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Abbreviations

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

A Syntactic Sketch of Copala Trique

Barbara E. Hollenbach

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Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Copala Trique is spoken by approximately 15,000 people according to an informal census taken in 1990 by local Trique officials. Most speakers live in and around the town of San Juan Copala, a dependency of the municipal center of Juxtlahuaca, the head town of the ex-district of Juxtlahuaca, Oaxaca, Mexico. Some Trique settlements extend into the northern part of the ex-district of Putla and form part of the municipal center of Constancia del Rosario. The name of this language is sometimes given as Triqui or Driqui.

There are two other varieties of Trique. One is spoken in and around the town of San Andrés Chicahuaxtla, ex-district of Putla, and the other is spoken in and around the town of San Martín Itunyoso, ex-district of Tlaxiaco. Neither of these varieties is covered in this study. Speakers of all three inhabit a contiguous area which forms a linguistic island within the Mixtec region.

Although little is known about the history of the Trique, they have almost certainly lived in their present location since preconquest times. They are not mentioned in any of the sources for the colonial period of Mexican history, presumably because they were considered to be simply another group of Mixtecs. The earliest accurate mention known to me is in Martínez Gracida (1883).

Within Copala Trique there is no discernible geographic variation, but there does exist considerable idiolectal variation in the pronunciation of particular lexemes, even within a single nuclear family. Two or more

shapes have been noted for perhaps twenty percent of the lexical units recorded to date.

Even though the construction of roads and the availability of primary schooling are causing the situation to change rapidly, a fairly high degree of monolingualism still prevails among the Copala Trique. Many people leave to work as agricultural laborers, and they often go to Sinaloa, Sonora, and Baja California in northwestern Mexico. Some have worked in the United States. As a result, many younger men have learned some Spanish, but fluent Trique-Spanish bilinguals are found only among those who have spent considerable time away from the Trique area or who have married non-Triques. Some Trique speakers have acquired fluency in Juxtlahuaca Mixtec, which is spoken in towns only a few hours' walk from Copala. Among themselves, however, Trique speakers prefer to use Trique, and children whose parents both speak Trique usually learn it as their first language.

This study is based on data gathered by the author and her husband, Bruce E. Hollenbach, during fieldwork beginning in 1962 for her and in 1966 for him. Most examples were checked in 1978 with either Juan López Merino, then about twenty-one years old, or with Pablo Ramírez Flores, then about thirty-five years old, both of the barrio of Sabana. The text in chapter 7 was dictated in 1972 by Manuel Camilo Ramírez Santiago of San Manuel Copala, ex-district of Putla; he was then about thirty years old.

Some examples are taken from texts published elsewhere; sometimes only the relevant part of a sentence is cited. Examples from the deluge story (Hollenbach 1982) are identified by the word Deluge, followed by the number of the sentence; and examples from the three myths published in Hollenbach 1988b are identified by the words Openly, Fight, and Brother, followed by the number of the sentence. These four texts were all tape recorded in 1972 by Manuel Camilo Ramírez Santiago. Examples from the four versions of the sun and moon myth published in Hollenbach 1977a are identified by the word Sun, followed by the number of the version and the number of the sentence, separated by a colon. These texts were tape recorded by four different speakers from the barrio of Sabana during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Sometimes an example is adapted from a sentence in a published text, in which case the citation is introduced by the abbreviation *cf.*

0.2 Phonology

Copala Trique has the following nonlaryngeal consonants: fortis stops *p* (rare) *t k*, lenis stops *b* (rare) *d g*, affricates *ts ch chr* (retroflexed), fortis

sibilants *s sh shr,* lenis sibilants *z zh r,* nasals *m n,* liquid *l,* and glides *w y.* In nonfinal syllables the contrast between fortis and lenis obstruents is neutralized; in this sketch I employ the symbols for fortis sounds, except that I use *r* rather than *shr,* and lenis symbols following nasals.

There are three laryngeals: *h* (glottal stop), *x* (glottal spirant), and an abstract laryngeal akin to a ballistic accent. This abstract laryngeal occurs only in word-final position, and its most important phonetic manifestation is a shortening of the preceding vowel. In this sketch, a single vowel at the end of a word represents a vowel checked by this laryngeal, and a double vowel represents a word-final vowel unchecked by any laryngeal. The abstract laryngeal analysis is presented in greater detail in Hollenbach 1984a:129–47, 1985b, and 1987.

There are five oral vowels, *i e a o u,* and five nasalized vowels, *in en an on un;* nasalized vowels occur only in word-final syllables. As noted above, these vowels are written doubled in word-final syllables when they are unchecked by any laryngeal.

There are five tone levels, *1 2 3 4 5* (from low to high), and three tone sequences, *13 31 32.* Most nonfinal syllables do not carry contrastive tone.

Some regressive tone sandhi occurs, caused by a limited number of pronouns; this sandhi is described in §5.4 and in Hollenbach 1974 and 1984a:260–303. The tones written in this sketch show the result of the sandhi rules, rather than the underlying tones.

The phonology of Copala Trique is described in greater detail in Hollenbach 1977b, 1978, 1984a:9–167, 1985a, and 1988a. Spanish loanwords introduced the rare consonant *b* and new distributions for various other phonemes. The influence of Spanish on the phonology is described more fully in Hollenbach 1973a:83–93.

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1
Basic Sentences

1.1 Statements

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

1.1.1 Impersonal sentences. The minimal form of an impersonal sentence consists of an impersonal verb, with neither subject nor object, followed by an obligatory sentential marker that signals mood and speaker attitude (see §1.5). Impersonal verbs are limited to a small set and usually express meteorological and related concepts.

shuguun^{31} *a*^{32}
CON:shine DEC
It is dawning.

tihnuu^{32} *a*^{32}
CON:get:dark DEC
It is getting dark.

raan^{31} *a*^{32}
CON:flash DEC
Lightning is flashing.

kamanh^{1} *a*^{32}
POT:rain DEC
It will rain. (cf. Openly 53)

kanuu^{31} *a*^{32}
COM:explode DEC
It exploded. (i.e., thunder rolled) (Openly 81)

(See also 7.57.)

1.1.2 Intransitive sentences. The minimal form of an intransitive sentence consists of an intransitive verb, its subject, and a sentential marker.

hnah^{4} *hunx*^{1} *a*^{32}
CON:come I DEC
I come.

otox^{32} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
CON:sleep YOU:SG DEC
You are sleeping.

kuchih^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:arrive she DEC
She arrived. (Fight 75)

unanx^{5} *shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:run boy DEC
The boy is running.

(See also 7.43, 7.64, 7.73, 7.78, 7.86, 7.102, and various others.)

With an arbitrary subset of verbs a nonagentive personal subject is expressed by an adverbial noun phrase with the locative noun *man*^{3} 'body of' (see §3.6).

ahngax^{32} *man*^{3} *shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:throb body boy DEC
The boy is in pain.

kakaa^{32} *man*^{3} *nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:burn body baby DEC
The baby was burned.

With other verbs, however, *man*^{3} does not occur.

kawih^{3} *chii*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:die man DEC
The man died.

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

ho^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *na*^{32} *a*^{32}
CON:drink it:AML water DEC
It (the animal) is drinking water.

ranx^{5} *noh*^{3} *hnuu*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON:buy she corn DEC
She buys corn.

uchrah^{3} *zoh*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:split he wood DEC
He splits wood.

kirii^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *naa*^{31} *a*^{32}
COM:take:out woman cornfield DEC
The woman harvested the cornfield. (Fight 60)

tuhwex^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *ruhwih*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:sell John charcoal DEC
John (Sp. *Juan*) sells charcoal.

(See also 7.22, 7.46, 7.50, and various others.)

A personal object is often marked by *man*^{3} 'body of', and a pronominal object always is.

nehe^{3} *noh*^{3} *man*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:sense she body John DEC
She sees John.

nehe^{3} *zoh*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:sense he John DEC
He sees John.

tikawih^{13} *nih*^{4} *man*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:kill we:IN body his DEC
We will kill him.[1] (Brother 145)

(See also 7.51 and 7.76.)

A third person inanimate direct object is often unexpressed, though speakers sometimes use the phrase-final pronoun *yoh*^{3} 'it (inanimate)'.

cha^{4} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:eat he DEC
He ate [them (the tubers)]. (Fight 220)

cf. *cha*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *man*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:eat he body it:INAN DEC
He ate them (the tubers). (Fight 213)

(See also 7.3, 7.7, 7.17, 7.35, and 7.37.)

Objects other than third person inanimate are also sometimes unexpressed if they are clear from the context; see 7.63.

Reflexive meaning may be expressed by using a possessive noun phrase (see §3.3) containing *mahan*^{13} 'self of' in the object position. The possessor of *mahan*^{13} must be coreferential with the subject. See Hollenbach 1984b for further discussion of reflexives.

nehe^{3} *zoh*^{3} *mahan*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:sense he self his DEC
He sees himself.

tikawih^{3} *zoh*^{3} *man*^{3} *mahan*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:kill he body self his DEC
He killed himself.

It is also possible to use an ordinary transitive sentence without *mahan*^{13} when the meaning is reflexive. If such sentences have third person objects, however, they have both a nonreflexive and a reflexive reading.

nehe^{3} *zoh*^{3} *man*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:sense he body his DEC
He sees him. *or* He sees himself.

[1]Copala Trique pronouns do not distinguish grammatical function (see §5.4). It would therefore be more accurate to gloss them consistently by a single English form. I have, however, chosen to gloss them by the English case form that corresponds most closely to their function in the sentence in order to help the reader understand the structure of the Trique examples more quickly.

nazhuun^{2} *yanix*^{5} *zoh*^{1} *man*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
POT:pull:again apart you:SG body your:SG DEC
You will move yourself away. (Openly 53)

In similar fashion, reciprocal meaning may be expressed by using *tuwih*^{3} 'companion of' in the direct object; such sentences also have a literal reading. See Hollenbach 1984b for further discussion of reciprocals.

nehe^{3} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *tuwih*^{3} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:sense the:PL he companion the:PL his DEC
They see each other. *or* They see their companions.

1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, benefactive, associative, referential, and instrument (rare). Locative adjuncts are almost required by certain verbs; the other four are optional. Adjuncts are frequently expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase (see §3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see §4.3). The specific locative noun or preposition used depends on both the kind of adjunct and the specific verb. Adjuncts follow the subject in intransitive sentences and the object in transitive sentences.

The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location, depending on the meaning of the verb, and it includes elements traditionally classified as indirect objects. This adjunct occurs mainly with verbs that express change of possession, change of location, placement, and position, and each such verb normally takes it.

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, and it is animate, usually human. When it expresses source, the locative noun that signals it is often *raha*^{3} 'hand of', and when it expresses destination, the locative noun is often *riaan*^{32} 'face of'. Other locative nouns are also sometimes used; the choice seems to depend on the verb.

Source:

kitahaa^{32} *tuhwii*^{3} *me*^{3}*rke*^{13} *raha*^{3} *zii*^{5} *wax*^{2} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:grab thunder sash hand he CON:move that DEC
The thunder (god) grabbed the sash from that man going along. (Openly 76)

kahnex^{5} *zhi-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *raha*^{3}
COM:take:away grandfather-our:IN that hand

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *a*^{32}
grandmother-our:IN DEC
That grandfather of ours took [it (the drum)] away from our grandmother. (Brother 164)

kahnex^{5} *zoh*^{3} *chraa*^{3} *tuhwa*^{3} *shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:take:away he tortilla mouth boy DEC
He took the boy's food away.

Destination:

naruhwee^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *sahanx*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:repay John money face Peter DEC
John paid the money back to Peter (Sp. *Pedro*).

tuhwex^{5} *zoh*^{3} *hnuu*^{5} *riaan*^{32} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:sell he corn face Mary DEC
He sells corn to Mary (Sp. *María*).

ahnee^{5} *noh*^{3} *na*^{3}*na*^{1} *rihaan*^{32} *shuhwix*^{32} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:put:in she word face sister:FE her DEC
She sends a message to her sister.

rke^{4} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *tanh*^{3} *man*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:give woman corn:ear body its:AML DEC
The woman gave the ear of corn to it (the raven). (Fight 170)

kachrix^{5} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *ston*^{3} *shkaa*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:tuck:in woman finger raven that DEC
The woman handed [it (the ear wax)] to the raven. (Fight 195)

A locative adjunct with *riaan*^{32} is also used to express the addressee with the verb *tax*^{32} 'to say'.

katax^{32} *noh*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *shuhwix*^{32} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:say she face sister:FE her DEC
She said [it] to her sister.

dax^{13} *tax*^{32} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *tuwih*^{3} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
thus CON:say the:DU he face companion the:DU his DEC
Thus the two of them say to their companions. (Fight 109)

(See also 7.5, 7.6, 7.9, and various others.)

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, depending on the meaning of the verb, but destination is more frequent. These instances of the locative adjunct are usually inanimate. They are often expressed by a noun or adverb unaccompanied by any locative noun or preposition, but various locative nouns and prepositions sometimes occur.

Destination:

kahanx^{32} *zoh*^{3} *makaa*^{5} *a*^{32}
COM:go he Mexico:City DEC
He went to Mexico City.

kahanx^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ganh*^{1} *a*^{32}
COM:go he far DEC
He went far away.

kuchih^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *ndaa*^{13} *raa*^{31} *yoho*^{4} *chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:arrive it:AML until head another wood DEC
It (the raven) arrived as far as the top of another tree.
(cf. Fight 261)

(See also 7.58, 7.64, 7.66, 7.71, and 7.84.)

Source:

kawii^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} *a*^{32}
COM:come:out John Oaxaca:City DEC
John left Oaxaca.

kahna-x^{3} *tukwa-x*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:come-I POS:home-my DEC
I came from my home. (Brother 90)

kahnah^{3} *zoh*^{3} *shko*^{4} *kix*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:come he beyond mountain DEC
He came from behind the mountain. (cf. Brother 51)

kawii^{32} *yax*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *to*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:come:out ash face grindstone that DEC
Powder came off the surface of that grindstone. (Fight 114)

kayuu^{3} *tachruu*^{31} *tuhwa*^{3} *nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:fall crumb mouth baby DEC
The crumbs fell from the baby's mouth.

kunanx^{2} *rex*^{3} *chex*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *rke*^{3} *zhee*^{5} *a*^{32}
POT:run father in:law his stomach clearing DEC
His father-in-law will run out of the clearing. (cf. Fight 26)

Either destination or source:

kahnah^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ngax*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:come John Putla DEC
John came to Putla. *or* John came from Putla.

In order to express source unambiguously, it is possible to use a sentence combination with a verb that means 'to leave' in the first part (see §6.1.2).

With intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct expresses location. It is often expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase (see §3.6), but is sometimes expressed by another kind of noun phrase, by a prepositional phrase (see §4.3), or by an adverb.

nuu^{2} *sahanx*^{32} *rke*^{3} *chruun*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON2:be:in money stomach box DEC
The money is in the box.

tax^{1} *yanx*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *me*^{3}*sa*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON2:be:on:top paper face table DEC
The book is on the table (Sp. *mesa*).

tax^{1} *yanx*^{3} *nianx*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON2:be:on:top paper here DEC
The paper is up here.

ne^{13} *zoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON2:sit he house DEC
He is in the house. (Fight 51)

ne^{3} *ho*^{2} *runh*^{5} *weh*^{3} *ta*^{3}*nuu*^{2} *taa*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:sit one single house middle plain DEC
A single house was in the middle of the plain. (Deluge 19)

taa^{5} *shrux*^{3} *yume*^{32} *ruwax*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:be:on:top pot tuber fireplace DEC
The pot of tubers was on the fireplace. (Fight 208)

kinax^{5} *zoh*^{3} *rke*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:remain he stomach wood DEC
He stayed inside the tree. (Openly 21)

Further examples of the locative adjunct with position verbs are found in 7.57, 7.77, 7.79, 7.82, and several other sentences in chapter 7. Examples of position verbs without a locative adjunct are found in 7.2 and 7.59.

With transitive verbs that express placement or impingement, the locative adjunct expresses source or destination. It is expressed by the same elements that occur with position verbs.

Source:

kirii^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *skii*^{5} *shree*^{5} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}
COM:take:out woman resin ear woman DEC
The woman took wax out of her ear. (Fight 194)

kirii^{32} *yahanx*^{32} *tuhwii*^{13} *yume*^{32} *rke*^{3} *shrux*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:take:out god of:thunder tuber stomach pot DEC
The thunder god took the tubers out of the pot. (cf. Fight 219)

tanix^{32} *zoh*^{3} *shrux*^{3} *yume*^{32} *ruwax*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:lower he pot tuber fireplace DEC
He took the pot of tubers down from the fireplace. (Fight 211)

(See also 7.62.)

Destination:

karaa^{3} *zoh*^{3} *sahanx*^{32} *rke*^{3} *chruun*^{5} *a*^{32}
COM:put:in he money stomach box DEC
He put the money in the box.

karaa^{3} *zoh*^{3} *yume*^{32} *shrux*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:put:in he tuber pot DEC
He put the tubers in the pot. (Fight 147)

kachron^{4} *zoh*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *chraan*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:erect he wood face masonry DEC
He stood the poles up against the wall.

uchrux^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *yax*^{32} *takoo*^{5} *chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:lay John flower foot wood DEC
John lays the flowers at the foot of the tree.

kaoh^{1} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *yahan*^{32} *zhee*^{5} *a*^{32}
POT:hit the:PL he fire clearing DEC
They will set fire to the clearing. (Fight 14)

tanix^{32} *yuwii*^{31} *wahnux*^{1} *gee*^{1} *rlix*^{3} *na*^{32} *yohoo*^{5} *a*^{32}
COM:lower person three whole bubble water earth DEC
The person dropped exactly three drops of water on the ground. (Sun 3:13)

(See also 7.11, 7.27, 7.74, 7.90, 7.91, 7.94, and 7.96.)

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

kutah^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *kakunh*^{3} *shraa*^{5} *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:place:on John blame back Peter DEC
John blamed Peter. (lit. John placed the blame on Peter's back.)

kinax^{5} *rachruun*^{5} *tuhwa*^{3} *ruhwee*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:remain bread mouth rich:person DEC
The bread was left over from the rich person's meal.

kachiin^{5} *nahanx*^{2} *noh*^{3} *tuhwa*^{3} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:ask wordlike she mouth man DEC
She inquired of the man. (Fight 76)

nawix^{3} *sahanx*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:finish money face John DEC
John's money ran out. (lit. The money finished up in front of John.)

kachen^{4} *sna*^{3}*na*^{1} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}
COM:pass POS:word man face woman DEC
The man's word prevailed over the woman. (i.e., the man got his way) (Fight 81)

kahneh^{3} *tinuu*^{5} *zhi-h*^{4} *zuun*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2}
COM:cut brother:ME grandfather-our:IN work face spouse

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
his DEC
Our grandfather's brother gave orders to his wife. (Brother 84)

nayon^{4} *gwaa*^{4} *riaan*^{32} *hunx*^{1} *a*^{32}
CON:be:in:again John face my DEC
John is taking my place.

(See also 7.85.)

The benefactive adjunct must be animate; it is marked by the locative noun *shehe*^{4} 'feet of', or occasionally by the preposition *ga*^{2} 'with'.

ahmii^{32} *zoh*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:speak he feet John DEC
He speaks on John's behalf.

tuhwex^{5} *zoh*^{3} *hnuu*^{5} *shehe*^{4} *rex*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:sell he corn feet father his DEC
He sells corn for his father.

ranx^{5} *noh*^{3} *yahax*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *nii*^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:buy she chili:pepper feet mother her DEC
She buys chili peppers for her mother.

tikawih^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *shkuu*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *tinuu*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:kill John animal feet brother:ME his DEC
John kills the animal for his brother.

hyax^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ze*^{32} *lux*^{2} *ga*^{2} *kosee*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:do John it:INAN generous with Joseph DEC
John is kind to Joseph (Sp. *José*).

Sometimes the benefactive adjunct refers to someone affected negatively by an action. Negative benefactive may be signaled by *ga*^{2} 'with' or *riaan*^{32} 'face of'.

dax^{13} *kihyax*^{13} *nih*^{4} *ga*^{2} *nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}
thus POT:do we:IN with baby DEC
We will act in that way toward the baby. (i.e., we will attempt to abandon him) (cf. Sun 3:22)

kirahaan^{3} *yoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:prohibit that house face the:DU his DEC
That [one] wouldn't let them in the house. (cf. Sun 2:89)

The associative adjunct is marked by the preposition *ga*^{2} 'with'; it functions to add a second participant to some other element of the sentence, usually, but not always, the subject. When an associative adjunct immediately follows the element it expands, the combination of the two can also be interpreted as an additive noun phrase (see §3.8).

achraa^{5} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:sing he with John DEC
He sings with John. *or* He and John sing.

hyax^{3} *zoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *ga*^{2} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:do he house with John DEC
He builds the house with John.

cha^{4} *zoh*^{3} *chraa*^{3} *ga*^{2} *rnee*^{32} *a*^{32}
CON:eat he tortilla with bean DEC
He eats tortillas with beans. *or* He eats tortillas and beans.

cha^{4} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *chraa*^{3} *ga*^{2} *tahnii*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:eat man tortilla with child his DEC
The man eats tortillas with his child.

ahmii^{32} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} *ga*^{2} *shuhwix*^{32} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:speak Mary with sister:FE her DEC
Mary speaks with her sister. *or* Mary and her sister speak.

tiko^{32} *shnii*^{3} *ga*^{2} *tuwih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:play boy with companion his DEC
The boy plays with his companion. *or* The boy and his companion play.

chee^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2} *tuwih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:walk John with companion his DEC
John walks with his companion. *or* John and his companion walk.

hnah^{3} *nike*^{3} *yume*^{32} *ga*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:come back tuber with him DEC
The tubers were coming back with him. *or* The tubers and he were coming back. (Fight 178)

The participant expressed as an associative adjunct is less salient in the discourse than the participant expressed by the element it doubles. This difference in salience is perhaps most noticeable with the verb *ahmii*^{32} 'to speak', where the associative adjunct sometimes merely signals the addressee. In the first example below, the raven was capable of answering, but in the second one, the ear of corn was not.

kahmii^{32} *noh*^{3} *ga*^{2} *shkaa*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:speak she with raven DEC
She spoke with the raven. (Fight 154)

kahmii^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2} *tanh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
COM:speak he with corn:ear indeed PERS
He spoke to the ear of corn for sure. (Fight 182)

The referent adjunct is usually signaled by the locative noun *shehe*^{4} 'feet of' or *riaan*^{32} 'face of', but occasionally *kwe*^{3}*nda*^{4} 'account' (Sp. *cuenta*) or no locative noun occurs. Referent adjuncts with *shehe*^{4} usually express reason, medium of exchange, and general reference (about, concerning).

hnix^{2} *gwaa*^{4} *ta*^{3}*gah*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *kakunh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON2:be:wedged:in John jail feet blame DEC
John is in jail because of a crime.

kahanx^{32} *nii*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ngax*^{32} *shehe*^{4} *shkuu*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:go mother John Putla feet animal DEC
John's mother went to Putla on account of the animals.

rih^{3} *zoh*^{3} *sahanx*^{32} *shehe*^{4} *hnuu*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON:get he money feet corn DEC
He gets money for the corn.

kiranx^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *tana*^{32} *shehe*^{4} *mix*^{5} *pe*^{3}*so*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:buy John goat feet thousand peso DEC
John bought the goat for a thousand (Sp. *mil*) pesos (Sp. *peso*).

kahmii^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *shehe*^{4} *tahnuh*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:speak John feet uncle his DEC
John spoke about his uncle.

kahmii^{32} *rahngah*^{3} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *ri*^{3}*kix*^{13}
COM:speak snare grandmother-our:IN that feet frog

yaa^{32} *adonx*^{2}
tongue certainly
That grandmother of ours certainly spoke a curse concerning the leopard frog. (Sun 2:63)

kunuh^{3} *rox*^{1} *nika*^{2} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *tanh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:fight the:DU spouse the:DU his feet corn:ear DEC
He and his wife fought about the ears of corn. (i.e., where to store them) (Fight 102)

(See also 7.1.)

An animate referent signaled by *shehe*^{4} can also be interpreted as a benefactive.

kahmii^{32} *zoh*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:speak he feet John DEC
He spoke about John. *or* He spoke on John's behalf.

Referent adjuncts with *riaan*^{32} 'face of' usually express comparison of degree. The general quantifier *dox*^{3} 'more' must occur in the verb phrase (see §§2.1.3 and 2.3).

chee^{5} *dox*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *riaan*^{32} *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:walk more John face Peter DEC
John walks more than Peter.

Referent adjuncts with no locative noun are found in 7.76 and 7.89.

The instrument adjunct is rare in Copala Trique; it occurs only in preverbal focus position (see §1.1.8). It is far more common to express a semantic instrument in either of two other ways. One is to use a sentence combination with a verb like *ra*^{5}*zuun*^{32} 'to use' or *ni*^{3}*kax*^{2} 'to have' or 'to hold' in the first part (see §6.1.2). The second way is very common. Many verbs that commonly take a semantic instrument express it as the direct object, and express the element that is translated by a direct object in English as a locative adjunct.

karaan^{5} *noh*^{3} *ro*^{3}*to*^{2} *shraa*^{5} *nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:cover she blanket back baby DEC
She covered the baby with a blanket. (lit. She covered the blanket on the baby's back.)

kaoh^{3} *zoh*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *shraa*^{5} *tana*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:hit he wood back goat DEC
He hit the goat with a stick. (lit. He hit a stick on the goat's back.)

This construction is found in the text in 7.27 and 7.32. In 7.28, 7.34, and 7.46, the semantic instrument is also expressed as the direct object, but no locative adjunct occurs. In each of these five sentences, the semantic instrument is a body part of the subject. It is more common, however, to incorporate body-part nouns that are the semantic instrument into the verb phrase (see §2.1.3), as seen in 7.51; or even to express them in the second part of a complex verb nucleus (see §2.1.1), as seen in 7.41. Sentence 7.42 has two body-part nouns, one as part of a complex nucleus and the other as the direct object.

The preposition *ga*^{2} 'with' is used to express instrument only in literal translations from Spanish.

Sometimes a sentence contains two adjuncts; in such cases, one of them is usually a locative, and it precedes the other one.

goh^{3} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} *sahanx*^{32} *man*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *shehe*^{4} *hnuu*^{5} *a*^{32}
COM:give Mary money body John feet corn DEC
Mary gave money to John for the corn.

kahnee^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *yanx*^{3} *rke*^{3} *chruun*^{5} *shehe*^{4} *tinuu*^{5}
COM:put:in John paper stomach box feet brother:ME

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
his DEC
John put the documents in the box for his brother.

If, however, a locative adjunct is long or complex, it is likely to follow the simpler one.

goh^{1} *zox*^{3} *sahanx*^{32} *shehe*^{4} *nih*^{4} *riaan*^{32} *nix*^{3} *zii*^{5}
POT:give you:PL money feet our:IN face the:PL he

ahnex^{5} *pe*^{3}*shto*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:take:away tax DEC
You will give the money on our behalf to the tax (Sp. *impuesto*) collectors.

1.1.5 Equative sentences. The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of an equative verb, a subject, a nominal complement, and a sentential marker. The order in which these elements occur is conditioned by the verb.

With *me*^{3} 'to be', which occurs only in continuative aspect, the order is nominal complement—verb—subject.

tanuu^{3} *me*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
soldier CON:be John DEC
John is a soldier.

gwaa^{4} *me*^{3} *zii*^{5} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
John CON:be he that DEC
That one is John.

tahnii^{5} *tyo*^{3}*se*^{1} *me*^{3} *nih*^{4} *a*^{32}
child god CON:be WE:IN DEC
We are God's (Sp. *Dios*) children. (Fight 326)

(See also 7.13, 7.24, 7.101, 7.106, and 7.108.)

With the verbs *kuhnax*^{1} 'to be named', *uun*^{3} 'to become', and *nauun*^{3} 'to turn into', the order is either verb—subject—nominal complement or nominal complement—verb—subject. Like *me*^{3}, *kuhnax*^{1} occurs only in continuative aspect.

kuhnax^{1} *zoh*^{1} *shkwaa*^{3} *yahan*^{2} *a*^{32}
CON:be:named you:SG ant of:fire DEC
You are called fire ant. (Sun 3:30)

gwaa^{4} *kuhnax*^{1} *tinuu*^{5} *hunx*^{1} *a*^{32}
John CON:be:named brother:ME my DEC
My brother is named John.

guun^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *tanuu*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:become John soldier DEC
John became a soldier.

tanuu^{3} *guun*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
soldier COM:become John DEC
John became a soldier.

guun^{3} *yoh*^{3} *chrex*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:become that trail DEC
That [place] became a trail. (Brother 23)

kinauun^{3} *zoh*^{3} *yaix*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
COM:turn:into he stone indeed PERS
He turned into the stones for sure. (Brother 190)

kinauun^{3} *zoh*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
COM:turn:into he wood indeed PERS
He turned into the poles for sure. (Fight 316)

doh^{1} *chruun*^{3} *kinauun*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
merely wood COM:turn:into he indeed PERS
He turned into just the poles for sure. (Fight 317)

Equative sentences sometimes have unexpressed subjects.

shkuu^{3} *cha*^{4} *me*^{3} *a*^{32}
animal CON:eat CON:be DEC
[It] is an animal that is eaten. (Sun 2:39)

Adjuncts occasionally occur in equative sentences. The following example shows a referent adjunct introduced by the locative noun *kwe*^{3}*nda*^{4} 'account'.

tuhwe^{3} *noh*^{3} *kwe*^{3}*nda*^{4} *rex*^{3} *noh*^{3} *me*^{3} *pe*^{3}*tra*^{4} *a*^{32}
aunt her account father her CON:be Petra DEC
Petra (Sp. *Petra*) is her aunt on her father's side.

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

shno^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
drunk he DEC
He is drunk.

tsinh^{3} *yohoo*^{5} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
tiny earth indeed PERS
The earth is tiny for sure. (cf. Brother 39)

tinux^{1} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
brother:ME:related the:DU he DEC
They are brothers.

(See also 7.100.)

As in the case of intransitive sentences, a nonagentive personal subject is marked by the locative noun *man*^{3} 'body of' (see §3.6) with an arbitrary subset of stative verbs.

zheh^{3} *man*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
tired body John DEC
John is tired.

Not all stative verbs occur in this simple construction, however. Some require the presence of a content verb in addition to the stative verb, and still others occur either with or without another verb. The verb that is most commonly used in such constructions is *waa*^{32} 'to exist'. Sometimes the stative verb precedes *waa*^{32}, and sometimes it follows. Some stative verbs prefer one order, some the other, and still others accept either, sometimes with different sense discriminations.

With stative verb preceding:

kanike^{13} *waa*^{32} *na*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}
evil CON:exist word DEC
The words are evil.

tsinh^{3} *waa*^{32} *shli*^{3}*nge*^{4} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
tiny CON:exist cannibal indeed PERS
The cannibal is tiny for sure. (Brother 141)

chix^{2} *waa*^{32} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
mature CON:exist she DEC
She is old.

With stative verb following:

waa^{32} *hyoo*^{2} *yatsex*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON:exist wet clothing DEC
The clothes are wet.

(See also 7.66 and 7.70.)

With stative verb preceding or following:

zah^{1} *waa*^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}
good CON:exist woman DEC
The woman is good. (pretty)

waa^{32} *zah*^{1} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}
CON:exist good woman DEC
The woman is good. (healthy, morally upright)

gee^{1} *waa*^{32} *ta*^{3}*sa*^{4} *a*^{32}
whole CON:exist cup DEC
The cup (Sp. *taza*) is full.

waa^{32} *gee*^{1} *ta*^{3}*sa*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:exist whole cup DEC
The cup is unbroken. *or* The set of cups is complete.

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

rmih^{2} *a*^{32}
dark DEC
It is dark.

waa^{32} *dinx*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON:exist calm DEC
It is peaceful. (Brother 153)

A number of nonstative verbs beside *waa*^{32} also occur in stative sentences, but each such verb adds some further meaning to the sentence. The verbs *uun*^{3} 'to become' and *nuu*^{3} 'to become again' are used for the notion of entering into a state; they usually precede the stative verb.

guun^{3} *maree*^{13} *riaan*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:become red face John DEC
John's face became red.

guun^{3} *eh*^{1} *yume*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:become bitter tuber DEC
The tubers became bitter. (Fight 218)

kunuu^{3} *nuhwe*^{13} *riaan*^{32} *to*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:become:again smooth face metate DEC
The surface of the metate (grindstone) became smooth again.

kunuu^{3} *taa-*^{13} *a*^{32}
COM:become:again flat-UN DEC
It became flat again. (cf. Deluge 15)

Certain verbs of perception that are normally transitive are used intransitively in stative sentences; for example, *cha*^{4} 'to eat' is used to mean 'to taste'.

shianh^{1} *cha*^{4} *chraa*^{3} *a*^{32}
tasty CON:eat tortilla DEC
The tortilla tastes good.

eh^{1} *cha*^{4} *yume*^{32} *a*^{32}
bitter CON:eat tuber DEC
The tubers tasted bitter. (Fight 223)

nix^{32} *ni*^{3}*hyax*^{2} *kotoo*^{4} *a*^{32}
ugly CON:look shirt DEC
The shirt (Sp. *cotón*) looks ugly.

Occasionally a position verb is used in a stative sentence, as seen in 7.53.

In order to express aspects other than continuative, it is necessary to employ one of the content verbs mentioned above together with the stative verb.

gaa^{32} *rmih*^{2} *shumii*^{31} *a*^{32}
COM:exist dark world DEC
The world was dark. (Sun 1:1)

gaa^{2} *shno*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:exist drunk he DEC
He will be drunk.

wehe^{4} *ushra*^{4} *gaa*^{2} *ra*^{3}*zuun*^{2} *a*^{32}
pretty INTS POT:exist thing DEC
Things will be very pretty. (spoken in bitter sarcasm as a curse)
(cf. Brother 133)

guun^{3} *tinux*^{1} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:become brother:ME:related the:PL he DEC
They became brothers.

Adjuncts sometimes occur in stative sentences. The first example below contains a locative adjunct used metaphorically; and the second one contains a referent adjunct expressing comparison of degree, with *dox*^{3} 'more' following the subject.

tsinh^{3} *yohoo*^{5} *riaan*^{32} *zhi-h*^{4} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
tiny earth face grandfather-our:IN indeed PERS
The earth was tiny to our grandfather for sure. (Brother 39)

shkaan^{1} *rox*^{1} *zox*^{13} *dox*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
tall the:DU you:PL more face his DEC
You two are taller than he.

To express permanent characteristics, an equative sentence is often used instead of a stative sentence, as seen in 7.108.

1.1.7 Peripheral elements. All sentence types may indicate time, location, and manner. A peripheral location, which describes the setting of the entire predication, must be distinguished from the locative adjunct, which is required to complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements may be expressed by adverbs (see §5.5), adverb phrases (see §4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), prepositional phrases (see §4.3), or subordinate sentences (see §6.2.1). Peripheral elements follow subject and object, and they usually follow adjuncts as well.

Time:

otox^{32} *noh*^{3} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}
CON:sleep she right:now DEC
She is sleeping right now.

kihyax^{13} *gwaa*^{4} *weh*^{3} *rke*^{3} *shnuh*^{2} *gwii*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:do John house stomach fifteen day DEC
John will build the house within two weeks.

kahanx^{32} *zoh*^{3} *tayox*^{3} *kii*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:go he Juxtlahuaca yesterday DEC
He went to Juxtlahuaca yesterday.

guun^{13} *zoh*^{3} *tanuu*^{3} *a*^{3}*yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:become he soldier next:year DEC
He will become a soldier next year.

tuwih^{3} *nih*^{4} *me*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} *a*^{32}
companion our:IN CON:be he when long:ago DEC
They were our companions long ago. (Deluge 60)

kuhluh^{3} *zoh*^{3} *kunuh*^{1} *yawii*^{32} *rke*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:be:stuck he complete month stomach wood DEC
He was stuck in the tree all year long. (Openly 24)

(See also 7.22, 7.57, 7.62, 7.91, and 7.106.)

Location:

ananx^{5} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *rohno*^{4} *shumanh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:weave woman tunic town DEC
The woman is weaving the tunic in town.

kihyax^{3} *zoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *shraa*^{5} *kix*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:do he house back mountain DEC
He built the house on the top of the mountain.

(See also 7.9.)

Manner:

kawih^{3} *wahnux*^{1} *mix*^{5} *yuwii*^{31} *tah*^{1} *azuun*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:die three thousand person although likely DEC
Three thousand people died, more or less.

kahmii^{32} *zoh*^{3} *dax*^{13} *a*^{32}
COM:speak he thus DEC
He spoke in that way.

ax^{1} *kahmaan*^{3} *ra*^{4} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *asno*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *rex*^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
already COM:get:hot inside woman first feet father her DEC
The woman had already become angry the first time about her father. (Fight 99)

(See also 7.42, 7.43, and 7.46.)

In 7.1, there are two instances of peripheral manner, one preceding the final sentential marker, and another one interrupting an adverbial noun phrase.

Two peripheral elements may occur in one sentence.

kawih^{3} *kahyanx*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *ta*^{3}*nuu*^{2} *riaa*^{32} *yax*^{13} *a*^{32}
COM:die coyote that middle bamboo now DEC
That coyote died in the middle of the bamboo at that time.

Peripheral time is quite common, especially at major transition points in the discourse, but peripheral location and manner are relatively infrequent. It is more natural to express a location as a locative adjunct, and so sentence combinations with a motion or position verb in one part are quite common (see §6.1.2). Manner is more commonly expressed within the verb phrase (see §2.1.3).

In general, speakers prefer short basic sentences. The text in chapter 7, for example, contains no sentences with two or more adjuncts, and only three sentences with both an adjunct and a peripheral element. The most complex sentence structures in the text are found in 7.62 and 7.91, both of which have four elements beside the verb phrase. In order to express more than three constituents beside the verb phrase, it is common to employ a sentence combination, which provides an extra verb with which constituents can be associated (see §6.1.2).

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, one element of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase position. Any element may be focused in this way except that most speakers do not focus the associative adjunct. The instrument adjunct, on the other hand, occurs only in focus position; this adjunct includes the material out of which something is made. Elements in focus are indicated by small capitals in the free translation.

Subject focus:

gwaa^{4} *otox*^{32} *a*^{32}
John CON:sleep DEC
JOHN is sleeping.

shnii^{3} *cha*^{4} *rnee*^{32} *a*^{32}
boy COM:eat bean DEC
THE BOY ate beans.

sha^{3}*na*^{1} *kananx*^{5} *rohno*^{4} *manx*^{3} *a*^{32}
woman COM:weave tunic day:before:yesterday DEC
THE WOMAN wove the tunic a few days ago.

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *kuchrux*^{32} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} *a*^{32}
grandmother-our:IN COM:lay Oaxaca:City DEC
OUR GRANDMOTHER founded Oaxaca. (Brother 44)

shkaa^{32} *tume*^{4} *chrex*^{32} *a*^{32}
raven CON:guard trail DEC
THE RAVEN was watching the trail. (Sun 2:25)

shkuu^{3} *ruhwex*^{32} *kirih*^{3} *tuhwex*^{32} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
animal ball:of:thread COM:get POS:thread her DEC
THE POTTER WASP got her thread. (Sun 4:36)

(See also 7.2, 7.44, 7.53, 7.77, 7.88, and 7.92.)

Object focus:

na^{32} *ho*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
water CON:drink it:AML DEC
It (the animal) is drinking WATER.

sahanx^{32} *naruhwee*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *riaan*^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *shehe*^{4} *skux*^{5} *a*^{32}
money COM:repay John face woman feet OX DEC
John paid THE MONEY back to the woman for the OX.

ta^{5}*nux*^{13} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *kahnex*^{5} *zhi-h*^{4}
POS:drum grandmother-our:IN COM:take:away grandfather-our:IN

nanx^{1} *a*^{32}
indeed PERS
Our grandfather took OUR GRANDMOTHER'S DRUM away for sure. (Brother 166)

ichix^{2} *skii*^{5} *tamanh*^{3} *rex*^{3} *chex*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *rke*^{3}
seven resin COM:sprinkle father in:law his stomach

zhee^{5} *a*^{32}
clearing DEC
His father-in-law scattered SEVEN [pieces of] INCENSE in the clearing. (Fight 20)

ichix^{2} *tanh*^{3} *ka*^{3}*ta*^{13} *naa*^{31} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} *a*^{32}
seven corn:ear COM:carry cornfield when long:ago DEC
Corn plants used to bear SEVEN EARS OF CORN [each] long ago. (Fight 58)

Adjunct focus:

tayox^{3} *kahanx*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
Juxtlahuaca COM:go he DEC
He went TO JUXTLAHUACA.

weh^{3} *ka*^{2}*ne*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
house POT:sit you:SG DEC
You will sit IN THE HOUSE. (cf. Fight 71)

shehe^{4} *gwaa*^{4} *ahmii*^{32} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
feet John CON:speak she DEC
She speaks ABOUT JOHN. *or* She speaks ON BEHALF OF JOHN.

shehe^{4} *yahanx*^{32} *gwii*^{13} *yọh*^{3} *ranh*^{3} *tahnii*^{5} *yoh*^{3} *kwanh*^{3}
feet god of:sun that CON:suffer child that today

nianx^{5} *a*^{32}
here DEC
ON ACCOUNT OF THAT SUN GOD the children of that [one suffer here [and] now. (Sun 2:114)

nee^{32} *kahneh*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *nee*^{31} *a*^{32}
knife POT:cut he flesh DEC
He will cut the meat WITH A KNIFE.

agah^{3} *neh*^{2} *kanokoh*^{3} *yahanx*^{32} *shtah*^{1} *a*^{32}
metal ropelike COM:follow god high DEC
The god hung from the sky BY A CHAIN. (Sun 2:118)

maan^{1} *yoh*^{3} *kishihnanx*^{2} *ndoho*^{32} *shkuu*^{3} *a*^{32}
only that POT:abound INTS animal DEC
Many animals will abound FROM JUST THAT [stuff (blood)].
(Brother 147)

(See also 7.79 and 7.80.)

Peripheral element focus:

ngax^{32} *kananx*^{2} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} *rohno*^{4} *a*^{32}
Putla POT:weave Mary tunic DEC
Mary will weave the tunic IN PUTLA.

kii^{3} *kahanx*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *niaan*^{5} *a*^{32}
yesterday COM:go he Tlaxiaco DEC
He went to Tlaxiaco YESTERDAY.

kunuh^{1} *yawii*^{32} *kahanx*^{32} *maan*^{31} *a*^{32}
complete month COM:go rain DEC
The rain went away ALL YEAR LONG. (Openly 25)

(See also 7.37 and 7.49.)

When a focused element is expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see §3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see §4.3), the locative noun or preposition may either be fronted along with the rest of the phrase or left in its

original position, except that *man*^{3} 'body of' is usually unexpressed in focused elements.

riaan^{32} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} *naruhwee*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *sahanx*^{32} *a*^{32}
face Mary COM:repay John money DEC
John paid the money back TO MARY.

ma^{3}*rya*^{4} *naruhwee*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *sahanx*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *a*^{32}
Mary COM:repay John money face DEC
John paid the money back TO MARY.

shehe^{4} *gwaa*^{4} *ahmii*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
feet John CON:speak he DEC
He speaks ABOUT JOHN. *or* He speaks ON BEHALF OF JOHN.

gwaa^{4} *ahmii*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *a*^{32}
John CON:speak he feet DEC
He speaks about JOHN. *or* He speaks on behalf of JOHN.

zoh^{3} *karakwix*^{5} *hunx*^{1} *a*^{32}
him COM:help I DEC
I helped HIM.

shnii^{3} *oh*^{3} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} *sahanx*^{32} *a*^{32}
boy CON:give Mary money DEC
Mary gives money TO THE BOY.

In equative sentences, the subject may be focused, in which case the nominal complement follows the verb.

gwaa^{4} *me*^{3} *tanuu*^{3} *a*^{32}
John CON:be soldier DEC
JOHN is a soldier.

neko^{4} *me*^{3} *zii*^{5} *rih*^{3} *yahan*^{32} *a*^{32}
opossum CON:be he CON:get fire DEC
THE OPOSSUM is the one who got the fire. (Sun 4:9)

zoh^{3} *kuhnax*^{1} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
he CON:be:named John DEC
HE is named John.

(See also 7.60.)

If some other element in the sentence is focused, the nominal complement follows the subject.

kwa³no² *me³* *zoh³* *shrex³* *a³²*
right:now CON:be he priest DEC
He is a priest RIGHT NOW.

In stative sentences, the subject or some other element may be focused.

sha³na¹ *wehe⁴* *waa³²* *a³²*
woman pretty CON:exist DEC
THE WOMAN is pretty.

gox³ *kunuu³* *zah¹* *zoh³* *a³²*
last:year COM:become:again good he DEC
He got well LAST YEAR.

(See also 7.44.)

Occasionally two elements are focused.

asno³ *skii⁵* *kaoh¹* *nih⁴* *rke³* *zhee⁵* *a³²*
first resin POT:hit WE:IN stomach clearing DEC
FIRST we'll toss INCENSE in the clearing. (Fight 16)

There are various ways to create stronger focus. The most common way is to place the general marker *roh³*, followed by pause, after the fronted element. A pronoun copy may occur in the normal order, especially if the focused element is the subject and it has a human referent.

With pronoun copy:

ne² *ho²* *runh⁵* *shahwaa⁵* *roh³* / *ne³* *otox³²* *zhoh³* *a³²*
and one single macaw TOPIC NEG CON:sleep it:AML DEC
And as for only the macaw, it wasn't sleeping. (cf. Sun 3:105)

tsax² *ne²* *shli³nge⁴* *roh³* / *ne³* *zoh³* *kwa³no²* *nanx¹* *a⁴*
but and cannibal TOPIC CON:sit he right:now indeed PERS
But as for the cannibal, he is living now for sure. (Brother 186)

tsax² *ne²* *mahan¹³* *yahanx³²* *tuhwii¹³* *shana¹* *roh³* / *zah¹*
but and self god of:thunder female TOPIC good

ushra⁴ *nokoh³* *shex³²* *man³* *noh³* *a³²*
INTS CON:follow weight body her DEC
But as for the thunder goddess herself, prosperity follows her very well. (Fight 59)

Without pronoun copy:

mahan^{13} *zoh*^{3} *roh*^{3} / *kunuu*^{32} *shumanh*^{3} *kopa*^{3}*la*^{4} *a*^{32}
self his TOPIC COM:be:in town Copala DEC
As for him himself, [he] was in the town of Copala (Sp. *Copala*). (Brother 64)

ne^{2} *shee*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *roh*^{3} / *kinauun*^{3} *kox*^{32}
and spouse's:younger:relative his TOPIC COM:turn:into plant

shnee^{4} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
bean:plant indeed PERS
And as for his sister-in-law, [she] turned into the bean plant for sure. (Fight 318)

ne^{2} *maan*^{1} *tuneh*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *roh*^{3} / *tukwa*^{2}*hanx*^{32} *uun*^{1} *zoh*^{1}
and only tail your:SG TOPIC POT:cause:to:go LIM you:SG

rke^{3} *yahan*^{32} *a*^{32}
stomach fire DEC
And as for only your tail, you will just put [it] in the fire. (cf. Sun 3:160)

shtah^{1} *roh*^{3} / *nuu*^{32} *na*^{3}*na*^{1} *yahax*^{13} *a*^{32}
high TOPIC CON:be:in wind of:chili DEC
As for the sky, the chili wind is [there]. (Brother 173)

yohoo^{5} *katsii*^{1} *roh*^{3} / *kihyax*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *man*^{3} *zii*^{5} *tanuu*^{13} *a*^{32}
earth white TOPIC COM:do he body his soldierlike DEC
As for white earth, he made the soldier people [out of it]. (Deluge 34)

ne^{2} *yax*^{13} *nianx*^{5} *roh*^{3} / *kuruwih*^{3} *yahanx*^{32} *gwii*^{13} *a*^{32}
and now here TOPIC COM:appear god of:sun DEC
And as for then [and] there, the sun god appeared. (Sun 2:17)

In the following sentences, the same element is focused both by simple fronting and by using the topic marker; both involve the nominal marker *maan*^{1} 'only'.

maan^{1} *ton*^{32} *man*^{3} *shli*^{3}*nge*^{4} *roh*^{3} / *maan*^{1} *yoh*^{3} *kishihnanx*^{2}
only blood body cannibal TOPIC only that POT:abound

ndoho^{32} *shkuu*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
INTS animal indeed PERS
As for only the cannibal's blood, OUT OF ONLY THAT [stuff] many animals will abound for sure. (cf. Brother 147)

gaa^{13} *ne*^{2} *maan*^{1} *riaan*^{32} *na*^{3}*na*^{1} *roh*^{3} / *maan*^{1} *dan*^{32}
when and only face wind TOPIC only that

hnah^{3} *ndoho*^{32} *nix*^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
CON:come INTS the:PL woman indeed PERS
And then as for only after the wind, ONLY [at] THAT [time] many of the women were coming for sure. (Fight 303)

A second way to strengthen focus is to place the general adverb *shiah*^{1} 'truly' before the fronted element, a pause after the fronted element, and the complex coordinate conjunction *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} 'but' at the beginning of the main sentence. The focused element is also expressed by a noun or pronoun in the usual order.

shiah^{1} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *achiin*^{3} *sahanx*^{32} *man*^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
truly Mary but and CON:lack money body her DEC
As for Mary, she needs money. (lit. . . . money is lacking to her.)

shiah^{1} *tanh*^{3} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *kinawix*^{3} *tanh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
truly corn:ear but and COM:finish corn:ear indeed PERS
As for the ears of corn, they were finished up for sure. (Fight 164)

The following sentence uses both *roh*^{3} and *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2}.

ne^{2} *shli*^{3}*nge*^{4} *roh*^{3} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *awih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
and cannibal TOPIC but and NEG CON:die he DEC
And as for the cannibal, he doesn't die. (Brother 137)

Another way to strengthen focus is to use a cleft construction. The equative verb *me*^{3} 'to be' and the non-phrase-final inanimate pronoun *ze*^{32}, which functions as a complementizer, occur between the fronted element and the rest of the sentence.

ni^{3}*ka*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *kunanx*^{5} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
spouse his CON:be CMP COM:run indeed PERS
It was his wife who ran away for sure. (cf. Fight 135)

dan^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *tinuu*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *kihyax*^{3}
that CON:be CMP brother:ME his CON:be CMP COM:do

kinahax^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:become:weak he DEC
And then it was his brother who made him get weak. (Brother 62)

The cleft construction superficially resembles an equative sentence that contains a nominal complement, the equative verb *me*^{3}, and a subject that consists of the non-phrase-final inanimate pronoun *ze*^{32} as the nucleus,

modified by a relative clause (see §3.1.3). The cleft construction differs from the relative clause construction, however, because the inanimate pronoun is always used in the cleft construction, even for a human referent. Compare the last sentence above with the following equative sentence containing a relative clause introduced by the non-phrase-final masculine pronoun.

tinuu^{5} *zoh*^{3} *me*^{3} *zii*^{5} *kunuu*^{32} *niaan*^{5} *a*^{32}
brother:ME his CON:be he COM:be:in Tlaxiaco DEC
HIS BROTHER was the one that was in Tlaxiaco. (Brother 63)

Sometimes *me*^{3} alone is used in the cleft construction, without the complementizer.

tsax^{2} *ne*^{2} *kix*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *me*^{3} *kachix*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *na*^{32}
but and mountain that CON:be COM:grow face water

yahanx^{2} *a*^{32}
divine DEC
But [it] is that mountain [that] grew above the flood water. (Deluge 4)

doh^{1} *maan*^{31} *me*^{3} *kahnah*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
merely rain CON:be COM:come indeed PERS
[It] is only rain [that] came for sure. (Fight 301)

The use of *me*^{3} alone is especially common after the interrogative noun phrase *me*^{3} *shehe*^{4} 'why?'.

me^{3} *shehe*^{4} *me*^{3} *hyax*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *dax*^{13} *ga*^{2}
which feet CON:be CON:do he thus INT
Why is [it that] he acts that way? (Brother 70)

It is also possible to use only pause after the fronted element, or to use pause followed by the conjunction *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} 'but' or *ne*^{2} 'and'. The use of *ne*^{2} is particularly common following focused time elements.

With pause:

ne^{2} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} / *n-ahwee*^{3} *kushuman*^{1} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
and man NEG-CON:be:possible POT:arrive inside he NEG
And as for the man, it was not possible for him to believe [it]. (cf. Fight 95)

With *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2}:

ne^{2} *zhii*^{13} *nih*^{4} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *kawih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
and grandfather our:IN but and COM:die he indeed PERS
And as for our grandfather, he died for sure. (Brother 187)

yax^{13} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *nehe*^{3} *nih*^{4} *man*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
now but and NEG CON:sense we:IN body his NEG
As for the present, we don't see him. (Openly 84)

With *ne*^{2}:

yax^{13} / *ne*^{2} *nauun*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *kuruwii*^{3} *nianx*^{5} *yax*^{13} *a*^{32}
now and CON:turn:into he monkey here now DEC
As for the present, they have turned into monkeys here [and] now. (Deluge 61)

gaa^{13} *naa*^{4} / *ne*^{2} *shianh*^{1} *cha*^{4} *yume*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
when long:ago and tasty CON:eat tuber that DEC
As for long ago, the tubers were tasty. (Fight 216)

kuruwii^{3} / *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *kahanx*^{2} *nihya*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
monkey and NEG COM:go lost he NEG
As for monkeys, they did not disappear. (Deluge 57)

ne^{2} *rex*^{32} *nikunh*^{3} *tanx*^{32} / *ne*^{2} *kutah*^{3} *uun*^{4}
and place CON:stand thorn and COM:place:on:top REP

yoh^{3} *a*^{32}
that DEC
And as for the thorn patch, that [one] placed [them] on top [of it] also. (cf. Sun 3:41)

1.1.9 Sentential complements. Basic sentences occur both as subject complements and as object complements within other sentences, though object complements are more frequent. Complement sentences do not, however, contain sentential markers, which occur only in independent sentences.

There are two kinds of subject complements. The first kind serves as the subject of an intransitive verb. The most common verbs in this group are phasal verbs, such as *nawix*^{3} 'to finish', and verbs with modal meaning, such as *ahwee*^{3} 'to be possible'. The phasal verb *zix*^{5} 'to be complete' is also used to express the spatial concept 'to have room' or 'to be enough'. In this type, no complementizer occurs, the complement sentence must contain a verb inflected for aspect, and the main verb and the complement

verb either agree in aspect, or else the main verb is continuative, and the complement verb is completive.

zix^{5} *kuno*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *na*^{3}*na*^{1} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:be:complete COM:hear it:AML word that DEC
It (the raven) finishes hearing that word. (Fight 226)

kizix^{5} *kawii*^{32} *naa*^{31} *a*^{32}
COM:be:complete COM:come:out cornfield DEC
The cornfield finished producing. (Fight 46)

zix^{5} *hyax*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:be:complete CON:do he house DEC
He finishes building the house.

kizix^{2} *kinax*^{13} *tanh*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *dox*^{13} *skux*^{5} *weh*^{3} *nianx*^{5}
POT:be:complete POT:lie corn:ear that some angle house this

nanx^{1} *a*^{4}
indeed PERS
There is room for those ears of corn to lie in this little corner of the house for sure. (Fight 86)

kinawix^{3} *koho*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ri*^{3}*nde*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:finish COM:drink he rum DEC
He has stopped drinking rum (Sp. *aguardiente*).

kanikunh^{3} *kachix*^{32} *kix*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:stand COM:grow mountain DEC
The mountain stopped growing. (Deluge 13)

guun^{13} *shehe*^{1} *kihyax*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:become based POT:do he house DEC
He will begin to build the house.

kahwee^{13} *kahanx*^{2} *gwaa*^{4} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} *a*^{32}
POT:be:possible POT:go John Oaxaca:City DEC
It will be possible for John to go to Oaxaca. *or* John can go to Oaxaca.

kahwee^{3} *kihyax*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:be:possible COM:do John house DEC
It was possible for John to build the house. *or* John could build the house.

(See also 7.16, 7.18, 7.47, and 7.105.)

When, however, the main verb is in completive aspect and it is negated, it has the form of potential aspect (see §2.1.2). Following a negated completive, the complement verb is in potential aspect.

ne^{3} *guun*^{13} *yukwanh*^{1} *kirih*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *ze*^{32} *anuu*^{31}
NEG COM:become in:time POT:get he it:INAN CON:explode

ni^{3}*kax*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
CON:have he NEG
He wasn't in time to get the explosives that he has. (Openly 68)

Some verbs do not require aspect agreement.

guun^{3} *raan*^{1} *naman*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:become delayed POT:arrive:home:here he DEC
He wouldn't get home for a long while. (Fight 174)

Verbs that express noises often occur with the action that produces the noise expressed as a subject complement.

ka^{3}*yux*^{2} *wax*^{2} *chraa*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON:roar CON2:move river DEC
The river roars [as it] moves. (lit. The moving of the river roars.)

The verb *achen*^{4} 'to pass', when used with a subject complement, means 'too much'; no complementizer occurs, and the two verbs must agree in aspect.

kachen^{4} *koho*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ri*^{3}*nde*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:pass COM:drink he rum DEC
He drank too much rum. (lit. His drinking rum passed.)

The verbs *waa*^{32} 'to exist' and *uun*^{3} 'to become' often take a sentence of any type as a subject complement, with no complementizer. These verbs serve to affirm the truth of the complement sentence, and they can follow the complement as well as precede it.

waa^{32} *kahanx*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:exist COM:go he DEC
It is [the case that] he went.

kahanx^{2} *zoh*^{3} / *gaa*^{2} *a*^{32}
POT:go he POT:exist DEC
It will be [the case that] he will go.

kahanx^{2} *zoh*^{3} / *guun*^{13} *a*^{32}
POT:go he POT:become DEC
It will happen [that] he will go.

The general adverb *dax*^{13} 'thus' sometimes precedes *waa*^{32}.

dax^{13} *waa*^{32} *kinax*^{5} *ra*^{3}*zuun*^{2} *riaan*^{32} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
thus CON:exist COM:remain thing face the:DU his DEC
It was in that way [that] the things stayed with the two of them. (i.e., the things were divided up between them) (Openly 14)

The verbs *waa*^{32} 'to exist' and *dax*^{32} 'to not exist' may take a special kind of subject complement in which the complement sentence lacks a subject and functions something like a gerund.

waa^{32} *uno*^{32} *hnuu*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON:exist CON:sow corn DEC
[People] are sowing corn. *or* Sowing corn is taking place.

dax^{32} *tukuhyon*^{4} *kwanh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
CON:NEG:exist CON:teach today NEG
There's no school today. (lit. There's no teaching today.)

dax^{32} *cha*^{4} *man*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *mei*^{32}
CON:NEG:exist CON:eat body it:INAN NEG:EMPH
It's definitely not eaten.

The second kind of subject complement usually serves as the subject of a stative sentence. It is often introduced by the complementizer *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} (or, less commonly, *ze*^{32} alone), and there are no aspect restrictions between the two parts.[2]

zah^{1} *waa*^{32} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *kahanx*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} *a*^{32}
good CON:exist CMP CON:exist COM:go John Oaxaca:City DEC
It is good that John went to Oaxaca.

ya^{13} *ze*^{32} *kawih*^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
true CMP COM:die she DEC
It is true that she died.

[2]The complex complementizer *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} is a combination of the simple complementizer *ze*^{32}, which is basically a non-phrase-final third person pronoun that refers to inanimate objects (see §5.4), and the continuative aspect form of *waa*^{32} 'to exist'. Sentences with the complex complementizer can be viewed as sentences with the simple complementizer followed by sentences in which *waa*^{32} is the main verb and everything that follows is a subject complement, as described above. This is probably the historical source of *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32}, but it has become grammaticalized, as shown by the fact that *waa*^{32} is not inflected for aspect when it forms part of the complex complementizer.

kunax^{1} *ushra*^{4} *kahnah*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
good INTS COM:come you:SG DEC
It is very good [that] you came. (Brother 82)

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

In the first kind of object complement, there is usually no complementizer. Some verbs, such as *zix*^{5} *ra*^{4} 'to dare', require potential aspect in the complement verb, and also require the subjects of the complement sentence and the matrix sentence to be coreferential. Other verbs, such as *me*^{3} *ra*^{4} 'to want', also require potential aspect, but allow the subjects to be either coreferential or noncoreferential.

zix^{5} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *ki*^{2}*hyaa*^{5} *zoh*^{1} *dax*^{13} *a*^{32}
CON:be:complete inside you:SG POT:do you:SG thus DEC
You dare to act that way. (cf. Sun 3:68)

me^{3} *ra*^{4} *gwaa*^{4} *kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} *a*^{32}
CON:be inside John POT:go he Oaxaca:City DEC
John wants to go to Oaxaca.

me^{3} *ra*^{4} *gwaa*^{4} *kahanx*^{2} *hunx*^{1} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} *a*^{32}
CON:be inside John POT:go I Oaxaca:City DEC
John wants me to go to Oaxaca.

me^{3} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *kuno*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *hnuu*^{5} *rke*^{3} *yohoo*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON:be inside he POT:sow he corn stomach earth DEC
He wanted to plant the corn in the ground. (Fight 185)

kahwex^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *guun*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *rto*^{3}*mo*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:be:willing John POT:become he mayordomo DEC
John was willing to become the mayordomo (sponsor of a fiesta; Sp. *mayordomo*).

n-ahwex^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *kahanx*^{2} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *a*^{32}
NEG-CON:be:willing woman POT:go man DEC
The woman doesn't want the man to go. (Fight 65)

nahwix^{1} *hunx*^{1} *kuchih*^{1} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
POT:wait I POT:arrive you:SG DEC
I will wait for you to arrive. (Fight 281)

Other verbs, such as *uun*^{3} *shehe*^{1} 'to begin' (which also occurs with subject complements) and *uun*^{3} *nukwax*^{13} 'to be strong enough' or 'to be

enough', require coreferential subjects, and they also require the two parts to agree in aspect.

guun^{3} *shehe*^{1} *gwaa*^{4} *kihyax*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:become based John COM:do he house DEC
John began to build the house.

guun^{3} *yukwanh*^{1} *yawii*^{3} *kirih*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *rex*^{32} *nuwah*^{1}
COM:become in:time moon COM:get that place right:side

shkwaa^{5} *a*^{32}
snake DEC
The moon was quick enough to get [the one on] the right side of the snake. (Sun 2:79)

guun^{13} *nukwax*^{13} *gwaa*^{4} *na*^{2}*shkax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *yuwex*^{32} *a*^{32}
POT:become strong John POT:lift he rock DEC
John will be strong enough to lift the rock.

guun^{3} *nukwax*^{13} *kix*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *kachen*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32}
COM:become strong mountain that COM:pass it:INAN face

na^{32} *a*^{32}
water DEC
The mountain was strong enough to surpass the water (in height). (Deluge 8)

kihyax^{3} *kanaan*^{4} *tuhwii*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *ku*^{3}*rianx*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *katuun*^{31}
COM:do gain thunder that COM:appear he waist

chruun^{3} *a*^{32}
wood DEC
That thunder succeeded (Sp. *ganar*) in leaving the tree trunk. (Openly 58)

(See also 7.104.)

When, however, the main verb is in completive aspect and it is negated, the complement verb is in potential aspect.

ne^{3} *guun*^{13} *yukwanh*^{1} *reh*^{3} *chex*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *kunanx*^{2} *rex*^{3}
NEG COM:become in:time father in:law his POT:run father

chex^{1} *zoh*^{3} *rke*^{3} *zhee*^{5} *mah*^{3}
in:law his stomach clearing NEG
His father-in-law wasn't quick enough to run out of the clearing. (Fight 26)

ne^{3} *guun*^{13} *nukwax*^{13} *na*^{32} *nazix*^{2} *yoh*^{3}
NEG COM:become strong water POT:be:complete:again it:INAN

raa^{31} *kix*^{32} *mah*^{3}
head mountain NEG
The water wasn't strong enough to reach the top of the mountain. (Deluge 7)

The verb *hyax*^{3} 'to do', which creates syntactic causatives, often takes the complementizer *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32}, usually requires the two parts to have non-coreferential subjects, and requires the two parts to have the same aspect, or the main verb to be completive and the complement verb continuative.

hyax^{3} *zoh*^{3} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *uno*^{3} *tahnii*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:do he CMP CON:exist CON:hear child his DEC
He makes his children obey.

kihyax^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *nax*^{5} *shuwee*^{3} *zheh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:do John CMP CON:exist CON:remain dog outside DEC
John caused the dog to stay outside.

hyax^{3} *yoh*^{3} *hnah*^{3} *nike*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:do that CON:come back wood DEC
Those [ones (the boys)] caused poles to come back. (i.e., they brought poles back) (cf. Sun 1:26)

hyaa^{5} *dih*^{1} *tax*^{32} *ze*^{32} *nia-x*^{2} *mah*^{3}
CON:do you:SG:FAM CON:NEG:exist POS hominy-my NEG
You cause my hominy not to exist. (i.e., you ate it up) (Sun 3:81)

In the second kind of object complement, the main verb often refers to cognition or speech, the complementizer *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} usually occurs, and there are no restrictions of aspect or subject person. This kind of object complement includes sentences that are usually called indirect quotations.

nehe^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *kahanx*^{32} *noh*^{3} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} *a*^{32}
CON:sense John CMP CON:exist COM:go she Oaxaca:City DEC
John knows that she went to Oaxaca.

katax^{2} *gwaa*^{4} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *kawii*^{32} *noh*^{3} *kii*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:say John CMP CON:exist COM:come:out she yesterday DEC
John will say that she left yesterday.

ne^{3} *achrix*^{5} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *ze*^{32} *man*^{1} *shkuu*^{3} *rke*^{3}
NEG CON:tuck:in inside he CMP CON2:exist:PL animal stomach

na^{32} *mah*^{3}
water NEG
He didn't realize that there were animals in the water. (Openly 64)

guun^{3} *ya*^{13} *ra-x*^{3} *kuchih*^{1} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
COM:become true inside-I POT:arrive you:SG DEC
I have been convinced [that] you will arrive. (Fight 281)

ne^{3} *kenehe*^{13} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *kunanx*^{5} *noh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
NEG COM:sense man COM:run she NEG
The man didn't see [that] she ran away. (Fight 118)

ni^{3}*hyax*^{2} *yoh*^{3} *tax*^{1} *ra*^{3}*zuun*^{2} *ra*^{4} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:look that CON2:be:on:top thing inside house DEC
That [one] observed [that] the utensils were [out] on top in the house. (Sun 3:115)

When an equative sentence serves as an object complement, the order is verb—subject—nominal complement, even with *me*^{3} 'to be', which usually has the nominal complement first.

tax^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *me*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *me*^{3}*stro*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:say John CMP CON:exist CON:be he teacher DEC
John says that he is a teacher (Sp. *maestro*).

It is possible for sentences containing sentential complements to show focus in various ways. First, it is possible to focus some element within the complement sentence.

nehe^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} *kawih*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:sense John CMP CON:exist Mary COM:die DEC
John knows that MARY died.

kuno^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *kii*^{3} *kawih*^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:hear John CMP CON:exist yesterday COM:die she DEC
John heard that YESTERDAY she died.

tax^{32} *zoh*^{3} *dox*^{13} *tsinh*^{3} *tanh*^{3} *kawii*^{32} *a*^{32}
CON:say he some tiny corn:ear COM:come:out DEC
He said VERY FEW EARS OF CORN were produced. (Fight 89)

ne^{3} *nehe-x*^{3} *ze*^{32} *zoh*^{1} *ne*^{3} *a*^{32}
NEG CON:sense-I CMP YOU:SG CON:sit DEC
I didn't know that YOU lived [here]. (Deluge 26)

The above examples all involve object complements because no examples of this kind of focus in subject complements have been found to date.

If no complementizer occurs, it is possible to extract an element from a complement sentence and place it at the beginning of the matrix sentence.

yuwii^{31} *ahwex*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *katuu*^{2} *ra*^{4} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
person CON:be:willing he POT:enter inside house DEC
He is willing for PEOPLE to enter the house.

weh^{3} *nawih*^{3} *tirno*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
house COM:finish COM:paint he DEC
He finished painting THE HOUSE.

chii^{3} *n-ahwex*^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *nianx*^{5} *shkax*^{2} *yoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
man NEG-CON:be:willing woman this POT:take that NEG
This woman doesn't want to marry A MAN. (Sun 3:7)

It is also possible to focus the entire complement sentence, in which case the complementizer is usually omitted.

ganh^{1} *hna-x*^{3} / *nehe*^{3} *shkuu*^{3} *a*^{32}
far CON:come-UN CON:sense animal DEC
The animals saw SHE WAS COMING FAR AWAY. (Sun 3:99)

yume^{32} *cha*^{4} *zoh*^{3} / *ni*^{3}*hyax*^{2} *shkaa*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
tuber CON:eat he COM:look raven that DEC
The raven observed [that] HE WAS EATING TUBERS. (Fight 159)

nawix^{3} *tuwih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *kawih*^{3} / *tax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:finish companion his COM:die CON:say he DEC
He said HIS COMPANIONS HAD ALL DIED. (Deluge 18)

kihyax^{13} *uun*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *shumanh*^{3} / *tax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:do REP he town CON:say he DEC
He said HE WOULD BUILD THE TOWN AGAIN. (Brother 159)

In the case of subject complements of *waa*^{32} 'to exist' and *uun*^{3} 'to become', the complement often precedes the main verb, but no special prominence seems to be implied.

kahanx^{2} *zoh*^{3} / *gaa*^{2} *a*^{32}
POT:go he POT:exist DEC
It will be the case [that] he will go.

With *hyax*^{3} 'to do', it is far more common to place the object complement in sentence-initial position than in the usual order following the subject. No special prominence seems to be involved.

katux^{5} *shnii*^{3} *ra*^{4} *weh*^{3} / *kihyax*^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:enter boy inside house COM:do she DEC
She made the boy enter the house.

kawih^{1} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} / *kihyax*^{13} *shihii*^{31} *a*^{32}
POT:die woman POT:do sickness DEC
The sickness will make the woman die.

kahnah^{3} *ushra*^{4} *yaix*^{3} / *kihyax*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:come INTS stone COM:do he DEC
He caused a lot of stones to come. (i.e., he brought a lot of stones) (Brother 56)

zix^{5} *weh*^{3} / *hyax*^{3} *rox*^{1} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:be:complete house CON:do the:DU that DEC
Those two [persons] caused the house to be finished. (Sun 1:27)

(See also 7.58, 7.70, 7.71, 7.83, 7.90, and 7.97.)

If, however, the subject of *hyax*^{3} is focused, the complement sentence occurs at the end.

tinuu^{5} *zoh*^{3} *kihyax*^{3} *kinahax*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
brother:ME his COM:do COM:become:weak he DEC
HIS BROTHER caused him to become weak. (Brother 65)

With *ra*^{4} 'to think' or 'to be of the opinion', the object complement occurs only in sentence-initial position. No special prominence seems to be implied by this order.

kawih^{1} *noh*^{3} / *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:die she CON:think he DEC
He thinks she will die.

tuhwa^{3} *rmahan*^{13} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} / *ra*^{4} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *a*^{32}
CON:talk in:vain woman CON:think man DEC
The man thought the woman didn't really mean [it (what she said)]. (Fight 110)

kane^{2} *zoh*^{3} *na*^{32} / *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:bathe he water CON:think he DEC
He thought he would bathe in the water. (Openly 65)

nike^{13} *gwaa*^{4} / *ra*^{4} *hunx*^{1} *a*^{32}
poor John CON:think I DEC
I think John is poor. (i.e., to be pitied)

(See also 7.17, 7.54, 7.60, 7.89, 7.92, and 7.101.)

It is possible to focus an element within the complement sentence even when the complement sentence occurs at the beginning of the matrix sentence.

shuwee^{3} *katux*^{5} *ra*^{4} *weh*^{3} / *kuno*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
dog COM:enter inside house POT:hear he DEC
He will hear [that] THE DOG ENTERED THE HOUSE.

ya^{3}*kwex*^{2} *kahanx*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} / *kinarih*^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
Oaxaca:City COM:go John COM:find she DEC
She found out [that] JOHN WENT TO OAXACA.

ni^{3}*ka*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *hnah*^{3} / *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
spouse his CON:come CON:think he DEC
He thought HIS WIFE was coming. (Fight 313)

kunuh^{1} *yawii*^{32} *kahanx*^{32} *maan*^{31} / *kihyax*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
complete month COM:go rain COM:do he DEC
He made the rain go away ALL YEAR LONG. (Openly 25)

One complement sentence may be embedded in another one. In the example below, the subject complement of *n-ahwee*^{3} is a sentence containing an object complement.

n-ahwee^{3} *guun*^{13} *nukwax*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *kurianx*^{1} *zoh*^{3}
NEG-CON:be:possible POT:become strong he POT:appear he

rke^{3} *chruun*^{3} *mah*^{3}
stomach wood NEG
It wasn't possible for him to be strong enough to leave the inside of the tree. (Openly 23)

A juxtaposed sentence (see §§6.1.2. and 6.2.2) may serve as an object complement; this is especially common with verbs of speech and thought. In the example below, a purpose sentence serves as the object complement of *ra*^{4} 'to think'.

guun^{13} *nukwax*^{13} *kuchruu*^{31} *tanh*^{3} *yoh*^{3} / *cha*^{2} *zoh*^{3} /
POT:become strong corncrib corn:ear that POT:eat he

ra^{4} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:think he DEC
He thought that those corncribs [full] of ears of corn would be enough for him to eat. (Fight 120)

1.2 Questions

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

1.2.1 YES/NO questions. Any basic sentence may be made into a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative sentential marker *nah*^{3} at the end in place of a declarative marker like *a*^{32}.

raan^{31} *nah*^{3}
CON:flash INT
Is lightning flashing?

otox^{32} *zoh*^{1} *nah*^{3}
CON:sleep you:SG INT
Are you sleeping?

kuchih^{1} *ya*^{4} *ya*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *nah*^{3}
POT:arrive true true you:SG INT
Will you really truly arrive? (Fight 276)

nakuun^{5} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *nah*^{3}
CON:call woman INT
Is the woman inviting [me]? (Fight 249)

narih^{4} *zoh*^{1} *ree*^{5} *zoh*^{1} *nah*^{3}
COM:find you:SG father your:SG INT
Did you find your father? (Sun 3:176)

oh^{3} *zoh*^{3} *sahanx*^{32} *man*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *nah*^{3}
CON:give he money body John INT
Is he giving money to John?

tanuu^{3} *me*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *nah*^{3}
soldier CON:be John INT
Is John a soldier?

zah^{1} *waa*^{32} *ro*^{3}*to*^{2} *nah*^{3}
good CON:exist blanket INT
Is the blanket good?

sahanx^{32} *oh*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *man*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *nah*^{3}
money CON:give he body John INT
Does he give money to John?

There is a second interrogative sentential marker, *zhah*^{2}, which implies that an affirmative answer is expected.

raan^{31} *zhah*^{2}
CON:flash INT:AFF
Lightning is flashing, isn't it?

tiko^{2} *hunx*^{1} *yanx*^{3} *zhah*^{2}
POT:play I paper INT:AFF
I can play with the paper, can't I?

Disjunctive questions are expressed by a sentence combination (see §6.1.2).

1.2.2 WH questions. Any element of a basic sentence can be questioned by using an appropriate interrogative noun phrase (see §3.4) or interrogative adverb (see §5.5) in focus position, and by using the interrogative sentential marker *ga*^{2} at the end. The most common interrogatives are: *me*^{3} *zii*^{5} 'who?', *me*^{3} *nii*^{5} 'which woman?', *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} 'what?', *tunx*^{3} or *me*^{3} *rex*^{32} 'where?', *aman*^{3}, *me*^{3} *o*^{3}*ra*^{4} (Sp. *hora* 'hour'), or *me*^{3} *gwii*^{3} 'when?', *a*^{3}*zah*^{1} 'how?', *me*^{3} *shehe*^{4} 'why?', *dax*^{1} 'how?', and *me*^{3} 'which?'.

The interrogatives *me*^{3} *zii*^{5}, *me*^{3} *nii*^{5}, and *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} are used to question subject, object, nominal complement, and occasionally adjuncts.

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *kahnah*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which he COM:come INT
Who came?

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *me*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which he CON:be he INT
Who is he?

me^{3} *nii*^{5} *kananx*^{5} *rohno*^{4} *ga*^{2}
which she COM:weave tunic INT
Who (which woman) wove the tunic?

me^{3} *ze*^{32} *achiin*^{3} *man*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *ga*^{2}
which it:INAN CON:lack body your:SG INT
What do you need? (lit. What is lacking to you?) (cf. Deluge 25)

me^{3} *ze*^{32} *kiranx*^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
which it:INAN COM:buy John INT
What did John buy?

It is also possible to use more specific noun phrases in such questions.

me^{3} *shnii*^{3} *unanx*^{5} *ga*^{2}
which boy CON:run INT
Which boy is running?

me^{3} *kotoo*^{4} *kiranx*^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
which shirt COM:buy John INT
Which shirt did John buy?

The interrogatives *tunx*^{3} and *me*^{3} *rex*^{32} 'where?' are used to question the locative adjunct and the location peripheral element; *tunx*^{3} is somewhat obsolescent.

tunx^{3} *rahanx*^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
where CON:dance John INT
Where is John dancing?

me^{3} *rex*^{32} *nuu*^{32} *wito*^{4} *ga*^{2}
which place CON:be:in handkerchief INT
Where is the handkerchief?

me^{3} *rex*^{32} *rahanx*^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
which place CON:dance John INT
Where is John dancing?

me^{3} *rex*^{32} *kawii*^{32} *zoh*^{1} *ga*^{2}
which place COM:come:out you:SG INT
Where did you come from? (cf. Fight 181)

me^{3} *rex*^{32} *karaa*^{13} *nih*^{4} *tanh*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which place POT:put:in we:IN corn:ear INT
Where will we store the ears of corn? (Fight 76)

The interrogatives *aman*^{3}, *me*^{3} *o*^{3}*ra*^{4}, and *me*^{3} *gwii*^{3} 'when?' are used to question the time peripheral element; *aman*^{3} is somewhat obsolescent.

aman^{3} *kawih*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
when COM:die John INT
When did John die?

me^{3} *o*^{3}*ra*^{4} *kizix*^{2} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which hour POT:be:complete the:PL he INT
When will they arrive? *or* What time will they arrive?

me *gwii*^{3} *kawih*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
which day COM:die John INT
When did John die? *or* Which day did John die?

The interrogative *a³zah¹* 'how?' is used to question manner; it often expresses surprise or questions a motive.

a³zah¹ zix⁵ ra⁴ zoh¹ ki²hyaa⁵ zoh¹ dax¹³ ga²
how CON:be:complete inside you:SG POT:do you:SG thus INT
How dare you do that? (cf. Sun 3:68)

a³zah¹ ahwee³ kirih³ zoh³ sahanx³² ga²
how CON:be:possible COM:get he money INT
How is it possible [that] he got the money?

The interrogative *me³ shehe⁴* 'why?' is used to question benefactives and some referents, as well as subordinate cause and purpose sentences (see §6.2).

me³ shehe⁴ kahanx³² gwaa⁴ ngax³² ga²
which feet COM:go John Putla INT
Why did John go to Putla?

me³ shehe⁴ kirii² zoh¹ naa³¹ ga²
which feet POT:take:out you:SG cornfield INT
Why should you harvest the cornfield? (Fight 48)

(See also 7.23 and 7.26.)

This interrogative phrase often occurs in a reduced cleft construction, in which it is followed by *me³* 'to be'.

me³ shehe⁴ me³ ne⁴ zoh¹ tuhwa³ chrex³² ga²
which feet CON:be CON:sit you:SG mouth trail INT
Why is [it that] you are sitting at the side of the trail? (cf. Sun 3:107)

me³ shehe⁴ me³ hyax³ zoh³ dax¹³ ga²
which feet CON:be CON:do he thus INT
Why is [it that] he acts that way? (Brother 70)

This interrogative phrase is also sometimes followed by the conjunction *ne²* 'and'.

me³ shehe⁴ ne² hyax³ zoh³ dax¹³ ga²
which feet and CON:do he thus INT
Why does he act that way? (Brother 73)

me³ shehe⁴ ne² hnah⁴ zoh¹ ga²
which feet and CON:come you:SG INT
Why do you come? (Fight 69)

Questions using *me³ shehe⁴* are often used rhetorically to scold.

me^{3} *shehe*^{4} *ne*^{3} *uno*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *ahmii*^{32} *nih*^{4} *ga*^{2}
which feet NEG CON:hear you:SG CON:speak we:IN INT
Why don't you do what I say? (lit. Why don't you hear [when] we speak?) (Fight 85)

me^{3} *shehe*^{4} *me*^{3} *tinax*^{5} *zoh*^{1} *man-x*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which feet CON:be COM:leave you:SG body-my INT
Why is [it that] you left me? (cf. Sun 3:112)

me^{3} *shehe*^{4} *hyaa*^{5} *zoh*^{1} *dax*^{13} *ga*^{2}
which feet CON:do you:SG thus INT
Why do you do that? (cf. Sun 3:188)

The interrogative *dax*^{1} 'how?' is used to question stative verbs. A content verb such as *waa*^{32} 'to exist' must occur in such questions.

dax^{1} *waa*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
how CON:exist John INT
What is John like?

This interrogative is also used to question manner.

dax^{1} *kahwee*^{13} *kiri-h*^{1} *onx*^{32}
how POT:be:possible POT:get-we:IN INT:INSISTENT
How can we get [it]? (Sun 3:135)

To question content verbs, *dax*^{1} 'how?' or *me*^{3} 'which?' is used together with a very general verb. If the subject of the verb is agentive, the verb used is *hyax*^{3} 'to do'; and if the subject is not agentive, the verb used is *ranh*^{3} 'to suffer' or 'to fare', or *uun*^{3} 'to become' or 'to happen'.

dax^{1} *kihyax*^{13} *nih*^{4} *ga*^{2}
how POT:do we:IN INT
What should we do? (cf. Sun 2:43)

me^{3} *kihyax*^{13} *nih*^{4} *ga*^{2} *nehex*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which POT:do we:IN with baby INT
What will we do with the babies? (cf. Sun 3:22)

dax^{1} *ranh*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
how CON:suffer John INT
What is happening to John? *or* How is John faring?

dax^{1} *uun*^{3} *man*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
how CON:become body John INT
What is happening to John?

(See also 7.8.)

When an adjunct or peripheral element is expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase (see §3.6), there are two ways of questioning it that include the locative noun. It is possible to leave the locative noun in its usual position and front only the interrogative noun phrase that serves as its possessor.

me^{3} *ze*^{32} *ahmii*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *ga*^{2}
which it:INAN CON:speak he feet INT
What is he speaking about?

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *naruhwee*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *sahanx*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *ga*^{2}
which he COM:repay John money face INT
Who did John pay the money back to?

It is also possible to front the locative noun too, in which case the fronted element forms an interrogative possessive noun phrase (see §3.4); the locative noun follows the interrogative basic noun phrase and lowers its tone (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering).

me^{3} *ze*^{32} *shehe*^{1} *ahmii*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which it:INAN feet CON:speak he INT
About what is he speaking? (cf. *shehe*^{4} 'feet of')

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *riaan*^{2} *naruhwee*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *sahanx*^{32} *ga*^{2}
which he face COM:repay John money INT
To whom did John pay the money back? (cf. *riaan*^{32} 'face of')

When an adjunct or peripheral element is expressed by a prepositional phrase, the formation of questions is governed largely by the individual preposition (see §4.3). Associative adjuncts with *ga*^{2} 'with' cannot be questioned. The object of *ra*^{4} 'inside' may be questioned by fronting the entire prepositional phrase to sentence-initial position, and placing the interrogative nominal marker *me*^{3} 'which?' before it.

me^{3} *ra*^{4} *weh*^{3} *ne*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which inside house CON:sit he INT
In which house does he live?

The object of *ndaa*^{13} 'until' can be questioned in various ways, though not all speakers accept them all.

me^{3} *rex*^{32} *kunanx*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *ndaa*^{13} *ga*^{2}
which place COM:run he until INT
Where did he run to?

me^{3} *rex*^{32} *ndaa*^{13} *kunanx*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which place until COM:run he INT
Where to did he run?

ndaa^{13} *me*^{3} *rex*^{32} *kunanx*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2}
until which place COM:run he INT
To where did he run?

WH questions can occur with the sentential marker *onx*^{32}, rather than *ga*^{2}; *onx*^{32} indicates insistence on the part of the speaker, and sometimes even irritation.

dax^{1} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} *ga*^{2} *yoh*^{1} *onx*^{32}
how POT:do-we:IN with that INT:INSISTENT
What should we do with those [ones (the babies)]? (said after two unsuccessful attempts to get rid of them) (Sun 3:39)

dax^{1} *hyaa-*^{3} *yax*^{13} *onx*^{32}
how CON:do-UN now INT:INSISTENT
And so what is he doing now? (Fight 229)

If no complementizer occurs, it is possible to question an element within a sentential complement.

me^{3} *ze*^{32} *ahwex*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *kiraan*^{2} *hunx*^{1} *ga*^{2}
which it:INAN CON:be:willing he POT:buy I INT
What is he willing for me to buy?

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *kahnah*^{3} / *kenehe*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}
which he COM:come COM:sense John INT
Who did John see come?

1.2.3 Indirect questions. Both YES/NO and WH questions can occur as object complements in statements. In neither case, however, does an interrogative sentential marker occur.

Indirect YES/NO questions are signaled by the subordinate conjunction *seze*^{32} 'if', used in this construction to mean 'whether'.

shna^{5}*hanx*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *seze*^{32} *kahnah*^{3} *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:ask:question John if COM:come Peter DEC
John asked whether Peter had come.

ne^{3} *nehe*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *seze*^{32} *nuu*^{32} *sahanx*^{32} *rke*^{3}
NEG CON:sense John if CON:be:in money stomach

chruun^{5} *a*^{32}
box DEC
John doesn't know whether the money is in the box.

(See also 7.95.)

Sometimes, however, *seze*^{32} seems to function simply as a complementizer.

ne^{3} *kachrii*^{2} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *seze*^{32} *tuhwii*^{3} *no*^{4}
NEG COM:tuck:in inside he if thunder CON:be:attached

katuun^{31} *chruun*^{3} *mah*^{3}
waist wood NEG
He didn't realize that the thunder was stuck in the trunk of the tree.
or He didn't consider whether the thunder ... (Openly 46)

Indirect disjunctive questions are expressed by a sentence combination (see §6.1.2).

Indirect WH questions are identical in form to ordinary WH questions except that they do not have an interrogative sentential marker. No complementizer occurs.

nehe^{4} *hunx*^{1} *me*^{3} *zii*^{5} *kahanx*^{32} *a*^{32}
CON:sense I which he COM:go DEC
I know who went.

shna^{5}*hanx*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *me*^{3} *rex*^{32} *kahanx*^{32} *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:ask:question John which place COM:go Peter DEC
John asked where Peter went.

(See also 7.3 and 7.7.)

Indirect WH questions frequently occur at the beginning of the matrix sentence.

dax^{1} *kihyax*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2} *tanh*^{3} / *ni*^{2}*hyax*^{32} *nih*^{4} *a*^{32}
how POT:do he with corn:ear POT:look WE:IN DEC
We will observe WHAT HE DOES WITH THE EAR OF CORN. (Fight 167)

dax^{1} *waa*^{32} *re-x*^{5} / *kene*^{2}*he-x*^{3} *a*^{32}
how CON:exist father-my POT:sense-I DEC
I will see WHAT MY FATHER IS LIKE. (cf. Sun 3:113)

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *hyax*^{3} / *ra-x*^{3} *a*^{32}
which he CON:do CON:think-I DEC
I was wondering who was doing [it]. (Sun 3:110)

me^{3} *hyaa*^{5} *zoh*^{1} / *ra-x*^{3} *a*^{32}
which CON:do you:SG CON:think-I DEC
I was wondering what you were doing? (cf. Fight 70)

(See also 7.15.)

1.3 Commands

Commands are signaled largely by the presence of an appropriate sentential marker. The marker *a*^{4} 'persuasive' signals a command when it occurs in a sentence with potential aspect and second person or inclusive subject.

kananx^{2} *zoh*^{1} *rohno*^{4} *a*^{4}
POT:weave you:SG tunic PERS
Weave the tunic!

kahanx^{2} *zox*^{3} *niaan*^{5} *ahyox*^{3} *a*^{4}
POT:go you:PL Tlaxiaco tomorrow PERS
Go to Tlaxiaco tomorrow!

kihyax^{13} *nih*^{4} *weh*^{3} *a*^{4}
POT:do we:IN house PERS
Let's build the house!

If, however, the imperative sentence is followed by a vocative and/or is combined with another sentence, no sentential marker occurs. Only the context shows that it is an imperative.

cha^{2} *zoh*^{1} *nee*^{31} / *'na*^{3}*iin*^{32}
POT:eat you:SG flesh Mama
Eat the meat, Mama! *or* You will eat the meat, Mama. (Sun 1:54)

(See also 7.9, 7.29, 7.41, 7.68, and various others.)

The sentential marker *ru*^{3}*gwanx*^{32} 'polite imperative' occurs only in commands.

kananx^{2} *zoh*^{1} *rohno*^{4} *ru*^{3}*gwanx*^{32}
POT:weave you:SG tunic IMP:POLITE
Please weave the tunic!

Various other markers, including *ei*^{32} 'emphatic', *mah*^{3} 'negative', and *mei*^{32} 'negative emphatic', occur in both statements and commands. When they occur in sentences with potential aspect, an agentive verb, and an appropriate subject, the command reading is more likely.

kahanx^{2} *zoh*^{1} *ei*^{32}
POT:go you:SG EMPH
By all means, go! *or* You will definitely go.

ze^{2} *cha*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *man-x*^{3} *mah*^{3}
NEG POT:eat you:SG body-my NEG
Don't eat me! *or* You won't eat me. (Sun 3:36)

ze^{2} *kahanx*^{32} *zoh*^{1} *mei*^{32}
NEG POT:go you:SG NEG:EMPH
By all means, don't go! *or* You definitely won't go.

ze^{2} *kata-h*^{3} *ze*^{2} *narih-ix*^{3} *nehex*^{3} *mah*^{3}
NEG POT:say-we:IN NEG POT:find-I baby NEG
Let it not be said [that] I can't conceive a child! (Sun 3:89)

In order to make a command more polite, a diminutive, such as the general quantifier *dox*^{13} 'some' or 'a little', may be used somewhere within it.

kachen^{2} *zoh*^{1} *dox*^{13} *yaan*^{32} *a*^{4}
POT:pass you:SG some salt PERS
Pass a little salt! *or* Please pass the salt!

There are no specific ways of expressing a first or third person command, but such a reading is possible for any sentence that has potential aspect, an agentive subject, and an appropriate sentential marker.

kihyax^{13} *gwaa*^{4} *weh*^{3} *a*^{4}
POT:do John house PERS
Believe me, John will build the house. *or* Let John build the house!

kahanx^{2} *nux*^{5} *niaan*^{5} *ei*^{32}
POT:go we:EX Tlaxiaco EMPH
We will definitely go to Tlaxiaco. *or* By all means, let us go to Tlaxiaco!

There are special imperative forms of the verbs 'to go' and 'to come'. These forms are used only with second person subjects in short sentences referring to an immediate action, and they signal a lack of respect.

gwix² zoh¹ a⁴
IMP:go YOU:SG PERS
Go away! *or* Scram!

kuwah² zox³ nianx⁵ a⁴
IMP:come YOU:PL here PERS
Come here!

(See also 7.82.)

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur almost exclusively in sentence-final position and are separated from the rest of the sentence by pause. Vocatives tend to be single words, and they rarely contain more than two. Many nouns have special vocative forms (see §5.3.2).

Sometimes a sentence ending in a vocative does not have a sentential marker.

naru²hwee³² hunx¹ sahanx³² riaan³² zoh¹ / 'pe³dro³²
POT:repay I money face your:SG Peter
I will pay the money back to you, Peter.

kuwah² zoh¹ / sha³la¹ kunii³
IMP:come you:SG girl little
Come, young woman!

kahnah⁴ zoh¹ / 'ti³nux¹
COM:come you:SG brother:ME
You came, Brother! (Brother 80)

nawix³ sahanx³² / 'a³tax¹
CON:finish money papa
The money is about gone, Papa (Sp. *tata*).

nuwix¹³ ushra-x³ / shu³kwa²han-h⁴
CON:be:chilled INTS-I grandmother-our:IN
I am very cold, Grandmother. (Sun 3:158)

gwex³² kachix³² zoh¹ / rex³²
quickly COM:grow you:SG son
You grew up quickly, Son. (Sun 1:35)

guun³ na²ko-x³ / 'na³iin³²
COM:become big-I mama
I got big, Mama. (Sun 1:37)

(See also 7.6, 7.9, 7.29, and various others.)

In other cases the marker precedes the vocative, and sometimes the pause comes between the sentence and the marker, rather than between the marker and the vocative. Some markers have special forms when they precede a vocative. The negative marker is *man*^{32} rather than *mah*^{3}, and one of the emphatic markers is *nanx*^{1} rather than *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}.

ze^{2} *nano*^{4} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *man*^{32} *'na*^{3}*iin*^{32}
NEG POT:tell inside you:SG NEG mama
Don't be sad, Mama! (Sun 2:31)

ranh^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *nanx*^{1} *'pe*^{3}*dro*^{32}
CON:suffer you:SG indeed Peter
You're sick for sure, Peter.

Vocatives have a special interrogative form ending in *h* (see §5.3.2). The YES/NO interrogative sentential marker is *nih*^{3}, rather than *nah*^{3}, preceding a vocative, and the other interrogative sentential markers do not occur with vocatives.

kenehe^{4} *zoh*^{1} *shuwaa*^{31} / *nih*^{3} *'pe*^{3}*droh*^{32}
COM:sense you:SG cougar INT Peter:INT
Did you see the cougar, Peter?

kahanx^{2} *zoh*^{1} / *nih*^{3} *'pe*^{3}*droh*^{32}
POT:go you:SG INT Peter:INT
Will you go, Peter?

me^{3} *rex*^{32} *kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{1} / *'pe*^{3}*droh*^{32}
which place POT:go you:SG Peter:INT
Where will you go, Peter?

dax^{1} *hyaa*^{5} *zoh*^{1} / *'ti*^{3}*nuh*^{1}
how CON:do you:SG brother:ME:INT
What are you doing, Brother?

(See also 7.8.)

1.5 Sentential Markers

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind occurs in sentence-initial position and links a sentence to the preceding discourse context; these markers are described in 6.4. The second kind, which is described here, occurs in sentence-final position and expresses something about the truth value of the sentence and the attitude of the speaker

toward the information contained in it. There is a strong correlation between the grammatical mood of the sentence and the markers that can occur in it. Questions and commands, which show the greatest restrictions, are discussed first, followed by statements.

Two markers signal YES/NO questions: *nah*^{3}, which is neutral as to which answer is expected, and *zhah*^{2}, which expects an affirmative answer. The presence of one of these markers is the only formal signal of a YES/NO question. See §1.2.1 for examples of these markers used in sentences. A third form, *nih*^{3}, occurs before a vocative; see §1.4 for an example. This form also occurs in embedded disjunctive questions; examples are given in §6.1.2.

In WH questions, two different markers occur: *ga*^{2}, which simply signals WH question, and *onx*^{32}, which signals insistence, and sometimes irritation, as well. WH questions are also marked by the presence of an interrogative word or phrase at the beginning of the sentence. See §1.2.2 for examples of these markers used in sentences.

Various sentential markers occur in commands. Of these, *ru*^{3}*gwanx*^{32} 'polite imperative' is limited to commands; the others occur in statements as well. When the verb takes an agentive subject, and it appears in potential aspect with a second person or first person inclusive subject, *a*^{4} 'persuasive' always signals a command, and *ei*^{32} 'emphatic', *mah*^{3} 'negative', and *mei*^{32} 'negative emphatic' usually signal a command. See §1.3 for examples of these markers used in sentences. The form *man*^{32} occurs instead of *mah*^{3} preceding a vocative; see §1.4 for an example.

In statements, a wide range of sentential markers occurs. The most common and least marked one is *a*^{32} 'declarative', which occurs in more than three-fourths of the sentences in the text in chapter 7. Other narrative texts show a similar percentage.

The remaining markers covered in this study can be somewhat arbitrarily classified into emphatic, negative, and miscellaneous.

There are various emphatic markers, some of them consisting of two words, and it is difficult to distinguish the precise meaning associated with each marker. Some of these markers, such as *a*^{4} 'persuasive' and *ei*^{32} 'emphatic', occur in both statements and commands. Other emphatics occur only in statements; some common ones are: *adonx*^{2} 'certainly', *shugwanx*^{32} 'obviously', *shtonx*^{32} 'agreement', *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4} 'for sure', *nanx*^{1} *ei*^{32} 'definitely for sure', *zhix*^{32} 'cheerful', and *a*^{1} *zhix*^{32} 'yes indeed'. Of these, only *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4} is common in narrative; the others are more frequent in dialogue.

With *a*^{4}*:*

kahanx^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{4}
COM:go he PERS
He went for sure.

With *ei*^{32}*:*

kahanx^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ei*^{32}
COM:go he EMPH
He definitely went.

guun^{3} *yoh*^{3} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} / *ra*^{4} *zox*^{3} *ei*^{32}
COM:become that when long:ago CON:think you:PL EMPH
You definitely think that happened long ago. (Sun 2:127)

With *adonx*^{2}*:*

shehe^{4} *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *kahmii*^{32} *rahngah*^{3} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4}
feet that CON:be COM:speak snare grandmother-our:IN

yoh^{3} *shehe*^{4} *ri*^{3}*kix*^{13} *yaa*^{32} *adonx*^{2}
that feet frog tongue certainly
Therefore that grandmother of ours certainly spoke a curse about the leopard frog. (Sun 2:63)

tuhwa^{3} *rmahan*^{13} *ri*^{3}*kix*^{13} *yaa*^{32} *adonx*^{2}
CON:talk in:vain frog tongue certainly
The leopard frog certainly doesn't mean [it (what it says)].
(Sun 3:182)

kawii^{2} *zah*^{1} *ndoho*^{32} *shnaa*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *adonx*^{2}
POT:come:out good INTS POS:cornfield your:SG certainly
Your cornfield will certainly yield very well. (Openly 44)

With *shugwanx*^{32}*:*

dax^{1} *katax*^{2} *noh*^{3} / *kuno*^{13} *nih*^{4} *shugwanx*^{32}
how POT:say she POT:hear we:IN obviously
We will hear WHAT SHE WILL SAY of course! (Sun 3:70)

ax^{1} *kenehe*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *shugwanx*^{32}
already COM:sense you:SG obviously
You already know [it] of course.

With *shtonx*^{32}:

ne^{3} *wex*^{5} *nih*^{4} / *nuwee*^{4} *rex*^{13} *nih*^{4} *me*^{3}
NEG CON:jump we:IN NEG father our:IN CON:be

yoh^{3} *shtonx*^{32}
that AGREEMENT
We don't jump; that [one] is clearly not our father. (Sun 3:129)

With *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}:

yume^{32} *cha-x*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
tuber CON:eat-UN indeed PERS
He is eating TUBERS for sure. (Fight 163)

hnah^{3} *nix*^{3} *noh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{32}
CON:come the:PL she indeed PERS
The women were coming for sure. (Fight 312)

dax^{13} *kiranh*^{3} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{32}
thus COM:suffer the:DU he when long:ago indeed PERS
The two of them fared thus long ago for sure. (Fight 320)

(See also 7.35, 7.44, 7.46, 7.53, 7.88, 7.99, 7.102, and 7.104.)

With *nanx*^{1} *ei*^{32}:

dax^{13} *waa*^{32} *kwe*^{3}*ndo*^{4} / *tax*^{32} *nii*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *ei*^{32}
thus CON:exist story CON:say they indeed EMPH
That's definitely how the story (Sp. *cuento*) goes, they say for sure. (Sun 4:53)

With *zhix*^{32}:

kahnah^{4} *zoh*^{1} *zhix*^{32}
COM:come you:SG CHEERFUL
It's so nice that you came. (Fight 268)

With *a*^{1} *zhix*^{32}:

kahanx^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{1} *zhix*^{32}
COM:go he ? CHEERFUL
He went, yes indeed.

(See also 7.61.)

Both *ei*[32] and *nanx*[1] *ei*[32] frequently occur at the end of a discourse. Sun 4:53 and Sun 2:127 in the examples above are both the final sentences of their texts.

The negative markers include two that occur also in commands, *mah*[3] 'negative' and *mei*[32] 'negative emphatic', as well as some that occur only in statements: *a*[1] *mah*[3] 'negative emphatic', *madonx*[2] 'certainly not', and *marah*[2] 'negative quotative'. Negative sentential markers occur only if the sentence contains a negative marker in the verb phrase (see §2.1.2), a negative emphatic noun phrase in focus position (see §3.5), or an inherently negative verb (see §5.1.1).

ne[3] *otox*[32] *pe*[3]*dro*[4] *mah*[3]
NEG CON:sleep Peter NEG
Peter isn't sleeping.

ne[3] *kachrii*[2] *ra*[4] *sno*[5]*ho*[32] *mah*[3]
NEG COM:tuck:in inside man NEG
The man didn't realize [it (that she meant it)]. (Fight 111)

dax[32] *sahanx*[32] *mei*[32]
CON:NEG:exist money NEG:EMPH
There's definitely no money.

nuwee[4] *shnii*[13] *me*[3] *zoh*[3] *a*[1] *mah*[3]
NEG boy CON:be he NEG NEG
He's really not a boy.

ne[3] *kawih*[1] *zoh*[3] *madonx*[2]
NEG COM:die he NEG:certainly
He certainly didn't die.

ne[3] *kano*[1] *yoh*[3] *shtah*[1] *marah*[2]
NEG COM:grab that high NEG:QUOTATIVE
That [one] didn't become attached to the sky, they say. (Sun 1:79)

ne[3] *kawih*[1] *zoh*[3] *marah*[2]
NEG COM:die he NEG:QUOTATIVE
He didn't die, she says.

See also 7.3, 7.7, 7.12, 7.25, 7.65, 7.69, 7.93, 7.95, and 7.101 for further examples of *mah*[3], and 7.31, 7.33, 7.36, 7.40, 7.48, 7.52, 7.56, 7.76, 7.87, and 7.105 for further examples of *a*[1] *mah*[3].

Even when a sentence contains a negative marker or negative verb, a nonnegative sentential marker sometimes occurs.

ne^{3} *otox*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
NEG CON:sleep he DEC
He isn't sleeping.

The miscellaneous markers include *nianh*^{3} 'urgent', *ne*^{3}*dih*^{1} 'you know', and *rah*^{2} 'quotative'. The quotative marker is used to repeat something that someone else has just said, and for some speakers it also serves as an evidential.

weh^{3} *ka*^{2}*ne*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *hunx*^{1} *kwanh*^{3} *nianh*^{3}
house POT:sit you:SG CON:say I today URGENT
I said firmly today [that] YOU SHOULD SIT IN THE HOUSE. (i.e., you should stay home) (cf. Fight 71)

kahanx^{32} *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *ne*^{3}*dih*^{1}
COM:go Peter you:know
Peter went, you know.

nehex^{3} *me*^{3} *yahanx*^{32} *gwii*^{13} *rah*^{2}
baby CON:be god of:sun QUOTATIVE
The sun god is the baby, they say. (Sun 1:10)

achiin^{3} *rme*^{3}*dyo*^{4} *rah*^{2}
CON:lack medicine QUOTATIVE
He says [he] needs medicine (Sp. *remedio*). (lit. He says medicine is lacking.)

chee^{5} *shkaa*^{32} / *cha*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *naa*^{31} *rah*^{2}
CON:walk raven CON:eat that cornfield QUOTATIVE
The raven walks around eating cornfields, they say. (Sun 1:34)

In sentences containing contrafactual conditions, the contrafactual marker *zax*^{2} may occur preceding another sentential marker; an example is given in §6.2.1.

The sentential marker usually fits the final independent sentence, but in the following example, the negative marker fits the object complement, which comes last.

hyaa^{5} *dih*^{1} *tax*^{32} *ze*^{32} *nia-x*^{2} *mah*^{3}
CON:do YOU:SG:FAM CON:NEG:exist POS hominy-my NEG
You cause my hominy not to exist. (i.e., you ate it up) (Sun 3:81)

[blank]

2
Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

Content verb phrases consist of a nucleus, which may be simple or complex, two optional preverbal elements, and three optional postverbal elements.

2.1.1 Verb nuclei. Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are idioms composed of a content verb plus some other word, which may be a noun, another content verb, a stative verb, an adverb, a numeral, or an indeterminate element. Because there are no productive morphological processes for creating new verbs (see §5.1.1), the creation of complex nuclei is an important lexical resource.

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

unanx^{5} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:run (he DEC)
(He) runs.

nehe^{3} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:sense (he DEC)
(He) knows ([it]).

ahneh^{3} *(zoh*^{3} *yanx*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:cut (he paper DEC)
(He) cuts (the paper).

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus a noun. Nouns which do not refer to body parts may be the logical direct object or a manner element.

Object:

utah^{3} *ruhna*^{4} *(shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:place:on:top knot (boy DEC)
(The boy) ties a knot.

hyax^{3} *suun*^{32} *(sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:do work (woman DEC)
(The woman) works.

achrix^{5} *shkuun*^{5} *(pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *sahanx*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:tuck:in debt (Peter money DEC)
(Peter [Sp. *Pedro*]) lends (money).

kinarih^{3} *nukwax*^{3} *(yahan*^{32} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}*)*
COM:find strength (fire indeed PERS)
(The fire) got stronger (for sure). (Fight 24)

kihyax^{3} *kwe*^{3}*nda*^{4} *(rex*^{3} *chex*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *skii*^{5} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:do account (father in:law his resin DEC)
(His father-in-law) counted (Sp. *cuenta*) (the [pieces of] incense). (Fight 19)

kahmii^{32} *rahngah*^{3} *(zoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *tinuu*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:speak snare (he face brother:ME his DEC)
(He) cursed (his brother). (cf. Brother 134)

Manner:

chee^{5} *kwa*^{3}*yo*^{4} *(nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:walk horse (baby DEC)
(The baby) crawls (Sp. *caballo*).

anuu^{31} *tohloo*^{3} *(hnuu*^{5} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:explode rooster (corn DEC)
(The corn) pops.

Sometimes the noun refers to a body part of the subject.

tigix^{5} *shehe*^{4} *(gwaa*^{4} *yuwex*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:poke feet (John rock DEC)
(John [Sp. *Juan*]) kicked (the rock).

kano^{4} *shraa*^{5} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:grab back (he DEC)
(He) was asphyxiated. (cf. Brother 180)

(See also 7.41 and 7.42.)

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus a verb without aspect inflection, i.e., a stem in its basic continuative form.[3]

ahmii^{32} *achron*^{4} *(gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:speak CON:write (John DEC)
(John) speaks in a veiled manner.

ahmii^{32} *unuh*^{3} *(rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:speak CON:fight (the:DU he DEC)
(They) argue.

Occasionally a continuative two form occurs (see §5.1.2).

nokoh^{3} *wax*^{2} *(yoo*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:follow CON2:move (palm:basket DEC)
(The palm basket) is hanging ([there]).

(See also 7.76, 7.77, and 7.87.)

The second verb may also be a Spanish loanword.

kihyax^{3} *kanaan*^{4} *(tuhwii*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:do gain (thunder that DEC)
(That thunder [god]) succeeded (Sp. *ganar*) ([at it]). (cf. Openly 58)

kihyax^{3} *kanaan*^{4} *(yoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *na*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:do gain (that face water DEC)
(That [one (the mountain)]) won out (over the water).
(cf. Deluge 10)

kachee^{5} *pasyaa*^{4} *(noh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:walk stroll (she DEC)
(She) went for a walk (Sp. *pasear*).

[3]Sometimes the second verb agrees with the first one in aspect, rather than taking the continuative form. Further study is needed to determine if this is a matter of speaker preference, or if specific idioms take different patterns.

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

With basic stative verbs:

araa^{3} *zah*^{1} *(noh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:put:in good (she DEC)
(She) puts ([it]) away.

kawih^{3} *ihnah*^{1} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:die alive (he DEC)
(He) became unconscious.

nakihyax^{3} *chreh*^{2} *(rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *tanh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:remake compact (the:DU he corn:ear DEC)
(The two of them) gathered (the ears of corn) together.
(cf. Openly 11)

(See also 7.71.)

With derived stative verbs:

kachee^{5} *takox*^{1} *(pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:walk by:foot (Peter DEC)
(Peter) went on foot. (cf. *takoo*^{5} 'foot of')

guun^{3} *shehe*^{1} *(shahanx*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:become based (celebration DEC)
(The celebration) began. (cf. *shehe*^{4} 'feet of')

nano^{4} *shrex*^{1} *(zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:grab:again by:ear (it:AML DEC)
(It [the animal]) listened ([to it]). (cf. Fight 205) (cf. *shree*^{5} 'ear of')

nakihyax^{3} *rmii*^{1} *(nehex*^{3} *man*^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:remake idle (baby body woman DEC)
(The baby) bothered (the woman). (cf. *rmii*^{31} 'lazy person')

guun^{3} *tahnix*^{1} *(ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} *man*^{3} *nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:become child:related (Mary body baby DEC)
(Mary [Sp. *María*]) adopted (the baby). (cf. *tahnii*^{5} 'child of')

guun^{3} *stax*^{2} *(rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *man*^{3} *zii*^{5}
COM:become relative's:husband:related (the:DU he body he

kahnah^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:come DEC)
(The two of them) became parents-in-law (of the man who came). (cf. Fight 6) (cf. *stax*^{32} 'relative's 'husband of')

(See also 7.104.)

A verb-plus-adverb-nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus either a basic adverb or one derived from a locative noun or a preposition (see §5.5).

With basic adverbs:

nax^{3} *nituu*^{2} *(shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:lie prone (boy DEC)
(The boy) lies facedown.

tuhwa^{3} *rmahan*^{13} *(sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:talk in:vain (woman DEC)
(The woman) didn't really mean ([it (what she said)]). (cf. Fight 110)

With a derived locative adverb:

chee^{5} *shko*^{1} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:walk beyond (he DEC)
(He) walks backward. (cf. *shko*^{4} 'beyond')

A verb-plus-quanitifier nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus a numeral or general quantifier.

chee^{5} *wahnux*^{1} *(nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:walk three (the:PL he DEC)
(They) go on the third visit. (i.e., to arrange a marriage)

kuchrah^{3} *tahax*^{2} *(rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *tanh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:split part (the:DU he corn:ear DEC)
(The two of them) divided up (the ears of corn). (Openly 12)

kishrah^{3} *manh*^{1} *(chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:be:split two (wood DEC)
(The tree) split in two. (Openly 20)

A verb-plus-indeterminate-element nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus a word that occurs only in one or a few frozen phrases. It

is therefore not possible to assign the second element to a part of speech without access to historical or comparative data.

hnah^{3} *nike*^{3} *(zhi-h*^{4} *chrex*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:come back (grandfather-our:IN trail DEC)
(Our grandfather) was coming toward home (on the trail).
(Brother 165)

cha^{2} *nihyanx*^{5} *(nih*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
POT:eat at:noon (we:IN DEC)
(We) will eat the noon meal. (Brother 82)

2.1.2 Preverbal elements. There are two orders of optional elements in preverbal position, truth value and temporal.

The truth-value position is expressed by the markers *ne*^{3} 'not', *ze*^{2} 'not', *ataa*^{3} 'not yet', and *wee*^{4} 'affirmative'; and by the preposition *ndaa*^{13} 'until', used in this construction to mean 'even'.

To negate a verb in continuative aspect, *ne*^{3} is used. To negate a verb in completive aspect, *ne*^{3} is used together with the potential-aspect form of the verb. To negate a verb in potential aspect, *ze*^{2} is used together with the completive-aspect form. In spite of this interchange, verb forms are glossed in this sketch according to their meaning. In the following examples, the positive counterpart of each sentence containing a negative marker is given for comparison. (See Hollenbach 1976a and 1984a:204–11 for further discussion of this interchange.)

Continuative:

ne^{3} *ahmii*^{32} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
NEG CON:speak (he DEC)
(He) isn't speaking.

cf. *ahmii*^{32} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:speak (he DEC)
(He) is speaking.

(See also 7.20, 7.23, 7.25, 7.26, 7.31, 7.33, 7.40, and 7.52.)

Completive:

ne^{3} *kahmii*^{2} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
NEG COM:speak (he DEC)
(He) didn't speak.

cf. *kahmii*^{32} (*zoh*^{3} *a*^{32})
COM:speak (he DEC)
(He) spoke.

(See also 7.3, 7.7, 7.65, 7.69, and 7.95.)

Potential:

ze^{2} *kahmii*^{32} (*zoh*^{3} *a*^{32})
NEG POT:speak (he DEC)
(He) won't speak.

cf. *kahmii*^{2} (*zoh*^{3} *a*^{32})
POT:speak (he DEC)
(He) will speak.

Both of these negative markers often cooccur with negative sentential markers (see §1.5).

ne^{3} *ahmii*^{32} (*chii*^{3} *mah*^{3})
NEG CON:speak (man NEG)
(The man) isn't speaking.

ze^{2} *kahmii*^{32} (*chii*^{3} *mei*^{32})
NEG POT:speak (man NEG:EMPH)
(The man) definitely won't speak.

(See also 7.3, 7.31, and various others.)

Negated completive verbs often require potential aspect in complement sentences (see §1.1.9).

ne^{3} *kizix*^{2} (*kihyax*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *mah*^{3})
NEG COM:be:complete (POT:do he house NEG)
(He) didn't finish (building the house).

The marker *ne*^{3} fuses with the continuative aspect form of *ahwex*^{32} 'to be willing' and *ahwee*^{3} 'to be possible' to create the forms *n-ahwex*^{32} and *n-ahwee*^{3}.

n-ahwex^{32} (*sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *kahanx*^{2} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *a*^{32})
NEG-CON:be:willing (woman POT:go man DEC)
(The woman) doesn't want (the man to go). (Fight 65)

n-ahwee^{3} (*kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32})
NEG-CON:be:possible (POT:go he DEC)
(It) is not possible (for him to go). *or* (He) can't (go).

The marker *ataa*^{3} 'not yet' occurs only with verbs in potential aspect; it does not cooccur with negative sentential markers.[4]

ataa^{3} *kahmii*^{2} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
not:yet POT:speak (he DEC)
(He) hasn't spoken yet.

ataa^{3} *kurianx*^{1} *(rex*^{3} *chex*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *rex*^{32} *tanuu*^{2}
not:yet POT:appear (father in:law his place middle

zhee^{5} *a*^{32}*)*
clearing DEC)
(His father-in-law) hadn't yet left (the middle of the clearing). (Fight 22)

The affirmative marker *wee*^{4} expresses agreement. It occurs with verbs in any aspect.

wee^{4} *nanoh*^{1} *(yoh*^{3} *yanx*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
AFF POT:look:for (that paper DEC)
Yes, (that [one]) should look for (bark fiber). (cf. Sun 3:142)

wee^{4} *kawih*^{3} *(pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *adonx*^{2}*)*
AFF COM:die (Peter certainly)
Yes, (Peter certainly) died.

The preposition *ndaa*^{13} 'until' or 'even' occurs with verbs in any aspect.

ndaa^{13} *ku*^{3}*rianx*^{1} *(shtax*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
until COM:appear (deer DEC)
(The deer) even showed up. (Sun 2:37)

ndaa^{13} *na*^{2}*shkax*^{32} *(zuun*^{32} *shiaan*^{5} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}*)*
until POT:be:raised (work POS:town your:SG DEC)
(Work) will even be accomplished (in your hometown). (spoken in bitter sarcasm as a curse) (Brother 170)

The temporal marker is *ax*^{1} 'already'; it occurs only with verbs in continuative and completive aspects. Verbs with *ax*^{1} and completive aspect are used in discourse much like the English perfect and pluperfect.

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[4] *ataa*^{3} 'not yet' is sometimes followed by *dox*^{3} 'more', which often occurs in postverbal quantifier (see §2.1.3). This fact suggests that *ataa*^{3} may originally have been a verb meaning something like 'to be lacking'. Furthermore, it is rare for words that are not verbs to begin with a vowel.

ax^{1} *nuu*^{32} *(yax*^{32} *ra*^{4} *yoo*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
already CON:be:in (flower inside palm:basket DEC)
(The flower) is already in (the palm basket).

ax^{1} *hnix*^{32} *(tuhwii*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *tuhwa*^{3} *shkwaa*^{5}
already CON:be:wedged:in (thunder that mouth snake

rkax^{2} *a*^{32}*)*
lizardlike DEC)
(That thunder [god]) was already wedged in (the mouth of the dragon). (Openly 75)

ax^{1} *kahmii*^{32} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
already COM:speak (he DEC)
(He) has already spoken.

ax^{1} *nawix*^{3} *(kahmii*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2} *na*^{32} *yahanx*^{2} *a*^{32}*)*
already COM:finish (COM:speak he with water divine DEC)
(He) had already finished (speaking with the ocean). (Brother 115)

(See also 7.18.)

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are three orders of optional elements in postverbal position: manner, quantifier, and incorporated noun.

Manner is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers. Stative verbs and stative verb phrases are the most common elements in this position, but adverbs and adverb phrases, quantifiers, content verbs uninflected for aspect, and at least one noun also occur.

With stative verbs:

chee^{5} *zah*^{1} *(nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:walk good (baby DEC)
(The baby) walks well.

kanikunh^{1} *nika*^{2} *(tana*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
POT:stand straight (goat DEC)
(The goat) will stand upright.

With adverbs:

chee^{5} *nanax*^{32} *(chii*^{3} *nga*^{13} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:walk slowly (man old DEC)
(The old man) walks slowly.

yanx^{1} kwanh^{3} (shrux^{3} a^{32})
CON2:sit barely (clay:pot DEC)
(The clay pot) is barely sitting. (i.e., it is about to fall over)

kahnah^{3} rmahan^{13} (gwaa^{4} a^{32})
COM:come in:vain (John DEC)
(John) came for nothing.

a^{3}riin^{2} rmahan^{13} (shtah^{1} nanx^{1} a^{4})
CON:roar in:vain (high indeed PERS)
It is roaring (up in the sky) for no reason for sure. (Brother 120)

kahanx^{32} yuun^{1} (zoh^{3} a^{32})
COM:go once (he DEC)
(He) went once.

kahnah^{3} yuun^{4} (zhoh^{3} a^{32})
COM:come again (it:AML DEC)
(It [the animal]) came again. (Fight 199)

ra^{5}zuun^{32} inanx^{2} (sha^{3}na^{1} man^{3} shkaa^{32} a^{32})
COM:use just (woman body raven DEC)
(The woman) just used (the raven). (Fight 198)

unanx^{5} ndoho^{32} (zoh^{3} a^{32})
CON:run INTS (he DEC)
(He) runs a lot.

(See also 7.4 and 7.97.)

With quantifiers:

cha^{4} wix^{1} (zoh^{3} a^{32})
COM:eat two (he DEC)
(He) ate for the second time.

kakaa^{32} nuh^{1} (rex^{3} chex^{1} zoh^{3} nanx^{1} a^{4})
COM:burn complete (father in:law his indeed PERS)
(His father-in-law) burned up completely for sure. (Fight 28)

(See also 7.28.)

With a content verb:

cha^{4} ako^{4} (yoh^{3} nee^{31} shtax^{3} a^{32})
COM:eat CON:sob (that flesh deer DEC)
(That [one]) was sobbing [as she] ate (the venison). (Sun 2:60)

With a noun:

kishrah^{3} *mahan*^{13} *(kox*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:be:split self (plant DEC)
(The plant) sprouted by itself. (i.e., it was not planted)

ayuu^{3} *mahan*^{13} *(tanh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:fall self (corn:ear DEC)
(The ears of corn) were falling down by themselves. (Fight 63)

Manner sometimes occurs in preverbal position, rather than in postverbal position.

wehe^{4} *ahmii*^{32} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
pretty CON:speak (he DEC)
(He) speaks graciously.

dax^{13} *ahmii*^{32} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
thus CON:speak (he DEC)
(He) speaks that way.

nanx^{13} *waa*^{32} *(rohno*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
thus CON:exist (tunic DEC)
(The tunic) is like this.

ushra^{4} *kunanx*^{5} *(kwa*^{3}*yo*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
INTS COM:run (horse DEC)
(The horse) ran very fast. (Brother 126)

tikix^{13} *guun*^{3} *raan*^{1} *(zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}*)*
INTS COM:become delayed (you:SG DEC)
(You) were gone a long time. (cf. Fight 70)

ho^{2} *kotox*^{32} *(wichix*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
one COM:sleep (old:woman that DEC)
(That old woman) slept continuously. (Sun 1:73)

(See also 7.61, 7.67, and 7.107.)

This is especially common when manner is expressed by a phrase.

yoo^{13} *ndoho*^{32} *chee*^{5} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
quickly INTS CON:walk (he DEC)
(He) walks very quickly.

inanx^{2} *dax*^{13} *hyaa(-*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
just thus CON:do(-UN DEC)
She acted in just that way. (cf. Sun 3:93)

The position of manner is often linked to the specific lexical item that expresses it. While some stative verbs and adverbs seem to require one position or the other, others occur in either position, sometimes with no apparent meaning difference, and sometimes with two different sense discriminations.

nanax^{32} *chee*^{5} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
slowly CON:walk (he DEC)
(He) walks slowly.

chee^{5} *nanax*^{32} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:walk slowly (he DEC)
(He) walks slowly.

zah^{1} *ahmii*^{32} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
good CON:speak (he DEC)
(He) speaks well.

ahmii^{32} *zah*^{1} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:speak good (he DEC)
(He) speaks well.

unanx^{5} *zah*^{1} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:run good (he DEC)
(He) runs well. (i.e., without problems)

zah^{1} *unanx*^{5} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
good CON:run (he DEC)
(He) runs well. (i.e., gracefully)

When an intensifying adverb or quantifier expresses manner, it often refers to the subject of an intransitive verb or to the direct object of a transitive verb, even though it occurs within the verb phrase.

hnah^{3} *ndoho*^{32} *(nix*^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:come INTS (the:PL woman DEC)
A lot of (the women) were coming. (cf. Fight 303)

todoh^{1} *man*^{4} *(yuwii*^{31} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
tiny:bit CON:exist:PL (person when long:ago DEC)
There were very few (people long ago). (Brother 3)

cha^{2} *ndoho*^{32} *(zoh*^{3} *nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
POT:eat INTS (he baby DEC)
(He) will eat a lot of (babies). (cf. Brother 138)

ichix^{2} *ka*^{3}*ta*^{13} *(naa*^{31} *tanh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
seven COM:carry (cornfield corn:ear DEC)
(Corn plants) used to bear seven (ears of corn [each]). (cf. Fight 56)

(See also 7.6.)

Compare Fight 56 above with Fight 58, which restates the same idea, but has the numeral in a focused noun phrase.

(ichix^{2} *tanh*^{3}*)* *ka*^{3}*ta*^{13} *(naa*^{31} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
(seven corn:ear) COM:carry (cornfield when long:ago DEC)
(Corn plants) used to bear (SEVEN EARS OF CORN [each] long ago). (Fight 58)

Manner is questioned by the interrogative adverbs *dax*^{1} 'how?' and *me*^{3} *dax*^{32} 'how much?', 'to what extent?', or 'how many times?'.

dax^{1} *kawih*^{3} *(zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2}*)*
how COM:die (he INT)
How did (he) die?

me^{3} *dax*^{32} *kahanx*^{32} *(gwaa*^{4} *ga*^{2}*)*
which how:much COM:go (John INT)
How many times did (John) go?

Often *dax*^{1} is followed by the verb *waa*^{32} 'to exist'. In the analysis adopted in this study, this construction is viewed as a stative sentence with a sentential complement as the subject.

dax^{1} *gaa*^{2} *(kihyax*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *ga*^{2}*)*
how POT:exist (POT:do he house INT)
How will it be ([the case that] he will build the house)?

Following manner is the quantifier, which is expressed by the verbal marker *uun*^{4} 'again' or 'also', the general marker *uun*^{1} 'just', and the general quantifiers *dox*^{13} 'some' and *dox*^{3} 'more'.

kinix^{32} *uun*^{4} *(shahax*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:fall REP (gopher DEC)
(The gopher) fell again. (Sun 2:124)

cha^{4} *uun*^{1} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:eat LIM (he DEC)
(He) just ate.

chee^{5} *dox*^{13} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:walk some (he DEC)
(He) walks somewhat.

chee^{5} *dox*^{3} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:walk more (he DEC)
(He) walks more.

(See also 7.17, 7.22, 7.76, and various others.)

The final position in the verb phrase is incorporated element, which is expressed by an inherently possessed kinship term, a body-part noun, or a preposition. There are four kinds of incorporated elements, differing according to productivity and meaning.

When the incorporated element is a kinship term, the subject is plural, and the meaning is reciprocal. The verb nucleus and the kinship term form an idiomatic unit, even though the two parts can be separated by manner and/or quantifier, because the existence of the combination cannot be predicted and because of the reciprocal meaning. (See Hollenbach 1979 and 1984b for further discussion of this construction.)

ano^{4} *tuwih*^{3} *(rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:grab companion (the:DU he DEC)
(They) fight with each other.

kinarih^{3} *tuwih*^{3} *(rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:find companion (the:DU he DEC)
(They) met each other. (Fight 270)

guun^{3} *mane*^{4} *(nih*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:become comadre (we:IN DEC)
(We) became comadres (child's godmother; Sp. *comadre*) of each other.

tax^{32} *bax*^{5} *(rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:say compadre (the:DU he DEC)
(They) call each other compadre (child's godfather; Sp. *compadre*).

When the incorporated element is the preposition *ra*^{4} 'inside', the verb nucleus and *ra*^{4} form an idiomatic unit that refers to a psychological state.[5]

kahmaan^{3} *ra*^{4} *(sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:get:hot inside (man DEC)
(The man) became angry. (Fight 97)

[5] *ra*^{4} was apparently a body-part noun meaning 'heart of' at an earlier stage in the history of Trique, but it survives at present only as a preposition meaning 'inside', as an incorporated element in expressions that refer to psychological states, and in a few other frozen expressions. The Spanish loanword *niman*^{4} (from *ánima* 'soul') is currently used as the noun for 'heart of'.

kahneh^{3} *ra*^{4} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:cut inside (he DEC)
(He) changed his mind.

Some idioms with *ra*^{4} contain three parts.

guun^{3} *ya*^{13} *ra*^{4} *(yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:become true inside (that DEC)
(That [one]) was convinced ([of it]). (cf. Sun 2:35)

The incorporated noun may also be a body-part of the subject.[6]

nahaan^{3} *rke*^{3} *(noh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:sting stomach (she DEC)
(She) is hungry.

(See also 7.51.)

If the verb is transitive and the body part is logically part of the object, the idiom comprising the verb and the body-part noun is intransitive.

rii^{32} *talux*^{5} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:take:out saliva (he DEC)
(He) spits.

na^{3}*shkax*^{2} *raha*^{3} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:raise hand (he DEC)
(He) raised [his] hand.

It is also possible to use a transitive sentence in which the body-part noun serves as the direct object with its possessor coreferential with the subject (see the discussion of the instrument adjunct in §1.1.4).

[6]There are four points along a scale where a body-part noun may occur. The body part may be the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase (see §3.3) expressing the subject, as seen in 7.55 and 7.56. It may occur in the final incorporated-element position in the verb phrase, as described in §2.1.3. It may be the modifier in a complex nucleus, in which case it immediately follows the verb (see §2.1.1). Finally, the verb and body-part noun may be fused into a compound verb (see §5.1.1).

These points represent four stages in an historical process in which a body-part noun moves from the subject toward the verb. This process begins when there is a close lexical tie between a particular verb and a body-part noun. Sometimes a particular combination falls at one point for some speakers, and at a different point for others.

Nouns may also move from the object into the verb phrase if there is a close lexical tie between the verb and the noun.

na³shkax² *(zoh³* *raha³* *zoh³* *a³²)*
COM:raise (he hand his DEC)
(He) raised (his hand).

(See also 7.46.)

When the incorporated noun is a body part and the nucleus contains a position verb, the combination shows a reversal of polarity when compared to the position verb alone, i.e., the subject becomes the direct object.

hnix² *tuhwa³* *(shuwee³* *yanx³* *a³²)*
CON2:be:wedged:in mouth (dog paper DEC)
(The dog) is holding (the paper) in [its] mouth.

ax¹ *hnix³²* *tuhwa³* *(shkwaa⁵* *rakax²* *man³*
already CON:be:wedged:in mouth (snake lizardlike body

zoh³ *a³²)*
his DEC)
(The dragon) was already holding (him) in [its] mouth. (Openly 67)

hnix² *raha³* *(shnii³* *sahanx³²* *a³²)*
CON2:be:wedged:in hand (boy money DEC)
(The boy) grasps (the money) in [his] hand.

tax¹ *shia⁴* *(chii³* *kax³²* *a³²)*
CON2:be:on:top neck (man log DEC)
(The man) is carrying (the log) on [his] shoulder.

The position verbs in these idioms are intransitive and take a locative adjunct; but the idioms containing them are transitive. Compare the following intransitive sentences with the above.

hnix² *(yanx³* *tuhwa³* *shuwee³* *a³²)*
CON2:be:wedged:in (paper mouth dog DEC)
(The paper) is in (the dog's mouth).

tax¹ *(kax³²* *shia⁴* *chii³* *a³²)*
CON2:be:on:top (log neck man DEC)
(The log) is on (the man's shoulder).

Occasionally two incorporated nouns occur in an idiom.

natah³ *shraa⁵* *tuwih³* *(yanx³* *a³²)*
CON:be:stacked back companion (paper DEC)
(The papers) are stacked on top of each other.

See Hollenbach 1979 for further discussion of these kinds of incorporated nouns.

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. The two preverbal elements do not cooccur, but all possible combinations of postverbal elements occur, and all occur with preverbal elements.

unanx^{5} zah^{1} uun^{4} (shnii^{3} a^{32})
CON:run good REP (boy DEC)
(The boy) is running well again. *or* (The boy) is also running well.

guun^{3} yaan^{2} uun^{4} (zoh^{3} a^{32})
COM:become first REP (he DEC)
(He) moved ahead again. (Brother 126)

kuyanx^{32} ndoho^{32} ra^{4} (noh^{3} a^{32})
COM:boil INTS inside (she DEC)
(She) was very furious. (Fight 101)

ne^{3} nokoh^{3} zah^{1} (hnuu^{5} man^{3} tuhwii^{3} sno^{2}ho^{32} mah^{3})
NEG CON:follow good (corn body thunder male NEG)
(The corn) doesn't grow well for (the male thunder [god]).
(Openly 8)

ne^{3} ahmaan^{3} ndoho^{32} ra^{4} (zoh^{3} a^{2})
NEG CON:get:hot INTS inside (he DEC)
(He) doesn't become very angry.

ataa^{3} kahmaan^{13} dox^{3} ra^{4} (zoh^{3} a^{32})
not:yet POT:get:hot more inside (he DEC)
(He) hasn't become angrier yet.

ax^{1} cha^{4} ndoho(-x^{32} a^{32})
already COM:eat much(-I DEC)
(I) have already eaten a lot. (Brother 90)

Sometimes the quantifier follows an incorporated element.

kahmaan^{3} ra^{4} uun^{4} (sha^{3}na^{1} shehe^{4} tanh^{3} a^{32})
COM:get:hot inside REP (woman feet corn:ear DEC)
(The woman) became angry again (about the ears of corn).
(Fight 100)

When preverbal manner cooccurs with the truth-value marker, manner precedes, as seen in 7.40 and 7.52. When manner follows a truth-value marker, however, the truth-value marker is analyzed as part of a stative verb phrase (see §2.3) or an adverb phrase (see §4.2.1).

When a negative marker cooccurs with the intensifying adverb *ndoho*^{32}, the meaning is 'not much'; but when a negative marker cooccurs with the intensifying adverb *ushra*^{4}, the meaning is 'not at all'. See Hollenbach 1976b for further discussion.

ne^{3} *cha*^{4} *ndoho*^{32} *(shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
NEG CON:eat INTS (boy DEC)
(The boy) doesn't eat much.

ne^{3} *cha*^{4} *ushra*^{4} *(shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
NEG CON:eat INTS (boy DEC)
(The boy) doesn't eat at all.

ushra^{4} *ne*^{3} *cha*^{4} *(shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
INTS NEG CON:eat (boy DEC)
(The boy) doesn't eat at all.

Further examples of a negative marker with *ushra*^{4} are found in 7.33, 7.40, and 7.52. In 7.105, *ushra*^{4} cooccurs with the inherently negative verb *dax*^{32} 'to not exist' with the meaning 'to not exist at all'.

When the verb *tiko*^{32} 'to play' occurs as postverbal manner, a negative marker must occur.

ne^{3} *ahngax*^{32} *tiko*^{32} *(tako-x*^{5} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG CON:throb CON:play (foot-my NEG)
(My foot) throbs a lot. (lit. [My foot] does not throb playing.)

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on four verbs: *me*^{3} 'to be', *kuhnax*^{1} 'to be named', *uun*^{3} 'to become', and *nauun*^{3} 'to turn into'. These verbs do not enter into complex nuclei, but *me*^{3} and *uun*^{3} combine with the incorporated preposition *ra*^{4} 'inside' to form idioms that function like transitive content verbs.

me^{3} *ra*^{4} *(shnii*^{3} *cha*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *yuhweh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:be inside (boy POT:eat he ice DEC)
(The boy) wants (to eat ice cream).

guun^{13} *ra*^{4} *(noh*^{3} *ku*^{2}*nuu*^{32} *noh*^{3} *yatsex*^{5} *a*^{32}*)*
POT:become inside (she POT:be:in she clothing DEC)
(She) will want (to put the garment on).

These verbs otherwise take only the truth-value markers and the quantifier, except that *me*^{3} 'to be' does not occur with the negative markers.

Equative sentences with *me*^{3} are negated by means of negative noun phrases (see §3.5).

(tanuu^{3}*) me*^{3} *uun*^{4} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
(soldier) CON:be REP (he DEC)
(He) is (a soldier) again.

ze^{2} *guun*^{3} *(zoh*^{3} *me*^{3}*stro*^{4} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG POT:become (he teacher NEG)
(He) won't become (a teacher [Sp. *maestro*]).

kinauun^{3} *uun*^{4} *(zoh*^{3} *shkuu*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:turn:into REP (he animal DEC)
(He) turned into (an animal) again.

2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which do not take aspect inflection. These verbs do not enter into complex nuclei, but they sometimes occur with the incorporated preposition *ra*^{4} 'inside' to form idioms, some of which function as transitive content verbs.

yahaan^{13} *ra*^{4} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
hot inside (he DEC)
(He) is hotheaded.

nukwax^{13} *ra*^{4} *(zoh*^{3} *man*^{3} *tinuu*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
strong inside (he body brother:ME his DEC)
(He) is trusting (in his brother).

hee^{1} *ra*^{4} *(zoh*^{3} *nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
heavy inside (he baby DEC)
(He) feels compassion (for babies). (cf. Brother 13)

(See also 7.81.)

Stative verbs occur with the negative marker *ne*^{3}, the affirmative marker *wee*^{4}, and the preposition *ndaa*^{13} 'until', used in this construction to mean 'even'. They also occur with a limited manner, expressed mainly by intensifying adverbs and the stative verb *gee*^{1} 'whole', used in this construction to mean 'exactly'; and with a limited quantifier, expressed by the general marker *uun*^{1} 'just' or the general quantifier *dox*^{3} 'more'.

Stative verb phrases occur in the predicate of stative sentences, either alone or together with a content or equative verb like *waa*^{32} 'to exist' or *uun*^{3} 'to become' (see §1.1.6).

Alone:

zah^{1} *ushra*^{4} *(ro*^{3}*to*^{2} *a*^{32}*)*
good INTS (blanket DEC)
(The blanket) is very good.

chreh^{2} *uun*^{1} *(shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
short LIM (boy DEC)
(The boy) is just short.

ne^{3} *ya*^{13} *(ri*^{3}*kix*^{13} *a*^{32}*)*
NEG true (frog DEC)
(The frogs) are not truthful. (cf. Sun 4:17)

(See also 7.100.)

With a content or equative verb:

wee^{4} *nix*^{32} *(waa*^{32} *nanx*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
AFF ugly (CON:exist net:bag DEC)
Yes, (the bag is) ugly.

ndaa^{13} *skah*^{1} *(gaa*^{2} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}*)*
until hard (POT:exist you:SG DEC)
(You will be) even strong! (spoken in bitter sarcasm as a curse) (Brother 170)

chron^{1} *dox*^{13} *tsinh*^{5} *(waa*^{34} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
dark some tiny (CON:exist he DEC)
(He is) a little bit dark-skinned. (cf. Deluge 35)

kunix^{13} *dox*^{3} *(waa*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
young more (CON:exist he DEC)
(He is) younger. (cf. Brother 70)

ne^{3} *shix*^{1} *(waa*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG big (CON:exist he NEG)
(He is) not big. (Brother 144)

(waa^{32}*)* *raan*^{32} *gee*^{1} *(rke-x*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
(CON:exist) firm whole (stomach-my DEC)
(My stomach is) exactly full. (Brother 90)

(guun^{3}*)* *ganh*^{1} *ndoho*^{32} *(kuchrux*^{32} *zhi-h*^{4}
(COM:become) far INTS (COM:lay grandfather-our:IN

shumanh^{3} *makaa*^{5} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}*)*
town Mexico:City indeed PERS)
(It came to be) very far away ([that] our grandfather founded Mexico City for sure). (Brother 42)

Stative verb phrases also occur in the manner position of the verb phrase in other sentence types (see §2.1.3).

zah^{1} *dox*^{3} *(awii*^{32} *naa*^{31} *rex*^{32} *muu*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
good more (CON:come:out cornfield place coast DEC)
(The cornfields yield) better (on the coast). (Openly 17)

zah^{1} *ushra*^{4} *dox*^{3} *(ananx*^{5} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
good INTS more (CON:weave she DEC)
(She weaves) much better.

(kahmii^{32}*)* *chree*^{13} *ndoho*^{32} *(zii*^{5} *chix*^{32} *dox*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
(COM:speak) evil INTS (he mature more that DEC)
(That older one spoke) in a very evil manner. (Brother 130)

When the negative marker cooccurs with the intensifying adverb *ushra*^{4}, the meaning is 'not at all' (see §2.1.4).

ne^{3} *zah*^{1} *ushra*^{4} *(ananx*^{5} *noh*^{3} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG good INTS (CON:weave she NEG)
(She does) not (weave) well at all.

Sometimes an intensifying adverb precedes the stative verb.

ushra^{4} *wehe*^{4} *(waa*^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}*)*
INTS pretty (CON:exist woman DEC)
(The woman is) very pretty.

dox^{3} *a*^{1} *nukwax*^{13} *(chee*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
more ? strong (CON:walk he DEC)
(He walks) even faster.

When the negative marker *ne*^{3} or the affirmative marker *wee*^{4} occurs in a stative verb phrase, however, that phrase must precede any content verb that occurs in the sentence, and no truth-value marker can occur in that content verb phrase. In other words, only one truth-value marker can occur in any full verb phrase, and it must occur at the beginning.

ne³ chee⁵ zah¹ ushra⁴ (zoh³ a³²)
NEG CON:walk good INTS (he DEC)
(He) doesn't walk well at all.

ne³ zah¹ ushra⁴ chee⁵ (zoh³ a³²)
NEG good INTS CON:walk (he DEC)
(He) doesn't walk well at all.

2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Repetitive verb phrases are formed by repeating a content or stative verb nucleus.

Repetitive content verb phrases usually repeat a simple verb nucleus in continuative aspect, but the repeated verb occasionally has another aspect. Sometimes an optional verb phrase element follows the repeated verb. This construction indicates the repetition or continuation of an action or process.

chee⁵ chee⁵ (wichix³² yoh³ a³²)
CON:walk CON:walk (old:woman that DEC)
(That old woman) kept on walking. (cf. Sun 1:24)

agwax⁵ agwax⁵ (zhoh³ a³²)
CON:cry:out CON:cry:out (it:AML DEC)
(It [the animal]) kept on crying out. (Fight 256)

rahyunx³² rahyunx³² (rox¹ zoh³ maan-³ a³²)
CON:harm CON:harm (the:DU he body-UN DEC)
(The two of them) kept on mistreating (her). (Sun 4:46)

ganx⁵ ganx⁵ (zoh³ yume³² a³²)
COM:dig COM:dig (he tuber DEC)
(He) kept on digging (tubers). (Fight 143)

kinax⁵ kinax⁵ (zhi-h⁴ rex³² nanx¹³ a³²)
COM:remain COM:remain (grandfather-our:IN place thus DEC)
(Our grandfather) continued staying (in this place). (cf. Brother 129)

nokoh³ nokoh³ uun⁴ (zoh³ a³²)
CON:follow CON:follow REP (he DEC)
(He) kept on following again. (Fight 263)

Sometimes a complex nucleus is repeated, or some modifier is repeated along with the verb nucleus.

kuruhmaan^{3} *shehe*^{4} *kuruhmaan*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *(zhi-h*^{4} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:press feet COM:press feet (grandfather-our:IN DEC)
(Our grandfather) kept on stamping ([it]). (Brother 22)

guun^{13} *yaan*^{2} *guun*^{13} *yaan*^{2} *uun*^{4} *(zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}*)*
POT:become first POT:become first REP (you:SG DEC)
(You) will keep on becoming first again. (Brother 124)

maan^{1} *dax*^{13} *kihyax*^{3} *maan*^{1} *dax*^{13} *kihyax*^{3} *(rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3}
only thus COM:do only thus COM:do (the:DU he

nanx^{1} *a*^{4}*)*
indeed PERS)
Just in that fashion (the two of them) kept on doing (for sure).
(cf. Fight 265)

It is also possible to repeat a combination of a verb nucleus and a subject pronoun.

kagwax^{2} *hunx*^{1} / *kagwax*^{2} *hunx*^{1} *a*^{32}
POT:cry:out I POT:cry:out I DEC
I will keep on crying out. (Fight 252)

In the analysis adopted in this sketch, however, this construction is considered to be a kind of juxtaposed coordinate sentence (see §6.1.2).

Repetitive stative verb phrases consist simply of a repeated stative verb. They are infrequent except for the following one.

ya^{13} *ya*^{13} *(ahmii*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
true true (CON:speak he DEC)
(He speaks) very truly.

(kuchih^{1}*)* *ya*^{4} *ya*^{4} *(zoh*^{1} *nah*^{3}*)*
(POT:arrive) true true (you:SG INT)
(Will you) really truly (arrive)? (Fight 276)

2.5 Additive Verb Phrases

Additive content verb phrases are formed by linking two content verbs with the preposition *ndaa*^{13} 'until', used in this construction to mean 'and even'. The two verbs must be in the same aspect, and the second one must express an action or process that is similar to, and usually more intense than, that expressed by the first verb. No preverbal or postverbal elements occur.

chee^{5} *ndaa*^{13} *unanx*^{5} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:walk until CON:run (he DEC)
(He) walks [and] even runs.

araa^{3} *ndaa*^{13} *ayanx*^{32} *(na*^{32} *a*^{32}*)*
CON:be:full until CON:spill (water DEC)
(The water) is full to overflowing.

Additive stative verb phrases are formed either by juxtaposing two stative verbs, or by placing the preposition *ndaa*^{13} before each one.

shkaan^{1} *kashrah*^{1} *(waa*^{32} *skux*^{5} *a*^{32}*)*
tall wide (CON:exist ox DEC)
(The ox is) tall [and] wide.

ndaa^{13} *niah*^{1} *ndaa*^{13} *kochrox*^{13} *ra*^{4} *(zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
until colorful until fragrant inside (he DEC)
(He) is very very happy.

2.6 Appositional Verb Phrases

Appositional verb phrases are doublets that serve as a literary device. Two semantically related verb phrases are juxtaposed for rhetorical effect. These phrases follow the schema A B, A C. A repeated verb is followed by different, but semantically related, elements, which often have some degree of phonological similarity as well. In the first example, the B and C elements are intensifying adverbs; and in the second example, they are the second part of complex verb nuclei.

kahanx^{32} *tiah*^{3} / *kahanx*^{32} *tihunh*^{3} *(neko*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:go INTS COM:go INTS (opossum that DEC)
(That opossum) really went in a big hurry. (Sun 1:49)

natux^{5} *siuu*^{2} / *natux*^{5} *rmii*^{2} *(noh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
COM:reenter by:bottom COM:reenter ball-like (she DEC)
(She) rolled over and over. (Sun 4:42)

A similar use of repetition with variation is also found in appositional noun and adverb phrases (see §§3.7 and 4.2.2) and in juxtaposed coordinate sentences (see §6.1.2).

3
Noun Phrases

3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

na³na¹	'word'
chraa⁵	'river'
shkuu³	'animal'
weh³	'house'
chraa³	'tortilla'
to³²	'metate'
hnuu⁵	'corn'
zoh³	'he'

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that comprises a fairly generic noun or a non-phrase-final pronoun followed by a frozen modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral, or a stative verb. A stative verb in this position may be either a basic stative verb or a stative verb derived from a noun by means of a tone change (see §5.2). Complex nuclei probably developed

historically from a sequence of a noun plus a reduced relative clause which acquired an idiomatic meaning.

Noun plus noun:

rme³dyo⁴ shluu⁵
medicine worm
worm medicine (Sp. *remedio*)

chruun³ me³sa⁴
wood table
wooden table (Sp. *mesa*)

shkuu³ kohoo³
animal bowl
ant lion

tuku³ya³² u³ro⁴
rabbit donkey
jackrabbit (Sp. *burro*)

Noun plus numeral:

we³rne⁴ wix¹
Friday:of:Lent two
second Friday (Sp. *(viernes)* of Lent

kohoo³ chix²
bowl seven
seven ritual bowls of food (given to symbolize transfer of responsibility to new mayordomo [sponsor of a religious fiesta])

Noun or pronoun plus basic stative verb:

na³² tsih¹
water sweet
soda pop

ze³² tsih¹
it:INAN sweet
candy

shrux³ maree³¹
pot green
glazed pot

Noun plus derived stative verb:

agah^{3} *neh*^{2}
metal ropelike
chain (Sun 2:118) (cf. *neh*^{3} 'rope')

na^{32} *yahanx*^{2}
water divine
ocean or flood (Openly 63, Deluge 1) (cf. *yahanx*^{32} 'saint, god')

na^{3}*na*^{1} *yahax*^{13}
wind of:chili
chili wind (a harsh choking wind) (Brother 175) (cf. *yahax*^{3} 'chili')

Terms for owner are formed from a noun or non-phrase-final pronoun (see §5.4) followed by a possessed noun that has undergone a tone lowering. These nuclei usually occur in possessive noun phrases.

chii^{3} *tahnix*^{1}
man child:related
the father (Sun 3:11) (cf. *tahnii*^{5} 'child of')

zii^{5} *tahnix*^{1}
he child:related
the parents (Brother 69)

zii^{5} *daan*^{1}
he POS:animal:related
the owner (of the animal) (cf. *daan*^{4} 'animal of')

zii^{5} *tohox*^{1}
he POS:earth:related
the owner (of the land) (cf. *tohoo*^{5} 'land of')

zii^{5} *tukwa*^{1}
he POS:home:related
the owner (of the house) (cf. *tukwa*^{4} 'home of')

nii^{5} *sihyax*^{13}
she possession:related
the (female) owner (of the object) (cf. *sihyax*^{3} 'possession of')

This tone lowering is also used to derive stative verbs from nouns; it is described in §5.2. In owner constructions, however, the possessed noun retains its definiteness, which would not be the case if the tone lowering converted it into a stative verb. For example, *zii*^{5} *tohox*^{1} refers to the

owner of a specific plot of land, i.e., one that has a role in the discourse, not to landowners in general.

3.1.2 Prenominal elements. There are three elements that precede the nucleus: prenuclear limiter, quantifier, and article.

There are four prenuclear limiters: the nominal markers *doh*^{1} 'merely' (scornful), *nanx*^{2} 'merely' (mildly deprecative), and *maan*^{1} 'only', and the general adverb *inanx*^{2} 'just'. Occasionally two limiters occur in sequence.

doh^{1} *maan*^{31}
merely rain
merely rain (Fight 299)

doh^{1} *chruun*^{3}
merely wood
merely poles (Fight 317)

nanx^{2} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1}
merely woman
merely a woman (Brother 36)

maan^{1} *shtax*^{3}
only deer
only a deer (Sun 1:18)

inanx^{2} *nehex*^{3}
just baby
just babies (Brother 11)

maan^{1} *inanx*^{2} *yume*^{32}
only just tuber
only just tubers (Fight 145)

(See also 7.88 and 7.101.)

A noun phrase containing one of these limiters usually occurs at the beginning of the sentence, as seen in 7.88. (Each of the above examples from texts also occurs in initial position.) In the following example, a limiter follows a pronoun nucleus. The part of the sentence outside the noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

zoh^{1} *inanx*^{2} *(hyax*^{3} *ra*^{4} *weh*^{3} *nianx*^{5} *a*^{32}*)*
you:SG just (CON:do inside house this DEC)
JUST YOU (are doing [it] in this house). (Sun 3:110)

The quantifier comprises numerals and general quantifiers.

Numerals:

ho^{2} *yatsex*^{5}
one clothing
one garment

kahanx^{13} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32}
four man
four men

uhunh^{1} *chruun*^{3}
five wood
five trees

ichix^{2} *skii*^{5}
seven resin
seven [pieces of] incense (Fight 20)

iko^{2} *sanx*^{32}
twenty bit
two pesos and fifty centavos

yoho^{4} *ra*^{3}*zuun*^{2}
another thing
another thing (Fight 191)

yoho^{4} *zoh*^{3}
another he
the other one (Brother 108)

(See also 7.1, 7.32, 7.36, 7.42, 7.46, 7.47, and 7.50.)

General quantifiers:

kehee^{1} *shkuu*^{3}
many animal
many animals

kunudax^{13} *shkuu*^{3}
all animal
all the insects (Sun 4:33)

dax^{32} *a*^{1} *shtax*^{32}
how:many ? bird
all sorts of birds (Sun 2:116)

tahax^{2} *yuwii*^{31}
part person
some of the people

tahax^{2} *kix*^{32}
part mountain
part of the mountain (Brother 60)

dox^{13} *tsinh*^{3} *naa*^{31}
some tiny cornfield
a tiny bit of cornfield (Fight 86)

The numeral *ho*^{2} 'one' often functions as an indefinite article. The first example under numerals could therefore be glossed 'a garment', as well as 'one garment'. See also 7.15, 7.76, and 7.89.

The concept many is sometimes expressed by an intensifying adverb or quantifier in the verb phrase even when it refers to a noun phrase (see §2.1.3).

There are two definite articles, *rox*^{1} 'the two' and *nix*^{3} 'the (plural)'.

rox^{1} *shnii*^{3}
the:DU boy
the two boys (Sun 1:42)

nix^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1}
the:PL woman
the women (three or more) (Fight 303)

(See also 7.7, 7.15, and 7.109.)

In that there is no singular definite article, the absence of both a quantifier and an article often signals definite singular, especially if the nucleus has a human or animal referent.

shnii^{3}
boy
the boy

(See also 7.17, 7.79, 7.84, and various others.)

See §3.1.3 below for the use of a deictic as a singular definite article.

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

There are three deictics. The locative adverbs *nianx*^{5} 'here' and *yoh*^{3} 'there' function as deictics, and they are glossed 'this' and 'that', respectively. There is

also a somewhat obsolescent nominal marker *dan*^{32} 'that', which refers to something previously mentioned.

skii^{5} *nianx*^{5}
resin this
this ear wax (Fight 196)

shkaa^{32} *yoh*^{3}
raven that
that raven (Fight 159)

shnii^{3} *dan*^{32}
boy that
that boy (the one we were talking about)

(See also 7.23.)

A weakly stressed form of *yoh*^{3} is developing a further function as a singular definite article.

weh^{3} *yoh*^{3}
house that
the house

(See also 7.23 and 7.32.)

The postnuclear limiter is expressed by the general marker *uun*^{1} 'just'.

shnii^{3} *uun*^{1}
boy LIM
just the boy

Restrictive relative clauses follow the nucleus. There are no relative pronouns; relative clauses are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or non-phrase-final pronouns (see §5.4), sometimes by the presence of a low-tone continuative aspect form of a verb (see §5.1.2), and by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. Non-phrase-final pronouns are very common as heads of relative clauses; see Hollenbach 1992 for a more detailed treatment. For most speakers there are no nonrestrictive relative clauses; their function is filled by appositional noun phrases (see §3.7).

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any noun or prepositional phrase within them, except that most speakers do not accept relative clauses based on an associative adjunct. (Because of the intrinsic reciprocal nature of this adjunct, speakers prefer to say 'the one who went with John', rather than 'the one John went with'.) A locative noun or preposition associated with the head noun is retained in its

original position in the relative clause, except that *man*^{3} 'body of' may be unexpressed.

With subject as head:

sno^{5}*ho*^{32} *ahneh*^{3} *chruun*^{3}
man CON:cut wood
the man who cuts trees

naa^{31} *awii*^{32} *zah*^{1}
cornfield CON:come:out good
cornfields that yield well (Openly 9)

zii^{5} *cha*^{4} *yuwii*^{31}
he CON:eat person
the one who was eating people (Brother 9)

zii^{5} *kahneh*^{3} *zuun*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *zoh*^{3}
he COM:cut work face his
the one who gave orders to him (Brother 19)

ri^{3}*kix*^{13} *man*^{1} *ra*^{4} *chraa*^{5}
frog CON2:exist:PL inside river
the frogs that are in the river (Sun 4:17)

zii^{5} *ne*^{3} *nehe*^{3}
he NEG CON:sense
the one who doesn't know

(See also 7.26, 7.36, 7.40, 7.60, 7.77, 7.91, 7.94, and 7.100.)

With object as head:

shnii^{3} *nehe*^{3} *gwaa*^{4}
boy CON:sense John
the boy that John (Sp. *Juan*) sees

shnii^{3} *nehe*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *man*^{3}
boy CON:sense John body
the boy that John sees

shumanh^{3} *kihyax*^{13} *zoh*^{3}
town POT:do he
the town he was going to build (Brother 65)

ra³zuun² *ra⁵zuun³²* *nix³* *zoh³*
thing COM:use the:PL he
the utensils that they used (Deluge 45)

sahanx³² *naruhwee³²* *noh³* *riaan³²* *gwaa⁴*
money COM:repay she face John
the money that she paid back to John

With adjunct as head:

shnii³ *naruhwee³²* *noh³* *sahanx³²* *riaan³²*
boy COM:repay she money face
the boy she paid the money back to

shumanh³ *kahanx³²* *gwaa⁴*
town COM:go John
the town John went to

shumanh³ *kane¹³* *zoh³*
town POT:sit he
the town where he was going to live (Brother 72)

rex³² *tax¹* *zoh³*
place CON2:be:on:top he
the place where he is on top (Openly 9)

shnii³ *kiranx⁵* *noh³* *kotoo⁴* *shehe⁴*
boy COM:buy she shirt feet
the boy she bought the shirt (Sp. *cotón*) for

shnii³ *kahmii³²* *zoh³* *shehe⁴*
boy COM:speak he feet
the boy he spoke about

shnii³ *yoo¹³* *dox³* *unanx⁵* *zoh³* *riaan³²*
boy fast more CON:run he face
the boy he runs faster than

nee³² *kahneh³* *gwaa⁴* *nee³¹*
knife COM:cut John flesh
the knife John cut the meat with

agah³ *neh²* *wax²* *mahan¹³* *zhoh³*
metal ropelike CON2:move self its:AML
the chain by which it (the gopher) itself was moving along (Sun 2:122)

(See also 7.84.)

With peripheral element as head:

shumanh^{3} *tuhwex*^{5} *noh*^{3} *rohno*^{4}
town CON:sell she tunic
the town where she sells tunics

yan^{32} *nee-*^{13} *tukwa-x*^{3}
place CON2:sit-UN POS:home-UN
the place where he is living in his home (Fight 153)

rex^{32} *kutunh*^{3} *na*^{32} *yoh*^{3}
place COM:dry:up water that
the place where that (flood) water dried up (Deluge 22)

gwii^{3} *kuchih*^{1} *noh*^{3}
day POT:arrive she
the day she would arrive (Fight 283)

All occurrences of a noun phrase coreferential with the head can be unexpressed in a relative clause.

sha^{3}*na*^{1} *kinanh*^{3} *tukwa*^{4} *shehe*^{4} *mahan*^{13}
woman COM:go:home POS:home feet self
the woman who went home to [her] house for [her] own sake

shnii^{3} *uun*^{3} *yaan*^{2} *riaan*^{32} *tuwih*^{3}
boy CON:become first face companion
boys who get ahead of [their] friends (Brother 109)

A relative clause may occur within another relative clause.

yan^{32} *nikunh*^{1} *zii*^{5} *guun*^{3} *yaan*^{2}
place CON2:stand he COM:become first
the place where the one who got ahead was standing (Brother 108)

The head of a relative clause may be part of a sentential complement (see §1.1.9). In the following example, the subject of an embedded object complement serves as the head.

yaix^{3} *kahnah*^{3} / *kihyax*^{3} *zoh*^{3}
stone COM:come COM:do he
the stones that he caused to come (i.e., the stones that he brought) (Brother 57)

In 7.58, the locative adjunct of an embedded object complement serves as the head; and in 7.105, the subject of an embedded subject complement serves as the head.

A relative clause may also contain a combination of two or more sentences, either juxtaposed or linked by a conjunction.

zii^{5} *wax*^{2} / *nanoh*^{3} *shtax*^{3}
he CON2:move CON:look:for deer
the one who was going along hunting deer (Openly 39)

ra^{3}*zuun*^{2} *ra*^{5}*zuun*^{32} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *gaa*^{13} *nanii*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *rihaan*^{32}
thing COM:use the:PL he when COM:escape he face
na^{32} *yahanx*^{2}
water divine
the things they used when they escaped from the flood (Deluge 46)

Some relative clauses containing content verbs have acquired an idiomatic meaning.

zii^{5} *akox*^{5} *chruun*^{3}
he CON:shape wood
carpenter

yatsex^{5} *nuu*^{2} *chraa*^{3}
clothing CON2:be:in tortilla
woven bag used to hold tortillas

kuchrih^{3} *chee*^{5} *shtah*^{1}
vehicle CON:walk high
airplane

Equative sentences with verbs other than *me*^{3} 'to be' may become relative clauses based on the subject.

shnii^{3} *kuhnax*^{1} *gwaa*^{4}
boy CON:be:named John
the boy who is named John

zii^{5} *guun*^{3} *tanuu*^{3}
he COM:become soldier
the person who became a soldier

Stative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

yatsex^{5} *maree*^{31}
clothing green
the green garment

weh^{3} *zah*^{1}
house good
the good house (i.e., large, expensive)

shihyanx^{32} *nakoo*^{13} *ndoho*^{32}
celebration large INTS
a very large celebration (Brother 99)

zii^{5} *chron*^{1} *dox*^{13} *tsinh*^{5} *waa*^{32}
he dark:skinned some tiny CON:exist
the ones who are a little bit dark skinned (Deluge 35)

(See also 7.59, 7.96, and 7.108.)

Some stative verbs occur only with the content verb *waa*^{32} 'to exist', and other stative verbs have a different sense discrimination when they occur with *waa*^{32} (see §1.1.6).

yatsex^{5} *wehe*^{4} *waa*^{32}
clothing pretty CON:exist
the pretty garment *or* the garment that is pretty

weh^{3} *waa*^{32} *zah*^{1}
house CON:exist good
the house that is good (i.e., in good condition)

There are sequences of a noun followed by a modifying noun that should probably be considered to be relative clauses with an unexpressed verb. The second noun often gives the material out of which the first is made.

wito^{4} *sa*^{3}*da*^{4}
handkerchief silk
silk (Sp. *seda*) handkerchief

nee^{31} *shtax*^{3}
flesh deer
venison (Sun 2:60)

niaa^{32} *nehex*^{3}
stew baby
baby stew (i.e., stew made from the meat of human babies) (Brother 87)

yax^{3} *to*^{32}
ash grindstone
powder from the grindstone (Fight 115)

nanx^{3} *yume*^{32}
net:bag tuber
the net bag [full] of tubers (Fight 210)

(See also 7.12, 7.13, and 7.16.)

In relative clauses, but not in main sentences, numerals function like stative verbs to express ordinals.

shnii^{3} *wahnux*^{1}
boy three
the third boy

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. All possible combinations of elements occur in the order prenominal limiter, quantifier, article, nucleus, relative clause, deictic, and postnominal limiter. It is, however, rare to have more than five elements in a single noun phrase. There are also certain cooccurrence restrictions involving semantics. For example, quantifier and article must agree in number, and a limiter may occur with a relative clause only if a deictic also does. Deictics occur with relative clauses based on stative verbs, but they occur with other relative clauses only if there is little possibility that they could be parsed as part of the relative clause.

wix^{1} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3}
two the:DU he
the two of them (Sun 1:12)

kehee^{1} *ndoho*^{32} *nix*^{3} *noh*^{3}
many INTS the:PL she
very many of them (the women) (Fight 307)

kwe^{3}*ndo*^{4} *nga*^{13} *yoh*^{3}
story old that
that old story (Sp. *cuento*) (Brother 195, Deluge 62)

zii^{5} *wax*^{2} / *nanoh*^{3} *shtax*^{3} *yoh*^{3}
he CON2:move CON:look:for deer that
that one who was going along hunting deer (Openly 40)

doh^{1} *niaa*^{32} *nehex*^{3}
merely stew baby
merely baby stew (Brother 87)

yoho^{2} *tuhwii*^{3} *shana*^{1}
one thunder female
one female thunder (Openly 5)

ho^{2} *shnii*^{3} *chreh*^{2} *nianx*^{5} *uun*^{1}
one boy short this LIM
just this one short boy

nix^{3} *shnii*^{3} *chreh*^{2} *nianx*^{5} *uun*^{1}
the:PL boy short this LIM
just these short boys

nanx^{2} *watanh*^{1} *nix*^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1}
merely six the:PL woman
merely the six women

wahnux^{1} *nix*^{3} *nee*^{32} *zah*^{1} *yoh*^{3}
three the:PL knife good that
those three good knives

(See also 7.106.)

Sometimes two relative clauses occur in a single noun phrase, in which case one based on a stative verb precedes one based on a content verb.

shnii^{3} *lehex*^{13} *nii*^{3}
boy babylike small
the very tiny boy

shkwax^{32} *kunii*^{3} *wah*^{2} *ra*^{4} *na*^{32}
fish little CON2:move inside water
the little fish that were moving around in the water (Sun 2:9)

ze^{32} *anuu*^{31} *ni*^{3}*kax*^{2} *zoh*^{3}
it:INAN CON:explode CON:have he
the explosives that he has (Openly 68)

(See also 7.15.)

Sometimes the nucleus of a noun phrase is unexpressed, leaving a quantifier or a deictic as the only manifestation of a phrase.

tahax^{2}
part
part [of them (the ears of corn)] (Openly 13)

dan^{32}
that
that [place] (Fight 137)

nianx^{5}
this
this [stuff (the stew)] (Brother 89)

In 7.93, 7.95, and 7.101, the deictic *yoh*^{3} is the only element in its noun phrase.

It is also possible to have a quantifier or deictic plus a limiter or a relative clause.

maan^{1} *dan*^{32}
only that
only that [stuff (its blood)] (Brother 149)

me^{3} *a*^{1} *a*^{3}*ta*^{13} *yoh*^{3}
which ? CON:carry that
all sorts of [things] which that [one] was carrying (Sun 1:66)

3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

Measurement noun phrases have a noun expressing a unit of measurement as their nucleus, and they contain an obligatory quantifier. They occur only as quantifiers in other noun phrases, and in the following examples, the higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

wix^{1} *ta*^{3}*nex*^{1} *(hnuu*^{5}*)*
two maquila (corn)
two maquilas (four-liter dry measures) (of corn)

ho^{2} *yoo*^{4} *(rkoo*^{32} *natox*^{1}*)*
one palm:basket (custard:apple sleep:inducing)
a basketful (of yellow zapote fruit *[Lucuma salicifolia]*) (Sun 2:101)

watanh^{1} *me*^{3}*tro*^{4} *(ma*^{3}*nda*^{4}*)*
six meter (cloth)
six meters (Sp. *metro*) of cloth [Sp. *manta*])

ichix^{2} *kuchruu*^{31} *(tanh*^{3}*)*
seven corncrib (corn:ear)
seven corncribs [full] (of ears of corn) (Fight 116)

wahnux^{1} *gee*^{1} *rlix*^{3} *(na*^{32}*)*
three whole bubble (water)
exactly three drops (of water) (Sun 3:13)

ho² takox¹ (kanx³)
one pair (sandal)
a pair (of sandals)

Measurement noun phrases optionally include a relative clause based on a stative verb or one based on the verb *tax¹* or *taa⁵* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition'. Relative clauses with *tax¹* usually follow the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the measurement noun phrase is embedded, even though they logically belong with the measurement noun phrase.

ho² ta³sa⁴ shix¹ (a³skwa⁴)
one cup big (sugar)
one big cup (Sp. *taza*) (of sugar [Sp. *azúcar*])

ho² nanx³ yah³ (hnuu⁵)
one net:bag century:plant:fiber (corn)
one century-plant-fiber sack (of corn)

wahnux¹ li³tro⁴ (ri³nde⁴) tax¹ yanee⁵
three liter (rum) CON2:be:on:top other:side
three and a half liters (Sp. *litro*) (of rum [Sp. *aguardiente*])

3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a possessed noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. Prenuclear limiter, quantifier, and article may precede the nucleus, but postnuclear modifiers occur only rarely. The possessor is a full noun phrase with no special genitive marking.

Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to those considered capable of being possessed. They are either inherently possessed nouns or optionally possessed nouns. Inherently possessed nouns are largely body parts and kinship terms.

raha³ shnii³
hand boy
the boy's hand

maan¹ tuneh⁴ zoh⁵
only tail your:SG
only your tail (Sun 3:160)

tuwih³ nih⁴
companion our:IN
our companions (Deluge 60)

doh^{1} *shee*^{5} *zoh*^{3}
merely spouse's:younger:relative his
merely his wife's younger relatives (Fight 314)

wix^{1} *tinuu*^{5} *shnii*^{3}
two brother:ME boy
two brothers of the boy

rox^{1} *tahnuh*^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1}
the:DU uncle woman
the woman's two uncles

maan^{1} *inanx*^{2} *nix*^{3} *shee*^{5} *zoh*^{3}
only just the:PL spouse's:younger:relative his
only just his wife's younger relatives (Fight 309)

nix^{3} *zii*^{5} *tahnix*^{1} *nehex*^{3} *yoh*^{3}
the:PL he child:related baby that
the parents of those babies (Brother 69)

(See also 7.27, 7.42, 7.46, 7.53, 7.57, and various others.)

When optionally possessed nouns occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase, they occur in a special morphologically marked possessed form. This form may have *d* or *t* replacing initial *y;* the prefix *ta-*, *ti-*, *s-*, or *sh-;* or the nominal marker *ze*^{32} preceding a low-tone form of the noun. These tone replacements are described in §5.3.2.

With *d* or *t* replacing *y*:

dax^{32} *zoh*^{3}
POS:flower his
his flower (cf. *yax*^{32} 'flower')

tachruh^{3} *noh*^{3}
POS:gourd her
her gourd (Sun 4:40) (cf. *yachruh*^{3} 'gourd')

tuhwex^{32} *noh*^{3}
POS:thread her
her thread (Sun 4:36) (cf. *yuhwex*^{32} 'thread')

With a prefix:

wahnux^{1} *taneh*^{3} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32}
three POS:rope man
the man's three ropes (cf. *neh*^{3} 'rope')

takanx^{3} *noh*^{3}
POS:sandal her
her sandals (Sun 4:37) (cf. *kanx*^{3} 'sandal')

tihnuu^{5} *noh*^{3}
POS:corn her
her corn (cf. *hnuu*^{5} corn')

ichix^{2} *sto*^{32} *hunx*^{1}
seven POS:grindstone my
my seven grindstones (Fight 108) (cf. *to*^{32} 'grindstone')

ichix^{2} *kuchruu*^{31} *stanh*^{4} *hunx*^{1}
seven corncrib POS:corn:ear my
the seven corncribs [full] of my ears of corn (Fight 107) (cf. *tanh*^{3} 'ear of corn')

maan^{1} *shnaa*^{31} *gwaa*^{4}
only POS:cornfield John
only John's cornfield (cf. *naa*^{31} 'cornfield')

(See also 7.9.)

With a fused prefix:

raa^{5} *noh*^{3}
POS:tortilla her
her tortillas (Sun 4:39) (cf. *chraa*^{3} 'tortilla')

ra-x^{5}
POS:tortilla-my
my tortillas

With *ze*^{32}:

ze^{32} *mi*^{2}*shte*^{4} *shnii*^{3}
POS machete boy
the boy's machete (Sp. *machete*) (cf. *mi*^{3}*shte*^{4} 'machete')

ze^{32} *kwe*^{2}*ndo*^{4} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3}
POS story the:PL his
their story (i.e., the story about them) (Fight 334, Deluge 37) (cf. *kwe*^{3}*ndo*^{4} 'story')

nuh^{1} *ze*^{32} *razuun*^{2} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3}
complete POS thing the:PL his
all of their things (Deluge 44) (cf. *ra*^{3}*zuun*^{2} 'thing')

(See also 7.28, 7.34, 7.107, and 7.109.)

Postnuclear modifiers are usually expressed by using an appositional noun phrase (see §3.7). A short relative clause based on a stative verb may, however, come between the nucleus and the possessor when the nucleus and relative clause form a close-knit unit.

tuwih^{3} *shana*^{1} *noh*^{3}
companion female her
her female companion *or* her fellow woman

If the possessor is expressed by a phrase-final pronoun (see §5.4), a deictic that follows the possessor refers to the nucleus. (If the deictic referred to the possessor, the possessor would be expressed by a non-phrase-final pronoun.) The deictic that most frequently occurs in this position is the weakly stressed form of *yoh*^{3} 'that', which serves as a definite article.

tohoo^{5} *zoh*^{3} *yoh*^{3}
POS:earth his that
that land of his *or* the land of his *or* his land (cf. *yohoo*^{5} 'earth')

(See also 7.4, 7.5, 7.8, 7.10, 7.61, 7.76, and 7.89.)

One special use of the possessive noun phrase is to express a partitive. The inherently possessed noun *tuwih*^{3} 'companion of' serves as the nucleus. It must be preceded by a quantifier.

kahanx^{13} *tuwih*^{3} *nix*^{3} *shnii*^{3}
four companion the:PL boy
four of the boys *or* four companions of the boys

Another special use of the possessive noun phrase is to express an emphatic meaning. The inherently possessed noun *mahan*^{13} 'self of' serves as the nucleus.

mahan^{13} *nix*^{3} *shnii*^{3}
self the:PL boy
the boys themselves (lit. the selves of the boys)

mahan^{13} *zoh*^{3}
self his
himself (Fight 44)

ma^{2}*han*^{4} *hunx*^{1}
self my
I myself (Sun 3:88)

ma²han-x³
self-my
I myself (Fight 49)

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

raa³¹ raha³ sno⁵ho³²
head hand man
the man's fingertips

shuhwix³² ni³ka² tahnuh³ shnii³
sister:FE spouse uncle boy
the boy's uncle's wife's sister

ni³ka² tinuu⁵ zhi-h⁴
spouse brother:ME grandfather-our:IN
our grandfather's brother's wife (Brother 7)

(See also 7.2, 7.5, and various others.)

Nouns that refer to parts of the possessor's body that are not localized do not normally occur in possessive noun phrases. They may, however, be followed by *man³* 'body of' and the possessor.

kuu⁵ man³ zoh³
bone body his
his bones (Brother 189)

maan¹ ton³² man³ zoh³
only blood body his
only his [own] blood (Brother 146)

nuh¹ nee³¹ man³ shkwaa⁵ rkax² yoh³
complete flesh body snake lizardlike that
all the flesh of that dragon (Openly 81)

When these nouns do not refer to the possessor's own body, however, they occur in possessive noun phrases.

snee³¹ zoh³
POS:flesh his
his meat (i.e., which he bought)

3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

There are two kinds of interrogative noun phrases, basic and possessive.

Basic interrogative noun phrases are formed with the interrogative nominal markers *me*^{3} 'which?' and *dax*^{32} or *me*^{3} *dax*^{32} 'how much?' or 'how many?', and with the interrogative adverb *dax*^{1} 'how?'. The interrogative is always initial in its noun phrase, and an interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence (see §§1.1.8 and 1.2.2).

me^{3} *shnii*^{3}
which boy
which boy?

me^{3} *kohoo*^{3}
which bowl
which bowl?

dax^{32} *sahanx*^{32}
how:much money
how much money?

me^{3} *dax*^{32} *skux*^{5}
which how:much ox
how many oxen?

dax^{1} *shnii*^{3}
how boy
what sort of boy?

(See also 7.3 and 7.7.)

Many interrogative noun phrases with *me*^{3} have acquired idiomatic meanings; they have the function of single-word interrogative pronouns or adverbs. Some of the most common ones are:

me^{3} *zii*^{5}
which he
who? *or* which man?

me^{3} *nii*^{5}
which she
who? *or* which woman?

me^{3} *ze*^{32}
which it:INAN
what? (Deluge 25)

me^{3} *rex*^{32}
which place
where? (Fight 76)

me^{3} *o*^{3}*ra*^{4}
which hour
when (Sp. *hora*)?

me^{3} *gwii*^{3}
which day
when?

me^{3} *shehe*^{4}
which feet
why? (Fight 48, Sun 3:188)

(See also 7.23 and 7.26.)

Interrogative possessive noun phrases are used to question a possessor. They are formed by combining a phrase like *me*^{3} *zii*^{5} 'who?' with a possessed noun whose tone has been lowered (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering).

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *tohox*^{1}
which he POS:earth
whose land? (cf. *tohoo*^{5} 'land of', *yohoo*^{5} 'earth')

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *tukwa*^{1}
which he POS:home
whose house? (cf. *tukwa*^{4} 'home of')

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *daan*^{1}
which he POS:animal
whose animal? (cf. *daan*^{4} '[domestic] animal of')

Adjuncts signaled by a locative noun are often questioned in a similar fashion (see §1.2.2).

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *riaan*^{2}
which he face
to whom? *or* whose face? (cf. *riaan*^{32} 'face of')

3.5 Emphatic Noun Phrases

Emphatic noun phrases have two subtypes, negative and affirmative.

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the nominal marker *nuwee*^{4} 'not' to a noun phrase and lowering the tone of an immediately following noun nucleus (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering). Negative noun phrases occur only in focus position in the sentence, and they often cooccur with negative sentential markers (see §1.5). Equative

sentences with *me*^{3} 'to be' (see §1.1.5) can be negated only by using a negative noun phrase for the nominal complement. In the following sentences containing negative noun phrases, the portion of the sentence outside the negative noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

nuwee^{4} *shana*^{1} *(me*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG woman (CON:be that NEG)
(That [one] is) not a woman. (Fight 300) (cf. *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} 'woman')

nuwee^{4} *yahanx*^{2} *tuhwii*^{13} *(me*^{3} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG god of:thunder (CON:be the:DU he right:now NEG)
(The two of them are) not the thunder gods (now). (Fight 323) (cf. *yahanx*^{32} 'saint, god')

nuwee^{4} *rex*^{13} *nih*^{4} *(me*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *shtonx*^{32}*)*
NEG father our:IN (CON:be that AGREEMENT)
(That [one] is clearly) not our father. (Sun 3:129)

nuwee^{4} *niaa*^{2} *zah*^{1} *(me*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG stew good (CON:be it:INAN NEG)
(It was) not good stew. (Brother 86) (cf. *niaa*^{32} 'stew')

nuwee^{4} *hunx*^{1} *(ra*^{4} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG I (CON:think NEG)
I (did) NOT (think [of it]). (i.e., it wasn't my idea) (Fight 35)

(See also 7.12, 7.93, and 7.101.)

If some other word comes between *nuwee*^{4} and the noun, the tone of the noun is not lowered.

nuwee^{4} *wix*^{1} *shnii*^{3} *(kahanx*^{32} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG two boy (COM:go NEG)
([It was]) NOT TWO BOYS ([that] went).

nuwee^{4} *uruun*^{3} *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *(kahnah*^{3} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG the:only spouse his (COM:come NEG)
NOT ONLY HIS WIFE (came). (Fight 304)

Affirmative noun phrases are formed by preposing the general marker *wee*^{4} 'affirmative' to a noun phrase. Such phrases confirm some fact asked or suggested by another speaker. *wee*^{4} also occurs in verb phrases, where it has a similar function (see §2.1.2).

wee^{4} *gwaa*^{4} *(kawih*^{3} *adonx*^{2}*)*
AFF John (COM:die certainly)
Yes, JOHN (certainly died).

wee^{4} *noh*^{3} *(kachee*^{5} *a*^{32}*)*
AFF she (COM:walk DEC)
Yes, SHE (walked). (Sun 2:6)

wee^{4} *nuh*^{1} *yaix*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *(nax*^{3} *nuh*^{1} *kix*^{32} *yoh*^{3}
AFF complete stone that (CON:lie complete mountain that

kwa^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}*)*
right:now DEC)
Yes, ALL THOSE STONES (are lying all over that mountain at present). (Brother 59)

wee^{4} *tanuu*^{3} *(me*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
AFF soldier (CON:be he DEC)
Yes, (he is) a soldier.

In the text in chapter 7, affirmative noun phrases are found only in the complex sentential marker *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2} 'and in addition to that', 'and after that', or 'and as a result of that', as, for example, in 7.19 and 7.27.

If the affirmative noun phrase is the possessor of another noun, the possessor precedes the nucleus.

wee^{4} *noh*^{3} *(ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} *me*^{3} *shtax*^{3} *a*^{32}*)*
AFF her (spouse CON:be deer DEC)
Yes, HER (HUSBAND is a deer). *or* Yes, (a deer is) her (husband). (Sun 2:6)

3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Adverbial noun phrases have two subtypes, basic and possessive.

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

chrex^{32} *kahaan*^{1}
trail big
road

shumanh^{3} *raha*^{13}
town handlike
little town

nuh^{1} *kix*^{32} *yoh*^{3}
complete mountain that
all over that mountain (Brother 59)

gwii^{3} *gee*^{1}
day delicate
holy day

dox^{13} *gwii*^{3}
some day
a few days (Fight 121)

kunuh^{1} *yawii*^{32}
complete month
all year long (Openly 25)

dox^{13} *o*^{3}*ra*^{4} *nii*^{3}
some hour little
a little while (Sun 3:72)

(See also 7.49.)

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with an inherently possessed locative noun as nucleus. Many of these are body-part nouns that are used with extended meanings (see §5.3.2), but *kwe*^{3}*nda*^{4} 'account of' (Sp. *cuenta*) is also included. Adverbial possessive noun phrases are used in all noun-phrase positions, but they are especially common as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

riaan^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1}
face woman
to the woman (Fight 48)

riaan^{32} *to*^{32} *yoh*^{3}
face grindstone that
the surface of that grindstone (Fight 114)

ston^{3} *shkaa*^{32} *yoh*^{3}
finger raven that
to the raven (Fight 195)

rke^{3} *shrux*^{3} *yume*^{32}
stomach pot tuber
in the pot of tubers (Fight 203)

rke^{3} *naa*^{31}
stomach cornfield
in the cornfield (Fight 53)

rke^{3} *sma*^{3}*na*^{4}
stomach week
during the week (Sp. *semana*) *or* within a week

shraa^{5} *makaa*^{5}
back Mexico:City
uphill from Mexico City (Brother 176)

ta^{3}*nuu*^{2} *taa*^{3}
middle plain
in the middle of the plain (Brother 177, Deluge 19)

raa^{31} *chruun*^{3}
head wood
on the top of the tree (Fight 186)

shehe^{4} *rex*^{3} *noh*^{3}
feet father her
about her father (Fight 99)

takoo^{5} *kix*^{32} *shrox*^{3}
foot mountain Shroj
at the base of *Shroj* mountain (Brother 17)

takoo^{5} *yawii*^{32}
foot month
at the beginning of the month

man^{3} *noh*^{3}
body her
to her (Fight 94)

kwe^{3}*nda*^{4} *rex*^{3} *noh*^{3}
account father her
on her father's side *or* on account of her father

Adverbial possessive noun phrases differ from ordinary possessive noun phrases in that the locative noun often has a relational, rather than a nominal function. When the locative noun has a relational function, these phrases do not permit prenuclear elements, and it is possible to front their possessors to preverbal focus position without them (see §1.1.8). When the locative noun has a nominal function, the phrases can take prenuclear elements, and their possessors cannot be fronted for focus without them. Sometimes the function of a locative noun in a given sentence cannot be determined, and either reading is possible.

In the text in chapter 7, the clearest instances of relational function are found with *shehe*^{4} 'feet of' in 7.1, *man*^{3} 'body of' in 7.81, and *riaan*^{32} 'face of' to mark a referent adjunct in 7.85 and the addressee of a quotation in 7.6, 7.9, and various other sentences. Compare these with the indeterminate instances of *riaan*^{32} 'face of' in 7.91 and 7.94, and *man*^{3} 'body of' in 7.24, 7.28, 7.29, 7.54, 7.76, and 7.105. Consider also *tuhwa*^{3} 'mouth of', which in 7.9, 7.11, and 7.16 is indeterminate in function, but in 7.53 and 7.55 is clearly nominal. See Hollenbach 1990 for a discussion of metaphorical extensions and category shifts in body-part terms.

The non-phrase-final pronoun *rex*^{32} 'place' (see §5.4) may precede the nucleus of an adverbial noun phrase. In this construction the meaning of *rex*^{32} is often 'in the direction of'. The tone of the locative noun is often lowered following *rex*^{32} (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering).

rex^{32} *rnuu*^{32}
place coast
down at the coast (Fight 135)

rex^{32} *shiaan*^{5} *nih*^{4}
place POS:town our:IN
at the place of our hometown (Brother 29)

inanx^{2} *rex*^{32} *raa*^{1} *tanh*^{3}
just place head corn:ear
just the top part of the ears of corn (Openly 15) (cf. *raa*^{31} 'head of')

nuh^{1} *rex*^{32} *siuu*^{2} *tanh*^{3}
complete place bottom corn:ear
all the bottom parts of the ears of corn (Openly 16) (cf. *siuu*^{32} 'bottom of')

rex^{32} *tanuu*^{2} *zhee*^{5}
place middle clearing
the middle of the clearing (Fight 22) (cf. *ta*^{3}*nuu*^{2} 'middle of')

3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

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

sahanx^{32} / *tuhwee*^{32} *zoh*^{3}
money POS:value his
the money, his salary

shuhwix^{32} *hunx*^{1} / *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4}
sister:FE my Mary
my sister, Mary (Sp. *María*)

ni^{3}*ka*^{2} *zoh*^{3} / *tuhwii*^{3} *shana*^{1}
spouse his thunder female
his wife, the female thunder (goddess) (Fight 136)

ho^{2} *shu*^{3}*kwahanx*^{13} *nih*^{4} / *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} *zoh*^{3}
one grandmother our:IN spouse his
one grandmother of ours, his wife (Brother 4)

ni^{2}*chrex*^{32} *rlix*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *shkwaa*^{5} / *rex*^{32} *nichruun*^{13} *zhoh*^{3}
one:side bubble face snake place left:side its:AML
one side of the snake's eyes, [the one on] its left side (Sun 2:77)

sha^{3}*na*^{1} / *tahnii*^{5} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3}
woman child the:DU his
The woman, their child (Fight 5)

weh^{3} / *tukwa*^{4} *yahanx*^{32} *tuhwii*^{13} *sno*^{2}*ho*^{32}
house POS:home god of:thunder male
the house, the home of the thunder god (Fight 200)

(See also 7.2, 7.60, and 7.67.)

The phrase in 7.2 is conventionalized and probably functions as a proper name.

Appositional noun phrases have several specific functions. One of these is to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified, which is the function filled by nonrestrictive relative clauses in English. Such appositional noun phrases often have a proper name or a phrase-final pronoun (see §5.4) as the nucleus of the first part, and a non-phrase-final pronoun modified by a relative clause as the second part.

gwaa^{4} / *zii*^{5} *kawih*^{3} *kii*^{3}
John he COM:die yesterday
John, the one who died yesterday

noh^{3} / *nii*^{5} *kuhnax*^{1} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4}
she she CON:be:named Mary
she, the one who is called Mary

shumanh^{3} *kopa*^{3}*la*^{4} / *shiaan*^{5} *nih*^{4}
town Copala POS:town our:IN
the town of Copala (Sp. *Copala*), our hometown (Brother 47)

If the first part of the appositional noun phrase is a first or second person pronoun, and the second part begins with a non-phrase-final pronoun, the non-phrase-final pronoun lowers its tone (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering).

hunx^{1} / zix^{1} kuhnax^{1} pa^{3}blo^{4}
I he CON:be:named Paul
I, who am called Paul (Sp. *Pablo*)

zox^{3} / zix^{1} kushuman^{4} ra^{4} na^{3}na^{1}
you:PL he COM:arrive inside word
you, the ones who believed the word

This tone lowering clarifies participant reference; compare the following two sentences.

tahnuh^{4} zoh^{1} / zix^{1} zah^{1}
uncle your:SG he good
the uncle of you, a person who is good (i.e., you are good)

tahnuh^{4} zoh^{1} / zii^{5} zah^{1}
uncle your:SG he good
your uncle, a person who is good (i.e., your uncle is good)

A second use of appositional noun phrases is to include a postnuclear modifier with the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase. Postnuclear noun modifiers cannot follow the nucleus directly because the possessor occurs there, but they can follow the coreferential nucleus of a basic noun phrase in apposition with the possessive noun phrase.

tukwa^{4} zoh^{3} / weh^{3} shix^{1}
POS:home his house big
his big house

sto^{32} sha^{3}na^{1} / to^{32} naka^{1} nianx^{5}
POS:metate woman metate new this
this new metate of the woman

zhi-h^{4} / zii^{5} kunix^{13} dox^{3}
grandfather-our:IN he young more
our grandfather, the younger one (Brother 69)

rlix^{3} riaan^{32} shkwaa^{5} / ze^{32} waa^{32} zah^{1}
bubble face snake it:INAN CON:exist good
the snake's eye, the good one (Sun 2:83)

A third use is to express comparison. The nucleus of the second part is the inherently possessed noun *tuwih*^{3} 'companion of'.

yuhwex^{32} *mii*^{5} / *tuwih*^{3} *yoh*^{3}
thread yellow companion that
yellow thread like that (lit. yellow thread, the companion of that [one])

A fourth use is to express the possessor of a specific animal. Nouns referring to specific kinds of animals cannot occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase; they occur instead in a basic noun phrase in apposition with a possessive noun phrase that has the inherently possessed noun *daan*^{4} '(domestic) animal of' as its nucleus.

daan^{4} *zoh*^{3} / *shuwee*^{3}
POS:animal his dog
his dog

ho^{2} *dan-x*^{3} / *kwa*^{3}*yo*^{4}
one POS:animal-my horse
one of my horses (Sp. *caballo*)

matsinx^{32} *maruu*^{31} / *daan*^{4} *zoh*^{3}
sheep black POS:animal his
his black sheep

A fifth use of apposition creates doublets which serve as a literary device. Two semantically related noun phrases are juxtaposed for rhetorical effect. These phrases follow the schema A B, A C; a repeated noun is followed by different, but semantically related, elements, which often have some degree of phonological similarity as well. The following example is a derogatory epithet found in folktales.

tuhwa^{3} *luu*^{5} / *tuhwa*^{3} *taan*^{5}
mouth worm mouth fly
worm mouth, fly mouth (Sun 3:168)

This expression also occurs twice in the text; see 7.60 and 7.67. In each place, the frozen appositional expression is itself in apposition with something else, and in 7.67, the entire appositional phrase is modified by a relative clause. These facts suggest that this expression is so conventionalized that it functions as a complex noun nucleus.

Doublets are fairly common in Copala Trique, and the structure is not limited to noun phrases. Category membership does not seem to matter as long as the schema is followed. See §§2.6, 4.2.2, and 6.1.2 for a description of other constructions that show repetition with variation.

3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

There are various ways of conjoining noun phrases within the bounds of a single basic sentence. A further way to link noun phrases involves repeating the verb; this is described in §6.1.2.

One way to conjoin noun phrases is to use a conjunction. The preposition *ga²* 'with' sometimes occurs between two noun phrases and functions as a conjunction meaning 'and'.

yoho² *sha³na¹* *ga²* *yoho²* *sno⁵ho³²*
one woman with one man
one woman and one man (Fight 2)

gwii³ *ga²* *yawii³*
sun with moon
the sun and the moon (Sun 4:17)

zoh³ *ga²* *tuwih³* *zoh³*
he with companion his
he and his companion

(See also 7.1.)

A sequence of two noun phrases linked by *ga²* can sometimes be interpreted either as an additive noun phrase or as a simple noun phrase followed by an associative adjunct (see §1.1.4).

kahanx³² *zoh³* *ga²* *tuwih³* *zoh³* *a³²*
COM:go he with companion his DEC
He and his companion went away. *or* He went away with his companion.

kenehe³ *zoh³* *man³* *ni³ka²* *zoh³* *ga²* *tahnii⁵* *zoh³* *a³²*
COM:sense he body spouse his with child his DEC
He saw his wife and child. *or* He, with his child, saw his wife. *or* He saw his wife with his child.

(See also 7.47.)

Additive noun phrases with *ga²* show attraction when the first noun phrase contains a dual or plural quantifier or article, and the second permits the interpretation that it is included in the first one. In such cases *ga²* should perhaps be translated 'including', rather than 'with'.

rox¹ *zoh³* *ga²* *tinuu⁵* *zoh³*
the:DU he with brother:ME his
he and his brother

rox[1] *zoh*[3] *ga*[2] *shu*[3]*kwa*[2]*han-h*[4]
the:DU he with grandmother-our:IN
he and our grandmother (Brother 27)

runx[5] *ga*[2] *gwaa*[4]
we:DU:EX with John
John and I

nux[5] *ga*[2] *tanuu*[3]
we:EX with soldier
we, including the soldier

It is also possible to use the conjunction *ne*[2] 'and', which usually joins full sentences, to conjoin noun phrases. The examples recorded are all in the nominal complement of equative sentences.

yoho[2] *yawii*[3] *ne*[2] *yoho*[2] *yahanx*[32] *gwii*[13] *(me*[3] *nehex*[3] *a*[32]*)*
one moon and one god of:sun (CON:be baby DEC)
(The babies were) one moon and one sun god. (Sun 1:11)

ri[3]*kix*[13] *ne*[2] *shkwax*[32] *(me*[3] *zoh*[3] *a*[32]*)*
frog and fish (CON:be he DEC)
(They were) frogs and fish. (Sun 4:15)

It is also possible to use the preposition *ndaa*[13] 'until' to conjoin two noun phrases; in this construction it means 'and even'.

tahnii[5] *dih*[1] *ndaa*[13] *daan*[4] *dih*[1]
child your:SG:FAM until POS:animal your:SG:FAM
your children and even your animals (Sun 4:50)

In the other ways of conjoining, any number of noun phrases may be linked. In one common way, each conjunct is followed by the general marker *doh*[1] 'and' plus pause. Additive phrases using *doh*[1] usually occur in focus position in the sentence (see §1.1.8).

yumih[3] *doh*[1] / *ku*[3]*yanx*[1] *doh*[1] / *ri*[3]*nde*[4] *doh*[1] / *(kiranx*[5]
soap and candle and rum and (COM:buy

gwaa[4] *a*[32]*)*
John DEC)
(John bought) SOAP, CANDLES, AND RUM.

Sometimes a pause alone marks one or more of the conjuncts.

yumih[3] *doh*[1] / *ku*[3]*yanx*[1] / *ri*[3]*nde*[4] *doh*[1] / *(kiranx*[5] *gwaa*[4] *a*[32]*)*
soap and candle rum and (COM:buy John DEC)
(John bought) SOAP, CANDLES, AND RUM.

If the additive noun phrase is the final element in its basic sentence, the sentential marker *a*^{32} 'declarative' (see §1.5) may be used instead of *doh*^{1}.

(karaa^{3} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3}*) shkuu*^{3} *kahaan*^{31} *a*^{32} / *shkuu*^{3}
(COM:put:in the:DU he) animal steam DEC animal

chron^{4} *a*^{32} / *shkuu*^{3} *takanx*^{3} *a*^{32} / *shkuu*^{3}
black:person DEC animal POS:sandal DEC animal

kwahax^{32} *a*^{32} / *shianh*^{3} *a*^{32} / *shkuu*^{3} *shongo*^{4} *a*^{32}
steambath DEC brown:wasp DEC animal bumblebee DEC
(The two of them put in) wild bees, black wasps, paper wasps, mud dauber wasps, brown wasps, [and] bumblebees. (Sun 4:30)

Occasionally some word preceding a noun, such as the general quantifier *nuh*^{1} 'complete' or the locative noun *riaan*^{32} 'face of', is repeated before each conjunct and optionally after the last.

nuh^{1} *tohoo*^{5} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *nuh*^{1} *sihyax*^{3} *nix*^{3}
complete POS:earth the:PL his complete possession the:PL

zoh^{3} / *nuh*^{1}
his complete
all their lands [and] possessions

nuh^{1} *stanh*^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} / *nuh*^{1} *stanh*^{3} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32}
complete POS:corn:ear woman complete POS:corn:ear man
all of the woman's ears of corn [and] all of the man's ears of corn (Openly 11)

riaan^{32} *gwaa*^{4} / *riaan*^{32} *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} / *riaan*^{32} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} / *riaan*^{32}
face John face Peter face Mary face
to John, Peter (Sp. *Pedro*), [and] Mary

shkuu^{3} *kuhnax*^{1} *shnayux*^{5} / *shkuu*^{3} *kuhnax*^{1} *shawii*^{31}
animal CON:be:named weevil animal CON:be:named moth
the animals that are called weevils [and] the animals that are called moths (Fight 129)

This construction is similar to the method of conjoining by repeating a verb, or a verb and its subject, described in §6.1.2. In this construction, however, the repeated element is not a verb and therefore does not create a sentence combination.

3.9 Possessor-Included Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessor-included possessive noun phrases are syntactically simple but function semantically like additive noun phrases. They contain an article, a kinship term (or other term of social relation) with its tone lowered (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering), and the possessor of the kinship term; and they refer to both the possessor and the nucleus.[7] The possessor usually contains the same article as the nucleus.

rox^{1} *tahnix*^{1} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3}
the:DU child the:DU his
he and his son (cf. *tahnii*^{5} 'child of')

rox^{1} *tinux*^{1} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3}
the:DU brother:ME the:DU his
he and his brother (Brother 194) (cf. *tinuu*^{5} 'brother of')

nix^{3} *tinux*^{1} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3}
the:PL brother:ME the:PL his
the brothers of each other

rox^{1} *nika*^{2} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3}
the:DU spouse the:DU his
he and his wife (Fight 102) (cf. *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} 'spouse of')

Compare the last two examples above with the corresponding ordinary possessive noun phrases.

nix^{3} *tinuu*^{5} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3}
the:PL brother:ME the:PL his
their brothers

rox^{1} *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3}
the:DU spouse the:DU his
the two wives of the two of them

(See also 7.7 and 7.15.)

3.10 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Indefinite noun phrases are similar in form to basic interrogative noun phrases, but they are not limited to sentence-initial position. They consist of an interrogative, which may be *me*^{3} 'which?', or *dax*^{1} 'how?', a nucleus,

[7]To my knowledge, the only other language that has a similar construction is Chicahuaxtla Trique, as described by Longacre 1964:90–91 and 1991:138–39.

the inherently possessed noun *mahan*^{13} 'self of', and an optional relative clause. When the nucleus forms an idiomatic phrase with *me*^{3} (see §3.4), *mahan*^{13} usually follows the nucleus.

me^{3} *rex*^{32} *mahan*^{13}
which place self
wherever *or* anywhere

me^{3} *zii*^{5} *mahan*^{13}
which he self
whoever *or* anyone

me^{3} *gwii*^{3} *mahan*^{13}
which day self
whenever *or* any day

dax^{1} *rex*^{32} *mahan*^{13}
how place self
wherever *or* anywhere

When, however, the nucleus is not part of an idiomatic noun phrase, or when a relative clause modifies it, *mahan*^{13} usually occurs between the interrogative and the nucleus.

me^{3} *mahan*^{13} *ra*^{3}*zuun*^{2}
which self thing
any implement

me^{3} *mahan*^{13} *weh*^{3} *karanh*^{13} *zox*^{3}
which self house POT:stop you:PL
any house you may lodge at

me^{3} *mahan*^{13} *rex*^{32} *kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{1}
which self place POT:go you:SG
wherever you may go

me^{3} *mahan*^{13} *ho*^{4} *ra*^{3}*zuun*^{2} *shihii*^{1}
which self another thing evil
any other evil thing

[blank]

4
Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases. Some additive numeral phrases occur without a connector, and others have *tax*^{1} 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition', linking the parts. The larger numeral always occurs first.

In additive numeral phrases without a connector, simple numerals from one to fifteen and twenty combine to form the numerals from sixteen to nineteen, and from twenty-one to thirty-five. When the numeral one occurs in additive numeral phrases with no connector, a suppletive allomorph, *yaan*^{1}, occurs.

shnuh^{2} *yaan*^{1}
fifteen one
sixteen

iko^{2} *watanh*^{1}
twenty six
twenty-six

iko^{2} *shahnux*^{1}
twenty thirteen
thirty-three

Additive numeral phrases without a connector may contain three elements to form the numerals from thirty-six to thirty-nine.

iko^{2} *shnuh*^{2} *kahanx*^{13}
twenty fifteen four
thirty-nine

Additive numeral phrases connected by *tax*^{1} are used to form numerals over one hundred. The word *tax*^{1} and the numeral that follows it form a relative clause modifying the first numeral.[8]

sya^{3}*ndo*^{4} *tax*^{1} *ho*^{2}
hundred CON2:be:on:top one
[one] hundred (Sp. *ciento*) one

mix^{5} *tax*^{1} *sya*^{3}*ndo*^{4}
thousand CON2:be:on:top hundred
[one] thousand (Sp. *mil*) [one] hundred

Following *sya*^{3}ndo^{4} 'hundred' and *mix*^{5} 'thousand', numbers sometimes occur in their additive form (see §5.6).

sya^{3}*ndo*^{4} *tax*^{1} *yu*^{3}*hunh*^{3}
hundred CON2:be:on:top another:five
[one] hundred five

mix^{5} *tax*^{1} *ya*^{3}*wix*^{5}
thousand CON2:be:on:top another:two
[one] thousand two

Additive numeral phrases may contain two relative clauses.

mix^{5} *tax*^{1} *sya*^{3}*ndo*^{4} *tax*^{1} *iko*^{2}
thousand CON2:be:on:top hundred CON2:be:on:top twenty
[one] thousand [one] hundred twenty

Additive numeral phrases with no connector may combine with additive numeral phrases with *tax*^{1}.

sya^{3}*ndo*^{4} *tax*^{1} *iko*^{2} *chih*^{2}
hundred CON2:be:on:top twenty ten
[one] hundred thirty

Some speakers use *ta*^{1} or *taa*^{1}, rather than *tax*^{1}, to link numerals. For these speakers the reduced form is no longer identified with the verb *tax*^{1}, but has developed into a conjunction.

[8]The use of *tax*^{1} with numerals is similar to its use to express fractions in measurement noun phrases and expanded numeral phrases (see §§3.2 and 4.1.4). In numeral phrases, however, there is no noun nucleus either in the relative clause or in the higher phrase.

4.1.2 Attributive numeral phrases. Multiples of twenty, one hundred, and one thousand are expressed by attributive numeral phrases, which have two parts in a quantifier-nucleus relationship. The larger numeral occurs second. When the numeral twenty occurs as the nucleus of an attributive numeral phrase, a suppletive allomorph, *shiaa*^{2}, occurs.

kahanx^{13} *shiaa*^{2}
four twenty
eighty

tunx^{2} *sya*^{3}*ndo*^{4}
eight hundred
eight hundred

wix^{1} *mix*^{5}
two thousand
two thousand

Sometimes the numerals for one hundred and one thousand are formed by means of an attributive numeral phrase.

ho^{2} *sya*^{3}*ndo*^{4}
one hundred
one hundred

ho^{2} *mix*^{5}
one thousand
one thousand

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

wix^{1} *shiaa*^{2} *shnuh*^{2} *yaan*^{1}
two twenty fifteen one
fifty-six

chix^{2} *sya*^{3}*ndo*^{4} *tax*^{1} *chih*^{2}
seven hundred CON2:be:on:top ten
seven hundred ten

uhunh^{1} *sya*^{3}*ndo*^{4} *tax*^{1} *ya*^{3}*hnux*^{5} *shiaa*^{2} *shiaan*^{1}
five hundred CON2:be:on:top another:three twenty eleven
five hundred seventy-one

wahnux^{1} *mix*^{5} *tax*^{1} *yoho*^{4} *uun*^{2} *sya*^{3}*ndo*^{4}
three thousand CON2:be:on:top another nine hundred
three thousand nine hundred

4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases. A numeral and either of two numerical markers combine to form aggregative numeral phrases. *runh*^{5} occurs only with the numeral one, and means 'single'; the combination means 'only'. *ranh*^{3} occurs with any numeral except one, and means 'grouped'.[9]

ho^{2} *runh*^{5} *(tanh*^{3}*)*
one single (corn:ear)
just one (ear of corn) (Fight 167)

ho^{2} *runh*^{5} *(kix*^{32} *yoh*^{3}*)*
one single (mountain that)
just (that) one (mountain) (Deluge 53)

wix^{1} *ranh*^{3} *(rox*^{1} *tinux*^{1} *roo-*^{13}*)*
two grouped (the:DU brother:ME the:DU-UN)
the two (brothers of each other) (Sun 3:133)

ya^{3}*wix*^{5} *ranh*^{3} *(rox*^{1} *nika*^{2} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3}*)*
another:two grouped (the:DU spouse the:DU he)
the other two, (the man and his wife) (Fight 45)

(See also 7.53 and 7.77.)

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

One prenuclear element is a quantifier, expressed only by the numerals *yoho*^{2} or *ho*^{2} 'one', used in the sense of 'approximately', and *yoho*^{4} 'another'; by the general quantifier *nuh*^{1} 'complete', used in this construction to mean 'all'; and by the preposition *ndaa*^{13} 'until', used in this construction to mean 'even'.

ho^{2} *iko*^{2}
one twenty
about twenty

yoho^{4} *iko*^{2}
another twenty
twenty more

[9]The word *runh*^{5} is cognate with Mixtec **tuhun* 'word', which occurs in a similar construction to mean 'single'; and *ranh*^{3} is cognate with Mixtec **tahan* 'companion', which occurs in a similar construction to mean 'grouped'. In Copala Trique, however, the words *runh*^{5} and *ranh*^{3} occur only in aggregative numeral phrases. Their presence witnesses to the antiquity of this construction in Mixtecan.

nuh[1] *iko*[2]
complete twenty
all twenty

ndaa[13] *wix*[1]
until two
even two (Sun 3:17)

The numeral *yoho*[4] 'another' fuses with numerals from two to six to create other additive forms (see §5.6).

ya[3]*wix*[5]
another:two
the other two (Fight 45)

The second prenuclear element is a limiter that precedes the quantifier and is expressed by the numerical marker *dax*[1] 'only'. This word is usually followed by an additive numeral. The combination, however, does not have an additive meaning. Phrases containing this limiter must occur in focus position in the sentence.

dax[1] *yoho*[4] *ichih*[2]
only another ten
only ten

dax[1] *ya*[3]*hnux*[5]
only another:three
only three

(See also 7.53.)

There are two postnuclear elements. One is fraction, expressed by a relative clause containing the verb *tax*[1] 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition'. Even though fraction is logically a part of the numeral phrase, it usually follows the noun nucleus, which is enclosed in parentheses in the following examples.[10]

wahnux[1] *(chraa*[3]*)* *tax*[1] *yanee*[5]
three (tortilla) CON2:be:on:top another:side
three and a half (tortillas)

[10]Fractions are expressed in a similar way in measurement noun phrases (see §3.2). The fraction follows the noun nucleus of the matrix noun phrase even though it belongs logically with the measurement noun phrase that serves as the quantifier within the matrix noun phrase.

kahanx^{13} *(yanx*^{3}*) tax*^{1} *yanee*^{5} *skux*^{1}
four (paper) CON2:be:on:top another:side angled
four and a quarter ([sheets of] paper)

sya^{3}*ndo*^{4} *(yuwii*^{31}*) tax*^{1} *dox*^{3}
hundred (person) CON2:be:on:top more
more than a hundred (people)

The other postnuclear element is the limiter, expressed by the stative verb *gee*^{1} 'whole', used in this construction to mean 'exactly (no more)'.

wahnux^{1} *gee*^{1} *(rlix*^{3} *na*^{32}*)*
three whole (bubble water)
exactly three (drops of water) (Sun 3:13)

Fraction and postnuclear limiter do not cooccur. Each cooccurs with prenuclear limiter and with quantifier, except that *nuh*^{1} 'all' does not cooccur with *tax*^{1} *dox*^{3} 'more than', and *yoho*^{2} or *ho*^{2} 'one' is rare with *gee*^{1} 'whole' or with a specific fraction.

dax^{1} *yu*^{3}*kwahanx*^{3} *gee*^{1} *(nato*^{32}*)*
only another:four whole (banana)
only exactly four (bananas)

dax^{1} *yoho*^{4} *iko*^{2} *(kax*^{32}*) tax*^{1} *yanee*^{5}
only another twenty (log) CON2:be:on:top another:side
only twenty and a half (logs)

nuh^{1} *wahnux*^{3} *(chraa*^{3}*) tax*^{1} *yanee*^{5}
all three (tortilla) CON2:be:on:top another:side
all three and a half (tortillas)

yoho^{4} *uun*^{2} *gee*^{1} *(tana*^{32}*)*
another nine whole (goat)
exactly nine more (goats)

yoho^{2} *mix*^{5} *(te*^{3}*xa*^{4}*) tax*^{1} *dox*^{3}
one thousand (tile) CON2:be:on:top more
about a thousand (tiles [Sp. *teja*]), or more

4.1.5 General quantifier phrases. Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which is a general quantifier, an optional prenuclear quantifier or limiter, and an optional postnuclear intensifier. Phrases containing the limiter must occur in focus position in the sentence.

yoho^{4} *tahax*^{2}
another part
another part

dax^{1} *yanee*^{5}
only other:side
only the other side

dax^{1} *dox*^{13} *tsinh*^{5}
only some tiny
only a very few (Deluge 11)

kehe^{1} *ndoho*^{32}
many INTS
very many (Fight 307)

(See also 7.44.)

Sometimes a postnuclear element in the quantifier phrase follows the noun nucleus.

kehee^{1} *(zox*^{3}*)* *dox*^{3}
many (you:PL) more
many more (of you) (Sun 3:70)

At least one general quantifier can take the general marker *ne*^{3} 'not' in prenuclear position.

ne^{3} *dox*^{13}
NEG some
not a little (Sun 3:170)

This phrase should perhaps be treated as an idiom meaning 'a lot'. It often occurs in the prenuclear manner position in verb phrases.

ne^{3} *dox*^{13} *ushra*^{4} *(ahmii*^{32} *shu*^{3}*gwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG some INTS (CON:speak grandmother-our:IN NEG)
(Our grandmother was speaking) not a little at all. (i.e., she really spoke a lot, which means she was angry) (Sun 3:74)

4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases. A repeated basic or additive numeral, with no prenuclear or postnuclear modifiers, constitutes a distributive numeral phrase. These phrases indicate the size of a group.

ho^{2} *ho*^{2}
one one
each

wix[1] *wix*[1]
two two
pairs of

iko[2] *iko*[2]
twenty twenty
in groups of twenty

yoho[4] *yoho*[4]
another another
from one to another

4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases. Two simple numerals, with the second one expressing a somewhat higher quantity, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. This construction expresses an approximation.

wix[1] *wahnux*[1]
two three
a few

wahnux[1] *kahanx*[13]
three four
three or four

shnuh[2] *iko*[2]
fifteen twenty
about fifteen or twenty

4.1.8 Negative quantifier phrases. The negative numerical marker *a*[1] and a numeral or general quantifier expressing a minimal amount combine to form negative quantifier phrases. The numeral or general quantifier may occur in either a basic or additive form (see §5.6), depending on the speaker.

a[1] *ho*[2]
NEG one
not one

a[1] *ho*[4]
NEG another
not one

a[1] *wix*[1]
NEG two
not even two

a^{1} *ya*^{3}*wix*^{5}
NEG another:two
not even two

a^{1} *dox*^{13}
NEG some
not any

a^{1} *dox*^{3}
NEG more
not any

Only one negative quantifier phrase normally occurs in a sentence, and the verb must also be negated. The noun phrase containing the negative quantifier phrase usually occurs in focus position in the sentence.

a^{1} *ho*^{2} *(sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *ne*^{3} *kahmii*^{2} *ga-x*^{2} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG one (man NEG COM:speak with-me NEG)
NOT ONE (MAN spoke with me). (i.e., not one man had sex with me) (Sun 3:19)

a^{1} *dox*^{3} *(a*^{3}*skwa*^{4} *ne*^{3} *kiraan*^{2} *gwaa*^{4} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG more (sugar NEG COM:buy John NEG)
(John [Sp. *Juan*] did) NOT (buy) ANY (SUGAR [Sp. *azúcar*]).

The preference for placing a negative quantifier phrase in sentence-initial position is so strong that one sometimes precedes a locative noun even though it logically belongs with its possessor.

a^{1} *ho*^{4} *(riaan*^{32} *shnii*^{3} *ze*^{2} *naruhwee*^{32} *hunx*^{1}
NEG another (face boy NEG POT:repay I

sahanx^{32} *mah*^{3}*)*
money NEG)
(I will) NOT (pay the money back TO) EVEN ONE (BOY).

Negative quantifier phrases also occur in the preverbal manner position of content verb phrases (see §2.1.3).

a^{1} *dox*^{3} *(ne*^{3} *rahanx*^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG more (NEG CON:dance John NEG)
(John does not dance), not at all.

a^{1} *dox*^{3} *(ne*^{3} *cha*^{4} *gwaa*^{4} *nee*^{31} *mah*^{4}*)*
NEG more (NEG CON:eat John flesh NEG)
(John does not eat meat), not at all.

a^{1} *dox*^{3} *(ze*^{2} *cha-x*^{3} *nianx*^{5} *mah*^{3}*)*
NEG more (NEG POT:eat-I this NEG)
(I won't eat this [stuff]), not at all. (Brother 89)

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. A nucleus, two optional prenuclear elements, and two optional postnuclear elements combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus is expressed by a locative, temporal, or general adverb. The prenuclear elements are truth value, expressed by the general markers *ne*^{3} 'not' and *wee*^{4} 'affirmative', and limiter. The postnuclear elements are manner, expressed mainly by intensifying adverbs, and quantifier, expressed by the general marker *uun*^{1} 'just' and the general quantifier *dox*^{3} 'more'.

ne^{3} *nanax*^{32}
NEG slowly
not slowly

wee^{4} *nanax*^{32}
AFF slowly
yes, slowly

doh^{1} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2}
merely right:now
at the present time (Fight 218)

maan^{1} *dax*^{13}
only thus
just in that fashion (Sun 1:23, Fight 265)

inanx^{2} *dax*^{13}
just thus
just in that fashion (Sun 3:93)

nanax^{32} *ushra*^{4}
slowly INTS
very slowly

nuwaa^{32} *uun*^{1}
supine LIM
just faceup

ganh^{1} *dox*^{3}
far more
farther (Brother 36)

nanax^{32} *dox*^{3}
slowly more
more slowly

nanax^{32} *ushra*^{4} *uun*^{1}
slowly INTS LIM
just very slowly

The intensifying adverbs *ushra*^{4} and *ndoho*^{32} interact differently with a negative marker in adverb phrases, just as they do in content verb phrases and stative verb phrases (see §§2.1.4 and 2.3).

ne^{3} *nanax*^{32} *ndoho*^{32}
NEG slowly INTS
not very slowly

ne^{3} *nanax*^{32} *ushra*^{4}
NEG slowly INTS
not slowly at all

The non-phrase-final pronoun *rex*^{32} 'place' (see §5.4) may precede the nucleus of an adverb phrase. In this construction, the meaning of *rex*^{32} is 'in the direction of' before a locative adverb and 'at the approximate time of' before a temporal adverb.

rex^{32} *shrax*^{1}
place uphill
up the hill (Openly 18)

rex^{32} *tashrex*^{1}
place wee:hours
in the hours before dawn

4.2.2 Appositional adverb phrases. Any two of the following structures may be juxtaposed to form appositional adverb phrases: adverbs (see §5.5), adverb phrases (see §4.2.1), adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), and prepositional phrases (see §4.3).

rex^{32} *kix*^{32} / *rex*^{32} *shrax*^{1}
place mountain place uphill
on the mountain, up high (Openly 7)

rex^{32} *shrax*^{1} / *shiaan*^{5} *nih*^{4}
place uphill POS:town our:IN
up high, in our hometown (Openly 18)

rex^{32} *rnuu*^{32} / *rex*^{32} *tuhwa*^{3} *na*^{32} *yahanx*^{2}
place coast place mouth water divine
at the coast, at the edge of the ocean (Openly 63)

rex^{32} *man*^{1} *nih*^{4} / *makaa*^{5} / *nianx*^{5}
place CON2:exist:PL we:IN Mexico:City here
the place where we are, Mexico, here (Brother 138)

taa^{3} / *rex*^{32} *kutunh*^{3} *na*^{32} *yoh*^{3}
plain place COM:dry:up water that
the plain, the place where that (flood) water dried up (Deluge 22)

raa^{31} *chruun*^{3} / *ndaa*^{13} *yoh*^{3}
head wood until there
on the top of the tree, over there (Fight 252)

ko^{3}*ra*^{4} / *tihnuu*^{32}
later dusk
later today (Sp. *ahora* 'now'), at dusk (Openly 53)

ahyox^{3} / *ku*^{3}*wix*^{1}
tomorrow Tuesday
tomorrow, on Tuesday

(See also 7.75.)

Some appositional adverb phrases are literary doublets that follow the schema A B, A C; see §§2.6, 3.7, and 6.1.2 for a description of other constructions that show repetition with variation.

doh^{1} *kwanh*^{3} / *doh*^{1} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2}
merely today merely right:now
just now, at the present time (Fight 231)

azix^{2} *kahnah*^{3} / *azix*^{2} *rnuu*^{32} *yoh*^{3}
since COM:come since coast that
since ancient times (Deluge 42)

Some doublets that function as appositional adverb phrases include idioms.

nuh^{1} *kawii*^{32} / *nuh*^{1} *kahnah*^{3}
complete COM:come:out complete COM:come
forever and ever in the past (Fight 334)

nuh^{1} *kawii*^{32} / *nuh*^{1} *kahanx*^{32} / *yax*^{13}
complete COM:come:out complete COM:go now
forever and ever from now on (Brother 169)

4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases. There are two ways to form additive adverb phrases. Two noncoreferential adverbs, adverb phrases, or adverbial noun phrases may be juxtaposed with no conjunction linking them.

rex^{32} *shrax*^{1} *rex*^{32} *rke*^{13}
place uphill place downhill
all over

yax^{13} *ahyux*^{3}
now tomorrow
day after day (Fight 149, Sun 3:103)

ahyox^{3} *yatax*^{3}
tomorrow day:after:tomorrow
in the future

nianx^{5} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2}
here right:now
here [and] now (Fight 334, Deluge 59)

kwa^{3}*no*^{2} *nianx*^{5}
right:now here
here [and] now (Deluge 39)

kwanh^{3} *nianx*^{5}
today here
here [and] now (Sun 2:114)

yax^{13} *nianx*^{5}
now here
here [and] now (Sun 2:17)

Many of these phrases are fairly conventionalized. The ones that mean 'here and now' may also mean 'then and there' in the appropriate discourse context.

Conventionalized phrases function like complex nuclei and permit some of the optional elements described in §4.2.1.

doh^{1} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2} *nianx*^{5}
merely right:now here
just right now [and] here (Fight 218)

inanx^{2} *yax*^{13} *ahyux*^{3}
just now tomorrow
just every day (Sun 3:102)

They can also serve as one element of an appositional adverb phrase.

yax^{13} *ahyux*^{3} / *rangah*^{3}
now tomorrow early
every morning (Sun 3:93)

It is also possible to form additive adverb phrases by using the general marker *doh*^{1} 'and' plus pause after each conjunct; this construction is similar to one method of conjoining noun phrases described in §3.8.

nianx^{5} *doh*^{1} / *yoh*^{3} *doh*^{1}
here and there and
here and there

ra^{4} *weh*^{3} *doh*^{1} / *zheh*^{3} *doh*^{1}
inside house and outside and
inside and outside

4.2.4 Repetitive adverb phrases. The simple repetition of an adverb, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. This construction appears to be limited to certain general adverbs.

nanax^{32} *nanax*^{32}
slowly slowly
very slowly

ganh^{1} *ganh*^{1}
far far
very far

nanx^{13} *nanx*^{13}
thus thus
in precisely this way (Sun 3:146)

Repetitive adverb phrases occur mainly in preverbal manner position in content verb phrases (see §2.1.3).[11]

4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which is expressed either by a noun phrase or by certain adverbs. The set of prepositions is small because prepositional function is carried largely by

[11]Note the similarity of this construction to the repetitive verb phrases described in §2.4. The doubling found in these repetitive structures seems to be a process that extends to various categories.

locative nouns (see §§5.3.2 and 3.6). It includes only *ga*^{2} 'with'; *ndaa*^{13} 'until', 'as far as', 'over', 'from', or 'even'; *shko*^{4} 'beyond'; *skahnux*^{5} 'among'; ra^{4} 'inside'; and the complex preposition *nuh*^{1} *a*^{3}*nikax*^{1} 'all around'.[12]

Simple:

ga^{2} *nehex*^{3}
with baby
with the baby (Sun 3:22)

ga^{2} *shkaa*^{32}
with raven
with the raven (Fight 154)

ndaa^{13} *shumanh*^{3} *yoh*^{3}
until town that
as far as that town (Brother 96)

ndaa^{13} *tuhwa*^{3} *na*^{32} *yahanx*^{2}
until mouth water divine
as far as the shore of the ocean (Fight 137)

ndaa^{13} *shko*^{1}
until beyond
over to the rear (Fight 310)

ndaa^{13} *ko*^{3}*ra*^{4}
until later
until later today (Brother 91)

shko^{4} *kix*^{32}
beyond mountain
on the other side of the mountain (cf. Brother 51)

skahnux^{5} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3}
among the:PL him
among them

[12]Of the five simple prepositions, two are historically related to body-part nouns: *shko*^{4} 'beyond' is a shortened form of *shkoo*^{5} 'shoulder of', and *ra*^{4} 'inside' formerly meant 'heart of' (see Longacre 1957:42, 139). Two of the remaining three, *ndaa*^{13} and *ga*^{2}, were perhaps originally members of other parts of speech. *ndaa*^{13} has a wider distribution than other prepositions, and it sometimes seems to function like a prenuclear limiter. *ga*^{2} sometimes functions as a conjunction. This leaves only *skahnux*^{5} unaccounted for. It seems clear that in the history of Trique, the class of prepositions has been marginal at best.

ra^{4} *weh*^{3} *yoh*^{3}
inside house that
in that house (Fight 167)

(See also 7.71, 7.74, and various others.)

Complex:

nuh^{1} *a*^{3}*nikax*^{1} *shumanh*^{3}
complete CON:turn town
all around the town

nuh^{1} *a*^{3}*nikax*^{1} *tuhwa*^{3} *na*^{32} *yahanx*^{2}
complete CON:turn mouth water divine
all around the ocean shore (Brother 139)

There are four words from other parts of speech that sometimes function as prepositions: the locative adverb *nichrunh*^{1} 'near', the verb *a*^{3}*nikax*^{1} 'to turn', and the conjunctions *gaa*^{13} 'when' and *azix*^{2} 'since'.

nichrunh^{1} *shumanh*^{3}
near town
near the town

a^{3}*nikax*^{1} *tuhwa*^{3} *riaa*^{32}
CON:turn mouth bamboo
around the edge of the bamboo [patch]

gaa^{13} *ko*^{3}*hngo*^{2}
when Monday
on Monday

gaa^{13} *naa*^{4}
when long:ago
a long time ago (Openly 1, Deluge 3)

azix^{2} *manx*^{3}
since day:before:yesterday
since the day before yesterday

azix^{2} *rnuu*^{32} *yoh*^{3}
since coast that
since long ago (Deluge 42)

(See also 7.14.)

The meaning of *ndaa*^{13} in a given sentence is often determined by the verb, as seen in the following compound sentence.

(ho² *kawii³²* *tanh³)* *ndaa¹³* *takoo⁵* *naa³¹* / *(ne²*
(one COM:come:out corn:ear) until foot cornfield (and

kizix⁵ *tanh³)* *ndaa¹³* *raa³¹* *naa³¹* *(a³²)*
COM:be:complete corn:ear) until head cornfield (DEC)
(The ears of corn were borne continuously) from the base of the corn plants, (and they arrived) up to the top of them. (Fight 57)

When two prepositional phrases with *ndaa¹³* are juxtaposed within a single basic sentence, the first instance of *ndaa¹³* is translated 'from', and the second one is translated 'to' or 'as far as'.

ndaa¹³ *ngax³²* *ndaa¹³* *tayox³*
until Putla until Juxtlahuaca
from Putla to Juxtlahuaca

ndaa¹³ *nianx⁵* *ndaa¹³* *yoh³*
until here until there
from here to there

A prepositional phrase may serve as the object of another preposition.

ndaa¹³ *shko⁴* *kix³²*
until beyond mountain
from behind the mountain (cf. Brother 50)

ndaa¹³ *nichrunh¹* *riaan³²* *ruskah³* *shtah¹*
until near face heartwood high
as far away as near the dome of heaven (Brother 174)

The non-phrase-final pronoun *rex³²* 'place' (see §5.4) may precede a prepositional phrase with the meaning 'in the direction of'. The tone of the preposition is often lowered following *rex³²* (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering).

rex³² *shko¹* *na³²* *yahanx²*
place beyond water divine
on the other side of the ocean (Brother 129) (cf. *shko⁴* 'beyond')

The use of *rex³²* in this construction is similar to its use in adverbial noun phrases and basic adverb phrases (see §§3.6 and 4.2.1).

[blank]

5
Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

The class of content and equative verbs, defined by the presence of aspect inflection, is essentially closed. It contains only about three hundred members, virtually all of which are either roots, or stems derived from verb roots by prefixes or compounding.

5.1.1 Derivation. Content verbs are either simple roots or are derived, mainly from other verbs, by means of prefixes or compounding.

Simple verb roots usually have one or two syllables; one has three. Monosyllabic roots usually begin with a consonant, and disyllabic roots usually begin with a vowel. The disyllabic roots that begin with a consonant are probably old compounds. The trisyllabic root begins with a vowel, but is probably also an old compound.

hyax^{3}	'to do'
nuu^{32}	'to be in'
me^{3}	'to be'
uun^{3}	'to become, to come to be'
unanx^{5}	'to run'
akaa^{32}	'to burn'
rakwix^{5}	'to help'

kuhnax^{1} 'to be named'
a^{3}*nikax*^{1} 'to turn'

Derived content and equative verbs are formed from other verbs by means of three prefixes: *na-* 'repetitive', *shi-* 'detransitive', and *tV-* 'causative'. None of these prefixes is, however, synchronically productive. As is common with derivational prefixes, neither the existence of a derived stem nor its meaning can be predicted from any general principles. All derived stems must therefore be listed in the lexicon.

The prefix *na-* 'repetitive' usually combines with a stem that consists of the verb root plus the inflectional prefix *k-*, *g-*, or *kV-* 'noncontinuative aspect' (see §5.1.2), but it is sometimes combined directly with the verb root. This prefix adds the meaning of repeated or resumed action. When *na-* is added to a vowel-initial root, the prefix vowel is lost.

na-k-uchrah^{3}
REP-NONCON-split
to open (book)

na-ki-hyax^{3}
REP-NONCON-do
to remake

na-rih^{3}
REP-get
to find, to meet

na-nuwa^{4}
REP-sew
to mend

na-ruwih^{3}
REP-appear
to turn up

n-ahmii^{32}
REP-speak
to become reconciled (requires plural subject)

(See also 7.29 and 7.86.)

The verb *uun*^{3} 'to become' has two repetitive forms with different meanings.

n-uu^{3}
REP-become
to become again, to become (used in stative sentences)

na-uun^{3}
REP-become
to turn into, to be healed

The second of these may be a reduced form of **na-g-uun*^{3}, which contains the noncontinuative prefix.

In one case *na-* appears to create a verb from a noun.

na-rmii^{32}
REP-ball
to wad up

The prefix *shi-* 'detransitive' combines with only seven transitive verb roots, all of which refer to some kind of deformation. It undergoes various phonological changes, sometimes fusing completely with the root.

shi-hneh^{3}
DETR-cut
to be broken off (cf. *ahneh*^{3} 'to cut')

shi-hnex^{5}
DETR-take:away
to be taken away (cf. *ahnex*^{5} 'to take away')

shi-hnux^{5}
DETR-open
to be opened (door) (cf. *ahnux*^{5} 'to open')

sh-tunh^{3}
DETR-break:in:pieces
to be crushed, to be used up (cf. *utunh*^{3} 'to break in pieces')

sh-tuu^{31}
DETR-scratch
to be worn out, to be tattered (cf. *utuu*^{31} 'to scratch')

sinh^{3}
DETR:tear
to be torn (cf. *utsinh*^{3} 'to tear')

shrah^{3}
DETR:split
to be split, to be shattered, to sprout, to hatch (cf. *uchrah*^{3} 'to split, to shatter')

(See also 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56.)

The prefix *tV-* 'causative' usually combines with a stem that consists of an intransitive verb root plus the inflectional prefix *k-*, *g-*, or *kV-* 'noncontinuative aspect', but it is sometimes combined directly with the verb root. This prefix adds an agent, and it occurs mainly with roots that do not normally take agentive subjects. The vowel varies and cannot be predicted; sometimes it is lost before a root-initial vowel.

ti-k-ahmii^{32}
CAUS-NONCON-speak
to knock, to cause a fight to be over

ti-k-awih^{3}
CAUS-NONCON-die
to kill

tu-shuhwih^{3}
CAUS-be:afraid
to frighten

t-amanh^{3}
CAUS-rain
to sprinkle, to scatter

(See also 7.91.)

When the prefix has the form *tu-*, a following *ka* or *ki* becomes *kwa* or *kwi*.

tu-kwa-hanx^{32}
CAUS-NONCON-go
to put in (cf. *kahanx*^{32} 'went')

tu-kw-ane^{32}
CAUS-NONCON-take:bath
to bathe (baby or corpse) (cf. *kane*^{32} 'took a bath')

Sometimes *tV-* occurs with a verb that is already transitive.

to-ko-ho^{32}
CAUS-NONCON-drink
to give a drink to (a baby)

ta-cha^{4}
CAUS-eat
to feed (a baby)

tu-k-uhyon^{4}
CAUS-NONCON-be:accustomed:to
to teach

A word with *tV-* may have sense discriminations with more than one degree of transitivity. The verb *tukuhyon*^{4} means 'to be a student' and 'to study', as well as 'to teach'. The verb *tamanh*^{3} means 'to be scattered', as well as 'to sprinkle' or 'to scatter'.

In one case *tV-* appears to create a verb from a noun.

tu-kwachriin^{3}
CAUS-circle
to surround (cf. *kachriin*^{3} 'circle, wheel')

There is also a syntactic causative, based on the verb *hyax*^{3} 'to do', described in §1.1.9.

A number of apparently simple verb roots begin with *n, sh,* or *t;* those with initial *sh* are usually intransitive, and those with *t* are usually transitive. These roots are probably frozen forms with derivational prefixes for which the corresponding simple form has been lost.

anoh^{3}	'to look for'
nikunh^{3}	'to stand'
shuhwih^{3}	'to be frightened'
shihnanx^{32}	'to abound'
tituun^{5}	'to pinch'
tuhwex^{5}	'to sell'

Occasionally two derivational prefixes occur in a single stem. The one closer to the root probably became frozen to it before the second one was added.

ti-n-atux^{5}
CAUS-REP-enter
to turn inside out (cf. *natux*^{5} 'to be turned inside out', *atux*^{5} 'to enter')

na-t-ugwax^{5}
REP-CAUS-?
to drive (a vehicle) (cf. *tugwax*^{5} 'to twist', *shugwax*^{5} 'to be twisted')

There are many pairs of verbs that show no morphological relation, but which enter into transitive-intransitive pairs. One important set of such pairs contains intransitive verbs that express a position and corresponding transitive verbs that express placement in that position. The most common ones are:

Position verb	Placement verb
ne^{3}, *yaan*^{5} 'to sit'	*uneh*^{3} 'to seat'
nax^{3} 'to lie'	*uchrux*^{32} 'to lay'
nikunh^{3} 'to stand'	*achron*^{4} 'to erect'
taa^{5} 'to be on top'	*utah*^{3} 'to place on top'
nuu^{32} 'to be in'	*araa*^{3}, *tukwahanx*^{32} 'to put in'
hnix^{32} 'to be wedged in'	*anuh*^{3} 'to wedge in'
zhix^{5} 'to be tucked in'	*achrix*^{5} 'to tuck in'

The idioms and collocations that occur for one member of these pairs are usually matched by corresponding idioms and collocations for the other member. For example, to express the location of a town, the verb used is *nax*^{3} 'to lie', and the verb used to found a town is *uchrux*^{32} 'to lay'.

There is no productive process for forming compounds, but complex verb nuclei, which are idioms that consist of a verb plus a modifier (see §2.1.1), sporadically fuse into single words.

ri^{5}*-nee*^{32}
tuck:in-knife
to clear (a field) (cf. *achrix*^{5} 'to tuck in')

ri^{5}*-tseh*^{3}
tuck:in-smoke
to fumigate (with incense) (cf. *achrix*^{5}, *katseh*^{3} 'smoke')

ra^{5}*-zuun*^{32}
?-work
to use (cf. *arax*^{5} '?')

ra^{5}*-yahanx*^{13}
?-noteworthy
to make a fuss over (cf. *arax*^{5})

ti^{5}*-she*^{4}
poke-feet
to trip over (cf. *tigix*^{5} 'to poke', *shehe*^{4} 'feet')

sh-na^{5}*hanx*^{2}
ask-wordlike
to ask (a question) (cf. *achiin*^{5} 'to ask', *nahanx*^{2} 'wordlike')

sh-ianh^{3}
eat-toothlike
to bite (cf. *cha*^{4} 'to eat', *yanh*^{3} 'toothlike')

(See also 7.51 and 7.54.)

The verb *ahwee*^{3} 'to be possible' is derived historically from *ahwex*^{32} 'to be willing' plus the third person unspecified postclitic pronoun (see §5.4).

One verb of existence requires a plural reading for its subject.

man^{4}	'to exist'

Two verbs are inherently negative.

dax^{32} or *tax*^{32}	'to not exist'
nuwih^{3}	'to not be present'

In the text in chapter 7, *dax*^{32} occurs in the idiomatic expression *dax*^{32} *ze*^{32} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} 'there is nothing that can be done' in 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56; and *nuwih*^{3} occurs in the complex nucleus *nuwih*^{3} *wax*^{2} 'to not be present' in 7.76 and 7.87.

Many verbs have specialized uses to mark some grammatical function. *me*^{3} 'to be' is used in the cleft focus construction (see §1.1.8). *a*^{3}*nikax*^{1} 'to turn' functions as a preposition meaning 'around' (see §4.3). *tiko*^{32} 'to play' is used in the manner position in verb phrases together with a negative

marker as an intensifier (see §2.1.3). *taa*^{5} 'to be on top' is used to connect numerals and fractions (see §§3.2, 4.1.1, and 4.1.4). A number of verbs have a specialized use when they take a sentential complement (see §1.1.9), or when they occur in a sentence combination (see §§6.1.1, 6.1.2, and 6.2.2).

5.1.2 Inflection. Content and equative verbs are inflected for three aspects: continuative, completive, and potential. Continuative is used to express both habitual and progressive. Completive appears to be more highly marked than continuative and is used when the speaker wants to specify that an action is completed. Continuative is often used, however, in contexts where past tense forms are used in English, such as for ongoing activity in the past. Potential is similar to future tense, but it also includes modal ideas like those expressed by English *can, should,* and *would.* It is also used in dependent constructions where many Indo-European languages use the subjunctive.

Continuative aspect is the basic form of the verb. It consists of the root or stem alone. Completive and potential aspects are best described by means of changes from the continuative form. Completive aspect is usually marked by a prefix added to the root or stem, and potential aspect has the same prefix as completive and also a replacement of the tone pattern. The prefix and the tone replacement each have a complex set of realizations, only some of which are phonologically conditioned.

The noncontinuative prefix has the forms *k-*, *g-*, and *kV-*. Polysyllabic vowel-initial verbs take the form *k-*.

	CON	COM
die	*awih*^{3}	*kawih*^{3}
turn	*a*^{3}*nikax*^{1}	*ka*^{3}*nikax*^{1}
hear	*uno*^{3}	*kuno*^{3}

Monosyllabic vowel-initial verbs take the form *g-*.

	CON	COM
become	*uun*^{3}	*guun*^{3}
give	*oh*^{3}	*goh*^{3}

Polysyllabic verbs with initial *w* replace the *w* with *k*, and monosyllabic verbs with initial *w* replace the *w* with *g*.

	CON	COM
ache	*wehee*^{31}	*kehee*^{31}
grind	*wax*^{5}	*gax*^{5}

Other consonant-initial verbs often take a prefix of the form *kV-*. The prefix vowel tends to agree with the vowel in the following syllable, but it is not entirely predictable. Frequently the vowel is *i* preceding a stem with initial *n* or *r*.

	CON	COM
get	*rih*^{3}	*kirih*^{3}
sense, see, know	*nehe*^{3}	*kenehe*^{3}
help	*rakwix*^{5}	*karakwix*^{5}
drink	*ho*^{32}	*koho*^{32}
be in	*nuu*^{32}	*kunuu*^{32}
appear	*ruwih*^{3}	*kuruwih*^{3}
tell	*nano*^{4}	*kinano*^{4}
wash	*naan*^{5}	*kinaan*^{5}
buy	*ranx*^{5}	*kiranx*^{5}
do, make, cause, act	*hyax*^{3}	*kihyax*^{3}
grab	*tahaa*^{32}	*katahaa*^{32}, *kitahaa*^{32}

Some consonant-initial verbs take no prefix, in which case the continuative and completive forms are homophonous.

	CON	COM
eat	*cha*^{4}	*cha*^{4}
look for	*nanoh*^{3}	*nanoh*^{3}

Some consonant-initial verbs with two syllables have two forms, one with the prefix and one without.

	CON	COM
finish	*nawix*^{3}	*kinawix*^{3}, *nawix*^{3}
help	*rakwix*^{5}	*karakwix*^{5}, *rakwix*^{5}
find	*narih*^{3}	*kinarih*^{3}, *narih*^{3}

The tone replacements that mark potential aspect are complex and sometimes involve the addition or loss of the word-final laryngeal *x*. These tone replacements are treated in greater detail in Hollenbach 1984a:214–229.

In regular verbs, contrastive tones, including the tone replacements that mark potential aspect, occur only on word-final syllables. The tone patterns that occur with continuative and completive aspects are *3, 4, 5, 31,* and *32;* and the patterns that occur with potential aspect are *1, 2,* and *13.* Each continuative tone pattern corresponds to one or two characteristic potential patterns, as shown in the following table. Because the laryngeal that checks the vowel sometimes affects the tone replacement, the checked *(Vh, Vx, V)* and unchecked *(VV)* vowel patterns that are associated with each correspondence are noted in parentheses. Some combinations of tones with checked and unchecked vowels do not appear in the table, either because they do not occur in the language, or because they do not occur with verb stems.

CON/COM	POT
3 (VV, Vx, V)	*13*
3 (Vh)	*13* or *1*
4 (V)	*1* or *2*
5 (VV)	*1 (Vx)*
5 (Vx)	*2 (Vx)* or *2 (VV)*
31 (VV)	*1*
32 (VV, Vx, V)	*2*

The following table shows all three aspects of sample verbs that take regular tone replacements.

	CON	COM	POT
put in, fill	*araa*^{3}	*karaa*^{3}	*karaa*^{13}
finish	*nawix*^{3}	*kinawix*^{3}	*kinawix*^{13}
hear	*uno*^{3}	*kuno*^{3}	*kuno*^{13}
follow, hang	*nokoh*^{3}	*kanokoh*^{3}	*kanokoh*^{13}
kill	*tikawih*^{3}	*tikawih*^{3}	*tikawih*^{13}
get	*rih*^{3}	*kirih*^{3}	*kirih*^{1}
grab, become attached	*ano*^{4}	*kano*^{4}	*kano*^{1}
pass	*achen*^{4}	*kachen*^{4}	*kachen*^{2}

wash	*naan*^{5}	*kinaan*^{5}	*kinanx*^{1}
run	*unanx*^{5}	*kunanx*^{5}	*kunanx*^{2}
buy	*ranx*^{5}	*kiranx*^{5}	*kiraan*^{2}
explode	*anuu*^{31}	*kanuu*^{31}	*kanuu*^{1}
burn	*akaa*^{32}	*kakaa*^{32}	*kakaa*^{2}
go	*hanx*^{32}	*kahanx*^{32}	*kahanx*^{2}
sow	*uno*^{32}	*kuno*^{32}	*kuno*^{2}

Two verbs with tone *5* and an unchecked vowel have tone *2* and no *x* in potential.

	CON	COM	POT
walk	*chee*^{5}	*kachee*^{5}	*kachee*^{2}
sing	*achraa*^{5}	*kachraa*^{5}	*kachraa*^{2}

There are also a number of verbs that show tone changes in nonfinal syllables to mark potential aspect.

One group of verbs leaves the tone on the final syllable unchanged in potential aspect and adds tone *2* on the penult. Most causative stems with the *tV-* prefix fall into this group, except for those with tone *3*, which take the sequence *13* on the final syllable. This group also includes a few verbs that appear to be simple roots, but which may be frozen compounds.

	CON	COM	POT
feed	*tacha*^{4}	*tacha*^{4}	*ta*^{2}*cha*^{4}
knock	*tikahmii*^{32}	*tikahmii*^{32}	*tika*^{2}*hmii*^{32}
make explode	*tukwanuu*^{31}	*tukwanuu*^{31}	*tukwa*^{2}*nuu*^{31}
urinate	*rehe*^{4}	*rehe*^{4}	*re*^{2}*he*^{4}
cover	*araan*^{5}	*karaan*^{5}	*ka*^{2}*raan*^{5}
help	*rakwix*^{5}	*karakwix*^{5}	*kara*^{2}*kwix*^{5}

Some verbs have a tone *3* or *5* on a nonfinal syllable, as well as a tone on the final syllable. These verbs leave the tone of the final syllable unchanged and replace the tone of the nonfinal syllable with tone *2*. If, however, the first tone of the final syllable is *1* or *2*, the tone of the nonfinal syllable is simply lost. The verbs in this group are probably all compounds, although the etymology of some of them is obscure.

	CON	COM	POT
care for	*ta³yahanx³²*	*ta³yahanx³²*	*ta²yahanx³²*
appear, show up	*u³rianx¹*	*ku³rianx¹*	*kurianx¹*
sigh	*ra⁵chex³²*	*kara⁵chex³²*	*kara²chex³²*
fumigate	*ri⁵tseh³*	*ri⁵tseh³*	*ri²tseh³*
ask question	*shna⁵hanx²*	*shna⁵hanx²*	*shnahanx²*
fuss over	*ra⁵yahanx¹³*	*kara⁵yahanx¹³*	*karayahanx¹³*

Five verbs change the tones of both the final syllable and a nonfinal syllable in potential aspect. These verbs all have *3* on the first syllable and *2* on the final syllable in continuative and completive, and they have *2* on the first syllable and a *32* sequence on the final syllable in potential.

	CON	COM	POT
have	*ni³kax²*	*ni³kax²*	*ni²kax³²*
look	*ni³hyax²*	*ni³hyax²*	*ni²hyax³²*
wrap around	*ni³kee²*	*ni³kee²*	*ni²kee³²*
raise	*na³shkax²*	*na³shkax²*	*na²shkax³²*
sit up	*na³shagaa²*	*na³shagaa²*	*na²shagaa³²*

Two motion verbs have suppletive imperative forms that are used only in short sentences with second person subjects (see §1.3).

gwix²
IMP:go
scram!

kuwah²
IMP:come
come!

(See also 7.82.)

About twelve common content verbs have two different continuative aspect forms. One is the root or stem alone, and the other is a form with a lower tone. See §5.2 below for a description of this set of tone replacements, which is similar to the set of tone replacements that mark potential aspect. The verbs in this group are all consonant-initial, and most refer to position. The following table shows the full set of aspect forms for these verbs, with the low-tone continuative form in the column labeled CON2.

	CON	CON2	COM	POT
lie	*nax*^{3}	*nax*^{13}	*kinax*^{3}	*kinax*^{13}
sit, live	*ne*^{3}	*ne*^{13}	*kane*^{3}	*kane*^{13}
follow, hang	*nokoh*^{3}	*nokoh*^{1}	*kanokoh*^{3}	*kanokoh*^{13}
stand	*nikunh*^{3}	*nikunh*^{1}	*kanikunh*^{3}	*kanikunh*^{13}
be attached	*no*^{4}	*no*^{1}	*kano*^{4}	*kano*^{1}
be in	*shion*^{4}	*shion*^{1}	*kishion*^{4}	*kishion*^{1}
exist (PL)	*man*^{4}	*man*^{1}	*kuman*^{4}	*kuman*^{1}
sit, live	*yaan*^{5}	*yanx*^{1}	*kayaan*^{5}	*ka*^{2}*yaan*^{5}
be on top	*taa*^{5}	*tax*^{1}	*kitaa*^{5}	*kitax*^{5}
be in	*nuu*^{32}	*nuu*^{2}	*kunuu*^{32}	*ku*^{2}*nuu*^{32}
be wedged in	*hnix*^{32}	*hnix*^{2}	*kihnix*^{32}	*ki*^{2}*hnix*^{32}
move	*wax*^{32}	*wax*^{2}	—	—

The two continuative forms show no difference in aspectual meaning, but occur in different syntactic environments. The low-tone form occurs in sentence-initial position, including initial position in relative clauses, as seen in 7.26, 7.84, 7.91, and various others. The basic (high-tone) form occurs in noninitial position in sentences, as seen in 7.2, 7.20, 7.53, 7.77, 7.79, and various others. Sometimes the high-tone form occurs after an initial sentential marker that ends in *waa*^{32} 'to exist', as seen in 7.57, 7.59, and 7.73, or after another sentence juxtaposed with it, as seen in 7.72, 7.75, and 7.90. Following a conjunction, however, the low-tone form usually occurs, as seen in 7.89.

There is some variation among speakers about which form is used in certain environments, and about which verbs belong to this class. The role of the two continuative forms in helping the hearer distinguish sentences containing relative clauses from those containing a noun in focus position is discussed in greater detail in Hollenbach 1992.

Most content verbs begin with a vowel, most commonly *a*. A few pairs of verbs exist with and without initial *a*, which suggests that the vowel was formerly a productive morpheme that had the meaning 'process' or 'inchoative'.

no^{4}	'to be attached'
ano^{4}	'to grab, to become attached'
nokoh^{3}	'to follow, to hang'
anokoh^{3}	'to move beyond zenith (sun)'

nikunh^{3}	'to stand'
anikunh^{3}	'to stop'

A few verbs are defective in that they are not inflected for aspect. The forms that occur are considered to be continuative.

me^{3}	'to be'
kuhnax^{1}	'to be named'
ra^{4}	'to think, to be of the opinion, to wonder'
dax^{32} or *tax*^{32}	'to not exist'
nuwih^{3}	'to not be present'

5.2 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs differ from content and equative verbs in that they are not inflected for aspect. They commonly occur as the predicate of stative sentences (see §1.1.6) and as manner in content verb phrases (see §2.1.3).

Stative verbs are either basic or derived from nouns by replacing their tone with a lower tone. This derivational process is only moderately productive; derived stative verbs often have idiomatic meanings, and many occur only in certain complex nuclei.

Basic stative verbs:

zah^{1}	'good'
nix^{32}	'ugly, bad'
shix^{1}	'big'
chreh^{2}	'short'
laruu^{13}	'soft'
katsii^{1}	'white'
ikwaan^{2}	'pink'
wehe^{4}	'pretty'
shianh^{1}	'tasty, pleasing'

Derived stative verbs:

Stative verb	Noun
katuun^{1}	*katuun*^{31}
'slender'	'waist of'

nee^{1}	*nee*^{31}
'bare, naked'	'flesh, meat'
kux^{1}	*kuu*^{5}
'uncluttered'	'bone'
yohox^{1}	*yohoo*^{5}
'muddy'	'earth'
yanx^{1}	*yanx*^{5}
'waxy, of wax'	'wax'
chron^{1}	*chron*^{4}
'dark colored'	'black person'
yahanx^{2}	*yahanx*^{32}
'divine'	'saint, god'
yanx^{13}	*yanx*^{3}
'papery'	'paper'
shana^{1}	*sha*^{3}*na*^{1}
'female'	'woman'
sno^{2}*ho*^{32}	*sno*^{5}*ho*^{32}
'male'	'man'
taa^{13}	*taa*^{3}
'flat'	'plain'
agah^{13}	*agah*^{3}
'metallic'	'metal'
neh^{2}	*neh*^{3}
'ropelike'	'rope'

The set of tone replacements used to derive stative verbs from nouns is similar to the set that marks potential aspect in content and equative verbs, but not identical to it. These replacements are shown in the following table.

Noun	Stative verb
3 (VV, Vx, V)	*13*
3 (Vh)	*13* or *2*
4 (VV, V)	*1*
5 (VV)	*1 (Vx)*
5 (Vx)	*1*
31 (VV)	*1*
32 (VV, Vx, V)	*2*

This set of replacements has several other syntactic functions; see §§1.2.2, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.9, 4.3, 5.1.2, 5.3.2, 5.5, and 5.6. It is described in greater detail in Hollenbach 1984a:229–47.

The stative verb *gee*^{1} 'whole' has a special use as a limiter meaning 'exactly' in stative verb phrases and expanded numeral phrases (see §§2.3 and 4.1.4).

5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There are, however, many compound nouns formed by the fusion of a complex noun nucleus, which consists of a fairly generic noun or non-phrase-final pronoun followed by various modifiers (see §3.1.1).

ta^{3}*-gah*^{3}	'jail' (cf. *tukwa*^{4} 'home of', *agah*^{3} 'metal')
ya^{5}*-nux*^{13}	'drum' (cf. *yahanx*^{5} 'musical instrument', *nux*^{13} 'of leather')
ra-chruun^{5}	'bread' (cf. *chraa*^{3} 'tortilla', *chruun*^{5} 'box, oven')
ku^{3}*-yanx*^{1}	'candle' (cf. *kuu*^{5} 'bone', *yanx*^{1} 'of wax')
s-no^{5}*ho*^{32}	'man' (cf. *zii*^{5} 'he', *noho*^{32} 'male')
ku^{3}*-wix*^{1}	'Tuesday' (cf. *gwii*^{3} 'day', *wix*^{1} 'two')

Fusions such as the above have resulted in many tree and fruit names with initial *r* or *ru,* from *chruun*^{3} 'wood, tree' and *chrux*^{3} 'fruit, egg', and a number of animal names with initial *sh* or *shkw,* from *shkuu*^{3} 'animal'.

With fused 'tree':

r-achih^{3} 'pine tree'
r-kwaan^{5} 'Montezuma baldcypress tree *(Taxodium mucronatum)*'
r-ichrux^{3} 'oak tree with small untoothed leaves'
r-anex^{32} 'oak tree with large felty leaves'
r-izhax^{32} 'coralbean tree *(Erythrina americana)*'
r-amix^{32} 'sausage tree *(Hymenaea courbaril)*'

With fused 'fruit':

ru^{3}*-tsih*^{1} 'guava' (cf. *tsih*^{1} 'sweet')
r-kwehe^{4} 'peach'
r-koo^{32} 'custard apple (*Annona* sp.)'
r-ahwii^{32} 'orange'

With fused 'animal':

shkw-aa^{5} 'snake' (cf. *yaa*^{5} 'root')
shkw-ax^{32} 'fish' (cf. *wax*^{32} 'to move')
sh-luu^{5} 'worm, caterpillar'
sh-uwee^{3} 'dog'
sh-tuu^{32} 'rat, mouse' (cf. *ituu*^{32} 'stealing')
sh-uwaa^{31} 'cougar' (cf. *yuwaa*^{1} 'fierce')

5.3.2 Classification. Nouns fall into several cross-cutting classifications; they may be divided according to gender, possessibility, distribution, and countability.

Nouns fall into four natural gender classes according to the third person phrase-final pronouns (see §5.4) that can refer to them: masculine, feminine, animal, and inanimate. Some nouns belong to more than one class.

Masculine nouns:

chii^{3} 'man'
tahnuh^{3} 'uncle of'
tanuu^{3} 'soldier'
yahanx^{32} 'saint, god'

Feminine nouns:

sha^{3}*na*^{1}	'woman'
tuhwe^{3}	'aunt of'
yahanx^{32}	'saint, god'

(See also 7.15.)

Animal nouns:

shkuu^{3}	'animal'
shtax^{3}	'deer'
kachrinx^{5}	'clam'
zhoo^{3}	'turtle'
kahux^{3}	'raccoon'
shuwaa^{31}	'cougar'
ri^{3}*kix*^{13}	'frog'
matsinx^{32}	'sheep'
shuchee^{32}	'hen, chicken'

(See also 7.2, 7.3, and 7.78.)

Inanimate nouns:

chruun^{3}	'wood, tree'
mi^{3}*shte*^{4}	'machete (Sp. *machete*)'
yuwex^{32}	'rock, cliff'
rtaa^{31}	'tamale'

(See also 7.1, 7.9, 7.16, 7.27, 7.64, 7.71, 7.74, and various others.)

Nouns may also be classified into those that cannot be possessed and those that can. Nouns that cannot be possessed often refer to topographical or meteorological phenomena.

yatih^{3}	'star'
chraa^{5}	'river'
maan^{31}	'rain'
yuun^{4}	'earthquake'

Nouns in the above category may have more than one sense discrimination, some of which may be possessible.

na³na¹	'wind, air' (unpossessible); 'breath, speech, word' (possessible)

A few nouns that cannot be possessed are related to special inherently possessed nouns.

weh³	'house' (cf. *tukwa⁴* 'home of')
yatsex⁵ or *yatsix⁵*	'clothing, garment' (cf. *sa³ganh¹* 'clothing of')
shkuu³	'animal' (cf. *daan⁴* '[domestic] animal of')

Nouns that refer to specific animals cannot be possessed. Instead, an appositional construction is used, in which the name of the specific animal follows a possessive noun phrase with *daan⁴* '(domestic) animal of' (see §3.7).

Nouns that can be possessed are either inherently or optionally possessed. Nouns which are inherently possessed are usually kinship terms or body parts.

ni³ka²	'spouse of'
rex³	'father of'
takuun⁵	'nose of'
raha³	'hand of'

Inherently possessed nouns also include a number of other nouns.

man³	'body of'
mahan¹³	'self of' (probably related etymologically to *man³*)
nuwah¹	'right side of'
nichruun¹³	'left side of'
se³shuwii¹³	'name of'
tuwih³	'companion of, relative of'
shiaan⁵	'hometown of'
tukwa⁴	'home of'
sa³ganh¹	'clothing of'
daan⁴	'(domestic) animal of'

The noun *man*^{3} 'body of' is used to mark a nonagentive subject of certain verbs (see §§1.1.2 and 1.1.6), an animate or pronominal direct object (see §1.1.3), and a nonlocalized body part that is possessed (see §3.3). The nouns *mahan*^{13} 'self of' and *tuwih*^{3} 'companion of' also have specialized uses. *mahan*^{13} is used to express reflexives (see §1.1.3), lack of an agent (see §2.1.3), and emphatic and indefinite noun phrases (see §§3.3 and 3.10). *tuwih*^{3} is used to express reciprocals (see §§1.1.3 and 2.1.3), partitives (see §3.3), and comparison (see §3.7).

For many speakers, citation forms of inherently possessed nouns include the generalized inclusive postclitic pronoun (see §5.4).

re-h^{4}
father-our:IN
our father *or* father (cf. *rex*^{3} 'father of')

takun-h^{4}
nose-our:IN
our noses *or* nose (cf. *takuun*^{5} 'nose of')

Optionally possessed nouns include all nouns not in either of the above groups. These nouns have a special form that is used only when they occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase (see §3.3), i.e., when they occur with a possessor. This form is created from the basic noun stem in various ways.

Many common nouns with initial *y* replace the *y* with *d* in monosyllabic words, and with *t* in polysyllabic words.

	Basic	Possessed
flower	*yax*^{32}	*dax*^{32}
paper	*yanx*^{3}	*danx*^{3}
palm basket	*yoo*^{4}	*doo*^{4}
instrument	*yahanx*^{5}	*tahanx*^{5}
earth, land	*yohoo*^{5}	*tohoo*^{5}

Some common nouns take a prefix of the form *ta-*, *ti-*, *s-*, or *sh-*. Sometimes the tone changes from *3* to *5* (in one case with loss of final *x*), and sometimes *sh-* fuses with the stem.

	Basic	Possessed
rope	*neh*^{3}	*taneh*^{3}
corn	*hnuu*^{5}	*tihnuu*^{5}
flesh, meat	*nee*^{31}	*snee*^{31}
metate	*to*^{32}	*sto*^{32}
ear of corn	*tanh*^{3}	*stanh*^{3}
cornfield	*naa*^{31}	*shnaa*^{31}
net bag	*nanx*^{3}	*shnanx*^{5}
wood, tree	*chruun*^{3}	*shruun*^{5}
fruit, egg	*chrux*^{3}	*shruu*^{5}
tortilla	*chraa*^{3}	*raa*^{5}

The most common way to express possession, however, is to place the nominal marker *ze*^{32} before the noun, and to replace the tone of the noun with a lower tone. The marker *ze*^{32} is homophonous with the third person inanimate non-phrase-final pronoun, but does not appear to be the same morpheme. The tone replacements that mark possession are usually the same as those used to derive stative verbs from nouns, described in §5.2.

	Basic	Possessed
metal	*agah*^{3}	*ze*^{32} *agah*^{13}
honey	*katsih*^{3}	*ze*^{32} *katsih*^{2}
tunic	*rohno*^{4}	*ze*^{32} *rohno*^{1}
nail, earring	*kakii*^{5}	*ze*^{32} *kakix*^{1}
language	*shnahanx*^{5}	*ze*^{32} *shnahanx*^{1}
pitcher	*siuu*^{31}	*ze*^{32} *siuu*^{1}
custard apple	*rkoo*^{32}	*ze*^{32} *rkoo*^{2}

When, however, the noun has an unchecked vowel and tone *4*, the tone *4* is unchanged, and tone *2* is added on the penultimate syllable. Also, nouns that have tone *3* on the penultimate syllable replace the *3* by *2*. These words are often Spanish loanwords.

	Basic	Possessed
shirt (Sp. *cotón*)	*kotoo*^{4}	*ze*^{32} *ko*^{2}*too*^{4}
silk (Sp. *seda*)	*sa*^{3}*da*^{4}	*ze*^{32} *sa*^{2}*da*^{4}

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

Vocatives include personal names, kinship terms, and certain other nouns. Many kinship terms have special vocative forms that are not inherently possessed. Vocative forms of names and common nouns usually show a stress shift from the ultima to the penult, and also certain tone changes.

Personal names:

gwaa^{32}	'John! (Sp. *Juan*)' (cf. *gwaa*^{4})
'pe^{3}*dro*^{32}	'Peter! (Sp. *Pedro*)' (cf. *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4})

Kinship terms:

'a^{3}*tax*^{1}	'Papa! (Sp. *tata*)' (cf. *rex*^{3} 'father of')
'na^{3}*iin*^{32}	'Mama!' (cf. *nii*^{3} 'mother of')
'ti^{3}*nux*^{1}	'Brother! (of male)' (cf. *tinuu*^{5} 'brother:ME')
'so^{3}*ko*^{1}	'Brother! (of female)' (cf. *rahwix*^{32} 'brother:FE')

Other nouns:

'shu^{3}*wee*^{32}	'dog!' (cf. *shuwee*^{3})
'me^{3}*stro*^{32}	'teacher! (Sp. *maestro*)' (cf. *me*^{3}*stro*^{4})

When a vocative occurs at the end of a YES/NO or WH question, it often ends with a glottal stop, which replaces any stem-final laryngeal (see §1.4).

'pe^{3}*droh*^{32}	'Peter?' (cf. *'pe*^{3}*dro*^{32} 'Peter!')
'ti^{3}*nuh*^{1}	'Brother? (of male)' (cf. *'ti*^{3}*nux*^{1} 'Brother! [of male]')

(See also 7.8.)

Proper nouns include personal and place names.

pe^{3}*to*^{4}	'Bob (Sp. *Beto*)'
shtuu^{32}	'Mouse' (nickname)
makaa^{5}	'Mexico City'
ya^{3}*kwex*^{2}	'Oaxaca City' (cf. *yan*^{32} 'place', *kwex*^{2} 'of edible greens')
natax^{5}	'Sabana'

The proper noun category also includes many complex nuclei. See Hollenbach 1980b for a description of personal names, and Hollenbach 1980d for a description of place names.

Locative nouns occur as nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes place names, names of topographical features, and some other nouns.

ngax^{32}	'Putla'
tihinx^{5}	'Huajuapan'
kix^{32}	'mountain'
chraa^{5}	'river'
chrex^{32}	'trail'
shumanh^{3}	'town'
rnuu^{32}	'coast, long ago'

The second category includes certain inherently possessed body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense, and also one Spanish loanword. This loanword also functions as a conjunction meaning 'because' (see §6.2.1).

man^{3}
body
to

riaan^{32}
face
to, in front of, on top of, instead of

ston^{3}
finger
to

raha^{3}
hand
from

shehe^{4}
feet
for, about, because of

shraa^{5}
back
on top of, over, uphill from

rke^{3}
stomach
under, in, among

raa^{31}
head
on the top of

takoo^{5}
foot
at the base of

tuhwa^{3}
mouth
at the edge of

ta^{3}*nuu*^{2}
middle
in the middle of

kwe^{3}*nda*^{4} or *kwenda*^{4}
account
on the side of, on account of, because (Sp. *cuenta*)

The extended meanings of these nouns are often determined by the verb they occur with. In some cases, such as *ston*^{3} 'finger of' and *raha*^{3} 'hand of', the relational meaning seems to be almost entirely in the verb. In other cases, however, such as *riaan*^{32} 'face of', the body-part noun clearly carries the relational meaning. See Hollenbach 1990 for further discussion.

Temporal nouns also occur as nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6) and are divided into the same two categories. The first category occurs as nuclei of adverbial basic noun phrases, and it includes names for units of time and calendric units.

gwii^{3}	'day'
yoh^{3}	'year'
dyo^{4}	'season (Sp. *tiempo* 'time')'
kwe^{3}*hnux*^{1}	'Wednesday'
rnuu^{32}	'coast, long ago'

The second category occurs as nuclei of adverbial possessive noun phrases, and it includes only a few body-part nouns that are extended in a temporal sense.

rke^{3}
stomach
within, during

takoo^{5}
foot
at the beginning of

raa^{31}
head
at the end of

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases.

ta^{3}*nex*^{1}	'maquila (four-liter dry measure)'
li^{3}*tro*^{4}	'liter (Sp. *litro*)'
shkoo^{5}	'fathom (distance between outstretched fingertips), shoulder of'
zhee^{5}	'load (amount a man can carry on his back)'
takox^{1}	'pair (of shoes)' (cf. *takoo*^{5} 'foot of')

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

shuwee^{3}	'dog'
kox^{32}	'plant'
too^{32}	'milk'

Nouns may also be classified as either mass or count. Mass nouns do not permit a numeral or numeral phrase as quantifier, whereas count nouns do.

Mass nouns:

too^{32}	'milk'
tsih^{3}	'tepache (fermented sugarcane juice)'
sigih^{3}	'mud'

kachix^{32}	'cotton'
yanx^{5}	'wax'

Count nouns:

shluu^{5}	'worm, caterpillar'
rachruun^{5}	'bread'
nee^{3}	'plow'
shrux^{3}	'(clay) pot'

Sometimes a single noun has two or more sense discriminations, some of which fall into the class of mass nouns, while the others fall into the class of count nouns.

na^{32}	'water' (mass); 'fontanel' (count)
na^{3}*na*^{1}	'wind, air, breath, speech' (mass); 'word' (count)
chruun^{3}	'wood' (mass); 'tree, pole, stick' (count)

5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns are free or postclitic. Free pronouns occur for all persons and numbers. First and second persons have a clear number distinction, with singular, dual, and plural forms. They also have an inclusive-exclusive distinction, and a contrast between familiar and unmarked in second person singular.

	SG	DU	PL
first			
EX	*hunx*^{1}	*runx*^{5}, *rox*^{1} *nux*^{5}	*nux*^{5}
IN	—	*roh*^{1}, *rox*^{1} *nih*^{4}	*nih*^{4}
second			
unmarked	*zoh*^{1}	*rox*^{1} *zox*^{13}	*zox*^{3}, *nix*^{3} *zox*^{3}
familiar	*dih*^{1}	—	—

The first person singular pronoun occurs in 7.32.

The exclusive pronouns *runx*^{5} and *nux*^{5} appear to be fusions of the definite articles *rox*^{1} 'the two' and *nix*^{3} 'the (plural)' with the first person singular pronoun *hunx*^{1}. There is also a rise in tone, which may be related to the rise that indicates additive numerals and quantifiers (see §5.6).

The inclusive pronouns *roh*^{1} and *nih*^{4} appear to be fusions of the definite articles with the generalized inclusive postclitic pronoun described below. An example of *nih*^{4} is found in 7.8.

The second person singular unmarked pronoun *zoh*^{1} is usually unstressed and is sometimes reduced to *z* in fast speech. This pronoun occurs in 7.9, 7.29, 7.82, and various other sentences in chapter 7.

The second person singular familiar pronoun *dih*^{1} is used both to children as a sign of affection and to adults as a way of showing politeness. It is used in the text in 7.61 in an apparently facetious way.

The three singular pronouns cause an immediately preceding word with the tone patterns *3*, *13*, and *31* on the final syllable to undergo tone sandhi. Any word with *3* or *13* that ends with the laryngeal *x* loses the laryngeal and replaces the basic tone with *5*. A polysyllabic word with *13* also adds tone *2* on the penult. (There is one word with *x* and *31;* it does not undergo sandhi.)

	Basic	Sandhi
lay	*kinax*^{3}	*kinaa*^{5}
will lie	*kinax*^{13}	*ki*^{2}*naa*^{5}

An example of this change is found in the first word of 7.9.

Any word with tone *3*, *13*, or *31* that ends with one of the other two laryngeals or with an unchecked vowel replaces the basic tone with *4*. Tone *2* is added to the penult of a polysyllabic word with *13*.

	Basic	Sandhi
spoiled	*tirih*^{3}	*tirih*^{4}
heard	*kuno*^{3}	*kuno*^{4}
filled	*karaa*^{3}	*karaa*^{4}
will become	*guun*^{13}	*guun*^{4}
will spoil	*tirih*^{13}	*ti*^{2}*rih*^{4}
will hear	*kuno*^{13}	*ku*^{2}*no*^{4}
will fill	*karaa*^{13}	*ka*^{2}*raa*^{4}
washed face	*kanaan*^{31}	*kanaan*^{4}

An example of this change is found in the fifth word of 7.9.

Tone sandhi is discussed further in Hollenbach 1974 and Hollenbach 1984a:260–303.

Third person pronouns are either phrase-final or non-phrase-final. Non-phrase-final pronouns occur when something else follows within the noun phrase (and in a few idiomatic expressions), and phrase-final pronouns occur when the pronoun is the final element within its own noun phrase. Non-phrase-final pronouns most commonly occur to introduce relative clauses; their function is treated more extensively in Hollenbach 1992. Third person pronouns have six gender categories, but neither set contains all genders. Number is not marked, but may be optionally shown in all genders except indefinite by using the dual and plural definite articles *rox*^{1} and *nix*^{3}.

	Phrase-final	Non-phrase-final
masculine	*zoh*^{3}	*zii*^{5}
feminine	*noh*^{3}	*nii*^{5}
animal	*zhoh*^{3}	—
inanimate	*yoh*^{3}	*ze*^{32}
locative	—	*rex*^{32}, *yan*^{32}
indefinite	*nii*^{3}	—

The inanimate phrase-final pronoun *yoh*^{3} is related to the locative adverb *yoh*^{3} 'there', which also functions as a deictic meaning 'that'. As a pronoun, it is never stressed and is sometimes reduced to *h*. It appears to be a recent addition to the pronoun system and is often unexpressed in positions other than subject. The masculine, feminine, and animal phrase-final pronouns appear to be fusions containing *yoh*^{3}. The pronoun *yoh*^{3} is used in 7.24 and 7.33 to refer to the tar baby, and in 7.36 to refer to the rabbit's fists.

The masculine non-phrase-final pronoun is often used for animals; an example is found in 7.60. In 7.23 and 7.26 this pronoun refers to the tar baby, an inanimate figure believed to be human. The masculine and feminine phrase-final pronouns are occasionally used in folktales to refer to animals.

The inanimate non-phrase-final pronoun *ze*^{32} also functions as a complementizer (see §1.1.9); in this function it is glossed complementizer, rather than 'it (inanimate)'. It is also used in the cleft focus construction (see §1.1.8). An example of its use as a pronoun is found in the frozen expression in 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56; the remaining occurrences of *ze*^{32} in the text are in complex sentential markers (see §6.4).

The two locative pronouns are reduced forms of the nouns *chrex*^{32} 'trail' and *riaan*^{32} 'face of'. An example of *yan*^{32} is found in 7.58. They sometimes

function as conjunctions to express purpose (see §6.2.1). *rex*^{32} also precedes adverbial noun phrases, basic adverb phrases, and prepositional phrases (see §§3.6, 4.2.1, and 4.3); in these constructions it adds the meaning 'in the direction of' or 'at the approximate time of'.

The indefinite pronoun *nii*^{3} 'they' is used to refer to people in general, or to avoid stating a more precise referent. For at least some speakers, *nii*^{3} is used only for subjects. The following sentence illustrates its use.

ne^{2} *shli*^{3}*nge*^{4} *roh*^{3} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *awih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *tax*^{32}
and cannibal TOPIC but and NEG CON:die he CON:say

nii^{3} *a*^{32}
they DEC

And as for the cannibal, he doesn't die, they say. (Brother 137)

There are also three postclitic phrase-final pronouns, realized solely by tone and laryngeal replacements. Like free pronouns, they express the subject of a sentence, the possessor of a noun, and the object of a preposition. Postclitic pronouns are attached to the word that immediately precedes them. For example, a postclitic pronoun that expresses the subject is attached to the final word in the verb phrase, which is often a postverbal element, rather than the verb itself.

Even though these pronouns are tightly fused to the preceding word, they must be treated as full syntactic elements because they occur instead of, never in addition to, noun phrases or free pronouns. A full treatment of postclitic pronouns, including a discussion of this issue, is found in Hollenbach 1984a:304–79.

One of these pronouns is first person singular; it consists of a final *x* plus some tone changes. The tone changes include the tone sandhi changes that take place between the free first person singular pronoun and the preceding stem, and also the replacement of the unpermitted **x*^{4} combination by *x*^{3}.

A second postclitic pronoun is a generalized inclusive, which consists of a final *h* plus tone changes similar to those for the first person singular postclitic. It has a range of meaning somewhat different from the free inclusive pronouns, which refer to more definite groups of people. It is currently used mainly for citation forms of inherently possessed nouns, and in soliloquy to refer to oneself, but some younger speakers no longer use it.

The third postclitic pronoun is a third-person singular pronoun that is unspecified as to gender. It is often used as a fourth person to keep participants separate in discourse. It is always realized by a tone *3* or a *13* sequence and by either *x* or an unchecked vowel, depending on the tone

and final laryngeal of the stem. Some tone-laryngeal classes are divided into two arbitrary groups, one of which takes *x* and the other of which takes an unchecked vowel.

The following table shows the three postclitic pronouns with a representative selection of stems. Throughout this study, postclitic pronouns are separated from the stem by a hyphen.

	Stem	First	Inclusive	Third
fills	araa^{3}	*ara-x*^{3}	*ara-h*^{4}	*araa-*^{3}
lies	*nax*^{3}	*na-x*^{5}	*na-h*^{4}	*naa-*^{3}
animal of	*daan*^{4}	*dan-x*^{3}	*dan-h*^{4}	*dan-x*^{3}
sings	*achraa*^{5}	*achra-x*^{5}	*achra-h*^{4}	*achraa-*^{3}
runs	*unanx*^{5}	*unan-x*^{5}	*unan-h*^{4}	*unaan-*^{3}
washes face	*anaan*^{31}	*anan-x*^{3}	*anan-h*^{4}	*anan-x*^{3}
burned	*kakaa*^{32}	*kaka-x*^{32}	*kaka-h*^{3}	*kakaa-*^{3}
drew	*narii*^{32}	*nari-x*^{32}	*nari-h*^{3}	*nari-x*^{3}
went	*kahanx*^{32}	*kahan-x*^{32}	*kahan-h*^{3}	*kahaan-*^{3}
will pass	*kachen*^{2}	*kachen-x*^{2}	*kachen-h*^{2}	*kachen-x*^{13}
lover	*shrah*^{2}	*shra-x*^{2}	*shra-h*^{2}	*shra-x*^{13}
will wash	*kinanx*^{1}	*kinan-x*^{1}	*kinan-h*^{1}	*kinaan-*^{13}
will fill	*karaa*^{13}	*ka*^{2}*ra-x*^{3}	*ka*^{2}*ra-h*^{4}	*karaa-*^{13}

Note that, for each of the three postclitic pronouns, the combination of a stem with the pronoun is sometimes homophonous with the stem alone. A stem plus a first person postclitic is also sometimes homophonous with a stem plus a third person postclitic.

Examples of the first person singular postclitic are found in 7.6, 7.15, 7.16, 7.29, and many other sentences in chapter 7. Two examples of the inclusive postclitic with its literal meaning are found in 7.68. An example of its use in soliloquy is found in 7.24. Other occurrences of this pronoun are either with the inherently possessed kinship term 'grandmother of', which occurs in 7.2 and in many other sentences, or in the idiomatic expression *dax*^{32} *ze*^{32} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} 'there is nothing that can be done', which occurs in 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56. Examples of the third person singular postclitic are found in 7.68 and 7.101. Some further examples are found in the following sentences.

dax[1] hyaa-[3] yan[32] nee-[13] tukwa-x[3] yax[13] onx[32]
how CON:do-UN place CON:sit-UN POS:home-UN now INT:INSISTENT
What is he doing in the place where he is living in his house now? (cf. Fight 153) (cf. *hyax[3]* 'CON:do', *ne[3]* 'CON:sit', *tukwa[4]* 'POS:home')

ne[2] naman-x[3] weh[3] / ne[2] kihyaa-[3]
and COM:arrive:home:here-UN house and COM:do-UN

ruzhaan[3] / ne[2] kahnii-[3] nehex[3] yoh[3] rah[2]
hanging:cradle and COM:put:in-UN baby that QUOTATIVE
And she arrived at her house, and she made a hanging cradle, and she put that baby in [it], they say. (Sun 3:90) (cf. *naman[4]* 'COM:arrive:home:here', *kihyax[3]* 'COM:do', *kahnii[5]* 'COM:put:in')

For some older speakers, certain stems with final *h* have a longer form when the first and third person postclitic pronouns are attached to them. Instead of replacing the final *h* with *x*, they repeat the final stem vowel and add *x*.

kirih-ix[3] nee[31] shkuu[3] a[32]
COM:get-I flesh animal DEC
I got the meat of an animal. (Sun 3:190) (cf. *kirih[3]* 'COM:get')

kunuu[3] zah-ax[13] a[32]
COM:become:again good-UN DEC
She got well. (cf. *zah[1]* 'good')

It is fairly common to repeat a noun, rather than using a pronoun, even within a single sentence. Compare 7.14, which has a repeated noun, with 7.18, which has a pronoun.

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.

Locative adverbs comprise all locational words that are not nouns; they occur as locative adjuncts (see §1.1.4), as location peripheral elements (see §1.1.7), and as manner in the verb phrase (see §2.1.3).

nianx[5]	'here'
yoh[3]	'there'
tihyax[3]	'there (out of sight)'
zheh[3]	'outside'
nituu[2]	'prone, facedown'

kaya^{13}	'vertical'
shtah^{1}	'high, above, in the sky'
nichrunh^{1}	'near'

The adverb *nichrunh*^{1} 'near' also functions as a preposition; see §4.3.

The locative adverbs *nianx*^{5} 'here' and *yoh*^{3} 'there' have an additional function as deictics in noun phrases (see §3.1.3). In this use they are glossed 'this' and 'that', rather than 'here' and 'there'. Examples of the locative adverb function are found in 7.26, 7.40, 7.52, 7.54, 7.79, 7.80, and 7.82. Examples of the deictic function are found in 7.4, 7.5, 7.8, 7.10, 7.23, and various other sentences. It is also possible for locative adverbs functioning as deictics to occur without a noun nucleus, in which case they appear to be functioning as demonstrative pronouns, as seen in 7.93 and 7.101.

The adverb *yoh*^{3} 'there' has developed a form with reduced stress, which has two functions. When it follows a noun, it serves as a singular definite article for some speakers (see §3.1.3). An example of this use is found in 7.32. This appears to be a natural development from the deictic function by means of concomitant phonological and semantic weakening. When *yoh*^{3} occurs with reduced stress and no noun preceding, it serves as a third person inanimate pronoun, and it is included in the list of third person phrase-final pronouns given in §5.4. Some examples of *yoh*^{3} functioning as a pronoun are found in 7.12, 7.24, 7.33, 7.36, 7.48, and various others. It would also be possible, however, to view any of these as a deictic with an unexpressed noun nucleus (see §3.1.4). (In 7.93, 7.95, and 7.101, on the other hand, the deictic interpretation is required because the gender of the referents is clearly animate.)

Some locative adverbs are derived from locative nouns or prepositions by replacing the tone with a lower one. (These replacements are the same as those used to derive stative verbs from nouns, described in §5.2.)

rke^{13}	'below, downhill' (cf. *rke*^{3} 'stomach of, in, under')
shrax^{1}	'above, uphill' (cf. *shraa*^{5} 'back of')
shko^{1}	'backwards, beyond' (cf. *shko*^{4} 'beyond')

Temporal adverbs comprise all temporal words that are not nouns; they occur mainly as time peripheral elements (see §1.1.7). They are either basic or derived from nouns by means of a tone replacement.

Basic temporal adverbs:

kwa³no²	'right now, just then'
yax¹³	'now, today, from now on, at that time'
ko³ra⁴	'later today (Sp. *ahora*)'
ahyox³ or *ahyux³*	'tomorrow'
yatax³	'day after tomorrow'
kwahaa¹³	'last night'
kii³	'yesterday'

Derived temporal adverbs:

rke¹³	'in the past' (cf. *rke³* 'stomach of, in, under')
shrax¹	'in the future' (cf. *shraa⁵* 'back of')

The adverb *yax¹³* 'now' also functions as a conjunction meaning 'now that' or 'given the fact that' (see §6.2.1).

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs; they occur mainly as manner peripheral elements (see §1.1.7) and as manner in the verb phrase (see §2.1.3). They are simple or complex.

Simple:

dax¹³ or *danx¹³*	'thus'
nanx¹³	'thus' (often with accompanying gesture)
nanax³²	'slowly'
shiah¹	'truly'
rmahan¹³	'in vain' (cf. *mahan¹³* 'self of')
yuun¹	'once'
yuun⁴	'another time'
inanx²	'just'

Complex:

tah¹	*azuun³²*
although	likely
	more or less, probably

See §5.6 for a description of the tone raising that distinguishes *yuun⁴* 'another time' from *yuun¹* 'once'.

The adverb *shiah*^{1} 'truly' has a special function to express strong focus (see §1.1.8). *inanx*^{2} 'just' also serves as a prenuclear limiter in noun phrases (see §3.1.2).

Intensifying adverbs occur as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, basic adverb phrases, and general quantifier phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, 4.2.1, and 4.1.5). They are simple or complex.

Simple:

ndoho^{32}	'very'
ushra^{4}	'very'
tiah^{3}	'very'
tihunh^{3}	'very'
tikix^{13}	'very'

Complex:

dox^{3} *a*^{1}
more ?
even more

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

tunx^{3}	'where?'
aman^{3}	'when?'
a^{3}*zah*^{1}	'how? (expressing surprise)' (homophonous with 'when [in the future]')
dax^{1}	'how?'

The words for where and when are obsolescent, and their function is usually filled by idiomatic interrogative noun phrases (see §3.4)

The category adverb has less unity than most of the other parts of speech. Some adverbs are much like stative verbs, but do not occur as the predicate of stative sentences. These adverbs are likely to occur in repetitive adverb phrases (see §4.2.4) or to take the negative marker *ne*^{3} when they occur in basic adverb phrases (see §4.2.1). Other adverbs are more like nouns, but do not occur with all the elements found in basic noun phrases. These adverbs are likely to occur in appositional adverb phrases (see §4.2.2) or as the object of prepositions (see §4.3). Still other adverbs, for example, the intensifying adverbs, are mainly function words.

5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. These elements occur commonly as quantifiers in noun phrases (see chapter 3, especially §§3.1.2 and 3.2), and as the nucleus in various quantifier phrases (see §§4.1.3–4.1.8). They also occur occasionally as manner in verb phrases (see §2.1.3) and as ordinals in relative clauses (see §3.1.3). When no noun nucleus occurs, a quantifier sometimes appears to function as a noun.

The simple numerals are:

yoho² or *ho²*	'one'
yaan¹	'one' (in additive numeral phrases following fifteen and twenty)
wix¹	'two'
wahnux¹	'three'
kahanx¹³	'four'
uhunh¹ or *hunh¹*	'five'
watanh¹	'six'
ichix² or *chix²*	'seven'
itunx² or *tunx²*	'eight'
uun²	'nine'
ichih² or *chih²*	'ten'
shiaan¹	'eleven' (cf. *chih²* 'ten', *yaan¹* 'one')
shuwix³	'twelve' (cf. *chih²*, *wix¹* 'two')
shahnux¹	'thirteen' (cf. *chih²*, *wahnux¹* 'three')
shikahanx¹³	'fourteen' (cf. *chih²*, *kahanx¹³* 'four')
shnuh²	'fifteen'
iko² or *ko²*	'twenty'
shiaa²	'twenty' (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
sya³ndo⁴	'hundred (Sp. *ciento*)'
mix⁵	'thousand (Sp. *mil*)'
manh¹	'two, a pair' (used mainly of tortillas)

Other numerals are expressed by phrases, as described in §§4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

The numeral *yoho*^{2} 'one' has three special functions. It serves as an indefinite article (see §3.1.2), it occurs in preverbal manner position to mean 'continuously' (see §2.1.3), and it modifies other numerals to mean 'approximately' (see §4.1.4).

The numerals from one to six have special additive forms that involve a raising of the tone of the numeral. The relation between the raised form and the original low tone of the numeral is similar to the relation between the tone of a noun and the tone of a stative verb derived from it (see §5.2 for a description of this tone lowering). (See Hollenbach 1984a:248–52 for a detailed description of these changes.) The additive form of the numeral for one is created simply by raising the tone, while the additive forms of the numerals from two through six are created by fusing the additive form of one to the raised-tone form of the numeral. These additive forms are:

yoho^{4} or *ho*^{4}	'another'
ya^{3}*wix*^{5}	'another two'
ya^{3}*hnux*^{5}	'another three'
yu^{3}*kwahanx*^{3}	'another four'
yu^{3}*hunh*^{3}	'another five'
ya^{3}*tanh*^{3}	'another six'

The forms from two to six occur in additive numeral phrases and expanded numeral phrases (see §§4.1.1. and 4.1.4) as a composite realization of the prenuclear quantifier and the numeral nucleus.

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. They are simple or complex. The most common simple ones are:

kehee^{1}	'many' (used with count nouns)
nokoo^{13}	'much' (used with mass nouns)
nuh^{1} or *kunuh*^{1}	'complete, all'
kunudax^{13} or *kunudanx*^{13}	'all' (cf. *kunuh*^{1} 'complete', *dax*^{13} or *danx*^{13} 'thus')
tahax^{2}	'part of, some of'
nahyanh^{1}	'half'
kano^{4}	'all sorts of' (cf. *kano*^{4} 'COM:grab')
dox^{13}	'some, a little'
yanex^{1}	'side, part, half'
ni^{2}*chrex*^{32}	'one side of' (cf. *yanex*^{1} 'side', *chrex*^{32} 'trail')

The general quantifier *nuh*^{1} 'complete' has a special function as a correlative conjunction meaning 'as soon as' (see §6.2.1).

The last three general quantifiers in the list above have additive forms with a higher tone, in one case also with loss of final *x*.

dox^{3}	'more'
yanee^{5}	'other side, other part, other half'
ni^{5}*chrex*^{32}	'other side of'

The general quantifiers *dox*^{13} 'some' and *dox*^{3} 'more' have a special function as quantifier in content verb phrases (see §2.1.3); *dox*^{3} also occurs as quantifier in stative verb phrases and adverb phrases (see §§2.3 and 4.2.1). In addition, *dox*^{13} is used to make a command more polite (see §1.3).

Some common complex general quantifiers are:

naa^{5} *guun*^{3}
any COM:become
any

nax^{1} *guun*^{3}
any COM:become
any

yanex^{5} *skux*^{1}
side angled
a quarter

dox^{13} *tsinh*^{3}
some tiny
very few, a very little bit (some speakers)

dox^{13} *tsinh*^{5}
some tiny
very few, a very little bit (some speakers)

dox^{3} *tsinh*^{3}
more tiny
very few more, a very little bit more (some speakers)

dox^{3} *tsinh*^{5}
more tiny
very few more, a very little bit more (some speakers)

me^{3} *a*^{1}
which ?
every, all sorts of

dax^{32} *a*^{1}
how:many ?
every, all sorts of

5.7 Prepositions

There are five simple prepositions and one complex preposition.

Simple:

ga^{2}	'with'
ndaa^{13}	'until, as far as, over, from, even, and even'
shko^{4}	'beyond' (cf. *shkoo*^{5} 'shoulder of')
skahnux^{5}	'among'
ra^{4}	'inside'

Complex:

nuh^{1} *a*^{3}*nikax*^{1}
complete CON:turn
all around

Three prepositions have special functions. *ga*^{2} links the parts of additive noun phrases (see §3.8). *ra*^{4} occurs in the incorporated-element position in content, equative, and stative verb phrases to create idioms that express emotions (see §§2.1.3, 2.2, and 2.3). *ndaa*^{13} occurs in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, and expanded numeral phrases to mean 'even' (see §§2.1.2, 2.3, and 4.1.4), and in additive verb phrases and additive noun phrases to mean 'and even' (see §§2.5 and 3.8).

Four words from other parts of speech also function as prepositions: the locative adverb *nichrunh*^{1} 'near', the subordinate conjunctions *gaa*^{13} 'when' and *azix*^{2} 'since', and the verb *a*^{3}*nikax*^{1} 'to turn', which means 'around'. Many prepositional functions are also carried by locative nouns used in an extended sense (see §§3.6 and 5.3.2).

5.8 Conjunctions

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

Simple:

ne^{2}	'and'
tsax^{2}	'but'

Complex:

tsax^{2} *ne*^{2}
but and
but

gaa^{13} *ne*^{2}
when and
and then

The conjunctions *ne*^{2} and *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} are also used to separate focused elements and fronted subordinate sentences from the rest of the sentence (see §§1.1.8, 1.2.2, and 6.2.1). *ne*^{2} is also used to link the parts of additive noun phrases (see §3.8).

The subordinate conjunctions are also simple or complex:

Simple:

e^{5}*ze*^{32}	'because' (cf. *shehe*^{4} 'feet of', *ze*^{32} 'CMP')
don^{3} or *duun*^{3}	'with the result that'
seze^{32}	'if, whether, or else'
gaa^{13}	'when'
a^{3}*zah*^{1}	'when (in the future)' (homophonous with 'how? [expressing surprise]')
azix^{2}	'since'
aze^{32}	'as, whether'

Complex:

shehe^{4} *ze*^{32}
feet CMP
because

shehe^{4} *rex*^{32}
feet place
because

shehe^{4} *yan*^{32}
feet place
because

kwe^{3}*nda*^{4} *yan*^{32}
account place
because

tah^{1} *ze*^{32}
although CMP
although (some speakers)

ndah^{1} *ze*^{32}
although CMP
although (some speakers)

nikih^{1} *ze*^{32}
although CMP
although

ze^{2} *gaa*^{32} *nanx*^{13}
NEG POT:exist thus
lest

ndaa^{13} *ze*^{32}
until CMP
until, since

dax^{1} *ze*^{32}
how CMP
as

aze^{32} *waa*^{32}
as CON:exist
as

ndaa^{13} *waa*^{32}
until CON:exist
as

The conjunctions *gaa*^{13} 'when' and *azix*^{2} 'since' also function as prepositions. *seze*^{32} 'if' and *aze*^{32} 'as' also function as complementizers in indirect questions (see §§1.2.3 and 6.1.2).

Some words from other parts of speech also function as conjunctions: the locative noun *kwe³nda⁴* 'account' means 'because', the temporal adverb *yax¹³* 'now' means 'now that' or 'given the fact that', and the non-phrase-final pronouns *rex³²* 'place' and *yan³²* 'place' mean 'in order that'.

5.9 Markers

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

Verbal markers include three words that occur in preverbal position and also the postverbal repetitive.

ze²	'not' (for potential aspect)
ataa³	'not yet'
ax¹	'already'
uun⁴	'again, also' (cf. *yuun⁴* 'another time')

Nominal markers include three postnuclear limiters, the two definite articles, one deictic, the possessed marker, two interrogatives, and the nominal negative.

Limiters:

doh¹	'merely (deprecative)' (homophonous with 'and')
nanx²	'merely'
maan¹	'only'

Articles:

rox¹	'the two'
nix³	'the (plural)'

Other nominal markers:

dan³²	'that (previously mentioned)'
ze³²	'possessed'
me³	'which?'
dax³²	'how much?, how many?'
nuwee⁴	'not' (cf. *ne³* 'NEG', *wee⁴* 'AFF')

There is also a complex interrogative nominal marker.

me^{3} *dax*^{32}
which how:much
how much?, how many?

Numerical markers occur in aggregative numeral phrases, expanded numeral phrases, and negative quantifier phrases (see §§4.1.3, 4.1.4, and 4.1.8).

runh^{5}	'single'
ranh^{3}	'grouped'
dax^{1}	'only'
a^{1}	'not (even)'

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type; they are:

Simple:

ne^{3}	'not' (for verbs in continuative and completive aspects and for stative verbs and adverbs)
uun^{1}	'just' (cf. *yuun*^{1} 'once')
wee^{4}	'affirmative'
roh^{3}	'topic'
doh^{1}	'and' (homophonous with 'merely')

Complex:

ze^{32} *waa*^{32}
it:INAN CON:exist
that (complementizer)

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind affects the mood of a sentence, and also speaker attitude; these markers occur in sentence-final position (see §1.5). This class of markers is rather large, but many of its members are infrequent and/or limited to a few speakers. Only some of the most common ones are listed here.

Some markers occur only in questions.

nah^{3}	'YES/NO interrogative'
nih^{3}	'YES/NO interrogative' (used before a vocative and in embedded disjunctive questions)

zhah^{2}	'YES/NO interrogative with affirmative answer expected'
ga^{2}	'WH interrogative'
onx^{32}	'WH interrogative (insistent)'

One marker occurs only in commands.

ru^{3}*gwanx*^{32}	'polite imperative, please'

The following markers occur in both commands and statements.

a^{4}	'persuasive, for sure'
ei^{32}	'emphatic, by all means, definitely'
mah^{3}	'negative'
man^{32}	'negative' (used vefore a vocative)
mei^{32}	'negative emphatic, by all means not, definitely not' (cf. *man*^{32}, *ei*^{32})

The markers that occur only in statements can be divided into neutral, emphatic, negative, and miscellaneous.

Neutral:

a^{32}	'declarative'

Emphatic:

adonx^{2}	'certainly'
shugwanx^{32}	'obviously, of course'
shtonx^{32}	'agreement, clearly'
zhix^{32}	'cheerful, it's so nice that'

Negative:

madonx^{2}	'certainly not' (cf. *man*^{32} 'NEG', *adonx*^{2} 'certainly')
marah^{2}	'negative quotative' (cf. *man*^{32}, *rah*^{2} 'quotative')

Miscellaneous:

nianh^{3}	'urgent'
ne^{3}*dih*^{1}	'you know' (cf. *nehe*^{3} 'CON:sense', *dih*^{1} 'YOU:SG:FAM')
rah^{2}	'quotative'

The marker *a*^{32} 'declarative' is sometimes used to conjoin noun phrases (see §3.8).

One marker occurs before other markers, rather than in final position (see §6.2.1).

zax^{2} 'contrafactual' (cf. *tsax*^{2} 'but')

There are also a number of complex sentential markers.

nanx^{1} *a*^{4}
indeed PERS
for sure

nanx^{1} *ei*^{32}
indeed EMPH
definitely for sure

a^{1} *mah*^{3}
NEG NEG
negative emphatic, really not

a^{1} *zhix*^{32}
? CHEERFUL
yes indeed

The second kind of sentential marker occurs in sentence-initial position and relates a sentence to its discourse context, as described in §6.4. Most of these markers are complex. The list is not fixed, and there is much variation between speakers. The most common markers used in expository discourse are:

Simple:

tananx^{13} 'in addition, on the other hand' (cf. *ndaa*^{13} 'until', *nanx*^{13} 'thus')

Complex:

dax^{13} *inanx*^{2}
thus just
likewise

ndaa^{13} *nanx*^{13}
until thus
in addition, on the other hand

maan^{1} *ze*^{32}
only CMP
only, it's only that

taa^{5} *ze*^{32}
CON:be:on:top CMP
let me suggest that

ho^{2} *ze*^{32}
one CMP
consider that

shehe^{4} *dan*^{32}
feet that
therefore

shehe^{4} *dan*^{32} *me*^{3}
feet that CON:be
therefore

The most common markers that express narrative sequence are:

zix^{5} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2}
CON:be:complete when and
and after that

ndaa^{13} *zix*^{5} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2}
until CON:be:complete when and
and after that

yoh^{3} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2}
that when and
and after that

dan^{32} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2}
that when and
and after that

wee^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2}
AFF that and
and in addition to that, and after that, and as a result of that

wee^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32}
AFF thus CON:exist
in that way, and so it is that

wee^{4} *dax*^{13}
AFF thus
in that way, and so it is that

nanx^{13} *waa*^{32}
thus CON:exist
in that way, and so it is that

dan^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32}
that CON:be CMP
and then, it happened that, and so it is that

dan^{32} *me*^{3}
that CON:be
and then, it happened that, and so it is that

5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences to express emotion. They are systemic or extrasystemic.

Systemic interjections fit the phonological system of the language, but often take the stress and tone patterns typical for vocatives. Some common systemic interjections are:

'u^{3}ta^{32}	'surprise' (cf. Sp. *puta* 'harlot')
tyoo^{32}	'mild surprise and displeasure'
'aii^{32}	'pain, sorrow'

The fox's cry of pain in 7.98 is the only example of an interjection in chapter 7.

One systemic interjection occurs sentence-medially, usually with a pause preceding and following, to indicate that the speaker wishes to correct what he just said.

naa^{31}	'correction'

The following sentence illustrates its use.

kahanx^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} / *naa*^{31} / *ka*^{3}*nihyaa*^{1} *a*^{32}
COM:go John Oaxaca:City CORRECTION Puebla DEC
John went to Oaxaca City—I mean Puebla.

Extrasystemic interjections do not fit the phonological patterns of the language. Some common extrasystemic interjections are:

xmh^{4}	'mild annoyance'
m^{45}xm^{32}	'what a pity!'
u^{4}*ti*^{3}*ti*^{2} ...	'it's hot!, ouch!'

Some extrasystemic interjections are used as calls.

kst	'used to urge pack animals on'
pst	'used to get someone's attention'
brrr^{4} (bilabial trill)	'used to call chickens'

[blank]

6
Intersentential Relations

Full sentences are marked as such by the presence of a sentential marker at the end (see §1.5). Each numbered sentence in the text in chapter 7 ends with one of these markers. Two or more basic sentences may be combined into a full sentence with either a coordinate relation or a subordinate relation between the parts.

6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some sentence combinations are connected by conjunctions, and others are not.

6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions. Coordinate sentences with conjunctions express coordination, antithesis, and temporal sequence.

The conjunction *ne*^{2} 'and' expresses general coordination.

kahanx^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} / *ne*^{2} *kahanx*^{32} *zoh*^{3}
COM:go he Oaxaca:City and COM:go he

makaa^{5} *a*^{32}
Mexico:City DEC
He went to Oaxaca, and he went to Mexico City.

tahax^{2} *kinax*^{5} *riaan*^{32} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} / *ne*^{2} *tahax*^{2} *kinax*^{5}
part COM:remain face man and part COM:remain

riaan^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *a*^{32}
face woman DEC
PART [of them (the ears of corn)] stayed with the man, and PART [of them] stayed with the woman. (Openly 13)

zoh^{1} *kuchrux*^{2} *makaa*^{5} / *ne*^{2} *hunx*^{1} *kuchrux*^{2}
you:SG POT:lay Mexico:City, and I POT:lay

ya^{3}*kwex*^{2} *a*^{32}
Oaxaca:City DEC
YOU will found Mexico City, and I will found Oaxaca. (Brother 35)

(See also 7.27, 7.28, 7.36, 7.90, and various others.)

When the verb *shrah*^{3} 'to split' has the third person unspecified postclitic pronoun as its subject, and it occurs as the first part of a compound sentence with *ne*^{2} 'and'; it expresses a possibility.

shra-x^{3} / *ne*^{2} *kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:split-UN and POT:go he DEC
He may go.

The conjunction *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} 'but' expresses antithesis; less commonly *tsax*^{2} is used alone.

ax^{1} *hnix*^{32} *tuhwii*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *tuhwa*^{3} *shkwaa*^{5}
already CON:be:wedged:in thunder that mouth snake

rkax^{2} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *kachrix*^{5} *zii*^{5} *wax*^{2} *yoh*^{3} *me*^{3}*rke*^{13}
lizardlike but and COM:tuck:in he CON:move that sash

ston^{3} *tuhwii*^{3} *a*^{32}
finger thunder DEC
That thunder (god) was already wedged in the mouth of the dragon, but that man going along handed the sash to the thunder (god). (Openly 75)

dyo^{4} *manh*^{3} *me*^{3} *yoh*^{3} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *kunuh*^{1} *yawii*^{32}
season CON:rain CON:be it:INAN but and complete month

kahanx^{32} *maan*^{31} / *kihyax*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
COM:go rain COM:do he indeed PERS
It was the rainy season (Sp. *tiempo* 'time'), but ALL YEAR LONG he had made the rain go away for sure. (Openly 28)

n-ahwex^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *kahanx*^{2} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2}
NEG-CON:be:willing woman POT:go man but and

kuchih^{3} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *rke*^{3} *naa*^{31} *a*^{32}
COM:arrive man stomach cornfield DEC
The woman didn't want the man to go, but he arrived in the cornfield. (Fight 65)

kahanx^{32} *shu*^{3}*nee*^{3} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{3} *rih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *yahan*^{32} *mah*^{3}
COM:go fox but NEG CON:get he fire NEG
The fox went, but he wasn't getting the fire. (Sun 4:8)

(See also 7.101.)

The conjunction *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} 'and then' expresses temporal sequence.

kahanx^{2} *zoh*^{1} / *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *kurian-x*^{1} *a*^{32}
POT:go you:SG when and POT:appear-I DEC
You will go away, and then I will come out. (cf. Openly 43)

asno^{3} *skii*^{5} *kaoh*^{1} *nih*^{4} *rke*^{3} *zhee*^{5} / *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *kaoh*^{1}
first resin POT:hit we:IN stomach clearing when and POT:hit

nih^{4} *yahan*^{32} *zhee*^{5} *a*^{32}
we:IN fire clearing DEC
FIRST we'll toss INCENSE in the clearing, and then we'll set fire to it. (Fight 16)

Sometimes, however, *ne*^{2} 'and' is used for sequence.

tanii-^{3} *shrux*^{3} *yume*^{32} *ruwax*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *cha-x*^{3} / *ne*^{2}
COM:lower-UN pot tuber fireplace and COM:eat-UN and

aax / *taa-*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
ahhh CON:say-UN indeed PERS
He took the pot of tubers down from the fireplace, and he ate [them], and he said "ahhh" for sure. (Fight 230)

kurian-x^{1} / *ne*^{2} *'kamanh*^{1} *ko*^{3}*ra*^{4} / *tihnuu*^{32} / *ne*^{2}
POT:appear-I and POT:rain later dusk and

kawii^{2} *zah*^{1} *shnaa*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
POT:come:out good POS:cornfield your:SG DEC
I will come out, and it will rain later today (Sp. *ahora* 'now'), at dusk, and your cornfield will yield well. (Openly 53)

(See also 7.2, 7.68, 7.76, and 7.94.)

There is no conjunction that expresses disjunction, but this concept may be expressed by a juxtaposed construction containing the verb *ahwee*^{3} 'to be possible' or interrogative sentential markers (see §6.1.2).

6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions. It is very common to juxtapose two or more independent sentences, usually with no pause at the seam. This construction can be used to express a variety of semantic relations.

Restatement, in which a single situation is described in different ways, is often expressed by juxtaposition. This is a very common device to highlight an event in discourse.

nazhuun^{2} *yanix*^{5} *zoh*^{1} *man*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
POT:pull:again apart you:SG body your:SG POT:go you:SG DEC
You will move yourself away; you will go away. (Openly 53)

kano^{4} *zhi-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *ya*^{5}*nux*^{13} / *kahnex*^{5}
COM:grab grandfather-our:IN that drum COM:take:away

zhi-h^{4} *yoh*^{3} *raha*^{3} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *a*^{32}
grandfather-our:IN that hand grandmother-our:IN DEC
That grandfather of ours grabbed the drum; he took [it] away from our grandmother. (Brother 164)

ne^{2} *yax*^{13} *nianx*^{5} *roh*^{3} / *kuruwih*^{3} *yahanx*^{32} *gwii*^{13} /
and now here TOPIC COM:appear god of:sun

shrah^{3} *yahanx*^{32} *gwii*^{13} / *guun*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *nehex*^{3} /
COM:split god of:sun COM:become he baby

kahngaa^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ra*^{4} *na*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:be:born he inside water DEC
And as for then [and] there, the sun god appeared; the sun god hatched; he became the baby; he was born in the water. (Sun 2:17)

(See also 7.15.)

Sometimes the second basic sentence simply repeats part of the first.

kahaan-^{3} *ra*^{4} *chraa*^{5} / *kahaan-*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:go-UN inside river COM:go-UN DEC
She went to the river; she went. (Sun 1:2)

kahwee^{13} *kunanx*^{2} *zoh*^{1} / *kahwee*^{13} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
POT:be:possible POT:run you:SG POT:be:possible indeed PERS
It's all right for you to run away; it's all right for sure. (Fight 105)

Restatement may be used to create doublets that serve as a literary device. Like the doublets found in appositional verb, noun, and adverb phrases (see §§2.6, 3.7, and 4.2.2), they follow the schema A B, A C. Either a verb is repeated with different, but semantically related, subjects; or a verb and short subject are repeated with different objects or adjuncts. The parts of the sentence that differ often show some degree of phonological similarity.

kakaa^{2} *kix*^{32} / *kakaa*^{2} *takux*^{32} *a*^{32}
POT:burn mountain POT:burn slope DEC
The mountain will burn; the slope will burn. (cf. Sun 2:54)

kano^{1} *yahan*^{32} *takaan*^{3} / *kano*^{1} *yahan*^{32} *takux*^{32} *a*^{32}
POT:grab fire hillside POT:grab fire slope DEC
The fire will ignite the hillside; the fire will ignite the slope. (Sun 1:47)

Sometimes one part of a restatement construction is the negative counterpart of the other.

kahanx^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *shumanh*^{3} / *ne*^{3} *kinax*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
COM:go John town NEG COM:remain he NEG
John (Sp. *Juan*) went to town; he didn't stay [here].

tuhwa^{3} *rmahan*^{13} *ho*^{2} *ri*^{3}*kix*^{13} *yaa*^{32} / *ne*^{3} *ya*^{13} *ri*^{3}*kix*^{13}
CON:talk in:vain one frog tongue NEG true frog

man^{1} *ra*^{4} *chraa*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON2:exist:PL inside river DEC
A leopard frog doesn't mean [it (what it says)]; the frogs that are in the river aren't truthful. (Sun 4:17)

(See also 7.20.)

A generic-specific relation may also be expressed by juxtaposition.

kiranh^{3} *zoh*^{3} *sayuun*^{32} / *kachranh*^{3} *takoo*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:suffer he trouble COM:break foot his DEC
He suffered misfortune; his leg got broken.

kaoh^{3} *zoh*^{3} *chruun*^{3} / *kishrah*^{3} *manh*^{1} *chruun*^{3} / *kihyax*^{3}
COM:hit he wood COM:be:split two wood COM:do

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
he DEC
He hit the tree; he caused it to split in two. (Openly 20)

kiri-x^{2} *se*^{3}*shu*^{2}*wii*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *kuhnax*^{1} *zoh*^{1}
POT:take:out-I POS:name your:SG CON:be:named you:SG

shkwaa^{3} *yahan*^{2} *a*^{32}
ant of:fire DEC
I will choose your name; you are called fire ant. (Sun 3:30)

ne^{3} *guun*^{13} *yukwanh*^{1} *yahanx*^{32} *gwii*^{13} / *kirih*^{3} *zoh*^{3}
NEG COM:become in:time god of:sun COM:get he

rex^{32} *nichruun*^{13} *shkwaa*^{5} *a*^{32}
place left:side snake DEC
The sun god wasn't quick enough; he got [the one on] the left side of the snake. (Sun 2:79)

(See also 7.54 and 7.98.)

The last sentence above has a very different structure from the following sentences, which contain an object complement.

ne^{3} *guun*^{13} *yukwanh*^{1} *rex*^{3} *chex*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *kunanx*^{2} *rex*^{3}
NEG COM:become in:time father in:law his POT:run father

chex^{1} *zoh*^{3} *rke*^{3} *zhee*^{5} *mah*^{3}
in:law his stomach clearing NEG
His father-in-law wasn't quick enough to run out of the clearing. (Fight 26)

ne^{3} *guun*^{13} *nukwax*^{13} *na*^{32} *nazix*^{2} *yoh*^{3}
NEG COM:become strong water POT:be:complete:again it:INAN

raa^{31} *kix*^{32} *mah*^{3}
head mountain NEG
The water wasn't strong enough to reach the top of the mountain. (Deluge 7)

Note that the juxtaposed sentence ends with the declarative sentential marker *a*^{32}, even though there is a negative in the first part. The sentences with an object complement, on the other hand, end with the negative sentential marker *mah*^{3}.

Sometimes, however, it is difficult to decide whether a sentence should be read as juxtaposed or as a sentence containing an object complement. The following sentences, which do not contain a negative, permit either reading.

guun^{3} *yukwanh*^{1} *yawii*^{3} / *kirih*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *rex*^{32} *nuwah*^{1}
COM:become in:time moon COM:get that place right:side

shkwaa^{5} *a*^{32}
snake DEC
The moon was quick enough; that [one] got [the one on] the right side of the snake. *or* The moon was quick enough to get...
(Sun 2:79)

guun^{3} *nukwax*^{13} *kix*^{32} *yoh*^{3} / *kachen*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32}
COM:become strong mountain that COM:pass it:INAN face

na^{32} *a*^{32}
water DEC
That mountain was strong enough; it surpassed the water (in height). *or* That mountain was strong enough to surpass... (Deluge 8)

A variety of temporal relations between what are viewed as two or more distinct situations may also be expressed by juxtaposition if the juxtaposed sentences have coreferential subjects.

To express simultaneous actions, the verbs must agree in aspect.

chee^{5} *zoh*^{3} / *achraa*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:walk he CON:sing he DEC
He walks along singing.

dinx^{5} *waa*^{32} *tuhwa*^{3} *shkaa*^{32} / *chee*^{5} *zhoh*^{3} *gaa*^{13}
silent CON:exist mouth raven CON:walk it:AML when

naa^{4} *a*^{32}
long:ago DEC
The raven had no voice [as] it walked long ago. (Fight 233)

a^{3}*ta*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *yume*^{32} / *hnah*^{3} *nike*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:carry he tuber CON:come back he DEC
He was carrying tubers [as] he was returning. (Fight 207)

aax / *tax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} / *ne*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *cha*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *yume*^{32}
ahhh CON:say he CON:sit he CON:eat he tuber

ra^{4} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
inside house DEC
He said "ahhh" [as] he was sitting [and] eating tubers in the house. (Fight 224)

agwax^{5} *agwax*^{5} *zhoh*^{3} / *taa*^{5} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:cry:out CON:cry:out it:AML CON:be:on:top it:AML DEC
It (the raven) kept on crying out [as] it was on top [of it]. (Fight 256)

(See also 7.72 and 7.75.)

Also common is temporal inclusion. To express inclusion, the including predicate must be in continuative aspect, and the included one in completive or potential. The two parts may occur in either order.

wax^{2} *zoh*^{3} / *nashruh*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON2:move he COM:fall:down he DEC
He was moving along [when] he fell down. *or* [As] he was moving along, he fell down.

nax^{3} *zoh*^{3} *takaan*^{3} / *kotox*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:lie he hillside COM:sleep he DEC
He slept [as] he was lying on the hillside. (Sun 4:20)

kuno^{3} *shkaa*^{32} / *taa*^{5} *zhoh*^{3} *raa*^{31} *chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:hear raven CON:be:on:top it:AML head wood DEC
The raven heard [it as] it was on the top of the tree. (Fight 225)

(See also 7.21 and 7.66.)

In 7.70 and 7.90, the juxtaposed sentences serve as the object complement of *hyax*^{3} 'to do' (see §1.1.9).

Temporal sequence is also sometimes expressed by juxtaposition.

kawii^{32} *zoh*^{3} *kwa*^{3}*yo*^{4} / *kahanx*^{32} *zoh*^{3} / *ku*^{3}*rianx*^{1} *zoh*^{3}
COM:come:out he horse COM:go he COM:appear he

niaan^{5} *a*^{32}
Tlaxiaco DEC
He got on the horse (Sp. *caballo*), he went away, [and then] he showed up in Tlaxiaco. (Brother 79)

kahanx^{32} *shkwax*^{32} / *kuzhuun*^{32} *shkwax*^{32} *niax*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:go fish COM:pull fish hominy DEC
The fish went, [and then] they pulled at the hominy. (Sun 3:67)

kahanx^{32} *noh*^{3} *ngax*^{32} / *kiranx*^{5} *noh*^{3} *yuhwex*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:go she Putla COM:buy she thread DEC
She went to Putla, [and then] she bought thread.

(See also 7.2, 7.82, 7.86, and 7.99.)

Often a string of juxtaposed sentences occurs with a variety of relations between them.

kawii^{32} *noh*^{3} / *kunanx*^{5} *noh*^{3} / *kahanx*^{32} *noh*^{3}
COM:come:out she COM:run she COM:go she

nanx^{1} *a*^{4}
indeed PERS
She left; she ran away; she went away for sure. (Fight 117)

kachrix^{5} *zhoh*^{3} *tuneh*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} / *kunanx*^{5} *zhoh*^{3} / *kahanx*^{32}
COM:tuck:in it:AML tail its:AML COM:run it:AML COM:go

zhoh^{3} / *kirih*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *yahan*^{32} *a*^{32}
it:AML COM:get it:AML fire DEC
It stuck its tail [in the fire]; it ran; it went away; it got the fire. (Sun 2:53)

chrunx^{1} *chrunx*^{1} *chrunx*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *takoo*^{5} *shtax*^{3} / *gwex*^{5}
thump thump thump CON:say foot deer COM:jump

yoh^{3} / *kahnah*^{3} *yoh*^{3} / *kuno*^{3} *rox*^{1} *shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}
that COM:come that COM:hear the:DU boy DEC
The two boys heard the deer's feet saying thump thump thump [as] that [one] came jumping. (Sun 1:41)

In 7.17 the first basic sentence precedes the others in time, and the remaining two basic sentences, the second of which contains an object complement, express simultaneous actions.

A series of items that form a list may be expressed by juxtaposition. If the items in the series serve as the subject, the verb is stated before each item and optionally following the last.

kawih^{3} *skux*^{5} / *kawih*^{3} *tana*^{32} / *kawih*^{3} *matsinx*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:die ox COM:die goat COM:die sheep DEC
The oxen, goats, [and] sheep died. (i.e., they were butchered)

kawih^{3} *skux*^{5} / *kawih*^{3} *tana*^{32} / *kawih*^{3} *matsinx*^{32} /
COM:die ox COM:die goat COM:die sheep

kawih^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:die DEC
The oxen, goats, [and] sheep died.

kayuu^{3} *tuhwex*^{32} *nga*^{3} / *kayuu*^{3} *takanx*^{3} *nga*^{3}
COM:fall POS:thread old:woman COM:fall POS:sandal old:woman

yoh^{3} / *kayuu*^{3} *a*^{32}
that COM:fall DEC
The balls of thread [and] the sandals of the old woman fell. (Sun 1:65)

kinakoo^{31} *naa*^{31} / *kinakoo*^{31} *yohoo*^{5} / *kinakoo*^{31} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
COM:dry cornfield COM:dry earth COM:dry indeed PERS
The cornfields [and] the earth dried up for sure. (Openly 32)

hnah^{3} *shuhwix*^{32} *noh*^{3} / *hnah*^{3} *nii*^{3} *noh*^{3} / *hnah*^{3}
CON:come sister:FE her CON:come mother her CON:come

nuh^{1} *nix*^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} / *hnah*^{3} *ga*^{2} *noh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
complete the:PL woman CON:come with her indeed PERS
Her sisters, her mother, [and] all the women were coming with her for sure. (Fight 306)

hyax^{3} *yoh*^{3} *hnah*^{3} *nike*^{3} *chruun*^{3} / *hnah*^{3} *nike*^{3} *kawee*^{31}
CON:do that CON:come back wood CON:come back rafter /

hnah^{3} *nike*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:come back DEC
Those [ones (the boys)] caused poles [and] rafters to come back. (i.e., they brought poles and rafters back) (Sun 1:26)

If the items in the series serve as something other than the subject, the verb and subject are stated before each item and optionally following the last.

kiranx^{5} *noh*^{3} *yuhwex*^{32} / *kiranx*^{5} *noh*^{3} *yumih*^{3} / *kiranx*^{5} *noh*^{3}
COM:buy she thread COM:buy she soap COM:buy she

yaan^{32} *a*^{32}
salt DEC
She bought thread, soap, [and] salt.

kiranx^{5} *noh*^{3} *yuhwex*^{32} / *kiranx*^{5} *noh*^{3} *yumih*^{3} / *kiranx*^{5} *noh*^{3}
COM:buy she thread COM:buy she soap COM:buy she

yaan^{32} / *kiranx*^{5} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
salt COM:buy she DEC
She bought thread, soap, [and] salt.

cha^{4} *zhoh*^{3} *rto*^{32} / *cha*^{4} *zhoh*^{3} *ra*^{3}*zuun*^{32} / *cha*^{4}
CON:eat it:AML banana:plant CON:eat it:AML thing CON:eat

zhoh^{3} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}
it:AML right:now DEC
It (the gopher) eats banana plants [and other] things right now. (Sun 2:126)

kahngaa-^{3} *nuh*^{1} *tahman-x*^{3} / *kahngaa-*^{3} *nuh*^{1}
COM:rub-UN complete thigh-UN COM:rub-UN complete

takoo-^{3} / *kahngaa-*^{3} *a*^{32}
foot-UN COM:rub-UN DEC
She rubbed [them (pokeberries)] all over her thighs [and] legs. (cf. Sun 3:87)

nayon^{4} *na*^{32} *ra*^{4} *chraa*^{5} / *nayon*^{4} *na*^{32}
CON:be:in:again water inside river CON:be:in:again water

nuh^{1} *gee*^{1} *kix*^{32} / *nayon*^{4} *na*^{32}
complete whole mountain CON:be:in:again water

nanx^{1} *a*^{4}
indeed PERS
Water was in the river [and] all over the mountains for sure. (Openly 57)

There are three ways in which disjunction may be expressed without conjunctions. A disjunctive statement may be expressed by juxtaposing sentences which contain *ahwee*^{3} 'to be possible' and a subject complement. Sometimes *ahwee*^{3} occurs after the last disjunct also.

ahwee^{3} *yaan*^{5} *noh*^{3} *ya*^{3}*kwex*^{2} / *ahwee*^{3}
CON:be:possible CON:sit she Oaxaca:City CON:be:possible

yaan^{5} *noh*^{3} *makaa*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON:sit she Mexico:City DEC
She may be living in Oaxaca, [or] she may be living in Mexico City.

kahwee^{13} *kiraan*^{2} *gwaa*^{4} *mi*^{3}*shte*^{4} / *kahwee*^{13} *kiraan*^{2}
POT:be:possible POT:buy John machete POT:be:possible POT:buy

gwaa^{4} *nee*^{32} / *kahwee*^{13} *a*^{32}
John knife POT:be:possible DEC
John may buy a machete (Sp. *machete*), [or] he may buy a knife.

A disjunctive question may be expressed by using the YES/NO interrogative marker *nah*^{3}, followed by pause, on the first and any other nonfinal

disjuncts, and using the YES/NO interrogative marker *zhah*^{2} on the final disjunct. Even though *zhah*^{2} expects an affirmative answer when used alone, it does not necessarily do so when used correlatively with *nah*^{3}.

kawih^{3} *pa*^{3}*blo*^{4} *nah*^{3} / *kinanii*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *zhah*^{2}
COM:die Paul INT COM:escape he INT:AFF
Did Paul (Sp. *Pablo*) die, [or] did he escape?

kiranx^{5} *zoh*^{3} *skux*^{5} *nah*^{3} / *kiranx*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *tana*^{32} *nah*^{3} /
COM:buy he OX INT COM:buy he goat INT

kiranx^{5} *zoh*^{3} *matsinx*^{32} *zhah*^{2}
COM:buy he sheep INT:AFF
Did he buy an ox, a goat, [or] a sheep?

A disjunctive question may be embedded as the object complement of another sentence. Each disjunct is introduced by *seze*^{32} 'if' or *aze*^{32} 'as' and ends with the interrogative sentential marker *nih*^{3}. The main verb in such a sentence is often a verb of knowing, usually in the negative, and the main verb and its subject are usually repeated following the last disjunct.

ne^{3} *nehe*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *seze*^{32} *kahnah*^{1} *li*^{3}*na*^{4} *nih*^{3} / *seze*^{32}
NEG CON:sense John if POT:come Lina INT if

kahnah^{1} *ma*^{3}*rya*^{4} *nih*^{3} / *ne*^{3} *nehe*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:come Mary INT NEG CON:sense he DEC
John doesn't know whether Lina (Sp. *Lina*) will come, [or] whether Mary (Sp. *María*) will come.

ne^{3} *nehe*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *aze*^{32} *otox*^{32} *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *nih*^{3} / *aze*^{32} *ne*^{3}
NEG CON:sense John as CON:sleep Peter INT as NEG

otox^{32} *pe*^{3}*dro*^{4} *nih*^{3} / *ne*^{3} *nehe*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:sleep Peter INT NEG CON:sense John DEC
John doesn't know whether Peter (Sp. *Pedro*) is sleeping, [or] not.

Juxtaposition is also used for a number of close-knit constructions in which at least one of the verbs is highly restricted, and the meaning is conventionalized. Even though these constructions have no pause at the boundary between the two parts, a solidus is used in the examples to show the boundary.[13]

[13]A number of similar sentence types were described for Chicahuaxtla Trique by Longacre 1966.

To express the addressee with a verb of saying, a juxtaposed sentence with the verb *uno*^{3} 'to hear' in the second part may be used. This construction often occurs in quotation closers (see §6.3).

kahmii^{32} *shnii*^{32} / *kuno*^{3} *nii*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:speak boy COM:hear mother his DEC
The boy spoke to his mother.

Sometimes the reduced form *no*^{3} occurs; this form is not inflected for aspect and functions much like a preposition.

kahmii^{32} *shnii*^{32} / *no*^{3} *nii*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:speak boy CON:hear mother his DEC
The boy spoke to his mother.

(See also 7.29, 7.67, and 7.68.)

It is also possible to express an addressee as a locative adjunct (see §1.1.4) signaled by the locative noun *riaan*^{32} 'face of'; see, for example, 7.6, 7.9, and 7.10. The juxtaposed sentence method appears to be losing ground to the locative adjunct method, perhaps because of Spanish influence.

For many older speakers, idioms with the preposition *ra*^{4} 'inside', which refer to emotional and psychological states (see §§2.1.3, 3.2, and 3.3), are intransitive. In order to express an object, the sentence containing the idiom must be juxtaposed with a transitive sentence that has the verb *ni*^{3}*hyax*^{2} 'to look' or *nehe*^{3} 'to sense' or 'to see' and a coreferential subject.

kahmaan^{3} *ra*^{4} *noh*^{3} / *ni*^{3}*hyax*^{2} *noh*^{3} *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:get:hot inside she COM:look she spouse her DEC
She became angry at her husband.

kahmaan^{3} *ra*^{4} *noh*^{3} / *kenehe*^{3} *noh*^{3} *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:get:hot inside she COM:sense she spouse her DEC
She became angry at her husband.

Many speakers, however, treat the idiom as a transitive verb, and the object occurs in the same basic sentence as the idiom, usually introduced by *man*^{3} 'body of'. An example of this is found in 7.81.

There are no verbs that mean 'to bring' or 'to take'; these concepts may be expressed by juxtaposing a sentence that has a motion verb like *hnah*^{3} 'to come' or *hanx*^{32} 'to go' with a sentence that has a verb such as *ni*^{3}*kax*^{2} 'to have'. The two verbs must agree in aspect, and they must have coreferential subjects.

ni³kax² *gwaa⁴* *mi³shte⁴* / *kahnah³* *zoh³* *a³²*
COM:have John machete COM:come he DEC
John brought a machete.

ni³kax² *noh³* *chraa³* / *kahanx³²* *noh³* *a³²*
COM:have she tortilla COM:go she DEC
She took the tortillas. (Sun 4:22)

ni²kax³² *zoh¹* *ho²* *runh⁵* *tanh³* / *kahanx²* *zoh¹* *a⁴*
POT:have you:SG one single corn:ear POT:go you:SG PERS
Take a single ear of corn! (cf. Fight 167)

a³ta¹³ *rox¹* *zoh³* *nee³¹* *shtax³* / *naman⁴* *rox¹*
CON:carry the:DU he flesh deer CON:arrive:home:here the:DU

zoh³ *weh³* *a³²*
he house DEC
The two of them were bringing the venison home to the house. (Sun 2:56)

An example of this construction is found in 7.63, which has an unexpressed object.

The order of the two sentences may be reversed, in which case the motion verb has an unexpressed subject.

kahnah³ / *ni³kax²* *gwaa⁴* *mi³shte⁴* *a³²*
COM:come COM:have John machete DEC
John brought a machete.

kahanx² / *ni²kax³²* *shnii³* *shuwee³* *ahyox³* *a³²*
POT:go POT:have boy dog tomorrow DEC
The boy will take the dog tomorrow.

kahanx³² / *ni³kax²* *yoh³* *chraa³* *a³²*
COM:go COM:have that tortilla DEC
That [one] took tortillas. (Sun 1:19)

In the following example, the construction expressing bring serves as a subject complement (see §1.1.9).

kinawix³ *kahanx³²* / *ni³kax²* *zhi-h⁴* *tinuu⁵*
COM:finish COM:go COM:have grandfather-our:IN brother:ME

zoh³ *rex³²* *shko¹* *na³²* *yahanx²* *a³²*
his place beyond water divine DEC
Our grandfather finished taking his brother across the ocean. (Brother 156)

In the following example a juxtaposed construction expressing bring is itself juxtaposed with a sentence that precedes it in temporal sequence.

ne² *kirih³* *zoh³* *yahan³²* / *ni³kax²* *zoh³* / *kahnah³*
and COM:get he fire COM:have he COM:come

zoh³ *a³²*
he DEC
And he got the fire, [and then] he brought it. (Sun 4:11)

A sentence with *a³nikax¹* 'to turn' is sometimes combined with a sentence expressing an action subsequent to the previous full sentence. Even though there is usually a literal change of direction between the two actions, this construction seems to be developing into a marker of temporal sequence.

ne² *zix⁵* *kuchrux³²* *rox¹* *nika²* *rox¹* *zoh³* *wix¹*
and CON:be:complete COM:lay the:DU spouse the:DU he two

shumanh³ *yoh³* *a³²* // *gaa¹³* *ne²* *a³nikax¹* *rox¹* *zoh³* /
town that DEC when and CON:turn the:DU he

me³ *ra⁴* *rox¹* *zoh³* *kuchrux²* *rox¹* *zoh³* *shumanh³*
CON:be inside the:DU he POT:lay the:DU he town

kopa³la⁴ / *shiaan⁵* *nih⁴* *a³²*
Copala POS:town our:IN DEC
And he and his wife finished founding those two towns. And then the two of them turned; they wanted to found the town of Copala (Sp. *Copala*), our hometown. (Brother 46–47)

dan³² *me³* *ze³²* *zix⁵* *kahanx³²* *zoh³* *rex³²* *ruu³²*
that CON:be CMP CON:be:complete COM:go he place coast

a³² // *a³nikax¹* *zoh³* / *nazix⁵* *uun⁴* *zoh³* *a³²*
DEC CON:turn he COM:be:complete:again REP he DEC
And then he was finished going to the coast. He turned and arrived back. (Brother 25–26)

(See also 7.10–11.)

Instrument may be expressed by combining a sentence containing *ra⁵zuun³²* 'to use' or *ni³kax²* 'to have' or 'to hold' with another sentence.

ra⁵zuun³² *gwaa⁴* *agah³* *a³cha⁴* / *kahneh³* *zoh³* *chruun³* *a³²*
CON:use John metal axe COM:cut he wood DEC
John cut the tree with an axe (Sp. *hacha*).

ni³kax² *gwaa⁴* *nee³²* / *tikawih³* *zoh³* *skux⁵* *a³²*
CON:have John knife COM:kill he OX DEC
John butchered the ox with a knife.

To express source with a motion verb, a sentence with a verb like *awii³²* 'to come out' or 'to leave' may be juxtaposed to the sentence containing the motion verb.

kawii³² *gwaa⁴* *ngax³²* / *kahanx³²* *zoh³* *a³²*
COM:come:out John Putla COM:go he DEC
John went away from Putla.

kawii² *zoh³* *makaa⁵* / *kahnah¹* *zoh³* *a³²*
POT:come:out he Mexico:City POT:come he DEC
He will come from Mexico City.

Peripheral location is infrequent. It is more common to express such a location as a locative adjunct in a separate juxtaposed sentence containing a motion or position verb.

kahanx³² *zoh³* *shumanh³* / *kahmii³²* *natax⁵* *zoh³* *a³²*
COM:go he town COM:speak publicly he DEC
He went to town; he gave a speech. *or* He gave a speech in town.

nuu² *noh³* *ra⁴* *weh³* / *otox³²* *noh³* *a³²*
CON2:be:in she inside house CON:sleep she DEC
She is in the house; she is sleeping. *or* She is sleeping in the house.

kuno³ *shkaa³²* / *taa⁵* *zhoh³* *raa³¹* *chruun³* *a³²*
COM:hear raven CON:be:on:top it:AML head wood DEC
The raven heard [it]; it was on the top of the tree. *or* The raven heard it on the top of the tree. (Fight 186)

ne¹³ *sha³na¹* *shumanh³* / *ananx⁵* *noh³* *rohno⁴* *a³²*
CON2:sit woman town CON:weave she tunic DEC
The woman is in town; she is weaving a tunic. *or* The woman is weaving a tunic in town.

The number of times an action takes place may be expressed by combining a sentence containing *zix⁵* 'to be complete' or *uun³* 'to become' and a quantifier with another sentence.

kizix⁵ *kehee¹* / *kano⁴* *shihii³¹* *man³* *zoh³* *a³²*
COM:be:complete many COM:grab sickness body his DEC
He has gotten sick many times. (lit. [It] totaled many [times that] sickness grabbed him.)

kizix^{5} *shnuh*^{2} / *chee*^{5} *yawii*^{32} *shkih*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:be:complete fifteen CON:walk month August DEC
August fifteenth arrived. (lit. August has finished walking fifteen [times].) (Fight 292)

kizix^{5} *wix*^{1} / *kihyax*^{3} *ituu*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:be:complete two COM:do stealing he DEC
He has stolen twice.

guun^{3} *kehee*^{1} / *tahyunx*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:become many COM:deceive he DEC
He has deceived [people] many times.

Two juxtaposed sentences may have a shared noun phrase that serves as a pivot between them. Only a few verbs occur in the first sentence of this construction. The most common ones are: *nawix*^{3} 'to finish', *nuwih*^{3} or *nuwih*^{3} *wax*^{2} 'to not be present', and *dax*^{32} or *dax*^{32} *wax*^{2} 'to not exist'. When the verb in the first sentence is negative, a negative sentential marker often occurs at the end of the juxtaposed construction.

nawix^{3} *weh*^{3} / *kakaa*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:finish house COM:burn DEC
The house burned up. (lit. The house finished; [it] burned.)

nawix^{3} *tuwih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *kawih*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:finish companion his COM:die DEC
His companions all died. (Deluge 18)

nuwih^{3} *wax*^{2} *zoh*^{1} / *kuchih*^{3} *mah*^{3}
CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move you:SG COM:arrive NEG
You haven't arrived. (cf. Fight 272)

nuwih^{3} *wax*^{2} *maan*^{31} / *kamanh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move rain COM:rain NEG
There wasn't any rain at all. (Openly 26)

dax^{32} *wax*^{2} *zoh*^{3} / *ne*^{3} *mah*^{3}
CON:NEG:exist CON2:move he CON:sit NEG
He wasn't home. (Fight 173)

kinawix^{3} *ichix*^{2} *kuchruu*^{31} *tanh*^{3} *yoh*^{3} / *kizhix*^{5}
COM:finish seven corncrib corn:ear that COM:be:tucked:in

shkuu^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
animal indeed PERS
Those seven corncribs [full] of ears of corn were all riddled with insects for sure. (Fight 126)

kinawix^{3} *naa*^{31} / *kirii*^{32} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:finish cornfield COM:take:out she DEC
She harvested the cornfield thoroughly. (Fight 74)

(See also 7.76 and 7.87.)

The order of elements in these sentences is identical to that in basic sentences in which the subject is modified by a relative clause, but the two constructions are different. Sentence combinations with a shared noun phrase have phrase-final pronouns and the high-tone continuative form of position verbs; while a relative clause is introduced by a non-phrase-final pronoun head and takes the low-tone continuative form of position verbs (see §5.1.2). Compare the following two sentences; the first one contains a shared noun phrase, and the second one contains a relative clause.

nuwih^{3} *noh*^{3} / *ne*^{3} *ra*^{4} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:NEG:be:present she CON:sit inside house DEC
She isn't home. (lit. She isn't there sitting in the house.)

nuwih^{3} *nii*^{5} *ne*^{13} *ra*^{4} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:NEG:be:present she CON2:sit inside house DEC
The woman who lives in the house is not there.

6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are usually expressed using conjunctions, but a few relations may be expressed using simple juxtaposition.

6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to express cause, result, condition, concession, purpose, negative purpose, time, and comparison of equality.

Cause sentences are introduced by the conjunction *shehe*^{4} *ze*^{32} 'because'; some speakers prefer the fused form *e*^{5}*ze*^{32}, and some use *shehe*^{4} *rex*^{32}, *shehe*^{4} *yan*^{32}, or *kwe*^{3}*nda*^{4} *yan*^{32} (Sp. *cuenta* 'account'). Sometimes the nominal marker *maan*^{1} 'only' precedes one of the above. Cause sentences may precede or follow the main sentence. When they precede, there is a pause at the boundary, and the main sentence is often introduced by the conjunctions *ne*^{2} 'and', *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} 'and then', or *don*^{3} or *duun*^{3} 'with the result that', or by the complex sentential marker *shehe*^{4} *dan*^{32} 'therefore'.

dax^{13} *katax*^{32} *noh*^{3} / *shehe*^{4} *ze*^{32} *nokoh*^{3} *ushra*^{4} *shex*^{32} *man*^{3}
thus COM:say she feet CMP CON:follow INTS weight body

noh^{3} *a*^{32}
her DEC
She said that because prosperity really follows her. (Fight 93)

ze^{2} *nano*^{4} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *shehe*^{4} *rex*^{32} *guun*^{4} *zoh*^{1}
NEG POT:tell inside you:SG feet place COM:become you:SG

chii^{3} *nga*^{13} *a*^{32}
man old DEC
Don't be sad because you have become an old man!

shehe^{4} *ze*^{32} *nokoh*^{1} *ndoho*^{32} *shex*^{32} *man*^{3} *noh*^{3} / *ne*^{2}
feet CMP CON2:follow INTS weight body her and

kawii^{32} *ndoho*^{32} *tanh*^{3} / *kihyax*^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:come:out INTS corn:ear COM:do she DEC
Because prosperity really follows her, she caused many ears of corn to be produced. (Fight 94)

shehe^{4} *ze*^{32} *dax*^{13} *kiranh*^{3} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} /
feet CMP thus COM:suffer the:DU he when long:ago

don^{3} *a*^{3}*ta*^{13} *naa*^{31} *ho*^{2} *runh*^{5} *tanh*^{3}
with:the:result:that CON:carry cornfield one single corn:ear

kwa^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}
right:now DEC
Because the two of them fared thus long ago, that's why corn plants bear just one ear of corn at present. (Fight 68)

shehe^{4} *ze*^{32} *ranh*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *shehe*^{4} *dan*^{32} *kahanx*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32}
feet CMP CON:suffer he feet that COM:go he face

totoo^{4} *a*^{32}
doctor DEC
Because he was sick, he went to the doctor (Sp. doctor).

The locative noun *kwe*^{3}*nda*^{4} 'account' sometimes functions as a conjunction meaning 'because'.

rahanx^{5} *yuwii*^{31} / *kwe*^{3}*nda*^{4} *niah*^{1} *ra*^{4} *yuwii*^{31} *a*^{32}
CON:dance person account colorful inside person DEC
People dance because they are happy.

The temporal adverb *yax*^{13} 'now' sometimes functions as a conjunction with the meaning 'now that' or 'given the fact that'.

me^{3} *ki*^{2}*hya-x*^{5} / *yax*^{13} *hnah*^{3} *shuchee*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which POT:do-I now CON:come hen that INT
What should I do now that the hen is coming?

Result sentences are introduced by the conjunction *don*^{3} or *duun*^{3} 'with the result that'; they always follow the main sentence.

dax^{1} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} / *don*^{3} *kahwee*^{13}
how POT:do-we:IN with:the:result:that POT:be:possible

kiri-h^{1} / *cha-h*^{2} *yax*^{13} *onx*^{32}
POT:get-we:IN POT:eat-we:IN now INT:INSISTENT
What should we do so that we will be able to get [something] to eat from now on? (i.e., what should I do . . .) (Fight 134)

man^{1} *ushra*^{4} *tanuu*^{3} *tume*^{4} *shumii*^{31} /
CON2:exist:PL INTS soldier CON:guard world

don^{3} *ahwee*^{3} *waa*^{32} *dinx*^{5} *a*^{32}
with:the:result:that CON:be:possible CON:exist calm DEC
There are a lot of soldiers who guard the world so that it can be peaceful. (Brother 153)

tyo^{3}*se*^{1} *kihyax*^{3} / *duun*^{3} *waa*^{32} *nih*^{4} *dax*^{13} *a*^{32}
god COM:do with:the:result:that CON:exist we:IN thus DEC
GOD (Sp. *Dios*) made [people] with the result that we are that way. (cf. Deluge 41)

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunction *seze*^{32} 'if' and usually have verbs in potential or continuative aspect. Condition sentences commonly precede the main sentence, which is usually introduced by *ne*^{2} 'and'.

kinax^{2} *yohoo*^{5} *riaan*^{32} *tahnii*^{5} *zoh*^{3} / *seze*^{32} *kawih*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:remain earth face child his if POT:die he DEC
His son will inherit the land if he dies. (lit. The land will stay in the presence of his son . . .)

dax^{13} *kihyax*^{13} *zoh*^{3} / *seze*^{32} *natuu*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *makaa*^{5}
thus POT:do he if POT:reenter he Mexico:City

nianx^{5} *a*^{32}
here DEC
That's what he will do if he comes back here to Mexico. (Brother 152)

kahmi-x^{2} *ga-x*^{13} / *seze*^{32} *kahna-x*^{13} *a*^{32}
POT:speak-I with-UN if POT:come-UN DEC
I will speak with him if he comes. (Fight 241)

seze^{32} *kawih*^{1} *zoh*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *kinax*^{2} *yohoo*^{5} *riaan*^{32} *tahnii*^{5}
if POT:die he and POT:remain earth face child

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
his DEC
If he dies, his son will inherit the land.

seze^{32} *tikawih*^{13} *nih*^{4} *man*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *ze*^{2} *kawih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
if POT:kill we:IN body his and NEG POT:die he NEG
If we kill him, he won't die. (Brother 145)

seze^{32} *ne*^{3} *aman*^{4} *ra*^{4} *zox*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *kahanx*^{2} / *ni*^{2}*hyax*^{32}
if NEG CON:arrive inside you:PL and POT:go POT:look

nih^{4} *raa*^{31} *kix*^{32} *a*^{32}
we:IN head mountain DEC
If you don't believe [it (what I say)], we will go look on the mountaintop. (Deluge 55)

(See also 7.24.)

A reduced condition with no subject, *seze*^{32} *dax*^{32} 'if not', sometimes occurs in appropriate discourse contexts.

seze^{32} *dax*^{32} / *ne*^{2} *kawih*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
if CON:NEG:exist and POT:die he DEC
If not, he will die.

Contrafactual condition sentences are also introduced by *seze*^{32} 'if'. They usually have verbs in completive aspect in both the condition sentence and the main sentence. They often contain the contrafactual sentential marker *zax*^{2} preceding the final sentential marker.

seze^{32} *ne*^{3} *kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *kawih*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *zax*^{2} *mah*^{3}
if NEG COM:go he and NEG COM:die he CF NEG
If he hadn't gone, he wouldn't have died.

seze^{32} *kahanx*^{32} / *kirii*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *naa*^{31} / *ne*^{2} *dox*^{13} *tsinh*^{3}
if COM:go POT:take:out he cornfield and some tiny

tanh^{3} *kirii*^{32} *mahan*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
corn:ear COM:take:out self his DEC
If he had gone to harvest the corn, he himself would have harvested VERY FEW EARS OF CORN. (Fight 87)

Concession sentences are introduced by *tah*^{1} *ze*^{32}, *ndah*^{1} *ze*^{32}, or *nikih*^{1} *ze*^{32} 'although'. They usually precede the main sentence, which is often introduced by *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} 'but'.

kawih^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *tah*^{1} *ze*^{32} *kihyax*^{3} *konoho*^{4} *totoo*^{4} *man*^{3}
COM:die he although CMP COM:do remedy doctor body

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
his DEC
He died even though the doctor treated him.

ndah^{1} *ze*^{32} *kihyax*^{3} *konoho*^{4} *totoo*^{4} *man*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2}
although CMP COM:do remedy doctor body his but and

kawih^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:die he DEC
Even though the doctor treated him, he died.

nikih^{1} *ze*^{32} *kihyax*^{3} *zuun*^{32} *zoh*^{3} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *kawii*^{2}
although CMP COM:do work he but and NEG COM:come:out

zah^{1} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
good he NEG
Even though he worked, he wasn't successful.

Purpose sentences are sometimes introduced by the non-phrase-final locative pronouns *rex*^{32} and *yan*^{32}, both of which mean 'place', but which function as conjunctions meaning 'in order that' in this construction. Purpose sentences usually follow the main sentence, and their verb must be in potential aspect.

kiranx^{5} *zoh*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *riah*^{1} / *yan*^{32} *tikawih*^{13} *zoh*^{3}
COM:buy he wood CON:shoot place POT:kill he

yuwii^{31} *a*^{32}
person DEC
He bought a rifle in order to kill people.

Negative purpose sentences are often introduced by *ze*^{2} *gaa*^{32} *nanx*^{13} 'lest' or, in commands, by *seze*^{32} 'if', here used to mean 'or else'. They must follow the main sentence, and their verb must be in potential aspect.

ne^{3} *kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{3} / *ze*^{2} *gaa*^{32} *nanx*^{13} *tikawih*^{13} *nii*^{3} *man*^{3}
NEG COM:go he NEG POT:exist thus POT:kill they body

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
his DEC
He didn't go lest they kill him.

ra^{2}*kwix*^{5} *zoh*^{1} *man-x*^{3} / *seze*^{32} *tika*^{2}*wi-x*^{3} *man*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
POT:help you:SG body-my if POT:kill-I body your:SG DEC
Help me, or else I'll kill you!

(See also 7.32, 7.41, and 7.51.)

Time sentences are introduced by the conjunctions *gaa*^{13} 'when', *a*^{3}*zah*^{1} 'when (in the future)', *azix*^{2} 'since', and *ndaa*^{13} or *ndaa*^{13} *ze*^{32} 'until' or 'since'. They may either precede or follow the main sentence. When they precede, the main sentence is usually introduced by *ne*^{2} 'and' or *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} 'and then'. *a*^{3}*zah*^{1} usually introduces a sentence with its verb in completive aspect, and the meaning is often future perfect.

With *gaa*^{13}:

kuman^{4} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *raa*^{31} *kix*^{32} *yoh*^{3} / *gaa*^{13} *kahnah*^{3}
COM:exist:PL the:PL he head mountain that when COM:come

na^{32} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
water that DEC
They were all on the top of that mountain when that (flood) water came. (Deluge 50)

ho^{2} *tya*^{3}*mbo*^{4} *kinakoo*^{31} *nuh*^{1} *yohoo*^{5} / *gaa*^{13} *kahanx*^{32}
one long:time COM:dry complete earth when COM:go

maan^{31} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
rain indeed PERS
The earth dried up completely FOR A LONG TIME (Sp. *tiempo* 'time') when the rain went away for sure. (Openly 27)

kahanx^{32} *nga*^{3} *kahax*^{32} *chraa*^{5} / *gaa*^{13} *gaa*^{32} *rmih*^{2}
COM:go old:woman Ca'aj river when COM:exist dark

shumii^{31} *a*^{32}
world DEC
Old woman *Ca'aj* went to the river when the world was dark. (Sun 1:1)

kawii^{32} *ndoho*^{32} *tanh*^{3} / *kihyax*^{3} *noh*^{3} / *gaa*^{13}
COM:come:out INTS corn:ear COM:do she when

kirii^{32} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:take:out she DEC
She caused a lot of ears of corn to be produced when she harvested [them]. (Fight 93)

gaa^{13} *ne*^{3} *kenehe*^{13} *shkaa*^{32} / *ne*^{2} *kanikunh*^{3}
when NEG COM:sense raven and COM:stand

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
grandmother-our:IN that DEC
When the raven didn't see [it (her coming)], that grandmother of ours stopped. (Sun 2:27)

(See also 7.57.)

With *a*^{3}*zah*^{1}:

a^{3}*zah*^{1} *hna-x*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *kagwax*^{2} *zoh*^{1} / *kuno*^{13}
when CON:come-UN and POT:cry:out you:SG POT:hear

nih^{4} *a*^{4}
WE:IN PERS
When she will be coming, then cry out so that we can hear [it]! (cf. Sun 3:98)

a^{3}*zah*^{1} *kahanx*^{32} *yuun*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *ne*^{2} *ni*^{2}*kax*^{32} *zoh*^{1} *ho*^{2}
when COM:go another:time you:SG and POT:have you:SG one

runh^{5} *tanh*^{3} / *kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
single corn:ear POT:go you:SG DEC
When you go again, you will take just one ear of corn. (Fight 167)

a³zah¹ kahanx³² yuun⁴ zoh¹ / ne² rke-x² yoho⁴
when COM:go another:time you:SG and POT:give-I another

ra³zuun² / ni²kax³² zoh¹ / kahanx² zoh¹ a³²
thing POT:have you:SG POT:go you:SG DEC
When you go again, I will give you something else to take. (Fight 191)

With *azix²*:

ho² nano⁴ ra⁴ zoh³ / azix² kawih³ ni³ka² zoh³ a³²
one CON:tell inside he since COM:die spouse his DEC
He has been sad continually since his wife died.

azix² kawih³ ni³ka² zoh³ / ne² ho² nano⁴ ra⁴ zoh³ a³²
since COM:die spouse his and one CON:tell inside he DEC
Since his wife died, he has been sad continually.

With *ndaa¹³*:

ne³ na²nuu³² ra⁴ shu³kwa²han-h⁴ / ndaa¹³
NEG COM:get:dressed inside grandmother-our:IN until

ti³gwanx³² kahnah³ a³²
squirrel:cuckoo COM:come DEC
Our grandmother didn't wake up until THE SQUIRREL CUCKOO came. (Sun 2:116)

ndaa¹³ guun¹³ raan¹ / kuchi-x¹ adonx²
until COM:become delayed POT:arrive-I certainly
After a long time has passed, I will certainly arrive. (Fight 275)

With *ndaa¹³ ze³²*:

wee⁴ dax¹³ waa³² / ndaa¹³ ze³² kawih³ zoh³ a³²
AFF thus CON:exist until CMP COM:die he DEC
In that way [it] has been since he died. (Brother 182)

na³hwix¹ ndoho³² zoh³ / ndaa¹³ ze³² naman¹ rex³
CON:wait INTS he until CMP POT:arrive:home:here father

zoh³ a³²
his DEC
He is waiting a lot until his father returns home.

ndaa^{13} *ze*^{32} *naman*^{1} *rex*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *na*^{3}*hwix*^{1}
until CMP POT:arrive:home:here father his and CON:wait

ndoho^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
INTS he DEC
Until his father returns home, he is waiting a lot.

Immediate temporal sequence may be signaled by a correlative use of the general quantifier *nuh*^{1} 'complete' at the beginning of each part; the subordinate sentence comes first.

nuh^{1} *kahnah*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *nuh*^{1} *kahanx*^{32} *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
complete COM:come he complete COM:go spouse his DEC
As soon as he came, his wife went away.

Comparison of equality sentences that precede the main sentence are usually introduced by the conjunctions *dax*^{1} *ze*^{32} or *aze*^{32} 'as'. The comparison sentence often ends with the topic marker *roh*^{3}, and the main sentence is usually introduced by the general adverb *dax*^{13} 'thus' or the complex sentential marker *dax*^{13} *inanx*^{2} 'likewise'. The same verb must occur in the comparative sentence as in the main sentence. Comparison is frequently expressed by stative sentences with *waa*^{32} 'to exist'.

dax^{1} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *ruhwee*^{32} / *waa*^{32} *tuhwii*^{3} *gaa*^{13}
how CMP CON:exist rich:person CON:exist thunder when

naa^{4} *a*^{32}
long:ago DEC
As a rich person is, the thunder was long ago. (Openly 2)

dax^{1} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *shkwaa*^{3} / *waa*^{32} *nih*^{4} *riaan*^{32}
how CMP CON:exist ant CON:exist we:IN face

zhi-h^{4} *a*^{32}
grandfather-our:IN DEC
As ants are, we are to our grandfather. (Brother 40)

dax^{1} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *roh*^{3} / *waa*^{32}
how CMP CON:exist spouse his TOPIC CON:exist

shee^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
spouse's:younger:relative his DEC
As his wife was, his sister-in-law was. (Fight 311)

(See also 7.19.)

Sometimes comparison is expressed by content verbs, but they are often very generic.

dax^{1} *ze*^{32} *hyax*^{3} *shnii*^{3} *uun*^{3} *yaan*^{2} *riaan*^{32} *tuwih*^{3}
how CMP CON:do boy CON:become first face companion

roh^{3} / *dax*^{13} *kihyax*^{3} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
TOPIC thus COM:do the:DU he DEC
As boys do who get ahead of [their] friends, thus they did. (Brother 109)

Sometimes a juxtaposed sentence expressing an action is added to a comparison based on a stative sentence.

dax^{1} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *zii*^{5} *katux*^{5} *ta*^{3}*gah*^{3} / *waa*^{32} *zoh*^{3} /
how CMP CON:exist he COM:enter jail CON:exist he

katux^{5} *zoh*^{3} *rke*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:enter he stomach wood DEC
He was like a person that went to jail is in that he went into the tree. (Openly 22)

dax^{1} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} / *shee*^{5} *zoh*^{3}
how CMP CON:exist woman spouse's:younger:relative his

roh^{3} / *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32} *kox*^{32} *shnee*^{4} / *nakutax*^{5}
TOPIC thus CON:exist plant bean:plant CON:wrap:around

yoh^{3} *katuun*^{31} *chruun*^{3} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}
it:INAN waist wood right:now DEC
As the woman, his wife's younger sister, was, that's how the bean plant is; it wraps around the pole at the present time. (Fight 321)

When the comparison is expressed by a content verb, the conjunction is often followed by *waa*^{32} 'to exist', and the adverb *dax*^{13} 'thus' at the beginning of the main sentence may also be followed by *waa*^{32}.

dax^{1} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *kawih*^{3} *rex*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *roh*^{3} / *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32}
how CMP CON:exist COM:die father his TOPIC thus CON:exist

kawih^{3} *mahan*^{13} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:die self 'his DEC
As it is [the case that] his father died, thus it is [the case that] he himself died.

In the following sentence, there are three comparisons, which are linked together by repeating *dax*^{1} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} before each one and also following the last.

dax^{1} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *tahnax*^{32} / *dax*^{1} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *shuwee*^{3} / *dax*^{1}
how CMP CON:exist ghost how CMP CON:exist dog how

ze^{32} *waa*^{32} *shuchee*^{32} / *dax*^{32} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} / *waa*^{32}
CMP CON:exist hen how CMP CON:exist CON:exist

zoh^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
he indeed PERS
As a ghost is, as a dog is, as a hen is, he is for sure. (cf. Brother 143)

Comparison of equality sentences may also follow the main sentence, in which case they may be introduced by the complex conjunctions *ase*^{32} *waa*^{32} or *ndaa*^{13} *waa*^{32} 'as'.

natux^{5} *zah*^{1} *nehex*^{3} *ruzhaan*^{3} / *ase*^{32} *waa*^{32}
COM:reenter good baby cradle as CON:exist

kahnii-^{3} *man*^{3} *nehex*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:put:in-UN body baby that DEC
The babies got back in the cradle as she had put those babies in [it]. (Sun 3:99)

kihyax^{3} *zoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} / *ndaa*^{13} *waa*^{32} *kihyax*^{3} *rex*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:do he house until CON:exist COM:do father his DEC
He built the house just as his father did.

Comparison of degree is usually expressed within a single sentence by a referent adjunct (see §1.1.4).

More than one subordinate sentence may occur within a single full sentence. The following example contains both a cause sentence and a comparison sentence, which itself contains a subordinate time sentence, preceding the main sentence.

tsax^{2} *ne*^{2} *shehe*^{4} *ze*^{32} *narii*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *ze*^{32} *tuhwa*^{3}
but and feet CMP COM:take:out:again it:AML it:INAN COM:talk

tuhwii^{3} *chii*^{13} / *ne*^{2} *dax*^{1} *ze*^{32} *tuhwa*^{3} *tuhwii*^{3} *chii*^{13} /
thunder male and how CMP COM:talk thunder male

gaa^{13} *cha*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *yume*^{32} *roh*^{3} / *dax*^{13} *tuhwa*^{3} *gee*^{1}
when COM:eat he tuber TOPIC thus CON:talk whole

zhoh^{3} *nuh*^{1} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}
it:AML complete right:now DEC
But because it imitated the way the male thunder (god) spoke, and as the male thunder (god) spoke when he ate the tubers, that's exactly how it speaks right up to the present. (Fight 234)

6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions. The subordinate relation most frequently expressed by simple juxtaposition is purpose. Purpose sentences follow the main sentence, and their verb must be in potential aspect. The subjects of the two sentences may be coreferential or noncoreferential.

With coreferential subjects:

kahanx^{32} *zoh*^{3} *shumanh*^{3} / *kiraan*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *hnuu*^{5} *a*^{32}
COM:go he town POT:buy he corn DEC
He went to town to buy corn.

cha^{2} *gwaa*^{4} *chraa*^{3} / *kinarih*^{1} *nukwax*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:eat John tortilla POT:find strength he DEC
John will eat tortillas in order to be strong.

tuhwex^{5} *zoh*^{3} *yuhwex*^{32} / *kihyax*^{13} *kanaan*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *sahanx*^{32} *a*^{32}
CON:sell he thread POT:do gain he money DEC
He sells thread in order to earn (Sp. *ganar*) money.

dax^{1} *kihyax*^{13} *nih*^{4} / *kirih*^{1} *nih*^{4} *ga*^{2}
how POT:do we:IN POT:get we:IN INT
What should we do to get [it (the deer)]? (cf. Sun 2:40)

kiri-h^{1} / *cha-h*^{2} *a*^{32}
POT:get-we:IN POT:eat-we:IN DEC
We will get [something] to eat. (Fight 134)

With noncoreferential subjects:

me^{3} *kihyax*^{13} *nih*^{4} / *kawih*^{1} *shkuu*^{3} *ga*^{2}
which POT:do we:IN POT:die animal INT
What should we do in order that the animal will die? (cf. Sun 2:69)

guun^{13} *nukwax*^{13} *kuchruu*^{31} *tanh*^{3} *yoh*^{3} / *cha*^{2}
POT:become strong corncrib corn:ear that POT:eat

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
he DEC
Those corncribs [full] of ears of corn will be enough for him to eat. (cf. Fight 120)

kahneh^{3} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *zuun*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *neko*^{4} / *kahanx*^{2} *shkax*^{2}
COM:cut the:DU he work face opossum POT:go POT:get

zoh^{3} *yahan*^{32} *a*^{32}
he fire DEC
The two of them gave orders to the opossum to go get fire. (Sun 4:7)

In the text in chapter 7 there are three examples of a purpose sentence following the idiomatic expression *dax*^{32} *ze*^{32} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} 'there is nothing that can be done': 7.36, 7.48, and 7.56.

In the following sentence, a single noun in focus position serves as a locative adjunct in the main sentence and as the object of the purpose sentence.

weh^{3} *ka*^{2}*ne*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *tu*^{2}*me*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{4}
house POT:sit you:SG POT:guard you:SG PERS
You sit IN THE HOUSE to guard [it]! (cf. Fight 71)

When the verb of the first sentence is either *hanx*^{32} 'to go' or *hnah*^{3} 'to come', its subject may be unexpressed if nothing intervenes between the motion verb and the verb of the purpose sentence.

kahnah^{3} / *kachraa*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *kii*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:come POT:sing he yesterday DEC
He came to sing yesterday.

kahanx^{32} / *ni*^{2}*hyax*^{32} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:go POT:look man DEC
The man went to look. (Fight 55)

sha^{3}*na*^{1} *kahanx*^{32} / *kirii*^{2} *naa*^{31} *a*^{32}
woman COM:go POT:take:out cornfield DEC
THE WOMAN went to harvest the cornfield. (Fight 52)

nii^{31} *kahanx*^{32} / *kenehen*^{13} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} /
night COM:go POT:sense the:DU he grandmother-our:IN

kahax^{32} *a*^{32}
Ca'aj DEC
AT NIGHT the two of them went to see our grandmother *Ca'aj*. (Sun 4:44)

Juxtaposition is used to express the day of the month. An idiom which contains a numeral expressing preverbal manner, the verb *chee*^{5} 'to walk', and the name of a month usually precedes the main sentence.

wix^{1} *chee*^{5} *yawii*^{32} *ka*^{3}*yahanx*^{32} / *kahanx*^{32} *zoh*^{3}
two CON:walk month January COM:go he

makaa^{5} *a*^{32}
Mexico:City DEC
On January second he went to Mexico City.

shnuh^{2} *chee*^{5} *yawii*^{32} *shkih*^{4} / *kuchi-x*^{1} *a*^{32}
fifteen CON:walk month August POT:arrive-I DEC
On August fifteenth I will arrive. (Fight 286)

kawih^{3} *noh*^{3} / *shnuh*^{2} *chee*^{5} *yawii*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:die she fifteen CON:walk month DEC
She died on the fifteenth of the month.

Various other subordinate relations are occasionally expressed by means of juxtaposition when the relation is clear from the context. If the first part contains an interrogative element, an interrogative sentential marker occurs at the end; and if the first part contains a negative element, a negative sentential marker may occur at the end.

guun^{3} *niah*^{1} *ra*^{4} *shtax*^{3} / *kahngaa*^{32} *nehex*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:become colorful inside deer COM:be:born baby DEC
The deer became very happy [because] the babies were born. (Sun 2:19)

kahmaan^{3} *ndoho*^{32} *ra*^{4} *noh*^{3} / *kawih*^{3} *rex*^{3} *noh*^{3}
COM:get:hot INTS inside she COM:die father her

nanx^{1} *a*^{4}
indeed PERS
She became very angry [because] her father died for sure. (Fight 32)

me^{3} *ze*^{32} *achiin*^{3} *man*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *hnah*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *ga*^{2}
which it:INAN CON:lack body your:SG CON:come you:SG INT
What do you need [so that] you come? (lit. What is lacking to you . . . ?) (cf. Deluge 25)

ne^{3} *wex*^{5} *nih*^{4} / *nuwee*^{4} *rex*^{13} *nih*^{4} *me*^{3}
NEG CON:jump we:IN NEG father our:IN CON:be

yoh^{3} *shtonx*^{32}
that AGREEMENT
We don't jump, [and so] that [one] is clearly not our father. (Sun 3:129)

kushuman^{4} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{3} / *kahmii*^{32} *tinuu*^{5} *zoh*^{3} / *zii*^{5}
COM:arrive inside he COM:speak brother:ME his he

kunix^{13} *a*^{32}
young DEC
He believed [it when] his brother, the young one, spoke. (Brother 102)

ne^{3} *katah*^{1} *shrex*^{1} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} / *kahmii*^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *mah*^{3}
NEG COM:be:put:down by:ear man COM:speak woman NEG
The man didn't pay attention [when] the woman spoke. (Fight 80)

It would be possible to analyze some of these examples as sentences containing an object complement (see §1.1.9).

6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations consist of three parts: the quotation itself, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences or fragments. The closer is also obligatory and sometimes includes only *tax*^{32} 'to say' plus a subject and a final sentential marker. The verb *tax*^{32} is usually in continuative aspect.

Sometimes quotations do not contain a sentential marker.

kirih^{1} *hunx*^{1} *sahanx*^{32} / *tax*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
POT:get I money CON:say John DEC
"I'll get money," said John.

kahwee^{13} / *tax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:be:possible CON:say he DEC
"All right," he said. (Fight 50, Brother 125)

(See also 7.10 and 7.82.)

It is also possible to use a sentential marker.

kahwee^{13} *a*^{32} / *tax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:be:possible DEC CON:say he DEC
"All right," he said. (Brother 83)

kahna-x^{3} *a*^{4} / *tax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:come-I PERS CON:say he DEC
"I came for sure," he said. (Brother 81)

me^{3} *shehe*^{4} *me*^{3} *hyax*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *dax*^{13} *ga*^{2} / *tax*^{32} *zii*^{5}
which feet CON:be CON:do he thus INT CON:say he

kunix^{13} *dox*^{3} *a*^{32}
young more DEC
"Why is [it that] he acts that way?" said the younger one. (Brother 70)

(See also 7.16, 7.61, and 7.101.)

Many sentences have a vocative, rather than a sentential marker.

kahnah^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *'ti*^{3}*nux*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *tinuu*^{5}
COM:come you:SG brother:ME CON:say brother:ME

zhi-h^{4} *a*^{32}
grandfather-our:IN DEC
"You came, Brother," our grandfather's brother said. (cf. Brother 80)

nehe^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *'a*^{3}*tax*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON:sense you:SG papa CON:say John DEC
"You know, Papa (Sp. *tata*)," said John.

(See also 7.6, 7.8, 7.9, 7.15, 7.29, 7.30, and various others.)

It is also possible to have both a marker and a vocative.

ze^{2} *nano*^{4} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *man*^{32} *'na*^{3}*iin*^{32} / *tax*^{32} *rox*^{1}
NEG POT:tell inside you:SG NEG mama CON:say the:DU

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
he DEC
"Don't be sad, Mama!" the two of them said. (Sun 2:31)

Sometimes another verb of speech is combined with *tax*^{32} by means of a sentence combination (see §6.1.2). The expression 'to speak a lot', which occurs in two of the examples, connotes anger.

me^{3} *rex*^{32} *karaa*^{13} *nih*^{4} *tanh*^{3} *ga*^{2} / *tax*^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} /
which place POT:put:in we:IN corn:ear INT CON:say woman

kachiin^{5} *nahanx*^{2} *noh*^{3} *tuhwa*^{3} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:ask wordlike she mouth man DEC
"Where will we store the ears of corn?" the woman said; she inquired of the man. (Fight 76)

me^{3} *shehe*^{4} *me*^{3} *cha*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *niax*^{32} / *tax*^{32} *nga*^{3}
which feet CON:be CON:eat you:SG hominy CON:say old:woman

kahax^{32} / *kahmii*^{32} *tihunh*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *shkwax*^{32} *a*^{32}
Ca'aj COM:speak INTS that face fish DEC
"Why is [it that] you are eating the hominy?" the old woman *Ca'aj* said; that [one] spoke a lot to the fish. (Sun 3:73)

me^{3} *shehe*^{4} *kuchrux*^{32} *uun*^{4} *zoh*^{1} *nehex*^{3} *ga*^{2} / *tax*^{32} *chii*^{3}
which feet COM:lay REP you:SG baby INT CON:say man

tahnix^{1} / *ahmii*^{32} *ushra*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
child:related CON:speak INTS that DEC
"Why did you also give birth to babies?" said the father; that [one] spoke a lot. (cf. Sun 3:18)

(See also 7.15 and 7.98.)

Quotations with two or more complete sentences are infrequent because speakers prefer to break up long quotations by including a quotation closer after every sentence of reported speech. This can be seen in the text in chapter 7 in 7.23 and 7.24, and also in 7.80, 7.81, and 7.82. Quotations that are two sentences long are found in 7.60–61 and 7.100–101.

The addressee may be expressed by a locative adjunct (see §1.1.4) or by a sentence combination containing *uno*^{3} or *no*^{3} 'to hear' (see §6.1.2).

With a locative adjunct:

kahwee^{13} / *tax*^{32} *wichix*^{32} *riaan*^{32} *shnii*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:be:possible CON:say old:woman face boy DEC
"All right," the old woman said to the boy.

yahan^{32} *ra*^{4} *a*^{32} / *tax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *ni*^{3}*ka*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
fire CON:think DEC CON:say he face spouse his DEC
"THE FIRE thought [of it]," he said to his wife. (i.e., it was the fire's idea) (Fight 36)

(See also 7.6, 7.9, 7.10, 7.16, 7.32, and various others.)

With a sentence combination containing *no*^{3}:

kahwee^{13} / *tax*^{32} *noh*^{3} / *no*^{3} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:be:possible CON:say she CON:hear the:PL he DEC
"All right," she said to them.

ndaa^{13} *man*^{32} *kani*^{2}*kunh*^{4} *zoh*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *tuhwii*^{3} / *no*^{3}
until there POT:stand you:SG CON:say thunder CON:hear

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
he DEC
"Stand OVER THERE!" the thunder said to him. (cf. Openly 77)

(See also 7.29, 7.67, and 7.68.)

The verb *ra*^{4} 'to think' occurs in direct quotations, as well as in indirect quotations (see §1.1.9).

dax^{1} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} / *don*^{3} *kahwee*^{13}
how POT:do-we:IN with:the:result:that POT:be:possible

kiri-h^{1} / *cha-h*^{2} *yax*^{13} *onx*^{32} / *ra*^{4}
POT:get-we:IN POT:eat-we:IN now INT:INSISTENT CON:think

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
he DEC
"What should we do so that we will be able to get [something] to eat from now on?" he thought. (i.e., what should I do . . .)
(Fight 134)

Further examples of direct quotations with *ra*^{4} are found in 7.23, 7.24, and 7.26; and some examples of indirect quotations with *ra*^{4} are found in 7.17, 7.54, and 7.92. In 7.15 and 7.61, an indirect quotation with *ra*^{4} is embedded in a direct quotation with *tax*^{32}.

Quotation introducers are optional and infrequent for many speakers. Sometimes a quotation opener consists solely of a conjunction, an initial sentential marker (see §6.4), or both.

ne^{2} / *nu*^{2}*wi-x*^{5} / *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} / *tax*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
and CON:be:cold-I grandmother-our:IN CON:say it:AML DEC
And, "I'm cold, Grandmother," it said. (Sun 2:51)

gaa^{13} *ne*^{2} / *nuwee*^{4} *re-h*^{4} *me*^{3} *mah*^{3} / *tax*^{32}
when and NEG father-our:IN CON:be NEG CON:say

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
he DEC
And then, "[It] is not our father," he said. (Sun 2:38)

gaa^{13} *ne*^{2} / *me*^{3} *kihyax*^{13} *nih*^{4} *ga*^{2} *yoh*^{3} *yax*^{13} *onx*^{32} /
when and which POT:do we:IN with that now INT:INSISTENT

tax^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:say woman that DEC
And then, "What should we do with those [ones (the babies)] now?" that woman said. (Sun 3:53)

dan^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} / *kinax*^{5} *tuwih*^{3} *nih*^{4} *a*^{32} / *tax*^{32}
that CON:be CMP COM:remain companion our:IN DEC CON:say

zoh^{3} *a*^{32}
he DEC
And then, "Our companions remained," he said. (Deluge 20)

ne^{2} *ndaa*^{13} *nanx*^{13} / *ze*^{2} *guun*^{3} / *seze*^{32} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1}
and until thus NEG POT:become if woman

n-ahwex^{32} *mah*^{3} / *tax*^{32} *mahan*^{13} *zii*^{5} *tahnix*^{1}
NEG-CON:be:willing NEG CON:say self he child:related

yoh^{3} *rah*^{2}
that QUOTATIVE
And this also, "[It] will not happen if THE WOMAN doesn't want to," said the parent of that [one], they say. (cf. Sun 3:8)

(See also 7.8, 7.23, and 7.41.)

Sometimes a quotation introducer is a sentence containing a verb of speech. Such a sentence may lack a direct object, which is logically supplied by the quotation itself, as seen in 7.5–6 and 7.38–39, or it may contain an object, as seen in 7.50–51.

6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

One important way in which a sentence is related to its discourse context is by the use of certain linking expressions in sentence-initial position. These expressions include certain coordinate conjunctions and initial sentential markers.

The conjunctions that link full sentences are *ne*^{2} 'and', *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} 'and then', and *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} 'but'.

With *ne²*:

kahaan-³ ra⁴ chraa⁵ / kahaan-³ a³² // ne² nuu³²
COM:go-UN inside river COM:go-UN DEC and CON:be:in

shkwax³² yoh³ ra⁴ na³² a³²
fish that inside water DEC
She went to the river; she went. And those fish were in the water. (Sun 1:2–3)

yoho² zoh³ roh³ / guun³ yaan² ushra⁴ a³² // ne²
one he TOPIC COM:become first INTS DEC and

yoho⁴ zoh³ kinax⁵ shko¹ a³²
another he COM:remain beyond DEC
As for one of them, [he] got way ahead. And THE OTHER ONE stayed behind. (Brother 106–107)

(See also 7.83–84 and 7.93–94.)

With *gaa¹³ ne²*:

dan³² me³ ze³² katux⁵ zoh³ ra⁴ weh³ a³² // gaa¹³ ne²
that CON:be CMP COM:enter he inside house DEC when and

tanix³² zoh³ nanx³ yume³² / kuchrux³² zoh³ ra⁴
COM:lower he net:bag tuber COM:lay he inside

weh³ a³²
house DEC
And then he entered the house. And then he lowered the net bag [full] of tubers; he laid [it] in the house. (Fight 209–210)

maan¹ dan³² kunuu¹³ ihnah¹ uun⁴ nanx¹ a⁴ // gaa¹³
only that POT:become:again alive REP indeed PERS when

ne² guun¹³ kehee¹ ndoho³² nix³ zoh³ nanx¹ a⁴ //
and POT:become many INTS the:PL he indeed PERS

gaa¹³ ne² nawix¹³ yuwii³¹ / cha² nix³ zoh³ nanx¹ a⁴
when and POT:finish person POT:eat the:PL he indeed PERS
ONLY THAT will come back to life again for sure. And then they will multiply a lot for sure. And then they will eat people all up for sure. (Brother 149–151)

(See also 7.7–8, 7.24–25, 7.27–28, 7.63–64, 7.70–71, 7.71–72, and various others.)

With *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2}:

kahmii^{32} *zoh*^{3} *ga*^{2} *tanh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4} // *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3}
COM:speak he with corn:ear indeed PERS but and NEG

cha^{2} *zoh*^{3} *tanh*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
COM:eat he corn:ear that NEG
He spoke with the ear of corn for sure. But he didn't eat that ear of corn. (Fight 182–83)

nawix^{3} *tuwih*^{3} *zoh*^{3} / *kawih*^{3} / *tax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32} //
COM:finish companion his COM:die CON:say he DEC

tsax^{2} *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *ho*^{2} *runh*^{5} *weh*^{3} *ta*^{3}*nuu*^{2} *taa*^{3} *a*^{32}
but and CON:sit one single house middle plain DEC
He said HIS COMPANIONS HAD ALL DIED. But one solitary house was in the middle of the plain. (Deluge 18–19)

(See also 7.11–12, 7.19–20, 7.60–61, 7.64–65, 7.68–69, 7.92–93, and 7.100–101.)

Note that there is a final sentential marker for each sentence of these two-sentence sequences. This fact distinguishes them from the constructions described in §6.1.1, which have only a single marker at the end.

Discourse linkage is also provided by a set of sentence-initial sentential markers.

The markers *dax*^{13} *inanx*^{2} 'likewise', and *ndaa*^{13} *nanx*^{13} or *tananx*^{13} 'in addition' or 'on the other hand' are used in expository discourse to introduce additional information.

yoo^{13} *unanx*^{5} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32} // *dax*^{13} *inanx*^{2} *yoo*^{13} *unanx*^{5} *tahnii*^{5}
fast CON:run John DEC thus just fast CON:run child

zoh^{3} *uun*^{4} *a*^{32}
his REP DEC
John runs fast. Likewise, his son runs fast too.

n-ahwex^{32} *zoh*^{3} *kahanx*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3} // *tananx*^{13}
NEG-CON:be:willing he POT:go he NEG in:addition

n-ahwex^{32} *zoh*^{3} *kinax*^{2} *zoh*^{3} *uun*^{4} *a*^{32}
NEG-CON:be:willing he POT:remain he REP DEC
He doesn't want to go. On the other hand, he doesn't want to stay, either.

nano-x^{3} *yanx*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *kachen*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *yanx*^{3} *a*^{32} // *ndaa*^{13}
COM:look:for-UN paper and COM:pass that paper DEC until

nanx^{13} *yoho*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *nanoh*^{3} *chruun*^{3} *a*^{32}
thus another that COM:look:for wood DEC
He looked for bark fiber, and that [one] twisted it. In addition, THE OTHER OF THOSE [ones] looked for wood. (cf. Sun 3:144–45)

The marker *maan*^{1} *ze*^{32} 'only' or 'it's only that' introduces some new fact of lesser magnitude. It often follows a negative.

ne^{3} *uhyah*^{3} *rke*^{3} *nehex*^{3} *mah*^{3} // *maan*^{1} *ze*^{32}
NEG CON:have:diarrhea stomach baby NEG only CMP

wehee^{31} *rke*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:hurt stomach his DEC
The baby doesn't have diarrhea. It's only that his stomach aches.

ne^{3} *kawih*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3} // *maan*^{1} *ze*^{32} *kinahax*^{5}
NEG COM:die he NEG only CMP COM:become:weak

ndoho^{32} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
INTS he DEC
John didn't die. He only got very weak.

(See also 7.75–76.)

The marker *taa*^{5} *ze*^{32} 'let me suggest that' introduces a suggestion or proposal.

ne^{2} *nehex*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *naman*^{4} *uun*^{4} *weh*^{3} *rah*^{2} //
and baby that COM:arrive:home:here REP house QUOTATIVE

ne^{2} / *taa*^{5} *ze*^{32} *ni*^{2}*hyax*^{32} *zoh*^{1} *nokoh*^{3}
and CON:be:on:top CMP POT:look you:SG CON:follow

kanee^{32} / *ne*^{2} *shkax*^{2} *zoh*^{1} / *ta*^{2}*nix*^{32} *zoh*^{1} *a*^{32}
landslide and POT:take you:SG POT:lower you:SG DEC
And THOSE BABIES came back home, they say. And, "Let me suggest that you observe [that] there is a landslide, and take [them and] drop [them there]. (lit. . . . a landslide is hanging . . .) (Sun 3:47–48)

The marker *ho*^{2} *ze*^{32} 'consider that' introduces supporting evidence.

zii^{5} *yahaan*^{13} *ra*^{4} *me*^{3} *gwaa*^{4} *a*^{32} // *ho*^{2} *ze*^{32} *ax*^{1}
he hot inside CON:be John DEC one CMP already

tikawih^{3} *zoh*^{3} *kahanx*^{13} *yuwii*^{31} *a*^{32}
COM:kill he four person DEC
John is a hothead. Consider that he has already killed four people.

The markers *shehe*^{4} *dan*^{32} and *shehe*^{4} *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} 'therefore' express a causal relation between a sentence and the previous context.

nuwih^{3} *wax*^{2} *tahngah*^{3} *shex*^{32} / *nokoh*^{3} *man*^{3}
CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move measure weight CON:follow body

zoh^{3} *mah*^{3} // *shehe*^{4} *dan*^{32} *tax*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *dox*^{13} *tsinh*^{3} *tanh*^{3}
his NEG feet that CON:say he some tiny corn:ear

kawii^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:come:out DEC
There wasn't much prosperity that followed him. Therefore he said [that] VERY FEW EARS OF CORN were produced. (Fight 88–89)

ne^{2} / *ze*^{2} *cha-h*^{4} *nee*^{31} *ni*^{3}*ka-h*^{2} / *tax*^{32} *ri*^{3}*kix*^{13}
and NEG POT:eat-we:IN flesh spouse-our:IN CON:say frog

yaa^{32} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32} // *shehe*^{4} *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *kahmii*^{32} *rahngah*^{3}
tongue that DEC feet that CON:be COM:speak snare

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*an-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *shehe*^{4} *ri*^{3}*kix*^{13} *yaa*^{32} *adonx*^{2} //
grandmother-our:IN that feet frog tongue certainly

shehe^{4} *dan*^{32} *cha*^{4} *nih*^{4} *ri*^{3}*kix*^{13} *yaa*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *kwanh*^{3} *a*^{32}
feet that CON:eat we:IN frog tongue that today DEC
And, "We shouldn't eat the meat of our spouse," said those leopard frogs. Therefore that grandmother of ours certainly spoke a curse about the leopard frog. Therefore we eat those leopard frogs today. (Sun 2:62–64)

There are also a number of markers used commonly to mark sequence in narrative; some common ones are: *zix*^{5} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2}, *ndaa*^{13} *zix*^{5} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2}, *yoh*^{3} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{3}, or *dan*^{32} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} 'and after that'; *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2} 'and in addition to that', 'and after that', or 'and as a result of that'; *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32}, *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13}, or *nanx*^{13} *waa*^{32} 'in that way' or 'and so it is that'; and *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} or *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} 'and then', 'it happened that', or 'and so it is that'. *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} and *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} usually indicate larger breaks in narrative discourse than the other markers; they are often used to signal a return to the eventline after a digression by the narrator.

With *zix*^{5} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2}:

nuh^{1} *stanh*^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} / *nuh*^{1} *stanh*^{3} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32}
complete POS:corn:ear woman complete POS:corn:ear man

nakihyax^{3} *chreh*^{2} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32} // *zix*^{5}
COM:remake compact the:DU he DEC CON:be:complete

gaa^{13} *ne*^{2} *kuchrah*^{3} *tahax*^{2} *rox*^{1} *zoh*^{3} *tanh*^{3} *a*^{32}
when and COM:split part the:DU he corn:ear DEC
The two of them gathered together ALL OF THE WOMAN'S EARS OF CORN [and] ALL OF THE MAN'S EARS OF CORN. And after that the two of them divided up the ears of corn. (Openly 11–12)

With *dan*^{32} *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2}:

ne^{3} *kano*^{1} *zah*^{1} *yahan*^{32} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *tukwahanx*^{32} *uun*^{4}
NEG COM:grab good fire but and COM:cause:to:go REP

yoh^{3} / *ne*^{2} *kano*^{4} *zah*^{1} *yahan*^{32} *adonx*^{2} // *dan*^{32} *gaa*^{13}
that and COM:grab good fire certainly that when

ne^{2} *yuun*^{1} *shehe*^{1} *kirii*^{32} *yoh*^{3} / *kunanx*^{5} *ushra*^{4} *yoh*^{3} /
and once based COM:take:out that COM:run INTS that

kahanx^{32} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:go that DEC
The fire didn't catch well, but that [one] put [it (its tail)] back in, and the fire certainly caught well. And after that that [one] took [it] out FOR GOOD; that [one] ran very fast; that [one] went away.
(Sun 3:165–66)

With *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2}:

kanuu^{31} / *ne*^{2} *kitamanh*^{3} *nuh*^{1} *nee*^{31} *man*^{3} *shkwaa*^{5}
COM:explode and COM:sprinkle complete flesh body snake

rkax^{2} *yoh*^{3} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} *a*^{32} // *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2}
lizardlike that when long:ago DEC AFF that and

ku^{3}*rianx*^{1} *tuhwii*^{3} / *kahanx*^{32} *zoh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
COM:appear thunder COM:go he indeed PERS
It exploded, and all the flesh of that dragon was scattered long ago. And after that the thunder came out; he went away for sure. (Openly 81–82)

kishrah^{3} *shawii*^{31} *rke*^{3} *hnuu*^{5} *a*^{32} // *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2}
COM:be:split moth stomach kernel DEC AFF that and

kinawix^{3} *ichix*^{2} *kuchruu*^{31} *tanh*^{3} *yoh*^{3} / *kizhix*^{5}
COM:finish seven corncrib corn:ear that COM:be:tucked:in

shkuu^{3} *narx*^{1} *a*^{4}
animal indeed PERS

Moths hatched in the corn. And after that those seven corncribs [full] of ears of corn were all riddled with insects for sure. (Fight 125–26)

(See also 7.18–19, 7.26–27, 7.33–34, 7.34–35, 7.45–46, and 7.54–55.)

With *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32}:

ku^{3}*rianx*^{1} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} / *kahax*^{32} / *koshro*^{3} *yoh*^{3}
COM:appear grandmother-our:IN Ca'aj COM:slap that

riaan^{32} *nux*^{3} *shtax*^{3} *a*^{32} // *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32} *tamanh*^{3}
face skin deer DEC AFF thus CON:exist COM:sprinkle

kunudax^{13} *shkuu*^{3} *a*^{32}
all animal DEC

Our grandmother *Ca'aj* showed up; that [one] slapped the face of the deerskin. And so it was that all the insects were scattered. (Sun 4:32–33)

(See also 7.56–57 and 7.72–73.)

With *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13}:

neko^{4} *me*^{3} *zii*^{5} *rih*^{3} *yahan*^{32} *a*^{32} // *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *kihyax*^{3}
opossum CON:be he CON:get fire DEC AFF thus COM:do

zoh^{3} / *ne*^{2} *kanuh*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *tuneh*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32}
he and COM:wedge:in he tail his face

yahan^{32} *a*^{32}
fire DEC

THE OPOSSUM was the one who got fire. In that way he did, and he stuck his tail in the fire. (Sun 4:9–10)

dax^{32} *wax*^{2} *shiaan*^{5} *nih*^{4} *kizix*^{5} /
CON:NEG:exist CON2:move POS:hometown our:IN COM:be:complete

kihyax^{3} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3} // *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32} *ndaa*^{13} *ze*^{32} *kawih*^{3}
COM:do he NEG AFF thus CON:exist until CMP COM:die

zoh^{3} *a*^{32} // *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32} *nih*^{4} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}
he DEC AFF thus CON:exist we:IN right:now DEC
He caused our hometown not to be completed. In that way [it] has been since he died. In that way we exist right now. (Brother 181–83)

(See also 7.74–75 and 7.108–109.)

With *nanx*^{13} *waa*^{32}:

nukwih^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32} // *nanx*^{13} *waa*^{32} *ne*^{3} *zoh*^{3}
COM:arrive:home he DEC thus CON:exist CON:sit he

weh^{3} *a*^{32}
house DEC
He arrived home. And so it was that he was living in the house

(See also 7.58–59.)

With *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32}:

ne^{2} *uruun*^{3} *tuhwii*^{3} *sno*^{2}*ho*^{32} *kinax*^{5} *tukwa*^{4} *zoh*^{3}
and the:only thunder male COM:remain POS:home his

a^{32} // *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *nano*^{4} *ra*^{4} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
DEC that CON:be CMP CON:tell inside he DEC
And ONLY THE MALE THUNDER (god) stayed in his house. And then he was sad. (Fight 138–39)

kinahax^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32} // *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *tinuu*^{5}
COM:become:weak he DEC that COM:be CMP brother:ME

zoh^{3} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *kihyax*^{3} *kinahax*^{5} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
his CON:be CMP COM:do COM:become:weak he DEC
He got weak. And so it was that his brother was the one who made him get weak. (Brother 61–62)

(See also 7.1, 7.37–38, and 7.49–50.)

The following example contains five sentences. The last sentence shows the use of *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} 'and so it is that' to signal a return to the eventline after a three-sentence digression.

dan^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *hyax*^{3} *zuun*^{32} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32} // *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2}
that CON:be CMP CON:do work the:PL he DEC but and

tuhwii^{3} *me*^{3} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32} // *tuhwii*^{3} *me*^{3} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} /
thunder CON:be the:PL he DEC thunder CON:be woman

ne^{2} *tuhwii*^{3} *me*^{3} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *a*^{32} // *tuhwii*^{3} *kunix*^{13} *me*^{3}
and thunder CON:be man DEC thunder young CON:be

yoho^{4} *zii*^{5} *hnah*^{3} *kachiin*^{5} *man*^{3} *tahnii*^{5} *rox*^{1} *nika*^{2}
another he CON:come COM:ask body child the:DU spouse

rox^{1} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32} // *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *chee*^{5} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} /
the:DU he DEC that CON:be CMP CON:walk the:PL he

hyax^{3} *zuun*^{32} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:do work the:PL he DEC

And so it was that they were working. But they were thunder (gods). The woman was a thunder (god), and the man was a thunder (god). The other one who came and asked for the daughter of him and his wife was the young thunder (god). And so it was that they were walking [and] working. (Fight 7–11)

It is possible to combine a conjunction and a sentential marker at the beginning of the same sentence.

ne^{2} *yax*^{13} *ahyux*^{3} *tume*^{4} *shkuu*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *guun*^{13}
and now tomorrow CON:guard animal and NEG COM:become

nukwax^{13} *shkuu*^{3} *kutu*^{2}*me*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *mah*^{3} // *ne*^{2} *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13}
strong animal POT:guard that NEG and AFF thus

ne^{3} *shkuu*^{3} / *otox*^{32} *yoh*^{3} *rah*^{2}
CON:sit animal CON:sleep that QUOTATIVE

And the animals were watching DAY AFTER DAY, and they weren't strong enough to [keep] watch[ing]. And so it was that the animals were sitting; those [ones] were sleeping, they say. (Sun 3:103–104)

dax^{32} *wax*^{2} *naa*^{31} *awii*^{32} *zah*^{1} *rex*^{32}
CON:NEG:exist CON2:move cornfield CON:come:out good place

tax^{1} *zoh*^{3} *mah*^{3} // *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32}
CON2:be:on:top he NEG but and that CON:be CMP

karakwix^{5} *sha*^{3}*na*^{1} *man*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:help woman body his DEC

There weren't any cornfields that were yielding well in the place where he was. But it happened that the woman helped him. (Openly 9–10)

naman^{4} *nee*^{31} / *kirih-ix*^{3} *nee*^{31} *shkuu*^{3} / *dax*^{13}
COM:arrive:home:here flesh COM:get-I flesh animal thus

tax^{32} *uun*^{4} *shnii*^{3} *a*^{32} // *ne*^{2} *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32}
CON:say REP boy DEC and AFF thus CON:exist

nawii-^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:finish-UN DEC

"Meat has come home; I got the meat of an animal," thus the boy said also. And that's how it ends. (Sun 3:190–91)

(See also 7.4–5 and 7.16–17.)

Sometimes such a combination occurs between the parts of a coordinate sentence, as seen in 7.76 and 7.89.

The following example contains six sentences. The final sentence containing a conjunction and a complex sentential marker returns to the eventline following a four-sentence digression.

kahanx^{32} / *ni*^{2}*hyax*^{32} *sno*^{5}*ho*^{32} *a*^{32} // *ne*^{2} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} / *ne*^{2}
COM:go POT:look man DEC and when long:ago and

ichix^{2} *ka*^{3}*ta*^{13} *naa*^{31} *tanh*^{3} *a*^{32} // *ho*^{2} *kawii*^{32}
seven COM:carry cornfield corn:ear DEC one COM:come:out

tanh^{3} *ndaa*^{13} *takoo*^{5} *naa*^{31} / *ne*^{2} *kizix*^{5}
corn:ear until foot cornfield and COM:be:complete

tanh^{3} *ndaa*^{13} *raa*^{13} *naa*^{31} *a*^{32} // *ichix*^{2} *tanh*^{3}
corn:ear until head cornfield DEC seven corn:ear

ka^{3}*ta*^{13} *naa*^{31} *gaa*^{13} *naa*^{4} *a*^{32} // *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *mahan*^{13}
COM:carry cornfield when long:ago DEC but and self

yahanx^{32} *tuhwii*^{13} *shana*^{1} *roh*^{3} / *zah*^{1} *ushra*^{4} *nokoh*^{3}
god of:thunder female TOPIC good INTS CON:follow

shex^{32} *man*^{3} *noh*^{3} *a*^{32} // *ne*^{2} *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *kirii*^{32}
weight body her DEC and that CON:be CMP COM:take:out

sha^{3}*na*^{1} *naa*^{31} *a*^{32}
woman cornfield DEC

The man went to look. And as for long ago, corn plants used to bear seven ears of corn [each]. The ears of corn were borne continuously from the base of the corn plants, and they arrived up to the top of them. Corn plants used to bear SEVEN EARS OF CORN [each] long ago. But as for the thunder goddess herself, prosperity follows her very well. And so it was that the woman harvested the cornfield. (Fight 55–60)

It is also possible to combine two sentential markers at the beginning of the same sentence.

otox^{32} *kuwix*^{5} / *ne*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *otox*^{32} *shkaa*^{32} / *ne*^{2}
CON:sleep nighthawk CON:sit and CON:sleep raven and

ho^{2} *runh*^{5} *shahwaa*^{5} *roh*^{3} / *ne*^{3} *otox*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32} //
one single macaw TOPIC NEG CON:sleep it:AML DEC

maan^{1} *ze*^{32} *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *hna-x*^{3} *rah*^{2}
only CMP that CON:be CMP CON:come-UN QUOTATIVE

The nighthawk was sleeping [as it] sat, and the raven was sleeping, and as for only the macaw, it was not sleeping. It's only that it happened that she was coming, they say. (Sun 3:105–106)

7
Text

7.1 *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *waa*^{32} *yoho*^{4} *na*^{3}*na*^{1} *shehe*^{4} *uun*^{4} *zhoh*^{3}
that CON:be CMP CON:exist another word feet REP it:AML

ga^{2} *yuwii*^{31} *uun*^{4} *a*^{32}
with person REP DEC
And then there's another story about it (the rabbit) and people too.[14]

7.2 *shnaa*^{31} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} / *kuyux*^{5} *nax*^{3} / *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2}
POS:cornfield grandmother-our:IN Cuyúj CON:lie when and

atux^{5} *tuku*^{3}*ya*^{32} / *cha*^{4} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:enter rabbit CON:eat it:AML DEC
Grandmother *Cuyúj* had A CORNFIELD, and then the rabbit was going in and eating [it].[15] (lit. THE CORNFIELD OF OUR GRANDMOTHER *CUYUJ* was lying, and then ...)

[14]This story was dictated immediately after other stories about the rabbit. 7.1 links the story to the earlier stories and is therefore not a typical discourse-initial sentence. Also, at the end of the story, sentences 7.103–109 summarize the entire cycle of rabbit stories, not only the tar baby story.

[15]Grandmother *Cuyúj* is a prominent figure in Trique oral literature. She is the sister of Grandmother *Ca'aj,* who is a major character in the myth explaining the origin of the sun and moon (see Hollenbach 1977a). The two sisters live together inside the snow-capped mountains, and they send wind and frost because they are envious of people.

7.3 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *kenehe*^{13} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *me*^{3} *shkuu*^{3}
when and NEG COM:sense grandmother-our:IN which animal

cha^{4} *mah*^{3}
CON:eat NEG
And then our grandmother didn't know which animal was eating [it].

7.4 *tume*^{4} *ushra*^{4} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *shnaa*^{31}
CON:guard INTS grandmother-our:IN that POS:cornfield

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
grandmother-our:IN that DEC
Our grandmother was guarding her cornfield very carefully.

7.5 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *tax*^{32} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *riaan*^{32}
when and that CON:be CMP CON:say grandmother-our:IN face

mane^{4} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN that DEC
And then it happened that our grandmother said to her comadre (child's godmother; Sp. *comadre*).

7.6 *cha*^{4} *ushra*^{4} *shkuu*^{3} *shna-x*^{3} / *ma*^{3}*ne*^{32} / *tax*^{32}
CON:eat INTS animal POS:cornfield-my comadre:FE CON:say

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *riaan*^{32} *mane*^{4} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *a*^{32}
grandmother-our:IN face comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN DEC
"An animal is eating my cornfield a lot, Comadre," our grandmother said to her comadre.

7.7 *ne*^{3} *kenehe*^{13} *rox*^{1} *ma*^{2}*ne*^{4} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *me*^{3}
NEG COM:sense the:DU comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN which

shkuu^{3} *cha*^{4} *mah*^{3}
animal CON:eat NEG
Our grandmother and her comadre didn't know which animal was eating [it].

7.8 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} / *dax*^{1} *kihyax*^{13} *nih*^{4} / *ma*^{3}*neh*^{32} / *tax*^{32}
when and how POT:do we:IN comadre:FE:INT CON:say

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
grandmother-our:IN that DEC
And then our grandmother said, "What should we do, Comadre?"

7.9 *ki²hyaa⁵ zoh¹ tahnax³² tuhwa³ shnaa⁴ zoh¹ /*
POT:do you:SG ghost mouth POS:cornfield your:SG

ma³ne³² / tax³² mane⁴ shu³kwa²han-h⁴ riaan³²
comadre:FE CON:say comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN face

shu³kwa²han-h⁴ a³²
grandmother-our:IN DEC
"Make scarecrows at the edge of your cornfield, Comadre," our grandmother's comadre said to her.

7.10 *kahwee¹³ / tax³² shu³kwa²han-h⁴ yoh³ riaan³²*
POT:be:possible CON:say grandmother-our:IN that face

mane⁴ shu³kwa²han-h⁴ yoh³ a³²
comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN that DEC
"All right," our grandmother said to her comadre.

7.11 *ka³nikax¹ shu³kwa²han-h⁴ / kuneh³ noh³ tahnax³² tuhwa³*
COM:turn grandmother-our:IN COM:seat she ghost mouth

shnaa³¹ noh³ a³²
POS:cornfield her DEC
And then our grandmother turned and placed scarecrows at the edge of her cornfield.

7.12 *tsax² ne² nuwee⁴ tahnax² yatsex⁵ me³ yoh³ mah³*
but and NEG ghost clothing CON:be it:INAN NEG
But they weren't scarecrows made out of clothing.

7.13 *tahnax³² yanx⁵ me³ yoh³ a³²*
ghost wax CON:be it:INAN DEC
They were wax scarecrows.

7.14 *kuneh³ shu³kwa²han-h⁴ tahnax³² a³nikax¹ tuhwa³*
COM:seat grandmother-our:IN ghost CON:turn mouth

shnaa³¹ shu³kwa²han-h⁴ a³²
POS:cornfield grandmother-our:IN DEC
Our grandmother placed scarecrows all around the edge of her cornfield.

7.15 *dax*[1] *waa*[32] *ho*[2] *shkuu*[3] *chree*[13] *cha*[4] *shna-x*[3] /
how CON:exist one animal evil CON:eat POS:cornfield-my

ra-x[3] / *ma*[3]*ne*[32] / *tax*[32] *rox*[1] *ma*[2]*ne*[4]
CON:think-I comadre:FE CON:say the:DU comadre:FE

nga[3] / *kahmii*[32] *rox*[1] *noh*[3] *a*[32]
old:woman COM:speak the:DU she DEC
"I wonder what sort of an evil animal is eating my cornfield, Comadre," the two old comadres said [as] they spoke.

7.16 *nawix*[3] *kune-x*[3] *sinduh*[3] *yanx*[5] *tuhwa*[3] *shna-x*[3]
COM:finish COM:seat-I doll wax mouth POS:cornfield-my

a[32] / *tax*[32] *shu*[3]*kwa*[2]*han-h*[4] *riaan*[32] *mane*[4]
DEC CON:say grandmother-our:IN face comadre:FE

shu[3]*kwa*[2]*han-h*[4] *a*[32]
grandmother-our:IN DEC
"I've finished placing the wax dolls at the edge of my cornfield," our grandmother said to her comadre.

7.17 *gaa*[13] *ne*[2] *wee*[4] *dan*[32] *ne*[2] *ku*[3]*rianx*[1] *uun*[4] *tuku*[3]*ya*[32] /
when and AFF that and COM:appear REP rabbit

wax[32] *zhoh*[3] / *cha*[2] *uun*[4] *zhoh*[3] / *ra*[4] *zhoh*[3] *a*[32]
CON:move it:AML POT:eat REP it:AML CON:think it:AML DEC
And then after that the rabbit showed up again moving along thinking it would eat [it (the cornfield)] again.

7.18 *ax*[1] *nawix*[3] *kuneh*[3] *shu*[3]*kwa*[2]*han-h*[4] *tahnax*[32] *yanx*[5]
already COM:finish COM:seat grandmother-our:IN ghost wax

tuhwa[3] *shnaa*[31] *noh*[3] *a*[32]
mouth POS:cornfield her DEC
Our grandmother had already finished placing the wax scarecrows at the edge of her cornfield.

7.19 *wee*[4] *dan*[32] *ne*[2] *aze*[32] *waa*[32] *yuwii*[31] / *waa*[32] *yoh*[3] *a*[32]
AFF that and as CON:exist person CON:exist it:INAN DEC
And in addition to that, they were just as people are.

7.20 *tsax*[2] *ne*[2] *ne*[3] *naskih*[3] *yoh*[3] / *dinx*[5] *ne*[3] *yoh*[3] *a*[32]
but and NEG CON:wiggle it:INAN still CON:sit it:INAN DEC
But they weren't moving; they sat still.

7.21 *ku³rianx¹ tuku³ya³² / wax³² zhoh³ a³²*
COM:appear rabbit CON:move it:AML DEC
The rabbit showed up; it was moving along.

7.22 *cha² uun⁴ zhoh³ naa³¹ kwa³no² a³²*
POT:eat REP it:AML cornfield right:now DEC
It was going to eat the cornfield again just then.

7.23 *kahanx³² zhoh³ / ne² / me³ shehe⁴ ne³ naskih³ zii⁵*
COM:go it:AML and which feet NEG CON:wiggle he

nianx⁵ / ra⁴ tuku³ya³² yoh³ a³²
this CON:think rabbit that DEC
The rabbit went along and wondered, "Why doesn't this person move?

7.24 *seze³² yuwii³¹ me³ yoh³ / ne² kaoh¹ yoh³ man-h⁴ /*
if person CON:be it:INAN and POT:hit it:INAN body-our:IN

ra⁴ zhoh³ a³²
CON:think it:AML DEC
If it's a person, then it will shoot me," it thought.

7.25 *gaa¹³ ne² ne³ naskih³ yoh³ mah³*
when and NEG CON:wiggle it:INAN NEG
And then it (the scarecrow) wasn't moving.

7.26 *me³ shehe⁴ ne³ naskih³ zii⁵ ne¹³ nianx⁵ / ra⁴*
which feet NEG CON:wiggle he CON2:sit here CON:think

zhoh³ a³²
it:AML DEC
"Why doesn't the person sitting here move?" it wondered.

7.27 *wee⁴ dan³² ne² kahanx³² zhoh³ / ne² kaoh³ zhoh³ kushruh³*
AFF that and COM:go it:AML and COM:hit it:AML fist

shree⁵ yoh³ a³²
ear its:INAN DEC
And after that it went, and it hit it in the ear with [its] fist.

7.28 *gaa¹³ ne² kaoh³ zhoh³ kushruh³ / ne² kuta³ nuh¹ ze³²*
when and COM:hit it:AML fist and COM:stick complete POS

kushruh² zhoh³ man³ yanx⁵ a³²
fist its:AML body wax DEC
And then it hit [it] with [its] fist, and its fist got completely stuck in the wax.

7.29 *nahnex*^{1} *zoh*^{1} *man-x*^{3} / *'ti*^{3}*nux*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} /
POT:let:go you:SG body-my brother:ME CON:say it:AML

no^{3} *yanx*^{5} *a*^{32}
CON:hear wax DEC
"Let me go, Brother!" it said to the wax.

7.30 *nahnex*^{1} *zoh*^{1} *man-x*^{3} / *'ti*^{3}*nux*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:let:go you:SG body-my brother:ME CON:say it:AML DEC
"Let me go, Brother!" it said.

7.31 *ne*^{3} *ahmii*^{32} *tahnax*^{32} *yanx*^{5} *a*^{1} *mah*^{3}
NEG CON:speak ghost wax NEG NEG
The wax scarecrow really wasn't speaking.

7.32 *nahnex*^{1} *zoh*^{1} *man-x*^{3} / *seze*^{32} *kaoh*^{1} *hunx*^{1} *yoho*^{4} *kushruh*^{3}
POT:let:go you:SG body-my if POT:hit I another fist

shree^{5} *zoh*^{1} / *'ti*^{3}*nux*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *tahnax*^{32}
ear your:SG brother:ME CON:say it:AML face ghost

yoh^{3} *a*^{32}
that DEC
"Let me go, or else I'll hit you in the ear with [my] other fist, Brother!" it said to the scarecrow.

7.33 *ne*^{3} *ahmii*^{32} *ushra*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{1} *mah*^{3}
NEG CON:speak INTS it:INAN NEG NEG
It (the scarecrow) really wasn't speaking at all.

7.34 *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2} *kaoh*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *ni*^{5}*chrex*^{2} *ze*^{32} *kushruh*^{2} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
AFF that and COM:hit it:AML other:side POS fist its:AML DEC
And after that it hit [it] with its other fist.

7.35 *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2} *kuta*^{3} *uun*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
AFF that and COM:stick REP it:INAN indeed PERS
And after that it (the second fist) got stuck [to it] too for sure.

7.36 *zix*^{5} *wix*^{1} *kushruh*^{3} *kano*^{4} / *ne*^{2} *dax*^{32}
CON:be:complete two fist COM:grab and CON:NEG:exist

ze^{32} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} / *shihnee*^{2} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{1} *mah*^{3}
it:INAN POT:do-we:IN POT:be:taken:away it:INAN NEG NEG
That made two fists that were stuck, and there really wasn't any way for them to get free.[16]

7.37 *yuun*^{1} *shehe*^{1} *kuta*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
once based COM:stick it:INAN DEC
They were stuck [to it] FOR GOOD.[17]

7.38 *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *katax*^{32} *uun*^{4} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
that CON:be CMP COM:say REP it:AML DEC
And then it said again.

7.39 *nahnex*^{1} *zoh*^{1} *man-x*^{3} / *'ti*^{3}*nux*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *uun*^{4}
POT:let:go you:SG body-my brother:ME CON:say REP

zhoh^{3} *a*^{32}
it:AML DEC
"Let me go, Brother!" it said again.

7.40 *ushra*^{4} *ne*^{3} *ahmii*^{32} *zii*^{5} *ne*^{13} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{1} *mah*^{3}
INTS NEG CON:speak he CON2:sit there NEG NEG
The person sitting there really wasn't speaking at all.

7.41 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} / *nahnex*^{1} *zoh*^{1} *raha-x*^{3} / *seze*^{32} *shux*^{2}
when and POT:let:go you:SG hand-my if POT:shove

shehe-x^{3} *shree*^{5} *zoh*^{1} / *'ti*^{3}*nux*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
feet-I ear your:SG brother:ME CON:say it:AML DEC
And then, "Let my hands go, or else I'll kick you in the ear, Brother!" it said.

7.42 *shux*^{32} *shehe*^{4} *zhoh*^{3} *ho*^{2} *takanx*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *uun*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:shove feet it:AML one hoof its:AML REP DEC
It kicked [it] with one of its hoofs too.

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[16] *dax*^{32} *ze*^{32} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} is a frozen expression that always takes the generalized inclusive postclitic pronoun (see §5.4). It means 'there is nothing that can be done', and it is followed by a purpose sentence with its verb in potential aspect. See 7.48 and 7.56 for further examples.

[17] *yuun*^{1} *shehe*^{1} is an idiom that means 'for good' or 'permanently'.

7.43 *kuta*^{3} *takanx*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *uun*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:stick hoof its:AML REP DEC
Its hoof got stuck too.

7.44 *dax*^{1} *yanee*^{5} *takanx*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *waa*^{32} *yahnux*^{5} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
only other:side hoof its:AML CON:exist open indeed PERS
ONLY ITS OTHER HOOF was [still] free for sure.

7.45 *nahnex*^{1} *zoh*^{1} *man-x*^{3} / *'ti*^{3}*nux*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
POT:let:go you:SG body-my brother:ME CON:say it:AML DEC
"Let me go, Brother!" it said.

7.46 *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2} *kaoh*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *yoho*^{4} *takoo*^{5} *zhoh*^{3} *uun*^{4}
AFF that and COM:hit it:AML another foot its:AML REP

nanx^{1} *a*^{4}
indeed PERS
And after that it hit [it] with its other foot too for sure.

7.47 *zix*^{5} *kano*^{4} *wix*^{1} *raha*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *ga*^{2} *wix*^{1} *takoo*^{5}
CON:be:complete COM:grab two hand its:AML with two foot

zhoh^{3} *a*^{32}
its:AML DEC
Its two hands and its two feet finished getting stuck.

7.48 *dax*^{32} *ze*^{32} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} / *shihnee*^{2} *yoh*^{3}
CON:NEG:exist it:INAN POT:do-we:IN POT:be:taken:away it:INAN

a^{1} *mah*^{3}
NEG NEG
There really wasn't any way for them to get free.

7.49 *yoho*^{2} *dyo*^{4} *kuta*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
one season COM:stick it:INAN DEC
They were stuck FOR A LONG TIME (Sp. *tiempo* 'time').

7.50 *dan*^{32} *me*^{3} *ze*^{32} *tax*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *yoho*^{4} *na*^{3}*na*^{1} *uun*^{4} *a*^{32}
that CON:be CMP CON:say it:AML another word REP DEC
And then it said something else too.

7.51 *nahnex*^{1} *zoh*^{1} *man-x*^{3} / *seze*^{32} *kushianh*^{13} *tuhwa-x*^{3} *man*^{4}
POT:let:go you:SG body-my if POT:bite mouth-I body

zoh^{1} / *'ti*^{3}*nux*^{1} / *tax*^{32} *uun*^{4} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
your:SG brother:ME CON:say REP it:AML DEC
"Let me go, or else I'll bite you with [my] mouth, Brother!" it said too.

7.52

ushra^{4} *ne*^{3} *ahmii*^{32} *zii*^{5} *ne*^{13} *yoh*^{3} *a*^{1} *mah*^{3}
INTS NEG CON:speak he CON2:sit there NEG NEG
The person sitting there really wasn't speaking at all.

7.53 *dax*^{1} *ho*^{4} *runh*^{5} *tuhwa*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *taa*^{5} *yahnux*^{5}
only another single mouth its:AML CON:be:on:top open

nanx^{1} *a*^{4}
indeed PERS
ONLY ITS (the rabbit's) ONE MOUTH was [still] free for sure.

7.54 *kano*^{1} *zhoh*^{3} / *shianh*^{13} *zhoh*^{3} *man*^{3} *zii*^{5} *ne*^{13} *yoh*^{3} /
POT:grab it:AML POT:bite it:AML body he CON2:sit there

ra^{4} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:think it:AML DEC
It would grab the person sitting there [and] would bite him, it thought.

7.55 *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2} *kuta*^{3} *tuhwa*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *uun*^{4} *a*^{32}
AFF that and COM:stick mouth its:AML REP DEC
And after that its mouth got stuck too.

7.56 *dax*^{32} *ze*^{32} *ki*^{2}*hya-h*^{4} / *shihnee*^{2} *tuhwa*^{3}
CON:NEG:exist it:INAN POT:do-we:IN POT:be:taken:away mouth

zhoh^{3} *a*^{1} *mah*^{3}
its:AML NEG NEG
There really wasn't any way for its mouth to get free.

7.57 *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32} *no*^{4} *zhoh*^{3} *katuun*^{31} *tahnax*^{32} /
AFF thus CON:exist CON:be:attached it:AML waist ghost

gaa^{13} *rangah*^{3} *a*^{32}
when COM:dawn DEC
And so it was that it was stuck to the middle of the scarecrow when dawn came.

7.58 *ku*^{3}*rianx*^{1} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yan*^{32} *ne*^{13} *tahnax*^{32} / *hyax*^{3}
COM:appear grandmother-our:IN place CON2:sit ghost CON:do

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *a*^{32}
grandmother-our:IN DEC
Our grandmother showed up at the place where she had placed the scarecrows. (lit. ... where she was causing the scarecrows to be sitting.)

7.59 *nanx*^{13} *waa*^{32} *no*^{4} *shkuu*^{3} *chree*^{13} *a*^{32}
thus CON:exist CON:be:attached animal evil DEC
And so it was that the evil animal was stuck.

7.60 *tuhwa*^{3} *luu*^{5} / *tuhwa*^{3} *taan*^{5} / *zoh*^{1} *me*^{3} *zii*^{5} *cha*^{4}
mouth worm mouth fly you:SG CON:be he CON:eat

shna-x^{3} / *ra-x*^{3} *a*^{32}
POS:cornfield-my CON:think-I DEC
"YOU, DISGUSTING CREATURE, are the one who is eating my cornfield, I think.

7.61 *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *nanx*^{13} *waa*^{32} *dih*^{1} / *cha*^{4} *dih*^{1}
but and thus CON:exist you:SG:FAM CON:eat you:SG:FAM

shna-x^{3} *a*^{4} *zhix*^{32} / *tax*^{32} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4}
POS:cornfield-my ? CHEERFUL CON:say grandmother-our:IN

yoh^{3} *a*^{32}
that DEC
But you are like this, yes indeed, you who are eating my cornfield," our grandmother said.

7.62 *kahnex*^{5} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *tuku*^{3}*ya*^{32} *katuun*^{31} *tahnax*^{32}
COM:take:away grandmother-our:IN rabbit waist ghost

kwa^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}
right:now DEC
Our grandmother took the rabbit off of the middle of the scarecrow just then.

7.63 *ni*^{3}*kax*^{2} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} / *kahanx*^{32} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:have grandmother-our:IN COM:go grandmother-our:IN DEC
Our grandmother took [it] along with her.

7.64 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *kuchih*^{3} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
when and COM:arrive grandmother-our:IN house DEC
And then our grandmother arrived at the house.

7.65 *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *ne*^{3} *kawih*^{1} *tuku*^{3}*ya*^{32} *mah*^{3}
but and NEG COM:die rabbit NEG
But the rabbit hadn't died.

7.66 *waa*^{32} *ihnah*^{1} *zhoh*^{3} / *kahanx*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *weh*^{3} *a*^{32}
CON:exist alive it:AML COM:go it:AML house DEC
It was alive [as] it went to the house.

7.67 *nanx^{13} waa^{32} shkuu^{3} chree^{13} / tuhwa^{3} luu^{5} / tuhwa^{3} taan^{5} /*
thus CON:exist animal evil mouth worm mouth fly

cha^{4} shna-x^{3} / ma^{3}ne^{32} / tax^{32}
CON:eat POS:cornfield-my comadre:FE CON:say

shu^{3}kwa^{2}han-h^{4} / no^{3} mane^{4}
grandmother-our:IN CON:hear comadre:FE

shu^{3}kwa^{2}han-h^{4} a^{32}
grandmother-our:IN DEC
"The evil animal, the disgusting creature who was eating my cornfield is like this, Comadre," our grandmother said to her comadre.

7.68 *cha-h^{2} maan-^{3} / gaa^{13} ne^{2} kene^{2}he-h^{4} /*
POT:eat-we:IN body-UN when and POT:sense-we:IN

ma^{3}ne^{32} / tax^{32} mane^{4} shu^{3}kwa^{2}han-h^{4} /
comadre:FE CON:say comadre:FE grandmother-our:IN

no^{3} shu^{3}kwa^{2}han-h^{4} a^{32}
CON:hear grandmother-our:IN DEC
"Let's eat it, and then we'll know, Comadre," our grandmother's comadre said to her.

7.69 *tsax^{2} ne^{2} ne^{3} kawih^{1} tuku^{3}ya^{32} mah^{3}*
but and NEG COM:die rabbit NEG
But the rabbit hadn't died.

7.70 *waa^{32} ihnah^{1} zhoh^{3} / kahanx^{32} zhoh^{3} weh^{3} / kihyax^{3}*
CON:exist alive it:AML COM:go it:AML house COM:do

shu^{3}kwa^{2}han-h^{4} a^{32}
grandmother-our:IN DEC
Our grandmother took it to the house alive.

7.71 *gaa^{13} ne^{2} katux^{5} zah^{1} zhoh^{3} ra^{4} ro^{3}kohoo^{13} / kihyax^{3}*
when and COM:enter good it:AML inside gourd:bowl COM:do

shu^{3}kwa^{2}han-h^{4} a^{32}
grandmother-our:IN DEC
And then our grandmother put it away in a gourd bowl.

7.72 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *waa*^{32} *ihnah*^{1} *zhoh*^{3} / *nuu*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *ra*^{4}
when and CON:exist alive it:AML CON:be:in it:AML inside

ro^{3}*kohoo*^{13} *a*^{32}
gourd:bowl DEC
And it was alive [as] it was in the gourd bowl.

7.73 *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32} *nuu*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
AFF thus CON:exist CON:be:in it:AML DEC
And so it was that it was in [there].

7.74 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *kahnee*^{5} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *ro*^{3}*kohoo*^{13} *ra*^{4}
when and COM:put:in grandmother-our:IN gourd:bowl inside

yoo^{4} *a*^{32}
palm:basket DEC
And then our grandmother put the gourd bowl in a palm basket.

7.75 *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32} *ihnah*^{1} *zhoh*^{3} / *nuu*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *ra*^{4}
AFF thus CON:exist alive it:AML CON:be:in it:AML inside

ro^{3}*kohoo*^{13} *shtah*^{1} *a*^{32}
gourd:bowl high DEC
And so it was alive [as] it was in the gourd bowl up high.

7.76 *maan*^{1} *ze*^{32} *kahnee*^{5} *uun*^{1} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yoh*^{3} *man*^{3}
only CMP COM:put:in LIM grandmother-our:IN that body

zhoh^{3} / *ne*^{2} *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2} *kawii*^{32}
its:AML and AFF that and COM:come:out

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *ho*^{2} *suun*^{32} / *ne*^{2} *kahanx*^{32}
grandmother-our:IN one work and COM:go

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} / *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *nuwih*^{3} *wax*^{2}
grandmother-our:IN when and CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} / *ne*^{3} *weh*^{3} *a*^{1} *mah*^{3}
grandmother-our:IN CON:sit house NEG NEG
It's only that our grandmother just put it in [there], and after that our grandmother left on an errand, and she went away, and then she really wasn't in the house.

7.77 *ho²* *runh⁵* *tuku³ya³²* *nuu³²* *ra⁴* *yoo⁴* *nokoh¹*
one single rabbit CON:be:in inside palm:basket CON2:follow

wax² *shtah¹* *a³²*
CON2:move high DEC
ONLY THE RABBIT was in the palm basket that was hanging up high.

7.78 *ku³rianx¹* *shu³nee³* *a³²*
COM:appear fox DEC
The fox showed up.

7.79 *nianx⁵* *nuu³²* *zoh¹* / *'ti³nux¹* / *tax³²* *shu³nee³* *riaan³²*
here CON:be:in you:SG brother:ME CON:say fox face

tuku³ya³² *a³²*
rabbit DEC
"HERE you are, Brother," the fox said to the rabbit.

7.80 *nianx⁵* *nu-x³²* / *'ti³nux¹* / *tax³²* *tuku³ya³²* *riaan³²*
here CON:be:in-I brother:ME CON:say rabbit face

shu³nee³ *a³²*
fox DEC
"HERE I am, Brother," the rabbit said to the fox.

7.81 *hee¹* *ushra⁴* *ra⁴* *shu³kwa²han-h⁴* *man-x³* / *'ti³nux¹* /
heavy INTS inside grandmother-our:IN body-my brother:ME

tax³² *tuku³ya³²* *riaan³²* *shu³nee³* *a³²*
CON:say rabbit face fox DEC
"Our grandmother is very fond of me, Brother," the rabbit said to the fox.

7.82 *kuwah²* *zoh¹* / *ku²nuu³²* *zoh¹* *nianx⁵* / *tax³²* *tuku³ya³²*
IMP:come you:SG POT:be:in you:SG here CON:say rabbit

riaan³² *shu³nee³* *a³²*
face fox DEC
"Come get in here," the rabbit said to the fox.

7.83 *kushuman⁴* *ra⁴* *shu³nee³* / *kihyax³* *tuku³ya³²* *a³²*
COM:arrive inside fox COM:do rabbit DEC
The rabbit convinced the fox.

7.84 *ne*^{2} *katux*^{5} *shu*^{3}*nee*^{3} *ra*^{4} *yoo*^{4} *nuu*^{2} *tuku*^{3}*ya*^{32}
and COM:enter fox inside palm:basket CON2:be:in rabbit

kwa^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}
right:NOW DEC
And the fox got into the palm basket where the rabbit was just then.

7.85 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *nayon*^{4} *shu*^{3}*nee*^{3} *riaan*^{32} *tuku*^{3}*ya*^{32} *a*^{32}
when and COM:be:in:again fox face rabbit DEC
And then the fox took the rabbit's place.

7.86 *nanix*^{32} *tuku*^{3}*ya*^{32} / *kahanx*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
COM:go:down rabbit COM:go it:AML DEC
The rabbit got down [and] went away.[18]

7.87 *nuwih*^{3} *wax*^{2} *zhoh*^{3} / *nuu*^{32} *ra*^{4}
CON:NEG:be:present CON2:move it:AML CON:be:in inside

yoo^{4} *a*^{1} *mah*^{3}
palm:basket NEG NEG
It really wasn't there in the palm basket.

7.88 *maan*^{1} *shu*^{3}*nee*^{3} *nuu*^{32} *ra*^{4} *yoo*^{4} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
only fox CON:be:in inside palm:basket indeed PERS
ONLY THE FOX was in the palm basket for sure.

7.89 *kahanx*^{32} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *ho*^{2} *zuun*^{32} / *ne*^{2} *wee*^{4} *dan*^{32} *ne*^{2}
COM:go grandmother-our:IN one work and AFF that and

naman^{4} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} / *ne*^{2} *nuu*^{2}
COM:arrive:home:here grandmother-our:IN and CON2:be:in

tuku^{3}*ya*^{32} *ra*^{4} *yoo*^{4} / *ra*^{4} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4}
rabbit inside palm:basket CON:think grandmother-our:IN

yoh^{3} *a*^{32}
that DEC
Our grandmother had gone on an errand, and after that she returned home, and she thought the rabbit was in the palm basket.

[18]The narrator apparently forgot to mention the fact that the rabbit needed the fox's help to get safely down from the hanging palm basket.

7.90 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *kutah*^{3} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *na*^{32} *yahaan*^{13}
when and COM:place:on:top grandmother-our:IN water hot

ruwax^{3} / *ne*^{2} *kuyanx*^{32} *na*^{32} *yahaan*^{13} / *taa*^{5}
fireplace and COM:boil water hot CON:be:on:top

yoh^{3} *ruwax*^{3} / *kihyax*^{3} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *a*^{32}
it:INAN fireplace COM:do grandmother-our:IN DEC
And then our grandmother put hot water on the fireplace, and she boiled the hot water [as] it was on the fireplace.

7.91 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *tanix*^{32} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yoo*^{4} *nokoh*^{1}
when and COM:lower grandmother-our:IN palm:basket CON2:follow

shtah^{1} *riaan*^{32} *yohoo*^{5} *kwa*^{3}*no*^{2} *a*^{32}
high face earth right:now DEC
And then our grandmother lowered the palm basket that was hanging up high to the ground just then.

7.92 *tuku*^{3}*ya*^{32} *nuu*^{32} *ra*^{4} *yoo*^{4} / *ra*^{4}
rabbit CON:be:in inside palm:basket CON:think

shu^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *a*^{32}
grandmother-our:IN DEC
Our grandmother thought THE RABBIT was in the palm basket.

7.93 *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *nuwee*^{4} *tuku*^{2}*ya*^{32} *me*^{3} *yoh*^{3} *mah*^{3}
but and NEG rabbit CON:be that NEG
But that [one] wasn't the rabbit.

7.94 *ne*^{2} *kuneh*^{3} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *yoo*^{4} *riaan*^{32} *yohoo*^{5} /
and COM:seat grandmother-our:IN palm:basket face earth

gaa^{13} *ne*^{2} *kirii*^{32} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *ro*^{3}*kohoo*^{13}
when and COM:take:out grandmother-our:IN gourd:bowl

nuu^{2} *ra*^{4} *yoo*^{4} *a*^{32}
CON2:be:in inside palm:basket DEC
And our grandmother placed the palm basket on the floor, and then she took out the gourd bowl that was in the palm basket.

7.95 *ne*^{3} *ni*^{2}*hyax*^{32} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *seze*^{32} *tuku*^{3}*ya*^{32} *me*^{3}
NEG COM:look grandmother-our:IN if rabbit CON:be

yoh^{3} *mah*^{3}
that NEG
Our grandmother didn't observe whether that [one] was the rabbit.

7.96 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *kutax*^{5} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *na*^{32} *yahaan*^{13}
when and COM:pour:over grandmother-our:IN water hot

shraa^{5} *shu*^{3}*nee*^{3} *a*^{32}
back fox DEC
And then our grandmother poured the hot water over the fox.

7.97 *kagwax*^{5} *ndoho*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} / *kihyax*^{3} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *a*^{32}
COM:cry:out INTS it:AML COM:do grandmother-our:IN DEC
Our grandmother made it cry out a lot.

7.98 *'wa*^{3}*oo*^{32} / *tax*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} / *agwax*^{5} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
ouch CON:say it:AML CON:cry:out it:AML DEC
It said "ouch" [as] it was crying out.

7.99 *ku*^{3}*rianx*^{1} *zhoh*^{3} / *kahanx*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
COM:appear it:AML COM:go it:AML indeed PERS
It came out [of it (the gourd bowl) and] went away for sure.

7.100 *mayon*^{4} *ndoho*^{32} *kwene*^{3}*xo*^{4} *cha*^{4} *shna-x*^{3} *a*^{32}
tricky INTS rabbit CON:eat POS:cornfield-my DEC
"The rabbit (Sp. *conejo*) that was eating my cornfield is very tricky (cf. Sp. *maña* 'cleverness').[19]

7.101 *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *cha-x*^{2} *maan-*^{3} / *ra-x*^{3} / *tsax*^{2} *ne*^{2} *doh*^{1}
but and POT:eat-I body-UN CON:think-I but and merely

shu^{3}*nee*^{3} *me*^{3} *yoh*^{3} / *ne*^{2} *nuwee*^{4} *tuku*^{2}*ya*^{32} *me*^{3} *yoh*^{3}
fox CON:be that and NEG rabbit CON:be that

mah^{3} / *tax*^{32} *shu*^{3}*kwa*^{2}*han-h*^{4} *a*^{32}
NEG CON:say grandmother-our:IN DEC
But I was thinking I would eat it, but that [one] was just a fox, and that [one] wasn't a rabbit," our grandmother said.

7.102 *gaa*^{13} *ne*^{2} *kunanx*^{5} *shu*^{3}*nee*^{3} / *kahanx*^{32} *zhoh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
when and COM:run fox COM:go it:AML indeed PERS
And then the fox ran [and] went away for sure.

7.103 *kinanii*^{32} *uun*^{4} *tuku*^{3}*ya*^{32} *a*^{32}
COM:escape REP rabbit DEC
The rabbit escaped again.

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[19] *kwene*^{3}*xo*^{4} is not an established loanword in Trique; the narrator apparently used it for variety.

7.104 *guun*^{3} *nukwax*^{13} *zhoh*^{3} *kinanii*^{32} *uun*^{4} *zhoh*^{3} *nanx*^{1} *a*^{4}
COM:become strong it:AML COM:escape REP it:AML indeed PERS
It was able to escape again for sure.

7.105 *dax*^{32} *ushra*^{4} *zii*^{5} *kahwee*^{13} *cha*^{2} *man*^{3} *zhoh*^{3}
CON:NEG:exist INTS he POT:be:possible POT:eat body its:AML
a^{1} *mah*^{3}
NEG NEG
There really isn't anyone at all who can eat it.

7.106 *inanx*^{2} *shkuu*^{3} *tiah*^{3} *nuh*^{1} *kahnah*^{3} *me*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
just animal CON:deceive complete COM:come CON:be it:AML DEC
It's just an animal that has been deceiving forever.[20]

7.107 *dax*^{13} *waa*^{32} *ze*^{32} *kwendo*^{1} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
thus CON:exist POS story its:AML DEC
That's how its story (Sp. *cuento*) is.

7.108 *shkuu*^{3} *zhax*^{32} *me*^{3} *zhoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
animal tricky CON:be it:AML DEC
It's a tricky animal.

7.109 *wee*^{4} *dax*^{13} *nawix*^{3} *ze*^{32} *kwendo*^{1} *nix*^{3} *zoh*^{3} *a*^{32}
AFF thus CON:finish POS story the:PL his DEC
And so their story ends.

[20] *nuh*^{1} *kahnah*^{3} is an idiom that means 'forever (in the past)'.