow-face
      to follow

**5.1.2 Inflection.** Content and equative verbs are inflected for four different aspects: potential, continuative, completive, and perfective. The first three aspects are similar to future, present, and past tenses, but cannot be equated with them because aspect emphasizes the action or process expressed by the verb, leaving the time frame to be established by the context of the discourse in which it occurs. On the other hand, tense emphasizes the particular time frame during which the action or process takes place (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:xiv). The perfective aspect, which has been referred to as 'prior past' (Davis 1952:35) and/or 'state of completion' (Longacre 1957:56), is unique with respect to the other Mixtecan languages. It is a reflex of the protolanguage verb system, which has been preserved more completely in Cuicatec than in the other sister languages (Longacre 1957:56). Only one of the verbs in the texts is glossed with perfective aspect, and it is unclear if the perfective is still in common use or if it is being lost, as has happened in many of the sister languages. Although the texts and dictionary were of some assistance in the analysis proposed in this chapter, most of it is based on unpublished language survey data and on data from Davis and Walker (1955).

Verbs can be classified on the basis of which form of the potential aspect prefix they take. The other aspectual prefixes are more regular in their forms, while the potential form has several distinct variants. The continuative prefix is conditioned by the initial segment of the verb root; vowel-initial roots take *x-* while consonant-initial roots take *i-*. Similarly, the completive aspect prefix varies according to vowel-initial or consonant-initial roots. It is expressed by *ch-/chi-*, *k-/ki-*, or sometimes *k-/ke-*. The perfective aspect prefix is either *n(t)-* or *ni-*, also determined by vowel-initial or consonant-initial roots.

In the first class of verbs, potential aspect is indicated by *kw-* before vowel-initial verb roots or *ku-* before consonant-initial roots. There are two subclasses. Some verbs take the set *kw-/ku-*, *x-/i-*, *k-/ki-(ke-)*, and *n(t)-/ni-*, while others take *kw-/ku-*, *x-/i-*, *ch-/chi-*, and *n(t)-/ni-*.

|        | POT        | CON        | COM         | PERF        |
|--------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| buy    | kw-ái      | x-āi       | k-āi        | nt-ái       |
| cover  | kw-ákú     | x-ákú      | ch-áaku     | nt-ákú      |
| sleep  | kū-yādō    | ī-yādō     | kī-yādō     | nī-yāadō    |
| hide   | kū-núnthēhē| ī-núnthēhē | kē-núnthēhē | nī-núnthēhē |
| rope   | kū-nūu     | ī-nūu      | chī-nūu     | ní-nūu      |

The position verb *kunē* 'to be located' belongs in this class, but has irregular prefixes *kā-* and *ka-* in the continuative and completive aspects, respectively.

|            | POT   | CON   | COM   | PERF  |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| be located | ku-nē | kā-nē | ka-nē | ní-né |

In the second class of verbs, potential aspect is indicated by *k-* before vowel-initial verb roots and by *ka-* or *ko-* before consonant-initial roots. There are two subclasses. Some verbs take the set *k-/ka-*, *x-/i-*, *ch-/chi-*, and *n(t)-/ni-*, while others take the set *k-/ko-*, *x-/i-*, *k-/ke-*, and *n(t)-/ni-*.

|            | POT       | CON       | COM        | PERF       |
|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|
| break      | k-āatu    | x-ātū     | ch-āatu    | nt-átú     |
| bring      | kā-nkwāi  | ī-nkwāi   | chī-nkwāi  | nī-nkwáī   |
| scratch    | k-ūun     | x-ūun     | k-ūun      | n-ūun      |
| keep awake | kō-ntūchī | ī-ntūchī  | ké-ntūchī  | nī-ntuchi  |

In some verbs in this class there is also a change in the root of the nonpotential forms, such as a vowel change or the loss of the final syllable.

|          | POT     | CON    | COM      | PERF    |
|----------|---------|--------|----------|---------|
| jump     | k-áva   | x-āa   | k-āa     | nt-áa   |
| complete | k-ūvī   | x-ī    | ch-īi    | nt-í    |
| be       | k-ūvī   | ∅      | ch-ī     | ?       |
| run      | k-áno   | x-éno  | ch-éno   | n-éno   |
| go       | k-āhan  | x-ēhēn | ch-ēhen  | n-éhēn  |

The verb 'to go' has another form, *kwēhen*, which is glossed as completive aspect in the text data, but it may correspond to some other aspect (possibly incompletive). This verb also has an imperative form *kwéhén*. It is possible in some other Mixtecan languages for the verb 'to go' to have more than just the basic aspectual forms (Barbara E. Hollenbach, personal communication).

Perfective aspect is sometimes marked by two elements, the first of which is *ni-*, while the second is some variation of the completive prefix. This suggests that *ni-* may be derived historically from a preverbal element on the phrase level, which served (redundantly) to indicate previous time.

|                 | POT      | CON      | COM     | PERF       |
|-----------------|----------|----------|---------|------------|
| advise          | *k-ūvī*  | *x-ī*    | *ch-īi* | *ní-nch-ī* |
| say             | *k-āmhān* | *x-āhān* | *k-āhān* | *ní-nk-āhān* |
| give            | *k-āha*  | *x-āha*  | *k-āha* | *ní-nk-āhá* |
| stretch         | *kw-āhain* | *x-āhain* | *k-āhain* | *ní-k-āhain* |
| recite (prayers) | *k-āvaha* | *x-āvaha* | *k-āvaha* | *nī-k-āvaha* |

Potential aspect in the third class of verbs is indicated by *ch-* with a vowel-initial verb root or by a null prefix *(∅-)* with a consonant-initial root. There are two subclasses. Verbs in one subclass take *ch-/∅-*, *x-/i-*, *ch-/∅-*, and *ni-ch-/ni-*, while verbs in the second subclass take *∅-*, *i-*, *chi-*, and *ni-*. Since the potential and the completive prefixes are the same ( *ch-/∅-*) for one subclass, some verbs have identical forms in these two aspects, while others distinguish between the two by means of a tone change in the completive form (Longacre 1957:57–8).

|              | POT           | CON           | COM           | PERF          |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| carry        | *∅-kānhúnēn*  | *ī-kānhúnēn*  | *∅-kānhúnēn*  | *ní-kánhúnēn* |
| eat (lunch)  | *∅-kādhínú*   | *ī-kādhínú*   | *∅-kādhinū*   | *ní-kādhīnú*  |
| see          | *ch-ēenān*    | *x-ēenān*     | *ch-ēenān*    | *ní-ch-ēenān* |
| happen       | *ch-óhó*      | *x-ōhō*       | *ch-ōho*      | *ni-nch-ōhō*  |
| join         | *-dīdāmā*     | *ī-dīdāmā*    | *chí-dīdaᵐā*  | *ní-dīdamā*   |

When the verb root begins with a laryngealized vowel, the continuative prefix becomes *∅-*. This suggests that there is some constraint against *x-* before a laryngealized vowel.

|        | POT      | CON       | COM       | PERF      |
|--------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| spin   | kw-hā    | ∅-hā      | k-hāa     | nt-há     |
| satisfy| kw-hán   | ∅-hún     | k-hūun    | n-hún     |
| encircle| kw-hāaku| ∅-hāaku   | ch-hāaku  | nt-hāaku  |
| break  | kw-héen  | ∅-héen    | ch-héen   | n-héen    |
| kill   | k-hāanhu | ∅-hīinhu  | ch-hīinhu | n-hīinhu  |
| plant  | k-hūchī  | ∅-hīchī   | ch-hīichi | nt-hīchī  |

Because of the limited amount of data available for this analysis, it is by no means comprehensive, and there are a number of verb forms in the data that do not fit into the analysis. For example, there are discrepancies in the tones and laryngeals, which may indicate different aspect forms, but they might also simply be the results of sandhi or even errors in transcription. Further work needs to be done in the description of verb inflection.

## 5.2 Stative Verbs

Unlike content and equative verbs, stative verbs are not inflected for aspect. They are either basic or derived from nouns. The derived verbs may or may not show a tone change from their nominal counterparts.

Basic stative verbs:

| L4  | lhín   | 'little' |
|-----|--------|----------|
| L11 | yēnó   | 'happy'  |
| L23 | ntīíku | 'old'    |
| L30 | dītū   | 'strong' |
| L30 | kāani  | 'fast'   |

Derived stative verbs:

| D748 | yhámhi    | 'grey, cloudy' (cf. yhāmhī 'smoke') |
| D756 | yinchetée | 'muddy' (cf. yinchetée 'mud')       |
| G13  | yāhan     | 'dirty' (cf. yāhan 'ground, dirt')  |

Some stative verbs have separate forms for singular and plural referents.

|      |        | SG       | PL       |
|------|--------|----------|----------|
| D297 | little | *lhín*   | *hāyáa*  |
| D202 | big    | *chhātā* | *hātā*   |
| D232 | long   | *chhenu* | *henu*   |

## 5.3 Nouns

**5.3.1 Derivation.** Compound nouns may be formed by the fusion of complex noun nuclei (see §3.1.1) into single words.

N145  *xīvyāvā*
  hole:cliff
  cave (cf. *xīvā* 'hole', *yáva* 'cliff')

N145  *nantakwáhá*
  flower:red
  geranium (cf. *nāanta* 'flower', *kwáha* 'red')

N145  *dūtīhīkū*
  egg:louse
  nits (cf. *dūtúhú* 'egg', *īku* 'louse')

Nouns may also be derived by means of adding a prefix to another noun. The example below shows an epenthetic *k;* see Needham and Davis (1946:145).

L1  *īkyáhan*
  COL:wood
  forest (cf. *i-* 'collectivizer', *yáhán* 'wood')

**5.3.2 Classification.** Nouns may be classified according to gender, possessibility, distribution, and countability.

There are five gender classes, which are determined by the third person pronoun: masculine, feminine, human (respect), animal, and inanimate (see §5.4). Some nouns fall into more than one class, especially those included in the human (respect) category; *nthātā* 'woman', for example, corresponds to both feminine and respect pronoun forms. Also, in folktales animals may be included in the masculine or feminine class, as well as the animal class.

Masculine nouns:

| L16 | *lyóon*   | 'lion'     |
|-----|-----------|------------|
| L30 | *sáhan*   | 'man'      |
| L51 | *p̄āstóor* | 'shepherd' |
| W9  | *kwáa*    | 'shaman'   |

Feminine nouns:

| G2 | *nthāta* | 'woman' |
|----|----------|---------|
| G3 | *táhan*  | 'woman' |

Human (respect) nouns:

| G13 | *nthātā* | 'woman'  |
|-----|----------|----------|
| Lo3 | *chākū*  | 'mother' |
| Lo5 | *hīyan*  | 'person' |

Animal nouns:

| L1  | *īyháyan* | 'lion'  |
|-----|-----------|---------|
| L16 | *lyóon*   | 'lion'  |
| L35 | *ītīntū*  | 'cow'   |
| G13 | *kú*      | 'snake' |

Inanimate nouns:

| G0  | *kwénto*  | 'story'                          |
|-----|-----------|----------------------------------|
| G8  | *xādē*    | 'tepache' (an alcoholic beverage) |
| G9  | *yūuntu*  | 'tortilla'                       |
| G13 | *yūta*    | 'meat'                           |

Nouns may also be classified according to whether or not they can be possessed. Those which cannot be possessed generally refer to meteorological or topographical phenomena.

| D182 | *īyŭn*   | 'star'          |
|------|----------|-----------------|
| L6   | *īyu*    | 'moon, month'   |
| D352 | *yhāhan* | 'sun'           |
| L13  | *xīkū*   | 'river'         |

Nouns that can be possessed are either directly or indirectly possessed (see §3.3). Directly possessed nouns are generally body parts or kinship terms.

| L19 | *tāhá* | 'hand, paw' |
| W6 | *tīin* | 'head, hair' |
| Lo3 | *chākū* | 'mother' |
| L11 | *chīdá* | 'father' |

The remaining nouns are indirectly possessed.

| Lo3 | *nínú* | 'corn' |
| L53 | *ītī* | 'animal' |
| L66 | *ráāncho* | 'ranch' |

The distribution classes of nouns include vocatives, proper nouns, locative nouns, temporal nouns, measurement nouns, and common nouns. Some nouns fall into more than one class.

Vocatives include kinship terms and probably personal names as well. When kinship terms are used in this way, they are not marked for possession.

| S12 | *táta* | 'father' |
| S12 | *nána* | 'mother' |
| S13 | *dūdé* | 'aunt' |

Proper nouns include place names and personal names. Personal names sometimes occur in personal-name noun phrases (see §3.10).

| G2 | *ntūvā* | 'city of Oaxaca' |
| S13 | *tá āna* | 'Ann' (Sp. *Ana*) |

Locative nouns occur as the nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6). There are two categories, the first of which includes place names, topographical features, and certain other nouns.

| G2 | *ntūvā* | 'city of Oaxaca' |
| L1 | *īkyahan* | 'forest' |
| L13 | *xīkū* | 'river' |
| L33 | *yúní* | 'road' |

The second category includes a small number of body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense and function as prepositions.

L13    *chhīitū*
       side
       beside, by

L06    *chētē*
       stomach
       inside

L07    *nā*
       face
       by, at, in

D437   *kāhā*
       foot
       base

D96    *tīin*
       head
       top of

G0     *yehen*
       base
       for, about, from, with reference to

Temporal nouns include units of time and occur as the nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6).

L3     *xūvī*      'day'
L7     *īyu*       'month'
L01    *tyémpo*    'time'

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measure, and occur as nuclei of measurement noun phrases (see §3.2).

D377   *dīnu*       'sack'
D418   *litró*      'liter' (Sp. *litro*)
D230   *kīlu*       'kilogram' (Sp. *kilo*)
D230   *kīlōmetro*  'kilometer' (Sp. *kilómetro*)

Common nouns are those which are not included in any of the above distribution classes.

| L2  | *ūī*      | 'animal'        |
|-----|-----------|-----------------|
| L26 | *sáhan*   | 'man'           |
| L67 | *tūuvi*   | 'trap'          |
| Lo6 | *nínú*    | 'corn'          |
| G9  | *xīima*   | 'salt'          |

Nouns may also be classified according to countability. Mass nouns cannot be modified by a numeral quantifier, but count nouns can.

Mass nouns:

| Lo3 | *nínú*   | 'corn'          |
| G9  | *xīima*  | 'salt'          |
| G13 | *nūnī*   | 'water'         |
| L40 | *yāhan*  | 'ground, dirt'  |

Count nouns:

| L1  | *īyhāyan* | 'lion'   |
| L7  | *īyu*     | 'month'  |
| L23 | *ūī*      | 'animal' |
| L67 | *tūuvi*   | 'trap'   |
| W3  | *xūvī*    | 'day'    |
| G1  | *nthātā*  | 'woman'  |

## 5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns show a fairly complex system that employs the parameters of person, number, and respect. The first and second person pronouns each have a free form and an enclitic form. The first person distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive in the plural forms, and the second person distinguishes between familiar and respect in the singular forms (Anderson and Concepción R. 1983:xi). There is no case distinction in the pronoun system, and so their function is determined by their position in the sentence and/or the discourse context.

The free pronouns occur most frequently in sentence-initial position, where they indicate focus. In any position in the sentence, however, they can occur to express a greater degree of emphasis than the corresponding clitic pronouns. The free pronouns are:

|            | SG    | PL            |
|------------|-------|---------------|
| first EX   | *ú*   | *nthúshuūn*   |
| first IN   | —     | *shún, chúhūnh* |
| second FAM | *dí*  | —             |
| second RES | *nthi* | *nthīsthi*   |

It is possible that the distinction between familiar and respect in the second person forms was originally a distinction between singular and plural, with the plural form being used to indicate respect. This is more clearly seen in the clitic forms below. The plural form above appears to be a compound but the source of the second part of the word is unclear.

There are clitic forms which correspond to the free forms, but they occur only following a verb, noun, or possibly a preposition, depending on the function of the pronoun as subject of the verb, possessor of the noun, or object of the preposition. The clitic form of the first person singular pronoun is expressed by a high tone, which replaces the tone of the final vowel of the preceding morpheme (Davis 1962:197). The first person plural inclusive form *oh* or *-h* triggers a vowel-harmony process in the stem to which it is affixed (see Needham and Davis 1946:143–45 for further discussion of this process). The clitic forms are:

|            | SG                  | PL       |
|------------|---------------------|----------|
| first EX   | (fused high tone)   | *nhúu*   |
| first IN   | —                   | *oh, -h* |
| second FAM | *dī*                | —        |
| second RES | *ni, ne*            | *ni*     |

The following examples show how the first person singular and inclusive forms affect the shape of the preceding word. To show the first person singular clitic the hyphen that represents morpheme boundary is placed before the final vowel, to which the high tone is fused.

L70   *chēh-é*
POT:eat-I
I will eat (cf. *chēhē* 'POT:eat')

L06   *chāk-ú*
mother-my
my mother (cf. *chākū* 'mother')

L26   *chūhū-h*
POT:eat-we:IN
we will eat (cf. *chēhē* 'POT:eat')

L29   *yūhūn-h*
base-our:IN
our (cf. *yehen* 'base')

Third person pronouns distinguish six gender classes, but no contrast of number. There are no free forms, and most of the clitic forms are reduced forms of corresponding nouns. The masculine pronoun (and probably the feminine as well) can be extended to refer to animals in folktales.

| | |
|---|---|
| masculine | *sá*  (cf. *sáhan* 'man') |
| feminine | *tá*  (cf. *táhan* 'woman') |
| human RES | *ya*  (cf. *hīyan* 'person') |
| human UN | (fused low tone with optional glottal stop) |
| animal | *ti*  (cf. *ītī* 'animal') |
| inanimate | *∅* |

There is a prestressed pronoun, which is a compound formed by combining the locative noun *nā* 'face' and the complementizer *chī.*

L35   *nāchī*                 'place'

The prestressed pronoun *nāchī*, the subordinate conjunction *tāchī* 'when', and the complementizer *chī* also function as relative pronouns (see §3.1.3).
There are two interrogative pronouns. See §§1.2.2 and 3.4 for a discussion of their use.

L36   *dōho*           'who?'
D317  *daha*           'what?'


## 5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.
    Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns. They occur as locative adjuncts (see §1.1.4) and as locative peripheral elements (see §1.1.7).

| D32 | *mīyán* or *mī* | 'there' |
|------|-----------------|---------|
| L57  | *mūhún*         | 'here'  |
| Lo13 | *ntīi*          | 'there' |
| G5   | *nínū*          | 'near'  |
| L49  | *yāhán*         | 'far'   |

The reduced form *mī* 'there' also functions as a deictic in noun phrases (see §3.1.3); in this function it is glossed 'that'.

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns. They occur as time peripheral elements (see §1.1.7). They are simple or complex.

Simple:

| D57  | *ikū*     | 'yesterday' |
|------|-----------|-------------|
| L9   | *kāvyán*  | 'tomorrow'  |
| L16  | *mā́*      | 'now'       |
| L60  | *mīnīyún* | 'just now'  |
| Lo6  | *tōmhé*   | 'then'      |
| Lo10 | *nēhēn*   | 'meanwhile' |

Complex:

```
G7    ā́           vena
      already    before
      for a long time
```

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs. They occur preceding the verb as a manner element in the verb phrase (see §2.1.2).

| L6  | *nū́*   | 'quickly' |
|-----|--------|-----------|
| L18 | *thíka*| 'thus'    |

There are three intensifying adverbs. One occurs commonly in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, quantifier phrases, and adverb phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, 4.1.4, and 4.2.1). It follows the nucleus of the particular phrase in which it occurs. This word also functions as a general quantifier meaning 'much'.

| L6 | *tāvī́* | 'much' |
|----|--------|--------|

The other two intensifying adverbs occur only in verb phrases and precede the verb.

| G6 | *chúka* | 'much, so' |
|----|---------|-----------|
| D631 | *néné* | 'much' |

Interrogative adverbs occur in WH questions and indirect questions (see §§1.2.2 and 1.2.3). They include:

| Lo8 | *tíín* | 'where?' |
|-----|--------|----------|
| D119 | *tikwáhān* | 'when?' |
| G6 | *dēhe* | 'why?' |
| L18 | *tākā* | 'how?' |
| D119 | *tavā* | 'how much?' |

### 5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers; they occur in quantifier phrases (see §4.1) and as prenominal elements in noun phrases (see §3.1.2).

Simple numerals include those from one to ten, fifteen, and twenty, as well as Spanish loans for hundred and thousand. The remaining numerals are expressed by numeral phrases (see §§4.1.1 and 4.1.2).

| D380 | *āmā* | 'one, a' |
|------|-------|----------|
| D155 | *uvi* | 'two' |
| D377 | *inu* | 'three' |
| D119 | *kun* | 'four' |
| D96 | *xūhūn* | 'five' |
| D345 | *xan* | 'six' |
| D349 | *ntacha* | 'seven' |
| D279 | *nīnī* | 'eight' |
| D276 | *nū* | 'nine' |
| D151 | *ntīchī* | 'ten' |
| D319 | *ntīthíyūn* | 'fifteen' |
| D383 | *ntīkū* | 'twenty' |
| D119 | *xākū* | 'twenty' (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases) |

| D96  | *syēntó* | 'hundred' (Sp. *ciento*) |
| D260 | *mīil*   | 'thousand' (Sp. *mil*)   |

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words.

| L34 | *támá*     | 'another' (cf. *ámá* 'one')     |
| L14 | *yhān*     | 'many'                          |
| L15 | *más*      | 'more'                          |
| L26 | *nākwhéhe* | 'all'                           |
| G11 | *tālhín*   | 'some' (cf. *lhín* 'little')    |
| W8  | *kādā*     | 'each'                          |
| L12 | *ntō*      | 'all'                           |

The intensifying adverb *tāvī* 'much' also functions as a general quantifier.

## 5.7 Prepositions

There are only a small number of simple prepositions. They are used mainly in prepositional phrases (see §4.3), but *ntūku* 'with' is also used in additive noun phrases (see §3.8).

| L8   | *ntūku* or *ntū* | 'with'         |
| L26  | *ménos*          | 'except'       |
| Lo13 | *ntí*            | 'until, even'  |

There are also two complex prepositions.

| G5 | *nīnū  nā* |
|    | near  face |
|    | at, by, near |

| D120 | *kwēnta  yehen* |
|      | account  base |
|      | on account (Sp. *cuenta*) of, for |

## 5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used mainly to link combinations of sentences in a coordinate or subordinate relationship (see §§6.1.1 and 6.2.1). The coordinate conjuctions include:

L23   *mīkū*  or *mī*   'and'

L3    *né*              'and'

D351  *tin*             'but'

G18   *sīnō*            'but'

G9    *pērō*            'but'

D726  *u*               'or' (Sp. *o*)

The subordinate conjunctions are simple or complex. The simple ones include:

L62   *kātē*            'because'

L59   *ntíītī*          'if'

Lo14  *tāchī*           'when' (cf. *chī* 'complementizer')

W7    *vēná*            'before'

The conjunction *tāchī* also functions as a relative pronoun (see §3.1.3). The complex subordinate conjunctions include:

L9    *pārā   chī*
      for    CMP
      so that

W2    *dátāachī   chī*
      ?:when     CMP
      when

## 5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form parts of sentences or phrases that are not included in the parts of speech already described. There are verbal, nominal, general, and sentential markers.

Verbal markers occur as preverbal and postverbal elements in verb phrases; they are:

L8    *a*       'already'

W2    *amtá*    'no longer'

W7    *tūun*    'again'

Nominal markers occur as prenominal and postnominal elements in noun phrases; they are:

| D523 | *khu* | 'this' |
| D718 | *thi* | 'that (nearby)' |
| D442 | *kha* | 'that (at a distance)' |
| L16 | *chhūn* | 'this:PL' |
| L15 | *chhén* | 'that:PL' |
| L16 | *chāa* | 'which?' |

General markers occur in more than one type of construction; they are:

| G15 | *nkwá* | 'not' |
| L15 | *ka* | 'more' |
| L40 | *mā* | 'specifier' |
| L17 | *chī* | 'complementizer' |

The complementizer also functions as a relative pronoun (see §3.1.3), as a subordinate conjunction expressing cause or purpose (see §6.2.1), and to mark the end of a focused element or the break between two juxtaposed sentences (see §§1.1.8 and 6.1.2).

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind indicates the mood or truth value of a sentence (see §1.5), and occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

| L37 | *á* | 'interrogative' |
| L28 | *nī* | 'not even' |

The second kind of sentential marker relates a sentence to its discourse context (see §6.4). These are complex and are formed by combining a coordinate conjunction with a temporal adverb.

| W10 | *míkú* | *tōmhē* |
|     | and    | then    |
|     | then   |         |

| L23 | *mīkū* | *lūéko* |
|     | and    | soon    |
|     | then   |         |

## 5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences to express emotion. Some common ones are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| D400 | *ái* | 'surprise or amazement' |
| D399 | *āan* | 'ah' |
| D400 | *hāan* | 'aha!' |
| D597 | *xāan* | 'bah!' |

# 6

# Intersentential Relations

## 6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some relationships between sentences are expressed by means of a conjunction, and some are not. An element may be unexpressed in the second sentence if it is coreferential with an element of the first sentence.

**6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions.** Coordinate conjuctions are used to express coordination, antithesis, temporal sequence, and result.

Simple coordination is expressed using the conjunction *mīkū* 'and' (or a shortened form *mī*).

L30　*kāani tāvī ú / mí dī-ín dēsēáar*
　　　fast　INTS　I　　and　POT:do-I　to:desire

　　　　*chī ntīch-í sáhan mī*
　　　　CMP　POT:see-I　man　that
　　I'm very fast, and I want to see the man.

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L06   *ú   kāh-án  /  kūnūntēh-é  chētē     vāha    nāchī   vá*
      I   POT:go-I  POT:hide-I  stomach  house   place   CON:exist

      *nínú  /  mīkú kúchī  dī     chāk-ú*
      corn    and   POT:tell  you:SG  mother-my

      *chī   nkwā-á      vāha*
      CMP  NEG:CON:exist-I  house
      I am going to hide in the corn crib (lit. house where there is corn),
      and you tell my mother that I am not home.

      (See also L72, W1, G2, and G13.)

Antithesis may be expressed using *mīkū* 'and', *né* 'and', *tin* 'but', or *sīnō* 'but' (Sp. *sino*).

W1   *chī     kwīkū tāvī tá  / mīkū    nkwá   chīnāhān   tā  /*
      COM:be  hungry INTS she  and      NEG    COM:go:home she

      *chēhe   tā    lūéko*
      POT:eat  she   soon
      She became very hungry, but she didn't go home to eat right away.

L28   *sáhan mī   nī   nkwá   nthīchī   sā   /*
      man   that  nor  NEG   POT:see   he

      *né    kāanhu  sā  chúhūnh*
      and   POT:kill   he  us:IN
      THE MAN doesn't even [need to] see [us], and [yet] he can kill us.

D351 *nkwā         chī   nkwā   nēh-én  / tin   chī   nkwā*
      NEG:CON:exist  CMP  NEG    want-I    but   CMP   NEG

      *kūvī         dī-ín*
      CON:be:possible POT:do-I
      It's not that I don't want [to], but that I am not able to do [it].

G18  *nkwá tāhan   mī  chī   nthíchī  sā  / sīnō tá    ntīiyu*
      NEG   woman  that  CMP  COM:see  he     but  she  ghost
      It was NOT THE WOMAN whom he saw, but [he saw] a ghost.

Temporal sequence is expressed using the conjunctions *né* or *mīkū*, both of which mean 'and'.

L3   *chīikā    xūvī  / né   chīnīyáan   dāyā ti*
      COM:walk  day    and  COM:be:born  child  its:AML
      The days passed, and their child was born.

G12  *tomhē   chēhēn sā  /  chítáhā   sā  /*
     then     COM:go he    COM:take he

    *mīkū chhíí    sā   xīimá   yútā   mī*
    and  COM:put he  salt    meat   that
    Then he took [the salt] and he salted the meat.

Result is expressed using the conjunction *mīkū* (or the reduced form *mī*).

L63  *tomhē   lyóon   ntūúku   dīyhūn ti       chīkā     ti  /*
     then     lion    with     tooth  its:AML  COM:walk  it:AML

    *chēhé    ti       hīiyu /  mí   nānthāá    ti       sāhan   mī*
    COM:eat  it:AML   rope    and  COM:untie  it:AML   man     that
    Then, THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH, and he freed the man.

Lo3  *vá         tāvī    nínú  yēhen   sā  /  míkú chākū   sā*
     CON:exist  INTS    corn  base    his    and  mother  his

    *xēhén    ya         /  xīkā    ya       nínú sáhan xūvī  xūvī*
    CON:go   person     CON:ask  person  corn man    day   day
    [One of the men] had a lot of corn and HIS MOTHER would go [and]
    ask him for corn every day.


**6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions.** It is possible to express certain relationships between coordinate sentences simply by juxtaposing them. These relationships include simple coordination, temporal sequence, result, and antithesis.

The juxtaposition of two or more sentences with no conjunction sometimes expresses a list of closely related actions or states.

L43  *kāntíí      ti       /  kwēhēn   ti*
     COM:follow  it:AML   COM:go   it:AML
     He went on his way.

G8   *kūhu       sā  /  chēhe   sā*
     POT:drink  he    POT:eat  he
     He will eat, [and] he will drink.

    (See also L50 and L64.)

Sometimes the complementizer *chī* is used to separate two juxtaposed sentences which describe the same event. Often one is more specific than the other, and this repetition serves to highlight the event.

L18  *nthííchī dī        tākā dī-ín     / chī    tūnkā-án*
POT:see you:SG how POT:do-I CMP POT:hunt-I
You watch how I hunt.

L40  *īdīn     sā  / chí    íntha     ámá khūu*
CON:do he    CMP  CON:find one iron
He finds an iron.

Quotations are often introduced by two juxtaposed sentences, one with the verb *xāhān* 'to say' and the other with the verb *xī* 'to tell' (see §6.3 for examples of this construction).

In a series of stative verbs, the subject is repeated following each verb, even if the subjects are coreferential.

L30  *ú né    chhātā tāvī  ú / dītū     tāvī  ú / kāani  tāvī  ú*
I and big   INTS I   strong INTS I   fast   INTS I
I am very big, I'm very strong, [and] I'm very fast.

If the object of a verb consists of several different items, the verb and subject are stated before each item.

G8  *mikū ntāi        tá  tūhū   / ntāi        tá  yūuntu /*
and  COM:bring she chicken COM:bring she tortilla

*ntāi        tá  xādē*
COM:bring she tepache
Then she brought [out] chicken, tortillas, [and] tepache.

Sometimes two juxtaposed sentences express a temporal relationship, such as closely related events in sequence. The complementizer *chī* may separate the two parts.

L12  *chīdāvā    támá xūvī  / kwēhén ntō īnó     ti*
COM:dawn next day    COM:go all  three it:AML
It dawned the next day, [and] all three animals set out.

L68  *nkāā     ti  / chī  xēhé    ti      chīvú yēhen sā*
COM:come it:AML CMP CON:eat it:AML goat  base  his
They came [and] ate his goats.

(See also L19 and G9.)

Two juxtaposed sentences may also express a logical result.

L73 *ītī*     *mī*     *kwīkū*   *ti*    /   *kwēhēn*   *ti*     /   *chéhē*   *ti*
      animal   that   hungry it:AML   COM:go    it:AML   POT:eat it:AML

      *lūnchí*     *mī*
      little:goat   that
      THE ANIMAL was hungry, [and so] he went to eat the little goat.

An antithetical relation may be expressed by simple juxtaposition of two sentences. In the second example below, the two sentences that are in antithetical relationship together form a conditional sentence (see §6.2.1).

L56 *nkwá*   *ú*    *chī*    *sāhan*   /   *āmíko lyóon*
      NEG    I    CMP   man       friend lion
      I am NOT the man; [but I] am the lion's friend.

L80 *ntítī nkwá*   *kān-hú*   *dī*     /   *nākāntā-á*   *dī*      /
      if    NEG     POT:kill-I   you:SG    POT:let:go-I   you:SG

      *tōmhē*   *chēhē*   *di*     *ú*
      then     POT:eat   you:SG   me
      If I don't kill you [but] free you [instead], then you will eat me.

## 6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are usually expressed using conjunctions, but purpose may be expressed simply by juxtaposing two sentences.

**6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions.** Conjunctions are used to introduce certain relationships between sentences, including cause, condition, purpose, and temporal relations.

Subordinate sentences that express the reason or cause for the predication stated in the main sentence are introduced by the complementizer *chī* or the conjunction *kātē* 'because'; they follow the main sentence.

L11 *yēnó tāví*   *ti*     /   *chi*    *kāhán*   *ti*      *īkyáhan*
      happy INTS   it:AML   CMP   POT:go   it:AML   forest

      *ntūkū*    *chīdá*   *ti*
      with     father   its:AML
      He was very happy that he could go to the forest with his father.

L27   *sāhan mī   né   dīn   tāvī   dī   / kwīdádo dī   /*
      man   that   and   POT:do   INTS   you:SG   care      you:SG

      *kātē        sáhan   mī   āstúto tāvī   sā*
      because   man   that   sly   INTS   he
      You must be very careful of THE MAN because he is very sly.

L42   *nī   nkwá   nākádīnō   dī      chī   ntīchī   dī   sāhan   /*
      nor   NEG      POT:think   you:SG   CMP   POT:see   you:SG   man

      *kātē        sāhan   mī   kāanhu   sā   dī*
      because   man   that   POT:kill   he   you:SG
      Don't you even think about seeing the man because THE MAN will
      kill you.

      (See also Lo16.)

Conditional sentences are introduced using the conjunction *ntíītī* 'if'; they
precede the main sentence.

L59   *ntíītī   nēhen      dī      ámá favóor ntūk-ú   /*
      if      CON:want   you:SG   one   favor   with-me

      *nānthāti   dī      ú*
      POT:untie   you:SG   me
      If you want to do a favor for me, untie me.

L70   *ntíītī   nkwá      kūmhī   dī   sāhan   mī   ú   /*
      if      NEG      POT:show you:SG   man   that   me

      *chēh-é   dī*
      POT:eat-I   you:SG
      If you won't show me the man, I will eat you.

L80   *ntíītī   nkwá   kān-hú   dī      / nākāntā-á   dī      /*
      if      NEG   POT:kill-I   you:SG   POT:let:go-I you:SG

      *tōmhē   chēhē   di      ú*
      then      POT:eat you:SG   me
      If I don't kill you [but] free you [instead], then you will eat me.

Purpose is expressed using the complementizer *chī* or a complex conjunc-
tion *pārā chī* (Sp. *para* 'for') 'so that'. The main sentence precedes the
purpose sentence and the verb in the purpose sentence is in potential
aspect. The first example below contains two purpose sentences; the first
one is introduced by *pārā chī* and is subordinate to the main sentence, and
the second one is introduced by *chī* and is subordinate to the first purpose
sentence.

L9  *kūhun-h*        *ntúku   dī      īkyáhan     /  pārā   chī    thíka*
    POT:go-we:IN    with    you:SG  forest         for    CMP    thus

    *kwhēe    dī      nhūu    dī    /  chī    chēhē    dī*
    POT:learn you:SG  POT:hunt you:SG CMP   POT:eat   you:SG
    We will go with you to the forest so that you will learn to hunt for
    food (lit. hunt so you can eat).

L23 *mīkū   lūéko   tūnkān      ámá  yhūdú  chēeno  /  chī    chēhe*
    and    soon    COM:hunt    one  horse  mountain   CMP    POT:eat

    *ntō   ūvī    ītī     ntīíku*
    all    two    animal  old
    And then [he] hunted a deer for both old animals to eat.

G8  *kāhan      tā   /  chī    kūhu        sā    /  chēhe  sā*
    COM:give   she   CMP   POT:drink    he       POT:eat he
    She gave [him] to eat [and] drink.

Temporal relations are expressed using *tāchī* 'when' to encode temporal
succession as well as temporal overlap. Subordinate temporal sentences
precede the main sentence.

L7  *tāchí   chhītī         xān   īyu   /  a        chhātā tāvī   ti*
    when    COM:complete   six   month already   big    INTS   it:AML
    When six months had passed, he was already very big. *or* When [he]
    was six months old, he was already very big.

G6  *tāchī   ntāa         sā   /  tōmhē  xāhan       tā*
    when    COM:arrive   he      then   CON:say     she
    When he arrived, she said . . .

G9  *tāchí   kwēhēn   sā   /  kwhīntī   sā   /  chēhē   sā  yūuntu  /*
    when    COM:go   he      POT:sit   he      POT:eat he  tortilla

    *yúta  mī   nkwá   chīnúu          xīima*
    meat  that  NEG   COM:be:found    salt
    When he went to sit down and eat, he found that THE MEAT was not
    salted.

G17 *mīkū  tāchī   nāntāa     sa  /  kēnū          nthātā*
    and   when    COM:return he      COM:be:inside  woman

    *yēhen   sā  vāha*
    base    his house
    And when he arrived, his wife was [already] at the house.

w6  *mīkū  tāchī  īnthītī          tá  /  xīdákā        tāvī  tīin      tā*
and   when   CON:lie:down  she   CON:tangle  INTS  head   her
Whenever she lay down, her hair would get very tangled.

Temporal relations may also be expressed using *vēná* 'before' to intro-
duce the subordinate time sentence.

w7  *vēná  ntūvē          /  dákā    tāvī  tun*
before  POT:turn:around   tangled  INTS  again
Before [she] could turn around, [it] was very tangled again.

### 6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions.

Purpose relations may
be expressed simply by two juxtaposed sentences with no conjunction relating
them. A subordinate sentence that expresses purpose follows the main sen-
tence, and the verb is in potential aspect.

L21  *kāhá     tī  /  chēhe  dāyā  ti*
COM:give   it:AML  POT:eat  child  its:AML
He gave [it] to his son to eat.

L73  *kwēhēn  ti  /  chēhē  ti      lūnchí    mī*
COM:go   it:AML  POT:eat  it:AML  little:goat   that
He went to eat the little goat.

L76  *sāhan  mī   kwēhen  sā  /  kānēnkwāi  sā  īnkáātu   yēhen*
man   that   COM:go   he   POT:bring  he   rifle      base
THE MAN went to get [his] rifle.

L77  *nākwēhēn  sā  /  kāanhu  sā  lyóon  mī*
COM:go   he   POT:kill   he   lion    that
He was going to kill the lion.

L06  *ú  kāh-án  /  kūnūntēh-é  chētē       vāha*
I   POT:go-I   POT:hide-I   stomach   house
I am going to hide in the corn crib.

L07  *mí  sāhan  kwēhen  sā  /  kúnúntēhe  sā  nā    váha*
and  man   COM:go   he   POT:hide   he   face   house
So THE MAN went to hide in the corn crib.

G9  *tāchí  kwēhēn  sā  /  kwhīntī  sā  /  chēhē  sā  yūuntu*
when  COM:go   he   POT:sit   he   POT:eat  he   tortilla
When he went to sit down [and] eat . . .

(See also w1 and w9.)

## 6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations are composed of a quotation and an introducer. The nucleus of this construction is the quotation, which is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences or fragments. The introducer precedes the quotation and consists of a verb of speaking in continuative aspect, usually *xāhán* 'says', followed by a subject.

L17    *xāhan    ītī      lhín  mí /  ámá  ītī     chī*
      CON:say animal little that one animal CMP
      The little animal said, "An animal that..."

G10    *tōmhē   xāhan    sā /  dēhe kūvī          chī*
      then     CON:say   he   why POT:be:possible CMP
      He said, "Why is it possible that..."

Often the introducer is a juxtaposed coordinate construction that contains two different speech verbs (see §6.1.2).

G6     *xāhan  tā /  xī       tá  sāhan /  dēhe chúka nhān  dī*
      CON:say she CON:tell she man     why    much  late   you:SG
      She said to him, "Why are you so late?"

L36    *tōmhé  xāhán    ti   /  xīi       ti      ītī    / dōho   dí*
      then     CON:say it:AML CON:tell  it:AML animal who    you:SG
      Then he said to the animal, "Who are you?"

L69    *xāhán  lyóon  /  xīi      ti        sāhan  /  ú   né*
      CON:say lion      CON:tell  it:AML    man       I    and
      The lion said to the man, "I..."

L9     *tōmhé  xāhan    chīdá  ti     /  xīi      ti      ītī    /*
      then     CON:say  father its:AML  CON:tell  it:AML animal

      *kāvyān     né   kūhun-h     ntúku  dī      īkyáhan*
      tomorrow   and  POT:go-we:IN with    you:SG forest
      Then his father said to him, "TOMORROW we will go with you to the forest."

The quotation introducer also includes other speech verbs, such as *tēxūnā* 'ask' and *návākútāhá*, a compound form meaning 'reply' (see §5.1.1). These speech verbs occasionally follow the quotation.

L45    *lō    míīsmo tēxūnā    ti    / dōho  dí*
      the   same    COM:ask it:AML who   you:SG
      He asked THE SAME [QUESTION], "Who are you?"

L38   *nkwá   ú   /   návákútáhá   ti*
      NEG    I      COM:reply      it:AML
      "Not I," it replied. *or* "I am not [he]," it replied.

Examples of quotations that contain more than one sentence are found in L26–29, L36–37, L39–42, L45–46, L47–49, L54–55, L56–60, L61–62, L69–70, L78–79, L80–81, Lo9–10, and G6–7.

The introducer may be omitted altogether in order to achieve a heightened dramatic effect.

L63–65 *tōmhē   lyóon   ntúúku   dīyhūn   ti         chīkā       ti    /*
        then    lion    with     tooth    its:AML   COM:walk   it:AML

        *chēhé      ti       hīiyu  /  mí    nāntháá     ti        sāhan  mī  //*
        COM:eat   it:AML    rope     and   COM:untie   it:AML    man    that

        *kenthā       dī       ú   /   kūhūn-h      mā    //*
        POT:follow   you:SG   me      POT:go-we:IN  now

        *tōmhē   kwēhēn   sā   ntúkū   ti*
        then    COM:go   he   with    it:AML

      Then THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH, and he freed the man. "You follow me [and] let's go now!" Then he went with the animal.

## 6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

An important way in which a sentence is related to its discourse context is through the use of certain linking expressions in sentence-initial position.

   Temporal succession is expressed by *mīkū* (or *mī*) 'and', *tōmhé* 'then', *mīkú tōmhē*, or *mīkū lúéko* (Sp. *luego* 'soon').

G15–16 *nkwá   túné         sá    ītī    /   chī   chhīnhu   sā   ītī       //*
        NEG    COM:catch    he    animal    CMP   COM:kill   he   animal

        *mīkū   sáhan   mī      náváyúune       sā*
        and    man     that    COM:go:home     he

      He could not catch the animal to kill it. Then THE MAN went home.

L18–19 *kwhīnō   dī       /   thíka   dīn    dī       //   tōmhē*
        POT:see  you:SG       thus    POT:do  you:SG        then

        *lyóon   chhātā   né     kāhán    ti*
        lion    big      and    POT:go   it:AML

      "You will see how to do it." Then THE BIG LION jumped.

W9–10 *tŏmhē    chākū   tá   chēhen   ya      /   nhūan     yá*
       then     mother  her  COM:go   person      POT:hunt  person

    *ámá   kwáa   /   chī   nādīxīkū   sā   tāhan   //   míkú   tŏmhē*
    one    shaman     CMP   POT:heal   he   woman   and  then

    *nāntuvā          yēhen   tā*
    COM:be:healed    base    she

Then HER MOTHER went to find a shaman to heal the woman. Then
she got well.

L22–23 *tŏmhē   lhín   mí   né   yēnó   tāvī   //   mīkū   lūéko   tūnkān*
        then    little that and  happy  INTS        and    soon    COM:hunt

    *ámá   yhūdú   chēeno    /   chī   chēhe   ntō   ūvī   ītī   ntīíku*
    one    horse   mountain      CMP   POT:eat  all   two   animal old

Then THE LITTLE [LION] was very happy. Then [he] hunted a deer for
both old animals to eat.

    (See also L60–61, L62–63, L64–65, L81–82, Lo8–9, Lo10–11, G7–8, and G10–11.)

Expectancy reversal, or a change of thought between one sentence and
the next, is expressed by *pērō* 'but' (Sp. *pero*) or *mīkū* 'and'.

G8–9 *chī   kāhan   tā   /   chī   kūhu     sā   /   chēhe   sā   //*
      CMP   COM:give she  CMP   POT:drink  he       POT:eat he

    *pērō   tāchí   kwēhēn   sā   /   kwhīntī sā   /   chēhē   sā   yūuntu  /*
    but    when    COM:go   he       POT:sit he       POT:eat he   tortilla

    *yúta   mī   nkwá   chīnúu          xīima*
    meat   that NEG    COM:be:found    salt

    ... which she gave [him] to eat and drink. But, when he went to sit
down [and] eat, he found that THE MEAT was not salted.

L58–59 *nī   nkwá   nākádīnō dī         chí   ntīchī   dī       sāhan   //*
        nor  NEG    POT:think you:SG     CMP   POT:see  you:SG   man

    *pērō   ntīíti nēhen    dī       ámá   fāvóor ntūk-ú*
    but    if     CON:want you:SG   one   favor  with-me

Don't even think about seeing [the] man. But if you want to do me
a favor ...

G2–3  *xāhan    sā  /  xī        sā  nthāta    yēhen  sā*
    CON:say  he   CON:tell  he   woman     base    his

       *chī   kwēnō     tá      sāhān   rānchō  chhātā  //  mīkū  táhan   mī*
       CMP   POT:wait  she     man     ranch   big         and   woman  that

    *kēnú              dāanthi  nāá  tá*
    COM:be:inside  lazy     face  hers

He told his wife to wait for him at the big ranch. But THE WOMAN was lazy.

Lo3–4  *mīkú  chākū   sā  xēhén  ya      /  xīkā     ya*
    and   mother  his  CON:go  person    CON:ask  person

       *nínú  sáhan  xūvī  xūvī  //  mīkú  vá         ámá  xūvī*
       corn  man    day   day       and  CON:exist  one  day

And HIS MOTHER would go [and] ask him for corn every day. But there was one day . . .

# 7

# Texts

## 7.1 The Story About a Lion

This text was originally published in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* (Davis 1954).

L1    *ūvī īyháyan chīnúū ti ī́kyahan*
two lion    COM:walk it:AML  forest
TWO LIONS were walking in the forest.

L2    *ītī    chhūn né ītī    réi yēhen īkyáhan*
animal  this:PL and animal king base    forest
THESE ANIMALS are the kings (Sp. *rey*) of the forest.

L3    *chī́ikā    xūvī / né    chīnīyáan dāyā ti*
COM:walk day    and COM:be:born child its:AML
The days passed, and their child was born.

L4    *ītī    lhín dīnéhēn tāvī chākú ti*
animal  little CON:love INTS  mother its:AML

      *ntúku chīdá ītī*
      with    father animal
His mother and father dearly loved THE LITTLE ANIMAL.

L5    *dīn      tāví   ālīmēntáar   lhín   mín*
     COM:do  INTS  to:feed      little  that
     [They] did much to feed (Sp. *alimentar*) the little [animal]. *or* [They]
     fed the little [animal] very well.

L6    *ītī      lhín   mí   nú      tāvī  chītá     ti*
     animal  little  that  quickly INTS  COM:grow  it:AML
     THE LITTLE ANIMAL grew very quickly.

L7    *tāchí  chhītī        xān   īyu   / a       chhātā tāvī  ti*
     when  COM:complete  six   month already  big     INTS  it:AML
     When six months had passed, he was already very big. *or* When [he]
     was six months old, he was already very big.

L8    *a      dámá  ti       ntūkū  chīdā  ti*
     already same  it:AML  with    father its:AML
     He and his father were already the same [size]. *or* He was already
     the same [size] as his father.

L9    *tōmhé  xāhan chīdá  ti    / xīi      ti      ītī   / kāvyān*
     then     CON:say father  its:AML CON:tell  it:AML  animal  tomorrow

         *né    kūhun-h   ntúku  dī     ikyáhan /  pārā chī*
         and   POT:go-we:IN  with  you:SG forest      for   CMP

         *thíka kwhēe  dī     nhūu    dī    / chī   chēhē   dī*
         thus  POT:learn you:SG POT:hunt you:SG CMP   POT:eat  you:SG
     Then his father said to him, "TOMORROW we will go with you to the
     forest so that (Sp. *para* 'for') you will learn to hunt for food."

L10   *tōmhē  né    ītī      lhín  mí   né    chīnīvēén  ti*
     then     and   animal little that  and   COM:listen  it:AML

         *chí   xāhan   chīdá  ti      ntúkū  chākú    ti     /*
         CMP  CON:say  father its:AML  with    mother   its:AML

         *xīi    ti       ītī*
         CON:tell it:AML  animal
     The LITTLE ANIMAL listened to what his father and mother told him.

L11   *yēnó tāví  ti     / chī   kāhán ti       ikyáhan*
     happy INTS  it:AML  CMP   POT:go it:AML  forest

         *ntūkū  chīdá  ti*
         with    father its:AML
     He was very happy that he could go to the forest with his father.

L12 *chīdāvā    támá xūvī  /  kwēhén    ntō    īnó    ti*
    COM:dawn next day     COM:go     all    three  it:AML
    It dawned the next day, [and] all three animals set out.

L13 *ntāá          ti        chhīitū    ámá    xīkū*
    COM:arrive it:AML    side        one    river
    They arrived beside a river. *or* They came to the edge of a river.

L14 *nthīchí ti        yhān    tāvī    ītī*
    COM:see it:AML    many    INTS    animal
    They saw very many animals.

L15 *ītī        chhén né    kūchí    chēenu    yhūuvi yhūdú chēenu*
    animal    that:PL and    pig        mountain    coati    horse    mountain

    *chīvī          kōnēxó hīímha    īyāáta    ntūkū    más ka    ītī*
    armadillo    rabbit skunk    opossum    with    more ADD    animal
    THE ANIMALS are peccaries (Reg. Sp. *cuchi* 'pig'), coatis, deer,
    armadillos, rabbits (Sp. *conejo*), skunks, opossums, and many other
    (Sp. *más* 'more') animals.

L16 *tōmhé    xāhan    lyóon /  xīi        sa dāyá    ti    /  mā    né*
    then        CON:say    lion    CON:tell    he child    its:AML now    and

    *chāa    ītī        chhūn    nēhēn    dī        chēhē    dī        ītī*
    which    animal    this:PL    CON:want you:SG    POT:eat you:SG    animal
    Then the lion (Sp. *león*) said to his son, "NOW, which of these animals
    do you want to eat?"

L17 *tōmhé    xāhan    ītī        lhín mí / ámá    ītī        chī    lhín    /*
    then        CON:say    animal little that one        animal CMP    little

    *kōsā chī    kūchā-á        kwhīnū    chēh-é    ītī*
    thing CMP    POT:be:able-I    POT:finish    POT:eat-I animal
    Then the little animal said, "An animal that is small, something (Sp.
    *cosa* 'thing') that I will be able to finish eating."

L18 *tōmhé    xāhan    lyóon    ntīíku / nthīíchí    dī        tākā*
    then        CON:say    lion    old        POT:see    you:SG    how

    *dī-ín        / chī    tūnkā-án    ītī        lhín    / kwhīnō    dī        /*
    POT:do-I CMP    POT:hunt-I animal    little        POT:see    you:SG

    *thíka dīn    dī*
    thus POT:do you:SG
    Then the old lion said, "You watch how I hunt a little animal, [and]
    you will see how to do it."

L19   *tōmhē   lyóon   chhātā né   kāhán  ti   / ntū  ámá*
      then    lion   big    and  POT:go it:AML  with one

      *tāhá  ti     stāhā    ti      ītī     lhín  mí*
      hand its:AML  COM:grab it:AML  animal little that
      Then THE BIG LION jumped, [and] he grabbed the little animal WITH
      ONE OF HIS PAWS.

L20   *ōséa    ámá  kūchí  chēeno  lhín*
      COM:be  one  pig     mountain little
      [It] was (Sp. *o sea* 'or perhaps [it] was') a small peccary.

L21   *kāhá     tī   / chēhe  dāyā ti*
      COM:give  it:AML  POT:eat child its:AML
      He gave [it] to his son to eat.

L22   *tōmhē   lhín  mí   né   yēnó  tāvī*
      then    little that  and   happy INTS
      Then THE LITTLE [LION] was very happy.

L23   *mīkū  lūéko  tūnkān   ámá yhūdú chēeno  / chī   chēhe*
      and    soon   COM:hunt  one  horse  mountain  CMP  POT:eat

      *ntō    ūvī   ītī     ntīíku*
      all    two   animal old
      Then (Sp. *luego*) [he] hunted a deer for both old animals to eat.

L24   *tōmhē   yēnó  tāvī  kūnāhán    ti*
      then    happy  INTS  POT:go:home it:AML
      Then they went home very happily.

L25   *tōmhē   lhín  mí   dīín    ti     rēsīvíir*
      then    little that  COM:do it:AML  to:receive

      *kōnséxo  yēhen  chīdā  ti*
      advice   base   father  its:AML
      Then THE LITTLE [LION] received (Sp. *recibir*) [some] advice (Sp.
      *consejo*) from his father.

L26   *xāhan   chīdá   ti   / xīi   ti   īī   / nākwhéhe*
      CON:say  father  its:AML  CON:tell  it:AML  animal  all

       *chī   ntīichu-h   dīchhīívha   chī   chūhū-h   ménos*
       CMP   POT:see-we:IN  CON:be:good  CMP  POT:eat-we:IN  except

       *ámá   sáhan   chī   xūvī   sā   ānīmál  ōombre*
       one   man   CMP   name   his   animal  man
      His father said to the animal, "ALL [THE ANIMALS] THAT WE SEE are good for us to eat except (Sp. *menos*) a man who is called animal-man (Sp. *animal, hombre*).

L27   *sāhan mī   né   dīn   tāvī  dī   / kwīdádo  dī   /*
      man   that   and   POT:do  INTS  you:SG  care   you:SG

       *kātē    sáhan   mī   āstúto  tāvī  sā*
       because  man   that   sly   INTS   he
      You must be very careful (Sp. *cuidado*) of THE MAN because HE is very sly (Sp. *astuto*).

L28   *sáhan mī   nī   nkwá   nthīchī  sā  /*
      man   that   nor   NEG   POT:see  he

       *né   kāanhu   sā   chúhūnh*
       and   POT:kill   he   us:IN
      THE MAN doesn't even (Sp. *ni* 'nor') [need to] see [us], and [yet] he can kill us.

L29   *a   chīnīvī      sā  vída  yūhūn-h*
      already  POT:take:away  he  life  base-our:IN
      He will take away our lives (Sp. *vida*)."

L30   *tōmhē  xāhan   lyóon  lhín  mí // ú   né   chhātā tāvī ú /*
      then   CON:say  lion   little  that  I  and  big   INTS  I

       *dītū   tāvī  ú   / kāani  tāvī  ú   /*
       strong  INTS  I   fast   INTS  I

       *mí   dī-ín   dēsēáar  chī  ntīch-í  sáhan  mī*
       and   POT:do-I  to:desire  CMP  POT:see-I  man   that
      Then the little lion said, "I am very big, [and] I'm very strong, [and] I'm very fast, and I want (Sp. *desear*) to see the man."

L31 *támá xūvī né    dīin      ti     dēspēdīir*
next  day  and  COM:do  it:AML  to:say:goodbye

    *yēhen  víhī*
    base    companion
THE NEXT DAY, he said goodbye (Sp. *despedir*) to [his] parents.

L32 *lyóon chhātā mí    kwēhén  ti    ámá yūni*
lion  big     that  COM:go  it:AML  one  road
THE BIG LION went down one road.

L33 *ītī     nthātā  mí    kwēhén ti    támá    yúní*
animal  woman  that  COM:go it:AML  another  road
THE FEMALE LION went down another road.

L34 *ītī     lhín  stāhá    ti     támá    yúní*
animal  little  COM:grab  it:AML  another  road
THE LITTLE ANIMAL took [still] another road.

L35 *ntāa     ītī    lhín  mí    nāchī*
COM:arrive  animal  little  that  place

    *kēné         ámá  ītīntū*
    COM:be:located  one   cow
The little animal came to a place where there was a cow.

L36 *tōmhé  xāhán    ti   /  xīi     ti      ītī     /  dōho dí*
then   CON:say  it:AML  CON:tell  it:AML  animal   who  you:SG
Then he said to the animal, "Who are you?

L37 *á    nkwá    dī       chí   sáhan  mí*
INT  NEG    you:SG  CMP   man    that
Are YOU NOT the man?"

L38 *nkwá  ú   /  nāvākútāhá  ti*
NEG    I     COM:reply   it:AML
"Not I," it replied. *or* "I am not [he]," it replied.

L39 *sáhan mí    īkūyatū  sā  ú*
man    that  CON:tie   he  me
"THE MAN ties me up.

L40 *īdīn    sā / chí   íntha     ámá  khūu / chīntā    mā    yāhan*
CON:do  he  CMP  CON:find  one  iron   COM:drive  SPEC  ground
He finds an iron [and] drives [it] into the ground.

L41    *sāhan mī    āstúto  tāvī  sā̃*
        man   that   sly     INTS  he
        THE MAN is very sly.

L42    *nī   nkwá   nākádīnō  dī      chī  ntīchī   dī      sāhan  /*
        nor  NEG   POT:think  you:SG  CMP  POT:see  you:SG  man

        *kātē     sāhan  mī   kāanhu  sā̃  dī*
        because  man    that   POT:kill  he  you:SG
        Don't you even think about seeing the man because HE will kill you."

L43    *kāntīí       ti    /  kwēhēn   ti*
        COM:follow  it:AML   COM:go   it:AML
        He went on his way.

L44    *ntāá       ti     nāchī  kēné            ámá  yhúúdu*
        COM:arrive  it:AML   place   COM:be:located  one   horse
        He came to a place where there was a horse.

L45    *lō   mīīsmo  tēxūnā   ti    /  dōho dí*
        the  same    COM:ask  it:AML  who  you:SG
        He asked THE SAME (Sp. *lo mismo*) [QUESTION], "Who are you?

L46    *á   nkwá  dí     chí   sāhan  mī*
        INT  NEG   you:SG  CMP  man    that
        Are YOU NOT the man?"

L47    *nāvākútāha yhúudu  mī  /  nkwá   ú   chī   sāhan  mī*
        COM:reply  horse    that   NEG   I   CMP  man    that
        The horse answered, "I am NOT the man.

L48    *sáhan mī  né   xā̃     sā̃ ú*
        man   that  and   CON:ride  he  me
        THE MAN rides me.

L49    *īkāndēd-í     sāhan  yāhān  tāvī*
        CON:carry-I  man    far     INTS
        I carry the man very far."

L50    *lyóon né  kāntīí       ti    /  kwēhén   ti*
        lion  and  COM:follow  it:AML  COM:go   it:AML
        THE LION went on his way.

L51  *ntāá*          *ti*         *ámá lūgáar náchí   ntāyāatu*
     COM:arrive    it:AML    one   place   place    COM:be:tied

     *ámá pāstóor*
     one   shepherd
He came to a place (Sp. *lugar*) where a shepherd (Sp. *pastor*) was
tied up.

L52  *sáhan mī    né    kyātú   dūkū    sáhan*
     man    that   and    COM:tie robber  man
Robbers had tied up THE MAN.

L53  *sáhan mī    né    dūkū     sā   ītī    yēhen   sā*
     man    that   and    COM:rob  he    animal  base     his
They stole HIS animals.

L54  *tōmhē   xāhan    lyóon / xī          ti         sáhan /   dōho   dī*
     then    CON:say  lion    CON:tell   it:AML   man        who     you:SG
Then the lion said to the man, "Who are you?

L55  *á     dī        chī    sáhan   mī*
     INT   you:SG  CMP   man       that
Are YOU the man?"

L56  *tōmhē   návākútāha  sā   mī / nkwá   ú    chī   sáhan /*
     then    COM:reply    he    that NEG      I     CMP    man

     *āmíko   lyóon*
     friend   lion
Then he replied, "I am NOT the man; [but I] am the lion's friend (Sp.
*amigo*).

L57  *sáhan mī    chīkyāatū    sā   ú    mūhūn*
     man    that   ?:COM:tie     he    me    here
THE MAN tied me here.

L58  *nī   nkwá   nākádīnō dī         chí   nthīchī   dī         sāhan*
     nor   NEG     POT:think you:SG  CMP   POT:see   you:SG    man
Don't you even think about seeing the man!

L59  *pērō ntíīti  nēhen        dī       ámá fāvóor ntūk-ú /*
     but   if       CON:want   you:SG  one  favor    with-me

     *nānthāti dī        ú*
     POT:untie you:SG   me
But (Sp. *pero*) if you want to do a favor (Sp. *favor*) for me, untie
me.

L60   *ú    né    kūmh-í    sāhan   mī   dí      /   kâte        mīnīyūn*
      I    and   POT:show-I   man    that  you:SG    because  just:now

      *chōho    sā*
      COM:pass   he
      I will show you the man, because he JUST NOW passed by."

L61   *tōmhé    nāvākútāha   lyóon  /  nānthát-í    dí        mīnīyūn  /*
      then     COM:reply    lion     POT:untie-I   you:SG   just:now

      *né    kēntánā     dī*
      and   POT:follow   you:SG
      Then the lion replied, "I will untie you right now and you follow
      [me].

L62   *kūhūn-h    /    kātē     ú   nēh-én      ntích-í    sāhan    mī*
      POT:go-we:IN   because   I   CON:want-I   POT:see-I   man     that
      Let's go because I want to see the man."

L63   *tōmhē    lyóon   ntūúku   dīyhūn  ti      chīkā     ti    /*
      then     lion    with     tooth   its:AML  COM:walk  it:AML

      *chēhé     ti      hīiyu  /  mí   nānthāá    ti       sāhan   mī*
      COM:eat   it:AML   rope      and  COM:untie  it:AML   man     that
      Then THE LION broke the rope WITH HIS TEETH, and he freed the man.

L64   *kēnthā    dī       ú   /   kūhūn-h      mā*
      POT:follow  you:SG   me      POT:go-we:IN   now
      "You follow me [and] let's go now!"

L65   *tōmhē    kwēhēn   sā   ntúkū   ti*
      then     COM:go    he   with    it:AML
      Then he went with the animal. or Then he and the animal went.

L66   *ntāa       sā   nā    rāāncho  yēhen*
      COM:arrive   he   face  ranch    base:UN
      He arrived at his ranch (Sp. *rancho*).

L67   *mī   né    a        vá         yān   sā   ámá  thūuvi*
      and  and   already   CON:exist   prepared  he   one   trap

      *yēhen   yáyan*
      base    coyote
      He had already prepared a trap for the coyotes.

L68   *nkāá       ti    /  chī   xēhé      ti       chīvú   yēhen   sā*
      COM:come   it:AML   CMP  CON:eat   it:AML   goat    base    his
      They came [and] ate his goats (Sp. *chivo*).

L69     *tõmhé    xāhán     lyóon / xīi     ti     sāhan   /*
       then     CON:say   lion   CON:tell  it:AML  man

       *ú   né   kwīkū  ú*
       I   and   hungry  I
       Then the lion said to the man, "ı am hungry.

L70     *ntíītī   nkwá   kūmhī   dī     sāhan  mī   ú   /*
       if     NEG    POT:show  you:SG  man     that  me

       *chēh-é   dī*
       POT:eat-I  you:SG
       If you won't show me the man, I will eat you."

L71     *tõmhē   xāhan   sā / xī    sā   ītī    / ntítī  kwīkū  dí    /*
       then    CON:say  he   CON:tell  he  animal  if     hungry  you:SG

       *chéhē   dī    ītī    chī   kēné       mūhūn*
       POT:eat  you:SG  animal  CMP  COM:be:located  here
       Then he said to the animal, "If you are hungry, then eat the animal
       that is here."

L72     *tõmhē   chhíhīn   sā  thūuvi  mī    ītī    /*
       then    COM:show  he  trap    that   animal

       *mī   nīkéné         ámá  lūnchí*
       and   PERF:be:located  one  little:goat
       Then he showed the trap to the animal, and there was a little goat.

L73     *ītī     mī    kwīkū  ti    / kwēhēn  ti    / chéhē     ti*
       animal  that  hungry  it:AML  COM:go   it:AML  POT:eat   it:AML

       *lūnchí     mī*
       little:goat  that
       THE ANIMAL was hungry, [and so] he went to eat the little goat.

L74     *mí  chī  ntánū          ti     nā    thūūvi  mī*
       and  CMP  COM:arrive:under  it:AML  face  trap    that
       He jumped quickly into the trap.

L75     *ānkūtá  chī  kādī      nākēntáā  ti*
       never   CMP  POT:be:able  POT:escape  it:AML
       He will NEVER be able to escape.

L76     *sāhan  mī   kwēhen  sā  / kānēnkwāi  sā  īnkáātu  yēhen*
       man   that  COM:go  he   POT:bring   he  rifle     base
       THE MAN went to get [his] rifle.

L77   *nākwēhēn sā   /  kāanhu    sā  lyóon    mī*
      COM:go     he    POT:kill   he  lion     that
      He was going to kill the lion.

L78   *tōmhé   xāhan    lyóon   mī  /  xīi      ti      sáhan  /*
      then     CON:say  lion    that   CON:tell  it:AML  man

         *nānchhākú  ú     yēhen   vīida   yēh-én*
         POT:pardon  me    base    life    base-my
      Then the lion said to the man, "Pardon me for my life's sake.

L79   *nkwá   kāanhu     di       ú*
      NEG    POT:kill   you:SG   me
      Don't kill me."

L80   *tōmhē   nāvākútāha  sā  mī  /  ntítī  nkwá  kān-hú    dī    /*
      then     COM:reply   he  that   if     NEG   POT:kill-I  you:SG

         *nākāntā-á    dī      /  tōmhē  chēhē    di      ú*
         POT:let:go-I  you:SG     then   POT:eat  you:SG  me
      Then he answered, "If I don't kill you [but] free you [instead], then
      you will eat me.

L81   *dyóká   nthāī   kān-hú    dí*
      better   good    POT:kill-I  you:SG
      It is better to kill you."

L82   *tōmhē   chhīinhu   sā  ītī*
      then     COM:kill   he  animal
      Then he killed the animal.

## 7.2 The Story About the Locusts

This text was originally published in *Tlalocan* (Davis 1962).

L00   *kwēntó   yēhen   lānkósta*
      story     base    locust
      The story (Sp. *cuento*) about the locusts (Sp. *langosta*)

L01   *ntā          ámá  tyémpo  ámá  kwīkū  dán      chí   kénū*
      COM:arrive    one  time    one  hunger  strong   CMP   COM:be:inside
      A time (Sp. *tiempo*) came when there was a great famine.

Lo2   *vāa        tá      ūuvi  īnthī  tá  yáan  mī  chí    vá*
      CON:exist  she    two   old    she  land  that  CMP  CON:exist

      *ámá  dāyá  ya        sáhan*
      one  child  person  man
      There were two old women in a town who [each] had a son.

Lo3   *vá          tāvī  nínú  yēhen  sā  /  míkú    chākū    sā*
      CON:exist  INTS  corn  base   his  and  mother  his

      *xēhén    ya      /  xīkā      ya        nínú  sáhan  xūvī  xūvī*
      CON:go  person  CON:ask  person  corn  man    day    day
      [One of the men] had a lot of corn and HIS MOTHER would go [and]
      ask him for corn every day.

Lo4   *míkú  vá          ámá  xūvī  chī  chī  dāanthi   sā  hīyan*
      and    CON:exist  one  day    CMP  COM:be lazy    he  person
      But there was one day when he became lazy.

Lo5   *nthīichi  sá  hīyan  chī  kūchiī      ya*
      COM:see  he  person  CMP  COM:come  person
      He saw the person who was coming [to his house].

Lo6   *tōmhé   xāmé  xāhan   sā  /  xī    sā  /  ú   kāh-án  /*
      then     ?      CON:say  he  CON:tell  he  I   POT:go-I

      *kūnūntēh-é  chētē     vāha    nāchī  vá          nínú  /  míkú*
      POT:hide-I  stomach  house   place  CON:exist  corn    and

      *kúchī    dī      chāk-ú         chī  nkwā-á             vāha*
      POT:tell  you:SG  mother-my  CMP  NEG:CON:exist-I  house
      Then he said, "I am going to hide in the corn crib (lit. house where
      there is corn), and you tell my mother that I am not home."

Lo7   *mí  sāhan  kwēhen  sā  /  kúnúntēhe  sā  nā    váha*
      and  man    COM:go  he  POT:hide     he  face  house

      *chī  vá          nínú*
      CMP  CON:exist  corn
      So THE MAN went to hide in the corn crib.

Lo8   *tómhé   chākū    sā  ītēxúná     yá        sāhan  /  tīín    kwēhen*
      then     mother  his  CON:ask  person  man      where  COM:go

      *dāy-á       /  kātē        téché      sá  nínú  ú*
      child-my   because  POT:give  he  corn  me
      Then HIS MOTHER asked [about] the man, "Where did my son go
      because he is going to give me [some] corn."

Lo9  *míkú  tōmhē  xāhan      táhan  sā  mī  / kwéhén  ne        /*
     and   then   CON:say   woman  his  that  IMP:go   you:RES

     *míkú  kāmā  chíī       ne*
     and   soon   POT:come  you:RES
     Then his wife said, "Go, and return soon.

Lo10  *nēhēn        chí   nántā      sā*
      meanwhile  CMP  COM:return  he
      Meanwhile he will have returned."

Lo11  *míkú  ínthī  tā     mī   kūnāhān      ya*
      and   old   she   that  POT:go:home  person
      Then THE OLD WOMAN went home.

Lo12  *táchí  ūuvi  nāá  kūnāhán      ya    /  tōmhē  táhan     mī*
      when   two   ?    POT:go:home  person   then   woman    that

      *chēhen  tá  /  nāvhān    tá  vāha   nāchī  kēnúū        sá*
      COM:go  she   COM:open  she  house  place  COM:be:inside  he
      A short time after she went home, THE WOMAN went [and] opened
      the building where he was.

Lo13  *ntí     túnú   chhākū  ntīi*
      until   much  sound   there
      There was a tremendous noise.

Lo14  *kāntháa      lānkōstā  chhēn*
      COM:follow  locust    that:PL
      Many locusts came out.

Lo15  *chhínú       chēhé     ti     sáhan*
      COM:finish  COM:eat  it:AML  man
      They had completely eaten the man.

Lo16  *ā        dámāa  íní   sá  kēntítí       sá   /*
      already  only   bone  his  COM:lie:down  he

      *chī   nkwá  kāha       sā  nínú  chākū   sá*
      CMP  NEG  COM:give  he   corn  mother  his
      ONLY HIS SKELETON was lying [there] because he did not give his
      mother corn.

## 7.3 The Story About a Woman

This text was originally published in *Tlalocan* (Davis 1962).

W0  *ámá  kwēntó yēhen  ámá  nthātā  chí  chhēno*
    one   story   base   one  woman  CMP  COM:happen
    A story (Sp. *cuento*) about a woman which happened *or* A true story
    about a woman

W1  *chēhēn  tá  /  nāa      tā  /  mīkū    chí      kwīkū  tāvī  tá  /*
    COM:go  she  POT:wash she  and  COM:be hungry  INTS  she

      *mīkū  nkwá  chīnāhān    tā  /  chēhe  tā  lūéko*
      and  NEG  COM:go:home  she   POT:eat  she  soon
      A woman went to wash [clothes] and she became very hungry, but
      she didn't go home to eat right away (Sp. *luego*).

W2  *mīkū  dátāachī  chí   chīnūnāa  tā  /  amtá       kwīku  tā*
    and   ?:when   CMP   COM:?:wash she  no:longer  hungry she
    When she finished washing, she was no longer hungry.

W3  *mīkū  nāntāa       tāntōho    nīnī  xūvī  kwāxīvī  /*
    and    COM:return  meanwhile  eight  day   after

      *kēntá          xūvī  yēhēn  tā   tāchī  lóka  tā*
      ?:COM:arrive  day   base   her  when   crazy she
      Meanwhile (Sp. *tanto*), after eight days had passed, the day came
      when she was crazy (Sp. *loca*).

W4  *tāchīn  chīnkāha    chī   nīxéen      yēhen  tā  chī   lóka  tā  /*
    when    COM:begin  CMP   COM:appear  base   her  CMP   crazy she

      *chīnkāha    hīyūn      tā*
      COM:begin  CON:laugh  she
      When it began to show that she was crazy, she began to laugh.

W5  *hīyun      tāvī  tá*
    CON:laugh  INTS  she
    She laughed wildly.

W6  *mīkū  tāchī  īnthītī          tá  /  xīdákā       tāvī  tīin  tā*
    and    when   CON:lie:down  she   CON:tangle  INTS  head  her
    Whenever she lay down, her hair would get very tangled.

w7  *mīkū  tāchī  chāku  tá  hīya        ntúku  āséíte  /*
    and   when   mother  her  CON:comb  with   oil

    *īnādīdaūn              ya  /  vēná  ntūvē                /*
    CON:make:smooth       person  before  POT:turn:around

    *dákā   tāvī  tūun*
    tangled  INTS  again
    Whenever HER MOTHER combed [her hair] with oil (Sp. *aceite*) [and]
    smoothed [it], before [she] could turn around [it] was very tangled
    again.

w8  *mīkū  kādā  hīyan  chī  xéhén  ya  /  yāvhī  ya*
    and   each   person  CMP  CON:go  person  CON:greet  person

    *tāhan  /  thīkā  īnāntāchī                tá  tīnó  yēhén  ya*
    woman   thus  CON:vomit:repeatedly       she  cloth  base  person
    As for everyone (Sp. *cada* 'each') who goes [and] visits the woman,
    she vomits on their clothes.

w9  *tōmhē  chākū  tá  chēhen  ya  /  nhūan  yá*
    then    mother  her  COM:go  person  POT:hunt  person

    *ámá  kwáa  /  chī  nādīxīkū  sā  tāhan*
    one  shaman  CMP  POT:heal   he  woman
    Then HER MOTHER went to find a shaman to heal the woman.

w10  *míkú  tōmhē  nāntuvā          yēhen  tā*
     and   then   COM:be:healed  base   she
     Then she got well.

## 7.4 The Story About a Ghost

This text was originally published in *Tlalocan* (Davis 1962).

G0  *ámá  kwénto  yēhen  tá  ntīiyū  chí  chīi*
    one  story   base  she  ghost  CMP  COM:be
    A story (Sp. *cuento*) about a ghost that happened *or* A true story
    about a ghost

G1  *ámá  sāhan  chī  ntúkū  sā  ūuvi  nthāta*
    one  man   CMP  with   him  two   woman
    [There was] a man who [had] two wives.

G2   *ámá   xūvī  kwēhen sá  ntūvā   / mí   xāhan   sā / xī        sā*
      one   day   COM:go  he  Oaxaca  and  CON:say  he  CON:tell  he

       *nthāta    yēhen   sā   chī   kwēnō   tá  sāhān ránchō chhātā*
       woman   base   his  CMP  POT:wait  she man   ranch big
      ONE DAY he went to the city of Oaxaca, and he told his wife to wait
      for him at the big ranch (Sp. *rancho*).

G3   *mīkū  táhan     mī   kēnú          dāanthi  nāá  tá*
      and    woman   that  COM:be:inside lazy       face her
      But THE WOMAN was lazy.

G4   *nkwá  tīmīkūun    tá    chēhen tá /   chēno    tá    sāhan*
      NEG   COM:want   she  COM:go she  COM:wait she   man

       *rānchō chhātā*
       ranch   big
      She did not want to go and wait for him at the big ranch.

G5   *mí  sāhan  khu   ākū     sā  chī  táhan    mī    vā      tá /*
      and man   this  CON:think he  CMP  woman   that   CON:exist she

       *vēnō    tá    sāhan ninū  nā   ránchō chhātā*
       CON:wait  she  man   near  face ranch big
      THE MAN thought that THE WOMAN was waiting for him at the big
      ranch.

G6   *tāchī  ntāa       sā / tōmhē xāhan   tā  /*
      when  COM:arrive  he    then   CON:say she

       *xī       tá    sāhan / dēhe chúka nhā dī*
       CON:tell  she  man    why  much  late  you:SG
      When he arrived, she said to him, "Why are you so late?

G7   *ā      vena  vén-é    dí     mūhūn*
      already before CON:wait-I  you:SG here
      I have been waiting A LONG TIME for you here."

G8   *mīkū ntāi     tá    tūhū   / ntāi       tá    yūuntu /*
      and   COM:bring she  chicken COM:bring she   tortilla

       *ntāi       tá    xādē   chī   kāhan   tá*
       COM:bring  she  tepache  CMP  COM:give she

       *chī   kūhu     sā / chēhe   sā*
       CMP POT:drink  he   POT:eat  he
      Then she brought [out] chicken, tortillas, [and] tepache (an alcoholic
      beverage), which she gave [him] to eat and drink.

G9  *pērō   tāchí   kwĕhēn   sā  /  kwhīntī   sā  /  chēhē   sā  yūuntu  /*
    but     when    COM:go   he     POT:sit   he     POT:eat he  tortilla

    *yúta   mī    nkwá   chīnúu        xīima*
    meat that    NEG    COM:be:found  salt
    But (Sp. *pero*) when he went to sit down [and] eat, he found that
    THE MEAT was not salted.

G10 *tōmhē   xāhan    sā  /  dēhe kūvī            chī*
    then     CON:say  he     why  POT:be:possible CMP

    *nkwá    nthíī      dī       xīima  yútā  khu*
    NEG      COM:put    you:SG   salt   meat  this
    He said, "Why is it possible that you didn't put [any] salt on the
    meat?"

G11 *mīkū   īnānkáká       sá  nā   sīrvyētá   yēhen   sā*
    and    CON:remember   he  face napkin     base    his

    *kēnē                 tālhín   xīima*
    COM:be:located some   salt
    Then he remembered that he had some salt IN HIS HANDKERCHIEF (Sp.
    *servilleta* 'napkin').

G12 *tōmhē   chēhēn sā  /  chítáhā   sā  /  mīkū chhíī    sā*
    then     COM:go he     COM:take  he     and  COM:put  he

    *xīimá   yútā  mī*
    salt     meat  that
    Then he took [the salt] and he salted the meat.

G13 *tōmhē   nthīchī   sā  chī   nthātā  míī   nāvākūntáā        ya*
    then     COM:see   he  CMP   woman   that  COM:turn:into     person

    *kú   /  mīkū yūta  mī   nāvākūntáā        yáhán  tōo  /*
    snake and  meat that  COM:turn:into     wood   rotten

    *míkú yūuntu mī   nāvākūntáā        yāata  íntēhē  /*
    and   tortilla that  COM:turn:into     leaf   oak

    *mīkū xādē     mī   nāvākūntáā        nūnī   yāhan*
    and   tepache  that  COM:turn:into     water  dirty
    Then he saw that THE WOMAN turned into a snake, and THE MEAT
    turned into rotten wood, and THE TORTILLAS turned into oak leaves,
    and THE TEPACHE turned into muddy water.

G14  *míkú   kú      mí   kwēhén   ti*
     and    snake   that  COM:go   it:AML
     Then THE SNAKE went [away].

G15  *nkwá  tūné        sá   ītī*   /  *chī  chhīnhu  sā   ītī*
     NEG   COM:catch  he  animal   CMP COM:kill   he   animal
     He could not catch the animal to kill it.

G16  *mīkū  sáhan  mī   nāváyūune   sā*
     and   man    that  COM:go:home  he
     Then THE MAN went home.

G17  *mīkū  tāchī   nāntāa      sa*  /
     and   when    COM:return  he

        *ykēnū            nthātā   yēhen   sā   vāha*
        COM:be:inside   woman    base    his   house
     And when he arrived, his wife was [already] at the house.

G18  *nkwá  tāhan  mī   chī   nthíchī   sā*  /  *sīnō   tá    ntīiyu*
     NEG   woman  that  CMP  COM:see   he   but  she   ghost
     It was NOT THE WOMAN whom he saw, but (Sp. *sino*) [he saw] a ghost.

## 7.5 Residue

There are several sentences in the preceding texts that are not accounted
for by the constructions described in this study. For various reasons they
are somewhat difficult to analyze, and no satisfactory analysis for them has
been presented here. These sentences are: L28, Lo1, Lo2, Lo13, Lo16, W3, W10, and
G1.