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

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

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**A Syntactic Sketch of  
Silacayoapan Mixtec**

Jäna K. Shields

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# Introduction

## 0.1 Orientation

Silacayoapan Mixtec is spoken by 3,000–5,000 people living in a dozen or more small towns that form part of the municipal center of Silacayoapan, Oaxaca, Mexico. Each town has some dialectal variation from the others. The data for this sketch were collected in the town of San Jerónimo Progreso, which has about 1,500 inhabitants.

Before the construction of a road into San Jerónimo around 1969, the people were fairly isolated. They did make occasional trips on foot along the trade routes to other Mixtec areas on the Pacific coast in the state of Oaxaca. Due to the poor condition of the soil, however, they have been forced for several decades to supplement their income by leaving the area and seeking outside employment as seasonal agricultural laborers. In the 1930s and 1940s most of them went to Veracruz to cut sugar cane, and in the 1950s many of them went to the United States. At present, most men and many women leave the area for part of each year to work in Culiacán, Sinaloa, in Tijuana, Baja California, or in California, U.S.A. Over the past fifteen years their economic condition has greatly improved due to the availability of outside work. Several people now own trucks in which they haul building materials and food staples. This outside contact has enabled some of the men to learn Spanish to a certain extent, though few are yet fluent. Although the women often accompany the men, they have learned very little Spanish, and most children learn Mixtec as their first language. A few men have brought Spanish-speaking wives into the town, and their children grow up bilingual.

Until about 1970, the presence of a school teacher in San Jerónimo was intermittent. Even so, a few men learned to read Spanish either in the village or in the places they went to find employment. About 1970 the Mexican government helped the people of the village construct the first of several new schoolrooms. To date, six grades are available, with many of the children in attendance.

This sketch is based on data gathered during fieldwork in San Jerónimo Progreso beginning in 1972. I am especially indebted to Joanne North, my colleague and co-worker in the study of Silacayoapan Mixtec. The principal language associates have been Lorenzo Martínez Ramírez, Paulino Alvarado Ramírez, and Manuel Morales B. The text in chapter 7 was dictated by Lorenzo Martínez Ramírez in March 1973; he was then about twenty-five years old.

In compiling this sketch, extensive use was made of a concordance of Silacayoapan Mixtec prepared in 1973 on the IBM 1410 computer at the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, under Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

## 0.2 Phonology

Silacayoapan Mixtec has the following phonological units: voiceless stops and affricate *p t ch k kw*, voiced stop *g* (Spanish loans), prenasalized stops and affricate *mb nd nj ng*, voiceless fricatives *s sh x*, voiced fricatives *v d y*, nasals *m n ñ*, liquids *l r*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e a o u* (central rounded), nasalized vowels *in en an un*, surface form tones high (written with acute accent), mid (written with macron), and low (unmarked). The phonology of Silacayoapan Mixtec is described more fully in North and Shields (1977).

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# 1 Basic Sentences

## 1.1 Statements

Verbs fall into three classes—content, equative, and stative—which serve to define sentence types. Sentences with content verbs are impersonal, intransitive, or transitive; transitive and intransitive sentences optionally take various kinds of adjuncts. Equative sentences link a subject to a nominal complement by means of an equative verb. Stative sentences link a subject and a stative verb; sometimes this linkage is provided by another verb. Each of these sentence types may take a peripheral element such as location and/or time. They may also have any element within them fronted to indicate focus. In addition, each type may be used as a sentential complement in 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.

*táān*

CON:quake

‘There is an earthquake.’

*na kwāā*

COM COM:be:night

‘It became night.’

*na kānāá*

COM COM:get:dark

‘It got dark.’

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

*vashī i*  
 CON:come I  
 'I am coming.'

*kíxí ndó*  
 CON:sleep you:RES  
 'You are sleeping.'

*kándúhu da*  
 CON:be:lying he  
 'He is lying down.'

*na ndíkoō ní*  
 COM COM:get:up it:AML  
 'It got up.'

*na saa tinā*  
 COM COM:arrive dog  
 'The dog arrived.'

(See also 7.5, 7.24, 7.27, and various others.)

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

*shīhī rí tikwí*  
 CON:drink it:AML water  
 'It drinks water.'

*sáhnu da yúto*  
 CON:break he stick  
 'He breaks the stick (in two).'

*xíkó nā nuni*  
 CON:sell she corn  
 'She sells corn.'

*xítá alōhō váká*  
 CON:pull small:one cow  
 'The child leads a cow (Sp. *vaca*).'

*na sāhní da úxū*  
 COM COM:kill he deer  
 'He killed the deer.'

*kání dā tinā*  
 CON:hit he dog  
 'He is hitting the dog.'

*ndúkái da chūūn*  
 CON:look:for he work  
 'He is looking for work.'

*sáshí rí ūtū*  
 CON:eat it:AML corn:plant  
 'It is eating corn plants.'

(See also 7.29, 7.34, and 7.62.)

Reflexive action is indicated by the occurrence of the specifier *mé* or *mí* 'that very' (see 3.1.2) preceding the object pronoun. The object pronoun must agree with the subject.

*na sāhní xwáan mé da*  
 COM COM:kill John SPEC him  
 'John (Sp. *Juan*) killed himself.'<sup>1</sup>

*na shīnī dā mé da*  
 COM COM:see he SPEC him  
 'He saw himself.'

*káxā káhnū ñá mé ñá*  
 CON:do big:SG she SPEC her  
 'She is proud.'

(See also 7.51.)

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

*shíshī dā*  
 CON:eat he  
 'He is eating.'

cf. *shíshī dā xita*  
 CON:eat he tortilla  
 'He is eating tortillas.'

<sup>1</sup> Silacayoapan Mixtec pronouns do not distinguish grammatical function (see 5.4). It would therefore be more accurate to gloss them consistently by a single English form. They are, however, glossed in this sketch by the English form most appropriate in the context in order to help the reader understand the structure of the Mixtec examples more quickly.

*káxā kwíhná ñá*  
 CON:do thieflike she  
 'She is stealing.'

cf. *káxā kwíhná ñá xyuhún*  
 CON:do thieflike she money  
 'She is stealing money.'

(See also 7.3.)

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

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

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, and it has an animate, usually human, referent. When it expresses source, the locative noun that signals it is *ndáha* 'hand'; and when it expresses destination, the locative noun is a shortened form of *nuu* 'face'.

*tīn xwáan xyuhún ndáha xōsée*  
 CON:grab John money hand Joe  
 'John takes the money from Joe (Sp. *José*).'

*sáhān dā tūtū nu xōsée*  
 CON:give he paper face Joe  
 'He gives paper to Joe.'

*na xikó ñá nuni nu i*  
 COM COM:sell she corn face my  
 'She sold corn to me.'

*kween ñá nuni nu da*  
 POT:buy she corn face his  
 'She will buy corn from him.'

*chahvī i ushu pésó nu xutu*  
 POT:pay I ten peso face priest  
 'I will pay the priest ten pesos (Sp. *peso*).'



With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, depending on the meaning of the verb, but destination is more frequent. These instances of the locative adjunct usually have inanimate referents, and they are often expressed by adverbs or noun phrases unmarked by any locative noun or preposition.

Destination:

*kuhun da ñakohyó*  
 POT:go he Mexico:City  
 'He will go to Mexico City.'

*na sahan da ndüyü*  
 COM COM:go he Silacayoapan  
 'He went to Silacayoapan.'

(See also 7.8, 7.32, 7.38, 7.53, and 7.66.)

Source:

*na kēē ñá ñakohyó*  
 COM COM:leave she Mexico:City  
 'She left Mexico City.'

Source may also be expressed by a sentence combination; see 6.1.2 for examples of this construction.

With intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct usually occurs and expresses location. Its referent is commonly either inanimate or part of an animate entity.

*ndíkaan xyuhún ññi sato*  
 CON:be:in money insides box  
 'The money is in the box.'

*ndíkaan da vēkaā*  
 CON:be:in he jail  
 'He is in jail.'

*kándúhu na saha yíto*  
 CON:be:lying they foot tree  
 'They are lying down at the foot of the tree.'

(See also 7.10, 7.12, 7.28, and 7.40.)

With transitive verbs that express placement, the locative adjunct usually expresses destination.

*chikaan da xyuhún inī sato*  
 CON:put:in he money insides box  
 'He put the money in the box.'

*na chīnúū dā xita nu mésá*  
 COM COM:place:on he tortilla face table  
 'He placed the tortillas on the table (Sp. *mesa*).'

*na chindúhu ñá xáhma saha yíto*  
 COM COM:put:down she cloth foot tree  
 'She put the cloth at the foot of the tree.'

(See also 7.63.)

Locative adjuncts are often found in sentences that are metaphorical in nature; in such sentences they do not necessarily refer to a spatial entity, and the verbs are not limited to the classes mentioned above.

*na chīnúū nā kwachī xata xwáan*  
 COM COM:place:on they blame back John  
 'They blamed John.' (lit. 'They placed the blame on John's back.')

*na tāvá na da ndahá prēsídénté*  
 COM COM:take:out they him hand president  
 'They loosed him from the president's (Sp. *presidente*) power.'

The referent adjunct is marked by the locative possessed nouns *saha* 'foot', *kwéntá* 'account' (Sp. *cuenta*), *shōō* 'side', or *nuu* 'face'; or by the preposition *shihin* 'with'.

In intransitive sentences:

*sákū nā saha ndī*  
 CON:cry they foot dead:person  
 'They are crying on behalf of the dead person.'

*kwahan da ñakohyó kwéntá prēsídénté*  
 COM:go he Mexico:City account president  
 'He went to Mexico City on behalf of the president.'

*káhvī inī dā saha ñundáhyi da*  
 CON:think insides his foot field his  
 'He is thinking about his fields.'

*ndíúhún nde saha ñúú nde*  
 CON:discuss we:EX foot town our:EX  
 'We are talking about our town.'

*kwahan xwáan kwéntá pñi*  
 CON:go John account PRI  
 'John is going to represent PRI (Sp. *PRI*) (a political party).'

*káhan da saha xahyī dā*  
 CON:speak he foot child his  
 'He is speaking on behalf of his child.'

*kahan i nu ñá*  
 POT:speak I face her  
 'I will speak in her place.'

*kīñi káhan na shihin i*  
 ugly CON:speak they with me  
 'They are speaking nastily with me.'

*kīñi ndīvahā káxā nā shihin da*  
 ugly INTS CON:do they with him  
 'They act ugly towards him.'

(See also 7.43, 7.46, 7.56, 7.59, and 7.61.)

In transitive sentences:

*na kahan ñayīvi ñatuhín saha xwáan*  
 COM COM:speak people lie foot John  
 'The people told lies about John.'

*na káxā xwáan víko kwéntá xōséé*  
 COM COM:do John party account Joe  
 'John had a party for Joe.'

*xíko da nuni saha tátá da*  
 CON:sell he corn foot father his  
 'He sells corn for his father.'

*shéēn ñá yáha saha náná ñá*  
 CON:buy she chili foot mother her  
 'She buys chili for her mother.'

*sáhní xwáan kítí saha ñāñí dā*  
 CON:kill John animal foot brother:ME his  
 'John kills animals for his brother.'

The associative and instrument adjuncts are marked by the preposition *shihin* 'with'. The associative adjunct adds a second participant to some other element of the sentence, usually the subject. The instrument adjunct introduces an instrument.

## Associative:

*káhan ná shihin da*  
 CON:speak she with him  
 'She speaks to him.'

*ndáá dā kítí shihin táhān dā*  
 CON:guard he animal with companion his  
 'He guards the animals with his companions.'

*káxā chúūn dā shihin nānī dā*  
 CON:do work he with brother:ME his  
 'He is working with his brother.'

*kwahan da yúku shihin tindiki*  
 CON:go he mountain with cattle  
 'He went to the mountain with the cattle.'

*shíshī dā shihin xahyī dā*  
 CON:eat he with child his  
 'He is eating with his children.'

*na shēēn nā yáha shihin nūi*  
 COM COM:buy she chili with salt  
 'She bought chilis and salt.'

## Instrument:

*na sāhní da rí shihin yúto*  
 COM COM:kill he it:AML with stick  
 'He killed the animal with a stick.'

*na shēēn dā ndūshú shihin xyuhún*  
 COM COM:buy he chicken with money  
 'He bought a chicken with money.'

*na sahnda xwáan yúto shihin áchá*  
 COM COM:cut John tree with ax  
 'John cut the tree with an ax (Sp. *hacha*).'

*chíkaan naskwaha xwáan vēkaā shihin*  
 CON:put:in authority John jail with  
 'The town authorities put John in jail on account of the

*tuhūn na kahan xōsée*  
 word COM COM:speak Joe  
 words Joe spoke.'

*na kashī tuhūn dā nu űūū shihin űashítā*  
 COM COM:choose word he face town with loudspeaker  
 'He announced to the town by means of the loudspeaker.'

(See also 7.35.)

When instrument is expressed by a body-part noun, *shihin* may be omitted, as seen in 7.11, 7.13, 7.17, and 7.21.

Sometimes a sentence contains two adjuncts. One of the two is usually a locative, and it normally precedes the other one.

*na sahan xwáan xyuhún ndāhá xōsée saha nuni*  
 COM COM:give John money hand Joe foot corn  
 'John gave Joe money for the corn.'

*na chikaan xwáan tūtū ĩnī sato saha űānī dā*  
 COM COM:put:in John paper insides box foot brother:ME his  
 'John put the papers in the box for his brother.'

Sometimes, however, a locative adjunct follows the other one, especially if it is long or complex.

*kyahvā ndó xyuhún saha yó nu na*  
 POT:give you:RES money foot our:IN face their  
 'You will give money on our behalf to those who

*xátākā xyuhún ĩmpwéstó*  
 CON:gather money tax  
 collect tax (Sp. *impuesto*) money.'

*kahan nde shōō űá nu māéstró*  
 POT:speak we:EX side her face teacher  
 'We will speak in her favor to the teacher (Sp. *maestro*).'

Silacayoapan Mixtec speakers prefer short basic sentences. The text in chapter 7, for example, contains no sentences with two or more adjuncts. In order to express more than three elements beside the verb phrase, it is common to employ a sentence combination (see 6.1.2), which provides an extra verb to which elements can be attached.

**1.1.5 Equative sentences.** The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of an equative verb, a subject, and a nominal complement. There are only three equative verbs: *kākūū* 'to be', *kānānī* 'to be named', and *ndūū* 'to become'. If the verb is *kākūū* or *kānānī*, the basic order of elements is nominal complement—verb—subject; and if the verb is *ndūū*, the order is verb—subject—nominal complement.

*tátá da kúú xwáan*  
 father his CON:be John  
 'His father is John.'

*sāndádó kākūū xwáan*  
 soldier POT:be John  
 'John will be a soldier (Sp. *soldado*).'

*xōsée kúú da kán*  
 Joe CON:be he that  
 'That one is Joe.'

(See also 7.9, 7.15, and 7.58.)

*xwáan nāní tátá da*  
 John CON:be:named father his  
 'John is his father's name.'

*na ndūū xōsée sāndádó*  
 COM COM:become Joe soldier  
 'Joe became a soldier.'

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

*ñúchí xáhma*  
 pretty cloth  
 'The cloth is pretty.'

*kwáán lāā*  
 yellow bird  
 'The bird is yellow.'

*káhnū tinā*  
 big:SG dog  
 'The dog is big.'

(See also 7.47.)

To express an aspect other than continuative, the intransitive verb *kōō* 'to exist' is used to link the stative verb and the subject. The completive aspect of *kōō* is *na sāhiin*.

*ñúchí na sāhiin xáhma*  
 pretty COM COM:exist:SG cloth  
 'The cloth was pretty.'

*káhnū kōō tinā*  
big:SG POT:exist:SG dog  
'The dog will be big.'

*kwíká na sáhiin nā*  
rich COM COM:exist:SG they  
'He is rich.'

*axyā kōō ndíka*  
delicious POT:exist:SG banana  
'The banana will be delicious.'

Occasionally *kōō* occurs in its continuative aspect form *iin*, and it sometimes precedes the stative verb, as seen in 7.16 and 7.19.

Subjective states are expressed by a stative verb followed by *náha* 'to seem' or *káā* 'to appear (singular)'.  
'The mountain seems far away.'

*shíká náha yúku*  
far CON:seem mountain  
'The mountain seems far away.'

*ñúchí na sanáha yúku káa*  
pretty COM COM:seem mountain that  
'That mountain seemed pretty.'

*kānī káā i vīī*  
ugly CON:appear:SG I now  
'I appear ugly now.'

*kānī na sakaa i*  
ugly COM COM:appear:SG I  
'I was ugly.'

(See also 7.49.)

Change of state is expressed by the verb *ndūū* 'to become', followed by the stative verb and the subject; *ndūū* appears in all three aspects.

*na ndūū káhnū dā kán*  
COM COM:become big:SG he that  
'That man became important.'

*ndūū kwáán xáhma*  
CON:become yellow cloth  
'The cloth is yellowing.'

*ndūū yātá tinā*  
 POT:become old dog  
 'The dog will become old.'

**1.1.7 Peripheral elements.** All sentence types may indicate time and location. Peripheral location describes the setting of the entire predication and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements often occur at major transition points within the discourse. They 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 usually follow subject, object, and most adjuncts; if both location and time occur, location usually precedes time.

Time:

*na shihi rí kīnī*  
 COM COM:die it:AML yesterday  
 'It died yesterday.'

*kwahan da naha*  
 CON:go he early  
 'He went early.'

*ndūū dā prēsidenté itaan*  
 POT:become he president tomorrow  
 'He will become president tomorrow.'

*kāvahā xwáan vēhē tishī uni yoo*  
 POT:make John house stomach three moon  
 'John will build a house within three months.'

*kāxī nā vīī*  
 CON:sleep she now  
 'She is sleeping now.'

Location:

*kāvahā dā vēhē ndūyū*  
 CON:make he house Silacayoapan  
 'He is building a house in Silacayoapan.'

(See also 7.1.)

Unlike time, which is fairly common, location is relatively infrequent. It is more natural to express a location by using a sentence combination (see 6.1.2), in which one part employs a verb that takes a locative adjunct.



Even though manner normally occurs in the verb phrase (see 2.1.3), a peripheral manner occasionally occurs, as seen in 7.1, 7.25, 7.31, and 7.56.

Even though peripheral elements usually follow adjuncts, an associative adjunct sometimes follows a peripheral element.

*káxā chūūn dā vīī shihīn xwáan*  
 CON:do work he now with John'  
 'He is working now with John.'

*kāvahā dā vēhē itaan shihīn xōsée*  
 POT:make he house tomorrow with Joe  
 'He will build a house tomorrow with Joe.'

**1.1.8 Focus permutations.** In appropriate discourse contexts, any one element of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase position. Throughout this sketch focused elements are indicated by capitalization in the free translation. When the subject is focused, the appropriate clitic pronoun may also occur in normal subject position following the verb.

Subject focus:

*xwáan kíxi da*  
 John CON:sleep he  
 'JOHN is sleeping.'

*tinā shīhī rí tikwīl*  
 dog CON:drink it:AML water  
 'THE DOG is drinking water.'

*da kán nānī xwáan*  
 he that CON:be:named John  
 'THAT MAN is called John.'

*xáhma ndūū vyāxá*  
 cloth POT:become wet  
 'THE CLOTH will become wet.'

(See also 7.1.)

Object focus:

*tikwīl shīhī rí*  
 water CON:drink it:AML  
 'It is drinking WATER.'

*xyuhún na sahan ñá nu xahyī ñá*  
 money COM COM:give she face child her  
 'She gave THE MONEY to her child.'

## Adjunct focus:

*ndūyū na sahan da*  
 Silacayoapan COM COM:go he  
 'He went TO SILACAYOAPAN.'

*shihin yúto kání ñá tinā*  
 with stick CON:hit she dog  
 'She is hitting the dog WITH A STICK.'

(See also 7.4.)

## Peripheral element focus:

*kūnī na kēhē dā títo*  
 yesterday COM COM:get he firewood  
 'YESTERDAY he got firewood.'

*ñakohyó na kāvahā nā vēhē*  
 Mexico:City COM COM:make they house  
 'IN MEXICO CITY they built a house.'

(See also 7.2, 7.3, and 7.30.)

In equative sentences, the subject may be focused, in which case the nominal complement must follow the verb rather than precede it. The last two sentences of the following group contrast the order of elements when the subject is focused with the basic order.

*xwáan kākūū sāndádó*  
 John POT:be soldier  
 'JOHN will be a soldier.'

*xōsée na sākūū yū ñá*  
 Joe COM COM:be husband her  
 'JOE was her husband.'

*xwáan kúú tátá da*  
 John CON:be father his  
 'JOHN is his father.'

*tátá da kúú xwáan*  
 father his CON:be John  
 'HIS FATHER is John.'

*nānī*            *dā nānī*            *xōsée*  
 brother:ME his CON:be:named Joe  
 'HIS BROTHER is named Joe.'

cf. *xōsée nānī*            *nānī*            *dā*  
 Joe CON:be:named brother:ME his  
 'His brother is named Joe.'

When the subject of a stative sentence is focused, it is necessary to use a content verb such as *kāā* 'to appear' together with the stative verb. The order of such elements is subject—stative verb—content verb. Compare the sentences in each of the following pairs.

*xáhma nūchí kāā*  
 cloth pretty CON:appear:SG  
 'THE CLOTH appears pretty.'

cf. *nūchí kāā*            *xáhma*  
 pretty CON:appear:SG cloth  
 'The cloth appears pretty.'

*yúku*            *shíká náha*  
 mountain far CON:seem  
 'THE MOUNTAIN seems far away.'

cf. *shíká náha*            *yúku*  
 far CON:seem mountain  
 'The mountain seems far away.'

Occasionally, two elements precede the verb phrase. In 7.21 and 7.23, a peripheral manner, expressed by the repetitive marker *tūkū*, and a subject or instrument are fronted.

**1.1.9 Sentential complements.** Basic sentences occur both as subject complements and as object complements within other sentences, though object complements occur more frequently.

Subject complements occur in both intransitive and stative sentences.

In intransitive sentences, they occur with only two main verbs, *kūū* 'to be able' and *kāsáhá* 'to begin'. The subject complement immediately follows the main verb with no intervening complementizer. There are various restrictions on the complement sentence. For example, the complement must contain a verb inflected for aspect, i.e., it cannot have a stative verb alone. All combinations of aspects between the complement verb and the main verb are possible except that the main verb cannot be potential and the complement verb continuative or completive.

*kūū kuxu yó*  
 POT:be:able POT:sleep we:IN  
 'We will be able to sleep.'

*na kūū kwēēn ñá nuni*  
 COM COM:be:able POT:buy she corn  
 'She was able to buy corn.'

*na kūū na kāvahā da vēhē dā*  
 COM COM:be:able COM COM:make he house his  
 'He was able to build his house.'

*na kūū kāvahā dā yíxini*  
 COM COM:be:able POT:make he hat  
 'He was able to make hats.'

*kásáhá táká na xyuhún*  
 CON:begin CON:gather they money  
 'They are beginning to gather money.'

*na kásáhá káhan kīnī nā*  
 COM COM:begin POT:speak ugly they  
 'They began to speak nastily.'

*na kásáhá na kǎxǎ vahā nā*  
 COM COM:begin COM COM:do good they  
 'They began to do well.'

When an equative sentence serves as complement, the order is usually verb—subject—nominal complement.

*na kásáhá nānī na prī*  
 COM COM:begin CON:be:named they PRI  
 'They began being called PRI.'

*na kūū ndūū dā prēsídénté*  
 COM COM:be:able POT:become he president  
 'He was able to become president.'

When a subject complement occurs in a stative sentence, it is introduced by the prestressed pronoun *ña*, which functions as a complementizer, or, if the speaker is expressing an evaluation, by the preverbal marker *ná* 'hortatory' (see 2.1.2).

*vahā ña na sahan xwáan ndūyū*  
 good CMP COM COM:go John Silacayoapan  
 'It was good that John went to Silacayoapan.'

*vahā chá ná a kákū dā*  
 good somewhat HORT NEG POT:be:born he  
 'Better that he were not born.'

Object complements are often introduced by a complementizer. There are sometimes restrictions of subject or aspect between the matrix and complement sentences. Four types are described below: sentences with phasal verbs, those with desiderative verbs, those with a causative verb, and all others.

The phasal verbs *kāsáhá* 'to begin', *xándihī* 'to finish', and *kākwīin* 'to stop' require coreferential subjects in the matrix and complement sentences, and they take no complementizer. All three verbs show certain aspect restrictions between the two parts. For any of the three, the two verbs may agree in aspect.

*kāsáhá xwáan kāvahā dā vēhē dā*  
 POT:begin John POT:make he house his  
 'John will begin to build his house.'

*kāsáhá nā xkó nā yxcini*  
 CON:begin she CON:sell she hat  
 'She is beginning to sell hats.'

*na kāsáhá na na kahan kini na*  
 COM COM:begin they COM COM:speak uglyly they  
 'They began speaking nastily.'

*xándihī na kāvahā nā vēñuhū*  
 POT:finish they POT:make they church  
 'They will finish building the church.'

*kākwīin da kxā chíūn dā*  
 POT:stop he POT:do work he  
 'He will stop working.'

*sákwīin na káxa chíūn nā*  
 CON:stop they CON:do work they  
 'They are stopping working.'

All other aspect combinations are also permitted except that the main verb cannot be potential and the complement verb continuative or completive.

*na kāsáhá da táká da títo*  
 COM COM:begin he CON:gather he firewood  
 'He began to gather firewood.'

*na xándīhī nā kāvahā nā vēhē nā*  
 COM COM:finish they POT:make they house their  
 'They finished building their house.'

*na xándīhī ñá xíkó ñá nuni*  
 COM COM:finish she CON:sell she corn  
 'She finished selling corn.'

*na sākwiin ñá shéen ñá ndíka*  
 COM COM:stop she CON:buy she banana  
 'She has stopped buying bananas.'

The desiderative verbs *kúni* 'to want' and *ndúkú* 'to intend' allow coreferential or noncoreferential subjects. The complementizer must occur when the subjects are noncoreferential; and it occurs optionally when they are coreferential. When the subjects are coreferential and no complementizer occurs, the subject of the main verb may be unexpressed. These verbs require the complement verb to be in potential aspect. Most speakers accept *kúni* only in continuative aspect. As the main verb in sentences containing an object complement, *ndúkú* occurs only in continuative aspect.

*kúni da kuxu da*  
 CON:want he POT:sleep he  
 'He wants to sleep.'

*kúni da kuhun da yahvī*  
 CON:want he POT:go he market  
 'He wants to go to market.'

*kúni kúshū nā*  
 CON:want POT:eat they  
 'They want to eat.'

*kúni ñá ña kākā chíūn yí ñá*  
 CON:want she CMP POT:do work husband her  
 'She wants her husband to work.'

(See also 7.44.)

*ndúkú káhní nde rí*  
 CON:look:for POT:kill we:EX it:AML  
 'We were intending to kill it.'

*ndúkú rí tūn rí da*  
 CON:look:for it:AML POT:grab it:AML him  
 'The animal was intending to bite him.'

*ndúkú da káshí da tikwaá*  
 CON:look:for he POT:eat he orange  
 'He intends to eat oranges.'

*ndúkú dā ña kuhun xahyī dā yahvī ūtaan*  
 CON:look:for he CMP POT:go child his market tomorrow  
 'He intends for his children to go to market tomorrow.'

The causative verb *kāxā* 'to do' takes the complementizer *ña* and usually requires noncoreferential subjects between the two parts. All combinations of verb aspect between the two parts are possible except that the main verb cannot be potential and the complement verb continuative or completive.

*kāxā dā ña kuhun nde ndüyū ūtaan*  
 POT:do he CMP POT:go we:EX Silacayoapan tomorrow  
 'He will cause us to go to Silacayoapan tomorrow.'

*na kāxā ñá ña ūn tinā xata vēhē*  
 COM COM:do she CMP CON:exist dog back house  
 'She made the dog be outside the house.'

*káxā ñá ña shíkā xahyī ñá sākwellá*  
 CON:do she CMP CON:walk child her school  
 'She makes her children go to school (Sp. *escuela*).'

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

*kándaá inī dā ña káxi xwáan*  
 CON:be:straight insides his CMP CON:sleep John  
 'He understands that John is sleeping.'

*na kahán i ña kúú da da vahā*  
 COM COM:have:opinion I CMP CON:be he he good  
 'I had the opinion that he was a good man.'

*káhvī inī dā ña kúūn xavi ūtaan*  
 CON:think insides his CMP POT:produce rain:god tomorrow  
 'He thinks that it will rain tomorrow.'

*kándaá inī ñá na kāxā vahā ñá*  
 CON:be:straight insides her COM COM:do good she  
 'She understands she did do well.'

It is possible for sentences containing sentential complements to show focus in various ways. All of the following examples involve object com-

plements because no examples of focus in subject complements have been found to date. First of all, it is possible to focus some element within the complement sentence and to leave the order of the matrix sentence unchanged. This kind of focus occurs mainly in the type of object complement that shows few restrictions; the complementizer *ña* must occur.

*kánda*                    *ĩnĩ*    *xwáan ña*    *xōsée na*    *shihi*  
 CON:be:straight    insides John    CMP Joe    COM    COM:die  
 'John understands that JOE died.'

*na*    *shĩnĩ*                    *xohō dā ña*    *kũnĩ*                    *na*    *shihi*                    *ñá*  
 COM    COM:sense    ear    his    CMP    yesterday    COM    COM:die    she  
 'He heard that YESTERDAY she died.'

It is also possible to focus some element of the matrix sentence.

*kũnĩ*                    *na*    *shĩnĩ*                    *xohō dā ña*    *na*    *shihi*                    *ñá*  
 yesterday    COM    COM:sense    ear    his    CMP    COM    COM:die    she  
 'YESTERDAY he heard that she died.'

*xwáan na*    *shĩnĩ*                    *xohō dā ña*    *na*    *shihi*                    *ñá*  
 John    COM    COM:sense    ear    his    CMP    COM    COM:die    she  
 'JOHN heard that she died'

*kũnĩ*  
 yesterday  
 yesterday.'

A comparison of the above three examples shows that focusing the time element makes it clear whether it goes with the matrix sentence or the complement sentence. In the example immediately above, it is not clear whether *kũnĩ* 'yesterday' refers to the time John heard or to the time she died.

When the focused element of the matrix sentence is the entire complement sentence, the complementizer is omitted.

*na*    *kēē*                    *xwáan / shĩnĩ*                    *ñá*  
 COM    COM:leave    John    CON:sense    she  
 'She knew JOHN LEFT.'

*kuhun*    *ñá / káchĩ*                    *ñá*  
 POT:go    she    CON:say    she  
 'She says SHE WILL GO.'

With the main verb *kāxā* 'to do', it is common to place the object complement in sentence-initial position rather than in the usual order following the subject. No particular prominence seems to be involved.



*kāví*      *ñá / kǎxā*      *kwehe*  
 POT:die she POT:do sickness  
 'The sickness will cause the woman to die.'

*īn*                      *tīnā xata vēhē / na kǎxā dā*  
 CON:exist:SG dog back house COM COM:do he  
 'He made the dog be outside the house.'

With the main verb *kahán* 'to have an opinion', the object complement also commonly occurs in sentence-initial position. As in the case of *kǎxā* 'to do', no special prominence is implied by this order.

*kāví*      *dā / káhán*                      *da*  
 POT:die he CON:have:opinion he  
 'He thinks he will die.'

*ndáhví xwáan / káhán*                      *i*  
 poor John CON:have:opinion I  
 'I think John is poor.'

(See also 7.58.)

## 1.2 Questions

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

*á na taān*  
 INT COM COM:quake  
 'Was there an earthquake?'

*á na sāhní da tīnā*  
 INT COM COM:kill he dog  
 'Did he kill the dog?'

*á yúku na sahan da*  
 INT mountain COM COM:go he  
 'Did he go TO THE MOUNTAIN?'

*á káhvi da*  
 INT CON:be:sick he  
 'Is he sick?'

*á ñúchí káā kōtó da*  
 INT pretty CON:appear:SG shirt his  
 'Is his shirt (Sp. *cotón*) pretty?'

*á taā kán shūhi da*  
 INT man that CON:die he  
 'Is THAT MAN dying?'

*á shihin pálá da káxā chíūn dā*  
 INT with shovel his CON:do work he  
 'Is he working WITH HIS SHOVEL (Sp. *pala*)?'

*á ñá kán kúú náná da*  
 INT she that CON:be mother his  
 'Is SHE his mother?'

*á shíni ndó yehe kúú prēsídénté*  
 INT CON:sense you:RES I CON:be president  
 'Do you know I am the president?'

(See also 7.54.)

When a negative marker occurs in the verb phrase (see 2.1.2), an affirmative answer is expected.

*á ko káini ndó kúshū ndó*  
 INT NEG CON:want you:RES POT:eat you:RES  
 'Don't you want to eat?'

(See also 7.44.)

**1.2.2 WH questions.** Subjects and objects are questioned by using *yō* 'who?', *ndiā* 'what?', or an interrogative noun phrase.

Questioning subject:

*yō kthvi*  
 who CON:be:sick  
 'Who is sick?'

*yō na sahan yúku*  
 who COM COM:go mountain  
 'Who went to the mountain?'

*yō kúú da*  
 who CON:be he  
 'Who is he?'

*ndiā kánúú nu mésá*  
 what CON:be:lying:on face table  
 'What is lying on the table?'

*ndá da na sahan yúku*  
 what he COM COM:go mountain  
 'What man went to the mountain?'

*ndá kíti na ndĩñúhú*  
 what animal COM COM:get:lost  
 'What animal got lost?'

Questioning object:

*yō na kãñi xwáan*  
 who COM COM:hit John  
 'Whom did John hit?' or 'Who hit John?'

*ndiã kúni da*  
 what CON:want he  
 'What does he want?'

*ndá kōtó kúni ndó*  
 what shirt CON:want you:RES  
 'What shirt do you want?'

Adjuncts and peripheral elements are usually questioned by using interrogative adverbs, some of which are complex, or certain fixed interrogative noun phrases.

With interrogative adverbs:

*ndáhmã kishĩ ndó*  
 when POT:return you:RES  
 'When will you return?'

*ndáhmã na shihi da*  
 when COM COM:die he  
 'When did he die?'

*ndá kwahan xyuhún ndó*  
 where CON:go money your:RES  
 'Where is your money going?'

*ndá xitã sáhã xwáan*  
 where CON:sing foot John  
 'Where is John dancing?'

*ndáchí ihvi ñá*  
 where CON:hurt she  
 'Where does she hurt?'

*ndá vahā na sāhní na ndī*  
 what good COM COM:kill they dead:person  
 'Why did they kill the person?'

*ndāxā vahā na sahan da ndūyū*  
 how good COM COM:go he Silacayoapan  
 'Why did he go to Silacayoapan?'

*ndá saha keá na sahan da ndūyū*  
 what foot CON:be:it:UN COM COM:go he Silacayoapan  
 'Why did he go to Silacayoapan?'

*ndá kwéntá keá káxā chūūn nā*  
 what account CON:be:it:UN CON:do work they  
 'Why are they working?'

(See also 7.12.)

With interrogative noun phrases:

*ndá órá na shihi da*  
 what hour COM COM:die he  
 'What time (Sp. *hora*) did he die?'

*ndá chūūn vashī dā*  
 what work CON:come he  
 'Why does he come?'

*ndá saha kehē dā xyuhún*  
 what foot POT:get he money  
 'Why will he get money?'

When the possessor of a locative noun or the object of a preposition expressing an adjunct or a peripheral element is questioned, the locative noun or preposition usually remains in the normal order.

*ndá da káhan na saha*  
 what he CON:speak they foot  
 'Whom are they speaking about?'

*yō na sāhní da kóchí saha*  
 who COM COM:kill he pig foot  
 'For whom did he kill the pig (Sp. *cochino*)?'

*ndá rí kyahvā xwáan itā kwū nu*  
 what it:AML POT:give John grass green face  
 'To which animal is John going to give grass?'



say', *ndáka tuhún* 'to ask', *kahán* 'to have an opinion', *kándaá ĩnĩ* 'to understand', *kũnĩ* 'to know', and *kũnĩ xohō* 'to hear'. In either case, the indirect question is indistinguishable in form from the corresponding direct question.

Indirect YES/NO questions:

*ndáka tuhún da á na kāsaa ñānĩ dā*  
 CON:ask word he INT COM COM:arrive brother:ME his  
 'He is asking if his brother has arrived.'

*ko shĩnĩ ñá á kōhō xahyĩ ñá tata*  
 NEG CON:sense she INT POT:drink child her medicine  
 'She doesn't know if her child will drink the medicine.'

Indirect WH questions:

*ndáka tuhún nde ndá saha keá*  
 CON:ask word we:EX what foot CON:be:it:UN  
 'We were asking why he will

*kēhē dā xyuhún*  
 POT:get he money  
 get the money.'

*káhan na ndáchĩ kuhun na*  
 CON:speak they where POT:go they  
 'They were speaking about where they are going.'

*kándaá ĩnĩ i ndiā kúni da*  
 CON:be:straight insides my what CON:want he  
 'I understand what he wants.'

*na káchĩ dā yō na kāsaa kũnĩ*  
 COM COM:say he who COM COM:arrive yesterday  
 'He told who arrived yesterday.'

*na shĩnĩ xohō i ndá ñahā kámani nu da*  
 COM COM:sense ear my what thing CON:lack face his  
 'I heard what things he lacks.'

### 1.3 Commands

Second person commands are identical in form to statements with the verb in potential aspect except that they optionally add the hortatory marker *ná* (see 2.1.2).

*ndīko-ún*

POT:get:up-you:FAM

'Get up!' or 'You will get up.'

*ná ndīko-ún*

HORT POT:get:up-you:FAM

'Get up!'

*chīndēé ndó ndehe*

POT:help you:RES us:EX

'Help us!' or 'You will help us.'

*ná chīndēé ndó ndehe*

HORT POT:help you:RES us:EX

'Help us!'

*kāndāā ndó da*

POT:care:for you:RES him

'Take care of him!' or 'You will take care of him.'

*ná kāndāā ndó da*

HORT POT:care:for you:RES him

'Take care of him!'

*kahan ndó ña*

POT:speak you:RES it:INAN

'Say it!' or 'You will say it.'

*ná kahan ndó ña*

HORT POT:speak you:RES it:INAN

'Say it!'

In 7.18 and 7.20, two examples of negative commands are found.

First and third person commands must have the hortatory marker *ná*.

*ná kūshū dā*

HORT POT:eat he

'Let him eat!' (lit. 'May he eat!')

*ná kuhun i*

HORT POT:go I

'Let me go!'

*ná kāxā chūūn yó*

HORT POT:do work we:IN

'Let's work!'

*ná kāvahā yó vēhē*  
 HORT POT:make we:IN house  
 'Let's build the house!'

(See also 7.31.)

Two motion verbs have special imperative forms. These forms are used with no subject expressed to address a single person, but with a second person respect or inclusive pronoun to address more than one person.

*nāhā*  
 IMP:come  
 'Come!' (one person)

*nāhā ndó*  
 IMP:come you:RES  
 'Come!' (plural)

*kwáhán*  
 IMP:go  
 'Go!' (one person)

*kwáhán ndó*  
 IMP:go you:RES  
 'Go!' (plural)

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

*koho yó*  
 IMP:go:IN we:IN  
 'Let's go!' (three or more persons)

#### 1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur most frequently in initial and final position, but are sometimes found between the parts of complex sentences. Vocatives are always set off from the rest of the sentence by pause. Vocatives include proper names, kinship terms used in direct address, short possessive noun phrases containing kinship terms, mutual relation terms like companion, classificatory terms like child or young man, and the free second person pronouns *yóhó* 'you (familiar)' and *ndóhó* 'you (respect)'.

*taá / nāhā yóhó*  
 daddy POT:come here  
 'Daddy, come here!'



*naha yóhō / taá*  
 POT:come here daddy  
 'Come here, Daddy!'

*ndáchí kuh-un / xahyī i*  
 where POT:go-you:FAM child my  
 'Where are you going, my child?'

*ndóhó / ndáchí kuhun ndó*  
 you:RES where POT:go you:RES  
 'Where are you going?'

For further examples, see 7.7, 7.40, 7.41, and 7.44; in 7.44 a vocative occurs both at the beginning and the end of the sentence.

### 1.5 Sentential Markers

The interrogative sentential marker *á* occurs at the beginning of any basic sentence and converts it into a YES/NO question; see 1.2.1 for examples of this construction.

The hearsay sentential marker *chi* occurs sentence finally and is used by speakers to disclaim responsibility for the truth of the sentence. It is set off from the rest of the sentence by pause.

*na kǎxǎ kwíhná da xyuhūn / chi*  
 COM COM:do thieflike he money HEARSAY  
 'He stole the money, they say.'

*na kǎnī dā ñáxíhí da / chi*  
 COM COM:hit he wife his HEARSAY  
 'He hit his wife, they say.'

The sentential marker *ndūū* 'contrafactual' occurs sentence finally and means the expected activity did not take place.

*ndúkú nde kwā núhu nde kūnī ndūū*  
 CON:look:for we:EX DIR CON:go:home we:EX yesterday CF  
 'We intended to go home yesterday (but didn't).'

*vahā chá ná a kákū dā ndūū*  
 good somewhat HORT NEG POT:be:born he CF  
 'Better that he were not born (but he was).'

The general adverb *xá* 'thus' occurs at the end of a sentence to create tag questions.

*kūnī na kāsa-un xá*  
 yesterday COM COM:arrive-you:FAM thus  
 'YESTERDAY you arrived, didn't you?'

*ītaan kūūn xavi xá*  
 tomorrow POT:produce rain:god thus  
 'TOMORROW it will rain, won't it?'

This adverb may be preceded by the unbelief marker *dā*, in which case the combination means 'is it really the case that?'; an example is found in 7.28. This combination also occurs in the idiomatic expression *vahā dā xá* 'very well', found in 7.14, 7.26, and 7.50.

## 2 Verb Phrases

### 2.1 Content Verb Phrases

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

**2.1.1 Verb nuclei.** Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are idioms composed of a verb plus a noun, a content verb, a stative verb, or an adverb.

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

*shíshī* (*dā*)  
CON:eat (he)  
'(He) is eating.'

*káhan* (*ńá*)  
CON:speak (she)  
'(She) is speaking.'

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

*káhan kwachí* (*da nu na*)  
CON:speak blame (he face them)  
'(He) complains (to them).'

*káhan ndyóshi* (*na shihin da*)  
CON:speak God (they with him)  
'(They) greet (Sp. *Dios*) (him).'

*káxā tinā* (*dā*)  
CON:do dog (he)  
'(He) is persistent.'

*káxcā taā (dā)*  
 CON:do man (he)  
 '(He) acts in a masculine way.'

Reciprocal action is indicated by a verb followed by *táhān* 'companion'. This construction is somewhat productive. The first two sentences below show the difference between a reciprocal construction and an ordinary transitive sentence.

*kānī táhān (dā)*  
 CON:hit companion (he)  
 '(They) are fighting each other.'

cf. *na kānī (dā dā)*  
 COM COM:hit (he him)  
 '(He) hit (him).'

*na ndíkēhē táhān (nā yúku)*  
 COM COM:meet companion (they mountain)  
 '(They) met each other (on the mountain).'

*sáhní táhān (rī)*  
 CON:kill companion (it:AML)  
 '(They) are killing each other.'

*na xāñí táhān (nā)*  
 COM COM:loose companion (they)  
 '(They) let go of each other.'

Some examples of this construction are less transparent in meaning.

*na xándíkēhē táhān (dā líbró)*  
 COM COM:join companion (he book)  
 '(He) assembled (books [Sp. *libro*]).'

*kándōxō táhān (vēhē unī písó)*  
 CON:put companion (house three floor)  
 '(The house) has (three stories [Sp. *piso*]).'

In the following example, the first element is probably a verb in a reduced form, though the derivation is uncertain.

*na tā ndaha (da)*  
 COM COM:? hand (he)  
 '(He) got married.'

The following verb-plus-noun nuclei have tones on the noun that are different from the basic tones.

*káxā chūūn (dā)*  
 CON:do work (he)  
 '(He) is working.' (cf. *chūūn* 'work')

*káxā tátá (da ñá)*  
 CON:do medicine (he her)  
 '(He) is treating (her).' (cf. *tata* 'medicine')

*shútā sáhá (na)*  
 CON:sing foot (they)  
 '(They) are dancing.' (cf. *saha* 'foot')

*shikā sáhá (na)*  
 CON:walk foot (they)  
 '(They) are traveling on foot.'

*vashī sáhá (i)*  
 CON:come foot (I)  
 '(I) am coming on foot.'

*na kāvā sáhá (saha vēhē)*  
 COM COM:turn foot (foot house)  
 '(The house foundation) was begun.'

*shikā xátá (rī)*  
 CON:walk back (it:AML)  
 '(It) walks backwards.' (cf. *xata* 'back')

*sándehe xátá (da)*  
 CON:look back (he)  
 '(He) is looking back.'

*ndóxō xátá (da ñahā)*  
 CON:carry back (he thing)  
 '(He) is carrying (things) on his back.'

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a content verb in potential aspect. This combination is rare, and such nuclei are always transitive.

*na kānī ndāā (dā ñá)*  
 COM COM:hit POT:go:out (he her)  
 '(He) touched (her).'

*na sānī ndāā (dā yuu)*  
 COM COM:put POT:go:out (he rock)  
 '(He) kicked (the rock).'

*kátivī ndāā (dā náma)*  
 CON:touch POT:go:out (he wall)  
 '(He) leans against (the wall).'

*na sānī ndīchī (dā yíto)*  
 COM COM:put POT:stand:SG (he stick)  
 '(He) put (the stick) upright.'

(See also 7.35 and 7.36.)

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

*káxā káhnū (dā ñá)*  
 CON:do big:SG (he her)  
 '(He) honors (her).'

*shūā ñúchí (rī)*  
 CON:sing pretty (it:AML)  
 '(It) sings prettily.'

*na kēē vahā (dā)*  
 COM COM:leave good (he)  
 '(He) was lucky.'

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

*xíkā nūū (dā)*  
 CON:walk around (he)  
 '(He) goes around.'

*kává nūū (dā yóho)*  
 CON:twist around (he rope)  
 '(He) whirls (the rope) around.'

*ndákoto nihni (da)*  
 CON:look short:time (he)  
 '(He) is glancing.'

Sometimes a complex nucleus contains three elements.

*ndíúhún shihín táhān (nā)*  
 CON:chat with companion (they)  
 '(They) are chatting with each other.'

**2.1.2 Preverbal elements.** There are five orders of optional elements preceding the verb nucleus. From the nucleus out to the beginning of

the verb phrase they are: directional, completive aspect, near-time, negative, and hortatory.

The directional *kwā* is derived from *kwahan* ‘to go (continuative)’. It occurs with only a few verbs, which can be in either potential or continuative aspect.

*kwā kehē (ndó ña)*  
 DIR POT:get (you:RES it:INAN)  
 ‘Go get (it)!’ or ‘(You) will go get (it).’

*kwā nūhu (da)*  
 DIR CON:go:home (he)  
 ‘(He) is going home.’

Completive aspect is indicated by the preverbal marker *na*. (Aspect is further marked in the verb itself; see 5.1.2.)

*na kânī (dā tinā)*  
 COM COM:hit (he dog)  
 ‘(He) hit (the dog).’

*na tāvá (da tixúhu yáve)*  
 COM COM:take:out (he goat hole)  
 ‘(He) took (the goat) out (of the hole).’

*na sāshí (chító tīn)*  
 COM COM:eat (cat mouse)  
 ‘(The cat) ate (the mouse).’

*na kīshī (xutu)*  
 COM COM:come (priest)  
 ‘(The priest) arrived.’

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.6, and many others.)

The near-time marker *sa* occurs with all three aspects and means ‘about to’, ‘just begun’, or ‘already’, depending on the aspect.

*sa kāshí (rí tīn)*  
 about:to POT:eat (it:AML mouse)  
 ‘(It) is about to eat (the mouse).’

*sa shíshī (nā)*  
 just:begun CON:eat (they)  
 ‘(They) have just begun eating.’

*sa káxā chíūn (dā)*  
 just:begun CON:do work (he)  
 ‘(He) has just begun working.’

*sa na kǎxǎ chũũn (dǎ)*  
 already COM COM:do work (he)  
 '(He) already worked.'

*sa kwahan (da)*  
 already CON:go (he)  
 '(He) has already gone.'

The negatives are: *a* 'not', *ko* 'not', and *a nǎha* 'not yet'. *a* and *a nǎha* occur only with potential aspect; *a* causes the first tone of the verb in potential aspect to be high. *ko*, which is probably related to the verb *ko* 'to not exist', occurs with continuative and completive aspects.

*a kǐvǐ (da vũũ)*  
 NEG POT:die (he now)  
 '(He) won't die (now).'

*a xǐkó (da nǎhǎ)*  
 NEG POT:sell (he thing)  
 '(He) won't sell (things).'

(See also 7.18 and 7.20.)

*a nǎha kǐvǐ (dǎ)*  
 NEG thing POT:die (he)  
 '(He) hasn't died yet.'

*a nǎha kǐshǐ (dǎ)*  
 NEG thing POT:come (he)  
 '(He) hasn't come yet.'

*a nǎha xǐkó (da tǐndiki)*  
 NEG thing POT:sell (he cattle)  
 '(He) hasn't yet sold (the cattle).'

*ko shǐhi (nǎ)*  
 NEG CON:die (she)  
 '(She) isn't dying.'

*ko xǐkó (nǎ nǎhǎ)*  
 NEG CON:sell (she thing)  
 '(She) isn't selling (things).'

*ko kǎxǎ chũũn (dǎ vũũ)*  
 NEG CON:do work (he now)  
 '(He) isn't working (now).'



*ko na shihi (da)*  
 NEG COM COM:die (he)  
 '(He) didn't die.'

*ko na xikó (da tindiki)*  
 NEG COM COM:sell (he cattle)  
 '(He) didn't sell (the cattle).'

(See also 7.9 and 7.44.)

The hortatory *ná* occurs only with verbs in potential aspect. It occurs in commands with any person (see 1.3) and sometimes also in subject complements (see 1.1.9) and in subordinate conditional and purpose sentences (see 6.2.1 and 6.2.2).

*ná kúshū (dā)*  
 HORT POT:eat (he)  
 'Let (him) eat!' (lit. 'May (he) eat!')

*ná kuhun (i)*  
 HORT POT:go (I)  
 'Let (me) go!'

*ná kāxā chúūn (yó)*  
 HORT POT:do work (we:IN)  
 'Let('s) work!'

*ná kēhē (dā kiti)*  
 HORT POT:get (he animal)  
 'May (he) get (the animals)!'

*ná a kótō ndōxó (māéstró ndóhó)*  
 HORT NEG POT:look ? (teacher you:RES)  
 'Don't let (the teacher [Sp. *maestro*]) test (you)!'

(See also 7.31 and 7.57.)

**2.1.3 Postverbal elements.** There are five optional postverbal elements. From the verb nucleus to the end of the verb phrase they are: manner, known object, repetitive, limiter/additive, and the *dā/rī* position.

Manner is expressed by a large class of elements that includes adverbs, adverb phrases (see 4.2), stative verbs, stative verb phrases (see 2.3), and quantifiers.

## With adverbs:

*vashī kwéé (da)*  
 CON:come slowly (he)  
 '(He) comes slowly.'

*shūkā kāmā (ñá)*  
 CON:walk fast (she)  
 '(She) walks rapidly.'

*na kāxā xōhō (i shihin a)*  
 COM COM:do wastefully (I with it:UN)  
 '(I) wasted (it).'

*na sahan ūūn (dā)*  
 COM COM:go in:vain (he)  
 '(He) went in vain.'

(See also 7.65.)

## With stative verbs:

*na kāxā vahā (dā)*  
 COM COM:do good (he)  
 '(He) did well.'

*káhan kīnī (nā)*  
 CON:speak ugly (they)  
 '(They) are talking nastily.'

*káhan ñúchí (da)*  
 CON:speak pretty (he)  
 '(He) speaks nicely.'

## With a quantifier:

*káxā chíūn kwahá (nde)*  
 CON:do work many (we:EX)  
 '(We) are working a lot.'

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

*na tāvá kwahá (da tīyāká)*  
 COM COM:take:out many (he fish)  
 '(He) removed many (fish).'

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.41, and 7.42.)

When manner is expressed by a phrase, it is common to permute it to a position preceding all preverbal elements.

*kāmā chá shúkā (ñá)*  
fast somewhat CON:walk (she)  
'Very fast (she) walks.'

*kwēē kwēē vashī (dā)*  
slowly slowly CON:come (he)  
'Very slowly (he) comes.'

*kwahá ndīvahā káxa chíūn (ñá)*  
many INTS CON:do work (she)  
'Very much (she) works.'

(See also 7.38 and 7.43.)

Manner is questioned by using *ndāxā* 'how?' in preverbal position.

*ndāxā na kahan (da)*  
how COM COM:speak (he)  
'How did (he) speak?'

*ndāxā na shishī (ñá)*  
how COM COM:eat (she)  
'How did (she) eat?'

Following manner is known object, marked by *ñāhá*. This marker refers to an animate third person referent whose identity is clear from the context. The use of *ñāhá* rather than a free object serves to defocus the participant, as seen by comparing the first two sentences below.

*na chīndēé ñāhá (dá)*  
COM COM:help KNO (he)  
'(He) helped someone.'

cf. *na chīndēé (da da)*  
COM COM:help (he him)  
'(He) helped (him).'

*sáhní ñāhá (dá)*  
CON:kill KNO (he)  
'(He) is killing someone.'

*na sāshí ñāhá (rí)*  
COM COM:eat KNO (it:AML)  
'(It) ate another animal.'

*kānī nāhá (nā)*  
 CON:hit KNO (she)  
 ‘(She) is hitting someone.’

The known-object marker can precede manner with no apparent change in meaning.

*na chīndēé nāhá kwahá (da)*  
 COM COM:help KNO many (he)  
 ‘(He) helped someone a lot.’

*na chīndēé kwahá nāhá (dá)*  
 COM COM:help many KNO (he)  
 ‘(He) helped someone a lot.’

The repetitive *tūkū* ‘again’ occurs in third postverbal position.

*kwahan tūkū (dā ndūyū)*  
 CON:go REP (he Silacayoapan)  
 ‘(He) went again (to Silacayoapan).’

*na shīshī tūkū (dā)*  
 COM COM:eat REP (he)  
 ‘(He) ate again.’

*na kahan tūkū (dā)*  
 COM COM:speak REP (he)  
 ‘(He) spoke again.’

*na ndātá tūkū (yúto)*  
 COM COM:split REP (stick)  
 ‘(The stick) split again.’

(See also 7.22 and 7.24.)

*tūkū* ‘again’ can either follow or precede manner or known object.

*na tāvá kwahá tūkū (dā tīyāká)*  
 COM COM:take:out many REP (he fish)  
 ‘(He) caught many (fish) again.’

*na tāvá tūkū kwahá (da tīyāká)*  
 COM COM:take:out REP many (he fish)  
 ‘(He) caught many (fish) again.’

*na kahan tūkū kīnī (nā)*  
 COM COM:speak REP ugly (she)  
 ‘(She) spoke nastily again.’

*na kahan kīnī tūkū (ñá)*  
 COM COM:speak ugly REP (she)  
 '(She) spoke nastily again.'

*na sāhnī tūkū ñāhá (dá)*  
 COM COM:kill REP KNO (he)  
 '(He) killed someone again.'

*na sāhnī ñāhá tūkū (dā)*  
 COM COM:kill KNO REP (he)  
 '(He) killed someone again.'

Two elements occur in fourth postverbal position, the limiter *vā* 'just' and the additive *ka* 'more'. Both of these elements also occur in other phrase types as well.

*káxā chíūn vā (dā)*  
 CON:do work LIM (he)  
 '(He) is just working.'

*shínū vā (ñá)*  
 CON:run LIM (she)  
 '(She) is just running.'

*na ndīkāvā vā (dó nu ñúhu)*  
 COM COM:fall LIM (it:WOD face ground)  
 '(It) just fell (on the ground).'

(See also 7.24, 7.52, 7.54, and 7.66.)

*a kīshī ka (na)*  
 NEG POT:come ADD (they)  
 '(They) won't come anymore.'

*kūshū ka (da)*  
 POT:eat ADD (he)  
 '(He) will eat more.'

*na tāvá ka (da tīyāká)*  
 COM COM:take:out ADD (he fish)  
 '(He) caught more (fish).'

Two elements occur in fifth position, *dā*, which expresses either unbelief or amazement, and *rī* 'also'.

*sa shūkā ka dā (ñá / chí)*  
 already CON:walk ADD UNBELIEF (she HEARSAY)  
 '(She) is already walking more, (they say), but I don't believe it.'

*sáshí dā (ńá ndíka)*  
 CON:eat UNBELIEF (she banana)  
 'Amazingly (she) is eating (bananas).'

*kúni rī (yehe tikwí)*  
 CON:want also (I water)  
 '(I) also want (water).'

*chúkaa rī (nā āróos)*  
 CON:put:out also (they rice)  
 '(They) also put out (rice [Sp. arroz]).'

**2.1.4 Combinations of elements.** The cooccurrence restrictions among preverbal elements are the following. The completive aspect marker *na* occurs only with a verb in completive aspect. The hortatory marker *ná* occurs only with a verb in potential aspect and does not occur with the near-time marker *sa*. All other combinations of preverbal elements are possible up to three elements.

*ná a tává (da yíto)*  
 HORT NEG POT:take:out (he tree)  
 'Don't let (him) take out (the tree)!'

*ko sa na kishí (dā)*  
 NEG already COM COM:arrive (he)  
 '(He) hasn't yet arrived.'

*ko sa kwā nuhu (da)*  
 NEG already DIR CON:go:home (he)  
 '(He) is not going home yet.'

*ko na nuhu (ńá)*  
 NEG COM COM:go:home (she)  
 '(She) didn't go home.'

The only systematic cooccurrence restriction among postverbal elements is that neither limiter nor additive directly follows manner. (Such sequences constitute a stative verb phrase or adverb phrase expressing manner.)

*kāhní tūkū nāhá vā (dā)*  
 CON:kill REP KNO LIM (he)  
 '(He) is killing again.'

*vashí tūkū vā (dā)*  
 CON:come REP LIM (he)  
 '(He) just comes again.'

*na kākā vahā chá ka (da)*  
 COM COM:do good somewhat ADD (he)  
 '(He) did much better.'

*na kahan kīnī tūkū vā (ñá)*  
 COM COM:speak ugly REP LIM (she)  
 '(She) spoke just nastily again.'

*na chīndēé kwahá ñāhá (ná)*  
 COM COM:help much KNO (they)  
 '(They) helped someone a lot.'

*ko shíshī ka dā (nā xíta)*  
 NEG CON:eat ADD UNBELIEF (they tortilla)  
 'Amazingly (they) aren't eating (tortillas) anymore.'

*sáshī ndīvahā dā (nā tikwaá)*  
 CON:eat INTS UNBELIEF (they orange)  
 'Amazingly (they) eat (oranges) excessively.'

No restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements have been noted to date.

*ko na kākā chūūn vahā vā (nā)*  
 NEG COM COM:do work good LIM (they)  
 '(They) didn't work well.'

*ko sa na ndīhvī tūkū vā (dā vēhē dā)*  
 NEG already COM COM:enter REP LIM (he house his)  
 '(He) hasn't yet entered (his house) again.'

Postverbal elements may be focused by permuting all of those that occur in a given verb phrase to a position preceding preverbal elements, as seen in 7.17. It is not possible, however, to front only a part of them.

Some simple adverbs that express manner, such as *xá* 'thus', occur only in preverbal position; see, for example, 7.22 and 7.46.

## 2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on the three equative verbs: *kākūū* 'to be', *kānānī* 'to be named', and *ndūū* 'to become'. These verbs do not form complex nuclei. All preverbal elements except the directional occur, but postverbal elements are limited to the intensifying adverb *chá* 'somewhat', the repetitive *tūkū* 'again', and the limiter *vā* 'just'.

*ko kúú ka (da prēsidenté)*  
 NEG CON:be ADD (he president)  
 '(He) is not (president [Sp. *presidente*]) anymore.'

*ná kǎnāní (da xwáan)*  
 HORT POT:be:named (he John)  
 'Let (him) be named (John [Sp. *Juan*])!'

*sa na ndūū tūkū vā (dā prēsídénté)*  
 already COM COM:become REP LIM (he president)  
 '(He) has already just become (president) again.'

(See also 7.58.)

When the nominal complement precedes the equative verb, postverbal elements may directly follow the nominal complement, as seen in 7.15.

### 2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which are not inflected for aspect. These verbs do not form complex nuclei.

*xúsá (da)*  
 lazy (he)  
 '(He) is lazy.'

*káhnū (ńá)*  
 big:SG (she)  
 '(She) is big.'

*ńúchí (ĩtā)*  
 pretty (flower)  
 '(The flower) is pretty.'

Stative verbs occur with two preverbal elements: the negative marker *ko*, and near-time marker *sa*. In postverbal position the following elements occur: a limited manner expressed mainly by intensifying adverbs, the limiter *vā*, the additive *ka*, and the unbelief marker *dā*.

*ko yátá (xáhma)*  
 NEG old (cloth)  
 '(The clothes) aren't old.'

*sa káhnū (ńí)*  
 already big:SG (it:AML)  
 '(It) is already big.'

*yátá ndívahā vā (dā)*  
 old INTS LIM (he)  
 '(He) is so very old.'



*ko xúsá ka (na)*  
 NEG lazy ADD (they)  
 '(They) are no longer lazy.'

*ko ñúchí ka dā (īā)*  
 NEG pretty ADD UNBELIEF (flower)  
 'Amazingly, (the flowers) aren't pretty anymore.'

(See also 7.16 and 7.19.)

Stative verb phrases occur in the predicate of stative sentences, either alone or together with a content verb like *kōō* 'to exist' (see 1.1.6). They also occur in the manner position of the verb phrase in other sentence types and may precede the content verb (see 2.1.3). When the negative marker *ko* occurs in a stative verb phrase, that phrase must precede the main verb in the sentence. The following sentences show stative verb phrases together with other verbs.

*ko káhnū ka (na sáhūn víko)*  
 NEG big:SG ADD (COM COM:exist:SG celebration)  
 '(The celebration was)n't big anymore.'

*lōhō tīn (na shēēn nā)*  
 small:SG minute (COM COM:buy they)  
 '(They bought) very little.'

*(káhan) kīnī ūūn vā (dā)*  
 (CON:speak) ugly only LIM (he)  
 '(He speaks) just only nastily.'

(See also 7.16, 7.19, 7.43, 7.45, and 7.49.)

## 2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

There are two types of repetitive verb phrases: those that express ongoing action and those that express obligation. Both types are based on the repetition of a content verb. Preverbal elements cannot occur with either verb, and postverbal elements are limited to the limiter *vā* 'just' and the additive *ka* 'more'.

To express ongoing action, the repeated verb must be in continuative aspect. A pronoun subject can occur with both verbs or only following the second, and the conjunction *tā* 'and' optionally precedes the second verb.

*ndíndūkú ndíndūkú vā (nde yóhó)*  
 CON:look:for CON:look:for LIM (we:EX you:FAM)  
 '(We) just kept on looking for (you).'

*táán* (da) *táán* (da *tikwíí*)  
 CON:dump (he) CON:dump (he water)  
 '(He) kept on dumping in (water).'

*ndáń* (i) *ndáń* (i *kūń*)  
 CON:wait (I) CON:wait (I yesterday)  
 '(I) kept on waiting (yesterday).'

*sáhan* *tā* *sáhan* (*xwáan páan nu xahyī dā*)  
 CON:give and CON:give (John bread face child his)  
 '(John) kept on giving (bread [Sp. *pan*] to his children).'

To express obligation, the repeated verb may be in any aspect, and the subordinate conjunction *tá* 'if' occurs between the two.

*káxā* *tá* *káxā* (*dā nā kúńi na*)  
 CON:do if CON:do (he it:INAN CON:want they)  
 '(He) always has to do (what they want).'

*na* *shihí* *tá* *na* *shihí* *vā* (*náná i*)  
 COM COM:die if COM COM:die LIM (mother my)  
 '(My mother) just had to die.'

*kēē* *tá* *kēē* *vahā* *vā* (*nā*)  
 POT:leave if POT:leave good LIM (they)  
 '(They) just have to gain.'

## 3 Noun Phrases

### 3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

Basic noun phrases consist of a noun or pronoun nucleus, one optional prenominal element, and three optional postnominal elements.

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

<i>vēhē</i>	‘house’
<i>yīto</i>	‘tree, pole, stick’
<i>tuhūn</i>	‘word’
<i>taā</i>	‘man’
<i>ndāha</i>	‘hand’
<i>kīti</i>	‘animal’
<i>dā</i>	‘he’

A noun-plus-noun nucleus consists of a noun followed by a modifying noun. Combining two nouns in this way is somewhat productive.

<i>xahyī taā</i>	child man	‘son’
<i>vēhē kaā</i>	house metal	‘jail’
<i>tikwiī nuu</i>	water face	‘tears’

*tikyāvā yīto*  
butterfly tree  
'wood shavings'

*yúchu páan*  
powder bread  
'bread (Sp. *pan*) crumbs'

*yéhé kaā*  
door metal  
'jail door'

(See also 7.4.)

Sometimes the tones on the modifying noun are higher than the tones used in free forms.

*vēhē chūūn*  
house work  
'town hall' (cf. *chūūn* 'work')

*ndūchú núú*  
bean face  
'eyeball' (cf. *nuu* 'face')

*tiniñū yúú*  
replica stone  
'statue' (cf. *yuu* 'stone')

*ñuhú ndáhyi*  
dirt mud  
'farmland' (cf. *ndahyi* 'mud')

*yīkí xíní*  
bone head  
'skull' (cf. *xini* 'head')

*tindākú ñúhú*  
worm dirt  
'earthworm' (cf. *ñúhu* 'dirt')

Occasionally a nucleus contains three nouns.

*shehe ndāhá yīto*  
garbage hand tree  
'fallen leaves'

A noun-plus-numeral nucleus consists of a noun followed by a modifying numeral, a pattern which is somewhat productive.

*xahyī ivi*  
child two  
'second child'

*kaā komi*  
bell four  
'fourth hour'

*kwyaā uhun*  
year five  
'fifth year'

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

There is one specifier: *mé* or *mí* 'that very'.

*mí vēhē*  
SPEC house  
'that very house'

*mé da*  
SPEC he  
'him (the one I'm referring to)'

(See also 7.7, 7.31, 7.37, 7.45, and various others.)

The quantifier comprises both numerals and general quantifiers.

**Numerals:**

*īn xáhma*  
one cloth  
'one cloth'

*komí taā*  
four man  
'four men'

*uhun yíto*  
five pole  
'five poles'

**General quantifiers:**

*kwaha kítí*  
many animal  
'many animals'

*xāvā vēhē*  
 several house  
 'some houses'

The numeral *in* 'one' is often used simply as an indefinite article. The first example in the above set could therefore also be glossed 'a cloth'. See 7.1, 7.3, 7.4, and 7.11 for further examples.

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

Four locative adverbs function as deictics: *yóhō* 'here (near speaker)', *xan* 'here (near hearer)', *káā* 'there (in view)', and *kán* 'there (out of view)'. When they function as deictics, they are glossed 'this' and 'that', rather than 'here' and 'there'.

*vēhē yóhō*  
 house this  
 'this house (near speaker)'

(See also 7.31, 7.58, and various others.)

*vēhē xan*  
 house this  
 'this house (near hearer)'

*vēhē káā*  
 house that  
 'that house (in view)'

*vēhē kán*  
 house that  
 'that house (out of view)'

(See also 7.9, 7.62, and various others.)

The limiter *vā* 'just' follows the nucleus.

*tinā vā*  
 dog LIM  
 'just the dog'

*xita vā*  
 tortilla LIM  
 'just tortillas'

(See also 7.9, 7.46, 7.56, 7.59, and 7.61.)

Relative clauses follow the nucleus. There are no relative pronouns; relative clauses are marked as such by their distribution following nouns

or prestressed pronouns and by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. There is otherwise no change in the order of constituents within relative clauses.

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

With subject as head:

*taā shīhī*  
man CON:drink  
'the man who is drunk'

*ñá na kīshī kūnī*  
she COM COM:come yesterday  
'she who came yesterday'

*da ndáxā vīi yīto*  
he CON:make smooth pole  
'he who is smoothing poles'

*ñá xīkó kwihī yahvī*  
she CON:sell fruit market  
'she who sells fruit in the market'

*da ndáá lānchī*  
he CON:care:for sheep  
'he who guards sheep'

*ndīi na shihī kūnī*  
dead:person COM COM:die yesterday  
'the person who died yesterday'

(See also 7.58.)

With object as head:

*yūchu na shēēn dā*  
knife COM COM:buy he  
'the knife he bought'

*vēhē na kāvahā dā*  
house COM COM:make he  
'the house he built'

(See also 7.42.)

With adjunct as head:

*ñũũ na sahan xwáãn*  
 town COM COM:go John  
 'the town that John (Sp. *Juan*) went to'

*nu ãn yúku*  
 face CON:exist:SG mountain  
 'the place the mountain is'

(See also 7.8, 7.32, and 7.33.)

*taã na shēēn ñá kōtó saha*  
 man COM COM:buy she shirt foot  
 'the man she bought the shirt (Sp. *cotón*) for'

*taã na shūtā sáhá ñá shihin*  
 man COM COM:sing foot she with  
 'the man she danced with'

With peripheral element as head:

*kivi na shihi ñá*  
 day COM COM:die she  
 'the day that she died'

*ñũũ káxã chíũn dã*  
 town CON:do work he  
 'the town where he works'

Equative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

*da kíú xini ñũũ*  
 he CON:be head town  
 'he who is head of the town'

*da nãní xwáãn*  
 he CON:be:named John  
 'he who is called John'

*taã na ndũũ sãndádó*  
 man COM COM:become soldier  
 'the man who became a soldier (Sp. *soldado*)'

Stative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

*tikwí kĩnĩ*  
 water ugly  
 'foul water'



*xahmá kwáán*  
 cloth yellow  
 'yellow cloth'

*xahyī lōhō*  
 child small:SG  
 'small child'

*da xúsá*  
 he lazy  
 'lazy man'

(See also 7.13.)

**3.1.4 Combinations of elements.** All possible combinations of elements occur in the order specifier, quantifier, nucleus, relative clause, limiter, and deictic, with some cooccurrence restrictions involving semantics and overall complexity.

*mé nā kán*  
 SPEC she that  
 'that specific woman'

*xāvā vēhē vā yóhō*  
 several house LIM this  
 'just some of these houses'

*mí ndíví na kán*  
 SPEC all:two they that  
 'specifically both those people'

*īn dā lōhō káā*  
 one he small:SG that  
 'that one small boy'

### 3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

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

*uni táhndá (ñayīvī)*  
 three group (people)  
 'three groups (of people)'

*ushu xini (tindiki)*  
 ten head (cattle)  
 'ten head (of cattle)'

*komì páar (ndusa)*  
 four pair (sandal)  
 'four pair (Sp. *par*) (of sandals)'

*ivi shoxō (tító)*  
 two bunch (firewood)  
 'two bunches (of firewood)'

*ivi kōō káhnū (ndúchu)*  
 two mound big:SG (bean)  
 'two big mounds (of beans)'

### 3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. A specifier or quantifier may precede the nucleus, but postnuclear modifiers occur only rarely. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to nouns that can be possessed. They are either inherently possessed nouns, which are largely body parts and kinship terms, or they are optionally possessed nouns. The possessor is a full noun phrase with no special genitive marking.

With inherently possessed nouns:

*ndāhá taā*  
 hand man  
 'the man's hand'

*xata tinā*  
 back dog  
 'the dog's back'

*ivi nānī dā*  
 two brother:ME his  
 'two brothers of his'

*ndíví xahyī nāńáha*  
 all:two child woman  
 'both children of the woman'

*kwahá xahyī válí ĩnkā dā kán*  
 many child small:PL another he that  
 'many of that other man's small children'

(See also 7.17, 7.19, 7.21, 7.22, 7.63, 7.64, and various others.)

With optionally possessed nouns:

*in vĕhĕ dā*  
one house his  
'one of his houses'

*vĕhĕ káhnū ĩnkā dā*  
house big:SG another his  
'another man's big house'

*mí uni yíto na*  
SPEC three tree their  
'specifically their three trees'

(See also 7.3, 7.32, and 7.33.)

The nucleus of a possessive noun phrase may be complex (see 3.1.1).

*yĭkí xíní da*  
bone head his  
'his skull' (cf. *xíní* 'head')

*nduchú núú nā*  
bean face her  
'her eyeball' (cf. *nuu* 'face')

The above examples differ in structure from the following ones, which consist of a simple noun nucleus plus a possessive noun phrase functioning as the possessor (indicated by parentheses).

*ixí (xini da)*  
hair (head his)  
'his hair'

*ixí (nuu da)*  
hair (face his)  
'his beard'

(See also 7.16.)

### 3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed with the interrogatives *ndá* 'what?' or 'which?', *ndāxā* 'how?' or 'how many?' and *yō* 'who?' 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). *ndāxā* is used to question the quantifier, *ndá* is used to ask which or what one, and *yō* is used to question a possessor.

*ndá ichi*  
 what road  
 'what road?'

*ndá da*  
 what he  
 'which man?'

*ndāxā rí*  
 how it:AML  
 'how many animals?'

*ndāxā vēhē*  
 how house  
 'how many houses?'

*yō vēhē*  
 who house  
 'whose house?'

*yō tinā lōhō*  
 who dog small:SG  
 'whose little dog?'

Certain idiomatic interrogative noun phrases function like interrogative adverbs. They are:

*ndá órá*  
 what hour  
 'what time (Sp. *hora*)?'

*ndá chūūn*  
 what work  
 'why?'

*ndá saha*  
 what foot  
 'why?'

### 3.5 Negative Noun Phrases

Negative noun phrases consist of the negative marker *a xuu* followed by a noun phrase. They occur mainly in sentence-initial position as the nominal complement of equative sentences.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The etymology of *a xuu* is not entirely clear, but it probably derives historically from a form of the equative verb *kākūū* 'to be (potential)'. In this sketch, however, it is treated as a nominal marker.

*a xuú náná i (kíú ñá)*  
 NEG ? mother my (CON:be she)  
 '(She is) NOT MY MOTHER.'

*a xuú prēsídénté (kíú da)*  
 NEG ? president (CON:be he)  
 '(He is) NOT PRESIDENT (Sp. *presidente*).'

A noun phrase in another sentence type may be negated only by recasting it as an equative sentence with the rest of the sentence embedded as a relative clause modifying the subject.

*a xuú ñānī i (kíú da na shíhi)*  
 NEG ? brother:ME my (CON:be he COM COM:die)  
 '(It's) NOT MY BROTHER (who died).'

*a xuú xáhma (kíú a na shēēn ñá)*  
 NEG ? cloth (CON:be it:UN COM COM:buy she)  
 '(It's) NOT CLOTHING (she bought).'

Negative noun phrases also occur in sentences expressing comparison of degree, in which case they have the additive *ka* 'more' following *a xuú*; examples of this use are given in 6.2.2.

### 3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

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

*íchi káhnū*  
 road big:SG  
 'main road'

*yúku kwí*  
 mountain green  
 'green mountain'

*yutā ndíhi*  
 river blue  
 'blue river'

*kívi yí*  
 day holy  
 'holy day'

*yoo máyó*  
 moon May  
 'month of May (Sp. *mayo*)'

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

*xiní vĕhĕ*  
 head house  
 'the top of the house'

*xiní kwú yúku*  
 head last mountain  
 'the very top of the mountain'

*saha ndūchú núú i*  
 foot bean face my  
 'the base of my eyeball'

*xohō kixī*  
 ear pot  
 'pot handle'

*xiní vĕhĕ kwú*  
 head house last  
 'the top of the last house'

*yūhú nūū*  
 mouth town  
 'the edge of town'

*tishī nūhu*  
 stomach ground  
 'underground'

*īnī káva*  
 insides cave  
 'in the cave (Sp. *cava* 'vault')'

*kāhá yutā*  
 bottom river  
 'the bottom of the river'

*tishī īn yoo*  
 stomach one moon  
 'within a month'

*sahá yoo*  
 foot moon  
 'the first of the month'

*nuu una kivi*  
 face eight day  
 'for eight days'

(See also 7.13, 7.56, 7.63, and various others.)

The nouns *mahnú* 'middle part' and *kwéntá* 'account' (Sp. *cuenta*), while not body-part nouns and not inherently possessed, also occur in adverbial possessive noun phrases.

*mahnú nūū*  
 middle:part town  
 'middle of town'

*kwéntá náná i*  
 account mother my  
 'on my mother's side (of the family)'

### 3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun phrases in the same structural position with no conjunction linking them. They occur in any noun-phrase position.

*maría / kihvi i*  
 Mary sister:FE my  
 'Mary (Sp. *María*), my sister'

*yū ná / xwáan*  
 husband her John  
 'her husband, John'

*ndī / xwáan*  
 dead:person John  
 'the dead person, John'

*a lōhō / xahyī i*  
 it:UN small:SG child my  
 'the little one, my child'

*ūtū / nu káxā chūūn dā*  
 cornfield face CON:do work he  
 'the cornfield, the place where he is working'

*kāmī sántó / nu na ndushu ndiī*  
 field holy face COM COM:be:buried dead:person  
 ‘the graveyard (Sp. *campo santo*), where the dead are buried’

(See also 7.53.)

Appositional noun phrases have at least two specific functions. The first of these is to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified. Such appositional noun phrases often have a proper name or a prestressed pronoun as the nucleus of the first part.

*xwáan / da na shihi kūnī*  
 John he COM COM:die yesterday  
 ‘John, he who died yesterday’

*ñá / ñá nānī mariá*  
 she she CON:be:named Mary  
 ‘she, the one who is called Mary’

The second function is to express the possessor of a specific animal or spherical object. Because nouns referring to specific kinds of animals or spherical objects cannot occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase, they occur in apposition to a possessive noun phrase with the inherently possessed noun *xana* ‘domestic animal’ or ‘spherical object’ as its nucleus.

*kóchí lōhō / xana ñá*  
 pig small:SG domestic:animal her  
 ‘her little pig (Sp. *cochino*)’

*kíti / xana da*  
 animal domestic:animal his  
 ‘his domestic animals’

*chiká / xana i*  
 cactus:fruit spherical:object my  
 ‘my cactus fruit’

*tikwaá / xana na*  
 orange spherical:object their  
 ‘their orange’

### 3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Noun phrases may be linked in either a coordinate or a disjunctive relationship. To express a coordinate relationship, two or more noun phrases are linked by using *tā* ‘and’ or—more frequently—*shihin* ‘with’ between them. (Noun phrases may also be linked by repeating the verb, as described in 6.1.2.)



*xwáan tā xōséē*  
 John and Joe  
 'John and Joe (Sp. *José*)'

*xwáan shihin xōséē shihin lípe*  
 John with Joe with Philip  
 'John and Joe and Philip (Sp. *Felipe*)'

*náxíhí da shihin in xahyī dā*  
 wife his with one child his  
 'his wife and one of his children'

*in dā ndahví shihin náxíhí da*  
 one he poor with wife his  
 'one poor man and his wife'

An additive noun phrase in which *shihin* links two noun phrases functioning as the subject of an intransitive verb is sometimes ambiguous with a simple noun phrase as subject followed by an associative adjunct (see 1.1.4).

Some additive noun phrases with *shihin* show attraction. The first phrase must contain a plural quantifier, and the second phrase specifies some of the referents expressed by the first phrase. In such cases *shihin* should perhaps be translated 'including' rather than 'with'.

*ndíví nde shihin kihví i*  
 all:two we:EX with sister:FE my  
 'both of us, including my sister' or 'both my sister and I'

*ndíví da shihin nānī dā*  
 all:two he with brother:ME his  
 'both of them, including his brother' or 'both he and his brother'

It is likely that this construction developed by deleting the specifier and a pronoun from an appositional construction containing an additive noun phrase as its second part. Compare the following example with the one immediately above.

*ndíví da / mé da shihin nānī dā*  
 all:two he SPEC he with brother:ME his  
 'both of them, he and his brother'

To express a disjunctive relationship between two noun phrases, the YES/NO interrogative marker *á*, used here to mean 'or', precedes each phrase.

*á kōtó á sātī*  
 INT shirt INT pants  
 'either shirt or pants'

*á tikwaá á tikwití*  
 INT orange INT potato  
 'either oranges or potatoes'

To express a negative disjunction, the conjunction *nī* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*) precedes each phrase.

*nī kyahvā dā nī nānī dā*  
 nor sister:ME his nor brother:ME his  
 'neither his sister nor his brother'

*nī tikwaá nī tikwití*  
 nor orange nor potato  
 'neither oranges nor potatoes'

### 3.9 Distributive Noun Phrases

In distributive noun phrases, two repetitions of a noun are linked by *tá* 'if', used in this construction to mean 'by'; *tá* also optionally precedes the first noun. (See 2.4, 4.1.6, and 4.2.4 for a description of other constructions involving repetition.)

*vēhē tá vēhē*  
 house if house  
 'house by house'

*tá vēhē tá vēhē*  
 if house if house  
 'house by house'

*nūu tá nūu*  
 town if town  
 'town by town'

## 4 Other Phrases

### 4.1 Quantifier Phrases

**4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases.** In additive numeral phrases simple numerals combine to form the numerals eleven through fourteen, sixteen through nineteen, twenty-one through thirty, thirty-five, and certain combinations involving hundred and thousand. The order of these numerals is fixed, and they form a close-knit unit.

*ushu in*  
ten one  
'eleven'

*ushu komi*  
ten four  
'fourteen'

*sahun in*  
fifteen one  
'sixteen'

*sahun komi*  
fifteen four  
'nineteen'

*oko sahun*  
twenty fifteen  
'thirty-five'

*syéntó oko*  
hundred twenty  
'one hundred (Sp. *ciento*) twenty'

*míl ushu*  
 thousand ten  
 'one thousand (Sp. *míl*) ten'

The numerals thirty-one through thirty-four, thirty-six to thirty-nine, and certain combinations involving hundred and thousand involve combinations of more than two numerals.

*oko ushu ivi*  
 twenty ten two  
 'thirty-two'

*oko sahun komi*  
 twenty fifteen four  
 'thirty-nine'

*syéntó oko sahun ivi*  
 hundred twenty fifteen two  
 'one hundred thirty-seven'

*míl oko komi*  
 thousand twenty four  
 'one thousand twenty-four'

**4.1.2 Attributive numeral phrases.** Multiples of twenty, one hundred, and one thousand are expressed by attributive numeral phrases, which have two parts in a quantifier-nucleus relationship. The larger numeral occurs second. A suppletive form of 'twenty', *xíkō*, is used in the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases.

*ivi xíkō*  
 two twenty  
 'forty'

*uni xíkō*  
 three twenty  
 'sixty'

*komi xíkō*  
 four twenty  
 'eighty'

*usa syéntó*  
 seven hundred  
 'seven hundred'

*ivi míl*  
 two thousand  
 'two thousand'

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

*ivi xākō sahun in*  
two twenty fifteen one  
'fifty-six'

*usa syéntó ushu komi*  
seven hundred ten four  
'seven hundred fourteen'

*komi mīl uni syéntó uni xākō sahun ivi*  
four thousand three hundred three twenty fifteen two  
'four thousand three hundred seventy-seven'

**4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases.** A numeral and either of two numeral classifiers combine to form aggregative numeral phrases. The numerical marker *túhún* occurs only with the numeral one, and the combination means 'just one'. The noun *táhan* 'companion' occurs with any numeral except one, and means something like 'grouped'. In the following examples, an entire noun phrase is given with the parts outside the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

*in túhún (tinā)*  
one ? (dog)  
'one only (dog)'

*ivi táhan (yixini)*  
two companion (hat)  
'two (hats) in the group'

**4.1.4 Expanded numeral phrases.** A simple numeral or an additive, attributive, or aggregative numeral phrase may serve as the nucleus of expanded numeral phrases. These phrases also include one optional prenuclear element and three optional postnuclear elements.

The prenuclear element is expressed by: the numeral *in* 'one', used in the sense of 'approximately'; the subordinate conjunction *tá tuhún* 'some-what like', used in the sense of 'approximately'; the general quantifiers *inkā* 'another' and *ndī* (a shortened form of *ndīhī*) 'all'; and the general marker *mé* or *mí* 'that very'. *ndī* plus a numeral functions in a larger discourse context referring to a previously mentioned number of items or people. *ndī* plus *ivi* 'two' becomes *ndívi* 'both'.

*in komi (taā)*  
one four (man)  
'about four (men)'

*tá tuhūn ushu (tikwaá)*  
 if word ten (orange)  
 'approximately ten (oranges)'

*īnkā ivi syéntó (tīndiki)*  
 another two hundred (cattle)  
 'another two hundred (cattle)'

*mí ivi (vēhē)*  
 SPEC two (house)  
 'the very two (houses)'

*ndí uhun (rī)*  
 all five (it:AML)  
 'the five (animals)'

*ndíví (da)*  
 all:two (he)  
 'both (men)'

The first postnuclear element is a class of limiters that includes *kwīí* 'only', *tūkū* 'again', and *laá* 'only', which has the special form *tīlaá* after the numeral one.

*ushu kwīí*  
 ten only  
 'only ten'

*ivi tūkū*  
 two REP  
 'another two'

*ivi laá (tīndiki)*  
 two only (cattle)  
 'only two (cattle)'

*īn tīlaá (xahyī i)*  
 one only (child my)  
 '(my) only (child)'

Occasionally the numeral *īn* 'one' is deleted, leaving *tīlaá* 'only' alone in the numeral phrase, as seen in 7.22.

The second element is expressed by the limiter *vā* 'just' and the additive *ka* 'more'. *vā* is especially common following *kwīí* 'only'.

*ivi laá vā*  
 two only LIM  
 'just two'

*īn tīlaá vā*  
 one only LIM  
 'just one, no more'

*ivi laá ka*  
 two only ADD  
 'only two more'

*uni tūkū ka*  
 three REP ADD  
 'another three more'

*ushu kwīí vā*  
 ten only LIM  
 'just ten only'

All elements that have been described cooccur.

*īn ivi xīkō tūkū (rī)*  
 one two twenty REP (it:AML)  
 'about forty more (animals)'

*īn tīlaá ka (da)*  
 one only ADD (he)  
 'only one more (man)'

*īn uni tūkū ka (tindiki)*  
 one three REP ADD (cattle)  
 'about three more (cattle)'

In addition to serving as the quantifier in a noun phrase, the expanded numeral phrase can also serve as the quantifier in an attributive numeral phrase with hundred or thousand as the nucleus, but not one with *xīkō* 'twenty'.

*ivi ka (syéntó tindiki)*  
 two ADD (hundred cattle)  
 'two (hundred) more (cattle)'

*ivi kwīí vā (mūil yíxini)*  
 two only LIM (thousand hat)  
 'only just two (thousand hats)'

The third postnuclear element is expressed only by the general quantifier *xāvā* 'several', which is used as a fraction to mean 'half'. This element is discontinuous with the nucleus of the expanded numeral phrase because it follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the expanded numeral phrase expresses the quantifier. If either of the other two

postnuclear elements occurs in an expanded numeral phrase with a fraction, it follows the fraction.

*uni (kivi) xāvā kwītī vā*  
 three (day) several only LIM  
 ‘only three and a half (days)’

Expanded numeral phrases with *xāvā* ‘several’ can also serve as the quantifier in an attributive numeral phrase with hundred or thousand, in which case the postnuclear elements come before the noun.

*in (syéntó) xāvā (tindiki)*  
 one (hundred) several (cattle)  
 ‘one (hundred) fifty (cattle)’

*ivi (mūl) xāvā kwītī vā (pésó)*  
 two (thousand) several only LIM (peso)  
 ‘only just two (thousand) five hundred (pesos [Sp. *peso*])’

**4.1.5 General quantifier phrases.** Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases, which are similar in structure to expanded numeral phrases. They include a nucleus, expressed by a general quantifier, one optional prenuclear element, and two optional postnuclear elements. The prenuclear element is expressed by the specifier *mé* or *mí*, or by the negative *ko*. The first postnuclear element is manner, expressed only by intensifying adverbs and the repetitive *tūkū* ‘again’, and the second element is expressed by the limiter *vā* or the additive *ka*.

*kwahá ndīvahā (tikwaá)*  
 many INTS (orange)  
 ‘very many (oranges)’

*kwahá chá (kíti)*  
 many somewhat (animal)  
 ‘very many (animals)’

*mí ĩnkā (vĕhĕ)*  
 SPEC another (house)  
 ‘that other (house)’

*ko kwahá (tikwaá)*  
 NEG many (orange)  
 ‘not many (oranges)’

*ko ndīhī (taā)*  
 NEG all (man)  
 ‘not all (the men)’



*ndīhī kwīi* (ndivi)  
 all absolutely (egg)  
 'really all (the eggs)'

*xāvā ka* (tixáihu)  
 several ADD (goat)  
 'some more (goats)'

*ndīhī ka* (rī)  
 all ADD (it:AML)  
 'the rest (of the animals)'

*xāvā vā* (taā)  
 several LIM (man)  
 'just some (men)'

*mī ĩnkā tūkū vā* (vēhē)  
 SPEC another REP LIM (house)  
 'just another (house)'

(See also 7.38, 7.53, and 7.55.)

One combination of two general quantifiers meaning 'all' is used for emphasis.

*tókó ndīhī* (ñayīvi)  
 all all (people)  
 'all (the people)'

**4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases.** A repeated numeral, with no prenuclear or postnuclear modifiers, constitutes a distributive numeral phrase. These phrases indicate the size of a group. *tá* 'if', used in this construction to mean 'by', may occur between the two numerals and optionally before the first numeral. For a similar construction with a noun nucleus, see 3.9.

*īn īn*  
 one one  
 'each'

*ivi ivi*  
 two two  
 'pairs of'

*oko oko*  
 twenty twenty  
 'in groups of twenty'

*in tá in*  
 one if one  
 'one by one'

*tá ivi tá ivi*  
 if two if two  
 'two by two'

**4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases.** Two numerals of limited complexity, with the second expressing a somewhat higher quantity, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. They may be simply juxtaposed, in which case they express an approximation; or the YES/NO interrogative marker *á*, used here to mean 'or', may precede the second or both, in which case they express alternative quantities.

*in ivi*  
 one two  
 'one or two'

*uni komi*  
 three four  
 'three or four'

*uni á komi*  
 three INT four  
 'three or four'

*oko ushu á ivi xikō*  
 twenty ten INT two twenty  
 'thirty or forty'

*á uhun á ushu*  
 INT five INT ten  
 'either five or ten'

**4.1.8 Past-time numeral phrases.** The near-time marker *sa* 'already' and a numeral combine to form past-time numeral phrases.

*sa ivi (kivi)*  
 already two (day)  
 'two (days) ago'

## 4.2 Adverb Phrases

**4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases.** A structure similar to stative verb phrases (see 2.3) is used to form basic adverb phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which is expressed by various kinds of adverbs, and two op-

tional postnuclear elements: manner, expressed by intensifying adverbs, and the limiter *vā* 'just' or the additive *ka* 'more'.

With locative adverbs:

*chínuu chá ka*  
ahead somewhat ADD  
'further on'

*chíkán vā*  
over:there LIM  
'just over there'

*ninū ka*  
up ADD  
'up more'

(See also 7.28 and 7.36.)

With temporal adverbs:

*nāhā ndīvahā*  
early INTS  
'very early'

*kūnī vā*  
yesterday LIM  
'just yesterday'

*ūtaan kwītī vā*  
tomorrow only LIM  
'tomorrow only'

*vītī vā*  
now LIM  
'just now'

With general adverbs:

*xá vā*  
thus LIM  
'just like that'

*kwéé ūūn*  
slowly only  
'very slowly'

(See also 7.25 and 7.28.)

In 7.33 there is a basic adverb phrase that contains an intensifying adverb and a limiter.

**4.2.2 Appositional adverb phrases.** Any two of the following structures may be juxtaposed to form appositional adverb phrases: adverbs, adverb phrases, adverbial noun phrases, or prepositional phrases.

*chūkán / xata vĕhĕ*  
 over:there back house  
 ‘over there, behind the house’

*chívaá / nu ndūkú da chūūn*  
 hot:country face POT:look:for he work  
 ‘in hot country, where he will look for work’

*kán / ĩnī vĕhĕ*  
 there insides house  
 ‘there, inside the house’

*kūnī / sábito*  
 yesterday Saturday  
 ‘yesterday, Saturday (Sp. *sábado*)’

*ītaan / lúnishe*  
 tomorrow Monday  
 ‘tomorrow, Monday (Sp. *lunes*)’

*chūkán vā / xata vĕhĕ*  
 over:there LIM back house  
 ‘just over there, behind the house’

*chūkán / mahñú yutā*  
 over:there middle:part river  
 ‘over there, in the middle of the river’

(See also 7.32, 7.33, and 7.66.)

**4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases.** There are two ways to form additive adverb phrases. In the first way, two noncoreferential adverbs are simply juxtaposed.

*yóhō káā*  
 here there  
 ‘here and there’

*ndīví nūú*  
 day night  
 ‘all day and all night’

In the second way, the two conjuncts are linked by *tā* ‘and’ or *shihin*

'with'. This construction is similar to the additive noun phrase described in 3.8.

*yóhō tā káā*  
here and there  
'here and there'

*ñūú tā ūtaan*  
today and tomorrow  
'today and tomorrow'

*ītaan shihin yāxá*  
tomorrow with day:after:tomorrow  
'tomorrow and the day after'

**4.2.4 Repetitive adverb phrases.** The simple repetition of an adverb, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. The limiter *vā* 'just' may follow the second adverb.

*kwéé kwéé*  
slowly slowly  
'very slowly'

*vīī vīī*  
now now  
'rapidly'

*xōhō xōhō vā*  
like:this like:this LIM  
'just like this'

It is also possible to repeat a short general adverb phrase that includes an intensifying adverb.

*kwéé ūūn kwéé ūūn*  
slowly only slowly only  
'very slowly'

Repetitive adverb phrases occur only in preverbal manner position in content verb phrases (see 2.1.3).

### 4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which is expressed either by various noun phrase types or by certain adverbs. The set of prepositions is small because prepositional function is carried largely by locative nouns (see 5.3.2 and 3.6). It includes only *shihin* 'with', *anda* 'until', and *tāñū* 'in the midst of'. Prepositional

phrases usually express adjuncts (see 1.1.4) and peripheral elements (see 1.1.7).

*shihin tindiki*  
with cattle  
'with the cattle'

*shihin yito*  
with stick  
'with a stick'

(See also 7.35, 7.43, and 7.46.)

*anda yuku kán*  
until mountain that  
'as far as that mountain'

*anda kaā uhun*  
until bell five  
'until five o'clock'

*anda káā*  
until there  
'up to there'

*tāñū ndiī*  
midst:of dead:person  
'during the All Saints' celebration'

*tāñū yito*  
midst:of tree  
'among the trees'

## 5 Parts of Speech

### 5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

**5.1.1 Derivation.** Content verbs are derived from other content verbs or from stative verbs by means of derivational prefixes. Some content verbs are formed from the potential or continuative aspect form of other verbs by means of *kā-* 'derivational prefix', *ndī-*, a short form of *ndiūū* 'to become', *ndī-* 'repetitive', and *chī-* 'to place' or 'to thrust'.

With *kā-*:

*kā-niūū*

POT:DER-CON:come:down  
'to ride'

*kā-ndiūhu*

POT:DER-?  
'to be lying down'

*kā-tiūn*

POT:DER-POT:grab  
'to be stuck' (cf. *tiūn* 'to grab')

*kā-tahnu*

POT:DER-POT:be:folded  
'to be folded'

With *ndī-* 'to become':

*ndī-kahyi*

POT:become-POT:paint  
'to be painted'

*ndī-kayi*

POT:become-POT:ignite  
‘to begin to burn’

*ndī-tahnu*

POT:become-POT:fold  
‘to become folded’

*ndī-tākā*

POT:become-POT:stack  
‘to become stacked’

With *ndī-* ‘repetitive’:

*ndī-kānī*

POT:REP-POT:hit  
‘to tear down’

*ndī-kahnda*

POT:REP-POT:cut  
‘to be divided up’

*ndī-kāhmī*

POT:REP-POT:burn  
‘to ignite’

*ndī-kyahvā*

POT:REP-POT:give  
‘to hand over’

With *chī-* ‘to place’:

*chī-nūū*

POT:place-CON:come:down  
‘to place on (a surface above ground)’

*chī-ndúhu*

POT:place-?  
‘to put down (on the ground)’

*chī-xahvī*

POT:place-POT:cover  
‘to cover up’

The prefixes that form content verbs from stative verbs are *kā-* ‘derivational prefix’ and *ndī-* ‘to become’.



With *kā*-:

*kā-vahā*

POT:DER-good  
'to make, to build'

*kā-kānī*

POT:DER-ugly  
'to get dirty'

*kā-yánká*

POT:DER-late  
'to be delayed'

*kā-yī*

POT:DER-sacred  
'to be holy'

*kā-nāá*

POT:DER-dark  
'to be tired'

With *ndī*-:

*ndī-vahā*

POT:become-good  
'to get well'

*ndī-kwáhá*

POT:become-red  
'to become red'

*ndī-yáko*

POT:become-dirty  
'to become dirty'

*ndī-xúsá*

POT:become-lazy  
'to become lazy'

*ndī-kānī*

POT:become-ugly  
'to become dirty'

Stative verbs that are derived from nouns (see 5.2) can be made into content verbs by means of the same derivational prefixes as other stative verbs: *kā*- 'derivational prefix' and *ndī*- 'to become'.

With *kā-*.<sup>1</sup>

*kā-yūhú*

POT:DER-mouthlike

'to yell' (cf. *yūhu* 'mouth')

*kā-ndēé*

POT:DER-strong

'to win' (cf. *ndēé* 'strength')

*kā-tátá*

POT:DER-medicinal

'to get well' (cf. *tata* 'medicine')

*kā-túhún*

POT:DER-lying

'to tell lies' (cf. *tuhún* 'lie')

*kā-chúin*

POT:DER-clawlike

'to skin' (cf. *chúin* 'claw, fingernail')

*kā-yūú*

POT:DER-rocklike

'to be solidified' (cf. *yuu* 'rock')

*kā-xahán*

POT:DER-greasy

'to be greasy' (cf. *xahan* 'grease')

*kā-lámba*

POT:DER-bladderlike

'to be inflated' (cf. *lámba* 'bladder')

*kā-shōō*

POT:DER-sidelike

'to be put aside' (cf. *shōō* 'side')

*kā-kyahvā*

POT:DER-measurelike

'to be measured' (cf. *kyahvā* 'measure')

---

<sup>1</sup> The prefix *kā-*, which occurs with both content and stative verbs to derive content verbs, may be a reduced form of *kāā* 'to appear' in some cases and a reduced form of *kāxā* 'to do' in some others. In still other cases, however, neither etymology seems to be correct.

With *ndī-*:

*ndī-yūú*

POT:become-rocklike

'to become rocky' (cf. *yuu* 'rock')

*ndī-ndahyi*

POT:become-muddy

'to become muddy' (cf. *ndahyi* 'mud')

*ndī-ñūhú*

POT:become-dirty

'to become muddy' (cf. *ñūhu* 'dirt, soil')

The prefix *chī-* 'to place' or 'to thrust', which usually occurs with content verbs, is also found with derived stative verbs.

*chī-ndēé*

POT:place-strong

'to help' (cf. *ndée* 'strength')

*chī-chiún*

POT:place-clawlike

'to scratch' (cf. *chiún* 'claw, fingernail')

*chī-níhmá*

POT:place-smoky

'to put incense smoke around' (cf. *nihma* 'smoke')

*chī-kyahvā*

POT:place-measurelike

'to measure' (cf. *kyahvā* 'measure')

The causative prefix *xá-* introduces an agent. It occurs with intransitive content verbs, including those that have been derived from other forms by means of one of the prefixes previously discussed. Compare the examples in each of the following pairs.

*xá-ndihvī*

CAUS-POT:enter

'to cause to enter'

*ndihvī*

POT:enter

'to enter'

*xá-tākā*

CAUS-POT:be:gathered

'to gather'

*tākā*

POT:be:gathered

'to be gathered'

*xá-kā-nāá*

CAUS-POT:DER-dark

'to cause to be tired'

*kā-nāá*

POT:DER-dark

'to be tired'

*xá-kā-shítí*  
CAUS-POT:DER-POT:kneel  
'to cause to kneel'

*kā-shítí*  
POT:DER-POT:kneel  
'to kneel'

*xá-ndī-kayi*  
CAUS-POT:become-POT:ignite  
'to cause to be ignited'

*ndī-kayi*  
POT:become-POT:ignite  
'to begin to burn'

Several pairs of verbs that contrast in transitivity differ only by tone. The potential aspect forms of the most common ones are:

## Transitive

*xaní*  
'to loose'

*ndíká*  
'to open'

*ndātá*  
'to split'

*kīní*  
'to shoot'

*ndāshí*  
'to loose'

## Intransitive

*xani*  
'to be loosed'

*ndíka*  
'to be open'

*ndata*  
'to be split'

*kini*  
'to be shot'

*ndashi*  
'to be loosed'

A few sets of verbs with related meanings differ in form only in their initial consonants. These verbs are:

*núná*  
CON:be:open  
'to be open'

*súná*  
CON:open  
'to open'

*tahnu*  
POT:fold  
'to fold'

*chī-kahnu*  
POT:place-?  
'to fold double'

*káxā vahā*  
CON:do good  
'to habitually do good'

*ndáxā vahā*  
CON:make good  
'to mend'

*kétā*  
CON:leave  
'to leave'

*ndétā*  
CON:enter  
'to enter'

<i>kihvī</i> POT:enter 'to enter (in order to rob)'	<i>ndihvī</i> POT:enter 'to enter'	
<i>táká</i> CON:be:gathered 'to be gathered'	<i>ndáka</i> CON:add:up:to 'to add up to'	
<i>ndáxí</i> CON:be:shut 'to be shut'	<i>chí-kāxí</i> CON:place-? 'to block'	<i>ndí-ndāxí</i> CON:become-POT:be:shut 'to become blocked'

A few pairs of verbs indicate a singular or plural subject by a stem change. These verbs are:

<i>ká-ndīchí</i> CON:DER-POT:stand:SG 'to stand' (one person)	<i>ndítā</i> CON:stand:PL 'to stand' (plural)
<i>ūn</i> CON:exist:SG 'to be' (one person)	<i>ndúú</i> CON:exist:PL 'to be' (plural)
<i>kāā</i> CON:appear:SG 'to appear' (one person)	<i>ndāā</i> CON:appear:PL 'to appear' (plural)

Occasionally, however, a singular form is used in a context where its plural counterpart would be expected. This may indicate that the singular forms are becoming unmarked with respect to number.

One verb, *ko* 'to not exist', is inherently negative.

**5.1.2 Inflection.** Content and equative verbs are inflected for three aspects: potential, continuative, and completive. These three aspects are similar to future, present, and past tenses, but cannot be equated with them because, once a time frame has been established in the discourse context, all three aspects can occur to express time relative to that frame. For example, continuative aspect is often used for ongoing action in the past.

Potential aspect is the basic form of the verb. Continuative and completive aspects are best described by means of changes from the potential form.

Continuative aspect is usually formed from potential only by a tone change. In most tone classes, continuative differs from potential only in that the first tone becomes high in continuative. Only verbs with mid mid in potential are not predictable in that some verbs have high high and

others have high mid in continuative. The following table gives these tone changes (L is low, H is high, and M is mid).

POT	CON
L L	H L
L H	H H
L M	H M
M H	H H
M M	H H
M M	H M

The following verb forms illustrate the above tone changes.

<i>kahan</i> 'will talk'	<i>káhan</i> 'talks'
<i>kahán</i> 'will have an opinion'	<i>káhán</i> 'has an opinion'
<i>ndihvī</i> 'will enter'	<i>ndihvi</i> 'enters'
<i>ndāshī</i> 'will loose'	<i>ndáshī</i> 'looses'
<i>tākā</i> 'will be gathered'	<i>táká</i> 'is being gathered'
<i>kāxā</i> 'will do'	<i>káxā</i> 'is doing'

Some verbs show a change in the stem form as well as a tone change.

<i>kātā</i> 'will sing'	<i>shítā</i> 'is singing'
<i>kūshū</i> 'will eat'	<i>shíshī</i> 'is eating'
<i>kāshī</i> 'will eat'	<i>sáshī</i> 'is eating'
<i>kāhni</i> 'will kill'	<i>sáhni</i> 'is killing'

In regular verbs, completive aspect is formed from potential by adding the preverbal element *na* (see 2.1.2). The tones of potential aspect are retained.

	POT	CON	COM
sell	<i>xikó</i>	<i>xíkó</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>xikó</i>
speak	<i>kahan</i>	<i>káhan</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>kahan</i>
become	<i>ndūū</i>	<i>ndúū</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>ndūū</i>

In verbs that show stem changes, completive aspect is formed by adding *na* to a form that has the tones of potential aspect and the consonants and vowels of continuative.

	POT	CON	COM
sing	<i>kātā</i>	<i>shítā</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>shítā</i>
eat	<i>kūshū</i>	<i>shíshī</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>shíshī</i>
eat	<i>kāshī</i>	<i>sáshī</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>sāshī</i>
kill	<i>kāhni</i>	<i>sáhni</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>sāhni</i>

In a few verbs, the stem used in continuative and completive aspects is unrelated to the stem used in potential, and so the tones of completive cannot be predicted.

	POT	CON	COM
die	<i>kīvī</i>	<i>shíhi</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>shíhi</i>
give	<i>kyahvā</i>	<i>sāhān</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>sāhān</i>

Throughout this sketch, all verbs in completive aspect are marked as completive, even when the completive form is homophonous with the potential form. For example, *xikó* is glossed 'POT:sell', and *na xikó* is glossed 'COM COM:sell'.

Verbs formed using the derivational prefix *kā-* are inflected for aspect by changes in the prefix; the remaining syllables are constant in form in all three aspects. Such verbs fall into five classes determined by aspect formation, as shown in the table below. All verbs formed from nonderived stative verbs fall into Class I. Those formed from derived stative verbs fall into Classes I and II. Those formed from content verbs fall into all five classes. The preverbal element *na* 'completive' occurs with all five classes, and in Class I its presence is the only difference between potential and completive aspects.

	POT	CON	COM
Class I	<i>kā-</i>	<i>ká-</i>	<i>(na) kā-</i>
Class II	<i>kā-</i>	<i>ká-</i>	<i>(na) sā-</i>
Class III	<i>kā-</i>	∅	<i>(na) sā-</i>
Class IV	<i>kā-</i>	<i>sá-</i>	<i>(na) sā-</i>
Class V	<i>kā-</i>	<i>shí-</i>	<i>(na) shī-</i>
<b>Class I:</b>	<b>POT</b>	<b>CON</b>	<b>COM</b>
make, build	<i>kā-vahā</i>	<i>ká-vahā</i>	<i>(na) kā-vahā</i>
tell lies	<i>kā-túhún</i>	<i>ká-túhún</i>	<i>(na) kā-túhún</i>
prickle	<i>kā-túmí</i>	<i>ká-túmí</i>	<i>(na) kā-túmí</i>
be stuck	<i>kā-tiīn</i>	<i>ká-tiīn</i>	<i>(na) kā-tiīn</i>
skin	<i>kā-chiín</i>	<i>ká-chiín</i>	<i>(na) kā-chiín</i>
yell	<i>kā-yūhú</i>	<i>ká-yūhú</i>	<i>(na) kā-yūhú</i>
jump up and down	<i>kā-ndūtā</i>	<i>ká-ndūtā</i>	<i>(na) kā-ndūtā</i>
<b>Class II:</b>			
be folded	<i>kā-tahnu</i>	<i>ká-tahnu</i>	<i>(na) sā-tahnu</i>
be riding	<i>kā-núū</i>	<i>ká-núū</i>	<i>(na) sā-núū</i>
be together	<i>kā-táhān</i>	<i>ká-táhān</i>	<i>(na) kā-táhān</i>
be lying	<i>kā-ndúhu</i>	<i>ká-ndúhu</i>	<i>(na) sā-ndúhu</i>
be placed	<i>kā-ndóxó</i>	<i>ká-ndóxó</i>	<i>(na) sā-ndóxó</i>
<b>Class III:</b>			
care for	<i>kā-ndāā</i>	<i>ndáá</i>	<i>(na) sā-ndāā</i>
stand:PL	<i>kā-ndūtā</i>	<i>ndūtā</i>	<i>(na) sā-ndūtā</i>
have, own	<i>kā-kōmí</i>	<i>kómí</i>	<i>(na) sā-kōmí</i>
wear	<i>kā-ndīshī</i>	<i>ndīshī</i>	<i>(na) sā-ndīshī</i>
<b>Class IV:</b>			
look	<i>ā-ndehé</i>	<i>sá-ndehé</i>	<i>(na) sā-ndehé</i>
play	<i>ā-xíkí</i>	<i>sá-xíkí</i>	<i>(na) sā-xíkí</i>



## Class V:

fast	<i>kā-xūhūn</i>	<i>shí-xūhūn</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>shī-xūhūn</i>
eat supper	<i>kā-xíní</i>	<i>shí-xíní</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>shī-xíní</i>
warm oneself	<i>kā-túní</i>	<i>shí-túní</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>shī-túní</i>
feed	<i>kā-sháhān</i>	<i>shí-sháhān</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>shī-sháhān</i>

Derived verbs with prefixes other than *kā-* all have mid tone on the first syllable in potential and completive aspects, and change the tone to high to form continuative.

	POT	CON	COM
become			
stacked	<i>ndī-tākā</i>	<i>ndí-tākā</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>ndī-tākā</i>
begin to			
burn	<i>ndī-kayi</i>	<i>ndí-kayi</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>ndī-kayi</i>
place on	<i>chī-núū</i>	<i>chí-núū</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>chī-núū</i>
cover up	<i>chī-xahvī</i>	<i>chí-xahvī</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>chī-xahvī</i>

The verb *kōō* ‘to exist (singular)’ is irregular.

	POT	CON	COM
exist:SG	<i>kōō</i>	<i>ūn</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>sāhiin</i>

A few motion verbs are irregular or defective.

	POT	CON	COM
come	<i>kīshī</i>	<i>vashī</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>kīshī</i>
go	<i>kuhun</i>	<i>kwahan</i>	—
go and return	—	<i>sáhan</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>sahan</i>

Two motion verbs have distinct imperative forms.

*kwáhán*

IMP:go

‘go!’ (cf. *kwahan* ‘CON:go’)

*koho*

IMP:go:IN

‘let’s go!’ (cf. *kuhun* ‘POT:go’)

*nāhā*

IMP:come

'come!' (cf. *kāshī* 'POT:come')

The verb *ko* 'to not exist' is defective in that it occurs only in continuative aspect; and the verb *kūni* 'to want' is likewise defective for most speakers.

The three equative verbs are irregular in various ways, as seen in the following table.

	POT	CON	COM
be	<i>kākūū</i>	<i>kūū</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>sākūū</i>
become	<i>ndūū</i>	<i>ndūū</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>sāndūū</i>
be named	<i>kānāní</i>	<i>nāní</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>sānāní</i>

## 5.2 Stative Verbs

Unlike content and equative verbs, stative verbs are not inflected for aspect. Stative verbs are either basic or derived from nouns by means of a tone change.

Basic stative verbs:

<i>nūchí</i>	'pretty'
<i>yātá</i>	'old'
<i>kwáán</i>	'yellow'

Derived stative verbs:

<i>ndēé</i>	'strong' (cf. <i>ndée</i> 'strength')
<i>xahán</i>	'greasy' (cf. <i>xahan</i> 'lard')
<i>nūhú</i>	'muddy' (cf. <i>nūhu</i> 'dirt')

Some stative verbs retain the same tones as the nouns they are derived from.

<i>túmi</i>	'prickles, prickly'
<i>ndahyi</i>	'mud, muddy'
<i>yuu</i>	'rock, rocky'
<i>nihma</i>	'smoke, smoky'

Three stative verbs have distinct forms for singular and plural referents.

	SG	PL
big	<i>káhnū</i>	<i>náhnū</i>
long	<i>kānī</i>	<i>nānī</i>
small	<i>lōhō</i>	<i>váltí</i>

Occasionally, however, a singular form is used in a context where its plural counterpart would be expected. It is perhaps the case that the singular forms are becoming unmarked with respect to number.

### 5.3 Nouns

**5.3.1 Derivation.** Although there are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech, there are many compound nouns formed by the fusion of complex noun nuclei (see 3.1.1) into single words. A large number of nouns that name animals, plants, fruit, etc. consist of a prestressed pronoun (see 5.4) plus a noun, stative verb, content verb, or indeterminate element.

*ta-ndūyū*

he-Silacayoapan

'man from Silacayoapan'

*ta-taxí*

he-witchcraft

'witch doctor'

*ñá-xíhí*

she-female

'wife'

*ña-tuhún*

it:INAN-POT:tell:lies

'lie'

*tī-káto*

it:SPH-CON:tie

'knot'

*tí-nānā*

it:SPH-?

'tomato'

*ti-kwaá*  
it:SPH-?  
'orange'

*ti-ndiki*  
it:AML-horn  
'cattle'

*ti-yāká*  
it:AML-?  
'fish'

*ti-íxi*  
it:AML-hair  
'daddy longlegs'

*ndī-yuu*  
it:AML-rock  
'rock dove'

*ndī-kāchī*  
it:AML-cotton  
'sheep'

*to-kwaá*  
it:WOD-?  
'orange tree'

*to-tichí*  
it:WOD-avocado  
'avocado tree'

*to-ndíka*  
it:WOD-banana  
'banana plant'

*tó-vixi*  
it:LIQ-sweet  
'soda pop'

*to-ndúchú*  
it:LIQ-bean  
'liquid of cooked beans'

**5.3.2 Classification.** Nouns can be classified by gender, possessibility, distribution, or countability.

Nouns fall into five gender classes according to the third person pronouns that can refer to them: masculine, feminine, animal/spherical,

wood/liquid, and unspecified (inanimate, nonhuman, deceased, high respect).

Masculine nouns:

<i>taā</i>	‘man’
<i>xito</i>	‘uncle’
<i>yū</i>	‘husband’

Feminine nouns:

<i>ñáha</i>	‘woman’
<i>xixi</i>	‘aunt’

Animal/spherical nouns:

<i>ndikāchī</i>	‘sheep’
<i>tikwaá</i>	‘orange’
<i>kíti</i>	‘animal’
<i>ndíki</i>	‘seed’
<i>kimī</i>	‘star’
<i>tiñáhá</i>	‘devil’
<i>tindiki</i>	‘cattle’
<i>tinānā</i>	‘tomato’
<i>tikáto</i>	‘knot’
<i>tinā</i>	‘dog’
<i>yoo</i>	‘moon’

Wood/liquid nouns:

<i>toichí</i>	‘avocado tree’
<i>kāmyúun</i>	‘truck (Sp. <i>camión</i> )’
<i>tóvixi</i>	‘soda pop’
<i>yúto</i>	‘tree, stick, pole’
<i>tokwaá</i>	‘orange tree’

Unspecified nouns:

<i>yuu</i>	‘rock’
<i>tātā</i>	‘corn seed’

<i>ndyóshi</i>	‘God (Sp. <i>Dios</i> )’
<i>ndīi</i>	‘dead person’
<i>vēhē</i>	‘house’
<i>yoko</i>	‘sacred stone’
<i>tohyō</i>	‘saint’

Nouns may also be divided into those that can be possessed and those that cannot. The unpossessible nouns refer to topographical and meteorological phenomena.

<i>kivi</i>	‘day’
<i>yúku</i>	‘mountain’
<i>kandū</i>	‘sun’
<i>yoo</i>	‘moon’

A word in the above category may have an additional meaning that is possessible.

<i>tachi</i>	‘wind’
<i>tachi yó</i>	
wind our:IN	
‘our breath’	or ‘our voice’

Possessible nouns are those that can occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase (see 3.3). They are either inherently or optionally possessed. Inherently possessed nouns characteristically occur in this position; they are usually kinship terms or body parts, but also include a few others, like the word for ‘name’.

<i>tátá</i>	‘father’
<i>xito</i>	‘uncle’
<i>xahyī</i>	‘child’
<i>xata</i>	‘back’
<i>ndáha</i>	‘hand’
<i>saha</i>	‘foot’
<i>kivi</i>	‘name’
<i>xana</i>	‘domestic animal, spherical object’

Optionally possessed nouns include all the remaining nouns.

<i>ñúhu</i>	‘land’
<i>ūnū</i>	‘cornfield’
<i>kíti</i>	‘animal’
<i>vēhē</i>	‘house’
<i>ndyóshi</i>	‘God’
<i>tohyō</i>	‘saint’

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

Vocatives occur as independent utterances, or loosely connected to sentences (see 1.4). They include a special set of vocative kinship terms.

<i>taá</i>	‘Father!’
<i>naá</i>	‘Mother!’

Proper nouns and certain other kinship terms are also used as vocatives.

<i>xwáan</i>	‘John! (Sp. <i>Juan</i> )’
<i>ñānī</i>	‘Brother! (of male)’

Proper nouns include personal names, nicknames, and place names.

<i>xwáan</i>	‘John’
<i>xōsée</i>	‘Joe (Sp. <i>José</i> )’
<i>axēēn</i>	‘Huajuapan’
<i>ñakohyó</i>	‘Mexico City’
<i>ndūyū</i>	‘Silacayoapan’
<i>ñūndáhyí</i>	‘city of Oaxaca’

Locative nouns occur as the nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see 3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes names for topographical features.

<i>íchi</i>	‘trail, road’
<i>ñūū</i>	‘town’
<i>yutā</i>	‘river’

The second category includes mainly body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense. The most common ones are:

*xini*

head

'top of'

*saha*

foot

'base of, for, on behalf of, about'

*xohō*

ear

'handle of'

*yūhū*

mouth

'edge of'

*tishī*

stomach

'underside of'

*inī*

insides

'within'

*káha*

bottom

'bottom of'

*shōō*

side

'on behalf of'

*ndāhá*

hand

'to, from'

*xata*

back

'back of'

*nuu*

face

'front of, surface of, on, to, from, in place of'

*mahñú*

middle part

'in the middle of'



*kwéntá*

account

'for, on behalf of, on the side of (Sp. *cuenta*)'

The locative noun *nuu* 'face' also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning 'place (where)' or 'time (when)'. See 7.8, 7.32, and 7.33 for examples of this use.

Temporal nouns are also divided into those that occur as nuclei of adverbial basic noun phrases and those that occur as nuclei of adverbial possessive noun phrases. The first category includes names for units of time and calendric sequences.

*kivi* 'day'*kwyyaa* 'year'*yoo* 'moon, month'*sábato* 'Saturday (Sp. *sábado*)'

The second category includes only a few body-part nouns that are extended metaphorically to time; they are:

*tishī*

stomach

'within'

*saha*

foot

'beginning of'

*nuu*

face

'for'

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as nuclei of measurement noun phrases (see 3.2).

*kōō* 'mound'*táhndá* 'group'*xini* 'head (of cattle), head'*shoxō* 'bunch'*ndáha* 'fathom, arm'

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

<i>ūtū</i>	‘cornfield’
<i>uxu</i>	‘deer’
<i>taā</i>	‘man’
<i>títo</i>	‘firewood’
<i>yíto</i>	‘tree’

Nouns may also be classified as either mass or count. Mass nouns do not permit a numeral or numeral phrase as quantifier, whereas count nouns do.

Mass nouns:

<i>tikwíí</i>	‘water’
<i>yúsa</i>	‘tortilla dough’
<i>ndáyi</i>	‘soup’

Count nouns:

<i>tūhū</i>	‘paper’
<i>xita</i>	‘tortilla’
<i>tinā</i>	‘dog’
<i>ndúchu</i>	‘bean’

#### 5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns show a fairly complex system that employs the parameters of person, number, gender, and respect. There are also free and clitic forms, but no case distinctions are made.

First and second person free pronouns show a distinction in singular and plural. They are:

	SG	PL
first EX	<i>yehe</i>	<i>ndehe</i>
first IN	—	<i>yó</i>
second	<i>yóhó</i>	<i>ndóhó</i>

Each of these forms also has a clitic counterpart. These pronouns are:

	SG	PL
first EX	<i>-i</i>	<i>nde</i>
first IN	—	<i>-í</i>
second	<i>-ún</i>	<i>ndó</i>

Free pronouns occur in all syntactic environments. Clitic pronouns are poststressed, which means that they must be attached to a preceding word. They therefore cannot occur in sentence-initial position, nor do they occur as direct objects. Clitic pronouns can, however, be preceded by the specifier *mé* or *mí*, in which case they occur in any environment.

The forms that are given with a hyphen sometimes fuse with the preceding stem. *-i* and *-í* are often lost after stem-final *i*, *e*, or *u*, but their tone replaces the tone of the stem-final syllable. *-ún* replaces the stem-final vowel and nasalizes the whole stem; words containing this pronoun are found in 7.10, 7.18, 7.22, 7.40, 7.44, and 7.48.

The first person plural exclusive and second person plural pronouns, but not the first person plural inclusive pronouns, are used to show respect for the addressee as well as plural. This has resulted in a system in which the singular pronouns are used only for singular referents when speaking to someone of equal or lower status, and the plural pronouns are used for the remaining three categories (singular respect, plural familiar, and plural respect). Because of the importance of the familiar-respect distinction, the second person pronouns are glossed as 'you (familiar)' and 'you (respect)', rather than as 'you (singular)' and 'you (plural)', throughout this sketch, even though the number distinction is historically more basic. These plural forms appear to be a fusion of *ndihí* 'all' with the corresponding singular forms.

The first person plural inclusive pronouns also show an additional use; they often occur in soliloquy to refer to oneself, as seen in 7.58.

Third person pronouns differ from first and second person pronouns in a number of ways. They show no number distinctions, but do show six different genders, one of which indicates respect. Also, there are no free forms, and the clitic forms divide into two groups, poststressed and prestressed. These pronouns are:

	Poststressed	Prestressed
masculine	<i>da</i>	<i>ta</i>
feminine	<i>ñá</i>	<i>ñá</i>
animal, spherical	<i>rí</i>	<i>tí, ndī</i>
wood, liquid	<i>dó</i>	<i>tó</i>
unspecified	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
human respect	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
inanimate	<i>ñá</i>	<i>ñá</i>

Prestressed pronouns occur mainly in compound nouns (see 5.3.1), but sometimes also occur as the nuclei of noun phrases that include at least one postnominal element (see 3.1.3). They often occur in sentence-initial position. Poststressed pronouns, on the other hand, occur as the nuclei of noun phrases both when they are final in their own noun phrase and when postnominal elements occur. They cannot, however, occur in focus position unless they are preceded by the specifier *mé* or *mí*. The sentence in 7.58 illustrates the use of both types.

The prestressed pronouns *tí* and *ndí* are variant forms, though not in free fluctuation; each occurs in certain idiomatic phrases.

The animal pronouns *rí*, *tí*, and *ndí* are also used for spherical objects, the moon, stars, and devils.

The unspecified pronoun *a* is often used for respected referents, such as supernatural beings, as well as for children, deceased persons, and inanimate objects. It is also used for a respected second person. In this sketch it is glossed 'it (unspecified)'. This pronoun sometimes fuses with *kíúú* 'to be (continuative)' to create the form *keá*.

The human respect pronoun *ñá* is used both for plural referents, and for respected singular referents. In this sketch it is glossed 'they'.

The inanimate pronoun *ñá* also functions as a complementizer (see 1.1.9) and as a conjunction expressing purpose (see 6.2.1); in these functions it is glossed 'complementizer' rather than 'it (inanimate)'.

There are two interrogative pronouns; the constructions in which they occur are described in 1.2.2 and 3.4.

<i>yō</i>	'who?'
<i>ndiā</i>	'what?'

## 5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, and interrogative. See 2.1.3, 2.3, and 4.2 for a description of the constructions in which adverbs commonly occur.

Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns.

<i>yóhō</i>	'here (near speaker)'
<i>xan</i>	'here (near hearer)'
<i>káā</i>	'there (in view)'
<i>kán</i>	'there (out of view)'
<i>chíkán</i>	'over there' (cf. <i>kán</i> 'there')
<i>chíninu</i>	'down below'
<i>chíninū</i>	'up above'

The first four adverbs in the above list have an additional function as deictics in noun phrases (see 3.1.3); in this use they are glossed 'this' and 'that', rather than 'here' and 'there'. In the text in chapter 7, examples of the locative-adverb use are found in 7.4, 7.32, and 7.41; and examples of the deictic use are found in 7.31 and 7.58. There are, in addition, a number of sentences in which either reading is possible, for example, 7.54 and 7.60. Sometimes a short adverb phrase (see 4.2.1) functions as a deictic, as seen in 7.56 and 7.59. It is also possible for locative adverbs functioning as deictics to occur with a deleted noun nucleus, in which case they appear to be functioning as demonstrative pronouns. Examples of this use occur in the text in chapter 7 only in the idiomatic expression *tá na ndīhī kán* 'later', found in 7.6 and elsewhere.

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns.

<i>vīī</i>	'now'
<i>kūnī</i>	'yesterday'
<i>yāxá</i>	'day after tomorrow'

General adverbs include all manner words that are not stative verbs; they are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>kwéé</i>	'slowly'
<i>xōhō</i>	'like this'
<i>xá</i>	'thus'

Complex:

<i>kyahvā</i>	<i>xá</i>
measure	thus
'in that manner'	

*xá* also functions to signal tag questions (see 1.5) and to mark sequence in discourse (see 6.4). The complex adverb given occurs frequently in comparison sentences (see 6.2.1).

Intensifying adverbs most commonly occur as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, and adverb phrases (see 2.1.3, 2.3, and 4.2.1). These adverbs are:

<i>ndīvahā</i>	'very' (cf. <i>ndī</i> 'all', <i>vahā</i> 'good')
<i>chá</i>	'somewhat'
<i>ūūn</i>	'only, in vain'

Interrogative adverbs occur in WH and indirect questions (see 1.2.2 and 1.2.3). They are simple or complex. The simple ones are compounds; they are:

<i>ndáchi</i>	‘where?’ (cf. <i>ndá</i> ‘what?’, <i>íchi</i> ‘road’)
<i>ndáhma</i>	‘when?’ (cf. <i>ndá</i> ‘what?’, <i>ámā</i> ‘when’)
<i>ndāxā</i>	‘how?’ (cf. <i>ndá</i> ‘what?’, <i>xá</i> ‘thus’)
<i>ndāvahā</i> or <i>ndīvahā</i>	‘why?’ (cf. <i>ndāxā</i> ‘how?’, <i>vahā</i> ‘good’)

There are four complex interrogative adverbs, all of which mean ‘why?’ Two of them contain the frozen form *keá*, from *kúú* ‘to be (continuative)’ and *a* ‘it (unspecified)’; the remainder of the sentence could therefore be considered to be a sentential complement.

*ndá vahā*  
what good  
‘why?’

*ndāxā vahā*  
how good  
‘why?’

*ndá saha keá*  
what foot CON:be:it:UN  
‘why?’

*ndá kwéntá keá*  
what account CON:be:it:UN  
‘why?’

See 3.4 for a description of interrogative noun phrases that function like interrogative adverbs.

## 5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers; both occur in quantifier phrases (see 4.1), as prenominal elements in noun phrases (see 3.1.2), and occasionally as manner in verb phrases (see 2.1.3). When no noun nucleus occurs, a quantifier sometimes appears to function as a noun, as seen in 7.22.

Simple numerals are those from one to ten, fifteen, and twenty, plus Spanish loans for hundred and thousand. (Numeral phrases express the rest of the numerals, as described in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2.)

<i>īn</i>	‘one, a, approximately’
<i>ivi</i>	‘two’
<i>uni</i>	‘three’
<i>komi</i>	‘four’
<i>uhun</i>	‘five’
<i>īñu</i>	‘six’
<i>usa</i>	‘seven’
<i>una</i>	‘eight’
<i>in</i>	‘nine’
<i>ushu</i>	‘ten’
<i>sahun</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>oko</i>	‘twenty’
<i>xīkō</i>	‘twenty’ (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
<i>syéntó</i>	‘hundred (Sp. <i>ciento</i> )’
<i>mīl</i>	‘thousand (Sp. <i>mil</i> )’

*ivi* ‘two’ fuses with the preceding word *ndī* ‘all’ to create *ndívi* ‘both’.

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. The most common ones are:

<i>kwahá</i>	‘many’
<i>ndīhī</i> or <i>ndī</i>	‘all’
<i>xāvā</i>	‘some, several, half’
<i>īnkā</i>	‘another’ (cf. <i>īn</i> ‘one’, <i>ka</i> ‘more’)

### 5.7 Prepositions

There are only three prepositions.

<i>shihin</i>	‘with’
<i>anda</i>	‘until’
<i>tāñū</i>	‘among’

Prepositions occur mainly in prepositional phrases (see 4.3), and *shihin* occurs also in additive noun phrases and additive adverbial phrases (see 3.8 and 4.2.3).

### 5.8 Conjunctions

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

The coordinate conjunctions are:

<i>tā</i>	‘and’
<i>xōō</i>	‘but’
<i>nī</i>	‘nor (Sp. <i>ni</i> )’

The conjunctions *tā* and *nī* also link additive noun phrases, and *tā* links repetitive verb phrases and additive adverb phrases as well (see 2.4, 3.8, and 4.2.3).

The subordinate conjunctions are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>tá</i>	‘if, when, as, by’
<i>chi</i>	‘because’
<i>xáchi</i>	‘because’ (cf. <i>xá</i> ‘thus’, <i>chi</i> ‘because’)
<i>chí</i>	‘so that, and so’
<i>nānī</i>	‘while’
<i>vatí</i>	‘even though, even if’

Complex:

*ñā kán keá*  
 it:INAN that CON:be:it:UN  
 ‘with the result that, therefore’

*tá kyahvā*  
 if measure  
 ‘in the manner that’

*tá tuhūn*  
 if word  
 ‘somewhat like, approximately’

*tá* also occurs in repetitive verb phrases, distributive noun phrases, and distributive numeral phrases (see 2.4, 3.9, and 4.1.6); and *tá tuhūn* also occurs in expanded numeral phrases (see 4.1.4).



### 5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form part of sentences or phrases but are not included in the parts of speech already described. They are verbal, nominal, numerical, general, or sentential.

Verbal markers occur as preverbal and postverbal elements in verb phrases (see 2.1.2 and 2.1.3); they are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>kwā</i>	‘directional’
<i>na</i>	‘completive aspect’
<i>a</i>	‘not’ (with potential aspect)
<i>ná</i>	‘hortatory’
<i>ñāhá</i>	‘known object’
<i>nī</i>	‘also’

Complex:

<i>a</i>	<i>ñáha</i>
NEG	thing
‘not yet’	

Nominal markers occur as prenominal elements in noun phrases (see 3.4 and 3.5); they are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>ndá</i>	‘what?, which?’
------------	-----------------

Complex:

<i>a</i>	<i>xuí</i>
NEG	?
‘not’	

Numerical markers occur as postnuclear elements in aggregative and expanded numeral phrases (see 4.1.3 and 4.1.4); they are:

<i>túhún</i>	‘only’ (cf. <i>tuhūn</i> ‘word’)
<i>kwití</i>	‘only’
<i>laá</i>	‘only’
<i>tīlaá</i>	‘only’ (cf. <i>tuhūn</i> ‘word’, <i>laá</i> ‘only’)

General markers occur in two or more kinds of constructions; see 2.1.3, 2.3, 3.1.3, 4.1.4, 4.1.5, and 4.1.8. These markers are:

<i>mé</i> or <i>mí</i>	'that very'
<i>tūkū</i>	'again'
<i>vā</i>	'just'
<i>ka</i>	'more'
<i>ko</i>	'not' (cf. <i>ko</i> 'CON:NEG:exist')
<i>sa</i>	'already, about to, just begun'
<i>dā</i>	'unbelief, amazement'

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind indicates the mood or truth value of the sentence (see 1.5); they are:

<i>á</i>	'interrogative'
<i>chi</i>	'hearsay'
<i>ndūū</i>	'contrafactual'

The YES/NO interrogative marker *á* also functions as a conjunction meaning 'or' (see 3.8, 4.1.7, and 6.1.1).

The second kind of sentential marker relates a sentence to its discourse context (see 6.4). Some of the most common markers of this type are:

*anda xá*  
until thus  
'then'

*xá ví*  
thus finally  
'finally'

*anda xá ví*  
until thus finally  
'then, at that point'

*tā xá*  
and thus  
'and then'

## 5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences to express emotion.

<i>áí</i>	‘surprise or amazement’
<i>axan</i>	‘yes’
<i>uhun</i>	‘no’
<i>xuun</i>	‘expression of agreement’
<i>úska</i>	‘sic-um!’
<i>níí</i>	‘eh?’
<i>kāī</i>	‘pause form’
<i>xivi</i>	‘pause form’

The last three examples listed above, unlike other interjections, are used sentence medially. They occur when the speaker pauses to consider what to say next.

*ndiā na kax-ún / níí /*  
 what COM COM:do-you:FAM eh  
 ‘What did you do, eh,

*tá na sah-ún kán*  
 when COM COM:go-you:FAM there  
 when you went there?’

*na sahan da / xivi / ndüyū*  
 COM COM:go he PAUSE Silacayoapan  
 ‘He went, ahh, to Silacayoapan.’

*kūni kwēē i / kāī / tikwaá*  
 CON:want POT:buy I PAUSE orange  
 ‘I want to buy, ahh, oranges.’

## 6 Intersentential Relations

### 6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some combinations of sentences are connected by a conjunction, and some are not.

**6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions.** Coordinate relations between two sentences can be expressed by *tā* ‘and’, *xōō* ‘but’, and the YES/NO interrogative marker *á*.

The coordinate conjunction *tā* ‘and’ connects any number of sentences. *tā* occurs between each pair of sentences.

*ūn*                      *kwyaa vashī*                      *vahā tyémpó /*  
 CON:exist:SG year CON:come good time  
 ‘There is a good year when good times (Sp. *tiempo*) come,

*tā kēē*                      *vahā vā nde / tā*  
 and CON:come:out good LIM we:EX and  
 and we fare well, and

*ūn*                      *kwyaa vashī*                      *tíví*                      *a*  
 CON:exist:SG year CON:come CON:lose it:UN  
 there is a year when loss comes.’

*yéhé métró nūna*                      *mé vā ā /*  
 door subway CON:open SPEC LIM it:UN  
 ‘THE SUBWAY (Sp. *metro*) DOOR opens by itself,

*tā ndáxí*                      *mé vā ā*  
 and CON:close SPEC LIM it:UN  
 and closes by itself.’

*una kivi kwahan nde / tā una kivi vashī*                      *nde /*  
 eight day CON:go we:EX and eight day CON:come we:EX  
 ‘EIGHT DAYS we went, and EIGHT DAYS we came back,

*tā in kivi na sãndũũ nde kãn*  
 and one day COM COM:exist:PL we:EX there  
 and ONE DAY we stayed there.'

One of the semantic relations commonly expressed by this construction is simultaneous action involving two actions roughly starting and stopping at the same time.

*shikã nũũ dã / tã ndĩndũkã da*  
 CON:walk around he and CON:look:for he  
 'He is going around, and looking for

*tĩndĩkĩ / xana da*  
 cattle domestic:animal his  
 his cattle.'

*shĩtã nã / tã kãxã kãhnũ nã ndyõshi*  
 CON:sing they and CON:do big:SG they God  
 'They are singing, and magnifying God (Sp. *Dios*).'

*kãn ndũũ nde / tã sãxĩkĩ nde*  
 there CON:exist:PL we:EX and CON:play we:EX  
 'THERE we were, and we were playing.'

The antithetical conjunction *xõõ* 'but' connects two sentences that express a contrast. The opposing sentences may turn on the use of a negative in one sentence but not in the other, or turn on a pair of antonyms. The second sentence may omit information supplied by the first sentence, as seen in the last sentence below.

*kátóó xwãan kãshĩ da tikwaá / xõõ mariá*  
 CON:like John POT:eat he orange but Mary  
 'John (Sp. *Juan*) likes to eat oranges, but MARY (Sp. *María*)

*ko kátóó ñã kãshĩ ñã rĩ*  
 NEG CON:like she POT:eat she it:SPH  
 doesn't like to eat them.'

*kũni da kuhun da ndũyũ / xõõ ñãxthĩ da*  
 CON:want he POT:go he Silacayoapan but wife his  
 'He wants to go to Silacayoapan, but HIS WIFE

*ko kũni ñã kuhun ñã kãn*  
 NEG CON:want she POT:go she there  
 doesn't want to go there.'

*tó vahã kũũ dó yõhõ / xõõ tó kĩnĩ*  
 it:WOD good CON:be it:WOD this but it:WOD ugly  
 'This tree is a good one, but that tree

*kúú dó kán*  
 CON:be it:WOD that  
 is a bad one.'

*xáhma vūī yáko chá / xōō ītaan*  
 cloth now dirty somewhat but tomorrow  
 'THE CLOTHES are very dirty NOW, but TOMORROW

*sa vūī vā ā*  
 already clean LIM it:UN  
 they will be clean.'

*īn chító na sāshí ní tātā / xōō*  
 one cat COM COM:eat it:AML medicine but  
 'A CAT ate poison, but

*ko na shihi ní*  
 NEG COM COM:die it:AML  
 it didn't die.'

*na sahan da yúku / xōō ko na kehē dā tító*  
 COM COM:go he mountain but NEG COM COM:get he firewood  
 'He went to the mountain, but he didn't get firewood.'

*kwahan xehé da / xōō na shihī xohō ñayivī*  
 CON:go hidden he but COM COM:sense ear people  
 'He went secretly, but the people heard

*ndáchí kwahan da*  
 where CON:go he  
 where he went.'

*ndúúkú koō tūn ní da / xōō na xīnū dā*  
 CON:look:for snake POT:grab it:AML him but COM COM:run he  
 'A snake intended to bite him, but he ran away.'

*káchí da ña yóho ndēé keá / xōō*  
 CON:say he CMP rope strong CON:be:it:UN but  
 'He says that it is strong rope, but

*a xuí tōhō ā*  
 NEG ? at:all it:UN  
 it (is)n't at all.'

(See also 7.58.)

Disjunction is expressed by an extended use of the YES/NO interrogative marker *á* to mean 'or'. The use of *á* indicates two possibilities, both

of which are stated, and *á* precedes both. Either sentence may omit some information that the speaker assumes is known by the hearer.

*á kúū kākā dā / á a kúū*  
 INT POT:be:able POT:walk he INT NEG POT:be:able  
 'Either he can walk, or he can't.'

*á kúni ndó tikwaá /*  
 INT CON:want you:RES orange  
 'Either you want oranges,

*á kúni ndó ndlka*  
 INT CON:want you:RES banana  
 or you want bananas.'

*á ndaa / á a ndáa vā keá / xōō xá*  
 INT straight INT NEG straight LIM CON:be:it:UN but thus  
 'Either it is true, or it is not true, but that

*ūn kwéntó*  
 CON:exist:SG story  
 is how the story (Sp. *cuento*) is.'

*á īn tá īn rí tāvá i / á īn*  
 INT one if one it:AML POT:take:out I INT one  
 'Either I take THEM out ONE BY ONE, or

*kuyū i ndīhī kōstá*  
 POT:dump I all sack  
 I dump the whole sack (Sp. *costal*) (all at once).'

In that the basic function of *á* is as an interrogative marker, a sentence can sometimes be translated either as a statement or a question. For example, the first sentence in the previous group of examples could also be translated 'Can he walk, or can't he?' Context helps to eliminate the ambiguity.

**6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions.** It is possible to simply juxtapose two independent sentences, often with a slight pause at the seam. This construction can be used to express several different semantic relations.

One important use of juxtaposition is to express restatement, which serves to highlight an event. Often part of the first sentence is repeated in the second one, and sometimes the two parts show a positive-negative relation.

*na kāsáhá ndáhyi rí /*  
 COM COM:begin CON:cry it:AML  
 'It began to cry out;

*na kāsáhá sákū rí*  
 COM COM:begin CON:weep it:AML  
 'it began to weep.'

*na shīshī nā / na shīsháhān nā*  
 COM COM:eat they COM COM:be:fed they  
 'They ate; they were fed.'

*na ndāā í kwani yuu /*  
 COM COM:climb we:IN step rock  
 'We climbed the rock stairs;

*na ndāā í ninū*  
 COM COM:climb we:IN up  
 'we went up.'

*a xuí xana da kíú rí /*  
 NEG ? domestic:animal his CON:be it:AML  
 'They are~~N~~T HIS DOMESTIC ANIMALS;

*xana ñayivī vā kíú rí*  
 domestic:animal people LIM CON:be it:AML  
 'they are the domestic animals of the people.'

(See also 7.25 and 7.65.)

Another use of juxtaposition is to express a series of items that form a list. If the items in the list serve as the subject of the sentence, the verb is stated before each item in the series and optionally following the last item.

*na kayi tikachi / na kayi xáhma / na*  
 COM COM:burn blanket COM COM:burn cloth COM  
 'Blankets, clothes, and

*kayi ñahā kūshū / na kayi*  
 COM:burn thing POT:eat COM COM:burn  
 'food burned.'

*kwahan na sáhnū / kwahan na tákú / kwahan*  
 CON:go they respected CON:go they unmarried CON:go  
 'The old, the unmarried, and

*na valí / kwahan*  
 they small:PL CON:go  
 'the young people went.'

*ko kíú / xana na /*  
 CON:NEG:exist animal domestic:animal their  
 'There were no domestic animals:



*ko búro / ko kwáyí /*  
 CON:NEG:exist donkey CON:NEG:exist horse  
 no donkeys (Sp. *burro*), no horses (Sp. *caballo*),

*ko rí koxo ñahã*  
 CON:NEG:exist it:AML POT:carry thing  
 no beasts of burden.'

It is also possible to repeat the verb after a single item to highlight the sentence in discourse.

*ko nuni / ko*  
 CON:NEG:exist corn CON:NEG:exist  
 'There was no corn.'

*na kishí tama / na kishí*  
 COM COM:come famine COM COM:come  
 'Famine came.'

If the items in the list serve as something other than the subject, the verb and subject are stated before each item and optionally following the last.

*na shēēn ñá ndúchu / na shēēn ñá ndíka /*  
 COM COM:buy she bean COM COM:buy she banana  
 'She bought beans, bananas, and

*na shēēn ñá nuni / na shēēn ñá*  
 COM COM:buy she corn COM COM:buy she  
 corn.'

*xíkó na xáhma / xíkó na yíxini*  
 CON:sell they cloth CON:sell they hat  
 'They are selling clothes; they are selling hats.'

It is possible to repeat the verb and subject after a single item to highlight the sentence.

*sáhní na tindiki / sáhní na*  
 CON:kill they cattle CON:kill they  
 'They are killing cattle.'

*na shishí dā ndúchu / na shishí dā*  
 COM COM:eat he bean COM COM:eat he  
 'He ate beans.'

A third use of juxtaposition is to express coordination. If, for example, *tā* 'and' were deleted from the examples in 6.1.1, there would be no change in meaning.

*una kivi kwahan nde / una kivi vashī nde /*  
 eight day CON:go we:EX eight day CON:come we:EX  
 'EIGHT DAYS we went; EIGHT DAYS we came back;

*īn kivi na sāndūū nde kán*  
 one day COM COM:exist:PL we:EX there  
 ONE DAY we stayed there.'

*yéhé métró núna mé vā ā /*  
 door subway CON:open SPEC LIM it:UN  
 'THE SUBWAY DOOR opens by itself;

*ndáxí mé vā ā*  
 CON:close SPEC LIM it:UN  
 it closes by itself.'

A fourth use of juxtaposition is to express destination, source, or location with a verb that either takes a different subtype of the locative adjunct or does not take a locative adjunct at all. To express destination, one sentence contains the verb *kuhun* 'to go', which indicates motion away from the speaker.

*shúká sáhá nā / kwahan nā yutā*  
 CON:walk foot she CON:go she river  
 'She is walking; she is going to the river.'

*néhē dā kīi / kwahan da yúku*  
 CON:carry he animal CON:go he mountain  
 'He is taking the animals; he is going to the mountain.'

To express source, one sentence contains the verb *kēē* 'to leave'.

*na kēē nā nākohyó / vashī nā*  
 COM COM:leave she Mexico:City CON:come she  
 'She left Mexico City; she is coming.'

*na kēē nā yúku / kwahan na*  
 COM COM:leave they mountain CON:go they  
 'They left the mountain; they went.'

To express location, one sentence contains a position verb.

*īn dā ndūyū / kávahā dā vēhē*  
 CON:exist:SG he Silacayoapan CON:make he house  
 'He is in Silacayoapan, building a house.'

(See also 7.40.)

A fifth use of juxtaposition is to express an antithetical relation. (See 6.1.1 for discussion of this relation expressed by a conjunction.)

*kátóó xwáan káshí da tikwaá /*  
 CON:like John POT:eat he orange  
 'John likes to eat oranges;

*maría ko kátóó ñá káshí ñá rí*  
 Mary NEG CON:like she POT:eat she it:SPH  
 'MARY doesn't like to eat them.'

*tó vahā kúú dó yóhō /*  
 it:WOD good CON:be it:WOD this  
 'This tree is a good one;

*tó kīnī kúú dó kán*  
 it:WOD ugly CON:be it:WOD that  
 'that tree is a bad one.'

Juxtaposition can also be used to express various types of temporal relations; the sequence of aspects makes the specific relation clear.

Simultaneous actions roughly starting and stopping at the same time can be expressed by juxtaposed sentences in continuative aspect. (See 6.1.1 for the use of *tā* 'and' to express simultaneous action.)

*shíkā nūū dā / ndíndūkú da*  
 CON:walk around he CON:look:for he  
 'He is going around looking for

*tindiki / xana da*  
 cattle domestic:animal his  
 his cattle.'

*shítā nā / káxā káhnū nā ndyóshi*  
 CON:sing they CON:do big:SG they God  
 'They are singing, magnifying God.'

*kán ndūū nde / sáxíki nde*  
 there CON:exist:PL we:EX CON:play we:EX  
 'We were there playing.'

(See also 7.41 and 7.42.)

## 6.2 Subordinate Relations

**6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions.** Conjunctions are used to express cause, result, condition, concession, time, simultaneous action, concurrent action, and comparison of likeness. Also, the complementizer *ña* and the expanded numeral phrase *ivi laá* 'only two' function as conjunctions to express purpose and simultaneous action, respectively.

Cause sentences are introduced by *xáchi* 'because' or *chi* 'because'; they always follow the main sentence.

*na ndata kwahá tóto / chi na taān ndīvahā*  
 COM COM:split many boulder because COM COM:quake INTS  
 'Many boulders split because there was a bad earthquake.'

*ko na saa nde / xáchi*  
 NEG COM COM:arrive we:EX because  
 'We didn't arrive because

*taā kwihná na kátó da ndehe*  
 man thieflike COM COM:tie:up he us:EX  
 ROBBERS tied us up.'

*néhē kwahá da xyuhún / xáchi vahā xini da*  
 CON:earn many he money because good head his  
 'He earns a lot of money because he has a good head.'

(See also 7.9 and 7.61.)

Result sentences are introduced by *chí* 'so that'; they follow the main sentence.

*na taān ndīvahā / chí na ndata kwahá tóto*  
 COM COM:quake INTS so:that COM COM:split many boulder  
 'There was a bad earthquake so that many boulders were split.'

*taā kwihná na kátó da ndehe / chí ko*  
 man thieflike COM COM:tie:up he us:EX so:that NEG  
 'ROBBERS tied us up so that we didn't

*na saa nde*  
 COM COM:arrive we:EX  
 arrive.'

*na kānā ínīma a / chí na shihi*  
 COM COM:come:out spirit its:UN so:that COM COM:die  
 'Its spirit (Sp. *ánima*) left so that it

*vā ā*  
 LIM it:UN  
 just died.'

(See also 7.22.)

A stronger consequence is expressed by *na kán keá* 'with the result that'. Again, the subordinate sentence follows the main sentence.

*ko kándúsā tōhō dā / ña kán*  
 NEG CON:believe at:all he it:INAN there  
 'He didn't believe it at all with the result that

*keá na ndōhō dā xá*  
 CON:be:it:UN COM COM:fare he thus  
 that happened to him.'

*vashī tama ndēé / káchí na / ña kán*  
 CON:come famine strong CON:say they it:INAN there  
 'They say a bad famine is coming with the result that

*keá kún-i kuhun i ñnkā ñūū*  
 CON:be:it:UN CON:want-I POT:go I another town  
 I want to go to another town.'

(See also 7.45.)

The conjunction *tá* 'if' is used to indicate condition. To express a simple condition, *tá* introduces the subordinate sentence, and potential aspect is required in the main sentence.

*tá ko kúūn xavi ñtaan / kuhun kāmýúun*  
 if NEG CON:produce rain:god tomorrow POT:go truck  
 'If it doesn't rain tomorrow, the truck (Sp. *camión*) will

*ndūyū*  
 Silacayoapan  
 go to Silacayoapan.'

*kwēēn i xáhma / tá kēē vahā ūñū*  
 POT:buy I cloth if POT:leave good cornfield  
 'I will buy clothes if the harvest is good.'

*tá xikó i rí / tā xikó i ndīhī rí*  
 if POT:sell I it:AML and POT:sell I all it:AML  
 'If I sell them, I will sell all of them.'

A reduced condition with no subject, consisting of *tá ko* (*ñ*) 'if not (also)', sometimes occurs following the interrogative marker *á* in disjunctive sentences (see 6.1.1).

*kāhní í rí / á tá ko /*  
 POT:kill we:IN it:AML INT if CON:NEG:exist  
 'We will kill it, or if not,

*tāvá í rí*  
 POT:take:out we:IN it:AML  
 we will take it out.'

*tá kándúsā xahyī i tandaha nā /*  
 if POT:agree child my POT:marry she  
 'If my child agrees to marry,

*tā tandaha vā nā / á tá ko rī /*  
 and POT:marry LIM she INT if CON:NEG:exist also  
 she will marry, or if not,

*a kándúsā nā tandaha nā / tā*  
 NEG POT:agree she POT:marry she and  
 if she doesn't agree to marry,

*a kúū kākā ndúsa yehe shihin nā*  
 NEG POT:be:able POT:do forcefully I with her  
 I can't force her.'

To express a hypothetical condition, the hortatory marker *ná* is used in the subordinate sentence (see 2.1.2).

*tá ná kwēēn ndó rí / kehē i uni syéntó*  
 if HORT POT:buy you:RES it:AML POT:get I three hundred  
 'If you were to buy them, I would get three hundred (Sp. *ciento*).'

*tá ná xaní i búro / xana i /*  
 if HORT POT:loose I donkey domestic:animal my  
 'If I were to loose my donkey,

*kuhun rí ūtū ĩnkā nā*  
 POT:go it:AML cornfield another their  
 it would go to someone else's cornfield.'

To express a contrafactual condition, *tá* 'if' introduces the subordinate sentence, which must be in completive aspect. The main sentence, which follows, must be in potential aspect, and it ends in the contrafactual sentential marker *ndūū* if it is untrue.

*tá ko na sahan da / a kíví da ndūū*  
 if NEG COM COM:go he NEG POT:die he CF  
 'If he had not gone, he would not have died.'

*tá na kākā chūūn dā / xá kūū*  
 if COM COM:do work he thus POT:be:able  
 'If he had worked, then he would be able

*chahvī dā nā ylká da*  
 POT:pay he it:INAN CON:owe he  
 to pay what he owes.'

Concession sentences are introduced by *vati* 'even though' or 'even if'; they can occur first or second. When they occur first, *xōō* 'but' may occur at the beginning of the main sentence.

*vati*            *na sahan da yúku* /  
 even:though COM COM:go he mountain  
 'Even though he went to the mountain,

*xōō ko na kēhē dā títo*  
 but NEG COM COM:get he firewood  
 he didn't get firewood.'

*ko na kēhē dā títo* /  
 NEG COM COM:get he firewood  
 'He didn't get firewood

*vati*            *na sahan da yúku*  
 even:though COM COM:go he mountain  
 even though he went to the mountain.'

*vati*            *na sāshí chító tata* / *xōō ko na*  
 even:though COM COM:eat cat medicine but NEG COM  
 'Even though the cat ate poison,

*shihí rí*  
 COM:die it:AML  
 it didn't die.'

*kāvahā i vēhē* / *vati*            *ko*            *xyuhún i*  
 POT:make I house even:though CON:NEG:exist money my  
 'I will build a house even though I don't have money.'

*vati*            *na sahan da dōktóor* / *na shihí da*  
 even:though COM COM:go he doctor COM COM:die he  
 'Even though he went to the doctor (Sp.), he died.'

*vati*            *kāūn*            *xavi* /  
 even:though POT:produce rain:god  
 'Even if it rains,

*kuhun i yahvī ītaan*  
 POT:go I market tomorrow  
 I will go to the market tomorrow.'

Purpose sentences are sometimes introduced by the complementizer *ña* (see 1.1.9), which functions here as a subordinate conjunction. (This word is basically a prestressed pronoun; see 3.1.3 and 5.4.) The purpose sentence always follows the main sentence, and its verb must be in potential aspect, optionally preceded by the hortatory *ná*.

*na sahan náná i xyuhún nu i /*  
 COM COM:give mother my money face my  
 'My mother gave me money

*ña ná kwēēn i ñahā*  
 CMP HORT POT:buy I thing  
 so that I can buy things.'

*na chīchī i vītī / ña kuhun i yahvī itaan*  
 COM COM:bathe I today CMP POT:go I market tomorrow  
 'I bathed today so that I can go to the market tomorrow.'

*na kāndoō dā ñakohyó / ña kākūū dā rée*  
 COM COM:stay he Mexico:City CMP POT:be he king  
 'He stayed in Mexico City in order to become king (Sp. rey).'

The conjunction *tá* 'if' is also used to express temporal subordination, in which case it is translated 'when'. Such subordinate sentences can occur before or after the main sentence. When the subordinate sentence precedes the main sentence, the main sentence sometimes begins with the conjunctions *tā* 'and', or *chí* 'so that', or with the general adverb *xá* 'thus'. *tá* is used to indicate time or action antecedent to that of the main sentence.

*tá na saa nde kán / kándúhu yixini da*  
 when COM COM:arrive we:EX there CON:be:lying hat his  
 'When we arrived there, his hat was lying

*nu ñúhu*  
 face ground  
 on the ground.'

*tá sa na kánā kandū / xá kuhun nde*  
 when already COM COM:come:out sun thus POT:go we:EX  
 'When the sun has come out, then we will go.'

*na shīnī i ña na ndoho in dā xahán /*  
 COM COM:see I it:INAN COM COM:fare one he enriched  
 'I saw what happened to a mestizo

*tá na sahan i kán*  
 when COM COM:go I there  
 when I went there.'

*na kēē vahā in dā /*  
 COM COM:leave good one he  
 'A man was lucky



*tá na sahan da kũliākáan*  
 when COM COM:go he Culiacán  
 when he went to Culiacán (Sp. *Culiacán*.)'

(See also 7.13, 7.17, 7.21, 7.37, 7.53, 7.63, 7.65, and 7.66.)

One subordinate sentence with *tá* has a special discourse function to indicate sequence with a time lapse, i.e., 'later': *tá na ndĩhĩ kán* 'when that finished'.

*chĩ na kāsaa nde ñũũ mé nde*  
 so:that COM COM:arrive we:EX town SPEC our:EX  
 'And so we arrived at our town

*kán vā // tá na ndĩhĩ kán /*  
 there LIM when COM COM:finish that  
 there. Later,

*na kāsaa kiti / xana nde*  
 COM COM:arrive animal domestic:animal our:EX  
 our domestic animals arrived.'

*na sāhni nde tixũhu // tá na ndĩhĩ kán /*  
 COM COM:kill we:EX goat when COM COM:finish that  
 'We killed the goat. Later,

*na sahnda nde xihin rĩ shihin saha rĩ*  
 COM COM:cut we:EX thigh its:AML with foot its:AML  
 we cut off the thighs and feet.'

(See also 7.5–6, 7.10–11, 7.36–37, and 7.38–39.)

Simultaneous action of two punctiliar events with a special focus on the fact that they happened at exactly the same time can be expressed in two ways. In the first way, a subordinate sentence with *tá* 'when' precedes the main sentence, which is introduced by the expanded numeral phrase (see 4.1.4) *ivi laá* 'only two', used in this construction to mean 'right then'.

*tá na shinu ndĩkwání nu ñũhu / ivi laá*  
 when COM COM:arrive squirrel face ground two only  
 'When the squirrel hit the ground, right then

*na sāhni tinā rĩ*  
 COM COM:kill dog it:AML  
 the dog killed it.'

*tá na shĩnĩ dā koō / ivi laá*  
 when COM COM:sense he snake two only  
 'When he saw the snake, right then

*na shīnū dā nu mí koō*  
 COM COM:run he face SPEC snake  
 he ran from it.'

In the second way, *ivi laá* is used instead of *tá* to introduce the subordinate sentence; in this construction *ivi laá* means 'right when'. In the following example, the subordinate time sentence consists of a juxtaposed purpose sentence (see 6.2.2).

*ivi laá na ndikā xōhō yúhu ndikwū /*  
 two only COM COM:widen like:this mouth fox  
 'Right when the fox opened its mouth

*kahan rí / na ndāvā tikā*  
 POT:speak it:AML COM COM:jump grasshopper  
 to speak, the grasshopper jumped out.'

Concurrent action is expressed by *nānī* 'while'. The subordinate sentence can either precede or follow the main sentence. The aspect sequence determines two subtypes. If the subordinate sentence is continuative and the main sentence is completive, the construction expresses included action.

*nānī vashī shiká da / na shīnī tátá da*  
 while CON:come far he COM COM:sense father his  
 'While he was approaching from far off, his father saw

*vashī dā*  
 CON:come he  
 him coming.'

*nānī sándehe na / na ndāā in ávyiun*  
 while CON:look they COM COM:climb one plane  
 'While they were looking, a plane (Sp. *avión*) flew up into the air.'

*na ndākavā dā / nānī shūtā sáhá na*  
 COM COM:fall he while CON:sing foot they  
 'He fell while they were dancing.'

If both sentences are continuative, the construction expresses coterminous action.

*káhan xwáan / nānī shíshī nā*  
 CON:speak John while CON:eat they  
 'John was talking while they were eating.'

*shikā nūū dā / nānī ndíndūkú da*  
 CON:walk around he while CON:look:for he  
 'He is going around while he is looking for

*tindiki / xana da*  
 cattle domestic:animal his  
 his cattle.'

Comparison of likeness is expressed by three conjunctions: *tá* 'if', which is used to mean 'as', *tá tuhūn*, which means 'somewhat like', and *tá kyahvā*, which means 'in the manner that'. The subordinate sentence can either precede or follow the main sentence. When it precedes, the two sentences usually have the same main verb and the same aspect (usually continuative); the main sentence begins with *xá* 'thus' (or *kyahvā xá* 'in that manner' if the conjunction is *tá kyahvā*).

With *tá*:

*tá káā nāxíhí da / xá káā in*  
 if CON:appear wife his thus CON:appear one  
 'As his wife appears, so appears a

*náha na ketā*  
 woman COM COM:come:out  
 woman who came out.'

*tá ndúū kíti / xá ndúū nā*  
 if CON:exist:PL animal thus CON:exist:PL they  
 'As animals live, so they live.'

*tá náha kandū / xá náha a*  
 if CON:seem sun thus CON:seem it:UN  
 'As the sun seems, so it seems.'

*tá káxā dā / xá káxā nde*  
 if CON:do he thus CON:do we:EX  
 'As he is doing, so we are doing.'

With *tá tuhūn*:

*tá tuhūn káni kánáha ndyava / xá káni*  
 if word CON:want POT:seem guaje thus CON:want  
 'About like guaje (Sp. *guaje*) pods look, so was that which

*kōō nā sáshí kóchí kán*  
 POT:exist:SG it:INAN CON:eat pig there  
 the pigs (Sp. *cochino*) were eating there.'

*tá tuhūn ndáā nā xyóko /*  
 if word CON:appear:PL they San:Andrés  
 'About like the people from San Andrés appear,

*xá ndáā nā ndahví kán*  
 thus CON:appear:PL they poor that  
 so appear those poor people.'

With *tá kyahvā*:

*tá kyahvā na káčhī nā shihìn da / kyahvā xá*  
 if measure COM COM:say they with him measure thus  
 'In the manner they spoke to him, in that manner

*káhan da nu ñayīvī*  
 CON:speak he face people  
 he was speaking to the people.'

*tá kyahvā káni xata kóchí / kyahvā xá*  
 if measure long:SG back pig measure thus  
 'According to the length of the pigs' backs,

*chínēē dā xohō rí shihìn ndóho rí*  
 CON:put:sticking:out he ear its:AML with tail its:AML  
 he stuck their ears and their tails (in the mud).'

When the comparison sentence follows the main sentence, the construction is less tightly constrained; different aspects may be used, and different verbs are often used.

With *tá*:

*chūkaan na kivi da / tá nāní tátá da*  
 POT:put:in they name his if CON:be:named father his  
 'They will name him as his father is named.'

*káhnū ndó / tá káhnū yehe*  
 big:SG you:RES if big:SG I  
 'You are as big as I am.'

With *tá tuhūn*:

*na kāxā dā / tá tuhūn kúni tátá da*  
 COM COM:do he if word CON:want father his  
 'He did more or less as his father wanted.'

*na kāxā dā / tá tuhūn kuhun chá ka da*  
 COM COM:do he if word POT:go somewhat ADD he  
 'He acted as if he would go on farther.'

*chýéhe shito / tá tuhūn kaā káyéhe a*  
 CON:glow fire:pit if word metal CON:glow it:UN  
 'The fire pit was glowing more or less as METAL glows.'

With *tá kyahvā*:

*káxā nā / tá kyahvā na kahan na*  
 CON:do they if measure COM COM:speak they  
 ‘They are doing as they said.’

*a káxā ka i / tá kyahvā xá na káxā i vīī*  
 NEG POT:do ADD I if measure thus COM COM:do I now  
 ‘I won’t do again as I have done now.’

Sometimes no verb is expressed in the comparison sentence, in which case it is understood to be the same as the verb of the main sentence.

*yāā yéhe ndīvahā xáhma na / tá tuhūn yahvā kíyū īndīvī*  
 white CON:glow INTS cloth their if word ice CON:fall sky  
 ‘Their clothes glowed white like snow that falls from the sky.’

**6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions.** Purpose, cause, and comparison of degree can be expressed by juxtaposing two sentences.

Purpose can be expressed by placing the purpose sentence after the main one. The verb of the purpose sentence must be in potential aspect, and it may begin with the hortatory marker *ná*.

*kuhun da / kāhmī dā yīto*  
 POT:go he POT:burn he tree  
 ‘He will go in order to burn trees.’

*kwahan da / kāhmī dā yīto*  
 CON:go he POT:burn he tree  
 ‘He is going in order to burn trees.’

*na sahan da / ná kāhmī dā yīto*  
 COM COM:go he HORT POT:burn he tree  
 ‘He went to burn trees.’

*káán da yáve / kōō tikwīī vēhē dā*  
 CON:dig he hole POT:exist:SG water house his  
 ‘He is digging a hole so that there will be water in his house.’

(See also 7.22, 7.57, and 7.62.)

In the following example, a subordinate purpose sentence is modified by a second purpose sentence.

*ndūkái ndéé vahā í / xátākā í*  
 POT:look:for strength good we:IN POT:gather we:IN  
 ‘We will exert the effort to gather

*tító / ña ná ndāśaa yāchī yó*  
 firewood CMP HORT POT:arrive soon we:IN  
 firewood in order that we arrive back again soon.'

Cause can be expressed by placing the cause sentence after the main one. The subordinate sentence must be in continuative or completive aspect.

*ko na saa nde /*  
 NEG COM COM:arrive we:EX  
 'We didn't arrive;

*taā kwihná na kátó da ndehe*  
 man thieflike COM COM:tie he us:EX  
 ROBBERS tied us up.'

*ko na saa yāchī dā / kēhē dā títo*  
 NEG COM COM:arrive soon he CON:get he firewood  
 'He didn't arrive soon; he was getting firewood.'

(See also 7.49.)

Comparison of degree is expressed by a main sentence whose verb phrase or nominal complement contains the additive *ka* 'more', followed by a subordinate sentence that usually consists of a negative noun phrase containing *ka* (see 3.5). No verb phrase occurs in the subordinate sentence, but it is always understood to contain the same verb as the main sentence.

*káhnū chá ka yehe / a xuú ka yóhó*  
 big:SG somewhat ADD I NEG ? ADD you:FAM  
 'I am bigger than you (are).'

*ndíchtí chá ka xini da / a xuú ka yehe*  
 smart somewhat ADD head his NEG ? ADD I  
 'He is smarter than I (am).'

*na sāhiin chá ka da kwyyaa / a xuú ka*  
 COM COM:exist:SG somewhat ADD he year NEG ? ADD  
 'He was older than

*ñayivī ndiú vīñ*  
 people CON:exist:PL now  
 people living now (are).'

*shinū chá ka na / a xuú ka yehe*  
 CON:run somewhat ADD they NEG ? ADD I  
 'They run a lot more than I (run).'

*shíkā kāmā chá ka da / a xuí ka yehe*  
 CON:walk fast somewhat ADD he NEG ? ADD I  
 'He walks a lot faster than I (walk).'

(See also 7.15.)

### 6.3 Direct Quotations

Direct quotations consist of three elements: the quotation itself, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation, which consists of one or more full sentences, must occur, and at least one of the other two elements is usually present. The quotation introducer and closer consist of a verb of speaking—usually *káchí* 'to say (continuative)'—its subject, and often an addressee, expressed as an associative adjunct; other information is often included as well. For dramatic style, it is possible to omit both the quotation introducer and the quotation closer.

*ndiā ndóhō tinā / káchí na*  
 what CON:fare dog CON:say they  
 ' "What is happening to the dog?" he says.'

*ndáchí kwahan tinā / káhán i*  
 where CON:go dog CON:have:opinion I  
 ' "Where did the dog go?" I was thinking.'

*káhán i / ko ñahā*  
 CON:have:opinion I NEG:CON:exist thing  
 'I was thinking, "There isn't any."'

*tā ndáka tuhún na / ndiā kaxā nde / káchí na*  
 and CON:ask word they what POT:do we:EX CON:say they  
 'And they were asking, "What shall we do?" they were saying.'

*ndáchí kaxā chúun kyahví i /*  
 where CON:do work sister:ME my  
 ' "Where is my sister working?"'

*káchí da ndáka tuhún da*  
 CON:say he CON:ask word he  
 he was asking.'

There are a number of quotations in chapter 7, including some that span two or more sentences. A quotation introducer is found in 7.11, 7.41, and 7.57; a quotation closer is found in 7.7 and various others; and a quotation with neither is found in 7.16.

#### 6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

There is a set of sentential elements that occur in initial position in the sentence and link it to the preceding discourse context. Most of these are conjunctions or adverbs in their primary function.

The conjunction *chí* ‘so that’ also occurs in sentence-initial position to mean ‘and so’.

*na tatá tiñihí nuu tinā /*  
 COM COM:spray skunk face dog  
 ‘A skunk sprayed the dog’s face

*chí a kuú kāndehé rí //*  
 so:that NEG CON:be:able POT:see it:AML  
 so that it couldn’t see.

*chínani tūūn rí //*  
 CON:squint tight it:AML  
 It was closing its eyes tightly.

*chí ndikaan mí tikwii nuu rí*  
 so:that CON:be:in SPEC water face its:AML  
 And so there were tears on its face.’

*á ko núná vēhē ndó / káchí i //*  
 INT NEG open house your:RES CON:say I  
 ‘“Is there room in your house by chance?” I said.

*vahā núná vā / káchí na //*  
 good open LIM CON:say they  
 “By chance there’s room,” they said.

*chí na saa i /*  
 so:that COM COM:arrive I  
 And so I arrived

*ūn tóō i vēhē nā / kán vā*  
 CON:exist:SG a:while I house their there LIM  
 to stay a while in their house there.’

The general adverb *xá* ‘thus’ functions in a similar way to mean ‘then’.

*na sāhni nde mí tiñihí // xá na sahan nde*  
 COM COM:kill we:EX SPEC skunk thus COM COM:give we:EX  
 ‘We killed the skunk. Then we gave

*rí nu xāto nde // xá na tāvá*  
 it:AML face uncle our:EX thus COM COM:take:out  
 it to our uncle. Then they removed



*na yéhe rí / na tāvá na*  
 they scent:bag its:AML COM COM:take:out they  
 its scent bag.'

*xá na chūnú ndíví kōstá da // xá na*  
 thus COM COM:be:filled all:two bag his thus COM  
 'Then both bags were filled. Then he

*kātó da ivi a // xá na kēē dā /*  
 COM:tie he two it:UN thus COM COM:leave he  
 tied up both. Then he left carrying

*ndyóxō dā / vashī dā*  
 CON:carry:on:back he CON:come he  
 them, coming.'

(See also 7.31–32.)

The sentential markers *anda xá*, *xá ví*, and *anda xá ví* function in a similar way to mean 'then', 'at last', or 'at that point'.

*na nehe da chūūn // anda xá ví*  
 COM COM:receive he work until thus finally  
 'He got work. At last

*ndáá da tixúhu*  
 CON:care:for he goat  
 he was caring for goats.'

*xá ĩnkā tūkū ndihví tindiki mí ūtū //*  
 thus another REP POT:enter cattle SPEC cornfield  
 'Then again the oxen cultivate the corn.

*anda xá kándoō mí ūtū*  
 until thus CON:stay SPEC cornfield  
 Then the cornfield is left alone.'

*kátī nā // tūn nā ndáha ñá //*  
 CON:bunch they CON:grab they hand her  
 'They were bunching together. They were grabbing her hand.

*xá ví na tāvá na ñá*  
 thus finally COM COM:take:out they her  
 Then finally they pulled her out.'

*anda xá ví na kēē dā / kwā núhu da*  
 until thus finally COM COM:leave he DIR CON:go:home he  
 'Then he left, going home

*vēhē dā / ndākehē dā áchá //*  
 house his POT:get he ax  
 to get his ax (Sp. *hacha*).

*anda xá ví na kāsaa da //*  
 until thus finally COM COM:arrive he  
 Then he finally arrived.

*anda xá na kāsáhá da*  
 until thus COM COM:begin he  
 Then he began

*sáhdá da mí yíto kán*  
 CON:cut he SPEC tree that  
 cutting that tree.'

The coordinate conjunction *tā* 'and' and the sentential marker *tā xá* 'and then' also function to link the following sentence to the previous discourse context.

*na ndíkáshí iní i nāhā // tā xá ví*  
 COM COM:awaken insides my early and thus finally  
 'I awoke early. And then

*na ndíkoō i / na sahan i*  
 COM COM:get:up I COM COM:give I  
 I got up; I gave

*ndíyohō nu búro / káshí rí //*  
 dried:corn:plant face donkey POT:eat it:AML  
 dried corn plants to the donkey.

*tā xá na shīnī i kwahá ndīvahā*  
 and thus COM COM:sense I many INTS  
 And then I saw many people

*mé na sāxó / kásahan na nu*  
 SPEC they San:Juan:Piñas CON:go they face  
 from San Juan Piñas (Sp. *San Juan*), going before

*xavi / káchí na*  
 rain:god CON:say they  
 the rain god, they said.'

*tā tá sahan nde nu xavi / ta tókó ndīhī vā yíto*  
 and if CON:go we:EX face rain:god and all all LIM tree  
 'And if we go before the rain god, then ALL THE TREES

*sáhān kwihī // tā ndehe shíhi ndīvahā nde*  
 CON:give fruit and we:EX CON:die INTS we:EX  
 bear fruit. And WE die of

*xokō xá / tá ko xavi*  
 hunger thus if CON:NEG:exist rain:god  
 hunger if there is no rain.'

The subordinate conjunction *ña kán keá* 'with the result that' also occurs in sentence-initial position with the meaning 'therefore' or 'in conclusion'.

*ndehe xá káxā nde // sáhan nde nu*  
 we:EX thus CON:do we:EX CON:go we:EX face  
 'WE do thus. We go before the

*xavi / sáhan nde /*  
 rain:god CON:go we:EX  
 rain god,

*xáchi tá ko kúūn xavi /*  
 because if NEG CON:produce rain:god  
 because if it doesn't rain,

*íchi ūñ / íchi // shíhi ndīvahā nde xokō //*  
 dry cornfield dry CON:die INTS we:EX hunger  
 the cornfield dries up. We die of hunger.

*ña kán keá xá káxā nde /*  
 it:INAN there CON:be:it:UN thus CON:do we:EX  
 Therefore thus we do;

*sáhan nde nu xavi*  
 CON:go we:EX face rain:god  
 we go before the rain god.'

(See also 7.43–44.)

## 7 Text

- 7.1 *in taā kwiká shūtū dā in yúku xōhō*  
 one man rich CON:farm he one mountain like:this  
 ‘A RICH MAN was farming on a mountain.’
- 7.2 *kán na shūtū chá da yuku chíchī /*  
 there COM COM:farm somewhat he plant bean  
 ‘THERE he was growing
- na shūtū chá da*  
 COM COM:farm somewhat he  
 some beans.’
- 7.3 *kán na shisháhān ndīvahā kāñáxún*  
 there COM COM:eat INTS rabbit  
 ‘THERE rabbits (Sp. *conejo*) ate a lot
- in nu ñahā dā*  
 one face thing his  
 from where his things were.’
- 7.4 *kán na sākū dā in ñima núhú*  
 there COM COM:put he one wax ?  
 ‘THERE he put a tar baby.’
- 7.5 *kándichī ā*  
 CON:stand:SG it:UN  
 ‘It was standing up.’
- 7.6 *tá na ndīhī kán / na kāsa kāñáxún*  
 when COM COM:finish that COM COM:arrive rabbit  
 ‘Later, a rabbit arrived.’

- 7.7 *āmígó / ndiā káx-ún / kándīch-ún*  
 friend what CON:do-you:FAM CON:stand:SG-you:FAM  
 ‘ “Friend (Sp. *amigo*), what are you doing standing  
*yóhō / káchí mí kãñáxún*  
 here CON:say SPEC rabbit  
 here?” said the rabbit.’
- 7.8 *na saa rí nu ìñ ñima núhú*  
 COM COM:arrive it:AML face CON:exist:SG wax ?  
 ‘It arrived where the tar baby was.’
- 7.9 *ko káhan tōhō ā kán / xáchi ñima núhú*  
 NEG CON:speak at:all it:UN that because wax ?  
 ‘That one did not talk at all because  
*vā kúú a kán*  
 LIM CON:be it:UN that  
 it was just a tar baby.’
- 7.10 *ndiā káx-ún / kándīch-ún yóhō /*  
 what CON:do-you:FAM CON:stand:SG-you:FAM here  
 ‘ “What are you doing standing here?”  
*káchí rí*  
 CON:say it:AML  
 it said.’
- 7.11 *tá na ndihí kán / káchí rí / kãñí i*  
 when COM COM:finish that CON:say it:AML POT:hit I  
 ‘Later, it said, “I will hit  
*yóhó ñn yikí*  
 you:FAM one fist  
 you with my fist.’
- 7.12 *ndá kwéntá keá kándīch-ún*  
 what account CON:be:it:UN CON:stand:SG-you:FAM  
 ‘Why (Sp. *cuenta*) are you standing  
*yóhō / káchí kãñáxún*  
 here CON:say rabbit  
 here?” said the rabbit.’
- 7.13 *tá na kãñí rí ndáha rí /*  
 when COM COM:hit it:AML hand its:AML  
 ‘When it struck out with its hand,

*chí na kātūn ndáha rí*  
 so:that COM COM:be:grabbed hand its:AML  
 its hand stuck on the

*ña kixí ūn xata ñima níhú*  
 it:INAN sticky CON:exist:SG back wax ?  
 sticky substance all over the tar baby.'

7.14 *vahā dā xá*  
 good UNBELIEF thus  
 '“Very well.”<sup>1</sup>

7.15 *taā chá ka kúú yóhó / a xuí ka yehe /*  
 man somewhat ADD CON:be you:FAM NEG ? ADD I  
 'You are more of a man than I am,"

*káchí rí*  
 CON:say it:AML  
 it said.'

7.16 *ūn vahā vā ĩn shōō ndáha i*  
 CON:exist:SG good LIM one side hand my  
 '“My other hand is still good.”'

7.17 *tá na kānī rí ndáha rí /*  
 when COM COM:hit it:AML hand its:AML  
 'When it struck out with its hand,

*tūkū vā na kātūn ā*  
 REP LIM COM COM:be:grabbed it:UN  
 that hand also got stuck.'

7.18 *a káyihví tōh-ún*  
 NEG POT:fear at:all-you:FAM  
 '“Don't worry!” (speaking ironically)

7.19 *ūn vahā vā sahá i*  
 CON:exist:SG good LIM foot my  
 'My feet are still good.'

7.20 *a káyihví tōh-ún*  
 NEG POT:fear at:all-you:FAM  
 'Don't worry!"'

7.21 *tá na kānī rí saha rí /*  
 when COM COM:hit it:AML foot its:AML  
 'When it kicked it,

<sup>1</sup> The expression *vahā dā xá* is an idiom meaning 'very well'.

- tūkū saha rí na kātīn*  
 REP foot its:AML COM COM:be:grabbed  
 ITS FOOT ALSO got stuck.'
- 7.22 *xá ūn tīláá sahá i / kānī i yóhó /*  
 thus CON:exist:SG only foot my POT:hit I you:FAM  
 ' "There is only one of my feet to hit you with
- chí ĩn xá kēh-ún / káchí tūkū rí*  
 so:that one thus POT:get-you:FAM CON:say REP it:AML  
 so that ONE (blow) you will get," it said also.'
- 7.23 *tūkū saha rí na kānī rí*  
 REP foot it:AML COM COM:hit it:AML  
 'AGAIN it kicked it.'
- 7.24 *na kātīn tūkū vā saha rí*  
 COM COM:be:grabbed REP LIM foot its:AML  
 'Its foot stuck also.'
- 7.25 *ndákāā rí xá / ndákāā rí xá vā*  
 CON:hang it:AML thus CON:hang it:AML thus LIM  
 'It was hanging, just hanging that way.'
- 7.26 *vahā dā xá*  
 good UNBELIEF thus  
 ' "Very well.'
- 7.27 *ko tatá*  
 CON:NEG:exist remedy  
 'There is nothing I can do.'
- 7.28 *xá vā kúni yóhó dā xá /*  
 thus LIM CON:want you:FAM UNBELIEF thus  
 'Do you really want it just like this?'"
- káchí rí / xōhō vā ndákāā*  
 CON:say it:AML like:this LIM CON:hang  
 it said, hanging just there
- rí kán vā*  
 it:AML there LIM  
 just that way.'
- 7.29 *kán na tīn nā kāñáxín*  
 there COM COM:grab they rabbit  
 'THERE he caught the rabbit.'

- 7.30 *vīī ko tata*  
 now CON:NEG:exist remedy  
 ‘ “NOW there is nothing else to do.”
- 7.31 *ná kuhun rí yóhō /*  
 HORT POT:go it:AML this  
 ‘May this one go,’  
*káchí mé da kán xōhō vā*  
 CON:say SPEC he that like:this LIM  
 that one said just thus to himself.’
- 7.32 *xá na kāsaa da*  
 thus COM COM:arrive he  
 ‘Then he arrived  
*nu ūn yāī vēhē dā / kán*  
 face CON:exist:SG near house his there  
 there near his house.’
- 7.33 *chá vā na saa da*  
 somewhat LIM COM COM:arrive he  
 ‘He arrived  
*nu ūn vēhē dā / kán*  
 face CON:exist:SG house his there  
 there, where his house was.’
- 7.34 *na kātó da rí*  
 COM COM:tie he it:AML  
 ‘He tied the animal up.’
- 7.35 *ndīko ndāā xiko rí shihin yóho*  
 CON:be:tied POT:go:out neck its:AML with rope  
 ‘Its neck was tied (to something) with a rope.’
- 7.36 *ndīko ndāā rí kán vā*  
 CON:be:tied POT:go:out it:AML there LIM  
 ‘It was tied up (to something) just there.’
- 7.37 *tá na ndihī kán /*  
 when COM COM:finish that  
 ‘Later,  
*tá na kāsaa mé da kán /*  
 when COM COM:arrive SPEC he there  
 when the man arrived there,



- ndíko*            *rí*  
 CON:be:tied    it:AML  
 it was tied up.'
- 7.38 *ĩnkā tūkū na kāsaa da kán*  
 another REP COM COM:arrive he there  
 'YET AGAIN he arrived there.'
- 7.39 *tá na ndihí kán / na kāsaa ndīvahyí*  
 when COM COM:finish that COM COM:arrive coyote  
 'Later, the coyote arrived.'
- 7.40 *ndiā káx-ún / ndúka-ún yóhō /*  
 what CON:do-you:FAM CON:be:in-you:FAM here  
 ' "What are you doing in here,
- ndik-ún / amígó / káchí*  
 CON:be:tied-you:FAM friend CON:say  
 tied up, friend?" said
- ndīvahyí / na kāsaa rí*  
 coyote COM COM:arrive it:AML  
 the coyote as it arrived.'
- 7.41 *tá na kāsaa rí kán / nānī / yehe*  
 when COM COM:arrive it:AML there brother:ME I  
 'When it arrived there, (the rabbit said:) "Brother,
- ĩn i yóhō /*  
 CON:exist:SG I here  
 while I am here,
- sáhān ndīvahā nā nāhā shíshāhān i*  
 CON:give INTS they thing CON:eat I  
 they are giving me lots of things to eat.'
- 7.42 *sáhān ndīvahā nā nā shihí i /*  
 CON:give INTS they it:INAN CON:drink I  
 'They give abundantly that which I drink,
- ĩn i yóhō*  
 CON:exist:SG I here  
 while I am here.'
- 7.43 *vahā ndīvahā káxā nā shihin i*  
 good INTS CON:do they with me  
 'They treat me very well.'

- 7.44 *ñānī / ña kán keá á ko*  
 brother:ME it:INAN there CON:be:it:UN INT NEG  
 ‘Therefore, Brother, don’t you  
*kún-ún kō-ún yóhō / ñānī*  
 CON:want-you:FAM POT:exist:SG-you:FAM here brother:ME  
 want to be here?’
- 7.45 *shūō vahā ndīvahā nā mí i / ña kán*  
 CON:feed good INTS they SPEC me it:INAN there  
 ‘They are feeding me very well with the result that  
*keá ndīko i yóhō*  
 CON:be:it:UN CON:be:tied I here  
 I am tied here.’
- 7.46 *xá kākā rī nā shihin yóhō vā*  
 thus POT:do also they with you:FAM LIM  
 ‘They will do the same to just you, too.’
- 7.47 *vahā chá yóhō*  
 good somewhat you:FAM  
 ‘You are better.’
- 7.48 *káhnū xíkó ká-ún*  
 big:SG neck CON:appear:SG-you:FAM  
 ‘You have a big neck.’<sup>2</sup>
- 7.49 *yehe ndáhvi i / lōhō vā káā i /*  
 I poor me small:SG LIM CON:appear:SG I  
 ‘POOR ME, I am small,’  
*káchí mí kãñáxín*  
 CON:say SPEC rabbit  
 said the rabbit.’<sup>3</sup>

2 In this sentence, a noun phrase occurs as the predicate of a stative sentence, accompanied by the content verb *káā* ‘to appear’. The sentence seems to mean something like ‘you are characterized by having a big neck’. Note that the construction is not equative: it has *káā* rather than *kūū* ‘to be’, and it does not mean that the coyote is a large neck.

3 The expression *ndáhvi i* ‘poor me’ is idiomatic and probably reflects some Spanish expression like *pobre de mí*. The sequence *yehe ndáhvi i* cannot be analyzed either as an appositional noun phrase containing a relative clause based on a stative sentence (see 3.1.3 and 3.7), or as a stative sentence with a focused subject (see 1.1.6 and 1.1.8), as these constructions are presently described.

- 7.50 *vahā dā xá vīī / āmígó / káchí mí ndīvahyí /*  
 good UNBELIEF thus now friend CON:say SPEC coyote  
 ‘“Very well then, friend,” said the coyote,

*na saa rí*  
 COM COM:arrive it:AML  
 who had arrived.’

- 7.51 *na kātō rí mé rí*  
 COM COM:tie it:AML SPEC it:AML  
 ‘It tied itself up.’

- 7.52 *na ndashi vā kāñáxún /*  
 COM COM:be:loosed LIM rabbit  
 ‘The rabbit was loosed,

*kwahan vā rí kán*  
 CON:go LIM it:AML that  
 (and) that one just went off.’

- 7.53 *tá na kāsaa mé da / shitōhō kán /*  
 when COM COM:arrive SPEC he boss there  
 ‘When the boss arrived there,

*īnkā tūkū rí ndíko rí*  
 another REP it:AML CON:be:tied it:AML  
 ANOTHER ANIMAL was tied up.’

- 7.54 *á kwahan vā rí kán*  
 INT CON:go LIM it:AML that  
 ‘“Did that one go away?”

- 7.55 *īnkā tūkū rí yóhō ndíko*  
 another REP it:AML this CON:be:tied  
 ‘THIS OTHER ANIMAL is tied up (here).’

- 7.56 *ko kūū tōhō vā /*  
 CON:NEG:exist POT:be:able at:all LIM  
 ‘There is no problem

*chi kuhun rí yóhō vā nu a /*  
 because POT:go it:AML this LIM face its:UN  
 because just this one will go in its place.”

*káchí da xōhō vā*  
 CON:say he like:this LIM  
 he said to himself.<sup>4</sup>

- 7.57 *tá na kāsaa da kán /*  
 when COM COM:arrive he there  
 'When he arrived there:

*chikaan ndó tikwii / ná xaa dó*  
 POT:put:in you:RES water HORT POT:heat it:LIQ  
 "Put on the water to heat!"

- 7.58 *tí kán kúú rí / káhán yó /*  
 it:AML that CON:be it:AML CON:have:opinion we:IN  
 'It is that one, I thought,

*xoo ndīvahyí yōhō kúú tūkū rí na kāsaa*  
 but coyote this CON:be REP it:AML COM COM:arrive  
 but THIS COYOTE is another animal that arrived.'

- 7.59 *ko kúú tōhō vā /*  
 CON:NEG:exist POT:be:able at:all LIM  
 'There is no problem

*chi kuhun rí kán vā nu a*  
 because POT:go it:AML that LIM face its:UN  
 because just that animal will go in its place.'

- 7.60 *kwahan rí kán*  
 CON:go it:AML that  
 'That (other) animal went off.'

- 7.61 *ko kúú / chi kuhun rí*  
 CON:NEG:exist POT:be:able because POT:go it:AML  
 'There is no problem because this animal will just go

*yōhō vā nu a*  
 this LIM face its:UN  
 in its place.'

- 7.62 *kuhun i / chikaan i rí / káchí mí shitōhō kán*  
 POT:go I POT:put:in I it:AML CON:say SPEC boss that  
 'I will go to put it in,' said that boss.'

<sup>4</sup> This sentence contains a fixed expression, *ko kúú*, which means 'there is no problem'. It consists of the verbs *ko* 'to not exist (continuative)' and *kúú* 'to be able (potential)', with no subject marked for either. Two further instances of this expression are found in 7.59 and 7.61.

- 7.63 *tá na chikaan na ndīvahyí inī tikwii xāā /*  
 when COM COM:put:in they coyote insides water hot  
 ‘When he put the coyote in the hot water,  
*chí na kānūū ndīhī nī rí*  
 so:that COM COM:come:off all skin its:AML  
 all its skin came off.’
- 7.64 *chí na kānūū ndīhī tá rí*  
 so:that COM COM:come:off all hair its:AML  
 ‘And so all its hair came off.’
- 7.65 *tá na kēē rí / kwahan rí /*  
 when COM COM:leave it:AML CON:go it:AML  
 ‘When it left going along,  
*shínū chá rí / kwahan rí*  
 CON:run somewhat it:AML CON:go it:AML  
 it was running going along.’
- 7.66 *tá na kāsaa rí yúku / kán / chá*  
 when COM COM:arrive it:AML mountain there somewhat  
 ‘When it arrived at a mountain there, A SHORT TIME<sup>5</sup>  
*xōhō na sāhūn rí kán /*  
 like:this COM COM:exist:SG it:AML there  
 it was there,  
*tā na shihi vā rí*  
 and COM COM:die LIM it:AML  
 and it just died.’

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<sup>5</sup> The expression *chá xōhō* is an idiom meaning ‘a short time’.