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**Studies in the
Syntax of Mixtecan Languages**

2

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

Editors

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Preface

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

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

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

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

BEH

February 1990

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

**A Syntactic Sketch of
Coatzospan Mixtec**

Priscilla C. Small

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Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Coatzospan Mixtec is spoken by approximately 2,000 people living in the municipal center of San Juan Coatzospan, in the district of Teotitlán de Flores Magón, Oaxaca, Mexico. This group speaks the northernmost Mixtec dialect and forms a small linguistic island surrounded by Mazatecs and Cuicatecs. The Mixtec dialect geographically closest to Coatzospan, that of Santa Ana Cuauhtémoc, is closely related linguistically (see Eglan 1978:25–37) but is separated by a deep river gorge and a day's journey on foot.

Within Coatzospan Mixtec the greatest degree of internal variation is found between men's and women's speech. It is expressed phonologically as palatalization of *t* and *nd* before front vowels in women's speech and lexically in the use of different terms for some concepts, particularly in the choice of pronoun to refer to a young male and in greetings and leave-takings. Unless otherwise stated, examples in this sketch are cited in men's speech. There is also slight dialectal variation between those living in San Juan and those living in outlying settlements, reflected mainly in the choice of motion/direction and position verbs. This study is based on the variety spoken in San Juan.

Up until 1978 Coatzospan could be reached only by mule or on foot. Now there is an unpaved road running through town, giving access by truck from Huautla de Jiménez and Teotitlán to the west and Jalapa de Díaz and Tuxtepec to the east. There has also been a notable increase in the level of education available in the local schools and in the degree of bilingualism with Spanish. In 1963 the town had only one schoolteacher, and he taught only first grade. There are now teachers for all six primary grades teaching both in San Juan and in outlying settlements under the

auspices of the National Indian Institute. A few of the teachers are local Mixtecs, but the language of the classroom is basically Spanish. Except in rare cases, however, Mixtec is still the language of the home and is used to carry on most business in the town hall.

There has been some intermarriage with Mazatecs from the surrounding area, and a few Mixtecs have learned Mazatec, mainly for the purpose of trade in the nearby Mazatec market towns. Although there are numerous loanwords from Spanish into Mixtec, which have undergone various degrees of assimilation, only one Mazatec loanword has been recorded to date.

The present study is based on data gathered by the author and her colleague, Janet Turner, during fieldwork in San Juan beginning in 1963. Most of the examples included here were provided in 1978 by José Pacheco Castro, who also wrote down the text in chapter 7 and then dictated it onto tape. At that time he was twenty-four years old. (This text has been published previously in Small [1979a].) Additional data were provided up through 1985 by Dolores Acosta de Campanela, who was at that time thirty-eight years old. Both language associates are natives of San Juan.

Research was aided considerably through the use of a concordance compiled by computer in 1972 at the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, supported by Grant R1032701 of the National Science Foundation.

0.2 Phonology

Coatzospan Mixtec has the following phonological units: voiceless stops and affricates *p* (rare) *t ts ch k kw*, prenasalized stops and affricates *mb nd ndz nj ng ngw*, voiceless fricatives *s sh*, voiced fricatives *v d dy*, nasals *m n ñ*, lateral *l*, flap *r*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e ï a u o*, nasalized vowels *in en in an un*. (In addition to these, voiceless fricatives *f x*, voiced fricative *g*, and semivowels *y* and *w* have entered through Spanish loanwords.) There are three tone accents: high (written with acute accent), low (written with macron), and a rare high-low glide (written with circumflex). Unaccented syllables do not carry contrastive tone; they assimilate to the tone of the following syllable. Tone is not marked on such syllables in this sketch. Extensive tone sandhi, both progressive and regressive, is a feature of this variety of Mixtec; the tones written in this sketch show the result of the sandhi rules, not the underlying tones.

The shape of a stem varies according to its position in the phonological phrase. Full forms occur only in the nucleus of the phrase. In nonnuclear positions, stems are unstressed and undergo various reductions. In

prenuclear position, the first member of a geminate vowel cluster is lost and frequently there is fusion of unlike vowels. Glottal stops are also lost in this position, and this sometimes causes the loss of a syllable. In postnuclear position, words are reduced to one syllable, sometimes by regular, though complex, rules and sometimes arbitrarily.

The phonology of Coatzospan Mixtec, including special emphasis on the tone system, is described more fully in Pike and Small (1974).

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1

Basic Sentences

1.1 Statements

Verbs fall into three classes—content, equative, and stative—which serve to define sentence types. Sentences with content verbs are impersonal, intransitive, or transitive; transitive and intransitive sentences optionally take various kinds of adjuncts. Equative sentences link a subject to a nominal complement either by an equative verb or without a verb. Stative sentences link a subject to a stative verb. Each of these sentence types may take a peripheral location or time element. They may also have any element within them fronted to indicate focus. In addition, each of these types may be used as a sentential complement within another sentence.

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

katáan
CON:quake
'There is an earthquake.'

túvī
POR:dawn
'It will dawn.'

tánī
COM:landslide
'There was a landslide.'

kūnéé

COM:become:dark

‘It got dark.’

kashihí

CON:shine

‘There is light.’

kakunjokō

CON:become:sultry

‘It is getting sultry.’

kakatsín

CON:cut

‘It is thundering.’

(See also 7.44.)

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

kaka *ú*

POT:walk I

‘I will walk.’

kidī-n

COM:sleep-you:SG

‘You slept.’

véshhī *tún*

INC:come she

‘She is coming.’

kakūn *davi*

CON:fall rain

‘Rain is falling.’

kaeku *ihshá*

CON:cry child

‘A child is crying.’

(See also 7.43, 7.55, 7.82, 7.102, 7.106, 7.118, 7.121, 7.122, and various others.)

A pronoun subject referring to a child or an inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of the unspecified pronoun (see 5.4); this form is indicated in examples by \emptyset .

kweku \emptyset
 POT:cry UN
 'It (child) will cry.'

idō \emptyset
 COM:boil UN
 'It (water) boiled.'

(See also 7.7, 7.24, 7.25, 7.55, 7.64, 7.102, and 7.106.)

With an arbitrary set of verbs a nonagentive personal pronoun subject is expressed by an object pronoun (see 5.4).

kakakīn *kó*
 CON:hunger me
 'I am hungry.'

kandoho *i*
 CON:suffer UN
 'It (child) is suffering.'

kutúhve *o*
 POT:become:prepared you:SG
 'You will become educated.'

1.1.3 Transitive sentences. The minimal form of a transitive sentence consists of a transitive verb, its subject, and its object. A pronoun object referring to a child is expressed by the unspecified pronoun *i*, and one referring to an inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of this pronoun (see 5.4).

kashihi *ī* *ndute*
 CON:drink it:AML water
 'It (animal) is drinking water.'

kadikō *xwaan* *túun*
 CON:sell John charcoal
 'John (Sp. *Juan*) sells charcoal.'

nū *tún* *nuni*
 COM:buy she corn
 'She bought corn.'

iní *u* *o*
 CON:know I you:SG
 'I know you.'

kaeshí \emptyset *ita*
 CON:eat UN tortilla
 'It (child) eats tortillas.'

ēhní *na* *i*
 COM:hit he UN
 'He hit it (child).'

nū *tún* \emptyset
 COM:buy she UN
 'She bought it (e.g., corn).'

(See also 7.5, 7.32, 7.51, 7.63, 7.66, and various others.)

As in the case of intransitive sentences, with an arbitrary set of verbs a nonagentive personal pronoun subject is expressed by an object pronoun.

ndio *kó* *ndika*
 CON:want me banana
 'I want a banana.'

kūnaá *īnī* *ko* *nā*
 COM:become:lost insides us:IN him
 'We forgot him.'

(See also 7.4, 7.40, 7.45, 7.46, 7.86, and 7.116.)

To express a reflexive direct object, the possessed noun *kūñú* 'flesh' or 'body' is used, followed by a possessor which is coreferential with the subject.

ēhní *u* *kūñú* *ko*
 COM:hit I body me
 'I hit myself.'

(See also 7.103.)

1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, associative, instrument, and referent. The presence or absence of a particular adjunct in a sentence is largely determined by the verb. Adjuncts frequently are expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see 3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see 4.3). The specific locative noun or preposition used depends on both the kind of adjunct and the specific verb. Adjuncts normally follow the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb.

The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location, depending on the meaning of the verb. (In this analysis, indirect object is classified as an animate source or destination, rather than as a separate adjunct.) This adjunct occurs mainly with verbs that express change of possession, change of location, placement, and position; with most of these it must occur unless it is understood from the context.

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct normally follows the object. With some of these verbs, no locative possessed noun or preposition signals the adjunct; in such cases, the adjunct occurs between subject and object when it is expressed as a poststressed pronoun.

ndáhvi ú dyuhún xwaan
 COM:pay I money John
 'I paid money to John.'

shéhe nā tutú ihshá
 COM:give he paper child
 'He gave paper to a child.'

shéhe nā i tutú
 COM:give he UN paper
 'He gave it (child) paper.'

Other verbs usually require the locative noun *ndaha* 'hand' to signal a locative adjunct. With such verbs, however, it is also possible for a pronominal locative adjunct to precede the object, in which case *ndaha* does not occur.

tash nūu ú tutú ndaha tūn
 COM:give face I paper hand her
 'I sent a letter to her.'

íkan nā dyuhun ndá uva nā
 COM:beg he money hand father him
 'He asked his father for money.'

íkān tún ko dyuhún
 COM:beg she me money
 'She asked me for money.'

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs) and intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct follows the subject. A wide variety of locative expressions occurs, from simple nouns or pronouns to complex phrases. The most frequently occurring locative possessed noun is *nuu* 'face'.

kañehe ná skwela
 CON:go he school
 'He goes to school (Sp. *escuela*).'

ñéhē tún kuchaña
 COM:go she Tehuacán
 'She went to Tehuacán.'

īnu tún ko
 COM:run she me
 'She ran away from me.'

ndekú koho núu i
 CON:be:on:SG dish face UN
 'A dish is on top of it (e.g., table).'

kihshi na nú vihi kó
 POT:come he face house me
 'He will come to my house.'

shée tūtú ndaha tún
 COM:arrive paper hand her
 'A letter came to her.'

(See also 7.25, 7.64, 7.102, 7.103, 7.109, and 7.118.)

Generally the direction of movement is implied in the verb, as seen in the above examples, but with a few verbs it is ambiguous. In order to help

distinguish between source and destination, locative phrases commonly terminate in a poststressed locative adverb *a* ‘here’ or *kān* ‘there’ (see 5.5); however, these do not ordinarily occur with specific place names.

káhvi tĩ má vihi ā
COM:enter it:AML under house here
‘It (animal) came inside.’

ndaa o nĩnú kān
POT:REP:GO:up we:IN above there
‘Let’s go up above.’

ñe níhi na tĩ nu uku kan
COM:go with he it:AML face mountain there
‘He took it (animal) to the mountain.’

vésh níhi na tĩ nú ndute kān
INC:come with he it:AML face water there
‘He is bringing it (animal) from the river.’

véshĩ tún kuchaña
INC:come she Tehuacán
‘She is coming to Tehuacán.’ or ‘She has come from Tehuacán.’

(See also 7.27, 7.75, and 7.103.)

With transitive verbs that express placement, the locative adjunct usually follows the object. In such sentences, the adjunct is signaled by a variety of locative possessed nouns or prepositions, the choice of which is governed by the verb.

shndēkú tun koho nú mēsa
COM:place:on:SG she dish face table
‘She put a dish on the table (Sp. *mesa*).’

tsūhun na dyuhún ini etun
COM:put:in:PL he money insides box
‘He put money into a box.’

kashnĩhni u tĩ má ētun
CON:place:under:SG I it:AML under box
‘I am putting it (animal) underneath a box.’

shnīhrí na tutú ndaha kó
 COM:place:under:sg he paper hand me
 'He tucked paper into my hand.'

(See also 7.5, 7.28, and 7.105.)

In 7.101, however, a locative adjunct precedes a direct object, possibly because the verb nucleus contains *núū* 'face' (see 2.1.1 and the description of the instrument adjunct below).

The associative adjunct is expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *nihī* or *nī* 'with'. This adjunct has the function of adding an additional participant to some other element of the sentence, most commonly the subject. It normally follows subject, object, and locative adjuncts, but can also occur immediately following the element it expands.

kaika xwaán nī ihshá na
 CON:walk John with child him
 'John is walking with his child.'

ñéhe na kūchaña nī ihshá na
 COM:go he Tehuacán with child him
 'He went to Tehuacán with his child.'

ñéhe na nī ihshā ná kuchaña
 COM:go he with child him Tehuacán
 'He went with his child to Tehuacán.'

kakahán tun nī tāhan tún
 CON:speak she with sister her
 'She is talking with her sister.'

kakahán tun rkotúun nī tún
 CON:speak she Spanish with her
 'She speaks Spanish with her.'

kahshi o úta nī ñā
 POT:eat we:IN tortilla with person
 'Let's eat tortillas with them.'

kaeshí na ndutsi nī shāha
 CON:eat he bean with chili
 'He is eating beans with chilies.'

(See also 7.11, 7.34, 7.37, and 7.85.)

In 7.123, *nihī* is used to add an additional possessor within a noun phrase.

Sometimes an associative adjunct could be considered an instrument, but in that there is a distinct way to express an instrument, as described below, I have chosen to consider adjuncts introduced by *nihī* 'with' to be associative.

kakahán tun ni tēléfono
 CON:speak she with telephone
 'She is talking on (with) the telephone (Sp. *teléfono*).'

nadīkē xwaan ni pīlota
 COM:REP:play John with ball
 'John played with a ball (Sp. *pelota*).'

kaeshī na ndivi ni ita na
 CON:eat he egg with tortilla him
 'He eats eggs with his tortillas.'

The preposition *nihī* is optionally incorporated into the verb nucleus (see 2.1.1), in which case the rest of the associative adjunct directly follows the subject, even when an object is present. The following five pairs of sentences show these alternative constructions.

kakan nihī tun tahan tún
 CON:speak with she sister her
 'She is talking with her sister.'

kakahán tun ni tāhan tún
 CON:speak she with sister her
 'She is talking with her sister.'

kanarkē nihī ihshá ko pīlota
 CON:REP:play with child me ball
 'My child is playing with a ball.'

kanadīkē ihshá ko ni pīlota
 CON:REP:play child me with ball
 'My child is playing with a ball.'

kaesh nihī na shaha ndutsi
 CON:eat with he chili bean
 'He eats beans with chilies.'

kaehshí na ndutsi ní shāha
 CON:eat he bean with chili
 'He eats beans with chilies.'

kakan nihí tun ko
 CON:speak with she me
 'She is talking with me.'

kakahán tun nī kó
 CON:speak she with me
 'She is talking with me.'¹

kakan nihí tun tún rkotúun
 CON:speak with she her Spanish
 'She speaks Spanish with her.'

kakahán tun rkotúun nī tún
 CON:speak she Spanish with her
 'She speaks Spanish with her.'

(See also 7.36 and 7.42.)

Sometimes a verb plus incorporated *nihí* forms a complex nucleus with an idiomatic meaning.

ñe nihí na ishā ná kuchaña
 COM:go with he child him Tehuacán
 'He took his child to Tehuacán.'

(See also 7.27.)

The instrument adjunct normally follows subject, object, and adjuncts other than referent. Instruments are always inanimate, and they are never signaled by a locative possessed noun or preposition in the adjunct itself.

¹The case of the pronouns in this example provides evidence for the analysis of *nihí* as a preposition rather than as a conjunction that creates additive noun phrases (see 3.8). If this sentence had an additive noun phrase as the subject, i.e., if it meant 'she and I speak', then the subject pronoun *ú* 'I' would occur rather than the object pronoun *kó* 'me' (see 5.4).

tádīn tīnā kó karniūun
 COM:be:squashed dog me bus
 'My dog was squashed by a bus (Sp. *camión*).'

kañehé tun kuchaña kárniūun
 CON:go she Tehuacán bus
 'She goes to Tehuacán by bus.'

kakahán tun ni tāhan tūn teléfono
 CON:speak she with sister her telephone
 'She talks with her sister by telephone.'

ēhndé tun ndaha tun káā
 COM:cut she hand her metal
 'She cut her hand with a machete.'

It is possible, however, to incorporate the locative possessed noun *núū* 'face' into the verb nucleus to signal an anticipated instrument. The occurrence of *núū* is largely conditioned by the verb; some verbs require it, others permit it, and still others do not take it. When *núū* occurs, the instrument may either occur in its usual final position, or it may directly follow the subject, even when an object is present, as in the case of the associative and pronominal locative adjuncts. The first two sentences below show the two possible orders.

ēndé nuu tūn ndaha tun káā
 COM:cut face she hand her metal
 'She cut her hand with a machete.'

ēndé nuu tun káa ndāha tūn
 COM:cut face she metal hand her
 'She cut her hand with a machete.'

kaesh núū tūn kutsara
 CON:eat face she spoon
 'She eats with a spoon (Sp. *cuchara*).'

(See also 7.44 and 7.45.)

The referent adjunct, which expresses a wide range of relationships, such as benefactive, delegative, and general reference, follows subject, object, and other adjuncts. It is usually marked by the locative possessed noun *īñā*

'thing', or by prepositions *kwenda* 'by' (Sp. *cuenta* 'account'), *kwenda iña* 'on behalf of', 'about', or 'in place of', or *náá* 'in place of'. With certain verbs, inanimate referents occur with no locative possessed noun or preposition.

kadiko na nūni iña uva na
 CON:sell he corn thing father him
 'He sells corn for his father.'

nū na shaha iña dihi na
 COM:buy he chili thing mother him
 'He bought chilies for his mother.'

kakahan ná iña vihi ndo
 CON:speak he thing house you:PL
 'He is talking about your house.'

kañehe na kwenda vite
 CON:go he account week
 'He goes by the week.'

ikān tūn dyuhun kwenda iña uvá tun
 COM:beg she money account thing father her
 'She asked for money on behalf of her father.'

kakahan ná naa uva na
 CON:speak he in:place:of father him
 'He is speaking in place of his father.'

shéhē tūn dyuhún chohó tun
 COM:give she money herb her
 'She gave money in exchange for her medicine.'

(See also 7.1, 7.35, 7.39, 7.41, and 7.123.)

With certain verbs, a human referent may be semantically ambiguous between two of these meanings, for example, between a benefactive and a general referent.

kakahán xwaan iña ení na
 CON:speak John thing brother:ME him
 'John is speaking for his brother.' or 'John is talking about his brother.'

tsishehē tún kwenda iñá xwaan
 COM:ask she account thing Juan
 'She asked on behalf of John.' or 'She asked concerning John.'

1.1.5 Equative sentences. Equative sentences occur both with an equative verb and without a verb. Sentences without a verb consist of a nominal complement followed by a subject; a pronoun subject referring to a child or inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of the unspecified pronoun (see 5.4). Such sentences are continuative in meaning.

duú xwaan
 priest John
 'John is a priest.'

xwaan na
 John he
 'He is John.'

tahan kó tun
 sister me she
 'She is my sister.'

ihshá ko ∅
 child me UN
 'It is my child.'

tīná tí
 dog it:AML
 'It is a dog.'

túūn ∅
 charcoal UN
 'It is charcoal.'

To express other aspects, it is necessary to employ the equative verb *kuvi* 'to become', or its repetitive form *nduvi* 'to turn into'. The normal sen-

tence order is verb—subject—nominal complement; however, if the nominal complement is a possessive noun phrase based on a kinship term (see 3.3), it often occurs between the verb and the subject. The first two sentences below show the two possible orders.

kuvi tún ihshá ko
 POT:become she child me
 ‘She will become my child.’

kuvi ihshá ko tún
 POT:become child me she
 ‘She will become my child.’

ndūvi na kiti
 COM:REP:become he animal
 ‘He turned into an animal.’

(See also 7.7.)

There is one other equative verb, *nani* ‘to be named’, which occurs only in the unmarked continuative aspect. The usual order in sentences with *nani* is nominal complement—verb—subject; in other sentence types this order indicates object focus (see 1.1.8).

xwaan nani eni ko
 John CON:be:named brother:ME me
 ‘My brother is named John.’

maria nani u
 Mary CON:be:named I
 ‘My name is Mary (Sp. *María*).’

1.1.6 Stative sentences. The minimal form of a stative sentence consists of a stative verb followed by its subject; a pronoun subject that refers to a child or an inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of the unspecified pronoun (see 5.4). Such sentences are continuative in meaning.

váhā xwaan
 good John
 ‘John is good.’

ata ñā
old person
'They are old.'

kahnu tūn
big:SG she
'She is big.'

kwetsi tī
small:PL it:AML
'They (animals) are small.'

ihni ndūte
hot water
'The water is hot.'

vidē ∅
wet UN
'It (e.g., cloth) is wet.'

nduhu ∅
fat UN
'It (child) is fat.'

(See also 7.26, 7.42, and 7.98.)

Occasionally a stative verb is used as the predicate of an impersonal sentence (see 1.1.1), in which case no subject occurs.

neé
dark
'It is dark.'

njokō
sultry
'It is sultry.'

Sometimes a stative verb and its subject are linked by a content verb in unmarked continuative aspect that expresses sensory perception or state of being.

váha ēhshi kúñū
 good CON:eat meat
 'Meat tastes good.'

kini ito tí
 ugly CON:look it:AML
 'It (animal) looks ugly.'

kidin tindahā ∅
 sticky CON:touch UN
 'It (e.g., paper) feels sticky.'

shó ñēhé ∅
 putrid CON:smell UN
 'It smells awful.'

ndāhvi kaa na
 poor CON:be:SG he
 'He seems pitiful.'

váhā ó itsi
 good CON:exist trail
 'The road is good.'

(See also 7.80.)

Stative sentences of the above types show no aspect inflection, even when they refer to times other than the present, as shown by the presence of a time peripheral element in the following examples.

váhā tún iku
 good she yesterday
 'She was okay yesterday.'

váhā ó itsi kidaa
 good CON:exist trail then
 'The trail was good then.' or 'The trail will be good then.'

It is sometimes possible, however, to express completive or potential aspect by a fairly productive morphological process in which the prefix *ku-*, a reduced form of *kuvi* 'to become', precedes a stative verb (see 5.1.1).

1.1.7 Peripheral elements. All sentence types may indicate time and location, although these are rare in equative and stative sentences. Peripheral location sets the scene of the entire sentence, and so it is distinct from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements may be adverbs, adverb phrases (see 4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see 3.6), prepositional phrases (see 4.3), or subordinate sentences (see 6.2.1). Peripheral elements normally follow subject, object, and adjuncts. When time and location cooccur, time follows location.

káhshi ña veví
 POT:come person today
 ‘They will come today.’

ēhní na kó iku
 COM:hit he me yesterday
 ‘He hit me yesterday.’

kadiko na tūun kúchaña
 CON:sell he charcoal Tehuacán
 ‘He sells charcoal in Tehuacán.’

ñéhē ú skwela ñúkohsho
 COM:go I school Mexico:City
 ‘I went to school in Mexico City.’

shíhi ñaha itsi kan ĩku
 COM:die person trail there yesterday
 ‘Someone died on the trail yesterday.’

káhān ú nī tūn teléfono ũtén
 POT:speak I with her telephone tomorrow
 ‘I’ll talk with her on the telephone tomorrow.’

(See also 7.1, 7.24, 7.47, 7.48, 7.107, 7.111, and 7.122.)

It is also possible for a peripheral element to precede an associative, instrument, or referent adjunct.

kaeshí na ita nú mēsa ni ihshá na
 CON:eat he tortilla face table with child him
 ‘He is eating tortillas at the table with his child.’

nākate nuu tun ñáhā vevii ndute ihri
 COM:REP:wash face she dish:PL today water hot
 'She washed dishes today with hot water.'

ñū na tsúhūn nú āhví kan iña dihi na
 COM:buy he chicken face market there thing mother him
 'He bought a chicken at the market for his mother.'

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, any one element (subject, object, adjunct, or peripheral element) may be focused by fronting it to preverbal position. The fronted element is optionally followed by the prestressed pronoun *é* 'unspecified third person' (see 5.4), which also functions as a complementizer (see 1.1.9) and as a relative pronoun (see 3.1.3). Whenever this word is used in a nonreferential way, it is glossed 'complementizer'. If the subject is fronted, a poststressed pronoun copy occurs in the usual subject position.

tíná shihi tí
 dog COM:die it:AML
 'A DOG died.'

dávi kakūn ∅
 rain CON:fall UN
 'RAIN is falling.'

xwaan kadíko na tūun
 John CON:sell he charcoal
 'JOHN sells charcoal.'

maria kuví tun ihshá ko
 Mary POT:become she child me
 'MARY will become my child.'

shoho kaka o ūtén
 we POT:walk we tomorrow
 'WE will walk tomorrow.'

xwaan é kākahan ná
 John CMP CON:speak he
 'It is JOHN that is speaking.'

(See also 7.42.)

In stative and equative sentences that contain no content or equative verb, subject focus requires the complementizer *é*.

xwaan é dūtu na
John CMP priest he
'It is JOHN that is a priest.'

ení ko é xwaan nani ná
brother:ME me CMP John CON:be:named he
'It is MY BROTHER that is named John.'

maria é kahnu tūn
Mary CMP big:SG she
'It is MARY that is big.'

(See also 7.61 and 7.86.)

If the object is fronted, no pronoun copy occurs.

tsūhun nūi na
chicken COM:buy he
'He bought A CHICKEN.'

xwaan éhni tūn
John COM:hit she
'She hit JOHN.'

ndika kahshi ú
banana POT:eat I
'I'll eat A BANANA.'

shohō ndio tūn
us CON:want her
'She wants US.'

tūūn é kadiko nā
charcoal CMP CON:sell he
'It is CHARCOAL that he sells.'

(See also 7.78, 7.90, and 7.94.)

If an adjunct is fronted, any preposition or locative possessed noun associated with it is retained in its normal position, followed by the appropriate pronoun copy.

Locative:

kuchañá ñehé u
Tehuacán COM:go I
'I went TO TEHUACÁN.'

maría shehé na dyuhún
Mary COM:give he money
'He gave money TO MARY.'

uvā tún ikán tun dyuhun ndáha ña
father her COM:beg she money hand person
'She asked HER FATHER for money.'

(See also 7.12, 7.13, 7.16, 7.29, 7.72, 7.74, 7.109, and various others.)

Associative:

xwaan káhshi ú ni nā
John POT:eat I with him
'I'll eat with JOHN.'

shuhú kakahan tún nī kó
me CON:speak she with me
'She is talking with ME.'

Instrument:

kwihí shihi ña
sickness COM:die person
'They died OF AN ILLNESS.'

kāa éni nuu na ñ
metal COM:hit face he it:AML
'He killed it (animal) WITH A MACHETE.'

(See also 7.40.)

Referent:

xwaan kakáhān ná naa na
 John CON:speak he in:place:of him
 'He is speaking in place of JOHN.'

maria é kākahan ná iñá tun
 Mary CMP CON:speak he thing her
 'It is MARY that he is talking about.'

Peripheral elements are focused by fronting the entire element to preverbal position.

Time:

vevií kahán u nī tūn
 today POT:speak I with her
 'I'll talk with her NOW.'

(See also 7.51, 7.86, 7.92, 7.106, and 7.116.)

Location:

nú āhví kān ñī na tsúhūn
 face market there COM:buy he chicken
 'He bought a chicken AT THE MARKET.'

itsi kuchaña é ini ú na
 trail Tehuacán CMP COM:see I him
 'It was ON THE ROAD TO TEHUACÁN that I saw him.'

(See also 7.99, 7.122, and 7.123.)

A stronger form of focus, which may be termed sentence topic, is indicated by postposing the conjunction *ne* 'and' to a preverbal focused element, with pause following. An appropriate pronoun copy of a focused noun phrase follows the verb in normal position.

xwaán ne / kadiko na tūn
 John and CON:sell he charcoal
 'As for John, he sells charcoal.'

shuhú ne / maria naní u
 I and Mary CON:be:named I
 'As for me, my name is Mary.'

tīná ko ne / vide tĩ
 dog me and wet it:AML
 'As for my dog, it's wet.'

ndévi ne / kaehshí tun Ø
 egg and CON:eat she UN
 'As for eggs, she eats them.'

mariá ne / shée tūtú ndaha tūn
 Mary and COM:arrive paper hand her
 'As for Mary, a letter came to her.'

veví ne / kakidi na
 today and CON:sleep he
 'Now, he's sleeping.'

(See also 7.2, 7.10, 7.48, 7.107, and 7.115.)

Both sentence topic and ordinary focus can occur in the same sentence.

xwaán ne / túun kadiko nā
 John and charcoal CON:sell he
 'As for John, he sells CHARCOAL.'

iku ne / kuchañá ñehé tun
 yesterday and Tehuacán COM:go she
 'Yesterday, she went to TEHUACÁN.'

(See also 7.34.)

1.1.9 Sentential complements. All of the basic sentence types, including those with one element in focus position, may occur as subject or object in another sentence. The order is the same as that of the basic sentence types.

Subject complements occur with intransitive verbs such as *kwiñindúhū* 'to begin', *kuví* 'to finish', and *kuví* 'to be able'. The main verb and the complement verb normally agree in aspect, and the complement immediately follows the main verb, with no intervening complementizer.

kwiñindúhu tāan
 POT:begin POT:quake
 'It will begin to quake.'

kaiñinduhu kakñn davi
 CON:begin CON:fall rain
 'It is beginning to rain.'

kūvi dé váha na etun
 COM:finish COM:do good he box
 'He finished making a box.'

kuvi kahshi o ∅
 POT:be:able POT:eat WE:IN UN
 'We will be permitted to eat it.'

Subject complements also occur in stative sentences that contain a stative verb or adverb and a reduced form of the content verb *koo* 'to exist'. In such sentences the complementizer *é* sometimes occurs. Sentences with the complementizer differ in meaning from those without it, as seen in the following examples.

kwān ko kahan na
 thus POT:exist POT:speak he
 'He will speak thus.'

váhā ó kakahan ná
 good CON:exist CON:speak he
 'He speaks well.' or 'His speaking is good.'

váhā o é kñshi na
 good CON:exist CMP COM:come he
 'It is good that he came.'

(See also 7.6, 7.29, 7.33, 7.47, 7.56, 7.73, and 7.115.)

Object complements show varying degrees of restriction, depending on the nature of the main verb.

A phasal verb, such as *kaninduhū* 'to begin', requires that the complement sentence have a subject coreferential with that of the matrix sentence; whereas other verbs, such as *ndio* 'to want', may have noncoreferen-

tial subjects. If the subjects of the two verbs are not coreferential, the complement is introduced by the complementizer *é*.

kaninduhū tūn kahshí tun ita
 POT:begin she POT:eat she tortilla
 'She will begin to eat tortillas.'

eninduhu nā kaika na
 COM:begin he CON:walk he
 'He began walking.'

ndio tūn kīhín tun
 CON:want her POT:go she
 'She wants to go.'

ndio ko é kīhín tun
 CON:want me CMP POT:go she
 'I wanted her to go.'

Some main verbs impose aspect restrictions on the complement verb. A full study of these restrictions is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

Another type of verb that takes object complements has the function of reporting and includes verbs such as *iní* 'to know', *kāhān* 'to speak' or 'to say', and *kwini* 'to feel' or 'to think'. Object complements that follow such verbs are introduced by either *é* or, more frequently, by the conjunction *tsí* 'because' (see 6.2.1). There are no restrictions of person or aspect between the matrix sentence and the complement.

iní u é maria naní tun
 CON:know I CMP Mary CON:be:named she
 'I know that she is named Mary.'

iní u tsí xwaan kīhín na
 CON:know I because John POT:go he
 'I know that John will go.'

kakahan na tsí kīhín na
 CON:speak he because POT:go he
 'He says that he will go.'

(See also 7.36, 7.40, 7.42, and 7.45.)

With the verb *kwini*, the complement is normally fronted, followed by pause, with no complementizer. The verb *káhān* has a fronted complement when it occurs in the unmarked continuative aspect to express an opinion. With other verbs, the complement is not normally fronted.

kāhīn xwaan / kwini kó
 POT:go John CON:feel me
 'I think John will go.'

kāhīn o ni nā / kahān u
 POT:go we:IN with him CON:speak I
 'I say, let's go with him.'

(See also 7.86 and 7.116.)

Even though subject and object complements are the most frequent types, other kinds of complements occasionally occur because the addition of the complementizer *é* at the beginning of any basic sentence allows it to occur in any noun phrase position. In the following example a sentential complement occurs as the nominal complement of an equative sentence, and the subject contains a relative clause (see 3.1.3).

e kāhīn u ni nā é ndio kó
 CMP POT:go I with him UN CON:want me
 'What I want is to go with him.'

1.2 Questions

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

1.2.1 YES/NO questions. Any basic sentence may be turned into a YES/NO question by placing the item that is being questioned in initial position and following it directly with the interrogative marker *ndu*.

katáan ndu
 CON:quake INT
 'Is there an earthquake?'

kakidi ndu-n
 CON:sleep INT-you:SG
 'Are you sleeping?'

kōho ndu t̄i ndute
 POT:drink INT it:AML water
 ‘Will it (animal) drink water?’

xwaan ndú kadíko na t̄iun
 John INT CON:sell he charcoal
 ‘Does JOHN sell charcoal?’

t̄iun ndu kadíko nā
 charcoal INT CON:sell he
 ‘Does he sell CHARCOAL?’

dyuhun ndú shehé na xwaan
 money INT COM:give he John
 ‘Did he give MONEY to John?’

xwaan ndú shehé na dyuhún
 John INT COM:give he money
 ‘Did JOHN give money?’ or ‘Did he give money TO JOHN?’

kuchaña ndú ñehe ña
 Tehuacán INT COM:go person
 ‘Did they go TO TEHUACÁN?’

vevii ndu kih̄in ña
 today INT POT:go person
 ‘Are they going TODAY?’

dūtu ndú xwaan
 priest INT John
 ‘Is John A PRIEST?’

ihshā ndú ña ∅
 child INT person UN
 ‘Is it THEIR CHILD?’

kāhnu ndu t̄un
 big:SG INT she
 ‘Is she BIG?’

vāhá ndu ehshí ∅
 good INT CON:eat UN
 'Does it taste GOOD?'

For questioning of elements within the verb phrase, see 2.1.2 and 2.1.3.
 For questioning of elements within the noun phrase, see 3.4.

1.2.2 WH questions. The subject, object, or nominal complement in any of the basic sentence types may be questioned by using an interrogative pronoun or interrogative noun phrase in focus position. The interrogative pronouns are *shoó* 'who?' and *neé* 'what?' or *ne iñá* 'what thing?'; they are used alone or in combination with a specifying noun or pronoun and are normally accompanied by the interrogative marker *ndu* (see 3.4). When a subject is questioned, an appropriate pronoun copy usually follows the verb.

Questioning subject:

shoó ndu éhni i tún
 who INT COM:hit UN her
 'Who hit her?'

shoó ndu kadiko i tūún
 sho INT CON:sell UN charcoal
 'Who sells charcoal?'

shō tahnu ndú káhshi tún
 who female INT COM:come she
 'Which girl came?'

neé ndu kohshó ∅
 what INT COM:fall UN
 'What fell?'

ne iñá ndu é vāhá' ∅
 what thing INT UN good UN
 'Which one is good?'

(See also 7.3.)

Questioning object:

shoó ndu éhri tún
 who INT COM:hit she
 ‘Whom did she hit?’

neé ndu kadikō xwaan
 what INT CON:sell John
 ‘What does John sell?’

ne káti ndu ñii na
 what animal INT COM:buy he
 ‘Which animal did he buy?’

ne iñá ndu tsiñu kade na
 what thing INT work CON:do he
 ‘What kind of work does he do?’

Questioning nominal complement:

shoó ndu é xwaan i
 who INT UN John UN
 ‘Who is John?’ or ‘Which one is John?’

shó ñaha ndu ña
 who person INT person
 ‘Who are they?’

neé ndu ndúvi na
 what INT COM:REP:become he
 ‘What did he turn into?’

ne káti ndu káti tsíkán
 what animal INT animal that
 ‘What kind of animal is that one?’

When an adjunct is questioned, any preposition or locative possessed noun associated with it is usually retained in its normal position, followed by the unspecified pronoun *i*. This is similar to what happens when one element of a sentence is focused (see 1.1.8).

shoó ndu kakahán tun ni ĩ
 who INT CON:speak she with UN
 ‘To whom is she talking?’

shó naha ndu kakahan ñá iña i
 who boy INT CON:speak person thing UN
 ‘Which fellow are they talking about?’

When a preposition or locative possessed noun that signals an adjunct is incorporated into the verb nucleus (see 1.1.4 and 2.1.1), however, there is no pronoun copy.

shoó ndu kakan nihí tun
 who INT CON:speak with she?
 ‘To whom is she talking?’

neé ndu kandé nuu u kíñũ
 what INT POT:cut face I meat
 ‘What shall I cut meat with?’

If no preposition or locative possessed noun is associated with an adjunct, no pronoun copy occurs.

né ndu ñuu véhshi tún
 what INT town INC:come she
 ‘What town does she come from?’

né ndu tsíñu kihshi tún
 what INT work COM:come she
 ‘For what purpose did she come?’

A nonhuman locative adjunct, as well as peripheral location, may be questioned by using the interrogative adverb *míhi* ‘where?’, while peripheral time may be questioned by using the interrogative adverb *amá* ‘when?’, or an interrogative noun phrase containing *né* ‘what?’ plus a temporal noun (see 3.4).

míhi ndu kíhin ndo
 where INT POT:go you:PL
 ‘Where are you going?’

míhi ndu kadiko na tūun
 where INT CON:sell he charcoal
 ‘Where does he sell charcoal?’

amá ndu kihshí ña
 when INT POT:come person
 ‘When will they come?’

né ura ndú sheé tun
 what hour INT COM:arrive she
 ‘What time (Sp. *hora*) did she arrive?’

(See also 7.69 and 7.114.)

Questions introduced by *míhi ndū* ‘where?’ are often used to express sarcasm. The second sentence in the above block of examples can also mean ‘WHAT DO YOU MEAN he sells charcoal?’ (see also 7.69).

The interrogative marker *ndu* may occur in various positions or be omitted without apparent change of meaning. Note the variations in the following set of examples.

nē ndúvi kihshi tún
 what day POT:come she
 ‘What day will she come?’

né ndu nduvi kihshi tún
 what INT day POT:come she
 ‘What day will she come?’

nē ndúvi ndu kihshi tún
 what day INT POT:come she
 ‘What day will she come?’

(See also 7.44.)

The interrogative adverb *ndé* ‘how?’ is used to question the nominal complement of *nani* ‘to be named’ and some stative predicates.

ndé nani ó
 how CON:be:named you:SG
 ‘What is your name?’

ndé ndu ēhshí \emptyset
 how INT CON:taste UN
 'How does it taste?'

ndé ito tūn
 how CON:look she
 'How does she look?'

ndé combines with *koo* 'to exist' or *kwi*, a reduced form of *kuví* 'to happen', in order to question a referent of purpose or cause by asking why. With *koo*, the resulting structure is a stative sentence in which *ndé* functions as a stative verb, *koo* is an accompanying content verb, and the remainder of the sentence is a subject complement.

ndé koo ndu é kīhshi tūn
 how POT:exist INT CMP POT:come she
 'Why is she coming?' or 'What is she coming for?'

(See also 7.46.)

With *kwi*, the resulting structure is an intransitive sentence, in which *ndé* questions manner in the verb phrase (see 2.1.2) and the rest of the sentence is a subject complement.

ndé kwi kīhshi ndu tūn
 how CON:happen COM:come INT she
 'Why did she come?' or 'How did she happen to come?'

(See also 7.10, 7.11, 7.15, 7.18, 7.59, 7.76, 7.112, and 7.113.)

1.2.3 Indirect questions. A YES/NO question may occur as an object complement; the subordinate conjunction *tē* 'if' serves as a complementizer, and the interrogative marker *ndu* does not occur.

ñá ni kāhan ná te kāhin ná
 NEG CF COM:speak he if POT:go he
 'He didn't say whether he would go (or not).'

ñá ĩní u te tūun kadiko nā
 NEG CON:know I if charcoal CON:sell he
 'I don't know if he sells CHARCOAL.'

A WH question may be used as a sentential complement; as in indirect YES/NO questions, *ndu* does not occur.

iní u sho kishshi i
 CON:know I who COM:come UN
 'I know who came.'

ñá iní u mí kwēhen tún
 NEG CON:know I where INC:go she
 'I don't know where she went.'

kakahán tun nī ko né ūra kishshi tún
 CON:speak she with me what hour POT:come she
 'She tells me what time she will come.'

tsishehē ú ña sho é xwaan i
 POT:ask I person who CMP John UN
 'I'll ask them who John is.'

(See also 7.2, 7.4, 7.40, and 7.68.)

Indirect questions cannot be focused.

1.3 Commands

A basic sentence in potential aspect may be used as a command. If the subject excludes the second person, it requires the hortatory *nā* before the verb (see 2.1.2).

kahshi-n íta o
 POT:eat-you:SG tortilla you:SG
 'Eat your tortillas!'

káhan ndo nī tún
 POT:speak you:PL with her
 'Speak to her!' or 'Tell her!'

káhin o kūchaña
 POT:go we:IN Tehuacán
 'Let's go to Tehuacán!'

na kwēhé u tún dyuhún
 HORT POT:give I her money
 'Let me give her money!'

na vī tun é ndio tún
 HORT POT:do she CMP CON:want she
 'Let her do what she wants!'

(See also 7.39, 7.60, 7.63, 7.75, 7.79, 7.88, 7.90, 7.93, 7.94, 7.100, 7.119, and 7.120.)

A callous response to a threat is expressed using the hortatory *nā* along with the postverbal element *mū* 'alone' (see 2.1.3 and 2.1.4).

na kuvī mū ndō
 HORT POT:die alone you:PL
 'Go ahead and die!'

na koko mū ∅
 HORT POT:burn alone UN
 'Let it go ahead and burn!'

A polite command is expressed using *nā* along with the deprecativ *kūdii* 'merely' (see 2.1.3 and 2.1.4).

na kīhsi kudii ñá
 HORT POT:come merely person
 'May they please come!'

There are a few forms which are used exclusively as commands; they occur only with a second person subject.

niht-n a
 IMP:come-you:SG here
 'Come here!'

kamá-n
 IMP:hurry-you:SG
 'Hurry up!'

tsíhñu ndō
 IMP:precede you:PL
 'You go ahead!'

ūhun-n dyuhun o
 IMP:take-you:SG money you:SG
 'Here's your money (take it)!'

duhshēn-n
 bothersome-you:SG
 'Shut up!'

In the verb 'to go', the potential form *kāhīn* is replaced by *kwēhén* as the second person imperative form (see 5.1.2).

kwēhén-n ni ñā
 IMP:go-you:SG with person
 'Go with them!'

kwehēn ndó ma vihi kān
 IMP:go you:PL under house there
 'Go inside!'

kwēn dáha-n
 IMP:go over-you:SG
 'Move over!'

Rarely, the verb may be omitted entirely.

kíhí kān
 outside there
 'Out!' (spoken to an animal)

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives normally occur at the end of a basic sentence or between the parts of a compound sentence, but they can be fronted for focus, or uttered in isolation. They usually consist of a kinship term, proper noun, or second person pronoun; the latter may be preceded by *dī*, a reduced form of the specifier *dīvī*, to show respect. Some nouns have special vocative forms or tone patterns (see 5.3.2).

kíhìn *ú* *dì* / *ũváh*
 POT:go I also father!
 'I'm going too, Dad!'

kava *tsi-n* / *lah* / *tsi* *kwáa*
 POT:retire LIM-you:SG dear! because CON:be:late
 'Go to bed, dear, as it's late!'

ñāâ / *ndio* *kó* *ndika*
 mother! CON:want me banana
 'Mom, I want a banana!'

xwaân / *míhi* *ndu* *kíhìn-n*
 John! where INT POT:go-you:SG
 'John, where are you going?'

shōhón / *nihí-n* *a*
 you:SG IMP:come-you:SG here
 'You, come here!'

koto *ndo* / *di* *ndō*
 POT:look you:PL same you:PL
 'Look, you!'

When a vocative is used for calling someone or gaining someone's attention, it is frequently preceded by *ō* or *ō né*; these vocative phrases always occur initially in a sentence.

ō *mária* / *nihí-n* *a*
 oh Mary! IMP:come-you:SG here
 'Hey, Mary, come here!'

ō né / *mastrû* / *ndé* *ko* *vií* *u* *ve*
 oh and teacher! how POT:exist POT:do I now
 'Hey there, teacher (Sp. *maestro*), what shall I do now?'

Special vocative forms are used in calling animals; these are often repeated.

lús / *lús*
 pup! pup!
 'Here, puppy!' (cf. *lūsún* 'puppy')

vitsi / *vitsi* / *vitsi*
 kitty! kitty! kitty!
 'Here, kitty!' (cf. *mishtun* 'cat' [old Sp. *mistón*])

kuch / *kuch*
 piggy! piggy!
 'Here, piggy!' (cf. *kutsin* 'pig' [Sp. *cochino*])

Some animals are called by imitating their noises: turkeys, by using a voiced bilabial trill ending in a glottal stop, *brrh*; baby chicks, by using voiceless alveolar clicks, *ts< ts<* ; and hens, by using voiceless alveopalatal clicks, *t< t<* ; these sounds do not otherwise occur in the language.

1.5 Sentential Markers

Sentential markers include the interrogative marker *ndu* (see 1.2.1), which occurs noninitial in sentences, as well as sentence-initial markers, which express varying degrees of certainty on the part of the speaker, and sentence-final markers, which add emphasis to a statement or question.

Markers which occur sentence initial include *vá* 'doubtfully', *vata tē* 'seemingly', *á tē* 'probably', and *ñá tē* 'definitely not'. While *vá* is often used with YES/NO questions, the other three are used only with statements.

vá *kāin* *davi*
 doubtfully POT:fall rain
 'It's not likely to rain.'

vá *kōho* *ndu* *ú* \emptyset
 doubtfully POT:drink INT I UN
 'Shall I really drink it?'

vata tē *ini* *ú* *tun*
 as if CON:know I her
 'It seems as if I know her.'

á *te shēe* *ná* *vevii*
 probably if POT:arrive he today
 'He will probably arrive today.'

ñá *te kāhín* *u*
 NEG if POT:go I
 'I am definitely not going.'

ñá tē also occurs with nouns, quantifiers, and adverbs to form negative phrases (see 3.5, 4.1.7, and 4.2.5).

The words that occur in sentence-final position include the marker *ní* ‘therefore’, used with statements and commands, and the general adverb *kwán* ‘thus’, used with questions in the sense of ‘in light of the foregoing’.

kwéhen ña kūchañá ní
 INC:go person Tehuacán therefore
 ‘And so they went to Tehuacán.’

káhin ò ní
 POT:go we:IN therefore.
 ‘So let’s go!’

ne tsíñu víi u kwán
 what work POT:do I thus
 ‘So what work shall I do?’

(See also 7.79, 7.88, and 7.90.)

2

Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

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

2.1.1 Verb nuclei. Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are usually idioms composed of a verb followed by a modifying word, which may be a noun, a content verb, a stative verb, an adverb, a preposition, or an indeterminate element. In some cases a complex nucleus may in turn be modified, resulting in a complex nucleus of three elements.

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

kunu (tún)
POṚ:run (she)
'(She) will run.'

diko (nā)
POṚ:sell (he)
'(He) will sell.'

iní (u)
CON:know (I)
'(I) know.'

kashihi (i)
 CON:drink (it:AML)
 '(It) is drinking.'

kahndé (o tūtun)
 POT:cut (we:IN firewood)
 '(We) will cut (firewood).'

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus a noun, which may be an incorporated object, instrument, or location.

Object:

kada *tsiñu* (na)
 POT:do work (he)
 '(He) will work.'

kani *vih* (ña)
 POT:set:up house (person)
 '(They) will get married.'

tsi *kwétsi* (na kó)
 COM:put:PL sin (he me)
 '(He) blamed (me).

(See also 7.30 and 7.34.)

Instrument:

ĩsi *ndute* (tún)
 COM:bathe water (she)
 '(She) got baptized.'

kwín *dyuhun* (na ∅)
 POT:buy money (he UN)
 '(He) will buy (it) with money.'

katin *tsiin* (ú na)
 CON:grab fingernail (I him)
 '(I) am pinching (him).

Location:

kóshō nuu (na)
 COM:fall face (he)
 '(He) fell in.'

kakishi iní (ko kihin u)
 CON:come insides (me POT:go I)
 '(I) feel like (going).

(See also 7.100 and 7.101.)

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

she ndikín (nā kó)
 COM:arrive CON:follow (he me)
 '(He) caught up with (me).'

kídí ndīsí (u)
 COM:sleep CON:be:standing:sg (I)
 '(I) fell asleep on my feet.'

kakan dána (tún)
 CON:speak CON:be:confused (she)
 '(She) is hallucinating.'

kaika ndei (∅)
 CON:walk CON:be:upside:down (UN)
 '(It [child]) is crawling.'

(See also 7.120.)

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

kada váha (na ∅)
 POT:do good (he UN)
 '(He) will make (it).'

kakan ndahví (tun)
 CON:speak poor (she)
 '(She) is praying.'

ēni ndahví (na kó)
 COM:set:up poor (he me)
 '(He) deceived (me).'

kade kwīhí (tun)
 CON:do sickly (she)
 '(She) is languishing.' (cf. *kwīhi* 'sickness')

kade duhshen (nā)
 CON:do bothersome (he)
 '(He) is being a nuisance.' (cf. *duhshēn* 'war')

(See also 7.5, 7.28, 7.92, 7.102, 7.113, and 7.114.)

A verb-plus-adverb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by an adverb; in the examples found to date, only temporal adverbs occur.

shí nūu (tún)
 COM:die short:time (she)
 '(She) fainted.'

ndé naha (∅)
 CON:be:against:sg long:time (UN)
 '(It) is written down.'

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

kish nihī (ú ∅)
 POT:come with (I UN)
 '(I) will bring (it).'

kashku ndée (na)
 CON:cry against (he)
 '(He) is laughing.'

(See also 7.13, 7.27, and 7.90.)

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

kaka *chuhu* (*na*)
 CON:speak ? (he)
 '(He) is shouting.'

inū *kava* (*viko*)
 COM:arrive ? (fiesta)
 '(The fiesta) came to an end.'

A complex nucleus may be modified by one of the aforementioned elements to form a three-element nucleus.

kadē *kwe* *inī* (*ko*)
 CON:do measurement insides (me)
 '(I) am thinking.'

kade *tsun* *nihī* (*ú* \emptyset)
 CON:do work with (I UN)
 '(I) am using (it).'

kaka *chu* *ndáa* (*na*)
 CON:speak ? straight (he)
 '(He) is screaming.'

kī *ndé* *shio* (*na*)
 COM:go:out against away (he)
 '(He) got away.'

nakwiko *tūví* *lundzi* (*nā*)
 COM:REP:POT:revolve CON:sit:SG top (he)
 '(He) somersaulted.'

(See also 7.25 and 7.46.)

The complex nuclei that are not idioms result from the syntactic incorporation of locative possessed nouns and prepositions that signal adjuncts, as described in 1.1.4. These may occur with either a simple or a complex nucleus.

ēni nuu (na tī utun)
 COM:hit face (he it:AML stick)
 ‘(He) hit (it) with (a stick).’

kan nihi (ú tun)
 POT:speak with (I her)
 ‘(I) will talk to (her).’

nā ndée (ñā ko)
 COM:fight against (person us:IN)
 ‘(They) fought over (us).’

(See also 7.36, 7.42, 7.44, and 7.45.)

2.1.2 Preverbal elements. There are six orders of optional elements that precede the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the beginning of the verb phrase they are: motion auxiliary, nonmotion auxiliary, mode, negative, manner, and temporal. Most preverbal elements are proclitics. They are somewhat restricted in their cooccurrence with each other and with different aspects of the verb.

There are three motion auxiliaries, which are prestressed forms of the motion verbs *kihshi* ‘to come’, *ndihshi* ‘to come back’, and *kāhīn* ‘to go’. Each occurs in a full range of aspect forms (see 5.1.2). These auxiliaries immediately precede a verb nucleus in potential aspect, and they express the notion of motion and direction with purpose. Because the aspect forms of these auxiliaries are irregular, all are listed in the following table, along with their meanings and the fuller forms to which they are related. (Because of the purpose component, it would be possible to expand the gloss of each auxiliary by adding ‘in order to’ at the end.)

Auxiliary	Meaning	Full Form	Gloss
<i>kish</i>	‘will come’	<i>kihshi</i>	POT:COME
<i>kakish</i>	‘comes’	<i>kakihshi</i>	CON:COME
<i>kīsh</i>	‘came (and has left)’	<i>kīhshi</i>	COM:COME
<i>vēsh</i>	‘has come (and is still here)’ or ‘is on the way here’	<i>vēhshī</i>	INC:COME
<i>ndish</i>	‘will come back’	<i>ndihshi</i>	POT:REP:COME
<i>kandish</i>	‘comes back’	<i>kandihshi</i>	CON:REP:COME
<i>ndīsh</i>	‘came back’	<i>ndīhshi</i>	COM:REP:COME

<i>kúndīsh</i>	'has come back' or 'is on the way back here'	<i>kúndīhshi</i>	INC:REP:COME
<i>ká</i> or <i>kí</i>	'will go'	<i>káhīn</i>	POT:GO
<i>kaish</i> or <i>kai</i>	'goes'	<i>kañehe</i>	CON:GO
<i>ish</i> or <i>i</i>	'went (and has returned)'	<i>ñéhē</i>	COM:GO
<i>kú</i>	'has gone (and has not returned)'	<i>kwéhēn</i>	INC:GO
<i>kū</i>	'go!'	<i>kwéhén</i>	IMP:GO

The following examples show these auxiliaries used in sentences.

kish kahshí (ñā)
POT:come POT:eat (person)
'(They) will come to eat.'

kīsh kahshí (tun)
COM:come POT:eat (she)
'(She) came to eat.'

vēsh kōto (ú)
INC:come POT:look (I)
'(I) have come to watch.'

ndīsh kīhi (na ∅)
COM:come:back POT:take (he UN)
'(He) came back to get (it).'

ki kwīn (tun nuni)
POT:go POT:buy (she corn)
'(She) will go to buy (corn).'

kaish duté (na)
CON:go POT:swim (he)
'(He) goes to swim.' or '(He) goes swimming.'

ish kóho (tí ndūte)
 COM:go POT:drink (it:AML water)
 '(It) went to drink (water).'

ku kíhi (na tūtun)
 INC:go POT:take (he firewood)
 '(He) has gone to get (firewood).'

kū koto (ndó ihshá)
 IMP:go POT:look (you:PL child)
 'Go watch (the child)!'.

(See also 7.52, 7.53, 7.60, 7.63, 7.68, 7.71, 7.107, and 7.108.)

Nonmotion auxiliary occurs in second preverbal position and is expressed by prestressed forms of the content verbs *iní* 'to know', *ndio* 'to want', and *kuvi* 'to be able'. *iní* occurs only in unmarked continuative aspect and precedes only verbs in the same aspect. *ndio* and *kuvi* can occur in any aspect, but *ndio* precedes only verbs in potential aspect, whereas *kuvi* precedes verbs in any aspect and usually agrees in aspect with the verb it precedes.

ini ika (na)
 CON:know CON:walk (he)
 '(He) knows how to walk.' or '(He) is used to walking.'

ini éhshi (ú ∅)
 CON:know CON:eat (I UN)
 '(I) am used to eating (it).'

njo kidí (u)
 CON:want POT:sleep (I)
 '(I) want to sleep.' or '(I) am sleepy.'

njō kwiin (na idú)
 COM:want POT:buy (he horse)
 '(He) wanted to buy (a horse).'

kuvi vií (u ∅)
 POT:be:able POT:do (I UN)
 '(I) will be able to do (it).'

kūvi *dé* (*na* \emptyset)
 COM:be:able COM:do (he UN)
 '(He) was able to do (it),' or '(He) succeeded in doing (it),' or
 '(He) won!'

kakūvi *kaika* (*tún*)
 CON:be:able CON:walk (she)
 '(She) is able to walk.'

(See also 7.119.)

When a negative marker (see below) occurs, a verb preceded by *kūvi* must be in potential aspect.

ñá *kakūvi* *kaka* (*tún*)
 NEG CON:be:able POT:walk (she)
 '(She) is not able to walk.'

ña *ni* *kūvi* *kīhin* (*na*)
 NEG CF COM:be:able POT:go (he)
 '(He) was not able to go.'

The full forms of these three verbs also occur as main verbs that take a sentential complement (see 1.1.9). *ini* and *kūvi* show slightly different meanings when they are used as full verbs and as auxiliaries. In some cases it is difficult to determine whether *kūvi* is functioning as a main verb or as an auxiliary.

Mode occurs in third preverbal position and is expressed by the contrafactual marker *nī* and the hortatory marker *nā*. The contrafactual marker *nī* precedes a verb (nucleus, motion auxiliary, or nonmotion auxiliary) in completive or incompletive aspect in contrafactual conditions (see 6.2.1), or in sentences that contain a negative marker in the verb phrase (see below), either of the complex adverbs *dókō sá* 'almost' and *dīi sa* 'nearly' in the preverbal manner position (see below), or a negated element in focus position (see 3.5 and 4.2.5).

(*te*) *nī* *ñēhé* (*u*)
 (if) CF COM:go I
 '(If [only] I) had gone!'

ñā ni inu (nā)
 NEG CF COM:run (he)
 '(He) did not run.'

ñá nī kátūví (tun)
 NEG CF INC:sit:SG (she)
 '(She) did not stay.'

dókō sá ni shěé (u)
 almost only CF COM:arrive (I)
 '(I) had almost arrived.'

dū sa ni kōhshó (∅)
 bit only CF COM:fall (UN)
 '(It) nearly fell.'

(shōshó) ni kūvi vī (i ∅)
 (nobody) CF COM:be:able POT:do (UN UN)
 '(Nobody) was able to do (it).'

(ñā náha) ni ikā (ú)
 (NEG long:time) CF COM:walk (I)
 '(I) did not walk (long).'

(ñā te dívi na) ni ehnī (ná ko)
 (NEG if same he) CF COM:hit (he me)
 '(It was not he who) hit (me).'

(See also 7.7, 7.9, 7.71, and 7.96.)

The hortatory marker *nā* directly precedes a verb in potential aspect and usually occurs as the first element in its phrase. The presence of *nā* in a main sentence makes it imperative, though not all imperative sentences contain it (see 1.3).

na kwūn (tún ∅)
 HORT POT:buy (she UN)
 'Let (her) buy (it)!'

na kāhin (ñā)
 HORT POT:go (person)
 'May (they) go!'

nā *kí* *kihí* (*u* \emptyset)
 HORT POT:go POT:take (I UN)
 'Let (me) go get (it)!'

(See also 7.60, 7.63, 7.90, 7.94, and 7.100.)

Negative occurs in fourth position and is expressed by the markers *ñá* 'not' (the prestressed form of *ñáhā* 'no') and *vátā* 'not yet'. Whereas *vátā* occurs only with verbs in potential aspect, *ñá* occurs with verbs in any aspect but must be followed by the contrafactual marker *nī* when occurring with verbs in completive or incompletive aspect.

ñá *kwūn* (*ú* \emptyset)
 NEG POT:buy (I UN)
 '(I) will not buy (it).'

ñá *kakādi* (*na*)
 NEG CON:sleep (he)
 '(He) is not sleeping.'

ñá *nī* *kátuvī* (*ná*)
 NEG CF INC:sit:SG (he)
 '(He) did not stay.'

váta *shēe* (*ñá*)
 not:yet POT:arrive (person)
 '(They) have not yet arrived.'

(See also 7.2, 7.7, 7.9, 7.36, 7.71, 7.82, 7.96, and 7.97.)

Preverbal manner occurs in fifth preverbal position. There is also a postverbal manner position described in 2.1.3 below. While most preverbal and postverbal elements comprise small, closed classes, the two manner positions are expressed by a large and diverse class of elements, which includes both open and closed classes. Some of these elements occur only in preverbal position, while others occur in either position. Manner adverbs that occur only preverbal include the intensifier *dōó* 'very' or 'much', *dá* 'only', and *dōtó* 'haphazardly'.

dōo *éku* (*tún*)
 INTS COM:cry (she)
 '(She) cried a lot.'

dōó ndio (kó ∅)
 INTS CON:want (me UN)
 '(I) want (it) very much.'

dá kakāhán (u)
 only CON:speak (I)
 '(I) am only talking.'

dōtó kade (na ∅)
 haphazardly CON:do (he UN)
 '(He) is doing (it) haphazardly.'

(See also 7.35, 7.40, 7.46, and 7.68.)

Three common complex adverbs that occur only in preverbal manner position are *dókō sá* 'almost', which occurs with verbs in potential or completive aspect; *dīi sa* 'nearly', which occurs only with verbs in completive aspect; and *dīi ka* 'even more', which occurs with verbs in any aspect. *dókō* and *dīi* are sometimes repeated for emphasis.

dóko sá kwéku (na)
 almost only POT:cry (he)
 '(He) is about to cry.'

dīi sa ni shīhí (u)
 bit only CF COM:die (I)
 '(I) nearly died.'

dīi ka kaeku (na)
 bit more CON:cry (he)
 '(He) is crying even more.'

dókō dokó sa ni kōhshó (na)
 almost almost only CF COM:fall (he)
 '(He) ALMOST fell!

dí dí dí dīi sa ni shīhi (ná)
 bit bit bit bit only CF COM:die (he)
 '(He) NEARLY died!'

In addition to these specific items, which are restricted to preverbal position, preverbal manner also contains stative verbs, stative verb phrases,

adverbs, adverb phrases, and numerals and expanded numeral phrases (especially those based on the numeral *uun* 'one', which is used as an intensifier).

váhā kidi (na)
good POT:sleep (he)
'(He) will sleep well.'

dōó dushen eku (nā)
INTS bothersome COM:cry (he)
'(He) whined a lot.'

un ndii tsī kohshó (∅)
one strong LIM COM:fall (UN)
'(It) really fell hard.'

shio kaito (na)
away CON:look (he)
'(He) is looking away.'

dadii éhshi (ndí)
same COM:eat (we:EX)
'(We) ate together.'

kūdii kakáhán (tun)
merely CON:speak (she)
'(She) is only talking.'

dōó kwū kaika (tún)
INTS slowly CON:walk (she)
'(She) is walking very slowly.'

(See also 7.2, 7.14, 7.35, 7.38, 7.47, 7.65, 7.70, and 7.83.)

Temporal occurs in sixth preverbal position and is expressed by *é* 'already' or *dā ve* 'just now'. Both occur with verbs in any aspect. Their meanings vary slightly with aspect, as seen in the translation of the examples below.

e káhīn (ú)
already POT:go (I)
'(I) am now about to go.'

é *ĩsi* (*ná*)
 already COM:bathe (he)
 '(He) already bathed.'

é *kakĩdi* (*na*)
 already CON:sleep (he)
 '(He) is already asleep.'

dā *ve* *vėhshi* (*tún*)
 when now INC:come (she)
 '(She) is just now coming.'

dā *ve* *shihi* (*ĩ*)
 when now COM:die (it:AML)
 '(It) just now died.'

Occasionally *é* occurs outside the verb phrase at the beginning of the sentence (see 7.54, 7.72, and 7.109).

Certain preverbal elements may be questioned by postposing the interrogative marker *ndu* to them (see 1.2.1); these include the negative markers *ĩá* 'not' and *vátā* 'not yet', the manner adverbs except for *dá* 'only', and the temporal marker *dā ve* 'just now'.

ĩā *ndu* *kakáhan* (*na*)
 NEG INT CON:speak (he)
 'Isn't (he) talking?'

ĩā *ndu* *ni* *ĩéhe* (*na*)
 NEG INT CF COM:go (he)
 'Didn't (he) go?'

vāta *ndu* *káhshi* (*tún*)
 not:yet INT POT:eat (she)
 'Hasn't (she) eaten yet?'

dóo *ndu* *ndio* (*o* \emptyset)
 INTS INT CON:want (you:SG UN)
 'Do (you) want (it) very much?'

dokó *sa* *ndú* *kihĩn* (*na*)
 almost only INT POT:go (he)
 'Is (he) about to go?'

dii sa ndú ni shíhi (tún)
 bit only INT CF COM:die (she)
 'Did (she) nearly die?'

dā vé ndu ñii (na Ø)
 when now INT COM:buy (he UN)
 'Did (he) just now buy (it)?'

Frequently preverbal manner is questioned by using a construction in which the interrogative adverb *ndé* 'how?' is followed by a full or reduced form of the verb *koo* 'to exist', which takes a sentence containing a content verb as its subject complement (see 1.1.9). The verb *koo* must be in potential aspect if the complement verb is potential; otherwise it is in unmarked continuative aspect. The interrogative marker *ndu* optionally follows *ndé*, as seen in the following pairs of sentences.

ndé ko kihin (o)
 how POT:exist POT:go (we:IN)
 'How shall (we) go?'

ndé ndu ko kihin (o)
 how INT POT:exist POT:go (we:IN)
 'How shall (we) go?'

ndé ō shihi (ti)
 how CON:exist COM:die (it:AML)
 'How did (it) die?'

ndé ndu ō shihi (ti)
 how INT CON:exist COM:die (it:AML)
 'How did (it) die?'

(See also 7.6, 7.29, 7.40, 7.56, 7.73, and 7.110.)

In a similar construction, *ndé* is followed by the verb *kaa* 'to be (singular)' in unmarked continuative aspect to question quantity, in which case interrogative *ndu* optionally follows either *ndé* or *kaa*.

ndé kaa ndáhvi (na)
 how CON:be:SG COM:pay (he)
 'How much did (he) pay?'

ndé kaa ndu ndáhvi (na)
 how CON:be:SG INT COM:pay (he)
 'How much did (he) pay?'

ndé ndu kaa ndáhvi (na)
 how INT CON:be:SG COM:pay (he)
 'How much did (he) pay?'

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are eight orders of elements following the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the end of the verb phrase, they are: postverbal manner, personal involvement, verifier, additive, limiter, repetitive, emphatic, and deprecativ.

Postverbal manner immediately follows the verb nucleus. It is distinguished from preverbal manner (see 2.1.2) and may cooccur with it. It is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers, which include several open classes, such as stative verbs, content verbs (rare), and adverbs. Verb and adverb phrases are, however, rare in postverbal manner position; expanded manner elements usually occur in the preverbal manner position. Most elements that occur in postverbal manner may also occur in preverbal manner; preverbal position adds a degree of focus or intensity to their meanings. The following sentences show postverbal manner.

kidi vāhā (tún)
 COM:sleep good (she)
 '(She) slept well.'

kunu kandíhi (na)
 POT:run CON:hurry (he)
 '(He) will run quickly.'

kaika kwī (ñá)
 CON:walk slowly (person)
 '(They) are walking slowly.'

ishi kwēhen (∅)
 COM:burn completely (UN)
 '(It) burned up completely.'

kaito shio (na)
 CON:look away (he)
 '(He) is looking away.'

(See also 7.32, 7.71, and 7.104.)

Personal involvement occurs in second postverbal position; it includes three elements: *tahan* 'companion' (reciprocal), which occurs only with transitive verb nuclei; *dadii* 'same' or 'together' (co-involvement); and the specifier *mii* 'alone' or 'self' (self-involvement).

ito *tahan* (*n̄a*)
 COM:look companion (person)
 '(They) looked at each other.'

kashí *dadii* (*ō*)
 POT:eat same (we:IN)
 '(We) will eat together.'

kaika *mii* (*n̄a*)
 CON:walk alone (he)
 '(He) is walking by himself.'

mii also occurs within the noun phrase (see 3.1.2), where it serves as an emphatic. Some sentences containing *mii* are ambiguous. For example, the above sentence can also mean 'He himself is walking.'

Verifier occurs in third postverbal position and is expressed by *ndihshe* 'truly' or 'really'.

kakidi *ndihshe* (*na*)
 CON:sleep truly (he)
 '(He) really is sleeping.'

(See also 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.41, 7.49, 7.53, 7.85, 7.91, 7.95, 7.101, 7.108, and 7.121.)

Additive occurs in fourth postverbal position and is expressed by *ká* 'more' or 'still' and *sá* 'only', 'so', or 'just a bit more'.

kakidí *ka* (*na*)
 CON:sleep more (he)
 '(He) is still sleeping.'

ika *sá* (*tun*)
 COM:walk only (she)
 '(She) walked just a bit farther.'

(See also 7.41, 7.64, 7.66, 7.108, 7.109, and 7.121.)

Limiters occur in fifth postverbal position and are expressed by *tsi* 'just'. Within a phonological phrase, *tsi* is normally reduced to *ts* before a vowel and to *sh* before a consonant.

kakidi tsi (∅)
 CON:sleep LIM (UN)
 '(It [child]) is just sleeping.'

kāhin ts (ō)
 POT:go LIM (we:IN)
 'Let (us) just go.'

īnu sh (ti)
 COM:run LIM (it:AML)
 '(It [animal]) just ran.'

(See also 7.41, 7.64, 7.66, and 7.121.)

Repetitive occurs in sixth postverbal position and is expressed by *tuku* 'other' or 'again'.

kīdi tūku (na)
 COM:sleep REP (he)
 '(He) slept again.'

(See also 7.8, 7.9, 7.23, 7.44, and 7.93.)

Sometimes, however, *tuku* occurs in postverbal manner, in which case it can serve as the nucleus of an adverb phrase, as seen in 7.23.

Emphatic occurs in seventh postverbal position and is expressed by *ku* 'indeed' or 'definitely'.

shīhi ku (tī)
 COM:die EMPH (it:AML)
 '(It [animal]) did indeed die.'

(See also 7.113.)

Deprecative occurs in eighth postverbal position and is expressed by *kūdiit* 'merely'.

kakidi kúdií (ná)
 CON:sleep merely (he)
 '(He) is merely sleeping.' or '(He) is sleeping a little bit.'

Note that *kúdií* also occurs in preverbal manner position (see 2.1.2).

Any postverbal element except the emphatic *ku* may be questioned by postposing the interrogative marker *ndu* to it (see 1.2.1). The interrogative marker can itself be followed only by the emphatic *ku* or the deprecativ *kúdií*.

kidi vahá ndu (na)
 COM:sleep good INT (he)
 'Did (he) sleep well?'

kashí dadíí ndu (ñá)
 POT:eat same INT (person)
 'Will (they) eat together?'

shi ndíhshe ndu (tí)
 COM:die truly INT (it:AML)
 'Did (it [animal]) really die?'

kahshí ka ndú (tun)
 POT:eat more INT (she)
 'Will (she) eat more?' or 'Will (she) keep on eating?'

kākidi sh ndú (na)
 CON:sleep LIM INT (he)
 'Is (he) just sleeping?'

kín túku ndu (na)
 POT:go REP INT (he)
 'Will (he) go again?'

shihi ndú ku (ñá)
 COM:die INT EMPH (person)
 'Did (they) indeed die?'

kidi kúdií ndú (na)
 COM:sleep merely INT (he)
 'Did (he) sleep a little bit?'

kidi ndú kudii (ná)
 COM:sleep INT merely (he)
 'Did (he) sleep a little bit?'

(See also 7.85.)

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. All preverbal elements cooccur with all other preverbal elements, except that temporal does not occur with negative or mode. There are, however, many restrictions involving specific items that express these elements. For example, certain manner adverbs do not cooccur with negative or mode. Furthermore, a number of preverbal elements and individual items occur only when they are followed by a verb in certain aspects; these restrictions have been described in 2.1.2 above.

njo kí káhshi (ú)
 CON:want POT:go POT:eat (I)
 '(I) want to go eat.'

nā kí kihí (u ∅)
 HORT POT:go POT:take (I UN)
 'Let (me) go get (it)!'

ñá ìni ekú (tun)
 NEG CON:know CON:cry (she)
 '(She) is not a crybaby.'

ñá ni kish káhshí (na)
 NEG CF COM:come POT:eat (he)
 '(He) did not come to eat.'

vata kúvi kakā (∅)
 not:yet POT:be:able POT:walk (UN)
 '(It) is not able to walk yet.'

dḡó njo kihin (u)
 INTS CON:want POT:go (I)
 '(I) want very much to go.'

dú ka njo kihin (na)
 bit more CON:want POT:go (he)
 '(He) wants to go even more.'

dii ka ña ni eku (na)
 bit more NEG CF COM:cry (he)
 '(He) cried even less.'

dókō sá ña ni ñéhe (ú)
 almost only NEG CF COM:go (I)
 '(I) almost didn't go.'

e dóko sã kidi (ú)
 already almost only POT:sleep (I)
 '(I) am almost asleep already.'

(See also 7.7.)

There are no cooccurrence restrictions among postverbal elements, but ordinarily a verb phrase contains no more than three or four of them.

kaka kwĩ ts (ó)
 POT:walk slowly LIM (we:IN)
 '(We) will just walk slowly.'

kakidi sh túku (na)
 CON:sleep LIM REP (he)
 '(He) is just sleeping again.'

kidi váha ndĩshe ká (tun)
 COM:sleep good truly more (she)
 '(She) really did continue to sleep well.'

ĩka tuku ku kudii (ná)
 COM:walk REP EMPH merely (he)
 '(He) did indeed walk again just a bit.'

shi kwéhen ndĩshe sh ku (tì)
 COM:die completely truly LIM EMPH (it:AML)
 '(It) really did indeed just die completely.'

kaní tahan ndĩshe ká sh (ña)
 COM:hit companion truly more LIM (person)
 '(They) really did just keep on hitting each other.'

(See also 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.41, 7.64, 7.66, 7.101, 7.108, and 7.121.)

There are likewise no cooccurrence restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements, with the exception that preverbal and postverbal manner rarely cooccur in the same verb phrase. The hortatory mode marker *nā* cooccurs with personal involvement *mīi* to express indifference on the part of the speaker and with deprecative *kūdii* to express a polite command (see 1.3).

na kuvī mīi (nā)
 HORT POT:die alone (he)
 ‘Let (him) die (for all I care)!’

na kīhshi kudii (ñá)
 HORT POT:come merely (person)
 ‘May (they) please come!’

ñá ni ika mīi ká tuku (tún)
 NEG CF COM:walk alone more REP (she)
 ‘(She) did not walk by herself any more.’

ñá ni eku kwēhen sh kú (na)
 NEG CF COM:cry completely LIM EMPH (he)
 ‘(He) indeed just did not cry at all.’

vátā kish kāhshí dadii tsi kudii (ñá)
 not:yet POT:come POT:eat same LIM merely (person)
 ‘(They) have merely just not yet come to eat together.’

e dóko sá shee ndíhshe sh (tún)
 already almost only POT:arrive truly LIM (she)
 ‘(She) is now just really about to arrive.’

dōó njo kaka mīi sh tuku kudii (u)
 INTS CON:want POT:walk alone LIM REP merely (I)
 ‘(I) want very much to just walk a bit by myself again.’

(See also 7.8, 7.9, 7.71, 7.85, and 7.96.)

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on the equative verbs *kuvī* ‘to become’, *nduvi* ‘to turn into’, *naní* ‘to be named’, or in some cases no verb at all. Equative verb phrases show no complex nuclei, although reduced forms of

the equative verbs *kuvi* and *nduvi* combine with stative verbs to form intransitive verbs (see 5.1.1).

Equative verbs rarely occur with preverbal and postverbal elements, but it is possible for *kuvi* and *nduvi* to occur with any of the preverbal and postverbal elements except additive.

With preverbal elements:

kish kuvi (na ihshá ko)
 POT:come POT:become (he child me)
 '(He) will come to become (my child).'

njo kuvi (na ihshá ko)
 CON:want POT:become (he child me)
 '(He) wants to become (my child).'

na ndúvi (na tsídō)
 HORT POT:REP:become (he rabbit)
 'May (he) turn into (a rabbit)!'

ñā ndúvi (nā tsídō)
 NEG POT:REP:become (he rabbit)
 '(He) will not turn into (a rabbit).'

dotō ndúvi (nā tsídō)
 haphazardly COM:REP:become (he rabbit)
 '(He) haphazardly turned into (a rabbit).'

é kúvi (na ihshá ko)
 already COM:become (he child me)
 '(He) has already become (my child).'

(See also 7.7.)

With postverbal elements:

kuvi kwehen (ná ihshá ko)
 POT:become completely (he child me)
 '(He) will permanently become (my child).'

ndūvi *dadīi* (*ña* *tsídō*)
 COM:REP:become same (person rabbit)
 '(They) together turned into (rabbits).'

ndūvi *ndīhshe* (*na* *tsídō*)
 COM:REP:become truly (he rabbit)
 '(He) really did turn into (a rabbit).'

ndūvi *sh* (*na* *tsídō*)
 COM:REP:become LIM (he rabbit)
 '(He) just turned into (a rabbit).'

ndūvi *tuku* (*na* *tsídō*)
 COM:REP:become REP (he rabbit)
 '(He) turned into (a rabbit) again.'

ndūvi *ku* (*na* *tsídō*)
 COM:REP:become EMPH (he rabbit)
 '(He) did indeed turn into (a rabbit).'

ndūvi *kudii* (*na* *tsídō*)
 COM:REP:become merely (he rabbit)
 '(He) merely turned into (a rabbit).'

Equative verb phrases based on *nani* 'to be named' do not occur with preverbal elements, but it is possible for *nani* to occur with any postverbal element except manner or additive.

(*pēlu*) *nani* *dadīi* (*na*)
 (Peter) CON:be:named same (he)
 '(They) are both named (Peter [Sp. *Pedro*]).'

(*pēlu*) *nani* *ndīhshe* (*na*)
 (Peter) CON:be:named truly (he)
 '(He) really is named (Peter).'

(*pēlu*) *nani* *sh* (*ná*)
 (Peter) CON:be:named LIM (he)
 '(He) is just named (Peter).'

(pēlu) nani túku (na)
 (Peter) CON:be:named REP (he)
 '(He) is again named (Peter).'

(pēlu) nani ku (ná)
 (Peter) CON:be:named EMPH (he)
 '(He) is indeed named (Peter).'

(pēlu) nani kúdii (ná)
 (Peter) CON:be:named merely (he)
 '(He) is merely named (Peter).'

It is also possible for the same postverbal elements that occur with *nani* to occur in an equative sentence when no verb is present, in which case they directly follow the nominal complement.'

(dutu) dadii (ña)
 (priest) same (person)
 '(They) are both (priests).'

(pēlu) ndihshe (na)
 (Peter) truly (he)
 '(He) really is (Peter).'

(tīná) tuku (∅)
 (dog) REP (UN)
 '(It) is again (a dog).'

(tīná) ku (∅)
 (dog) EMPH (UN)
 '(It) is indeed (a dog).'

(ihshá) kudii (u)
 (child) merely (I)
 '(I) am merely (a child).'

(tīná) dadii ndihshe sh tuku ku kudii (∅)
 (dog) same truly LIM REP EMPH merely (UN)
 '(It) is indeed likewise merely again just (a dog).'

If, however, the nominal complement is expressed by a possessive noun phrase (see 3.3), the postverbal elements occur between the possessed item and its possessor.

(*tahán*) *ndihshe* (*kó tun*)
 (companion) truly (me she)
 '(She) really is (my sister).'

(*tíná*) *tsi kudií* (*ko ∅*)
 (dog) LIM merely (me UN)
 '(It) is only just (my dog).'

2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases consist of a stative verb nucleus with optional preverbal and postverbal elements. Preverbal elements include all those described in 2.1.2 except motion and nonmotion auxiliary and mode, while postverbal elements include all those described in 2.1.3.

With preverbal elements:

ñá vāhá (*∅*)
 NEG good (UN)
 '(It) is not good.'

dōó kahnu (*na*)
 INTS big:SG (he)
 '(He) is very big.'

dīi ka kahnu (*tún*)
 bit more big:SG (she)
 '(She) is bigger.'

é kāhnu (*na*)
 already big:SG (he)
 '(He) is already big.'

(See also 7.26, 7.42, 7.80, and 7.98.)

With postverbal elements:

vide kwēhén (u)
 wet completely (I)
 ‘(I) am soaking wet.’

vāhā ndihshe (∅)
 good truly (UN)
 ‘(It) really is good.’

kahnu ká (∅)
 big:SG more (UN)
 ‘(It) is bigger.’ or ‘(It) is still big.’

vide sh tūku (∅)
 wet LIM REP (UN)
 ‘(It) is just wet again.’

kahnu kudii (vihi ña)
 big:SG merely (house person)
 ‘(Their house) is kind of big.’

kahnu ká kudii (∅)
 big:SG more merely (UN)
 ‘(It) is only a bit bigger.’

kahnu kwehen ndihshe sh ku (tínā kó)
 big:SG completely truly LIM EMPH (dog me)
 ‘(My dog) really is indeed just extremely big.’

With both preverbal and postverbal elements:

é dii ka kahnu ndihshe sh ku (tínā kó)
 already bit more big:SG truly LIM EMPH (dog me)
 ‘(My dog) just really is indeed already bigger

e tína o)
 CMP dog you:SG)
 (than your dog).’

Manner in stative verb phrases can be questioned by using *ndé kaa* ‘how?’ or ‘how much?’, optionally accompanied by the interrogative marker *ndu*.

ndé kaa vidē (tún)
 how CON:be wet (she)
 ‘How wet is (she)?’

ndé kaa ndu vīi (etun)
 how CON:be INT heavy (box)
 ‘How heavy is (the box)?’ or ‘How much does (the box) weigh?’

2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Both content and stative verb nuclei may be repeated to indicate continuation of an action or intensification of a state. The aspect is usually continuative, but sometimes potential occurs. Repetitive verb phrases often occur as the first part of juxtaposed coordinate sentences (see 6.1.2). Repetitive stative verb phrases also sometimes express preverbal manner (see 2.1.2).

ika ika (nā)
 CON:walk CON:walk (he)
 ‘(He) walked and walked.’ or ‘(He) kept on walking.’

kwishin kwihshin (∅)
 white white (UN)
 ‘(It) is very white.’

Preverbal elements, when present, are usually repeated with the nucleus, while postverbal elements never are.

da kin dá kihin ts (o)
 just POT:go just POT:go LIM (we:IN)
 ‘(We) will just keep on going.’

vide vide tsī (∅)
 wet wet LIM (UN)
 ‘(It) is just sopping wet.’

ndava ndava nuu ká sh (t̃ iní i)
 CON:fall CON:fall face more LIM (it:AML insides UN)
 (It) just kept sliding around (in it).

2.5 Additive Verb Phrases

Two content verb nuclei that are related in meaning and that agree in aspect may be juxtaposed to form additive verb phrases. They are relatively rare and appear to be frozen remnants of a formerly productive literary device. Like repetitive content verb phrases, they occur as simple sentences or as the first part of juxtaposed coordinate sentences (see 6.1.2).

ko kahshi (o)
 POT:drink POT:eat (we:IN)
 '(We) will eat and drink.'

kashka inu (na)
 CON:walk CON:run (he)
 '(He) is scurrying.'

kūnu méhñu kūnu dava (ñā ko)
 POT:get:in:SG in:middle:of POT:get:in:SG half (person us:IN)
 '(He [God]) will be with (us).'

3

Noun Phrases

3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

<i>itā</i>	‘tortilla’
<i>núnī</i>	‘corn’
<i>ndute</i>	‘water’
<i>túhūn</i>	‘word’
<i>ñaha</i>	‘person, they’ ¹
<i>kīi</i>	‘animal, it:AML’

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that comprises a noun or pronoun followed by a frozen modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral (rare), or a relative clause based on either a stative or a content verb.

Noun plus noun:

<i>ndute</i>	<i>núū</i>
water	face
‘tear’	

¹In Coatzospan Mixtec, third person pronouns are not a fixed set. Instead, many generic noun stems, in full or reduced form, serve as personal pronouns (see 5.4). The stems *ñaha* and *kīi* are in this category, and they are therefore given two glosses.

a ndútē
 child water
 'godchild'

ishá dyuhun
 child money
 'interest'

cho shítñi
 medicine rat
 'rat poison'

vi utun
 house wood
 'jail'

tsi kutsin
 nose pig
 'bat (Sp. cochino)'

shku davi
 leaf rain
 'fern'

ko ndáhā
 snake hand
 'centipede'

nda kāá
 hand metal
 'key'

ta ñúhū
 tortilla fire
 'bread'

(See also 7.5.)

Noun plus numeral:

isha uvi
 child two
 'twin'

Noun plus relative clause:

ndute veté
 water cool
 'soda pop'

dyun kwétsī
 money small:PL
 'change'

ndika kwēhé
 banana red
 'mamey (*Calocarpum sapota*)'

do shíhi
 word CON:die
 'death'

ndo íhshi
 adobe COM:burn
 'brick'

tsi kahnu
 trail big:SG
 'Huatla de Jiménez'

(See also 7.60.)

Sometimes the first or second constituent of a complex nucleus is itself complex.

sho ka íñū
 vine metal thorn
 'barbed wire'

tánu kwetsī skwela
 female small:PL school
 ‘schoolgirls (Sp. *escuela*)’

utsi ta ñúhū
 powder tortilla fire
 ‘bread crumbs’

kóō rki uhshe
 snake head seven
 ‘seven-headed snake’

ko tí ndika
 snake animal banana
 ‘intestinal roundworm’

vi é kaika
 house CMP CON:walk
 ‘train’

Proper names often follow a prestressed pronoun or a generic noun (in either a full or reduced form), creating a construction which is similar to a complex noun-noun nucleus, but which is not idiomatic in meaning.

ñā xwaan
 person John
 ‘John (Sp. *Juan*)’

ná pēlu
 boy Peter
 ‘Peter (Sp. *Pedro*)’

tá m̄aria
 girl Mary
 ‘Mary (Sp. *María*)’

shtá mastru
 sir teacher
 ‘Teacher (Sp. *maestro*)’

mastru xwaan
 teacher John
 'Teacher John'

ñuu núndüvé
 town Oaxaca
 'Oaxaca City'

ñuuú kanadaa
 town Canada
 'Canada (Sp. *Canadá*)'

3.1.2 Prenominal elements. There are two elements that precede the nucleus: quantifier and diminutive.

Quantifiers comprise both numerals and general quantifiers, and the specifiers *mü* 'alone' or 'self' and *divi* 'same'.

With numerals:

uun doo
 one cloth
 'one cloth'

kimi ñáhā
 four person
 'four people'

úhun ütun
 five wood
 'five trees'

(See also 7.90, 7.91, 7.94, and 7.95.)

With general quantifiers:

títin kiti
 many animal
 'many animals'

ndehvi ita
 few tortilla
 'few tortillas'

With specifiers:

mī tūn
alone she
'she herself'

divī tūn
same she
'the same one (girl)'

(See also 7.37, 7.42, and 7.61.)

The reduced form of the numeral *uun* 'one' is often used simply as an indefinite article.

un doo
one cloth
'a cloth'

un ñahā
one person
'a person' or 'someone'

(See also 7.5.)

The diminutive *á* (a reduced form of *ihshá* 'child') occurs immediately preceding the noun nucleus. It denotes either smallness, sympathy, or affection and is sometimes used in discourse to mark the underdog (see Small 1979:360).

a tīnā
DIM dog
'puppy'

a shúu
DIM rock
'pebble'

á ihshá
DIM child
'little child'

á uvā
 DIM father
 'daddy'

á xwaan
 DIM John
 'Johnnie'

(See also 7.1, 7.29, and various others.)

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

There are two stressed deictics, *sáhā* 'this' and *tsikān* 'that'.

vi sáhá
 house this
 'this house'

kwia sahá
 year this
 'this year'

tīná tsikan
 dog that
 'that dog'

nduvi tsikan
 day that
 'that day' or 'in those days'

When the noun nucleus rather than the deictic is in focus, the poststressed forms *sá* 'this' and *sán* 'that' are used. They function somewhat like definite articles and usually imply previous mention of the noun. *sán* is also used to mark a thematic participant or prop in discourse (see Small 1979:360).

ihshá sa
 child this
 'this child' or 'the child'

vihī sán
 house that
 'that house' or 'the house'

(See also 7.2, 7.8, 7.12, 7.29, 7.60, 7.77, 7.101, 7.118, and various others.)

The limiter is *tsi* 'just', which also occurs in verb phrases (see 2.1.3).

ihshá tsi
child LIM
'just a child'

ndute tsi
water LIM
'just water'

(See also 7.54.)

Relative clauses² are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or prestressed pronouns, by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head, and in some cases by the presence of a relative pronoun. There are three words that function as relative pronouns: the complementizer *é*,³ the interrogative adverb *mí* 'where?', and the subordinate conjunction *dā* 'when'. *mí* is used only for inanimate locative adjuncts and location peripheral elements, and *dā* is used only for

²The distinction made by many linguists between restrictive and nonrestrictive (appositive) relative clauses does not appear to be relevant for Coatzospan Mixtec. Most of the examples given below are translated as restrictive relatives. The translation seems to depend far more on the degree to which the head is already specified in the discourse context than on any formal features of the language. When, however, an appositional construction (see 3.7) is used instead of a relative clause, a nonrestrictive meaning is far more likely.

³It is necessary to distinguish between the prestressed pronoun and relative pronoun uses of *é*. The prestressed pronoun can serve as a nucleus that refers to an unspecified or abstract entity to which no other prestressed pronoun properly applies. Because it is prestressed, it must be followed by something else in the same noun phrase, and most often it is followed by a relative clause. *é* in this use is never followed by *é* as a relative pronoun.

é vāhá
UN good
'that which is good' or 'the good one'

é káhshi o
UN POT:eat we:IN
'what we eat' or 'food'

time peripheral elements; *é* is used in all other cases. It is required following a noun head in all relative clauses except those based on stative verbs but is optional following a pronoun head. It does not, however, occur when *é* 'it (unspecified)' serves as the nucleus. Only relative clauses based on stative verbs modify a proper noun.

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any element within them.

With subject as head:

isha é kākidi
child CMP CON:sleep
'the child that is sleeping'

tānū e kishi iku
female CMP COM:come yesterday
'the girl that came yesterday'

tānū kishi iku
female COM:come yesterday
'the girl that came yesterday'

ñā kadiko tūún
person CON:sell charcoal
'the person that sells charcoal'

In its use as a relative pronoun, on the other hand, *é* comes between a nucleus and a following relative clause. The nucleus may be any noun or prestressed pronoun except *é*, and is not limited to those that refer to unspecified or abstract concepts, thus showing that in such contexts *é* has no referential function and is purely a grammatical marker.

ñā é nanī xwaan
person CMP CON:be:named John
'the person that is named John'

tānū é vāhá
female CMP good
'the girl who is good'

If these two functions of *é* are not distinguished, then relative clauses with *é* following some other element could mistakenly be considered to be appositional constructions.

na ndáhví kó dyuhún
 boy COM:pay me money
 'the boy that paid me money'

e kóhshō
 UN COM:fall
 'that which fell'

(See also 7.1, 7.44, and 7.47.)

With object as head:⁴

ndute é kāshihī tī
 water CMP CON:drink it:AML
 'the water that it (animal) is drinking'

kāī é kahñī ná tevāa
 animal CMP POT:kill he morning
 'the animal that he will kill tomorrow'

kāī kahñī na tevāa
 animal POT:kill he morning
 'the animal that he will kill tomorrow'

dyuhun e ndáhví tún xwaan
 money CMP COM:pay she John
 'the money that she paid John'

⁴Because nouns and third person personal pronouns do not distinguish case (see 5.4), the head of a relative clause which contains more than one third person animate referent frequently is ambiguous as to whether it is subject, object, or adjunct.

kāī e éhñi ña
 animal CMP COM:kill person
 'the animal that killed them' or 'the animal that they killed'

na iní xwaan
 boy COM:see John
 'the boy that saw John' or 'the boy that John saw'

na ndáhví tún dyuhún
 boy COM:pay she/her money
 'the boy that paid her money' or 'the boy that she paid money to'

é kakāhán tun nī kó
 UN CON:speak she with me
 'what she said to me'

(See also 7.60.)

tánu kākan nihi mária
 female CON:speak with Mary
 'the girl that talked with Mary' or 'the girl that Mary talked with'

With adjunct as head:

na e ndāhvī ú dyuhún
 boy CMP COM:pay I money
 'the boy that I paid money to'

na ndāhvī ú dyuhún
 boy COM:pay I money
 'the boy that I paid money to'

ñuu mí ñehe o
 town where COM:go we:IN
 'the town where we went'

With peripheral element as head:

ñuu mí kadikō xwaan túun
 town where CON:sell John charcoal
 'the town where John sells charcoal'

nduvi dá shihí xwaan
 day when COM:die John
 'the day on which John died'

When a preposition or locative noun signals an adjunct, it retains its original position and the deleted noun phrase is represented by the unspecified pronoun *i*.

tánũ tásh nũu na tutú ndaha i
 female COM:give face he paper hand UN
 'the girl he sent a letter to'

tánu kākahan mária ni i
 female CON:speak Mary with UN
 'the girl that Mary talked with'

isha é ñehe ñá ni i kūchaña
 child CMP COM:go person with UN Tehuacán
 'the child that they went with to Tehuacán'

na kakahan tún iña i
 boy CON:speak she thing UN
 'the boy that she is talking about' or 'the boy that she is talking
 on behalf of'

If, however, the preposition or locative noun is incorporated into the verb nucleus (see 1.1.4 and 2.1.1), no pronoun copy occurs.

tánu kākan nihí u
 female CON:speak with I
 'the girl that I talked with'

kutsiu e éni nuu na tīnā
 knife CMP COM:kill face he dog
 'the knife (Sp. *cuchillo*) that he killed a dog with'

Some relative clauses based on content verbs have acquired an idiomatic meaning and form complex noun nuclei (see 3.1.1).

Sentences with equative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject.

tánū é nani mária
 female CMP CON:be:named Mary
 'the girl that is named Mary'

tánu nani mária
 female CON:be:named Mary
 'the girl that is named Mary'

na é kūvi kádā kó
 boy CMP POT:become son:in:law me
 'the boy that is to become my son-in-law'

ñā ndúvi kiti
 person COM:REP:become animal
 ‘the person that turned into an animal’

An equative sentence without a verb may also become a relative clause based on the subject.

ñā é dūtu
 person CMP priest
 ‘the person that is a priest’

ñā dutu
 person priest
 ‘the person that is a priest’

Ordinals are expressed by means of a relative clause using the equative verb *kuvi* ‘to become’ (frequently reduced in fast speech to *kwi*), which links the subject and the numeral.

na é kuvi ūni
 boy CMP COM:become three
 ‘the boy that is third’

na kwi ūni
 boy COM:become three
 ‘the boy that is third’

é kwi ūhshi
 UN COM:become ten
 ‘the one that is tenth’

Sentences with stative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject.

vi é vāhá
 house CMP good
 ‘the house that is good’

vi vāhá
 house good
 ‘the good house’

tánū é kāhnu
 female CMP big:SG
 'the girl that is big'

tānu kāhnu
 female big:SG
 'the big girl'

xwán kahnu
 John big:SG
 'big John'

e kwīshīn
 UN white
 'the white one'

(See also 7.40, 7.60, and 7.101.)

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. Noun phrases may contain up to four nonnuclear elements, with certain cooccurrence restrictions. Quantifier cooccurs with any of the other elements except limiter. (Limiter may, however, occur within a quantifier phrase [see 4.1.3 and 4.1.4].) A relative clause based on a stative verb may cooccur with deictic or limiter, both of which follow the relative clause. Deictic and limiter may cooccur: limiter precedes the poststressed deictic but follows the stressed deictic. Diminutive has no apparent cooccurrence restrictions.

tīnā kwīshīn sáhā
 dog white this
 'this white dog'

isha luhndí tsi sá
 child small:SG LIM this
 'just this little child'

a tīna tsīkan tsi
 DIM dog that LIM
 'just that puppy'

á vihi tsi sán
 DIM house LIM that
 'just the little house'

un á isha é kākidi
 one DIM child CMP CON:sleep
 ‘a little child that is sleeping’

úvī á vi kwetsī sán
 two DIM house small:PL that
 ‘those two little tiny houses’

(See also 7.101.)

Occasionally a short relative clause based on a content verb may cooccur with a following deictic, as in 7.77 and 7.88.

Two relative clauses may occur in a single noun phrase if both are based on a stative verb.

tīná kwīshín kwetsī
 dog white small:PL
 ‘little white dogs’

If either relative clause is expanded or is based on a content verb, an appositional construction is required (see 3.7).

3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

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

úvi ētun (núni)
 two box (corn)
 ‘two four-liter measures (of corn)’

īñū métru (dōo)
 six meter (cloth)
 ‘six meters (Sp. *metro*) (of cloth)’

uun naha (ndīshen)
 one pair (sandal)
 ‘one pair (of sandals)’

uun t̄in kahnu (shuku)
 one pinch big:SG (leaf)
 ‘one handful (of leaves)’

úhshi vrōsa nahnu (kaka)
 ten bag big:PL (lime)
 ‘ten big bags (Sp. *bolsa*) (of lime)’

3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a possessed noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to those considered capable of being possessed. They are either inherently possessed nouns, which are largely body parts and kinship terms, or they are optionally possessed nouns. The possessor is a noun phrase. If it is expressed by a pronoun, the object set (see 5.4) is used.

With inherently possessed nouns:

nda ihshá
 hand child
 ‘the child’s hand’

d̄its̄in t̄inā
 nose dog
 ‘the dog’s nose’

d̄it̄ó xwaan
 uncle John
 ‘John’s uncle’

ení na
 brother:ME him
 ‘his brother’

iñā kó
 thing me
 ‘my thing’ or ‘mine’

(See also 7.2, 7.13, 7.14, 7.34, 7.40, 7.41, 7.72, 7.83, 7.102, 7.107, and various others.)

With optionally possessed nouns:

itú *xwaan*
cornfield John
'John's cornfield'

tīná *ko*
dog me
'my dog'

ihshá *ñā*
child person
'their child'

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.5, 7.74, 7.96, and various others.)

There is a small class of nouns which cannot be followed directly by a possessor. These require the insertion of the inherently possessed noun *iñā* 'thing' between the nucleus and its possessor, resulting in a type of appositional construction (see 3.7).

nduvi *iñā* *tun*
day thing her
'her life'

kwendu *iñā* *tsídō*
story thing rabbit
'story (Sp. *cuento*) about a rabbit' or 'rabbit story'

(See also 7.1 and 7.123.)

The possessed item occurs as the nucleus of its noun phrase. Quantifier, diminutive, and limiter optionally modify it.

úvi *enī* *ná*
two brother:ME him
'his two brothers' or 'two of his brothers'

a *tína* *tsī* *kó*
DIM dog LIM me
'just my puppy'

An optionally possessed noun may be directly followed by a simple relative clause based on a stative verb.

ví kahnu ña
house big:SG person
'their big house'

isha luhndí ko
child small:SG me
'my little child'

In a few common phrases an inherently possessed noun may also be directly followed by a simple relative clause based on a stative verb, as seen in 7.12 and 7.16. If the relative clause is expanded, however, or is based on a content verb, or usually if the noun is inherently possessed, it must follow the possessor and be introduced by a relative pronoun.

vihi ña e dóo kahnu
house person CMP INTS big:SG
'their house which is very big' or 'their very big house'

ihshá ko é kaeku
child me CMP CON:CRY
'my child that is crying' or 'my crying child'

tahan kó e lúhndī
sister me CMP small:SG
'my sister that is little' or 'my little sister'

The possessed item may be modified by the poststressed deictics *sá* 'this' or *sán* 'that' or 'the', which occur following the possessor. If the possessor is a third person, the construction is ambiguous.

ihshá ko sá
child me this
'this child of mine'

tīná tun sán
dog her that
'that dog of hers' or 'that girl's dog'

(See also 7.12, 7.16, 7.19, 7.22, 7.35, and 7.74.)

In order for a stressed deictic to modify a possessed item, an appositional construction is required (see 3.7).

The possessor may itself be a possessive noun phrase.

ishá tahan shi nāná ko
 child sister husband aunt me
 'my aunt's husband's sister's child'

3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are basic or possessive. Interrogative basic noun phrases are formed by combining one of the following interrogatives with a following noun phrase or pronoun: *shó* 'who?' or *neé* or *ne iñá* 'what?', 'which?', or 'what kind of?'. The interrogative is always initial in its noun phrase, and an interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence (see 1.1.8 and 1.2.2).

shó ñaha
 who person
 'which person?' or 'who?'

shó dutu
 who priest
 'which priest?'

nē choho
 what herb
 'what medicine?'

né ihshá
 what child
 'what kind of child?' (i.e., boy or girl)

ne iñá kití
 what thing animal
 'which animal?' or 'what kind of animal?'

To question a quantity, the interrogative *ndé* 'how?' is used in a special construction that involves the verb *kaa* 'to be (singular)'; see 1.2.2 and 2.1.2 for a discussion of similar constructions.

ndé kaa dyuhún
 how CON:be:SG money
 'how much money?'

ndé kaa vihi
 how CON:be:SG house
 'how many houses?'

The noun phrase is not normally expanded, but the interrogative may be expanded by postnuclear elements such as verifier, additive, limiter, repetitive, emphatic, and deprecativ, all of which are described in 2.1.3.

ne iñá ka sh tuku kiti
 what thing more LIM REP animal
 'just what other kind of animal?'

ndé kaa ndihshe ku kudii vihi
 how CON:be:SG truly EMPH merely house
 'really indeed merely how many houses?'

Certain frozen interrogative noun phrases introduced by *neé* 'what?' are used as interrogative adverbs.

nē ndúvi
 what day
 'what day?' or 'when?'

né ura
 what hour
 'what time (Sp. *hora*)?' or 'when?'

nē tsíñu
 what work
 'for what purpose?' or 'why?'

(See also 7.68.)

The interrogative marker *ndu*, used to form YES/NO questions (see 1.2.1), optionally occurs in interrogative noun phrases following either the interrogative or the complete noun phrase, as seen in the following three pairs of examples. There does not appear to be any significant meaning difference associated with the presence of *ndu*.

né ndu choho
 what INT herb
 'which medicine?'

nē choho ndu
 what herb INT
 'which medicine?'

ne iñá ndu kiti
 what thing INT animal
 'what kind of animal?'

ne iñá kiti ndu
 what thing animal INT
 'what kind of animal?'

ndé kaa ndu dyuhun
 how CON:be:SG INT money
 'how much money?'

ndé kaa dyuhun ndu
 how CON:be:SG money INT
 'how much money?'

(See also 7.44.)

Interrogative possessive noun phrases consist of the interrogative *shó* 'who?' or an interrogative basic noun phrase introduced by *shó* or *né*, plus a possessed noun, plus the unspecified pronoun *i*.

shó iñá i
 who thing UN
 'whose thing?'

shó ñaha doo i
 who person cloth UN
 'whose clothes?'

né kiti duhme i
 what animal tail UN
 'which animal's tail?'

As in interrogative basic noun phrases, *ndu* may optionally be inserted; it occurs following either the interrogative, the interrogative noun phrase, or the possessed item.

shó ndu ñaha doo i
 who INT person cloth UN
 'whose clothes?'

shó ñaha ndu doo i
 who person INT cloth UN
 'whose clothes?'

shó ñaha doo ndu i
 who person cloth INT UN
 'whose clothes?'

3.5 Negative Noun Phrases

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the negative sentential marker *ñá tē* to a noun phrase or pronoun. A negative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence. An equative sentence (see 1.1.5) is negated by using a negative noun phrase as the nominal complement. (Since equative verbs and unspecified third person subject pronouns are unexpressed, all negative noun phrases are therefore ambiguous with independent equative sentences.)

ñá te ishā vahá
 NEG if child good
 'not a good child'

ñá te ishā vahá (∅)
 NEG if child good (UN)
 '(It is) not a good child.'

ñá te shūhú
 NEG if I
 'not I'

ñá te shūhú (∅)
 NEG if I (UN)
 '(It is) not I.'

ñá te iñá ko
 NEG if thing me
 'not mine'

ñá te iñá ko (∅)
 NEG if thing me (UN)
 '(It is) not mine.'

(See also 7.7.)

When a negative noun phrase is questioned, the interrogative *ndu* optionally follows either the negative *ñá* or the entire noun phrase.

ñá ndu te ishā vahá (∅)
 NEG INT if child good (UN)
 '(Is it) not a good child?'

ñá te ishā vahá ndu (∅)
 NEG if child good INT (UN)
 '(Is it) not a good child?'

Interrogative words and phrases may be negated with *ñá tē* to form a construction that functions like a negative pronoun or adverb. These phrases are likewise limited to sentence-initial position.

ñá tē shoó
 NEG if who
 'no one' or 'nobody'

ñá tē neé
 NEG if what
 'nothing'

ñá tē ne iñá
 NEG if what thing
 'nothing'

ñá te nē tsíñu
 NEG if what work
 'for no reason'

ñá te nē nuu i
 NEG if what face UN
 ‘nothing important’

ñá tē né kwidadu
 NEG if what care
 ‘nothing to worry about (Sp. *cuidado*)’

ñá te mihí
 NEG if where
 ‘nowhere’

3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Adverbial noun phrases are basic or possessive. Adverbial basic noun phrases differ from ordinary basic noun phrases in two ways. First, the nucleus must be a locative or temporal noun; and second, the deictic may be expressed by a broader range of elements, which includes the post-stressed locative and temporal adverbs *a* ‘here’, *kān* ‘there’, *ve* ‘now’, and (rarely) *dā* ‘then’, as well as the poststressed deictics *sá* ‘this’ and *sān* ‘that’. These phrases are used as locative adjuncts and as location or time peripheral elements.

itsi kahru
 trail big:SG
 ‘main road’

ndute ñuhu ā
 water land here
 ‘ocean (here)’

nduvi ā
 day here
 ‘by day’

e dúkān kán
 UN high there
 ‘sky (there)’ or ‘heaven (there)’

kwia ndñhi ko kán
 year COM:finish US:IN there
 ‘last year’

kwia nákihi o k̄ān
 year POT:REP:take we:IN there
 'next year'

vité ve
 week now
 'a week from now'

ñuú kō sá
 town us:IN this
 'our town' or 'our country'

vi utun sán
 house wood that
 'the jail'

(See also 7.1.)

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with an inherently possessed locative noun as nucleus. Many of these are body-part nouns used with extended meanings (see 5.3.2). Adverbial possessive noun phrases frequently terminate in a poststressed locative adverb or deictic and are used as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

nú shūú
 face rock
 'on a rock'

nda dutú
 hand priest
 'to a priest' or 'before a priest'

átā kó
 back me
 'behind me'

ata víhi tún a
 back house her here
 'behind her house (here)'

rkì úku kân
 head mountain there
 ‘on top of the mountain (there)’

ini etún san
 insides box that
 ‘in the box’ or ‘inside of that box’

(See also 7.3, 7.28, 7.44, 7.72, 7.102, 7.109, 7.118, and 7.122.)

3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun phrases in the same structural position joined without a conjunction. They occur in any noun-phrase position.

tahan kó / maria
 sister me Mary
 ‘my sister, Mary’

tīná / kiti shihi íku
 dog animal COM:die yesterday
 ‘the dog, the one that died yesterday’

(See also 7.1.)

It is common for the second noun phrase of an appositional construction to contain a third person prestressed pronoun (see 5.4) followed by a relative clause, which may optionally be introduced by the complementizer *é* (see 3.1.3).

xwaan / ña (é) dūtu
 John person (CMP) priest
 ‘John, the one who is a priest’

dutu / ña (é) nanī xwaan
 priest person (CMP) CON:be:named John
 ‘a priest who is named John’

Appositional noun phrases have several specific functions. One of these is to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified, which is the function filled by nonrestrictive relative clause in

English. Such appositional noun phrases often have a proper noun as the nucleus of the first part.

xwaan / ña (é) kadiko iūun
 John person (CMP) CON:sell charcoal
 'John, who sells charcoal' or 'John, the one who sells charcoal'

In some cases an appositional construction is the only way to include certain information in a noun phrase. For example, an appositional phrase is usually required in order to express two relative clauses with a single noun nucleus (see 3.1.3), or a stressed deictic with a possessed noun (see 3.3).

dutu / ñá e dóo vahá
 priest person CMP INTS good
 'a priest, who is very good' or 'a very good priest'

xwaan / ná e dóo dūkún
 John boy CMP INTS tall
 'John, who is very tall'

vihí na / e dóo dūkún
 house him UN INTS tall
 'his house, which is very tall'

tahan kó / taru lúhndī
 sister me female small:SG
 'my sister, who is little' or 'my little sister'

tīná tun / kiti dóo diin
 dog her animal INTS fierce
 'her dog, which is very fierce' or 'her very fierce dog'

dutu / ñá sáhá
 priest person this
 'this priest'

maría / tanú sáhá
 Mary female this
 'this Mary'

tīná ko / kīī tsīkán
 dog me animal that
 'that dog of mine'

Likewise, an appositional phrase is required in order to express a stressed deictic with a relative clause based on a content verb. The nucleus of the first phrase is repeated as nucleus of the second; either phrase may occur first.

tánū kīshi iku / tanú tsīkán
 female COM:come yesterday female that
 'the girl who came yesterday, that one' or 'that girl who came
 yesterday'

tánu tsīkan / tánū kīshi iku
 female that female COM:come yesterday
 'that girl, the one who came yesterday' or 'that girl who came
 yesterday'

An appositional phrase is also required in order to express two relative clauses with the same noun nucleus if one of the relative clauses is based on a content verb.

tánū lúhndi / tánú kaeku
 female small:SG female CON:cry
 'the little girl who is crying'

Several successive phrases may be in apposition.

vihi na / vi kahnu na / vi vāhá /
 house him house big:SG him house good
 'his house, his big house, the good house,

vi kwīshín / vi shuu
 house white house rock
 'the white house, the stone house' or 'his nice big white
 stone house'

In order for a noun that cannot be possessed to occur with a possessor, it must be followed appositionally by a possessive noun phrase based on the inherently possessed noun *īñā* 'thing' (see 3.3). The relation between

the two parts of such a construction is close knit, and there is no pause potential between them.

nduvi iñá tun
day thing her
'her life'

kwendu iña tsídō
story thing rabbit
'story about a rabbit' or 'rabbit story'

predende iña fúnda
leader thing committee
'leader (Sp. *presidente*) of a committee (Sp. *junta*)' or 'committee chairman'

(See also 7.1 and 7.123.)

3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are simple coordinate, coordinate with attraction, or disjunctive. In the simple coordinate noun phrase, a pause follows all noun phrases in a list, and the additive marker *dì* 'also' optionally precedes each pause.

námā / tsumē / túūn
soap candle charcoal
'soap, candles, and charcoal'

ndika dì / t̄tsin / t̄kwē dì
banana also avocado guava also
'also bananas, avocados, and also guavas'

tsídó dì / rkuhú dì / shishí dì / t̄māhá dì
rabbit also deer also coati also raccoon also
'also rabbits, deer, coatis, and raccoons'

átā ko / d̄ikē kó / ndaha kó / d̄ihín ko dì
back me head me hand me foot me also
'my back, my head, my hands, and also my feet'

It is also possible to link two noun phrases by using an associative adjunct (see 1.1.4).

Coordinate noun phrases exemplifying attraction consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases with no pause between them. The first noun phrase must contain an expanded numeral phrase (see 4.1.3) containing the general quantifier *ndíhi* 'all'. This quantifier fuses with numerals from two to four (see 5.6). The second noun phrase must permit the interpretation that its referents are included in the referents of the first one.

nduvi ndi xwaan
all:two we:EX John
'both John and I'

nduvi ná ení na
all:two he brother:ME him
'both he and his brother'

nduni ndó tun
all:three you:PL she
'the three of you, including her'

Disjunctive noun phrases consist of two or three parts. Each part is preceded by either *o* 'or' (Sp.) or *ndé* 'nor', except that *o* is optional before the first part. The topic marker *ne* 'and' followed by pause optionally follows each part except the last.

o vi sáhá o vi tsíkán
or house this or house that
'either this house or that house'

un shoó ne / o uni víte ne / o kirmi víte
one moon and or three week and or four week
'a month, or three or four weeks'

nde láā ne / ndé kōó ne / ndé kīi
nor bird and nor snake and nor animal
'neither birds, nor snakes, nor animals'

3.9 Distributive Noun Phrases

Distributive noun phrases express the notion of ‘each’ or ‘every’. They are of two types: temporal and locative. In temporal phrases the noun nucleus is simply repeated.

kwia kwíā
 year year
 ‘every year’ or ‘yearly’

In locative phrases, *tán*, the prestressed form of *tahan* ‘companion’, precedes the nucleus, and the entire phrase is repeated.

tán vi tán vihi
 companion house companion house
 ‘from house to house’

3.10 Partitive Noun Phrases

Partitive noun phrases have a structure and distribution similar to that of measurement noun phrases. They have a noun nucleus, which is either *ñaha* ‘person’ or *díkē* ‘head’, preceded by a quantifier, and they are used to refer to one or more members of a determinate group of persons or animals.

un ñaha (dūtú)
 one person (priest)
 ‘one (of the priests)’

úhun ñāha (tún)
 five person (she)
 ‘five (of them [girls])’

úshi ñāha (ña)
 ten person (person)
 ‘ten (of them [people])’

úshi díkē (ì)
 ten head (it:AML)
 ‘ten (of them [animals])’

3.11 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Indefinite noun phrases are of two kinds, both of which may be used alone or in combination with a following noun phrase. The first kind is formed by using an interrogative as nucleus, preceded by the subordinate conjunction *dā* 'when', in the sense of 'even', and frequently followed by *ká* 'more', the limiter *tsi* 'just', and sometimes the quantifier *ndīhī* 'all'.

da shōó
when who
'anyone'

da shōó ka
when who more
'whoever'

da shōó ka (ñaha)
when who more (person)
'whoever'

da nēé ka tsi
when what more LIM
'whatever'

da nēé ka ndīhī
when what more all
'whatever'

da nēé ka (nduvi)
when what more (day)
'whenever' or 'any (day)'

dā míhī ká
when where more
'wherever' or 'anywhere'

dā míhī ká tsi (ñuú)
when where more LIM (town)
'wherever' or 'any (town)'

The second kind is formed by using an interrogative as nucleus, followed by *ndīhī* 'all', or by *ndī ndīhē*.

shó ndihí (ñaha)
who all (person)
'who-all'

né ndí ndihí (tsiñu)
what all all (work)
'what-all (jobs)'

4

Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases. In additive numeral phrases, simple numerals from one to ten, fifteen, and twenty are combined to form the numerals eleven to fourteen, sixteen to nineteen, twenty-one to thirty, and thirty-five. In each case the larger numeral precedes the smaller one. The numeral *uun* 'one' has a suppletive allomorph *#n* following ten.

úshi #n
ten one
'eleven'

shéun uvī
fifteen two
'seventeen'

oko úhshī
twenty ten
'thirty'

An additive numeral phrase containing three numerals is used to form the numerals from thirty-one to thirty-four and from thirty-six to thirty-nine.

oko ush únī
twenty ten three
'thirty-three'

oko sheun kāmī
 twenty fifteen four
 ‘thirty-nine’

4.1.2 Attributive numeral phrases. Multiples of twenty, one hundred, and one thousand are expressed by attributive numeral phrases, which have two parts in a quantifier—nucleus relationship. The larger numeral occurs second. When the numeral for ‘twenty’ occurs as the nucleus of an attributive phrase, a suppletive allomorph, *dikō*, occurs; this must be preceded by a numeral between two and four.

kāmi dikō
 four twenty
 ‘eighty’

un syendu
 one hundred
 ‘one hundred (Sp. *ciento*)’

ūhūn mīl
 five thousand
 ‘five thousand (Sp. *mil*)’

Attributive numeral phrases combined with additive numeral phrases are used to form all the remaining nonsimple numerals.

úvi dīko shéun un
 two twenty fifteen one
 ‘fifty-six’

un syendu oko iñu
 one hundred twenty six
 ‘one hundred twenty-six’

un mīl ūshe syendu uni dīko una
 one thousand seven hundred three twenty eight
 ‘one thousand seven hundred sixty-eight’

ñn syendu kāmi dīko ushi ñn mīl
 nine hundred four twenty ten one thousand
 ‘nine hundred ninety-one thousand’

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

The prenuclear element quantifies the numeral nucleus and is expressed by *dá* 'only', *tē* 'if' (here used in the sense of 'approximately'), or *ndē* (reduced form of *ndīhi* 'all').

dá *ūvi* (*kīti*)
only two (animal)
'only two (animals)'

te *ōko* (*vīhi*)
if twenty (house)
'about twenty (houses)'

ndi *ūhun* (*ñáha*)
all five (person)
'all five (persons)'

ndē fuses with numerals two through four (see 5.6).

The six postnuclear elements are: fraction, additive, limiter, repetitive, emphatic, and deprecative. All of these except fraction also occur in content verb phrases (see 2.1.3).

Fraction occurs in first postnuclear position and is expressed only by *nde dáva* 'and a half'; *ndé* is a reduced form of the verb *ndeé* 'to be against (singular)'.

úni *ndē* *dáva* (*itá*)
three CON:be:against:SG half (tortilla)
'three and a half (tortillas)'

Additive occurs in second postnuclear position and is expressed by *ká* 'more' or 'still' and *sá* 'only a bit more'.

kímī *ká* (*ndika*)
four more (banana)
'four more (bananas)'

úvī *sá* (*tsiñu*)
two only (work)
'only two more (jobs)'

(See also 7.94 and 7.95.)

Limiters occurs in third postnuclear position and is expressed by *tsi* 'just'.

úni tsi (vīhi)
 three LIM (house)
 'just three (houses)'

(See also 7.90.)

Repetitive occurs in fourth postnuclear position and is expressed by *tuku* 'other'; it requires the presence of the additive in order to occur in a quantifier phrase.

uun ká tuku (ihshá)
 one more REP (child)
 'another (child)'

Emphatic occurs in fifth postnuclear position and is expressed by *ku* 'indeed' or 'definitely'.

īnu ku (īdu)
 six EMPH (horse)
 'definitely six (horses)'

Deprecative occurs in sixth postnuclear position and is expressed by *kūdii* 'merely'.

uun kudii (ndika)
 one merely (banana)
 'merely one (banana)'

The deprecative can be fronted to focus position before the quantifier.

kūdii kámi (íta)
 merely four (tortilla)
 'merely four (tortillas)'

All of the prenuclear and postnuclear elements may occur.

ndi īnú ka sh ku (kítí)
 all six more LIM EMPH (animal)
 'definitely just all six more (animals)'

te ũvi nde dáva ká tuku kudii (vihi)
 if two CON:be:against:SG half more REP merely (house)
 ‘merely about another two-and-a-half more (houses)’

If the noun nucleus that the expanded numeral phrase modifies is a temporal or measurement noun (see 3.2), it directly follows the numeral nucleus and may be followed by any of the above-mentioned postnuclear elements, thus creating a discontinuous structure.

uni (kwía) ndē dáva
 three (year) CON:be:against:SG half
 ‘three-and-a-half (years)’

úni (ndūvi) ká
 three (day) more
 ‘three more (days)’

un (shoó) sa
 one (moon) only
 ‘only one more (month)’

kámī (métrū) ká
 four (meter) more
 ‘four more (meters [Sp. *metro*])’

ñn (kílu) tsī
 nine (kilogram) LIM
 ‘just nine (kilograms [Sp. *kilo*])’

un (shoó) ka túku
 one (moon) more REP
 ‘another (month)’

úshi (nāhá) ku
 ten (pair) EMPH
 ‘definitely ten (pairs)’

úvi (ūra) kádii
 two (hour) merely
 ‘merely two (hours [Sp. *hora*])’

Note, however, that when an expanded numeral phrase occurs as the quantifier of a measurement noun phrase, postnuclear elements may follow the measurement noun, but not the higher noun.

ūhūn (lítu) ndē dáva (nduse)
 five (liter) CON:be:against:SG half (water)
 'five-and-a-half (liters [Sp. *litro*] of water)'

dava (etun) tsí (nuni)
 half (box) LIM (corn)
 'just half (a four-liter measure of corn)'

When an expanded numeral phrase is questioned, the interrogative marker *ndu* occurs following the postnuclear elements. However, it optionally precedes or follows the deprecativ *kūdii* without apparent change of meaning, as seen by comparing the last two examples.

ūvi (shoó) ka ndu
 two (moon) more INT
 'two more (months)?'

ūvi ka tuku ndu (ihshá)
 two more REP INT (child)
 'two other (children)?'

ūun kudii ndu (íta)
 one merely INT (tortilla)
 'merely one (tortilla)?'

ūun ndu kudii (íta)
 one INT merely (tortilla)
 'merely one (tortilla)?'

4.1.4 General quantifier phrases. Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which is a nonnumerical quantifier, followed by any of the postnuclear elements which occur in expanded numeral phrases except for the fraction. No prenuclear elements occur.

ndehvi tsí (íta)
 few LIM (tortilla)
 'just a few (tortillas)'

tšín ka tuku kudii (tsídō)
 several more REP merely (rabbit)
 'merely several other (rabbits)'

In 7.37 the specifier *dívi* serves as the nucleus of a general quantifier phrase.

4.1.5 Distributive numeral phrases. A repeated numeral or general quantifier, which is usually grammatically simple, constitutes a distributive numeral phrase. These phrases express the meaning 'numeral by numeral'.

uni úni (ĩshá)
 three three (child)
 'three-by-three (children)'

uvi úvi (kãti)
 two two (animal)
 'two-by-two (animals)'

uvívi (kãti)
 two:two (animal)
 'two-by-two (animals)'

dava dava (θ)
 half half (UN)
 'by halves' or 'in equal parts'

The numeral *uun* 'one', when repeated, must be preceded by a reduced form of the verb *kuvi* 'to become' or *shéé* 'to arrive', or by the complementizer *é*.

kwi un kwi un (it)
 CON:become one CON:become one (it:AML)
 'one (animal) at a time'

shé un shé un (ñā)
 CON:arrive one CON:arrive one (person)
 'each (person)'

é un é un (ñā)
 CMP one CMP one (person)
 'each (person)'

4.1.6 Alternative numeral phrases. Two or three numerals in ascending order combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The numerals are usually grammatically simple and indicate an approximate rather than specific number. They frequently are preceded by the conjunction *tē* 'if' or 'when', which in this context means 'approximately', and sometimes they are separated by *ō* 'or' (Sp. *o*).

uvi úni (ndīka)
 two three (banana)
 'two or three (bananas)'

te ūvi uni kīmi (kwīā)
 if two three four (year)
 'about two to four (years)'

úni o kīmi (ihshá)
 three or four (child)
 'three or four (children)'

4.1.7 Negative quantifier phrases. Negative quantifier phrases contain a numeral or general quantifier as nucleus, frequently preceded by pre-nuclear *dá* 'only' or 'just'. They are introduced by *ñá tē* 'definitely not' (see 1.5) and are used to express exaggeration. These phrases occur only in sentence-initial position.

ñá te da ūhshi (vīhi)
 NEG if only ten (house)
 'more than ten (houses)' (lit. 'definitely not just ten [houses]')

ñá te da dū (ñaha)
 NEG if only bit (person)
 'a whole lot of (people)' (lit. 'definitely not just a few [people]')

This construction also occurs with the idiomatic expression *un siin* 'a bit' as nucleus.

ñá te da un sīn (davi)
 NEG if only one bit (rain)
 ‘a whole lot (of rain)’ (lit. ‘not just a bit [of rain]’)

The quantifier nucleus is sometimes an interrogative expression (see 3.4).

ñá tē ndé kaa (kīi)
 NEG if how CON:be (animal)
 ‘a lot of (animals)’ (lit. ‘not how many [animals]’)

ñá dā né ndīhi (tsīñu)
 NEG only what all (work)
 ‘all sorts of (jobs)’ (lit. ‘not just what-all [work]’)

(See also 7.84.)

For added emphasis, sometimes a quantifier nucleus is repeated.

ñá tē ndé ka ndé kaa (ñaha)
 NEG if how CON:be how CON:be (person)
 ‘A WHOLE LOT (of people)’

ñá te da dī da dī (tsídō)
 NEG if only bit only bit (rabbit)
 ‘A WHOLE LOT (of rabbits)’

ñá te ūn sīn un sīn (davi)
 NEG if one bit one bit (rain)
 ‘A WHOLE LOT (of rain)’

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. Basic adverb phrases consist of a nucleus, which may be a locative, temporal, or general adverb, with optional prenuclear and postnuclear modifying elements that vary considerably depending upon the particular adverb they modify. The prenuclear element is commonly expressed by the intensifier *dōó* ‘very’. The postnuclear elements comprise all of those found in verb phrases (see 2.1.3) except personal involvement. In addition, phrases with a locative adverb nucleus often terminate in a poststressed locative adverb or poststressed deictic, while phrases with a temporal adverb nucleus often terminate in

a poststressed temporal or locative adverb or deictic (see 3.1.3 and 5.5). This construction is similar to the adverbial noun phrase (see 3.6).

With locative adverbs:

dōó ikā
INTS far
'very far'

iha tsi
here LIM
'right here'

nínu tsi ā
above LIM here
'just up above here'

nínū kwehen tsi kân
above completely LIM there
'just way up above there'

ikan tsi kūdii
there LIM merely
'merely just there'

kūhí tsi kudii kân
outside LIM merely there
'merely just outside there'

daha kân
over there
'over there'

daha sán
over that
'over there'

(See also 7.12, 7.13, 7.19, 7.34, 7.99, 7.102, 7.122, and various others.)

With temporal adverbs:

dōo kwáa
 INTS late
 'very late (in the evening)'

iku tsi
 yesterday LIM
 'just yesterday'

tévāá duhva
 early thus
 'quite early (in the morning)'

vevíi duhva tsi a
 today thus LIM here
 'right away'

kwaá ve
 late now
 'this afternoon' or 'this evening'

utén san
 tomorrow that
 'the next day'

(See also 7.51, 7.86, 7.116, and various others.)

With general adverbs:

dōó kwū
 INTS slowly
 'very slowly'

dotō tsi
 haphazardly LIM
 'just any old way'

kwū kwehen tsi
 slowly completely LIM
 'just extremely slowly'

dukwan kūdīi
 thus merely
 'merely thus'

In one idiomatic expression the adverb nucleus is followed by both a poststressed locative and a poststressed temporal adverb.

vīhi a ve
 while here now
 'right now' or 'in a little while'

(See also 7.48, 7.52, and various others.)

4.2.2 Appositional adverb phrases. Any two of the following structures may be juxtaposed to form appositional adverb phrases: adverbs (full forms), adverb phrases, adverbial noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and subordinate clauses. This construction is fairly rare. Note, however, that the use of a poststressed locative or temporal adverb in the general adverb phrase is very frequent, and is appositional in meaning.

utén / lune
 tomorrow Monday
 'tomorrow, Monday (Sp. *Lunes*)'

īha / ñushiví
 here world
 'here on earth'

īkan / kūchaña
 there Tehuacán
 'there in Tehuacán'

īkan / īnī ukun kân
 there insides church there
 'there in the church'

ītsi kân / ikân mí shīhi tí
 trail there there where COM:die it:AML
 'on the road, there where it died'

See also 7.1 which contains an appositional adverb phrase embedded in an appositional noun phrase.

Two adverb phrases sometimes occur appositionally in a kind of discontinuous structure that is used as a highlighting device in narrative discourse (see Small 1979:364). The first phrase occurs in focus position and is expressed by *ikan tsī* 'just there', used in the sense of 'right then and there'; the second phrase occurs in the usual position for locative adjuncts or location peripheral elements.

ikan tsī (shihī t̄) nú itsi k̄ān
 there LIM (COM:die it:AML) face trail there
 '(It died) right there on the trail.'

(See also 7.102, 7.109, and 7.122.)

4.2.3 Alternative adverb phrases. Alternative adverb phrases are quite rare; they are formed by juxtaposing two related adverbs and indicate approximate time. (See 4.1.6 for a description of a similar construction based on numerals.)

utén idá
 tomorrow day:after:tomorrow
 'tomorrow or the day after' or 'in the near future'

4.2.4 Distributive adverb phrases. In distributive adverb phrases the adverb is repeated to indicate 'every'; the limiter *tsi* optionally follows the second one. (For a description of similar constructions based on nouns and numerals, see 3.9 and 4.1.5.)

tévā tevāa
 early early
 'every morning'

utén ūtén
 tomorrow tomorrow
 'every day' or 'daily'

shio shio tsi
 away away LIM
 'just in every direction'

4.2.5 Negative adverb phrases. Negative adverb phrases are similar to negative quantifier phrases (see 4.1.7), except that they usually have an adverb or basic adverb phrase as nucleus. They express exaggeration by

means of irony and occur only in preverbal manner position in a sentence (see 2.1.2).

ñá te dā vévii (kaeku ∅)
 NEG if only today (CON:cry UN)
 '(It has been crying) a long time!' (lit. 'Not just today [is it crying].')

ñá te da ētsin tsi (tuví ∅)
 NEG if only near LIM (CON:sit:SG UN)
 '(It is) a long ways away!' (lit. '[It is] not simply nearby.')

Occasionally, these phrases have as their nucleus a noun phrase used adverbially.

ñá te da un sūn tsi (kaeku ∅)
 NEG if only one bit LIM (CON:cry UN)
 '(It is crying) a whole lot!' (lit. 'Not just a little bit [is it crying].')

ñá tē do dīkī (uhvi ∅)
 NEG if word CON:play (CON:hurt UN)
 '(It) really (hurts)!' (lit. 'Not in jest [does it hurt].')

In order for prenuclear *dā* 'only' to occur with *do dīkī*, the main verb must intervene, thus creating a discontinuous structure; *do dīkī* may optionally follow the subject of such a sentence.

ñá te da (ūhvi) do dīkī (kúñū kó)
 NEG if only (CON:hurt) word CON:play (body me)
 '(My body) really (hurts)!' (lit. 'Not simply in jest [does my body hurt].')

ñá te da (ūhvi kúñū kó) do dīkī
 NEG if only (CON:hurt body me) word CON:play
 '(My body) really (hurts)!' (lit. 'Not simply [does my body hurt] in jest.')

For added emphasis, sometimes the nucleus is repeated.

ñá te dā vévi vévii (tuví ∅)
 NEG if only today today (CON:sit:SG UN)
 '(It has been [here]) A LONG TIME!'

ñá tē do diki do diki (uhvi ∅)
 NEG if word CON:play word CON:play (CON:hurt UN)
 '(It) REALLY (hurts)!'

4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which may be a noun phrase, an adverb phrase, or another prepositional phrase. Rarely, the preposition is preceded by a quantifier. They are distinguished from adverbial possessive noun phrases which employ inherently possessed nouns, usually referring to body parts, which often have a relational function (see 3.6). The prepositions are *nihī* 'with'; *ndeé* 'against', 'as far as', 'from', 'since', or 'even'; *náā* 'in place of'; *méhñū* 'in the middle of'; *máā* 'under'; *ninú* 'above'; *shuvi* 'below'; and *kwenda iñá* 'for', 'on behalf of', 'about', or 'in place of' (Sp. *cuenta*).

nī enī ná
 with brother:ME him
 'with his brother'

nde kucháñā
 against Tehuacán
 'as far as Tehuacán'

nde kidáā
 against then
 'since then'

náā kó
 in:place:of me
 'in place of me'

méhñu ī
 in:middle:of UN
 'in the middle of it'

měñu ndute kān
 in:middle:of water there
 'in the middle of the water there'

má ētun
under box
'under a box'

má vihī
under house
'in the house' or 'indoors'

ninú vihī tún
above house her
'above her house'

shuvi ukún kân
below church there
'below the church there'

kwenda iñá ko
account thing me
'for me' or 'on my behalf'

(See also 7.5, 7.16, 7.22, 7.26, 7.41, 7.103, and 7.123.)

The conjunctions *dā* 'when' and *dá ndē* 'until' also function as prepositions meaning 'until'.

da kidáā
when then
'until then'

da nde kidáā
when against then
'until then'

da nde kwía vē
when against year now
'until a year from now'

(See also 7.106.)

Both *dá ndē* and *ndé* may be preceded by the quantifier phrase *un tsi* 'just one', which here functions as an intensifier.

un tsi da nde kwia ve
 one LIM when against year now
 'as long as a year from now'

un tsi nde maa í k̄ān
 one LIM against under UN there
 'all the way down there'

(See also 7.12, 7.16, 7.19, and 7.22.)

5

Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

5.1.1 Derivation. Content verbs are derived from other content verbs, from stative verbs, or from nouns by means of derivational prefixes, sometimes accompanied by tone changes.

The causative prefix *nā-* combines with content verbs in potential aspect, adding an agent. The low accent inherent in the prefix is usually realized on the following syllable.

na-kāhshí

CAUS-POT:eat

‘to feed’ (cf. *kahshí* ‘to eat’)

na-kōhshó

CAUS-POT:fall

‘to drop’ (cf. *kōhshō* ‘to fall’)

na-kwēku

CAUS-POT:cry

‘to play (an instrument)’ (cf. *kweku* ‘to cry’)

na-tsíhó

CAUS-POT:be:cooked

‘to cook’ (cf. *tsihō* ‘to be cooked’)

na-ndōho

CAUS-POT:suffer

‘to persecute’ (cf. *ndoho* ‘to suffer’)

na-ndōto

CAUS-POT:wake:up

‘to wake (someone) up’ (cf. *ndoto* ‘to wake up’)

(See also 7.12, 7.13, 7.60, 7.91, and 7.95.)

The prefix *nā-* also combines with stative verbs to create derived content verbs.

na-ndihi

CAUS-fine

‘to grind up’ (cf. *ndihi* ‘fine’)

na-nēé

CAUS-dark

‘to turn off (a light)’ (cf. *neé* ‘dark’)

The repetitive prefix *na-* combines with content verbs in potential aspect to add the meaning of repeated or resumed action. Many verbs with it have acquired idiomatic meanings.

na-shee

REP-POT:arrive

‘to arrive back’

na-nihi

REP-POT:get

‘to find (something lost)’

na-káku

REP-POT:sew

‘to mend’ (cf. *kíkū* ‘to sew’)

na-kate

REP-POT:dig

‘to wash (clothes)’

na-kahan

REP-POT:speak

‘to remember’

(See also 7.3, 7.12, 7.27, 7.28, 7.43, 7.52, 7.54, and 7.69.)

This prefix also combines with stative verbs to create derived content verbs.

na-îtsí

REP-dry

'to get dry again' (cf. *îtsí* 'dry')

na-ihní

REP-hot

'to get hot again (weather)'

When *na-* is combined with some verbs with initial *k*, the derived form begins with *nd*, rather than the expected *nak*.

ndíhvī

REP:POT:enter

'to re-enter' (cf. *kíhvī* 'to enter')

nduvi

REP:POT:become

'to turn into' (cf. *kuvi* 'to become')

ndava

REP:POT:lie:down

'to fall over' (cf. *kava* 'to lie down')

ndaa

REP:POT:go:up

'to go uphill' (cf. *kaa* 'to go up [e.g., a ladder]')

ndaa

REP:CON:be

'to be (PL)' (cf. *kaa* 'to be [SG]')

ndoto

REP:POT:look

'to wake up' (cf. *koto* 'to look')

Both the causative *nā-* and the repetitive *na-* may occur in the same verb; either one may precede.

na-nā-kahshí

CAUS-POT:REP-POT:eat

‘to cause to resume eating’

na-na-kāhshí

REP-POT:CAUS-POT:eat

‘to feed again’

Some verbs with initial *nā*, *na*, or *n* appear to be frozen forms with derivational prefixes for which the corresponding simple form has been lost.

nanduté

POT:untie

‘to untie’

nadūví

POT:whistle

‘to whistle’

nadíkí

POT:play

‘to play’ (cf. *ē dīkī* ‘plaything, toy’)

nakwāha

POT:?

‘to read, to study, to teach’

naīhva

POT:yawn

‘to yawn’

nēhshín

POT:sweep

‘to sweep’

nēkín

POT:comb

‘to comb’

Intransitive verbs are derived from stative verbs by adding the inceptive prefix *ku-*, a reduced form of *kuví* ‘to become’, or its repetitive form *ndu-*,

a reduced form of *nduvi* 'to become', which indicates a return to an original state.

ku-neé
 POT:become-dark
 'to get dark'

ku-ihní
 POT:become-hot
 'to get hot'

ku-iā
 POT:become-sour
 'to get sour'

ku-diin
 POT:become-angry
 'to get angry'

ndu-váha
 POT:REP:become-good
 'to get well' (cf. *váhā* 'good')

ndu-ndíí
 POT:REP:become-smooth
 'to get ironed' or 'to get tidied up'

In rare instances the prefix *ku-* is added to a noun to form an intransitive verb.

ku-choho
 POT:become-herb
 'to be treated with medicine' (cf. *chóhō* 'herb')

ku-viko
 POT:become-fiesta
 'to be blessed'

A significant number of transitive verbs with initial *k* in the potential aspect have corresponding intransitive forms with *t* or *nd*. This seems to be a remnant of a formerly productive derivational process.

Transitive		Intransitive	
<i>kádīn</i>	'to squash'	<i>tádīn</i>	'to be squashed'
<i>káhnū</i>	'to break'	<i>táhnū</i>	'to be broken'
<i>kahndé</i>	or		
<i>kehndé</i>	'to cut'	<i>téhnđé</i>	'to be cut'
<i>katsin</i>	'to cut up, to tear up'	<i>ndātsin</i>	'to be cut up, to be torn up'

In a few cases, a form with initial *nd* that appears to be the intransitive counterpart of a transitive verb requires the inceptive prefix *ku-*. The *nd*-initial form occurs alone only as a stative verb.

Transitive	Intransitive	Stative
<i>kákū</i> 'to sew'	<i>ku-ndíkú</i> 'to be sewn'	<i>ndíku</i> 'sewn'
<i>kahvī</i> 'to count'	<i>ku-ndēhvī</i> 'to be counted'	<i>ndehvi</i> 'few'

Position verbs differ from other content verbs in that they occur only in unmarked continuative aspect and characteristically have separate forms for singular and plural subjects.

	SG	PL
be in	<i>nuu</i>	<i>ñuhu</i>
be upon	<i>ndekú</i>	<i>odo</i>
be against	<i>ndeé</i>	<i>uve</i>
be underneath	<i>nihni</i>	<i>shihí</i>
be sitting	<i>tuví</i>	<i>ndoo</i>
be standing	<i>ndítsí</i>	<i>ndāñí</i>
be hanging	<i>rkaa</i>	<i>atā</i>

These verbs combine with special derivational prefixes to express the act of assuming a position or of placing something in a position.

Intransitive verbs that express the act of assuming a position are derived from position verbs by means of the motion prefix *i-*,¹ which is realized as a high accent on verbs with initial vowel, *ñ*, or *sh*; these verbs likewise have separate forms for singular and plural subjects.

	SG	PL
get in	<i>i-núū</i>	<i>ñúhū</i>
get upon	<i>i-ndékū</i>	<i>ódō</i>
get against	<i>i-ndēē</i>	<i>úvē</i>
get underneath	<i>i-níhnī</i>	<i>shíhī</i>
sit down	<i>i-túvī</i>	<i>i-ndóō</i>
stand up	<i>i-ndútsī</i>	<i>i-ndáññē</i>
hang	<i>i-rkáā</i>	<i>átā</i>

Transitive verbs of placement are derived from position verbs by means of the collocative prefix *ts-*, which is realized as *sh-* before a consonant. There are separate singular and plural forms, as in the verbs described above, but in these verbs it is the number of the object that is relevant, rather than the number of the subject.

	SG	PL
put in	<i>sh-nūu</i>	<i>ts-uhun</i>
put upon	<i>sh-ndékú</i>	<i>ts-odō</i>
put against	<i>sh-ndēé</i>	<i>ts-uvē</i>
put underneath	<i>sh-níhnī</i>	<i>ts-ihī</i>
set down	<i>sh-túvī</i>	<i>ts-oo</i>
stand up	<i>sh-ndútsí</i>	<i>sh-ndáññē</i>

In one pair of verbs, the collocative prefix occurs only on the singular form.

¹The motion prefix is probably historically related to the motion auxiliaries described in 2.1.2, but shows a greater degree of fusion and semantic weakening.

	SG	PL
hang up	<i>sh-kaa</i>	<i>kata</i>

5.1.2 Inflection. Most content verbs are inflected for three aspects: continuative, completive, and potential. The unmarked continuative aspect is the basic form of the verb; in regular verbs, the remaining aspect forms can be predicted from it.² The form of the continuative aspect that occurs in most constructions, however, consists of this basic form preceded by the prefix *ka-* (or its optional plural form *ndá-*). Completive aspect is usually marked by a tone change, and potential aspect is sometimes marked by a prefix. For descriptive convenience, verbs that take these three aspects may be divided into six classes. The first two classes comprise regular verbs, while the remaining four classes are irregular in various ways, and contain only a few members each.

Verbs of Class I begin with a vowel, usually *e* or *i*. The completive aspect is marked by a low accent on the first syllable, and the potential aspect is marked by a *kw-* or *kV-* prefix, which fuses with the stem-initial vowel in various predictable ways.³

	CON	COM	POT
cry	<i>ka-eku</i>	<i>ēku</i>	<i>kweku</i>
burn	<i>ka-ehmi</i>	<i>ēhmi</i>	<i>kahmi</i>
hit	<i>ka-ehní</i>	<i>ēhní</i>	<i>kahní</i>
cut	<i>ka-ehndé</i>	<i>ēhndé</i>	<i>kahndé</i>
spill	<i>ka-etí</i>	<i>ētí</i>	<i>katí</i>
walk	<i>ka-ika</i>	<i>īka</i>	<i>kaka</i>
run	<i>ka-inu</i>	<i>īnu</i>	<i>kunu</i>
bathe	<i>ka-itsi</i>	<i>īsi</i>	<i>kutsi</i>
carry	<i>ka-ido</i>	<i>īdo</i>	<i>kwido</i>

²This form is, however, somewhat rare. It occurs following the nonmotion auxiliary *ini* (see 2.1.2), and certain verbs take it in other constructions (see 1.1.6, 1.1.9, 5.1.1, and 6.3).

³There is evidence of vowel harmony in the formation of the potential prefix. Verbs with initial *e* add *kw-* if the second vowel of the couplet is *u*, but replace *e* with *ka-* if the second vowel is *i*, *e*, or *í*. Verbs with initial *i* add *kw-* if the second vowel is *e* or *o*, but replace *i* with *ku-* if the second vowel is *i* or *u*, and with *ka-* if the second vowel is *a*.

Verbs of Class II begin with a consonant. They fall into two groups, depending on the tone of the penultimate syllable of the stem. If this syllable has no accent, the verb adds a low accent on the first syllable of the completive aspect form. If, however, the penultimate syllable of the stem has a low accent in the basic form, completive aspect is marked by adding a high accent at the beginning of the word. In a three-syllable stem, the high accent falls on the first syllable, and the low accent on the second syllable remains unchanged. If, however, the stem contains only two syllables, the high accent is added to the first syllable, which already has a low accent, giving a high-low pattern. In Class II verbs, the potential aspect form has no prefix, and it is thus homophonous with the unmarked continuative aspect form.

With no accent on the penultimate syllable:

	CON	COM	POT
grind	<i>ka-ndiko</i>	<i>ndiko</i>	<i>ndiko</i>
tie	<i>ka-kihni</i>	<i>kihni</i>	<i>kihni</i>
get dark	<i>ka-kuneé</i>	<i>kuneé</i>	<i>kuneé</i>
wash	<i>ka-nakate</i>	<i>nakate</i>	<i>nakate</i>

With a low accent on the penultimate syllable:

	CON	COM	POT
fight	<i>ka-nāá</i>	<i>nāá</i>	<i>nāá</i>
shave	<i>ka-dēté</i>	<i>dēté</i>	<i>dēté</i>
sweep	<i>ka-nēhshín</i>	<i>nēhshín</i>	<i>nēhshín</i>
drop	<i>ka-nakōhshó</i>	<i>nakōhshó</i>	<i>nakōhshó</i>

Verbs of Class III, like those of Class I, begin with a vowel and take the prefix in the potential. They differ, however, in that completive aspect is marked by a high accent on the first syllable and a low accent on the second syllable. This tone pattern is also found in potential aspect.

	CON	COM	POT
explode	<i>ka-ite</i>	<i>ítē</i>	<i>kwítē</i>
bury	<i>ka-ihshi</i>	<i>ihshī</i>	<i>kúhshī</i>

Verbs of Class IV are like those of Class II in that they begin with a consonant and take no prefix in the potential. They are like verbs of Class III, however, in that the completive and potential aspects are marked by a high accent on the first syllable and a low accent on the second syllable. In this verb class the completive and potential aspect forms are homophonous.

	CON	COM	POT
Speak	<i>ka-kahán</i>	<i>káhān</i>	<i>káhān</i>
fall	<i>ka-kohshó</i>	<i>kóhshō</i>	<i>kóhshō</i>
sew	<i>ka-kíku</i>	<i>kíkū</i>	<i>kíkū</i>
cover	<i>ka-dáhvi</i>	<i>dáhvī</i>	<i>dáhvī</i>

Verbs of Class V begin with a consonant. Like verbs of Classes II and IV, they do not take the potential prefix, but they differ from these classes in that the basic tone pattern is retained in all three aspects. As in Class IV, the completive and potential aspect forms are homophonous.

	CON	COM	POT
push	<i>ka-tíhvī</i>	<i>tíhvī</i>	<i>tíhvī</i>
put upon (PL)	<i>ka-tsodō</i>	<i>tsodō</i>	<i>tsodō</i>
put upon (SG)	<i>ka-shndēkú</i>	<i>shndēkú</i>	<i>shndēkú</i>

Verbs of Class VI all have potential aspect forms that show segmental differences from the other two aspects.⁴ The tone change that marks completive aspect may be like Class I, Class III, or neither.

With completive like Class I:

	CON	COM	POT
burn	<i>ka-ihshi</i>	<i>īhshi</i>	<i>koko</i>
drink	<i>ka-shihi</i>	<i>shīhi</i>	<i>koho</i>
buy	<i>ka-ñii</i>	<i>ñīi</i>	<i>kwii</i>

⁴Verbs with stem-initial palatals *sh* or *ñ* are like verbs with initial vowels in that they take the *kw-* or *kV-* potential prefix; in such verbs the palatal consonant is deleted in potential aspect forms.

With completive like Class III:

	CON	COM	POT
give, hit	<i>ka-shéhe</i>	<i>shéhē</i>	<i>kwéhē</i>
die	<i>ka-shihi</i>	<i>shihī</i>	<i>kuví</i>
exist ⁵	<i>ka-shio, ió</i>	<i>shíō</i>	<i>koó</i>

With completive like neither:

	CON	COM	POT
do ⁶	<i>ka-de</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>kada, vií</i>

Motion verbs have, in addition to the three regular aspects, an incomplete aspect, which indicates an action that has been initiated and is still in effect. This aspect is marked by the prefix *kú-*, indicating motion in a given direction without return to the point of departure. The irregular forms *véhshī* in the verb 'to come' and *kwéhēn*, a fusion of *kú-* plus *ñéhē*, in the verb 'to go' likewise express this aspect.⁷ The other three aspects of these verbs, which are all consonant-initial, are like Classes II, IV, or VI. These motion verbs are:

	CON	INC	COM	POT
come	<i>ka-kihshi</i>	<i>véhshī</i>	<i>kihshi</i>	<i>kihshi</i>
come back	<i>ka-ndihshi</i>	<i>kú-ndihshi</i>	<i>ndihshi</i>	<i>ndihshi</i>
go uphill	<i>ka-ndaa</i>	<i>kú-ndāa</i>	<i>ndāa</i>	<i>ndaa</i>
go downhill	<i>ka-ndii</i>	<i>kú-ndīi</i>	<i>ndīi</i>	<i>ndīi</i>
go down	<i>ka-kii</i>	<i>kú-kīi</i>	<i>kīi</i>	<i>kīi</i>
go back	<i>ka-nuhu</i>	<i>kú-nūhú</i>	<i>nūhū</i>	<i>nūhū</i>
go up	<i>ka-shee</i>	<i>kú-shēe</i>	<i>shēe</i>	<i>kaa</i>
go	<i>ka-ñehe</i>	<i>kwéhēn</i>	<i>ñéhē</i>	<i>kīhīn</i>

⁵The unmarked continuative form *ió* 'there is' or 'there are' is difficult to classify. It resembles a position verb in meaning (see 5.1.1), although it has no separate form for a plural subject, and a position verb *tuvi* 'to be sitting' substitutes for it in negative sentences.

⁶There are two potential forms of the verb 'to do': *vií* occurs independently, whereas *kada* occurs only as the first member of a complex verb nucleus (see examples in 2.1.1).

⁷For further discussion of aspectual problems in motion verbs in Mixtec, see Kuiper and Merrifield (1975) and Macaulay (1982 and 1985).

Verbs of assuming a position also have an incomplete aspect form. Most of these verbs fall into suppletive pairs that correlate with the number of the subject. All of the singular verbs and some of the plural ones contain the motion prefix *i-*, while the remaining plural ones do not (see 5.1.1). Verbs in both groups show irregular patterns of prefixation and tone that do not fall into any of the six types described above.

The verbs that contain *i-* in their basic continuative form also have it in the complete form, where its tone is raised to high, but not in incomplete or potential. Continuative aspect is marked by the prefix *ka-*, incomplete aspect is marked by the prefix *ká-*, and potential aspect is marked by *ku-*. The continuative form usually has a high accent on the first syllable of the stem, and the other three aspects have a low accent on the first syllable.

	CON	INC	COM	POT
get in (SG)	<i>ka-i-núu</i>	<i>ká-núu</i>	<i>í-núu</i>	<i>ku-núu</i>
sit down (SG)	<i>ka-i-túvi</i>	<i>ká-túví</i>	<i>í-túví</i>	<i>ku-túví</i>
stand up (SG)	<i>ka-i-ndĩsi</i>	<i>ká-ndĩsí</i>	<i>í-ndĩsí</i>	<i>ku-ndĩsí</i>
get hung (SG)	<i>ka-i-rkáa</i>	<i>ká-rkáa</i>	<i>í-rkáa</i>	<i>ku-rkáa</i>
sit down (PL)	<i>ka-i-ndóo</i>	<i>ká-ndóo</i>	<i>í-ndóo</i>	<i>ku-ndóo</i>
stand up (PL)	<i>ka-i-ndáñi</i>	<i>ká-ndáñi</i>	<i>í-ndáñi</i>	<i>ku-ndáñi</i>

The verbs that do not contain *i-* have a *ka-* prefix on both the continuative and incomplete forms, and a fused *kV-* prefix on the potential. They have a high accent on the first syllable of the stem in the basic continuative aspect form, and this pattern is retained in the incomplete. Complete aspect has a high-low tone pattern, and potential is characterized by the lack of any accent.

	CON	INC	COM	POT
get on (PL)	<i>ka-ódo</i>	<i>ka-ódo</i>	<i>ódō</i>	<i>kodo</i>
get against (PL)	<i>ka-úve</i>	<i>ka-úve</i>	<i>úvē</i>	<i>kuve</i>
get in (PL)	<i>ka-ñúhu</i>	<i>ka-ñúhu</i>	<i>ñúhū</i>	<i>kuhun</i>
get underneath (PL)	<i>ka-shíhi</i>	<i>ka-shíhi</i>	<i>shíhī</i>	<i>kíhi</i>

In most verbs the potential aspect form is used in commands. There are, however, two classes of special imperative forms. For second person imperatives, motion verbs of going (but not coming) use the segmental form

of the incomplete aspect, but replace its tones by a pattern that usually involves introducing a high accent.

	Imperative	Incomplete
go	<i>kwēhén</i>	<i>kwéhēn</i>
go back	<i>ku-núhu</i>	<i>kú-nūhú</i>
go down	<i>ku-kū</i>	<i>kú-kū</i>
go downhill	<i>ku-ndü</i>	<i>kú-ndü</i>
go uphill	<i>ku-ndáa</i>	<i>kú-ndāa</i>
go up	<i>ku-shée</i>	<i>kú-shēe</i>

When the subject of a command is some other person, however, the potential aspect form is used (see 1.3).

In addition, there are six special forms that are used exclusively as imperatives.

<i>nihí</i>	‘come!’
<i>ūhun</i>	‘take (this)!’
<i>kamá</i>	‘hurry up!’
<i>tihí</i>	‘hurry up!’
<i>tsihñū</i>	‘go ahead!’
<i>duhshēn</i>	‘shut up!’ (cf. <i>duhshēn</i> ‘war’)

The content verbs *kaa* ‘to be (singular)’, ‘to be characterized by’, or ‘to appear’ and its plural counterpart *ndáā*,⁸ which characteristically occur in stative sentences (see 1.1.6), occur only in unmarked continuative aspect.

Of the three verbs that occur in equative sentences (see 1.1.5), *nani* ‘to be named’ occurs only in unmarked continuative aspect, but *kuvi* ‘to become’ and its repetitive counterpart *nduvi* are regularly inflected for the three basic aspects; they belong to Class II.

	CON	COM	POT
become	<i>ka-kuvi</i>	<i>kūvi</i>	<i>kuvi</i>
turn into	<i>ka-nduvi</i>	<i>ndūvi</i>	<i>nduvi</i>

⁸The inherently plural verb *ndáā* is morphologically a fused form composed of the repetitive prefix *na-* followed by *kaa* (see 5.1.1). The use of the plural form is optional for many speakers.

5.2 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs differ from content and equative verbs in that they are not inflected for aspect.

Stative verbs are either basic or derived from nouns, usually by means of a change of accent. The meanings are frequently idiomatic.

Basic stative verbs:

<i>váhā</i>	‘good’
<i>vidē</i>	‘wet’
<i>vī</i>	‘heavy’
<i>ihni</i>	‘hot’
<i>nee</i>	‘dark’
<i>ndāhvi</i>	‘poor’
<i>kwīhshín</i>	‘white’

Derived stative verbs:

Stative Verb		Noun	
<i>áhnā</i>	‘rubbery’	<i>ahna</i>	‘rubber’
<i>úhmē</i>	‘smoky’	<i>uhme</i>	‘smoke’
<i>tátsín</i>	‘windy’	<i>tátsín</i>	‘wind’
<i>déhen</i>	‘greasy’	<i>déhén</i>	‘lard’
<i>ndōhshó</i>	‘muddy’	<i>ndōhshó</i>	‘mud’
<i>kwīhí</i>	‘thin’	<i>kwīhī</i>	‘sickness’
<i>tūún</i>	‘black’	<i>tūún</i>	‘charcoal’
<i>atā</i>	‘old’	<i>átā</i>	‘back’
<i>dítsín</i>	‘weepy’	<i>dítsín</i>	‘nose’
<i>dūkún</i>	‘tall, high’	<i>dūkūn</i>	‘neck’
<i>duhshēn</i>	‘bothersome, lazy’	<i>duhshēn</i>	‘war’
<i>nduhu</i>	‘fat’	<i>nduhu</i>	‘trunk, log’

(See also 7.101 and 7.105.)

Three stative verbs expressing size have distinct forms for singular and plural referents.

	SG	PL
long	<i>kani</i>	<i>nani</i>
big	<i>kahnu</i>	<i>nahnu</i>
small	<i>lúhndī</i>	<i>kwetsī</i>

5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There is, however, extensive fusion of complex noun nuclei (see 3.1.1) into single words. Such fusions have resulted in a large number of plant names with initial *t* or *ch*, from fused *utun* ‘tree’, as well as a number of animal names with initial *t*, *ts*, *s*, *sh*, or *kít*, from fused *kít* ‘animal’. In many cases, the identity of the second part cannot be determined.

With fused ‘tree’:

<i>tdenū</i>	‘sweetgum’
<i>chāá</i>	‘oak’
<i>chuhshē</i>	‘pine’
<i>chūn</i>	‘bamboo’
<i>cháhá</i>	‘chili plant’ (cf. <i>shaha</i> ‘chili’)

With fused ‘animal’:

<i>tīná</i>	‘dog’
<i>trítá</i>	‘woodpecker’
<i>tduhmé</i>	‘scorpion’ (cf. <i>dúhmē</i> ‘tail’)
<i>tsídó</i>	‘rabbit’
<i>tsoo</i>	‘turtle’
<i>tsì</i>	‘snail’
<i>smī</i>	‘bumblebee’
<i>skundi</i>	‘cricket, grasshopper’
<i>shtéé</i>	‘coyote’
<i>shūñí</i>	‘rat, mouse’
<i>shndohó</i>	‘spider’ (cf. <i>ndōhó</i> ‘adobe’)
<i>kítume</i>	‘bee’ (cf. <i>shúmē</i> ‘wax’)

<i>kātdihi</i>	‘female animal’ (cf. <i>dīhī</i> ‘mother’)
<i>kāchīi</i>	‘male animal’ (cf. <i>shīi</i> ‘husband’)

Other compound nouns:

<i>rkuhu</i>	‘deer’ (cf. <i>idú</i> ‘horse’, <i>kuhu</i> ‘wild’)
<i>rkādún</i>	‘tostada’ (cf. <i>itā</i> ‘tortilla’, <i>kādún</i> ‘toasted’)
<i>dīhū</i>	‘beard’ (cf. <i>idi</i> ‘hair’, <i>shuhu</i> ‘mouth’)
<i>dōshó</i>	‘disaster, miracle’ (cf. <i>doó</i> ‘word’, <i>ishó</i> ‘fearful’)

Since simple nuclei are characteristically disyllabic in Mixtec, it can be assumed that words of three or more syllables, as well as the majority of words with initial consonant clusters, are the result of fusion of complex nuclei, although it is frequently impossible, apart from historical and comparative study, to identify the individual morphemes.

<i>tengimī</i>	‘onion’ (cf. <i>ite</i> ‘grass’)
<i>ngoñūhú</i>	‘orange’
<i>ngāndīi</i>	‘sun’
<i>rkótūún</i>	‘Spanish (language)’
<i>rkwāhndī</i>	‘rainbow’
<i>shndiví</i>	‘star’
<i>ñukátī</i>	‘firecracker’

5.3.2 Classification. Nouns fall into several cross-cutting classifications; they may be divided according to gender, possessibility, distribution, or countability.

Nouns fall into five gender classes, according to the third person pronouns that can substitute for them (see 5.4): adult, masculine, feminine, animal/spherical, and unspecified. Adult nouns include deities as well as adult humans and do not distinguish masculine and feminine. There is some overlap between adult and masculine or feminine nouns, but the use of a specifically masculine or feminine noun or pronoun to refer to an adult is usually considered disrespectful. Animal/spherical nouns include round inanimate objects along with birds, fish, insects, and other animals. Unspecified nouns include small children along with nonround inanimate objects.

Adult nouns:

<i>ñaha</i>	‘person, people’
<i>dihī</i>	‘mother’
<i>uvā</i>	‘father’
<i>dutu</i>	‘priest’
<i>sandu</i>	‘saint (Sp. <i>santo</i>)’
<i>ngāndii</i>	‘sun’
<i>shóō</i>	‘moon’
<i>dāvī</i>	‘rain’

Masculine nouns:

<i>naha</i>	‘boy’
<i>shü</i>	‘husband’
<i>ení</i>	‘brother (of male)’
<i>sndadun</i>	‘soldier (Sp. <i>soldado</i>)’

Feminine nouns:

<i>táhnū</i>	‘female, girl’
<i>dyōkó</i>	‘daughter’

Animal/spherical nouns:

<i>kiti</i>	‘animal, round object’
<i>tsāká</i>	‘fish’
<i>lūhún</i>	‘roadrunner’
<i>kóō</i>	‘snake’
<i>tūsín</i>	‘avocado’
<i>ndéhā</i>	‘peach’
<i>kanika</i>	‘marble (Sp. <i>canica</i>)’

Unspecified nouns:

<i>vihi</i>	‘house’
<i>kāá</i>	‘metal, machete, bell’
<i>utun</i>	‘tree, wood’
<i>shúū</i>	‘rock’

<i>ndute</i>	‘water’
<i>ndika</i>	‘banana’
<i>kwīā</i>	‘year’
<i>ĩñā</i>	‘thing’
<i>ihshá</i>	‘child’

Nouns may also be divided into those that can be possessed and those that cannot. Nouns that cannot be possessed are those that refer to topographical and meteorological phenomena, as well as certain Spanish loans that refer to abstractions. These nouns cannot be followed directly by a possessor but may occur in an appositional construction with *ĩñā* ‘thing’ and a possessor (see 3.3 and 3.7).

<i>shuku</i>	‘mountain’
<i>shndĩví</i>	‘star’
<i>nduvĩ</i>	‘day’
<i>lei</i>	‘law (Sp. <i>ley</i>)’
<i>kwendu</i>	‘story (Sp. <i>cuento</i>)’

Some nouns have more than one sense discrimination, some of which can be possessed while others cannot.

<i>tátsĩn</i>	‘wind’ (not possessible); ‘breath, voice’ (possessible)
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Possessible nouns are either inherently or optionally possessed. Inherently possessed nouns are usually kinship terms or body parts.

<i>tahan</i>	‘companion, sister, brother (of female)’
<i>shĩ</i>	‘husband’
<i>dĩhĩ</i>	‘mother’
<i>dĩtsĩn</i>	‘nose’
<i>ndaha</i>	‘arm, hand, branch (of tree), page (of book)’
<i>dĩví</i>	‘name’

(See also 7.2, 7.12, 7.16, 7.23, 7.34, 7.40, and various others.)

If such nouns are elicited without a specified possessor, they are usually given with a first person singular or inclusive poststressed pronoun (see 5.4) as possessor. All other nouns are optionally possessed.

<i>vihí</i>	‘house’
<i>dahma</i>	‘skirt’
<i>tsídó</i>	‘rabbit’
<i>kwíā</i>	‘year’
<i>ñuú</i>	‘town’
<i>ihshá</i>	‘child’

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.28, and 7.96.)

Possessed nouns occur as the nucleus of possessive noun phrases; see 3.3 and 3.6 for examples of phrases containing these nouns.

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

Vocatives include special terms used exclusively as vocatives, special vocative forms of nouns, and special forms of proper nouns. Nouns have three vocative forms. In ordinary vocative forms, stress and length fall on the first syllable of a couplet, just as they do in nonvocative forms, but the accent patterns sometimes differ. In vocative forms used when calling from a distance, the final syllable is stressed and lengthened and carries a high-low accent. In emphatic vocative forms used to gain someone’s attention, *VV* and *VhV* sequences reduce to *V*, and stress shifts to the final syllable, which is checked by *h*.

Forms used only as vocatives:

	Ordinary	Calling	Emphatic
Mother!	<i>ñāá</i>	<i>ñāâ</i>	<i>ñáh</i>
dear!	<i>lāá</i>	<i>lāâ</i>	<i>láh</i>
boy! (ws)	—	—	<i>dúnh</i>

Vocative forms of nouns:

	Ordinary	Calling	Emphatic
Father!	<i>uvā</i>	<i>ūvâ</i>	<i>ūvâh</i>
Uncle!	<i>dūó</i>	<i>dūô</i>	<i>dūtóh</i>

child!	<i>īshá</i>	<i>īshâ</i>	<i>īsháh</i>
baby!	<i>pāhá</i>	<i>pāâ</i>	<i>páh</i>
boy!	<i>na kudii</i>	<i>na kudîi</i>	<i>dîh</i>
teacher!	<i>mastru</i>	<i>mastrû</i>	<i>mastruh</i>
	(Sp. <i>maestro</i>)		

Proper nouns used as vocatives:

	Ordinary	Calling	Emphatic
Peter!	<i>pelu</i>	<i>pelû</i>	<i>peluh</i>
	(Sp. <i>Pedro</i>)		
John!	<i>xwaan</i>	<i>xwaân</i>	<i>xwanh</i>
	(Sp. <i>Juan</i>)		
Mary!	<i>maria</i>	<i>mariâ</i>	<i>mariah</i>
	(Sp. <i>María</i>)		

See 1.4 for examples of vocatives used with sentences.

Proper nouns include personal names and place names, many of which are compound nuclei. Most personal names are borrowed from Spanish; they often are replaced by nicknames of Mixtec origin, which are frequently names of animals.

Personal names:

<i>pedru</i> or <i>pelu</i>	'Peter'
<i>maria</i> or <i>lia</i>	'Mary'
<i>tsīhvá</i>	'Pheasant'
<i>létoō</i>	'Inchworm'

Place names:

<i>ñukóhshō</i>	'Mexico City'
<i>kuchaña</i>	'Tehuacán'
<i>núndūvé</i>	'City of Oaxaca'
<i>tenjohō</i>	'City of Puebla'

Locative nouns occur as the nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see 3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and

those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes place names, names of topographical features, and a few other nouns.

<i>kuchaña</i>	'Tehuacán'
<i>itsi</i>	'trail'
<i>úē</i>	'water hole, spring'
<i>ñuí</i>	'town'

The second group includes mainly names for body parts which are used in an extended sense; they are:

<i>núū</i>	face
	'at, on, on top of, in front of'
<i>átā</i>	back
	'in back of, outside of, behind'
<i>iní</i>	insides
	'in, inside of'
<i>ndaha</i>	hand
	'in the presence of, to (a person)'
<i>d#kē</i>	head
	'at the top of'
<i>etí</i>	bottom
	'at the foot of, at the base of'
<i>diñi</i>	side
	'beside, at the edge of (town)'

shuhu
mouth
'on the edge of, on the rim of'

iñā
thing
'for, about, of'

Temporal nouns include names for units of time and calendric units; some are complex nuclei.

Simple:

ura 'hour, time (Sp. *hora*)'
nduvī 'day'
vite 'week'
shōō 'moon, month'
kwīā 'year'
vierne 'Friday (Sp. *Viernes*)'

Complex:

shó māu
moon May
'May (Sp. *Mayo*)'

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see 3.2).

naha 'pair'
toō 'span'
iññ 'pinch'
sün 'bit'
étün 'box, maquila (four-liter measure used for corn)'
metru 'meter (Sp. *metro*)'
litru 'liter (Sp. *litro*)'
kilu 'kilogram (Sp. *kilo*)'

Common nouns are all those not included in any of the above categories.

<i>tīná</i>	‘dog’
<i>dīkwí</i>	‘milk’
<i>chóhō</i>	‘herb, medicine’
<i>túūn</i>	‘charcoal’
<i>utun</i>	‘tree, wood’

Nouns may also be classified as either mass or count. Mass nouns do not permit a numeral or numeral phrase as quantifier, whereas count nouns do.

Mass nouns:

<i>dīkwí</i>	‘milk’
<i>ndute</i>	‘water’
<i>túūn</i>	‘charcoal’
<i>uhshen</i>	‘dough, paste’
<i>utsi</i>	‘powder’

Count nouns:

<i>ítā</i>	‘tortilla’
<i>étūn</i>	‘box’
<i>tutú</i>	‘paper’
<i>ñaha</i>	‘person’
<i>tsiñu</i>	‘work, job’

5.4 Pronouns

First and second person pronouns show a distinction between free and poststressed forms. Both kinds distinguish between singular and plural, and some of the poststressed pronouns also distinguish two case forms.

Free pronouns are used primarily when the pronoun is fronted for focus, as seen in 1.1.8. The free pronouns are:

	SG	PL
first EX	<i>shuhú</i>	<i>ndíhí</i>
first IN	—	<i>shohō</i>
second	<i>shōhon</i>	<i>ndōho</i>

The noninclusive plural forms appear to be a fusion of *ndīhi* 'all' with the corresponding singular forms.

Poststressed pronouns have separate case forms for subject and object in first and second person singular and inclusive, but not in first person exclusive and second person plural. The poststressed pronouns are:

	Subject		Object	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
first EX	<i>ú</i>	<i>ndí</i>	<i>kó</i>	<i>ndí</i>
first IN	—	<i>ō</i>	—	<i>kō</i>
second	<i>-n</i>	<i>ndo</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ndo</i>

Object pronouns function as object, locative adjunct, possessor, or as subject of an arbitrary class of verbs, most of which involve sensory perception (see 1.1.2, 1.1.3, 1.1.4, and 3.3). Subject pronouns function as subject with most verbs.

The second person singular clitic pronoun *-n* has the effect of regressively nasalizing the entire verb to which it is attached (see Pike and Small [1973.124–25]).

kada vaha-n
 POT:do good-you:SG
 'you will make'

kakidi ndu-n
 CON:sleep INT-you:SG
 'are you sleeping?'

(See also 7.6, 7.10, 7.11, 7.15, 7.18, 7.21, 7.29, 7.38, and various others.)

In all sets of pronouns the singular/plural contrast carries overtones of a familiar/respect distinction. That is, a plural form often is used with a singular referent to show respect or social distance, as discussed in Small (1979.365–66). This is especially common with second person, as seen in 7.37, 7.59, 7.60, 7.76, and various others. In 7.39, the singular form of the verb occurs together with a plural pronoun used to show respect for a singular referent. The inclusive pronouns often are used in soliloquy (see 7.3, 7.4, 7.44, 7.48, 7.52, and 7.107).

Third person pronouns show a distinction among free forms, post-stressed forms, and prestressed forms. These kinds all show distinctions in gender, rather than in number or case. The masculine pronoun has variant forms depending upon the sex of the speaker. The third person free pronouns are:

adult (respect)	<i>ñaha</i>
masculine (respect)	<i>shtaha</i>
masculine (MS)	<i>naha</i>
(WS)	<i>chéhnū</i>
feminine	<i>táhnū</i>
animal/spherical	<i>kiti</i>

The third person clitic pronouns are:

	Poststressed	Prestressed
adult (respect)	<i>ña</i>	<i>ña</i>
masculine (respect)	<i>shta</i>	<i>shta</i>
masculine (MS)	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
(WS)	<i>chí</i>	<i>chénū</i>
feminine	<i>tún</i>	<i>tánū, tá</i>
animal/spherical	<i>ti</i>	<i>kiti</i>
unspecified	<i>i, ∅</i>	<i>é</i>

Note that the first three gender classes show no distinction between the two forms. Poststressed pronouns are used as subjects and objects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions. Poststressed pronouns occur in focus position, however, only if preceded by a specifier (see 3.1.2). Prestressed pronouns, on the other hand, are used as nuclei of noun phrases when something else follows in the same noun phrase (see 3.1.3 and 3.7).

The choice of pronoun is determined partly by the gender class of its referent (see 5.3.2) and partly by the age, sex, and respect relationship of the speaker to the referent. The generic pronouns *ñaha* and *ña* are used to refer to adults, whether male or female; throughout this sketch they are glossed 'person'. The specific masculine and feminine pronouns, on the other hand, are used to refer to younger people. The pronouns *shtaha* and *shta*, which correspond somewhat to the Spanish title *don*, are used occasionally to refer to certain men who are well known and respected in the

community. The reduced form *tá* of the feminine prestressed pronoun is used only with personal names of girls and pets (see 3.1.1). The animal/spherical pronouns *kíí* and *tí* refer to round objects as well as to animals. The unspecified gender class has no specific free pronoun form. Its post-stressed form is either expressed by *i* or unexpressed, depending upon whether it functions as subject of verb, as object of verb, or as possessor of noun or object of preposition; and whether its referent is an inanimate object, a child, or an indefinite person.⁹ The following diagram illustrates its distribution.

	Subject	Object	Possessor
inanimate object	∅	∅	<i>i</i>
child	∅	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
indefinite person	<i>i</i>	∅	<i>i</i>

Of these nine categories, seven occur in the text in chapter 7. Examples of the zero pronoun expressing inanimate subject are found in 7.7, 7.9, 7.20, 7.46, 7.64, 7.80, 7.98, 7.99, and 7.102; those expressing a child subject are found in 7.17, 7.24, 7.25, 7.41, 7.54, 7.66, 7.89, and 7.106; and those expressing an inanimate object are found in 7.5, 7.90, 7.91, 7.92, 7.93, 7.94, 7.95, 7.97, and 7.99. Examples of the *i* pronoun expressing an indefinite subject are found in 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4; those expressing a child object are found in 7.6, 7.52, 7.53, 7.54, and 7.107; those expressing an inanimate possessor are found in 7.16, 7.22, 7.92 and 7.103, and those expressing a child possessor are found in 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.23, 7.41, 7.44, 7.101, 7.102 and 7.103. A locative adjunct that is not signaled by a locative noun or preposition is treated like the object of a verb, as seen in 7.6.

There are three interrogative pronouns, one of which is complex.

Simple:

<i>shoó</i>	‘who?’
<i>neé</i>	‘what?’

⁹It is possible that the distribution pattern of the unspecified pronoun *i/∅* reflects three distinct sources of this pronoun, all of which share a palatal component: *íñā* ‘thing’, *íhshá* ‘child’, and *shoó* ‘who?’.

Complex:

<i>ne</i>	<i>iñá</i>
what	thing
'what?'	

Interrogative pronouns occur alone in WH questions (see 1.2.2) or in combination with nouns or personal pronouns to form interrogative noun phrases (see 3.4).

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.

Locative adverbs comprise all locational words that are not nouns or prepositions; they occur mainly as locative adjuncts and locative peripheral elements.

<i>iha</i>	or <i>a</i>	'here'
<i>ikān</i>	or <i>kān</i>	'there'
<i>shio</i>		'elsewhere, away'
<i>ikā</i>		'far'
<i>etsin</i>		'near'
<i>daha</i>		'ahead, over'
<i>kīhí</i>		'outside'

The poststressed forms *a* 'here' and *kān* 'there' are frequently used to terminate adverbial noun phrases and basic adverb phrases (see 3.6 and 4.2.1).

Temporal adverbs are simple or complex; they comprise all temporal words and idioms that are not nouns. They occur as time peripheral elements.

Simple temporal adverbs:

<i>veví</i>	or <i>ve</i>	'today, now'
<i>kidáā</i>	or <i>dá</i>	'then'
<i>iku</i>		'yesterday'
<i>vetun</i>		'last night'
<i>utén</i>		'tomorrow'

<i>tévāa</i>	‘tomorrow morning, early’
<i>īdá</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>kwaa</i>	‘afternoon, evening’
<i>vīhi</i>	‘a while’
<i>naha</i>	‘a long time’
<i>dīhna</i>	‘earlier, first’

Complex temporal adverbs:

<i>nī</i>	<i>dukwān</i>
whole	thus
‘while, meanwhile, in the meantime’	

<i>rko</i>	<i>ndūvi</i>
?	day
‘afterwards, later on’	

<i>ngwen</i>	<i>ndūvi</i>
whole:completely	day
‘always, all the time’	

<i>kwén</i>	<i>nīnu</i>	<i>vétūn</i>
completely	night	last:night
‘all night long’		

General adverbs comprise all manner words that are not stative verbs. They are simple or complex.

Simple general adverbs:

<i>dukwān</i> or <i>kwān</i>	‘thus, still’
<i>duhva</i> or <i>va</i>	‘thus’
<i>kwū</i>	‘slowly’
<i>tūi</i>	‘nicely’
<i>kini</i>	‘in an ugly manner’
<i>dōtó</i>	‘haphazardly’
<i>kwán</i>	‘thus’
<i>dadü</i>	‘same’

Complex general adverbs:

dókō *sá*
almost only
'almost'

diü *sa*
bit only
'nearly'

diü *ka*
bit more
'even more'

Intensifying adverbs most commonly occur as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, and basic adverb phrases.

dōó or *ōó* 'very'
kwehén 'completely'

The intensifier *dōó* precedes the nucleus, whereas *kwehén* may either precede or follow it.

Interrogative adverbs comprise all simple interrogatives that are not pronouns; they are:

míhī or *mí* 'where?'
ama 'when?'
ndé 'how?'

The first two occur singly, while *ndé* 'how?' occurs most frequently in combination with verbs of happening and existing (see 1.2.2, 2.1.2, 2.3, and 3.4). For a description of interrogative noun phrases that function as interrogative adverbs, see 3.4.

5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. They function as quantifiers in noun phrases (see chapter 3, especially 3.1.2, 3.2, and 3.10), as the nucleus in various quantifier phrases (see 4.1), and as ordinals in relative clauses (see 3.1.3).

Simple numerals include the numerals from one through ten, fifteen, and twenty, plus two Spanish loans for one hundred and one thousand. The numerals one and twenty each have suppletive allomorphs, which are used in combination with certain other numerals in additive and attributive numeral phrases (see 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). The simple numerals are:

<i>uun</i>	‘one’
<i>ĩn</i>	‘one’ (only following ten)
<i>úvī</i>	‘two’
<i>únī</i>	‘three’
<i>kámī</i>	‘four’
<i>úhūn</i>	‘five’
<i>ĩñū</i>	‘six’
<i>úhshē</i>	‘seven’
<i>únā</i>	‘eight’
<i>ĩn</i>	‘nine’
<i>úhshī</i>	‘ten’
<i>shéhūn</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>ókō</i>	‘twenty’
<i>diko</i>	‘twenty’ (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
<i>syendu</i>	‘hundred (Sp. <i>ciento</i>)’
<i>mīl</i>	‘thousand (Sp. <i>mil</i>)’

When the numerals for two, three, and four follow *ndĩhi* ‘all’ in expanded numeral phrases (see 4.1.3), they fuse with it.

<i>nduvi</i>	‘both’
<i>nduni</i>	‘all three’
<i>ngĩmi</i>	‘all four’

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words; the most common ones are:

<i>kwéhē</i>	‘much, many’
<i>tĩtĩn</i>	‘several’
<i>ndehvī</i>	‘few’
<i>ndĩhi</i>	‘all’

<i>nü</i>	‘whole, complete’
<i>dava</i>	‘half, part of’

The quantifiers *tüün* ‘several’ and *ndehvi* ‘few’ are used only with count nouns.

5.7 Prepositions

There are seven simple prepositions and one complex preposition based on a Spanish loan. Even though none of them has a clear etymology, a few show resemblances to other parts of speech that may indicate a historical connection.

Simple:

<i>nihī</i>	‘with’
<i>ndee</i>	‘against, as far as, from, since, even’ (cf. <i>ndee</i> ‘to be against’)
<i>māā</i>	‘under’
<i>nāā</i>	‘in place of’ (cf. <i>naa</i> ‘altar’)
<i>méhñū</i>	‘in the middle of’
<i>nínū</i>	‘above’
<i>shuvi</i>	‘below’ (cf. <i>shuvi</i> ‘palm mat’)

Complex:

<i>kwenda</i>	<i>iñá</i>
account	thing
‘for, on behalf of, about, in place of (Sp. <i>cuenta</i>)’	

Prepositions occur only in prepositional phrases (see 4.3).

Other prepositional functions are carried by noun phrases containing body-part nouns used in an extended sense (see 3.6 and 5.3.2). Two conjunctions, *dā* ‘when’ and *dá ndē* ‘until’ (see 5.8) also function as prepositions.

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are coordinate or subordinate, and simple or complex.

Simple coordinate:

ne 'and'*ō* 'or'*ndá* 'but'

Complex coordinate:

ndá tsi

but LIM

'but'

ne dá

and when

'and then'

Simple subordinate:

dā 'when, then'*tē* 'if, when'*tsí* 'because, that'*vata* 'as'

Complex subordinate:

da é

when CMP

'since'

dá ndē

when against

'until'

da nī

when whole

'while'

da ti

when ?

'so that'

vata ko é
 as POT:exist CMP
 'in order that'

vata õ
 as CON:exist
 'as'

vata dá
 as when
 'whenever'

ndé dā
 against when
 'ever since'

tē dĕ
 if also
 'if only'

kwān te
 thus if
 'even if, even though'

Coordinate conjunctions are used to link two or more basic sentences; see 6.1.1 for examples. They also occur in sentence-initial position to link a sentence to the preceding discourse context; see 6.4 for examples. The conjunction *ne* 'and' also occurs at the end of a preverbal constituent of the sentence, where it serves to define the end of the fronted constituent. Such a constituent may be a noun phrase (see 1.1.8) or a subordinate sentence (see 6.2.1).

Subordinate conjunctions occur at the beginning of a basic sentence that is in a subordinate relation to another sentence; see 6.2.1 for examples.

The complementizer *é*, which is basically a pronoun (see 5.4), frequently functions like a conjunction to mean 'because' (see 6.2.1); it also occurs in complex conjunctions.

5.9 Markers

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

Verbal markers occur as preverbal elements in verb phrases (see chapter 2, especially 2.1.2); they are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>ñá</i>	‘not’
<i>vátā</i>	‘not yet’
<i>nā</i>	‘hortatory’
<i>nī</i>	‘contrafactual’
<i>é</i>	‘already’

Complex:

<i>dā</i>	<i>ve</i>
when	now
‘just now’	

Nominal markers occur in noun phrases (see chapter 3, especially 3.1.2 and 3.1.3); they are:

<i>á</i>	‘diminutive’
<i>divī</i>	‘same’
<i>sáhā</i> or <i>sá</i>	‘this’ (cf. <i>iha</i> ‘here’)
<i>tsikān</i> or <i>sán</i>	‘that’ (cf. <i>ikān</i> ‘there’)

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type; they are:

<i>tsi</i>	‘just’
<i>dá</i>	‘only’
<i>sá</i>	‘only’
<i>ká</i>	‘more, still’
<i>ndihshe</i>	‘truly’
<i>tuku</i>	‘other, again’
<i>ku</i>	‘emphatic’
<i>kūdii</i>	‘merely’
<i>mī</i>	‘alone’

Sentential markers express the mood or truth value of a sentence (see 1.2.1 and 1.5); they are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>ndu</i>	'interrogative'
<i>vá</i>	'doubtfully'
<i>ní</i>	'therefore'
<i>kwán</i>	'thus, so'
<i>dì</i>	'also'

Complex:

<i>vata</i>	<i>tē</i>
as	if
'apparently'	

<i>á</i>	<i>tē</i>
?	if
'probably'	

<i>ñá</i>	<i>tē</i>
NEG	if
'definitely not'	

5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words or fixed phrases used outside of sentences to express emotion, agreement, or disagreement; they are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>ahan</i>	'okay'
<i>xúun</i>	'yes'
<i>ñáhā</i>	'no'
<i>mbá</i>	'wow! (Sp. <i>icaramba!</i>)'

Complex:

nāhá ni san
NEG CF that
'definitely not!'

ishi ko or ii ko
? us ? us
'expression of fear'

6

Intersentential Relations

6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some combinations of sentences are connected by a conjunction, and some are not.

6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions. Coordinate sentences with conjunctions express coordination, antithesis, disjunction, and temporal sequence.

Coordination is expressed by the conjunction *ne* ‘and’, which is usually accompanied by a pause before and/or after it.

shéē tún / ne íní u tún
COM:arrive she and COM:see I her
‘She arrived, and I saw her.’

shéē tún ne / íní u tún
COM:arrive she and COM:see I her
‘She arrived, and I saw her.’

(See also 7.16, 7.19, 7.22, and 7.60.)

Sometimes two sentences that have a semantic relation such as sequence or result are joined by the conjunction *ne* ‘and’, rather than by some more specific coordinate or subordinate conjunction.

ñéhe na ñūkohshó / ne ikān kúnaá na
COM:go he Mexico:City and there COM:become:lost he
‘He went to Mexico City, and THERE he got lost.’

(See also 7.2, 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.23, and 7.43.)

When the relationship is not sequential, the final sentence often ends with the sentential marker *dí* ‘also’.

ñéhē tun nundūvé ne / ñéhē tún kuchañá dí
 COM:go she Oaxaca and COM:go she Tehuacán also
 ‘She went to Oaxaca, and she also went to Tehuacán.’

kahshí o itá / ne koho o káféé dí
 POT:eat we:IN tortilla and POT:drink we:IN coffee also
 ‘We’ll eat tortillas, and we’ll drink coffee (Sp. *café*), too.’

Antithesis is expressed by *ndá* or, more commonly, *ndá tsi* ‘but’. Nonfinal sentences optionally end with *ne* ‘and’.

kava o vē / ndá dīhna kahshí ō ∅
 POT:lie:down we:IN now but earlier POT:eat we:IN UN
 ‘We’ll go to bed now, but FIRST we’ll eat something.’

ñéhē ú ñukohshó ne /
 COM:go I Mexico:City and
 ‘I went to Mexico City,

ndá tsi ña ni kunáa ú
 but LIM NEG CF COM:become:lost I
 but I didn’t get lost.’

The conjunction *ō* ‘or’ expresses a disjunctive relation; it frequently introduces each sentence. Nonfinal sentences often end with *ne* ‘and’.

kāhín ndú tun ñukohsho / ō ña kāhín tun
 POT:go INT she Mexico:City or NEG POT:go she
 ‘Will she go to Mexico City, or won’t she?’

ō kāhín tun ñukohshó ne / ō kāhín tun nundūvé
 or POT:go she Mexico:City and or POT:go she Oaxaca
 ‘She will either go to Mexico City, or she will go to Oaxaca.’

ō shuhú kāhán u ne / ō xwaan kāhán ná ne /
 or I POT:speak I and or John POT:speak he and
 ‘Either I will speak, or JOHN (Sp. *Juan*) will speak,

o pēlu káhan ná
 or Peter POT:speak he
 or PETER (Sp. *Pedro*) will speak.'

The second part of a disjunctive sentence may contain only the interjection *ñáhā* 'no'.

ō kihin tún ne / ō ña kihin tun
 or POT:go she and or NEG POT:go she
 'Either she will go, or she won't go.'

ō kihin tún ne / ō ñahá
 or POT:go she and or no
 'Either she will or will not go.'

Temporal sequence is expressed by the complex conjunction *ne dá* 'and then'; a pause either precedes the conjunction or follows the *ne*.

ñū na vihi / né dā nádiko nā ∅
 COM:buy he house and when COM:REP:sell he UN
 'He bought a house, and then he resold it.'

kihin tun núndūvé ne / dá kihin tun kúchaña
 POT:go she Oaxaca and when POT:go she Tehuacán
 'She will go to Oaxaca, and then she will go to Tehuacán.'

(See also 7.5, 7.49, 7.52, and 7.101.)

6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions. Coordinate relations can also be expressed by simple juxtaposition or by repetition of part of a sentence.

Almost any coordinate relation can be expressed by simply juxtaposing two sentences without pause at the boundary, if the context is clear enough. Such sentences usually have coreferential subjects.

One of the most common relations expressed in this way is simultaneous action; one of the verbs usually expresses motion or position.

kaita na / kwehen ná
 CON:sing he INC:go he
 'He went along singing.'

odō tūn tutūn / sheé tun
 CON:carry she firewood COM:arrive she
 'She arrived carrying firewood.'

ndoo ña / ndáehshi ña
 CON:sit:PL person CON:PL:eat person
 'They are sitting down eating.'

Further examples of simultaneous action with coreferential subjects are found in 7.25, 7.30, 7.55, and 7.103. An example of such a sentence with different subjects is found in 7.29.

Sequential action can also be expressed using juxtaposition.

kūdiin na / kunúhu na
 COM:become:fierce he INC:go:back he
 'He got mad and went home.'

(See also 7.27, 7.104, and 7.106.)

Restatement of a positive sentence by a negative one is often expressed by juxtaposition.

kúnúhú na / ñá nī kátuví na
 INC:go:back he NEG CF INC:sit:SG he
 'He went back; he didn't stay.'

(See also 7.82.)

Instrument may be expressed by a sentence containing a verb such as 'to use' preceding the sentence describing the action. (Instrument may also be expressed as an adjunct; see 1.1.4.)

kāá kade tsun nihi nā / kaendé nuu na ∅ utun
 metal CON:do work with he CON:cut face he UN wood
 'He is using A MACHETE to cut wood.' or 'He is cutting wood with A MACHETE.'

Repetition of part of the first sentence in the second one is sometimes used to simplify long sentences and slow down the information flow. The first sentence usually contains a motion verb, and the second one often contains an equivalent motion auxiliary, which expresses purpose in addition to motion (see 2.1.2).

kwéhen na kūchaña / kú kadá tsiñu na
 INC:go he Tehuacán INC:go POT:do work he
 'He has gone to Tehuacán to work.'

kakihshi tún / kakish kwiin tún tuun íha
 CON:come she CON:come POT:buy she charcoal here
 'She comes to buy charcoal here.'

(See also 7.53 and 7.108.)

Repetition is also used to express coordination of noun phrases. If the noun phrases function as subject, the verb is given once for each noun phrase and optionally following the last one. If the noun phrases function as something other than subject, the verb and its subject are given once for each noun phrase and optionally following the last one.

ndio nuni / ndio ndutsi / ndio ñi
 CON:want corn CON:want bean CON:want salt
 'Corn, beans, and salt are needed.'

ndio nuni / ndio ndutsi / ndio ñi / ndio
 CON:want corn CON:want bean CON:want salt CON:want
 'Corn, beans, and salt are needed.'

ñū tún nama / ñū tún shuhve / ñū tún nuni
 COM:buy she soap COM:buy she thread COM:buy she corn
 'She bought soap, thread, and corn.'

ñū tún nama / ñū tún shuhve /
 COM:buy she soap COM:buy she thread
 'She bought soap and thread'

ñū tún nuni / ñū tún
 COM:buy she corn COM:buy she
 and corn.'

6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are for the most part expressed by conjunctions; a limited number are expressed by juxtaposition.

6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to express cause, condition, concession, purpose, temporal relations, and comparison. The subordinate sentence normally follows the main sentence, but most kinds may also precede the main sentence. When a subordinate sentence precedes, it usually ends with the conjunction *ne* ‘and’, which helps to separate the two parts of the construction.

Cause is usually expressed by the subordinate conjunctions *tsí* ‘because’ or *da é* ‘since’. Occasionally *tsí* occurs followed by *da é*. The subordinate sentence almost always follows the main sentence, but a sentence introduced by *da é* may precede.

ñéhe nā kárjutsi / tsí kandio na nuni
 COM:go he San:Miguel because CON:want he corn
 ‘He went to San Miguel because he needed corn.’

ña kwūn ú Ø / da é ña tuví dyuhun
 NEG POT:buy I UN when CMP NEG CON:sit:SG money
 ‘I won’t buy it, since there isn’t any money.’

kāhīn ú nī tun / tsí da é lúhndī ká tun
 POT:go I with her because when CMP small:SG more she
 ‘I’ll go with her, since she’s still little.’

da é njo kuví u ne / ñá kāhīn u
 when CMP CON:want POT:die I and NEG POT:go I
 ‘Since I’m sick, I won’t go.’

(See also 7.7.)

Cause can also be expressed by simply using the complementizer *é*.

ña ni kuví kāhīn / tun é njo kuví tun
 NEG CF COM:be:able POT:go she CMP CON:want POT:die she
 ‘She wasn’t able to go as she was sick.’

dōo diní ko / é ña kīhīn ú
 INTS CON:be:happy:inside me CMP NEG POT:go I
 ‘I am very happy that I am not going.’

(See also 7.14, 7.26, 7.40, 7.42, and 7.80.)

In some sentences, the relationship expressed by *é* is not strictly cause, but can perhaps be expressed best by English ‘in that’ (see 7.11 and 7.68).

A subordinate sentence introduced by *tsí* ‘because’ often follows the interjection *ñáhā* ‘no’, as seen in 7.61, 7.78, 7.81, and 7.86.

There are three types of condition: simple, wishful, and contrafactual. The first two types occur with verbs in potential or continuative aspect, while the third type occurs with verbs in completive aspect. The main sentence is usually, but not always, in potential aspect. A simple condition is expressed by *tē* ‘if’ or ‘when’.

ihshá ña nihi na ñuhu ña / te kuví ña
 child person POT:GET he land person if POT:DIE person
 ‘THEIR SON will inherit their land if they die.’

ña kwūn ú ∅ / tē dóo ahví i
 NEG POT:BUY I UN if INTS CON:COST UN
 ‘I won’t buy it if it is very expensive.’

tē ndio ndo ∅ ne / káhin ō
 if CON:WANT YOU:PL UN and POT:GO WE:IN
 ‘If you want to, we’ll go.’

tē ña káhin tún ne / ñá káhin u dē
 if NEG POT:GO she and NEG POT:GO I also
 ‘If she won’t go, I won’t go either.’

(See also 7.119 and 7.120.)

A wishful condition is expressed by *tē dē* ‘if only’.

kwiin ú ∅ / tē dē kadiko nā ∅
 POT:BUY I UN if also CON:SELL he UN
 ‘I would buy it if only he were selling it.’

dōo diní ko / tē dē káhin u
 INTS happy me if also POT:GO I
 ‘I would be very happy if I were going.’

(See also 7.39.)

To express a contrafactual condition, *tē* or *tē dī* must occur with the preverbal contrafactual marker (see 2.1.2), and the verb must be in complete aspect.

te ni nīū ú nīi ne / kutāví u ∅
 if CF COM:buy I skin and POT:get:covered I UN
 'If I had bought a hat, I would wear it.'

tē dī ni nēhé u ne / e shēē ú ve
 if also CF COM:go I and already COM:arrive I now
 'If only I had gone, I would have arrived by now.'

tē dī nā ni nēhe nā ne /
 if also NEG CF COM:go person and
 'If only they hadn't gone,

kwan tsī ó kandito nā
 thus LIM CON:exist CON:live person
 they would still be alive.'

Concession is expressed by *kwān te* 'even if' or 'even though'. If the subordinate sentence precedes the main sentence, the main sentence is usually introduced by *ndá tsi* 'but'.

kwiin ú ∅ / kwān te dōo ahví i
 POT:buy I UN thus if INTS CON:COST UN
 'I'll buy it even if it's very expensive.' or 'I'll buy it even though
 it's very expensive.'

nā nīhi ení na nīhu na / kwān te kuví na
 NEG POT:get brother:ME him land him thus if POT:die he
 'His brother won't inherit his land even if he dies.'

kwān té nā vá ēshí ∅ / ndá tsi ehshí u ∅
 thus if NEG good CON:eat UN but LIM COM:eat I UN
 'Even though it didn't taste good, yet I ate it.'

Purpose is most commonly expressed by *vata ko é* 'in order that', *da ti* 'in order that', or simply *dā* 'then'; sometimes it is expressed by the complementizer *é*. The subordinate sentence is always in potential aspect.

kadē tsīñu na / vata ko é nīhi ná dyuhun
 CON:do work he as POT:exist CMP POT:get him money
 'He is working in order to earn money.'

ñá kāhīn-n / vata ko é ña kahní
 NEG POT:go-you:SG as POT:exist CMP NEG POT:kill
 'Don't go lest he kill

na o
 he you:SG
 you!'

vata ko é kandīhi shee ó ne /
 as POT:exist CMP quickly POT:arrive we:IN and
 'In order to arrive quickly,

kunu ō
 POT:run we:IN
 let's run.'

kaeku tūn / da ti nīhi tun é ndio tūn
 CON:cry she when ? POT:get her CMP CON:want her
 'She cries in order to get what she wants.'

natsīhó u ndutsi / dá kāhshi ó ∅
 POT:CAUS:cook I bean when POT:eat we:IN UN
 'I will cook beans for us to eat.'

kada tsīñu ō / é nīhi kó dyuhun
 POT:do work we:IN CMP POT:get us:IN money
 'We'll work to earn money.'

(See also 7.4, 7.35, 7.53, 7.75, and 7.107.)

A variety of temporal relations may be expressed by conjunctions. The most common of these conjunctions is *dā* 'when'. It occurs mainly with verbs in completive aspect.

ndōto ihsha / dá ite ñukátī
 COM:wake:up child when COM:explode firecracker
 'The child woke up when the firecracker exploded.'

dā ñehe ná ñukohshó ne / nduku na tsĩũũ
 when COM:go he Mexico:City and COM:look:for he work
 'When he went to Mexico City, he looked for work.'

dā dáo ihrũ né / kaish duté u
 when INTS hot and CON:GOPOT:swim I
 'When it's very hot out, I go swimming.'

(See also 7.1, 7.3, 7.6, 7.25, 7.26, 7.28, and various others.)

The conditional conjunction *tē* 'if' or 'when' is used sometimes to refer to future events, implying a degree of uncertainty.

kaeshi o Ø / té shee o
 POT:eat we:IN UN if POT:arrive we:IN
 'We'll eat when we arrive.'

tē shihi ñá ne / ihshá ña nihi na
 if COM:die person and child person POT:get him
 'When they have died, their son will inherit

ñuhu ña
 land person
 their land.'

Various complex conjunctions based on *dā* also express temporal relations; these include *vata dá* 'whenever', *ndé dā* 'since', and *dá ndē* 'until'.

kaeshi u ita / vata dá kakakĩ kó
 CON:eat I tortilla as when CON:be:hungry me
 'I eat tortillas whenever I am hungry.'

vata dá kañehe ná ñukohshó ne / kakunáa na
 as when CON:go he Mexico:City and CON:become:lost he
 'Whenever he goes to Mexico City, he gets lost.'

inĩ u tũn / nde da kũlũhndĩ tũn
 CON:know I her against when COM:become:small:SG she
 'I have known her since she was little.'

ndé dā kulúhndī tūn / iní u tūn
 against when COM:become:small:SG she CON:know I her
 'Ever since she was little, I've known her.'

kandētu na / da ndé nāshee úva nā
 CON:wait he when against COM:REP:arrive father him
 'He waited until his father got back.'

When a subordinate sentence introduced by *dā ndē* 'until' or *tē* 'when' precedes, the main sentence is often introduced by *dā* or *da kidāa* 'then'.

dā nde kūvi tsiho ndutsi ne /
 when against POT:finish POT:cook bean and
 'When (until) the beans finish cooking,

dā kāhshí u Ø
 when POT:eat I UN
 then I'll eat them.'

tē kúvi éhshi ō ne / da kidāa kēhín o
 if COM:finish COM:eat we:IN and when then POT:go we:IN
 'When we've finished eating, then we'll go.'

(See also 7.105.)

Simultaneous or included action is expressed by *da nē* or *nē dukwān* 'while' or 'meanwhile', which often introduce both sentences, the first of which is subordinate.

da nē kúkwií na ne /
 when whole COM:become:slow he and
 'While he delayed,

da nē ínu tí
 when whole COM:run it:AML
 meanwhile it ran away.'

nē dukwan kākídí tun ne /
 whole thus CON:sleep she and
 'While she sleeps,

nī dukwan kada tsiñu ō
 whole thus POT:do work we:IN
 in the meantime we'll work.'

The day of the month is expressed as an idiomatic subordinate sentence introduced by the complementizer *é*; it either precedes or follows the main sentence without pause at the boundary.

ñéhē ú ñukohsho / é ūvi ndóo o āvrii
 COM:go I Mexico:City CMP two CON:sit:PL we:IN April
 'I went to Mexico City on April (Sp. *Abril*) second.'

é ūni ndóo ō sho máu / nāsheé u
 CMP three CON:sit:PL we:IN moon May COM:REP:arrive I
 'On the third of May (Sp. *Mayo*) I got back.'

Comparison of likeness is expressed by the conjunction *vata* 'as', optionally followed by the limiter *tsi*. The same verb usually occurs in both sentences. When the subordinate sentence precedes, the main sentence often begins with *kwān* 'thus' and often ends with *dī* 'also'. Comparison sentences are most commonly stative sentences (see 1.1.6).

kaa ∅ / vata kaa shuú
 CON:be:SG UN as CON:be:SG rock
 'It is like a rock.'

vata ndáa ihsha / ndáa ña
 as CON:be:PL child CON:be:PL person
 'They are like children.'

vata tsi ēshí tsákā né / kwan ēshí ∅ dī
 as LIM CON:eat fish and thus CON:eat UN also
 'It tastes just like fish.' (lit. 'Just as fish tastes, so it tastes also.')

(See also 7.5.)

When sentence types other than stative occur, however, it is usually necessary to recast the sentence as the subject complement of the verb *koo* 'to exist'.

kade na / vatā ó de uva nā
 CON:do he as CON:exist CON:do father him
 'He behaves like his father does.'

vata tsī ó ita láā né /
 as LIM CON:exist CON:sing bird and
 'She sings just like a bird.' (lit. 'Just like a bird

kwān ó kaita tūn
 thus CON:exist CON:sing she
 sings, so she sings.)

(See also 7.119.)

Comparison of degree is expressed by the complementizer *é*, followed by the subject. No verb phrase occurs in the subordinate sentence, but it is always understood to contain the same verb as the main sentence. The main sentence must contain *ká* 'more' in the verb phrase.

kahnu ká tun / é shūhú
 big:sg more she CMP I
 'She is bigger than I am.'

dī ka kahnu tun / é tāhan tūn
 bit more big:sg she CMP sister her
 'She is even bigger than her sister.'

dī dī ka kandīhi inu na / é shohō
 bit bit more quickly COM:run he CMP we:IN
 'He ran a lot faster than we did.'

dī ka kwehe kaéhshi na / é enī ná
 bit more much CON:eat he CMP brother:ME him
 'He eats even more than his brother does.'

dī ka iō iñá tun / é shūhú
 bit more CON:exist thing her CMP I
 'She has even more than I have.'

dī ka ña vū ∅ / é sáhá
 bit more NEG heavy UN CMP this
 'It is not as heavy as this.' or 'It is lighter than this.'

6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions. Juxtaposition without pause at the boundary is sometimes used to express purpose, or rarely, cause. It also expresses the time of day.

In juxtaposed purpose sentences, the second part expresses the purpose of the first. Its verb must be in potential aspect, and the hortatory *nā* sometimes occurs.

nāi tún doo / kada váhā tún dahma tún
 COM:buy she cloth POT:do good she skirt her
 'She bought cloth to make her skirt.'

tāhshí-n ∅ / na kōto ndeé u ∅
 POT:give-you:SG UN HORT POT:look against I UN
 'Give it to me in order that I may examine it.'

(See also 7.100.)

In such sentences an object is often shared; in the following examples the solidus that marks the break between sentences is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

tāhshi ndo tsiñu / vií u
 POT:give you:PL work POT:do I
 'Give me work to do.'

kañii tún ita / káhshi ihshá tun
 CON:buy she tortilla POT:eat child her
 'She buys tortillas for her children to eat.'

A further example of this phenomenon is found in 7.91. In 7.90 and 7.94, a shared noun phrase occurs in focus position, rather than between the two parts. In 7.92, a similar construction occurs with an unexpressed object.

Juxtaposition also occasionally expresses cause, as seen in 7.83. Perhaps other subordinate relations can also be expressed in this way if the context is clear enough.

The time of day is expressed as an idiomatic subordinate sentence either preceding or following the main sentence without intervening pause.

kaeku uni kwáa / ñehé u
 CON:cry three late COM:go I
 'I went at three o'clock in the afternoon.'

kihshi ndo / kaeku uni
 POT:come you:PL CON:cry three
 ‘Come at three o’clock!’

6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations consist of three parts: the quotation, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences or fragments. The introducer is optional, but the closer is obligatory except in dramatic dialogue where the speakers are clearly distinguished by tone of voice, speech style, or content. The introducer usually contains the verb *káhān* ‘to speak’ or ‘to say’ in continuative aspect; occasionally a more specific verb, such as *tsishehē* ‘to ask’, occurs. The closer nearly always contains the verb *káhān* in unmarked continuative aspect. Both introducer and closer contain an obligatory subject and an optional addressee. The addressee is expressed as an associative adjunct with *káhān* or as a locative adjunct with *tsishehē* (see 1.1.4).

kakahan tún / káhān ú dī / kahan tún
 CON:speak she POT:go I also CON:speak she
 ‘She said, “I’m going too,” she said.’

koho-n ndute / kahan tún nī kó
 POT:drink-you:SG water CON:speak she with me
 ‘“Drink some water!” she said to me.’

katsishehē ú na / míhi ndu káhān-n / kahán u
 CON:ask I him where INT POT:go-you:SG CON:speak I
 ‘I asked him, “Where are you going?” I said.’

(See also 7.6, 7.10, 7.11, 7.21, 7.29, 7.31, and various others.)

Sometimes both *káhān* and a more specific verb occur in a juxtaposed coordinate construction, as described in 6.1.2 above.

shoó ndu kakahan í / kahan tún / tsishehē tún
 who INT CON:speak UN CON:speak she CON:ask she
 ‘“Who is speaking?” she said; she asked.’

Sometimes the verb phrase of the introducer is expanded to include a postverbal element (see 2.1.3).

kakahan túku na / káhān ó / kahan ná
 CON:speak REP he POT:go we:IN CON:speak he
 'He said again, "Let's go!" he said.'

kakahán sh tun / shuhú ði / kahan tún
 CON:speak LIM she I also CON:speak she
 'She just said, "Me too," she said.'

(See also 7.8, 7.15, 7.18, 7.67, and 7.93.)

Note that in 7.8 a postverbal element also appears in the closer, but this is rare. In all but one of the examples in chapter 7, *káhān* is preceded by *sá* 'so'. Its use here seems to indicate a peculiar speech style, as for instance, that of animals.

Soliloquy is similar to dialogue but is characterized by a lack of addressee and by the use of a first person plural inclusive pronoun.

kakahan tún / ndé ko vii o ve /
 CON:speak she how POT:exist POT:do we:IN now
 'She said, "What shall I do now?"

kahan tún
 CON:speak she
 she said.'

(See also 7.3, 7.4, 7.44, 7.48, 7.52, and 7.107.)

In future speech, the verb of the introducer is in potential aspect, and the closer is a subject complement construction (see 1.1.9) with the pre-stressed potential aspect form of the verb *koo* 'to exist' as its main verb.

káhān tún / kwiin ú ∅ / ko kahan tún
 POT:speak she POT:buy I UN POT:exist POT:speak she
 'She will say, "I'll buy it," she'll say.'

Two quotations in chapter 7 span more than a single sentence; they are: 7.97–99 and 7.119–20.

6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

In sentence-initial position certain elements occur that serve to link the sentence to its preceding discourse context. These elements include con-

junctions, adverbs and short adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, and occasionally, a deictic or preposition.

Sentences within a discourse are most commonly introduced by the conjunction *ne* ‘and’, which serves to move the action or argument forward as well as to provide continuity within the discourse.

ñéhē u nūndūvé sho máū // ne dōó kakān davi
 COM:go I Oaxaca moon May and INTS CON:fall rain
 ‘I went to Oaxaca in May. And it was raining a lot

ikān // ne ndavā ú itsi kān
 there and COM:slip I trail there
 there. And I slipped on the road.’

(See also 7.1–2, 7.4–5, 7.5–6, 7.6–7, 7.7–8, 7.8–9, 7.9–10, 7.12–13, and various others.)

An unexpected circumstance or sequence of events is frequently introduced by *ndá* or *ndá tsi* ‘but’.

shéē ú nu vihi ñā //
 COM:arrive I face house person
 ‘I arrived at their house.

ndá tsi shosho ndóo i kān
 but LIM nobody CON:sit:PL UN there
 But there was nobody there.’

(See also 7.3–4, 7.36–37, 7.91–92, and 7.95–96.

The conjunction *tsí* ‘because’ or ‘for’ often introduces explanatory material.

káhin o ñūkohsho // tsí dōo njo káhin u
 POT:go we:IN Mexico:City because INTS CON:want POT:go I
 ‘Let’s go to Mexico City! For I really want to go.’

(See also 7.11–12, 7.15–16, 7.18–19, 7.39–40, 7.41–42, 7.69–70, and 7.97–98.)

Sometimes an adverb, adverb phrase, or prepositional phrase in focus position (see 1.1.8) has a discourse-linking function. Some of the adverbs

that occur in this position are complex, and certain locative forms are used with temporal meanings.

téni t̄ ní ndute k̄ān //
 COM:drown it:AML face water there
 'It drowned in the water.'

ikan tsī shihi t̄ //
 there LIM COM:die it:AML
 It died RIGHT (THEN AND) THERE.

ikan nd̄hi kwendu īā tsidō
 there COM:finish story thing rabbit
 THERE ends the story (Sp. *cuento*) about the rabbit.'

ndio t̄n nuni //
 CON:want she corn
 'She needed corn.'

dukwān é ñehé tun k̄anjutsi
 thus CMP COM:go she San:Miguel
 THUS (it was) that she went to San Miguel.'

(See also 7.46–47, 7.47–48, 7.56–57, 7.73–74, 7.74–75, and 7.105–106.)

In the following example, the second sentence contains a prepositional phrase, and the other three contain simple or complex temporal adverbs.

dihna k̄h̄n ná kuchaña //
 earlier POT:go he Tehuacán
 'FIRST he will go to Tehuacán.'

da kidāā ne / k̄h̄n nā n̄ndūvé //
 when then and POT:go he Oaxaca
 THEN he will go to Oaxaca.

da rko nd̄ví k̄h̄n ná ñukohsho //
 when ? day POT:go he Mexico:City
 AFTERWARDS he will go to Mexico City.

nì dukwan kundēu ú na
 whole thus POT:wait I him
 MEANWHILE I will wait for him.'

It is possible for a sentence to begin with both a conjunction and a focused adverb, adverb phrase, or prepositional phrase, as seen in 7.5, 7.10, 7.24, 7.29, 7.43, 7.46, 7.92, 7.102, 7.122, and 7.123.)

Sometimes the deictic *tsikān* 'that' is used to express cause.

dōo vihshín vevii //
 INTS cold today
 'It's very cold out today.

tsikān ne / ñá káhín u
 that and NEG POT:go I
 THEREFORE, I'm not going.'

dōo vihshín vevii //
 INTS cold today.
 'It's very cold out today.

tsikān é ña káhín ú
 that CMP NEG POT:go I
 THAT'S WHY I'm not going.'

The preposition *ndeé* 'against' sometimes occurs at the beginning of a negative sentence following another negative sentence, in which case it means 'nor'.

ñá ni ñēhé xwaan //
 NEG CF COM:go John
 'John didn't go.

ndē ña ni ñéhe ú dī
 against NEG CF COM:go I also
 Nor did I go.' or 'John didn't go. I didn't go either.'

7

Text

7.1 *iha ndaa ú un kwendu iña a tsídō /*
 here POT:tell I one story thing DIM rabbit
 'Now I'll tell a story (Sp. *cuento*) about a rabbit,

ndé o dé tì nduvi dihna /
 how CON:exist COM:do it:AML day earlier
 about what it did when it lived a long time ago,

da ika tì / un kwendu iña a tsído /
 when COM:walk it:AML one story thing DIM rabbit
 a story about a rabbit

kāi éshi itú
 animal COM:eat cornfield
 that ate a cornfield.'

7.2 *ne / tōhó itú san ne / ñā kaīnī tun*
 and owner cornfield that and NEG CON:see she
 'As for the owner of the cornfield, she didn't know

shoó kaehshí i itú tun /
 who CON:eat UN cornfield her
 who was eating her cornfield,

ne dōó dutsī kwini tun
 and INTS angry CON:feel her
 and she was very angry.'

7.3 *shoó ndu kaeshí i itú kō /*
 who INT CON:eat UN cornfield US:IN
 ‘ “Who has been eating our cornfield?”

sá kahan tún da násheé tun
 so CON:speak she when COM:REP:arrive she
 she said when she arrived back

nú vīhi tún kān
 face house her there
 at her house.’

7.4 *ndá tsi iō é vii ō*
 but LIM CON:exist UN POT:do we:IN
 ‘ “But there is something we can do

dá nīhi ko
 when POT:get us:IN
 to find out

shoo é kaeshí i itú kō /
 who CMP CON:eat UN cornfield US:IN
 who it is that has been eating our cornfield,”

sá kahan tún
 so CON:speak she
 she said.’

7.5 *ne / kidāā né / dē váha tún shume nūñu /*
 and then and COM:do good she wax wild:bee
 ‘So then, she formed beeswax

vata kaa un ñaha
 as CON:be:SG one person
 to look like a person,

ne / dā í shtúví tun ∅
 and when COM:go POT:COL:sit:SG she UN
 and then she went and set it

má itú tun kán
 under cornfield her there
 in her cornfield.'

- 7.6 *ne dā sheé a tsidō sán ne /*
 and when COM:arrive DIM rabbit that and
 'And when the rabbit arrived,

katsishehe ñ̃ ī
 CON:ask it:AML UN
 it asked it,

ndē o de-n /
 how CON:exist CON:do-you:SG
 "What are you doing

kwán o nuu-n iha /
 thus CON:exist CON:be:in:SG-you:SG here
 in here like this?"

sá kahan ñ̃
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.'

- 7.7 *ne / ñ̃á ni káhan ∅ /*
 and NEG CF COM:speak UN
 'But it didn't answer

tsí ñ̃a te ñ̃aha ni kúvi ∅ /
 because NEG if person CF COM:become UN
 because it wasn't A PERSON

tsí kūdii shúme kúvi ∅
 because merely wax COM:become UN
 for it was only made of wax.'

- 7.8 *ne / kakahan túku a tsidō sán /*
 and CON:speak REP DIM rabbit that
 'And the rabbit spoke again,

“buenos días” / sá kahan túku tí
 good days so CON:speak REP it:AML
 “Good (Sp.) morning (Sp.)!” it said again.’

7.9 *ne / ñá ni káhan túku Ø*
 and NEG CF COM:speak REP UN
 ‘But again it didn’t answer.’

7.10 *ne / kidáā ne / kakahan tí/*
 and then and CON:speak it:AML
 ‘So then, it said,

ndé kwi kakudiin ndu-n /
 how CON:happen CON:become:fierce INT-you:SG
 “Why are you getting angry?”

sá kahan tí
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.’

7.11 *ndé kwi ña te kakáhan ndu-n /*
 how CON:happen NEG if CON:speak INT-you:SG
 ‘ “Why don’t you answer

é kākahán u ni ō / sá kahan tí
 CMP CON:speak I with you:SG so CON:speak it:AML
 when I speak to you?” it said.’

7.12 *tsí tē ñá ne /*
 because if NEG and
 ‘ “Because if not,

nakĩshi ú un nda kwaha kó sa /
 POT:CAUS:come I one hand right me this
 I’ll punch (you with) my right hand,

ne un tsi nde dáha kan
 and one LIM against over there
 and I’ll leave you sitting

nashtúví *u o /*
 POT:REP:COL:sit:SG I you:SG
 WAY OVER THERE!”

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 SO CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

- 7.13 *ne nálahin ndíhshe sá tsi ∅*
 and COM:CAUS:GO truly only LIM UN
 ‘And it really did punch (it) just then

á ndaha i / ne /
 DIM hand UN and
 (with) its paw, and

ikan tsī tīn ndēe á ndaha i
 there LIM COM:grab against DIM hand UN
 RIGHT THERE its paw stuck to it.’

- 7.14 *ne dōó dutsī kwini a tsídō sán*
 and INTS angry CON:feel DIM rabbit that
 ‘And the rabbit was very angry

e tīn ∅ ndaha tī
 CMP COM:grab UN hand it:AML
 that it grabbed its paw.’

- 7.15 *ne / kakahán sa tī /*
 and CON:speak only it:AML
 ‘And it just said,

ndé kwi katīn ndu-n ndaha kó/
 how CON:happen CON:grab INT-you:SG hand me
 “Why are you grabbing my hand?”

sá kahan tī.
 SO CON:speak it:AML
 it said.’

- 7.16 *tsí tē nā ne / nakīhshi ú*
 because if NEG and POT:CAUS:COME I
 ‘“Because if not, I’ll kick (you with)

un dīhīn dātsin kó san /
 one foot left me that
 my left foot,

ne / un tsi nde maa i kan
 and one LIM against under UN there
 and I’ll leave you

nashnúu ú o /
 POT:REP:COL:be:in:SG I you:SG
 ALL THE WAY DOWN THERE!”

sá kahan tī
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.’

- 7.17 *ne nákihīn ndīhshe sá tsi ∅*
 and COM:CAUS:go truly only LIM UN
 ‘And it really did kick (it with)

dīhīn dātsin i /
 foot left UN
 its left foot,

ne ikan tsī tīn ndēe túku dīhīn tī
 and there LIM COM:grab against REP foot it:AML
 and RIGHT THERE its foot stuck again.’

- 7.18 *ne / kakahan túku tī /*
 and CON:speak REP it:AML
 ‘And again it said,

ndé kwi katīn ndu-n dīhīn kó /
 how CON:happen CON:grab INT-you:SG foot me
 “Why are you grabbing my foot?”

sa kahan t̃i
 SO CON:speak it:AML
 it said.'

- 7.19 *tsí tē ñá ne /*
 because if NEG and
 ' "Because if not,

nak̃hshi u d̃h̃in kwāha kó san /
 POT:CAUS:come I foot right me that
 I'll kick (you with) my right foot,

ne un tsi nde dáha kan
 and one LIM against over there
 and I'll toss you

nakw̃tá u o / sá kahan t̃i
 POT:CAUS:go:down I you:SG so CON:speak it:AML
 WAY OVER THERE!" it said.'

- 7.20 *ne / nákh̃in nd̃hshe sá tsi ∅*
 and COM:CAUS:go truly only LIM UN
 'And it really did kick (it) just then

d̃h̃in kwāha i /
 foot right UN
 (with) its right foot,

ne ikan ts̃i t̃in ndēe túku ∅
 and there LIM COM:grab against REP UN
 and RIGHT THERE it stuck again.'

- 7.21 *ne / kakahan t̃i / ndé kwi*
 and CON:speak it:AML how CON:happen
 'And it said, "Why

katĩn ndu-n d̃h̃in kó / sa kahan t̃i
 CON:grab INT-you:SG foot me so CON:speak it:AML
 are you grabbing my foot?" it said.'

7.22 *tsí tē nā́ ne /*
 because if NEG and
 ‘ “Because if not,

nakīhshi ú nda dā́sin kó san /
 POT:CAUS:COME I hand left me that
 I’ll hit (you with) my left hand,

ne un tsi nde maa i kan
 and one LIM against under UN there
 and I’ll toss you

nakwī́tá u o / sá kahan tí
 POT:CAUS:go:down I you:SG so CON:speak it:AML
 WAY DOWN THERE!’ it said.’

7.23 *ne / ná́kā́hin túku sá tsi ∅*
 and COM:CAUS:GO REP only LIM UN
 ‘And it punched (it) again just then

nda dā́sin i /
 hand left UN
 (with) its left paw,

ne ikan tsí tī́n ndéé ndī́hi ndaha i
 and there LIM COM:grab against all hand UN
 and all its paws stuck RIGHT THERE.’

7.24 *ne ikan tsí tī́n ndéé kanií ∅ kī́daa*
 and there LIM COM:grab against whole UN then
 ‘And the whole thing stuck then RIGHT THERE.’

7.25 *ne / kó da kā́ka chu ndā́a ∅*
 and ? only CON:speak ? straight UN
 ‘And it was sitting there in the cornfield

uví ∅ má itú kā́n /
 CON:sit:SG UN under cornfield there
 doing nothing but hollering

dá shēe tánū tó itú san
 when COM:arrive female owner cornfield that
 when the owner of the cornfield arrived.'

- 7.26 *ne / dōo diní tun / é tūví tì*
 and INTS happy her CMP CON:sit:SG it:AML
 'And she was delighted (to find) it sitting

má itú kán / dá sheé tun
 under cornfield there when COM:arrive she
 there in the cornfield when she arrived.'

- 7.27 *ne / náku nīhi tún tì /*
 and COM:REP:become with she it:AML
 'And she picked it up

kunú nīhi tun tì nú vihi tún kán
 INC:return with she it:AML face house her there
 and took it home with her.'

- 7.28 *ne / dā násheé tun*
 and when COM:REP:arrive she
 'And when she got back

nú vihi tún kán ne /
 face house her there and
 to her house,

shnu kutū tún tì ini akú kán
 COM:COL:be:in:SG tight she it:AML insides fence there
 she locked it up in a cage.'

- 7.29 *ne / ikán nuu tì /*
 and there CON:be:in:SG it:AML
 'And it was in THERE

sheé a shté san ne / katsishehē ∅ /
 COM:arrive DIM coyote that and CON:ask UN
 when the coyote arrived, and it asked,

ndé o de-n /
 how CON:exist CON:do-you:SG
 “What are you doing

kwán o nuu-n íha /
 thus CON:exist CON:be:in:SG-you:SG here
 in here like this?”

sá kahan á shteé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.’

7.30 *íha nuu ú / kade tsiñu ú /*
 here CON:be:in:SG I CON:do work I
 ‘ “I’m in HERE working,”

sa kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

7.31 *katsishehē á shteé san tí /*
 CON:ask DIM coyote that it:AML
 ‘The coyote asked it,

vāhá ō kandáhvi ña o /
 good CON:exist CON:pay person you:SG
 “Do they pay you WELL?”

sá kahan á shteé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.’

7.32 *kandávi váha ñā kó /*
 CON:pay good person me
 ‘ “They pay me well,”

sá kahan á tsídō san
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

- 7.33 *ne / dōo vá o kaito ña kó dī /*
 and INTS good CON:exist CON:look person me also
 ‘ “And they also take VERY GOOD care of me,”

sá kahan tī
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.’

- 7.34 *daha kân dī ne / iha kakahan ña /*
 over there also and here CON:speak person
 ‘ “Moreover,¹ NOW they say

é kâni vihi ú nī dyóko ñā /
 CMP POT:set:up house I with daughter person
 that I should marry their daughter,”

sá kahan a tsídō san
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

- 7.35 *kūdii dá kakáhan ña /*
 merely only CON:speak it:AML
 ‘It was only saying (that)

da ii kukūi ∅ nima á shtéé san /
 when ? POT:go:down UN heart DIM coyote that
 in order that the coyote would agree (Sp. *ánima*)

nakunúu ∅
 POT:REP:get:in:SG UN
 to get in

kwenda iña tī
 account thing it:AML
 in its place (Sp. *cuenta*).’

- 7.36 *sá kahan tī tsí ña shkúndení tī /*
 so CON:speak it:AML because NEG CON:like it:AML
 ‘It said that it didn’t want

¹The expression *daha kân dī* is an idiom meaning ‘moreover’.

é kani vi nihi t̄ dyóko ñā
 CMP POT:set:up house with it:AML daughter person
 to marry their daughter.'

- 7.37 *ndá tē d̄ ðivi ka ku ndō /*
 but if also same more EMPH you:PL
 ' "If only (it were) YOU!"

sá kahan t̄ nī á shtéé san
 so CON:speak it:AML with DIM coyote that
 it said to the coyote.'

- 7.38 *ndāa kahan-n /*
 straight CON:speak-you:SG
 ' "Are you telling THE TRUTH?"

sá kahan á shtéé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.'

- 7.39 *tē d̄ kaindeni ndo ne /*
 if also CON:like you:PL and
 ' "If you'd like to,

nakunúu ndo
 POT:REP:get:in:SG you:PL
 get in (here)

kwenda iñá ko /
 account thing me
 in my place,"

sá kahan a tsídō san
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.'

- 7.40 *tsi dōo kandini i ndé koo*
 because INTS CON:worry UN how POT:exist
 'For it was very worried about how

nakáku \emptyset / *e* *téku* *i*
 POT:REP:be:born UN CMP COM:hear UN
 it would escape, having heard

é *kāhan* *tun* *é* *tāka* *ihni*
 CMP COM:speak she CMP poker hot
 her say that she would

kāmi *nuu* *tún* *etí* *i*
 POT:burn face she bottom UN
 burn its bottom WITH A HOT POKER.'

7.41 *ne* / *á* *shtéé* *san* *ne* /
 and DIM coyote that and
 'As for the coyote,

kūkī *ndihshe* *sá* *tsi* \emptyset *nima* *i* /
 INC:go:down truly only LIM UN heart UN
 it really did just then agree

nakunúu \emptyset
 POT:REP:get:in:SG UN
 to get in

kwenda *iña* *tí*
 account thing it:AML
 in place of it.'

7.42 *tsi* *dóo* *diní* *i* / *é* *kāhan* *tí*
 because INTS happy UN CMP COM:speak it:AML
 'For it was very happy that it said

é *divi* \emptyset *kani* *vi* *nihī* \emptyset
 CMP same UN POT:set:up house with UN
 that IT should be the one to marry

dyóko *ñā*
 daughter person
 their daughter.'

- 7.43 *ne ikān nakáku tí/*
 and there COM:REP:be:born it:AML
 ‘And THERE it escaped,

ne / kwéhen tĩ
 and INC:go it:AML
 and it took off.’

- 7.44 *ne / dā kwáa ne / kakahan túku tún /*
 and when COM:become:late and CON:speak REP she
 ‘And when it got late, she said,

nē ndú ura kami núu o tāka ihni
 what INT hour POT:burn face we:IN poker hot
 “What time (Sp. *hora*) shall we burn

etĩ i é nuu
 bottom UN CMP CON:be:in:SG
 with a hot poker the bottom of that one

ini akú kān / kahan tún
 insides fence there CON:speak she
 that is in the cage?” she said.’

- 7.45 *ne / da kúduhva á shteé san /*
 and only COM:become:thus DIM coyote that
 ‘And the coyote was astonished

da téku i é kāhan tun
 when COM:hear UN CMP COM:speak she
 when it heard her say that she was going to

é kāmi nuu tún tāka ihni etĩ i
 CMP POT:burn face she poker hot bottom UN
 burn its bottom with a hot poker.’

- 7.46 *ne / kidāā ne / dōo dé kwe iní i /*
 and then and INTS COM:do measure insides UN
 ‘And so then, it thought very hard,

ndé koo ndu / é kwan koó Ø /
 how POT:exist INT CMP thus POT:exist UN
 ‘How can this be?’

sá kahan á shteé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.’

7.47 *duhva ndū ó sa*
 thus INT CON:exist only
 ‘ “Is THIS why the fellow

un inu na inúu díhna /
 one COM:run he COM:get:in:SG earlier
 who was in (here) before ran (away)?”

sá kahan á shteé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.’

7.48 *vihí a ve ne / tahvi o Ø vē /*
 while here now and POT:break we:IN UN now
 ‘ “In a little while now we will break it

dá ndü ò /
 when POT:REP:go:down we:IN
 and get out,”

sá kahan á shteé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.’

7.49 *ne / tahvi ndíhshe tí Ø /*
 and COM:break truly it:AML UN
 ‘And it really did break it,

né dā ndü tí
 and when COM:REP:go:down it:AML
 and then it got out.’

7.50 *ne dā ndū tì ne /*
 and when COM:REP:go:down it:AML and
 ‘And when it got out,

dōó dutsī kwini tì
 INTS angry CON:feel it:AML
 it was very angry.’

7.51 *vevií tsi kahshi tì a tsidō sán*
 today LIM POT:eat it:AML DIM rabbit that
 ‘It was going to eat that rabbit RIGHT AWAY.’

7.52 *ne kakahan tì / vihi a ve ne /*
 and CON:speak it:AML while here now and
 ‘And it said, “In a little while now

kì nandúku o ī/
 POT:go POT:REP:look:for we:IN UN
 we’ll go look for it,

ne dá káhshi o i /
 and when POT:eat we:IN UN
 and then we’ll eat it,”

sá kahan á shtéé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.’

7.53 *ne / kwéhen ndíhshe tì /*
 and INC:go truly it:AML
 ‘And it really did go

ku nandúku tì a tsidō san
 INC:go POT:REP:look:for it:AML DIM rabbit that
 look for the rabbit

dá káhshi tì i
 when POT:eat it:AML UN
 to eat it.’

- 7.54 *ne / dā náníhi t̃i i ne /*
 and when COM:REP:get it:AML UN and
 'And when it found it, it was already

é maestrú sa tsi kade ∅
 already teacher only LIM CON:do UN
 just then acting as a teacher (Sp. *maestro*).'

- 7.55 *nuu sá ∅ / kanakwahā ∅ /*
 CON:be:in:SG only UN CON:CAUS:learn UN
 'It was inside teaching

dá shee t̃i
 when COM:arrive it:AML
 when it arrived.'

- 7.56 *ne / dā shee t̃i ne /*
 and when COM:arrive it:AML and
 'And when it arrived,

kakahan t̃i / ndé o de-n /
 CON:speak it:AML how CON:exist CON:do-you:SG
 it said, "What are you doing

kwán o nuu-n iha /
 thus CON:exist CON:be:in:SG-you:SG here
 in here like this?"

sá kahan t̃i
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.'

- 7.57 *iha nuu ú a /*
 here CON:be:in:SG I here
 ' "Here I am in HERE,"

sá kahan a tsídō san
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.'

7.58 *ne / kakahan á shtéé san /*
 and CON:speak DIM coyote that
 ‘And the coyote said,

vihí a ve ne /
 while here now and
 “In a little while now,

kahshi ú o ve / sá kahan tí
 POT:eat I you:SG now so CON:speak it:AML
 ‘I’m going to eat you!” it said.’

7.59 *ne / a tsídō sán ne / kakahan tí /*
 and DIM rabbit that and CON:speak it:AML
 ‘And as for the rabbit, it said,

ndé kwi kahshí ndo ko /
 how CON:happen POT:eat you:PL me
 “Why are you going to eat me?”

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

7.60 *te kākakin ndo ne /*
 if CON:be:hungry you:PL and
 ‘ “If you’re hungry,

nakwaha ndo na kwetsī sán /
 POT:CAUS:learn you:PL boy small:PL that
 you teach the children,

ne nā ká kihí u é káhshi ndo /
 and HORT POT:go POT:take I UN POT:eat you:PL
 and let me go get something for you to eat!”

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

- 7.61 *ne / a shteé san ne / kakahan tí /*
 and DIM coyote that and CON:speak it:AML
 ‘And as for the coyote, it said,

ñáhā / tsí divī-n é káhshi ú o /
 no because same-you:SG CMP POT:eat I you:SG
 “No, because YOU are the one I’m going to eat,”

sá kahan tí
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.’

- 7.62 *ñáhā / sá kahan a tsídō sán*
 no so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 ‘ “No!” said the rabbit.’

- 7.63 *nakwāha ndo na kwetsi sán /*
 POT:CAUS:learn you:PL boy small:PL that
 ‘ “You teach the children;

nā ké kihí u é káhshi ndo /
 HORT POT:go POT:take I UN POT:eat you:PL
 let me go get something for you to eat!”

sá kahan tí
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.’

- 7.64 *ne / kúkī sa tsí ∅*
 and INC:go:down only LIM UN
 ‘And the coyote just then

nima á shteé san
 heart DIM coyote that
 agreed to it.’

- 7.65 *ndāa kahan-n / sá kahan tí*
 straight CON:speak-you:SG so CON:speak it:AML
 ‘ “Do you mean it?” it said.’

- 7.66 *ne / kīhi sá tsi á shteé san regla /*
 and COM:take only LIM DIM coyote that ruler
 ‘And the coyote just picked up a ruler (Sp. *regla*)

kánakwaha ∅ na kwetsī sán
 CON:CAUS:learn UN boy small:PL that
 and taught the children.’

- 7.67 *ne / kakahán sa ∅ / “atención, niños” /*
 and CON:speak only UN attention children
 ‘And it just said, “Attention (Sp.),

sá kahan á shteé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 children (Sp. *niños*)!” said the coyote.’

- 7.68 *ne dōtó kandétu tī*
 and haphazardly CON:wait it:AML
 ‘And it waited in vain (to find out)

né ura nasheé a tsidō san /
 what hour POT:REP:arrive DIM rabbit that
 what time the rabbit would get back

é kū nakihí tī
 CMP INC:go POT:REP:take it:AML
 from going to get

é kāhshi á shteé san
 UN POT:eat DIM coyote that
 something for the coyote to eat.’

- 7.69 *mīhi ndu kū nakihí tī ∅*
 where INT INC:go POT:REP:take it:AML UN
 ‘Where did it ever go get it?’

- 7.70 *tsí kudü inu kwehen tī*
 because merely COM:run completely it:AML
 ‘For it simply ran away.’

- 7.71 *ne dā ña ni nashée kwéhen t̄i*
 and when NEG CF COM:REP:arrive completely it:AML
 ‘And when it didn’t arrive back at all,

ne / kwéhēn á shtéé san /
 and INC:go DIM coyote that
 the coyote went

kū nandúku t̄i t̄i
 INC:go POT:REP:look:for it:AML it:AML
 to look for it.’

- 7.72 *ne / dā náníhi t̄i a tsídō sán*
 and when COM:REP:get it:AML DIM rabbit that
 ‘And when it found the rabbit,

ne / e dík̄i tun m̄hnde tsí kan
 and already head tree prickly:pear LIM there
 the rabbit was already perched

ndēku a tsídō sán
 CON:be:on:SG DIM rabbit that
 ON TOP OF A PRICKLY PEAR.’

- 7.73 *ne / dā shee á shtéé san ne /*
 and when COM:arrive DIM coyote that and
 ‘And when the coyote arrived,

kakahan t̄i / ndé o de-n /
 CON:speak it:AML how CON:exist CON:do-you:SG
 it said, “What are you doing,

kwán o ndeku-n a/
 thus CON:exist CON:be:on:SG-you:SG here
 sitting up here like this?”

sá kahan t̄i
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.’

- 7.74 *iha ndekú u /*
 here CON:be:on:SG I
 ‘“I’m sitting UP HERE

kaehshi ú káí mihndé san /
 CON:eat I fruit prickly:pear that
 eating the prickly pears,”

sá kahan a tsídō san
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

- 7.75 *vihí a ve ne / nuu-n*
 while here now and POT:come:down-you:SG
 ‘“So now, come down

ñuhu a / dá káhshi ú o /
 ground here when POT:eat I you:SG
 to the ground here; then I’ll eat you!”

sá kahan á shité san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.’

- 7.76 *ne / kakahan a tsídō san /*
 and CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 ‘And the rabbit said,

ndé kwi kahshi ndó ko /
 how CON:happen POT:eat you:PL me
 “Why are you going to eat me?”

sá kahan í
 so CON:speak it
 it said.’

- 7.77 *ña káhshi ndo é kaehshi ú san /*
 NEG POT:eat you:PL UN CON:eat I that
 ‘“Won’t you eat what I’m eating?”’

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.'

- 7.78 *ñáhā / tsí divī-n é káhshi ú o /*
 no because same-you:SG CMP POT:eat I you:SG
 '“No, because IT'S YOU that I'm going to eat!”

sá kahan á shtéé sán
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.'

- 7.79 *ñáhā / kahshí ka ndo é kaehshi ú san ni /*
 no POT:eat more you:PL UN CON:eat I that therefore
 '“No, eat what I'm eating!”

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.'

- 7.80 *ña dínī ndo / e dóo vá ehshí ∅ /*
 NEG happy you:PL CMP INTS good CON:eat UN
 '“Aren't you glad that it really tastes good?”

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.'

- 7.81 *ñáhā / tsí divī-n é káhshi ú o /*
 no because same-you:SG CMP POT:eat I you:SG
 '“No, because it's YOU that I'm going to eat!”

sá kahan á shtéé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.'

- 7.82 *ne / kaehshí a tsídō sán /*
 and CON:eat DIM rabbit that
 'And the rabbit (went on) eating,

ñā káde t̄ kwenda
 NEG CON:do it:AML account
 not paying any attention.'

- 7.83 *un tsi kúkwehe shúhu t̄ /*
 one LIM COM:become:red mouth it:AML
 'Its mouth got all red

kaeshi t̄ k̄it̄ mihndé san
 CON:eat it:AML fruit prickly:pear that
 from eating the prickly pears.'

- 7.84 *ne / kakahān t̄ /*
 and CON:speak it:AML
 'And it said,

ñā tē ndé kaa vá ēhshi é kaēhshi ú /
 NEG if how CON:be good CON:eat UN CON:eat I
 "These things I'm eating taste REALLY GOOD,"

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.'

- 7.85 *ñā káshi ndíhshe ndú ndo ∅ /*
 NEG POT:eat truly INT you:PL UN
 ' "Won't you really eat any?"

sá kahan t̄ nī á shtéé san
 so CON:speak it:AML with DIM coyote that
 it said to the coyote.'

- 7.86 *ñáhā / tsí divī-n*
 no because same-you:SG
 ' "No, because it's YOU

é vevíí tsi kahshi ú o / kwini ko /
 CMP today LIM POT:eat I you:SG CON:feel me
 that I'm going to eat RIGHT NOW, I think,"

sá kahan á shteé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.'

- 7.87 *ñáhā / sá kahan a tsídō sán*
 no so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 '“No!” said the rabbit.'

- 7.88 *kahshí ka ndo é kaēhshi ú sa ni /*
 POT:eat more you:PL UN CON:eat I this therefore
 '“Eat what I'm eating!”'

sá kahan tí nī á shteé san
 so CON:speak it:AML with DIM coyote that
 it said to the coyote.'

- 7.89 *ne / kúkī ∅ nima á shteé san /*
 and INC:go:down UN heart DIM coyote that
 'And the coyote agreed

éhshi ∅ ∅
 COM:eat UN UN
 to eat it.'

- 7.90 *uun tsi ∅ nakihshi-n /*
 one LIM UN POT:CAUS:come-you:SG
 '“Toss me JUST ONE;

na kōto ndeé u ∅ ni /
 HORT POT:look against I UN therefore
 let me try it then!"

sá kahan á shteé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.'

- 7.91 *ne / náköshó ndihshe tí uun ∅ /*
 and COM:CAUS:fall truly it:AML one UN
 'And it really did drop one

éhshi á shtéé san
 COM:eat DIM coyote that
 for the coyote to eat.'

- 7.92 *ndá tsi dihna de váha tì iñu i /*
 but LIM earlier COM:do good it:AML thorn UN
 'But FIRST it removed its spines;

da shēhé tì ∅ /
 when COM:give it:AML UN
 then it gave it

éhshi á shtéé san
 COM:eat DIM coyote that
 to the coyote to eat.'

- 7.93 *ne / kakahan túku a tsídō san /*
 and CON:speak REP DIM rabbit that
 'And the rabbit said again,

kahshí ka ndo ∅ / sá kahan tì
 POT:eat more you:PL UN so CON:speak it:AML
 "Eat another one!" it said.'

- 7.94 *uun sá ∅ nakwítá-n /*
 one only UN POT:CAUS:go:down-you:SG
 ' "Toss down JUST ONE MORE

na káhshi ú ∅ / sá kahan á shtéé san
 HORT POT:eat I UN so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 for me to eat!" said the coyote.'

- 7.95 *nákwítá ndihshe tì uun ká ∅*
 COM:CAUS:go:down truly it:AML one more UN
 'It really did toss another one down.'

- 7.96 *ndá tsi ña ni de váha ká tì iñu i*
 but LIM NEG CF COM:do good more it:AML thorn UN
 'But it no longer removed its spines.'

- 7.97 *ne / kakahan tí /*
and CON:speak it:AML
'And it said,

ndá tsi ña níhi kahshi ndó/
but LIM NEG POT:get POT:eat you:PL
'But you won't get any of it to eat

te nakwítá u Ø
if POT:CAUS:go:down I UN
'if I toss it down.'

- 7.98 *tsi sáha ne / un váha tsi itsi Ø*
because this and one good LIM ripe UN
'Because this one, it's REALLY ripe.'

- 7.99 *te nakōhshó u Ø ne/*
if POT:CAUS:fall I UN and
'If I drop it,

dikán tsi kunaa Ø /
same:there LIM POT:become:lost UN
'it'll get spoiled RIGHT THERE,"

sá kahan tí ní á shteé san
so CON:speak it:AML with DIM coyote that
'it said to the coyote.'

- 7.100 *ndíká ndo shuhu ndo /*
POT:open you:PL mouth you:PL
' "Open your mouth;

na nakōshó nuu ú Ø /
HORT POT:CAUS:fall face I UN
'let me drop it in!"

sá kahan tí ní á shteé san
so CON:speak it:AML with DIM coyote that
'it said to the coyote.'

- 7.101 *ne / ndíká ndih:she sá tsi ∅*
 and COM:open tr_L only LIM UN
 ‘And it really did just n open

shuhu i / ne dē nakwíta nuu tì
 mouth UN and when COM:CAUS:go:down face it:AML
 its mouth, and then it tossed

shuhu i kiti iñu sán
 mouth UN fruit thorny that
 that spiny fruit down into ITS MOUTH.’

- 7.102 *ne / ikan tsī inú tāhu ∅*
 and there LIM COM:get:in:SG tight UN
 ‘And it got stuck RIGHT THERE

ini dukun i kan
 insides neck UN there
 in its throat.’

- 7.103 *ne / kó da kanatūví ∅ kúñu i /*
 and ? only CON:CAUS:roll UN body UN
 ‘And it just went tumbling

kwēhen ∅ máa i kán
 INC:go UN under UN there
 down (the hill).’

- 7.104 *ne / da nē núu nánehe tì /*
 and when whole COM:come:down quickly it:AML
 ‘And in the meantime, it quickly got down

ínu tì
 COM:run it:AML
 (and) ran away.’

- 7.105 *ne / dá ndē shee tsóko /*
 and when against POT:arrive ant
 ‘And it wasn’t until some ants arrived

dā nátavá tì kitì iñu san
 when COM:REP:take:out it:AML fruit thorny that
 that they removed the spiny fruit

dukun á shteé san
 neck DIM coyote that
 from the coyote's throat.'

7.106 *da kidáā nákaká ∅ / kwehen ∅*
 when then COM:REP:walk UN INC:go UN
 'Then it finally escaped (and) took off.'

7.107 *ne kakahán tūku á shteé san /*
 and CON:speak REP DIM coyote that
 'And the coyote again said,

nda víhi a ve ne /
 but while here now and
 "But in a little while now

kì nandúku o ñña ko ve /
 POT:go POT:REP:look:for we:IN thing us:IN now
 we'll go look for our thing now;

dā kāhshi o i /
 when POT:eat we:IN UN
 then we'll eat it,"

sá kahan á shteé san
 so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.'

7.108 *ne kwéhen ndíhshe sa á shteé san /*
 and INC:go truly only DIM coyote that
 'And the coyote really did then go

ku nandúku tī a tsídō sán
 INC:go POT:REP:look:for it:AML DIM rabbit that
 to look for the rabbit.'

7.109 *ne / dā náníhi t̃ a tsídō sán ne /*
 and when COM:REP:get it:AML DIM rabbit that and
 ‘And when it found the rabbit,

é ikan tsī nuu sá ∅
 already there LIM CON:be:in:SG only UN
 it was already RIGHT THERE

diñi ndute kân
 side water there
 beside the river.’

7.110 *ne / dā shee á shtéé san ne /*
 and when COM:arrive DIM coyote that and
 ‘And when the coyote arrived,

katsishehe t̃ / ndé o de-n /
 CON:ask it:AML how CON:exist CON:do-you:SG
 it asked, “What are you doing

kwán o nuu-n íha/
 thus CON:exist CON:be:in:SG-you:SG here
 here like this?”

sá kahan t̃
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.’

7.111 *ne / kakahan á shtéé san /*
 and CON:speak DIM coyote that
 ‘And the coyote said,

vihí a ve ne / kahshi ú o ve /
 while here now and POT:eat I you:SG now
 “In a little while now I’m going to eat you!”

sá kahan t̃
 so CON:speak it:AML
 it said.’

- 7.112 *ndé kwi káhshi ndó ko /*
 how CON:happen POT:eat you:PL me
 ‘ “Why are you going to eat me?”’

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

- 7.113 *ndé kwi éni ndâhvi ku-n*
 how CON:happen COM:set:up poor EMPH-you:SG
 ‘ “Why did you indeed deceive me?”’

kó kwan / sá kahan á shteé san
 me thus so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 said the coyote.’

- 7.114 *ne / kakahan a tsídō sán /*
 and CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 ‘And the rabbit said,

ama éni ndâhvi u ndo /
 when COM:set:up poor I you:PL
 “When did I ever deceive you?”’

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

- 7.115 *shú ne / ñá íní u /*
 I and NEG CON:know I
 ‘ “Me, I don’t know

kwán o kahan ndó san /
 thus CON:exist CON:speak you:PL that
 what you’re talking about,”

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.’

7.116 *vevii tsi kahshi ú o /*
 today LIM POT:eat I you:SG
 ‘ “I’m going to eat you RIGHT NOW,

kwini ko / sá kahan á shté san
 CON:feel me so CON:speak DIM coyote that
 I think,” said the coyote.’

7.117 *ñáhā / sá kahan a tsidō sán*
 no so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 ‘ “No!” said the rabbit.’

7.118 *ne kwéhen tsī a tsidō san*
 and INC:go LIM DIM rabbit that
 ‘And the rabbit just went

iní ndute san
 insides water that
 into the water.’

7.119 *ne / kakahan tī /*
 and CON:speak it:AML
 ‘And it said,

tē njo kahshi ndó ko ne /
 if CON:want POT:eat you:PL me and
 “If you want to eat me,

kihshi ndó / vata ō véhshī ú san
 POT:come you:PL as CON:exist INC:come I that
 come after me (lit. as I have come).’

7.120 *ne / tē she ndikin ndó ko ne /*
 and if POT:arrive CON:follow you:PL me and
 ‘And if you catch up with me,

dá kāhshi ndó ko /
 when POT:eat you:PL me
 then eat me!”

sá kahan a tsídō sán
 so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
 said the rabbit.'

- 7.121 *ne / kwéhen ndíhshe sá tsi á shteé san*
 and INC:go truly only LIM DIM coyote that
 'And the coyote really did just then go (in).'

- 7.122 *ne / ikan tsī téni á shteé san*
 and there LIM COM:drown DIM coyote that
 'And the coyote drowned RIGHT THERE

nú ndute kán
 face water there
 in the water.'

- 7.123 *ne / ikán ndíhi kwendu*
 and there COM:finish story
 'And THERE ends the story

iña a tsído nī á shteé
 thing DIM rabbit with DIM coyote
 about the rabbit and the coyote.'