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Contents

Abbreviations

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

A Syntactic Sketch of Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec

Albertha Kuiper and Joy Oram

Contents

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Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec is spoken by about 5,000 people living in and around two municipal centers, San Juan Diuxi and Santiago Tilantongo, in the District of Nochixtlán, Oaxaca, Mexico. Large colonies of speakers of this language are also found in Mexico City, the city of Puebla, and the city of Oaxaca. The speech of Tilantongo differs in minor ways from that of Diuxi; for example, Tilantongo forms are often less contracted than those of Diuxi. This sketch is based on the variety spoken in Diuxi.

According to Caso (1979a, 1979b), based on his study of the *Codex Nuttall* (1902), Tilantongo was the capital of a vast Mixtec city-state. Eight Deer, an eleventh century ruler, subdued one town after another until he controlled almost all of the Mixteca. After his death, however, the empire he built was dissolved, and it never regained its past glory. For more about the history of the Mixtec kings, see Smith (1973) and Spores (1967).

Because both Diuxi and Tilantongo are situated in badly eroded land, at least one member of each family unit spends six or more months each year working in Oaxaca City or Mexico City to supplement the family income; the life of migrants from Tilantongo in Mexico City has been described by Butterworth (1962, 1975). Also, primary schools have been in the area for perhaps five decades. Consequently, many of the men and some of the women have a working knowledge of Spanish. Among themselves, however, they speak Mixtec by preference, and children continue to learn Mixtec as their first language.

This sketch is based on data gathered by the authors during fieldwork in Diuxi beginning in 1965 for Oram and in 1971 for Kuiper. All examples have been checked by Oram with Amelia Martínez de Matías or by Kuiper with Ysauro Martínez Pablo. Both were born in Diuxi and grew up there. The text in chapter seven was dictated to Oram by Arturo Martínez Cruz, also from Diuxi. He learned the story from his grandfather, who had been one of the village storytellers, and dictated it in 1972, when he was sixteen years old. Part of the data base for this sketch consists of a collection of eighty-two texts dictated by Amelia Martínez de Matías and thirty-six texts dictated by Arturo Martínez Cruz (Oram n.d.). These texts were dictated to Oram along with a Spanish translation, and they contain literal and free English translations in the same form as the examples in this sketch.

The preparation of this sketch was aided by a concordance prepared by computer in 1968 at the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, supported by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

In this sketch Kuiper was responsible for chapters two, three, and five, and Oram for chapters one, four, six, and seven, and also this introduction. Because of differing analytical perspectives, the parts of this sketch do not always dovetail the way they would if a single author had composed the entire sketch. Without Barbara Hollenbach's excellent work as teacher, writer, and friend, the drawing together of this material into a "finished whole" would not have been possible.

0.2 Phonology

Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec has the following segmental phonological units: voiceless stops and affricate *t ch k kw,* voiced stops *d g* (only after *n*), voiceless fricatives *s sh x xw,* voiced fricatives *v* (bilabial) *đ y,* nasals *m n ñ,* liquids *l r,* laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e ɨ a u o,* and nasalized vowels *in en* (rare) *ɨn an un on.* In Spanish loanwords some of the above phonemes have a wider distribution, and the following additional phonemes occur: *p b gw f* (bilabial fricative; some speakers only). The segmental phonemes are described more fully in Oram and Pike (n.d.).

Two analyses have been proposed for the tone system of this language, one by Pike and Oram (1976), and one by Daly (1978). In the Pike and Oram system, there are two levels of tone, high and low, and also a contrastive stress. In the Daly system, there are two tone features, [High] and [Modified], which define four tones in underlying forms. These underlying features undergo a variety of rules that produce the surface tones.

In the chapters for which Kuiper is responsible, surface tone is written, based on a modified version of the Daly analysis. An acute accent is used

for high tone, a macron for mid tone, a circumflex for a high downglide, and a vertical stroke for stress; low tone is unmarked. In the chapters for which Oram is responsible, basic tones are written, using the Pike and Oram system. An acute accent is used for high tone, and a vertical stroke for stress; low tone is unmarked.

Completive aspect is written as *n* followed by a hyphen. Following this proclitic, a number of consonants undergo phonological changes. Voiceless consonants except *t* and *ch* become voiced; *sh,* which is often somewhat retroflexed, becomes a voiced retroflexed alveopalatal affricate; *x* and *xw* become *g* and *gw;* and *y,* which is a voiced alveopalatal fricative, becomes a voiced alveopalatal affricate. In this sketch, however, the underlying forms are written.

Five postclitic pronouns are also written with a hyphen: -*í* 'I (familiar)', -*ñ* 'you (respect)', -*n* 'you (familiar, man speaking)', -*s* 'he (man speaking)' and -*t* 'it (animal)'. The two second-person forms differ in tone (high versus low) in the analysis used by Kuiper. In the analysis used by Oram, however, the two pronouns both have high tone in their basic forms, but belong to different sandhi classes; both are written -*ñ.*

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1
Basic Sentences

1.1 Statements

Verbs fall into three classes—content, equative, and stative. Sentences with content verbs are impersonal, intransitive, or transitive; transitive and intransitive sentences may 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 an equative or content verb. Each of these sentence types may take a peripheral location or time element. They may also have any element within them fronted to indicate focus. In addition, each of these types may be used as a sentential complement within another sentence.

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

> *n-tnaá*
> COM-quake
> There was an earthquake.

> *n-tú 'ú*
> COM-dawn
> It dawned.

ɲíni
CON:be:late
It's late.

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

kíshí   ɗá
POT:come   I:RES
I will come.

kí 'ɗí   ún
CON:sleep   you:FAM:WS
You are sleeping.

káá-s
CON:lie-he:MS
He is lying down.

kaná   ɗá 'ú
CON:call   rain
It is thundering.

nda 'hí   ɲá 'ɲá
CON:cry   coyote
The coyote is howling.

kíshí   ɗú 'tú
POT:come   priest
The priest will come.

n-shí 'hí   vilú
COM-die   cat
The cat died.

tnúndáha   nga 'lú
POT:marry   Charles
Charles will marry.

n-shitá   ɲáɗihí
COM-sing   woman
The woman was singing.

(See also 7.7, 7.19, 7.30, 7.32, 7.39, 7.58, 7.64–65, and 7.72.)

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

shihí *tí* *ndúté*
CON:drink it:AML water
The animal is drinking water.

shán'hnú *té* *yútnú*
CON:break he:ws tree
He breaks the pole.

đíkó *ñá* *nú'ní*
CON:sell she corn
She sells corn.

ndoñúhú *đá* *tviní*
CON:need I:RES money
I need money (Sp. *tomín*).

đándéchí *ró* *triú*
CON:winnow we:IN wheat
We are winnowing wheat (Sp. *trigo*).

đákee *mushú* *í'tú*
POT:harvest hired:hand cornfield
The hired-hands (Sp. *mozo*) will harvest the cornfields.

kááá *vá'há* *alvañíí* *véhé*
POT:do good mason house
The mason (Sp. *albañil*) will build the house.

(See also 7.1, 7.13–14, 7.26, 7.28, 7.47, and others.)

Some verbs have two sense discriminations, one transitive and the other intransitive, as seen by comparing the following pairs of sentences.

shashí *té*
CON:eat he:ws
He is eating.

cf. *shash* *konexú* *ndúchí*
  CON:eat rabbit bean
  The rabbit (Sp. *conejo*) is eating the bean plants.

kunú *té*
CON:weave he:ws
He is weaving.

cf. *kunú* *té* *ñađió*
  CON:weave he:ws strength:belt
  He is weaving a strength belt.

kahú   ɖá
CON:read I:RES
I am reading.

cf. *kahú   ɖá   livrú*
     CON:read I:RES book
     I am reading the book (Sp. *libro*).

kí'kú   ɖí'hí-ŕ
CON:sew mother-my:FAM
My mother is sewing.[1]

cf. *kí'kú   ñá   shá'tú   tá'á-ŕ*
     CON:sew she   pants   father-my:FAM
     She is sewing my father's pants.

The sentence level direct object interacts in complex ways with the verbal marker *ñáha* 'known object' (see §2.1.3); in compounds this word has a variant form *áhan* following *i*.

To express reflexive object, the specifier *méé* is used before a compound free pronoun of the *mee* series (see §5.4).

ndehá-ŕ   méé   méé-ŕ
CON:look:at-I:FAM SPEC SPEC-me:FAM
I look at myself.

1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, associative, instrument, and referent. In addition, transitive verbs may take an indirect object adjunct. Adjuncts follow the subject in intransitive sentences and usually follow the object in transitive sentences.

The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location; this adjunct is normally required with verbs that express placement, position, or change of location.

With transitive verbs that express placement (or occasionally position), the locative adjunct follows the direct object. With intransitive verbs that express position, it follows the subject.

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[1]Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec pronouns do not distinguish grammatical function (see §5.4). It would therefore be more accurate to gloss them consistently by a single English form. I have, however, chosen to gloss them by the English form most appropriate in the context in order to enable the reader to understand the structure of the Mixtec examples more quickly.

With placement verbs:

> shaxán   té   danhmá íchí
> CON:spread:out he:ws   cloth   road
> They spread clothes out on the road.

> n-chítúú-s   tí   shí'tí   ñúnú
> COM-put:in-he:MS   it:AML   stomach   net
> He put it (the rabbit) inside the net carrying bag.

> n-shodó   ní-s   nté   ínhní yá'tá ñá'ñá
> COM-pour   LIM-he:MS   it:LIQ   hot   back   coyote
> He poured the hot water down the coyote's back.

> dake'é   ní   yekó   chí'kí   íñú
> CON:put:in LIM   Yeco   prickly:pear:fruit   thorn

> > yúhu   ñá'ñá
> > mouth coyote

> Yeco (the mythical opossum) puts a thorny prickly-pear in the
> coyote's mouth.

> ndádá   kútú ñá   í'tá   tndó'hó   véñu'hú
> CON:do:again   tied she   flower vase   church
> She is putting flowers in the church vases.

> ñúhú   té   koroná di'kí   té
> CON:wear he:ws   crown   head   his:ws
> They wear crowns (Sp. corona) on their heads.

> (See also 7.29.)

With position verbs:

> íó   dá   yúkú
> CON:exist   I:RES   mountain
> I live in the mountains. or I live on the mountain.

> túú   ñá   véhé
> CON:be   she   house
> She is at home.

> yíhí   dá'hyá dá   shkwelá
> CON:be:in   child   my:RES school
> My child is in school (Sp. escuela).

íó   kwé'hé,   í'tá   yá'tá   véhé   dá
CON:exist   many   flower   back   house   my:RES
There are many flowers (growing) behind my house.

túú-s   véshkwelá
CON:be-he:MS   schoolhouse
He is at school.

(See also 7.69.)

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct occurs after the subject. There is no syntactic distinction between locative adjuncts that refer to source and those that refer to destination. Sometimes the verb makes it clear which is intended, and sometimes the larger context.

xwándíshí   ñá   ñúkóhyo
INC:return:coming   she   Mexico:City
She is returning from Mexico City.

xí'hín   té   ñútnúu
POT:go   he:WS   Tilantongo
He is going to Tilantongo.

shinó   té   yúkú
CON:run   he:WS   mountain
He is running from the mountain. *or* He is running to the mountain.

n-kí'ú   ñá'ñá   kúralí
COM-enter   coyote   corral
The coyote entered the corral (Sp. *corral*).

n-ké'é   tí   dó'hó   í'dú
COM-enter   it:AML   ear   deer
It (the cricket) entered the deer's ear.

n-kéé   dá   metrú
COM-leave   I:RES   subway
I left the subway (Sp. *metro*).

The indirect object adjunct usually follows the direct object, and it is usually marked by the locative noun *nú'ú* 'face'.

díkó   té   nú'ní   nú'ú   mariá
CON:sell   he:WS   corn   face   Mary
He is selling corn to Mary (Sp. *María*).

> *n-túndaha ñá   telegramá   nú'ú   kú'hú   ñá*
> COM-send she   telegram   face   sister:FE her
> She sent a telegram (Sp. *telegrama*) to her sister.

> *ká'xán-s   yí nú'ú tá'á   í*
> POT:ask-he:MS   UN face father UN
> He will ask her father for her (hand in marriage). (lit. He will
> request her from her father.)

There are, however, a number of cases in which *nú'ú* does not occur. In
one such case, the absence of *nú'ú* is conditioned by the fact that both
subject and indirect object are pronouns. In these sentences the indirect
object immediately follows the subject.

> *chiyá'hú dá   yá   ú'ú   sientú*
> CON:pay   I:RES DEI   two   hundred
> I pay the priest two hundred (Sp. *ciento*) (pesos).

In other cases, the absence of *nú'ú* is conditioned by the verb. For
example, with the verb *dashá* 'to give', it does not occur.

> *dashá   té   ñú'ú   ñá'yíu*
> CON:give   he:WS   palm   people
> He gives palm branches to the people (on Palm Sunday).

Several verbs of giving and speaking are compounds that have the
known-object marker *ñáha*, or its variant *áhan*, as their second element
(see §5.1.1). Sentences containing these verbs do not need to have an
overt indirect object.

> *xúñáha   ró   tkóo*
> POT:give we:IN   tamale
> We will give him/her/them tamales.

> *shíá'hán   ñá   xó'ón*
> CON:speak she   yes
> She says yes (to someone).

Occasionally they do have an overt indirect object, but in such cases,
nú'ú does not occur.

> *n-shíá'hán té   inó   tá'á   té*
> COM-give   he:WS   tobacco   father   his:WS
> He gave tobacco to his father.

> *n-shíá'hán   đá   tá   ndaá   marduán*
> COM-give   I:RES it:flower all   steward
> I gave them (the flowers) to all those in charge of the fiesta (Sp.
> *mayordomo*).

Occasionally an indirect object occurs in the absence of a direct object.

> *shíá'hán   ñá   đá'hyá   ñá*
> CON:speak she   child   her
> She speaks to her children.

The indirect object is not expressed in a sentence with *tá'shí* (or its
reduced form *tá'á*) 'to give', which is used only when the indirect object
refers to first or second person.

> *tá'á   đá   đí'tá*
> POT:give   I:RES tortilla
> I will give you the tortillas.

> *n-tá'shí   tá'á-r̃   dánhmá*
> COM-give   father-my:FAM   cloth
> My father gave me/you/us the clothes.

The associative adjunct is marked by the preposition *shíhín* 'with'. The
function of this adjunct is to double some other element of the sentence;
in most cases this element is the subject.

> *n-shehén   nshú'á   núndúa   shíhín   róbér'tó*
> COM-go   John:ws   Oaxaca:City   with   Robert
> John went to Oaxaca City with Robert (Sp. *Roberto*).

> *n-kísheé   đá   ñúkóhyo   shíhín   đá'hyá đá*
> COM-arrive I:RES Mexico:City with   child my:RES
> I arrived in Mexico City with my child.

> *kíđá   vá'há   đá   véhé   shíhín   ñá'ní   đá*
> CON:do   good   I:RES house   with   brother:ME my:RES
> I am building a house with my brother.

When the associative adjunct is contiguous to the subject, the construc-
tion is ambiguous; it could be considered to contain an additive noun
phrase (see §3.8) as the subject, rather than a subject followed by an
associative adjunct.

> *xahán   mariá   shíhín   kú'hú   ñá*
> CON:speak   Mary   with   sister:FE   her
> Mary is talking to her sister. *or* Mary and her sister are talking.

shashí   té   shíhín   đá'hyá   té
CON:eat   he:WS   with   child   his:WS
He is eating with his children. *or* He and his children are eating.

shikonúú   sú'á   shíhín   ntnáhá séyɨ̵   sɨ̵
CON:walk:around   John:MS   with   every   man:MS   his:MS
John is walking around with all his companions. *or* John and all his
companions are walking around.

The following example shows an associative adjunct doubling the object,
which is in sentence-initial position to indicate focus (see §1.1.8).

ú'ní   ní   peshú   néhé   ró   shíhín   đí'tá   ní
three   LIM   peso   CON:carry   we:IN   with   tortilla   LIM
We're taking ONLY THREE PESOS (Sp. *peso*) and only tortillas.

The instrument adjunct usually precedes the verb (see §1.1.8). In intran-
sitive sentences, however, it may follow the subject, and in transitive
sentences, it may follow the object or come between the subject and the
object. This adjunct is normally not marked by any preposition or locative
noun.

kaná   ñá'yíu ndantú'hú fversá   í
CON:shout   people all   force   UN
The people shout with all their might (Sp. *fuerza*).

đákú'chí   tɨ̵   ñá'yíu   ndúté
CON:wash   it:AML people   water.
It (the elephant) showers the people with water.

kuhú-ɨ̵   kwéshitá
CON:be:sick-I:FAM sickness:sing
I am sick with singing sickness (caused by the "earth-people").

n-téé   ñáha té   ú'ú   tirú pistolá
COM-cast   KNO he:WS   two   shot pistol
He shot someone with two shots (Sp. *tiro*) from a pistol (Sp. *pistola*).

n-kaní   ñađú'hú máchití   đí'kɨ̵ ndáhá-s
COM-hit   thief   machete   head hand-his:MS
The thief hit his fingers with the machete (Sp. *machete*).

n-kaní   ñá   ndáhá   ñá   shí'tí   tɨ̵
COM-hit   she   hand   her   stomach   its:AML
She hit the animal in the stomach with her hand.

> *n-tétní ' í-s   kádená   í ' ná-s*
> COM-tie-he:MS chain   dog-his:MS
> He tied his dogs up with chains (Sp. *cadena*).

Note that in some of the above examples the semantic instrument is in the position where the direct object normally occurs. (An alternative analysis would be to say that these are direct objects rather than instrument adjuncts, and that the following elements are locative adjuncts rather than direct objects.)

The referent adjunct has a wide variety of meanings: 'on behalf of' or 'on account of', 'for' (by proxy), 'extent', 'in exchange for', and 'than'. Usually, but not always, it is signaled by the complex preposition *shá shé 'hé* 'on behalf of' or 'on account of', or by *shá*, which in this context means 'for' (by proxy) or 'in exchange for'. (The word *shá* is basically a prestressed inanimate third person pronoun [see §5.4], but it has a number of special functions. One of the most important is that it serves as a complementizer [see §1.1.9], and it is glossed 'complementizer' in this sketch whenever its function is nonpronominal.) The referent adjunct also occurs with no marker, in which case it means 'extent'.

With *shá shé 'hé:*

> *má kádá-s   ní   íín   shá   shé 'hé tá ' á-s*
> NEG POT:do-he:MS LIM one   CMP foot   father-his:MS
> He won't do one (thing) for his father.

> *díkó   té   nú 'ní   shá   shé 'hé tá ' á   té*
> CON:sell he:ws corn   CMP foot   father his:ws
> He sells (his) corn on account of his father's need.

> *néhé   tí   tkólelu shá   shé 'hé   kwéchí okeí*
> COM:carry it:AML lamb   CMP foot   sin   Okay
> The coyote carried off a lamb on account of Okay's (Sp. *okey*, English *okay*) (the dog's) fault (that he was not watching the corral).

> *n-xántnáhá té   shá   shé 'hé terenú yúkú*
> COM-fight   he:ws   CMP foot   land   mountain
> They were fighting over the mountain land (Sp. *terreno*).

With *shá:*

> *díkó   té   nú 'ní   shá   tá ' á   té*
> CON:sell he:ws corn   CMP father his:ws
> He sells (his father's) corn for his father.

     túndaha   dá   saludó   shá   xwání 'tó
     CON:send I-RES greeting CMP Johnny
     I am sending (you) greetings (Sp. *saludo*) from Johnny (Sp. *Juanito*).

     xwéén   ró   ná 'má shá   íín   peshú
     POT:buy we:IN soap   CMP one peso
     We'll buy soap for a peso.

     xwéén   ró   íín   kiló   ashuká shá ú 'ú peshú
     POT:buy we:IN one kilogram sugar CMP two peso
     We'll buy one kilogram (Sp. *kilo*) of sugar (Sp. *azúcar*) for two pesos.

With no marker:

     n-ká   dákaka-s   barkú ó 'hón kíló 'métro
     COM-PL POT:make:walk-he:MS boat five   kilometer
     They rowed the boat (Sp. *barco*) five kilometers (Sp. *kilómetro*).

The comparative subtype of the referent adjunct is introduced by the
general adverb *dá* 'thus', used here in the sense of 'than'. It occurs only
when the additive *ká* occurs in the verb phrase (see §§2.1.3 and 2.3). (Note
that the main verb of the sentence cannot be repeated after *dá*, and so
this construction clearly constitutes an adjunct and is not a sentence
combination.)

     yá 'hú   ká   vilú yá   dá   í 'ná
     CON:cost ADD cat this thus dog
     This cat costs more than a dog.

     vá 'há ká shiní   méé-ń   dá   méé-dá
     good ADD CON:know SPEC-you:RES thus SPEC-I:RES
     You know better than I (do).

1.1.5 Equative sentences. The minimal form of an equative sentence consists
of a nominal complement followed by an equative verb inflected for aspect and
its subject. The two verbs commonly used in equative sentences are *kúú* 'to be'
and *nání* 'to be named'. A third verb, *ndúu* 'to become', is very restricted in its
use and requires the order verb—subject—nominal complement.

With *kúú* and *nání:*

     í 'ná   kúú   tí
     dog   CON:be it:AML
     It's a dog.

ɖú'tú kúú   té
priest CON:be he:ws
He is a priest.

kárétí'ná nání   ñá
Kathryn   CON:be:named she
Her name is Kathryn (Sp. *Catarina*).

(See also 7.24 and 7.41.)

With *ndúu:*

ndúu-ń   chó'kó
COM:become-you:FAM:MS   turkey:vulture
You became a turkey vulture.

A third person inanimate subject may be unexpressed if no specific pronoun corresponds to its gender class (see §5.4), as seen in the second sentence of the following pair.

ndúté kúú   té
water CON:be it:LIQ
It is water.

shá   luchí   kúú
it:INAN small:SG CON:be
(It) is a small thing. *or* (It) is small.

This occasionally happens in intransitive sentences as well, especially in those that contain position verbs, which often have inanimate subjects.

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

kánhnú tí
big:SG   it:AML
The animal is big.

kánhnú ñá
big:SG   she
She is fat.

nyïi   ñá
very:old she
She is very old.

kaní   đú'hán   tí
long:SG   tail   its:AML
Its tail is long.

kwishí   shí'tí   tí
white   stomach   its:AML
Its underside is white.

(See also 7.33.)

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

kándá
visible
(It) is light.

An equative or content verb is sometimes used to link the stative verb to its subject. These verbs are *kúú* 'to be', *káá* 'to appear', and rarely *íó* 'to exist'. The verb *kúú* tends to convey an intrinsic quality, whereas *káá* tends to convey an external attribute. Many stative verbs, however, conventionally select one, rather than the other.

vá'há kúú   ñá
good   CON:be   she
She is pretty.

ndahú   kúú-s
poor   CON:be-he:MS
He is poor.

vilí   káá   tá
pretty   CON:appear   it:flower
It (the flower) is pretty.

vilí   káá
pretty   CON:appear
(It) is pretty.

tukú   káá   té
different CON:appear   he:WS
He is different (not the same one).

kwihá káá-s
ugly   CON:appear-he:MS
He is ugly.

ndóó   *káá*   *ñá*
clean   CON:appear   she
She is clean.

In a few cases, a stative verb can occur with any of the three content or equative verbs with no apparent meaning difference.

kánhnú   *kúú*   *tá*
big:SG   CON:be   it:flower
It (the flower) is big.

kánhnú   *káá*   *tá*
big:SG   CON:appear   it:flower
It (the flower) is big.

kánhnú   *íó*   *tá*
big:SG   CON:exist   it:flower
It (the flower) is big.

When a stative verb occurs both with and without a content or equative verb, however, there are usually two distinct sense discriminations involved.

vá 'há ñá
good   she
She is good. *or* She is kind.

vá 'há kúú   ñá
good   CON:be   she
She is pretty.

ndahú   té
poor   he:ws
Poor thing! (lit. He [is] poor.)

ndahú   kúú   té
poor   CON:be   he:ws
He is poor.

kánhnú   té
big:SG   he:ws
He is fat.

kánhnú   kúú   tá
big:SG   CON:be   it:flower
It (the flower) is big.

At an earlier stage in the history of the language, the verb *kúú* could apparently precede the stative verb. At the present time, however, such forms have fused, creating derived intransitive verbs (see §5.1.1).

In order to express an aspect other than continuative, it is necessary to inflect the content or equative verb since stative verbs are not inflected for aspect.

> *kánhnú n-káá   tá*
> big:SG   COM-appear it:flower
> It (the flower) was big.

> *kánhnú n-kúú   tí*
> big:SG   COM-be   it:AML
> The animal was big.

> *kánhnú kúkúú   tí*
> big:SG   POT:be   it:AML
> The animal will be big.

> *kánhnú vásh   kúú   tí*
> big:SG   INC:come CON:be   it:AML
> The animal is getting big.

The last example above has progressive aspect, formed by using the directional *vásh* (see §§2.1.2 and 5.1.2).

There are two transitive verbs, *shashí* 'to eat' and *shehén* 'to sniff', that have a second sense discrimination, in which they link a nonagentive subject with a stative verb.

> *á'dí   shash   tí*
> tasty   CON:eat   it:SPH
> They (the tamales) are delicious.

> *vá'há shashí   tí'lá*
> good   CON:eat   bread
> The bread tastes good.

> *vilí   shehén   tá*
> pretty CON:sniff it:flower
> It (the flower) has a lovely perfume.

There is one further equative verb used in stative sentences, *ndúu* 'to become'.

> *vá'há ndúu   tríú   ñá*
> good   COM:become   wheat   her
> Her wheat was good (a good crop).

Stative sentences occasionally occur with adjuncts. In the following ex-
ample, a referent adjunct occurs, and the additive *ká* occurs in the verb
phrase.

> *duxún ká   đá   đá   méé-ń*
> tall   ADD   I:RES   thus   SPEC-you:RES
> I'm taller than you.

1.1.7 Peripheral elements. All sentence types may indicate time and
location. Peripheral location describes the setting of the entire predication
and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning
of some verbs. Peripheral elements may be adverbs or adverb phrases (see
§4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), prepositional phrases (see §4.3),
or subordinate sentences (see §6.2). Peripheral elements follow subject,
object, and adjuncts.

Time:

> *n-tú 'ú   ká 'á   í 'ñú*
> COM-dawn metal   six
> Dawn was at six o'clock.

> *n-sheé   í   íkú*
> COM-arrive   UN   yesterday
> He arrived yesterday.

> *kíshí-s   shá   ñíni*
> POT:come-he:MS   it:INAN   late
> He will come in the afternoon.

> *n-kahndí   tí   ká 'á   kó 'ón*
> COM-explode   it:AML   metal   four
> They (the "fire bulls") went off at four o'clock.

> *néhé   đá   ítí   yarné 'shí*
> CON:carry   I:RES   candle   Friday
> I took candles (to the church) on Fridays (Sp. *viernes*).

> *ñá   náni 'hí   ñá   ndí 'yí   ndé   vítná*
> NEG   CON:find   she   corpse   until   now
> She still hasn't found the body.

Location:

> kídá   tníú   dá   yúkú
> CON:do   work   I:RES mountain
> I work in the mountain fields.

> tíú   té   shí'tí   véñu'hú
> CON:play:instrument   he:ws   stomach church
> They are playing inside the church.

> kídá   vá'há   té   véhé   té   átóxón
> CON:do   good   he:ws   house his:ws Nochixtlán
> He is building his house in Nochixtlán.

> kídá   tníú   té   vétniu
> CON:do   work   he:ws   town:hall
> He is working at the town hall.

(See also 7.31 and 7.68.)

Even though manner is usually expressed in the verb phrase (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3), a peripheral manner sometimes occurs. The word that most frequently serves in this function is the general quantifier *ítáhú* 'a little'. When *ítáhú* occurs with an intensifier, it loses its basic meaning and serves to further intensify the intensifier.

> shánhnú   ká   í   ítáhú
> CON:be:mature   ADD   UN   a:little
> She is a little older.

> yó   ví'shí   ítáhú
> INTS cold   a:little
> It's cold!

The following sentences show various combinations of peripheral elements and adjuncts.

> ndító   yá   vítná ándíu
> CON:be:alive   DEI   now   heaven
> He is alive now in heaven.

> kutuú   í   véhé   í   shíhín   fámiliá í   kí'í   vakasioón
> POT:be   UN   house UN   with   family   UN day   vacation
> He will be at home with his family (Sp. *familia*) during his vacation (Sp. *vacación*).

n-kinéhé   ñáha í   shíhín   kúrushí   íchí   ní'ú
COM-take:out KNO UN with   cross   road middle:of:night
They took it (the image) and the cross (Sp. *cruz*) out to the road at midnight.

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, one, or occasionally two, elements (subject, object, adjunct, or peripheral element) may be focused by permuting them to pre-verb-phrase position. Focus position is used to introduce new material into the discourse. If the subject of an equative sentence is focused, the nominal complement is moved to a position immediately following the verb. Throughout this sketch focused elements are indicated by CAPITALIZATION in the free translation.

Subject focus:

dá'hyá kwechí   dá   yó   ká kuhú
child   small:PL   my:RES INTS PL sick
MY LITTLE CHILDREN are very sick.

méé   ñá   n-kí'kú   dí'ó   ñá
SPEC   she   COM-sew   skirt   her
SHE HERSELF made her skirt.

dá'hyá dá   n-sheén   tá   ndé   ñúkóhyo
child   my:RES COM-buy   it:flower until Mexico:City
MY DAUGHTER bought them (the flowers) in Mexico City.

nlí'pé   n-túndaha telegramá nú'ú dí'hí   í
Philip:ws COM-send   telegram   face mother   UN
PHILIP sent a telegram to his mother.

bruxú yíhí   shí'tí-ń
witch CON:be:in stomach-your:FAM:MS
You are sick BECAUSE OF A CURSE. (lit. A WITCH [Sp. *brujo*] is in your stomach.)

nú'ní yá'hú   ú'shí   peshú
corn   CON:cost ten   peso
CORN costs ten pesos.

nshú'á   n-shehen nú'ndúa   shíhín róbér'tó
John:ws COM-go   Oaxaca:City with   Robert
JOHN went to Oaxaca City with Robert.

méé   ɖá   kíɖá   vá'há   véhé   shíhín   ñá'ní   ɖá
SPEC   I:RES CON:do good   house with   brother:ME my:RES
I am building the house with my brother.

ɖañá   nání   séli'á
I:RES   CON:be:named   Celia
MY name is Celia (Sp. *Celia*).

méé   té   kúú   ɖú'tú
SPEC   he:ws   CON:be priest
HE is the priest.

(See also 7.25, 7.49, 7.60, and 7.62.)

Object focus:

triú   chiɖoyúú   ró
wheat   CON:pound   we:IN
We are pounding out THE WHEAT.

kwé'hé   ngútú   n-shó'ɖó   té
many   bull   COM-ride   he:ws
They rode MANY BULLS.

kwé'hé   ɖí'tá   téé   ɖá
many   tortilla   POT:cast I:RES
I will make MANY TORTILLAS.

kúrushí   néhé   kantóór   kampioón
cross   CON:carry   cantor   cemetery
The cantor (Sp. *cantor*) is carrying THE CROSS to the cemetery (Sp. *panteón?*).

ɨ́n   ɨ́n   tndáku   xán   shiá'hán   tí   chiliɖáá   kwechí
one one worm   that   CON:give   it:AML   bird   small:PL
The mother bird gives EACH OF THOSE WORMS to the baby birds.

shínxán   xwétniu   ró   ñɨ́hɨ́
that:thing POT:use   we:IN   sweatbath
We will use THAT (BUCKET) in the sweatbath.

Locative adjunct focus:

ínxán   n-sheé   niú
over:there COM-arrive   Christ:child
The Christ child (Sp. *niño*) arrived OVER THERE.

yéñu ʼhú   xwándíshí   té   shíhín noviá
church:door INC:return:coming he:ws   with   bride
He and his bride (Sp. *novia*) return TO THE DOOR OF THE CHURCH.

kahá   tótó   yíʼhí   tí
hip   boulder   CON:be:in   it:AML
It (the lizard) lives UNDER THE BIG ROCK.

ñíhí   n-kíʼú-ñ
sweatbath COM-enter-you:RES
You entered THE SWEATBATH.

shíká   íó-ñ
far   CON:exist-you:RES
You live FAR AWAY.

ndaá   yá   ndúkútú   íʼtá
all   DEI   CON:become:tied   flower
The flowers are tied to ALL THE CROSSES.

Indirect object focus:

fámiliá   ñá   n-shíáʼhán   ñá   íʼtá
family   her   COM-give   she   flower
She gave flowers TO HER FAMILY.

Instrument adjunct focus:

yúʼchí   shanhní   nshúʼá   ngútú
knife   CON:kill   John:ws   bull
John kills the bull WITH A KNIFE.

káʼá   káchí   súʼá   tútnú
axe   CON:chop John:MS   firewood
John is chopping firewood WITH AN AXE.

yóhó   dúʼkú   ró   ndáha   tí
rope   POT:tie we:IN   hand   its:AML
We'll tie its hoofs WITH ROPE.

tnúshíi   xántnáhá té
gun   CON:fight he:ws
They are fighting WITH GUNS.

shínxán   kéé   íín   dúnʼhnú
that:thing CON:leave one   shirt
One shirt will be made WITH THAT (PIECE OF CLOTH).

Referent adjunct focus:

> shá shé'hé ró   n-yá'há   yá   pasioón
> CMP foot   us:IN COM-pass   DEI   passion
> He suffered (Sp. *pasión*) FOR US.

> shá shé'hé ñihí   n-sheé-ŕ   shá   kwaá
> CMP foot   sweatbath COM-arrive-I:FAM it:INAN blind
> I arrived at night BECAUSE OF THE SWEATBATH (I HAD TAKEN).

Focused associative adjunct does not occur. However, when at discourse level it is necessary to focus what would ordinarily be the associative adjunct, subject and associative adjunct are reversed; the associative adjunct becomes the focused subject and the subject becomes the associative adjunct. In the discourses from which the following sentences were taken, the topic of the first discourse is I, and the topic of the second discourse is he, but they appear as associative adjuncts rather than as subjects.

> ó'hón   mushú   dá   kidá   tníú shíhín dá
> five   hired:hand my:RES CON:do work with   me:RES
> MY FIVE HIRED HANDS work with me.

> radiú ínxán   xí'hín   shíhín té
> radio over:there   POT:go   with   him:ws
> THAT RADIO (Sp. *radio*) will go with him. (The radio that he stole is to appear with him before the judge.)

Because both time and location are so important in paragraph and discourse linkage, both occur frequently in focus position.

Location focus:

> nú'ú   í'tú   dá   nátnii   dá   ndí'chí
> face   cornfield my:RES POT:grasp:again I:RES green:bean
> I will harvest the green beans IN MY CORNFIELD. (The corn and beans and squash all grow together.)

> yútnú ínxán   n-kidá vá'há chilidáá tá'ká tí
> tree over:there COM-do good bird   nest   its:AML
> The bird built her nest IN THE TREE OVER THERE.

(See also 7.52 and 7.70.)

Time focus:

> *vítná   n-shiní   ɗá   víkó*
> now   COM-see   I:RES   fiesta
> NOW I have seen the fiesta.

> *martéshí   n-shó ᶦɗó té   ngútú*
> Tuesday   COM-ride he:ws   bull
> TUESDAY (Sp. *martes*) they rode the bulls.

> *shá   kwaá   kóó   ngútú   ñú ᶦhú*
> it:INAN blind   POT:exist bull   fire
> AT NIGHT there will be fire bulls (men dancing with cane frameworks
> of fireworks resembling bulls).

> *íkú   n-shé   xéhén   ró   tnú*
> yesterday COM-go POT:carry we:IN   it:WOD
> YESTERDAY we brought it (the table) (back to the village).

> *ká ᶦá   ú ᶦshí   ɗá ᶦtné   shá   n-kúhínhní*
> metal ten   morning   already COM-be:hot
> AT TEN O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING it was already hot.

> *ká ᶦá   shhú ᶦú   n-kúhínhní   ndehé*
> metal twelve   COM-be:hot   strong
> AT NOON it was exceedingly hot.

> *ká ᶦá   ú ᶦní   ká ᶦá   shá   ñíni   ñá ᶦtú   ká   ínhní*
> metal three   metal   it:INAN late   NEG   ADD hot
> AT THREE O'CLOCK it was no longer hot.

> *ɗómingú   kutuú   ró   ú ᶦshá   avrííl*
> Sunday   POT:be   we:IN   seven   April
> SUNDAY (Sp. *domingo*) it will be the seventh of April (Sp. *abril*). (lit.
> SUNDAY we will be at the seventh of April.)

(See also 7.24 and 7.45.)

Note that, in the last example given, *ú ᶦshá avrííl* 'the seventh of April' is
the locative adjunct of the verb *túú* 'to be', even though it refers to time.

Because of its use in paragraph linkage, location may occur twice in the
same basic sentence, once in focus position and once in unfocused posi-
tion.

> *ínxán   ɗákwahá   í   shkwelá*
> over:there   CON:learn   UN   school
> THERE he is learning at school.

Occasionally two elements may be focused in a single basic sentence.

ndaá país   ndaá ñádihi   kidá   tníú
all   country all   woman   CON:do work
IN ALL THE COUNTRY (Sp. *país*) ALL THE WOMEN work.

yúú   ú'shá peshú yá'hú
palm:mat   seven peso   CON:cost
PALM MATS cost SEVEN PESOS.

(See also 7.42.)

It is possible to focus a subject more strongly by inserting a pause after the fronted subject and a coreferential clitic pronoun in the normal subject position.

tkólinchí / íó   tí
lizard   CON:exist it:AML
As for the lizard, it exists.

méé té / néhé   té   pañú   ñá
SPEC he:ws CON:carry he:ws shawl her
As for him (the bridegroom), he brings (her) her shawl (Sp. *paño*).

dá'hyá dá   / ñúnuú   í   tkáchi
child   my:RES CON:care:for UN sheep
As for my daughter, she herds the sheep.

It is also possible to focus any element more strongly by using a pause after the fronted constituent and the subordinate conjunction *chí* 'because' after the pause. In two of the following examples, all of which come from text material, more than a single basic sentence is included in order to provide a fuller context for this use of *chí*.

méé dá / chí   ndváha   dá
SPEC I:RES   because CON:become:good I:RES
As for me, I am indeed fine again.

ndaá ki'ú káá   ró   // kó   vítná / chí   ñá'há
all   day   POT:eat we:IN but now   because NEG
EVERY DAY we will eat (meat) (after Lent). But NOW indeed not.

ñá   túú   di'tá   vítná // kó   tné'é   / chí   kóó
NEG CON:be tortilla now   but tomorrow because POT:exist
There aren't (any) tortillas now. But TOMORROW indeed there will be.

1.1.9 Sentential complements. Basic sentences occur both as subject complements and as object complements within other sentences, but object complements occur more frequently and with a greater number of verbs. Frequently object complements occur in indirect quotation sentences with verbs of speaking, hearing, thinking, knowing, feeling, or believing. They are often introduced by the prestressed inanimate pronoun *shá,* which functions as a complementizer.

> *shání   í'ní   dá   shá   n-tnaá*
> CON:stand insides I:RES CMP COM-quake
> I think there was an earthquake.

> *shání   í'ní-r̂   shá   kíshí   nshú'á*
> CON:stand insides-I:FAM CMP POT:come   John:ws
> I think John will come.

> *n-shiní-r̂   shá   yó   ndoñúhú   tnuyú'tú   yáú*
> COM-see-you:RES CMP INTS CON:be:necessary stalk   maguey
> You have seen that the stalk of the maguey (century plant) is very useful.

> *xahán   í   shá   n-sheén   í   í'tá*
> CON:speak UN CMP COM-buy   UN flower
> She says she bought the flowers.

> *xahán   ñá   shá   kwechí   í*
> CON:speak she CMP small:PL   UN
> She says they (the "earth-people") are small.

Sometimes an object complement contains another object complement embedded within it.

> *shání   í'ní   dá   shá   méé   ñá   shíá'hán   méé*
> CON:stand insides I:RES CMP SPEC she CON:speak SPEC
>
> *té   shá   má   kíshí   ñá*
> him:ws CMP NEG POT:come   she
> I think SHE is telling him that she won't come.

When the object complement occurs with a set of verbs that includes *xwíní* 'to want', *kíshehé* 'to begin', *kwahá* 'to be able', or *kunú* 'to want' (restricted to occurrence with *kí'dí* 'to sleep'), the verb within the complement must be in potential aspect. All of these verbs except *xwíní* require that the subject of the complement sentence be coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence.

xwíní   ɗá   shá   káɗá   ɗá   íín   mishá
CON:want I:RES   CMP   POT:do I:RES one   mass
I want to have a mass (Sp. *misa*) said.

xwíní   ɗá   shá   kíí-ń
CON:want I:RES CMP   POT:come-you:RES
I want you to come.

n-kíshehé té   shá   káɗá   vá'há té   véhé
COM-begin he:ws   CMP   POT:do good he:ws house
He began to build the house.

ñá   kwahá   ɗá   shá   xahán   ɗá
NEG CON:be:able I:RES CMP   POT:speak I:RES
I am not able to speak.

kunú-ř   shá   kí'ɗí-ř
CON:want-I:FAM CMP   POT:sleep-I:FAM
I want to go to sleep.

With at least one main verb, *xwíní* 'to want', a construction is possible in which a single noun phrase follows either *xwíní* or the main verb and serves as subject of both.

ñá   xwíní   káhní ndí'kó   ñáha
NEG CON:want fever   POT:leave KNO
She still has a fever. (lit. The fever doesn't want to leave someone.)

ñá   xwíní   táhú   yú'ú ɗé
NEG CON:want POT:break rock that
That rock won't break. (lit. That rock doesn't want to break.)

Sentences containing object complements show three distinct kinds of focus. First, it is possible to focus an element within the complement sentence itself.

n-tekú   tnú'hú-ř shá   íkú   n-kíshí   nshú'á
COM-hear word-I:FAM CMP   yesterday COM-come   John:ws
I heard that YESTERDAY John came.

It is also possible to focus an element other than the object complement in the matrix sentence.

méé   ñá   shíhín   yíɨ   ñá   shíhín   tadí'dó   ñá /
SPEC   she   with   husband   her   with   father:in:law   her

  nahá   té   shá   n-tnɨɨ   ñá radiú
  CON:know   he:ws   CMP   COM-grasp   she radio
As for her and her husband and her father-in-law, they know that
she took the radio.

íkú   n-tekú   tnú'hú-ŕ   shá   n-kíshí   nshú'á
yesterday   COM-hear   word-I:FAM   CMP   COM-come   John:ws
YESTERDAY I heard that John came.

Note that these devices serve to eliminate the ambiguity in sentences like
the following.

n-tekú   tnú'hú-ŕ   shá   n-kíshí   nshú'á   íkú
COM-hear   word-I:FAM   CMP   COM-come   John:ws   yesterday
I heard that John came yesterday. *or* I heard yesterday that John
came.

The third kind of focus, which is rare, is to front the entire complement
sentence, in which case the complementizer is deleted.

káshí   tɨ   chú'ún   xwíní   tɨ
POT:eat   it:AML   chicken   CON:want   it:AML
It (the coyote) wants TO EAT THE CHICKENS.

When an equative sentence serves as an object complement, the order
of elements is usually verb—subject—nominal complement rather than
nominal complement—verb—subject (see §1.1.5 above).

ñá'tú tnáhíní   tá'á   ñá   shá   kúú   ñá   ñadú'hú
NEG   CON:be:pleased   father   her   CMP   CON:be   she   thief
Her father is not pleased that she is a thief.

Subject complements occur most frequently in stative sentences; the
complementizer always occurs.

vá'há shá   n-shehén nshú'á
good   CMP   COM-go   John:ws
It is good that John went.

vá'há n-kúú   shá   n-kɨ'ú-ŕ   ñɨhɨ
good   COM-be   CMP   COM-enter-I:FAM   sweatbath
It's good that I took a sweatbath.

ndá'á   shá   ñúhú   ñú'ú   kúú
true   CMP   land   town   CON:be
It's true that (it) is town land.

ñá'tú   ú'hú shá   kádá   vá'há   ró   tí'lá   triú
NEG   bad   CMP   POT:do good   we:IN   bread   wheat
It's not difficult to make bread.

Subject complements also occur with several intransitive verbs, including
kíshehé 'to begin', *ndíhi* 'to be finished', *ndoñúhú* 'to be necessary', and
kwahá 'to be possible'. No complementizer occurs except with *ndoñúhú*.

ndíhi   shahndé dá
CON:be:finished   CON:cut I:RES
I've finished harvesting.

ndíhi   n-kúndoo
CON:be:finished   COM-be:clean
(It [the wheat]) has been threshed well.

ká'á   ú'shí   dá'tné   n-kíshehé sh   áshí'áhán   kwé'hé   dá'hyá
metal ten   morning   COM-begin CON:hurt   sickness   child
AT TEN O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING labor began.

ndoñúhú   shá   ká'dí   ñá   ndá'kú   nú'ú   yó'dó
CON:be:necessary   CMP   POT:grind she   dough   face   metate
She has to grind the dough on a metate.

ñá   kwahá   kúndéhá   ró   tú'tú
NEG   CON:be:possible   POT:look:at we:IN paper
It is not possible for us to look at the paper.

Occasionally an element of the complement sentence is focused within
its own sentence.

ndíhi   tí'lá   káhya   ká'á   ú'shí   íín
CON:be:finished   bread   CON:be:toasted   metal   ten   one
At eleven o'clock THE BREAD will finish baking.

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 marker *á* at the end of the sentence (*ú* is used instead of *á* following a word ending in *a*).[2]

> *n-tnaá   ú*
> COM-quake   INT
> Was there an earthquake?

> *kíshí   té   á*
> POT:come   he:WS   INT
> Is he coming?

> *ni'hí-ń   á*
> COM:gain-you:FAM:MS   INT
> Did you get it?

> *kásh   ká-ń   tí   á*
> POT:eat   ADD-you:FAM:MS   it:SPH   INT
> Will you eat another one (prickly pear fruit)?

> *í'ná   kúú-t   á*
> dog   CON:be-it:AML   INT
> Is it a dog?

> *ndohó   kúú   ñadú'hú   á*
> you:FAM:MS   CON:be   thief   INT
> Are you a thief?

> *ndó'yó   á*
> CON:be:wet   INT
> Is (it) wet?

> *kánhnú   ñá   ú*
> big:SG   she   INT
> Is she fat?

> *vá'túka   shá   kádá   ú'hú   ró-s   á*
> right   CMP   POT:do bad   we:IN-him:MS   INT
> Is it right that we punish him?

---

[2]A YES/NO question is occasionally marked by a tone change, rather than by the use of *á* or *ú,* but a precise description of this change awaits further analysis. Furthermore, in alternative questions in which the second part consists simply of *á ñá'há* 'or not', the *ú* is often omitted, as seen in the examples found in §6.1.1.

sé   yáhá,   kúú-s   đá 'hyá-ń   á
he:MS here,   CON:be-he:MS child-your:FAM:MS   INT
As for this man, is he your son?

méé-ń   xahán   shá ndáđá
SPEC-you:FAM:MS   CON:speak CMP POT:do:again

    vá 'há-ń   nú 'ú   ú 'ní kí 'ú á
    good-you:FAM:MS   face   three day   INT
Do YOU say you will build it again in three days?

ká   kitihí 'ní-ń   shá shé 'hé tnú 'hú-ŕ   á
PL   CON:be-angry-you:FAM:MS CMP foot   word-my:FAM   INT
Are you angry because of what I said?

n-shíá 'hán tín   ñá 'yíu shá   n-shásh yá   ú
COM-give   one   people   it:INAN COM-eat DEI INT
Did someone give him something to eat?

xwíní-ń   shá ndváha-ń   á
CON:want-you:FAM:MS   CMP POT:become:good-you:FAM:MS INT
Do you want to be well again?

(See also 7.12, 7.18, and 7.21.)

1.2.2 WH questions. Any element of a sentence may be questioned by using an appropriate interrogative pronoun, adverb, or noun phrase (see §§5.4, 5.5, and 3.4) in focus position. Occasionally the interrogative marker *ú* used on YES/NO questions occurs together with an interrogative word or phrase.

The interrogative pronoun *xú 'ndú* 'who?' is used alone to question subject or object. Sentences in which the object is questioned are invariably ambiguous; they also have a reading in which the subject is questioned.

Questioning subject:

    xú 'ndú kíshí
    who   POT:come
    Who is coming?

    xú 'ndú kúú   presidenté
    who   CON:be president
    Who is the town president (Sp. *presidente*)?

      xú'ndú xwáhán shíhín tí
      who   INC:go   with   it:AML
      Who went with the animals?

      xú'ndú shánhnú   ká
      who   CON:be:mature ADD
      Who is older?

      xú'ndú kwahá   shá kádá   í
      who   CON:be:able CMP POT:do UN
      Who is able to do (it)?

      xú'ndú n-tashnuní shá kídá-ń   sháhá
      who   COM-rule CMP CON:do-you:RES this:thing
      Who told you to do this?

Questioning object:

      xú'ndú n-shanhní nshú'á
      who   COM-kill   John:ws
      Whom did John kill? *or* Who killed John?

    To question human adjuncts, *xú'ndú* is used together with a following preposition or locative noun.

      xú'ndú shíhín xí'hín-ń
      who   with   POT:go-you:RES
      With whom are you going?

      xú'ndú nú'ú n-shíá'hán   té   í'tá   dé
      who   face COM-give   he:ws flower that
      To whom did he give those flowers?

      xú'ndú nú'ú xí'hín kóyó   dá
      who   face POT:go PL   I:RES
      To whom shall we go?

    The interrogative pronoun *násh* 'what?' is used to question subject, object, or nominal complement.

Questioning subject:

      násh n-kúú
      what COM-be
      What happened?

Questioning object:

> *násh   kádá   ró   vítná*
> what   POT:do   we:IN   now
> What shall we do now?

> *násh   nêhé   sú'á*
> what   CON:carry   John:MS
> What is John carrying?

> *násh   xwéén-ń   tné'é*
> what   POT:buy-you:RES   tomorrow
> What will you buy tomorrow?

> *násh   xahán-ń   shá   shé'hé-ń*
> what   CON:speak-you:FAM:MS   CMP   foot-your:FAM:MS
> What do you have to say for yourself?

(See also 7.9, 7.31, and 7.41.)

Questioning nominal complement:

> *násh   kúú   sháhá*
> what   CON:be   this:thing
> What is this?

> *násh   nání-ń*
> what   CON:be:named-you:RES
> What is your name?

> *násh   kúú   shá   ndó'yó   xán*
> what   CON:be   it:INAN   CON:be:wet   that
> What is that wet thing?

(See also 7.9.)

The interrogative pronoun *ndásh* 'which one?' is used alone to question a noun phrase, which is usually the object.

> *ndásh   xwíní-ń*
> which:one   CON:want-you:RES
> Which one do you want?

The interrogative adverb *ná'ndá* 'how?' questions a stative verb; it also questions the nominal complement of *nání* 'to be named' when its subject is inanimate.

ná 'ndá   kúú   ánú-ń
how   CON:be heart-your:RES
How are you (Sp. *ánima*)?

ná 'ndá   nání   ñú 'ú-ń
how   CON:be:named town-your:RES
What is the name of your town?

The interrogative adverb *ndeshú* or *ndé* 'where?' is used to question locative adjunct and peripheral location.

ndeshú   vá 'shí
where   INC:come
Where is (it) coming from?

ndeshú   xí 'hín
where   POT:go
Where is (it) going?

ndé   xwáhán   té
where   INC:go   he:WS
Where did he go?

ndé   íó
where   CON:exist
Where is (it)?

ndé   íó-n   ú
where   CON:exist-you:FAM:MS   INT
Where do you live?

ndé   íó-s
where   CON:exist-he:MS
Where does he live?

ndeshú   túú-s
where   CON:be-he:MS
Where is he?

ndeshú   tavá-ń   ndúté   vá 'há   xán
where   CON:draw:out-you:FAM:MS   water   good   that
Where did you get that good water?

ndeshú   n-dákwahá sé   yáhá ndaá   sháhá
where   COM-learn he:MS   here all   this:thing
Where did this man learn all these things?

> *ndeshú   xwíní-ń*   *shá   xí'hín   kóyó   ɖá*
> where CON:want-you:RES   CMP POT:go PL   I:RES
> Where do you want us to go?

Interrogative noun phrases such as *ná kí'ú* and *ná orá* (Sp. *hora*), both of which mean 'when?', are used to question peripheral time.

> *ná   kí'ú   nú'hú*   *té*
> what day POT:return:going   he:ws
> When will he go back?

> *ná   kí'ú   n-tekú-ŕ*   *shá   n-kíshí   nshú'á*
> what day COM-hear-I:FAM   CMP COM-come John:ws
> When did I hear that John came? *or* I heard that John came when?

> *ná   orá   xí'hín-ń*
> what hour POT:go-you:RES
> What time are you going?

> *ná   kí'ú   n-tnaá*   *ú*
> what day COM-quake   INT
> When was the earthquake?

(See also 7.34.)

The interrogative adverbs *núɖa* or *nú* 'why?' and the interrogative noun phrase *ná kwendá* 'why?' question referent adjuncts and subordinate cause and purpose sentences (see §6.2.1).

> *nú   n-sheé*   *ún*
> why COM-arrive   you:FAM:WS
> Why have you come?

> *núɖa   xúún*   *ní'ñí   ún*
> why   CON:be:produced blood   your:FAM:WS
> Why are you bleeding?

> *nú   ñá   xahán-n*   *ú*
> why NEG CON:speak-you:FAM:MS   INT
> Why won't you talk to me?

> *ná   kwendá   néhé*   *nshú'á   ndúté*
> what account CON:carry John:ws   water
> For whom (Sp. *cuenta*) is John carrying water? *or* Why is John carrying water?

(See also 7.10 and 7.15.)

An equative structure containing the sequence *nash kúú shá* is also used to question referent adjuncts and subordinate cause and purpose sentences. This construction is also used to express displeasure.

> *násh   kúú   shá   ndó'yó*
> what   CON:be   CMP   CON:be:wet
> Why is (it) wet? (annoyed)

> *násh   kúú   shá   kásh   ñáha-ń*
> what   CON:be   CMP   POT:eat   KNO-you:FAM:MS
> What do you mean you're going to eat me?

(See also 7.10 and 7.51.)

Sometimes both an interrogative and another element are focused in the same sentence.

> *núḓa   ruhú   ñá   n-shí'áu*
> why   I:FAM   NEG   COM-be:tired
> Why is it that ı am not tired?

(See also 7.15.)

1.2.3 Indirect questions. Any WH question may occur as the object complement with verbs of speaking, knowing, seeing, or hearing. When an interrogative word introduces the object complement, the complementizer *shá* does not occur.

> *shíní   ḓá   xú'ndú   vá'shí*
> CON:see   I:RES   who   INC:come
> I know who is coming.

> *shíní   ḓa   xú'ndú   kúú   ñá'yíu   vá'shí*
> CON:see   I:RES   who   CON:be   people   INC:come
> I know who the person is who is coming.

> *n-tekú   ḓá   násh   n-xahán   té*
> COM-hear   I:RES   what   COM-speak   he:ws
> I heard what he said.

> *kúndéhá   ró   násh   íó*
> POT:look:at   we:IN   what   CON:exist
> We will see what there is.

> *shiní   ḓá   násh   kíḓá   í*
> CON:see   I:RES   what   CON:do   UN
> I know what she is doing.

> *ñá   shiní   đá   násh   kúú*
> NEG CON:see I:RES what CON:be
> I don't know what it is.

> *ñá   shiní   đá   ná   kwé'hé   tnahá   ñá*
> NEG CON:see I:RES what sickness CON:struggle she
> I don't know what illness she has.

> *ñá   shiní   đá   ná   kwendá   n-kíđá   í*
> NEG CON:see I:RES what account COM-do UN
> I don't know why he did it.

> *nahá   đá   násh kúú   shá   xwáhán   í*
> CON:know I:RES what CON:be CMP INC:go UN
> I know why he went away.

> *shiní   đá   ndeshú   xwáhán   í*
> CON:see I:RES where INC:go UN
> I know where he went.

Indirect disjunctive questions may be expressed by means of a sentence combination (see §6.1.1).

1.3 Commands

Any basic sentence type except impersonal may be made into a command.

To form a second person familiar positive command, a basic sentence with its verb in potential aspect and no subject is used.

> *ndónéhé   ñáha*
> POT:raise KNO
> Lift me up!

> *chití'yí   shé'hé-ŕ*
> POT:double:up foot-my:FAM
> Bend my knees!

> *kweđí-t   yerú   vítná*
> POT:press-it:AML iron now
> Brand it with the iron (Sp. *hierro*) now!

> *kúndéhá   kóyó*
> POT:look:at PL
> All of you look!

To form a second person respect command, the subject pronoun is expressed.

> *táá-ń*   *livrú*
> POT:give-you:RES   book
> Give (me) the book!

> *kádá-ń*   *favoór*
> POT:do-you:RES   favor
> Please (Sp. *favor*) do (it)!

A few verbs take the imperative prefix *tá-* (see §5.1.2).

> *tákáné*
> IMP:POT:get:out
> Get out!

> *tánúú*   *vítná*
> IMP:POT:descend   now
> Get down now!

A few verbs have an imperative form that is entirely distinct from the potential aspect of the verb.

> *né'hé*
> IMP:come
> Come here!

> *xwán   nahí*
> IMP:go INTENT
> Go on!

> *xúhún*   *ndátníú-ń*   *yá*
> IMP:take   utensil-your:RES   this
> Take these things of yours.

A more subtle command is formed by using *ió shá* 'exists that' before a basic sentence with its verb in potential aspect. One of the special imperative verb forms may also be used. In this construction *ió* is the main verb and *shá* introduces a subject complement; *ió shá* is very similar to Spanish *hay que* and may be a loan translation from it.

> *ió*   *shá*   *xí'hín-ń*   *vítná*
> CON:exist   CMP   POT:go-you:RES   now
> You must go now!

> *ió*   *shá*   *xwán   nú'hú*   *ún*   *vítná*
> CON:exist   CMP   IMP:go   POT:return:going   you:FAM:WS   now
> You must go home now!

íó   shá   kúniní-ń
CON:exist CMP   POT:listen-you:FAM:MS
You must listen!

To express a negative command, the negative hortatory marker *mash 'kú*
precedes the verb. The familar second person pronoun *ún* 'you (familiar,
woman speaking)' does not occur, but the other second person pronouns
do.

mash 'kú   dándoó   ñáha
NEG:HORT   POT:leave KNO
Don't leave me!

mash 'kú   kádá   kóyó ká-ń
NEG:HORT   POT:do   PL   ADD-you:FAM:MS
Don't do that anymore!

First and third person commands are formed by using the hortatory *ná*
or the negative hortatory *mash 'kú* with the potential aspect of the verb.

ná   dáke 'é-ŕ   yúhu-ń
HORT   POT:put:in-I:FAM   mouth-your:FAM:MS
Let me put it in your mouth! (said rabbit to coyote).

ná   n   ká 'á-ŕ   dí 'kí-ń
HORT   POT:go POT:climb-I:FAM   head-your:FAM:MS
Let me climb up on your head! (said cricket to deer).

ná   xín   ndukú-ŕ   shá   káá-ŕ
HORT   POT:go POT:look:for-I:FAM it:INAN POT:eat-I:FAM
Let me go look for something to eat!

ná   xí 'hín   ró
HORT   POT:go   WE:IN
Let's go!

víitná   yóhó ná   dúkú   ró   ndáhá   tí
now   rope HORT POT:tie WE:IN   hand   its:AML
NOW let's tie its hoofs WITH ROPE!

ná   kúndoo   triú
HORT   POT:be:clean wheat
Let the wheat be clean (from winnowing)!

ná   kundi 'xún vá 'há   tí
HORT   POT:be:tied good   it:AML
Let them (the mules and burros) be well tied!

ná   káshí   kɨtɨ
HORT POT:eat   animal
Let the animals eat!

mash 'kú   xwéén   ró   ɗí 'tá
NEG:HORT POT:buy   we:IN   tortilla
Let's not buy tortillas!

mash 'kú   kíshí   ɗá 'ú ndehé
NEG:HORT POT:come rain   strong
May the heavy rains not come!

(See also 7.38, 7.67, 7.74, and 7.76.)

A command may occur as the object complement of certain verbs.

méé   té   shíá 'hán   shá   ná   kú 'ú   ɗá 'hyá té
SPEC he:WS   CON:speak   CMP   HORT POT:die child   his:WS
HE says let his child die!

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur sentence initial, sentence final, and occasionally between
major constituents of a complex sentence. They are separated from the
rest of the sentence by pause.

yekó   / násh kíɗá-n   ú
Yeco   what CON:do-you:FAM:MS   INT
Yeco (mythical opossum), what are you doing?

stí 'nú / ná 'ɗá   díkó-ń   ɗé 'hén
Tino:MS how:much   CON:sell-you:FAM:MS   grease
Tino, how much do you sell lard for?

káɗá-ń   favoór / ɗí 'ɗí
POT:do-you:RES   favor   aunt
Please do (it), ma'am!

vítná   ndó 'ó-ń   / ná 'ná
now   POT:stay-you:RES   Mama
NOW you will stay here, Mama (said the sun and moon to the spirit
of the sweatbath).

ndé   íó-ń   / ɗí 'ɗí
where CON:exist-you:RES   aunt
Where do you live, ma'am?

násh kídá-n   *ú / í'dú*
what CON:do-you:FAM:MS INT   deer
What are you doing, deer? (mythical)

mash 'kú ndú 'híní-ń   */ ná 'ná / shá kuhú-ń*
NEG:HORT POT:be:anxious-you:RES Mama   CMP CON:be:sick-you:RES
Don't be anxious, Mama, that you're sick (said the sun and moon to
the spirit of the sweatbath).

(See also 7.9, 7.31, and 7.74.)

An initial vocative is occasionally doubled.

shákwe'e / shákwe'e   / né 'hé   né 'hé
Shakwee   Shakwee   IMP:come IMP:come
Shakwee, Shakwee (name of mythical deer), come, come!

1.5 Sentential Markers

The interrogative marker *á* occurs at the end of any basic sentence and
converts it into a YES/NO question; see §1.2.1 for examples. When a
vocative occurs at the end of a YES/NO question, it follows the
interrogative marker.

túú-ń   *á / dí 'dí*
CON:be-you:RES INT   aunt
Are you at home, ma'am?

The solidarity marker *ví* occurs at the end of statements in potential
aspect; it indicates either a suggestion or agreement with someone else's
suggestion.

xí 'hín   ró   ví
POT:go   we:IN SOLIDARITY
We'll go then (said the deer to the cricket in agreement).

kátá-ń   *ví*
POT:sing-you:FAM:MS SOLIDARITY
You sing then (suggested the deer to the cricket).

ná   xí 'hín ró   nú 'ú n-shitá-ń
HORT POT:go we:IN   face COM-sing-you:FAM:MS

  xán   *ví*
  over:there SOLIDARITY
Let's go over there where you sang then (suggested the cricket to
the deer).

The quotative marker *né* occurs at the end of statements, questions, and commands that repeat something that someone else has just said. When it occurs with YES/NO questions, it follows the interrogative marker.

yá'hú   tnú   ó'hón peshú   né
CON:cost it:WOD   five   peso   QUOTATIVE
It (the chair) costs five pesos, (she) says.

íó   tuhá-ń   á   né
CON:exist   ready-you:RES   INT   QUOTATIVE
Are you ready? (she) says.

kíí-ń   semaná   / xí'hín ró   né
POT:come-you:RES   week   POT:go we:IN   QUOTATIVE
Come in a week (Sp. *semana*), (and) we will go, (he) says.

2

Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

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

2.1.1 Verb nuclei. Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are idioms composed of a verb plus a modifying word, which may be a noun, a content verb, a stative verb, a general adverb, a locative adverb, an idiom, or a word whose class cannot be determined.

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.

> *tekū*   *(ɗá)*
> CON:hear   (I:RES)
> (I) hear.

> *ndutê*   *(i)*
> CON:disperse   (UN)
> (The people) are dispersing.

> *shashī*   *(ɗá)*
> CON:eat   (I:RES)
> (I) eat.

shuhā   (ɗá)
CON:wipe   (I:RES)
(I) wipe.

ndoyô   (ɗa)
CON:get:wet (I:RES)
(I) get wet.

xahân   (ɗa)
CON:speak   (I:RES)
(I) speak.

nihî   (ɗa)
CON:receive (I:RES)
(I) receive.

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a noun. The noun is often the logical direct object, but it may also correspond to some other role, such as a locative adjunct.

kiɗā   tníu   (ɗa)
CON:do   work   (I:RES)
(I) work.

tnɨ̈   ndáhá (ɗá)
CON:take   hand   (I:RES)
(I) shake hands.

xahān   ɗóho (ɗá)
CON:speak ear   (I:RES)
(I) exhort.

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by another verb; both verbs may undergo a tone change as part of the process of idiom formation.

shaxān   kíɗî   (ɗa)
CON:lay   sleep (I:RES)
(I) lay (somebody) down. (cf. *shaxān* 'CON:lay', *kíɗî* 'POT:sleep')

nēhē   tnɨ̈   (ɗa)
CON:carry take   (I:RES)
(I) carry on the custom. (cf. *nēhē* 'CON:carry', *tnɨ̈* 'POT:take')

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

kidā   adí   (da)
CON:make   tasty (I:RES)
(I) make tasty.

nēhē   túhâ   (da)
CON:carry   prepared (I:RES)
(I) carry something extra in case of need.

ñinī   kwū
CON:be:late green
(It) becomes dark.

shinō   kúdí   (ñá)
CON:run:away   lazy   (she)
(She) runs away from work.

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

kanā   shíin   (ñá)
CON:cry:out in:pain (she)
(She) cries out in pain.

shashī   ndéē   (ña)
CON:eat around:the:edges (she)
(She) eats while walking.

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

tnaā   níhnó   (dá)
CON:twist   within (I:RES)
(I) knead.

shitō   nihni   (da   ñâ)
CON:examine   inside (I:RES her)
(I) visit (her).

dakā   níhnó   (dá)
CON:mix   within (I:RES)
(I) mix (something inside something with an opening at the top).

A verb-plus-idiom nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by two or more words with a lexically specialized meaning. Only one example has been found to date; it requires a plural subject.

kidā   ɨn   núú   (ro)
CON:do   one   face   (we:IN)
(We) do the same thing.

A verb-plus-indeterminate-element nucleus consists of a verb followed by a word whose meaning is not known. Because these words occur in only a few frozen forms, it is not possible to determine their meanings.

dakā   yuhâ   (da)
CON:cause:to:open ?   (I:RES)
(I) yawn.

2.1.2 Preverbal elements. There are eight orders of preverbal elements; from the nucleus out they are: directional, habitual, plural, completive aspect, truth value, hortatory, manner, and temporal.

There are four directionals, which are reduced forms of four verbs of motion and arrival. Three of these verbs occur in a variety of aspect forms. They indicate movement in relation to a base. A fuller description of these verbs and their function is found in Kuiper and Merrifield (1975) and in Macaulay (1985). Directionals occur only with the potential aspect form of the verb nucleus. Prefixes that help to signal potential aspect do not, however, occur following a directional (see §5.1.2). The following table lists the directionals, their meanings, the full forms of the motion verbs that served as sources for them, and their glosses.

Marker		Full form	
ndi	'will return'	*ndishi*	POT:return
ndī	'returns'	*ndishī*	CON:return
ndí	'returned'	*ndíshi*	COM:return
xɨn or *n*	'will go (away)'	*xɨhɨn*	POT:go
shē	'goes (and returns)'	*shéhên*	CON:go
n-shé	'went (and returned)'	*n-shéhên*	COM-go
xwān	'went (away)'	*xwáhân*	INC:go
ki	'will come (and go)'	*kishi*	POT:come
kī	'comes (and goes)'	*kishī*	CON:come
n-kí	'came (and went)'	*n-kíshi*	COM-come
vāsh	'is coming'	*váshî*	INC:come
nú	'will go home'	*núhû*	POT:go:home

All except *nú* occur as simple directionals; *nú* occurs only in compound directionals. The following examples show simple directionals used in sentences.

> *ndī*   *kotō*   *(ña   chǔún   ña)*
> CON:return POT:examine (she chicken   her)
> (She) returns to look after (her chickens).

> *ndí*   *kata*   *(ña)*
> COM:return POT:sing (she)
> (She) returned to sing.

> *xín*   *néhe*   *(ɖa   tu'tu)*
> POT:go POT:carry (I:RES   paper)
> (I) will go and take (the paper).

> *n-she*   *ndéhâ*   *(ɖa)*
> COM-go POT:look:at (I:RES)
> (I) went to look at (it) and came back.

> *xwān* *ndéhâ*   *(ña)*
> INC:go POT:look:at (she)
> (She) went to look at it.

> *ki*   *kwēkā* *ñáha(-s)*
> CON:come POT:get KNO(-he:MS)
> (He) comes to get someone.

> *n-kí*   *kutu*   *(te   itû)*
> COM-come POT:plow (he:WS cornfield)
> (He) came to plow (the cornfield) and returned.

(See also 7.2, 7.47, 7.67, and 7.69.)

Compare the reduced potential aspect form of 'to carry' and 'to look at' in the above examples with the full forms with prefixes.

> *kanehe*   *(ɖá   tu'tu)*
> POT:carry (I:RES   paper)
> (I) will carry (the paper).

> *kundeha*   *(ɖâ)*
> POT:look:at (I:RES)
> (I) will look at (it).

In addition to its directional meaning, *vāsh* 'is coming' has also developed the aspectual meaning 'progressive' when it occurs with some verb nuclei. In these verbs *vāsh* plus the potential aspect form expresses

progressive action, and the simple continuative form expresses only habitual action. The construction with *vāsh* is also used to signal continuative aspect in verbs that otherwise have homophonous potential and continuative forms.

> *vāsh   kwenhnu (ɖâ)*
> INC:come POT:grow (I:RES)
> (I) am growing.

> *vāsh   ndɨhɨ   (trɨ̄ú)*
> INC:come POT:finish   (wheat)
> (The wheat [Sp. *trigo*]) is being consumed.

> *vāsh   kútnunī   ini   (ɖá)*
> INC:come POT:be:marked insides (I:RES)
> (I) am advancing in understanding.

The directional *xwān* 'went' (away) has developed the aspectual meaning 'already begun'. It is used in this meaning only with verbs that refer to some kind of movement.

> *xwān   núu(-s)*
> INC:go POT:descend:again(-he:MS)
> (He) entered descending again (and is still inside).

> *xwān   ndɨu(-s)*
> INC:go POT:enter:again(-he:MS)
> (He) entered again (and is still inside).

> *xwān   kââ(-s)*
> INC:go POT:ascend(-he:MS)
> (He) went up (and is still up).

In addition to the simple directionals already described there are also four kinds of compound directionals. The first kind contains a simple directional followed by *ndi*. These are: *ki ndī* and *vāsh ndí*. The second kind contains a directional based on the verb 'to go' followed by *nú: xɨn nu, she nu, n-shé nu,* and *xwān nū*. The third kind contains only *vāsh kí*. The fourth kind of compound directional has three parts; it consists of *vāsh kí ndī*. The directional that occurs farthest to the left carries the aspect; other directionals in the compound appear to be in potential aspect, but the aspect of the underlying form is often obscured by tone sandhi.

With directionals followed by *ndi:*

ki   ndī   nehe   (ña   kídî   da)
POT:come POT:return POT:carry (she pot   my:RES)
(She) will return and bring (my pot) back.

ki   ndī   nakate   (da   dánhma)
POT:come POT:return POT:wash (I:RES clothing)
(I) will come back and wash (clothes).

vāsh   ndí   nehe   (dá   tu 'tu)
INC:come POT:return POT:carry (I:RES paper)
(I) am coming and bringing (the paper) back.

vāsh   ndí   kwido   (ña   ndatníu   ña)
INC:come POT:return POT:carry:on:back (she thing   her)
(She) is coming back to get (her things).

vāsh   ndí   kúshî(-s   dahyá-s)
INC:come POT:return POT:bury(-he:MS child-his:MS)
(He) is returning to bury (his child).

With directionals followed by *nú:*

xīn   nū   néhe   (da   ndēyu vehe   dá)
POT:go   POT:go:home POT:carry (I:RES food   house my:RES)
(I) will go home to take (the food back).

n-shé   nu   kîkû   (ña)
COM-go POT:go:home POT:sew (she)
(She) went home to sew and returned.

xwān nū   káhnde (te   triū   te   ñúú   te)
INC:go POT:go:home POT:cut (he:WS wheat his:WS town   his:WS)
(He) went home (to his town) to cut (his wheat).

With *vāsh ki:*

vāsh   kí   nēhe   (da   tu 'tu)
INC:come POT:come POT:carry (I:RES paper)
(I) am coming to bring (the paper).

vāsh   kí   koto   nīhnī ñaha (dá)
INC:come POT:come POT:examine inside KNO (I:RES)
(I) am coming to visit you.

vāsh   kí   kachītnúhû   ñaha (đá)
INC:come   POT:come   POT:inform   KNO (I:RES)
(I) am coming to inform you.

With *vāsh kí ndī:*

vāsh   kí   ndī   nēhe   (đa   tu'tu)
INC:come   POT:come   POT:return POT:carry (I:RES) paper)
(I) am coming back to return (the paper).

vāsh   kí   ndi   koto   nīhnī   ñaha (đá)
INC:come   POT:come   POT:return POT:examine inside   KNO (I:RES)
(I) am returning to visit you.

vāsh   kí   ndi   kachītnúhû ñaha (đá)
INC:come   POT:come   POT:return POT:inform KNO (I:RES)
(I) am returning to let you know.

The second order of preverbal elements comprises the habitual markers: *sho* 'completive', *ku* 'potential', and *shko, sh,* or *shka* 'continuative'. The markers *sh* and *shka* are each restricted to a few distinct classes of verbs, and *shko* occurs with all other continuative verbs. All habitual markers except *sh* agree in aspect with the verb nuclei with which they occur; *sh* occurs with potential nuclei but has continuative meaning. Habitual can express either continuing or habitual action.

n-shó   kikú   (đa)
COM-COM:HAB   sew   (I:RES)
(I) kept on sewing.

kū   kaka   (đá)
POT:HAB   POT:walk (I:RES)
(I) will walk habitually.

shkó   tuū   (đá)
CON:HAB   CON:exist (I:RES)
(I) keep on being here.

sh   kīndaha   (đá   tvíni)
CON:HAB   POT:be:in:charge:of   (I:RES   money)
(I) habitually am in charge of (the money).

sh   kwinhnô (đa   đanhma kwe'hé)
CON:HAB   POT:wear (I:RES   clothing red)
(I) habitually wear (red clothing).

> *sh   kineē   (tɨ   nuu   ítu)*
> CON:HAB POT:be:inside (it:AML face cornfield)
> (The animal) is in (the cornfield) habitually.

> *shká   nehe   (ɖá)*
> CON:HAB CON:carry (I:RES)
> (I) habitually carry (it).

The form *sho*, but not the potential or continuative habitual forms, may be repeated to put the action in a larger span of time.

> *n-shó   sho   nēhe   (te   ití)*
> COM-COM:HAB COM:HAB carry (he:ws candle)
> (He) used to habitually carry (candles).

Also, *sho* has developed a use as a completive aspect marker with two classes of verbs (see §5.1.2).

The third order of preverbal elements comprises the plural markers *sh* (continuative) and *ka* (nonpotential), which pluralize the subject. *sh* occurs with verbs that mark potential with a prefix and with some verbs that show segmental changes for aspect. It is the appropriate plural only when no other prenuclear elements occur; *ka* occurs with verbs of all classes, but it occurs with verbs that can occur with *sh* only when other prenuclear elements occur.

> *sh   ndéha   (ɖa)*
> PL CON:look:at (I:RES)
> (We) are looking at (it).

> *sh   yɨndushí(-s)*
> PL CON:be:buried(-he:MS)
> (They) are buried.

> *kā   shitā   (ɖá)*
> PL CON:sing (I:RES)
> (We) are singing.

> *kā   shéhên (ña   inxân)*
> PL CON:go (she over:there)
> (She) goes (over there).

> *kā   kishɨ̄   (ñá)*
> PL CON:come (she)
> (She) comes.

If the subject is a series of nouns, the plural pluralizes each one, except for proper nouns.

n-ká   kahu   (ñādíhî / téyï̃ / dĭchī kwéchî)
COM-PL study   (woman man   child little:PL)
(Women, men, and children) studied.

kā   shitā   (nshúâ)
PL   CON:sing (John)
(John and others) sing.

kā   shitā   (nshúâ shihin   nchíkû)
PL   CON:sing (John with   Francis)
(John and Francis) sing.

Preverbal plurals do not occur with the motion verbs *xwáhân* 'to go (incompletive)' or *váshî* 'to come (incompletive)'. In these cases the postverbal plural *koio* must be used (see §2.1.3).

The fourth order of preverbal elements comprises only the completive aspect marker *n-;* it occurs with the completive aspect form of the verb (see §5.1.2). (Even though this marker always attaches to the following word, it is treated here as a preverbal element, rather than as a prefix, because any of the preverbal elements already described may occur between *n-* and the verb nucleus.)

n-xáhân   (da)
COM-speak   (I:RES)
(I) spoke.

n-shódô   (da)
COM-sprinkle (I:RES)
(I) sprinkled.

n-shíta   (da)
COM-sing   (I:RES)
(I) sang.

(See also 7.3, 7.13, 7.15, 7.22, 7.26, 7.39, 7.45, 7.55, 7.57–58, 7.60, 7.64, and 7.66.)

The fifth order of preverbal elements comprises truth-value markers, which include both the negatives and *na* 'affirmative'.

The negative markers are *mā, ñā, ñatū, ñādu,* and *ta.* The negative *mā* precedes verbs in potential aspect, and *ñā* and *ñatū* precede verbs in continuative and completive aspects. The negative *ñādu* precedes verbs in all aspects, and it contrasts two activities by negating the first one and affirming the second one. The negative *ta* precedes verbs in potential aspect, and must occur together with the postverbal additive marker *ka* (see §2.1.3); the combination means 'not yet'.

    mā kaḍaváhâ (te vēhe 'te)
    NEG POT:make (he:ws house his:ws)
    (He) won't build (his house).

    ñā kiḍaváhâ (te vēhe 'te)
    NEG CON:make (he:ws house his:ws)
    (He) isn't building (his house).

    ñā n-kíḍaváhâ (te vēhe 'te)
    NEG COM-make (he:ws house his:ws)
    (He) didn't build (his house).

    ñā xandísha (ḍa tnúhû-ń)
    NEG CON:believe (I:RES word-your:RES)
    (I) don't believe (what you say).

    ñatū xandísha (ḍa tnúhû-ń)
    NEG CON:believe (I:RES word-your:RES)
    (I) don't believe (what you say).

    ñāḍu kiḍā tníu (ḍa / chi daḍíkí ḍa)
    NEG CON:do work (I:RES because CON:play I:RES)
    (I) don't work; (I) play.

    ta káḍâ kā (ḍa)
    not:yet POT:do ADD (I:RES)
    (I) haven't done (it) yet.

    ta kutnúni ká
    not:yet POT:be:marked ADD
    (It) is not yet known.

    (See also 7.10 and 7.61.)

There is a fuller form of *ñā*, *ñáha*, which is used alone as a response to a question or in a reduced sentence (see §6.1.1).

The affirmative marker is *ná*, and it occurs in positive sentences under special discourse conditions, such as in answer to a question regarding the location of an entity. This marker occurs only in sentence-initial position, and the sentence usually contains the locative adverb *yáha* 'here' (or its reduced form *ya*) or is a part of a sentence combination containing a shared noun phrase (see §6.1.2).

    ná yoō (ḍa yáhâ)
    AFF CON:exist (I:RES here)
    (I) am (here).

ná   yoō   (ūú   yúchí   / iō   yâ)
AFF CON:exist (two   knife   CON:exist here)
(Here) are (two knives). *or* (There) are (two knives here).

ná   yoō   (ɗa   / túū   yā)
AFF CON:exist (I:RES   CON:exist here)
(I) am (here).

nâ   yoō(-n   / n-kíɗaváhâ   vēhe-s   xan)
AFF CON:exist(-you:RES   COM-make   house-his:MS that)
It is (you, who built that house of his).

The sixth order of preverbal elements comprises the hortatory markers
na and *mashku,* which occur only with verbs in potential aspect: *na* is used
to create nonsecond person commands, and to make a second person
command more polite.

na   xɨhɨn   (rô)
HORT POT:go (we:IN)
Let (us) go!

na   nuhū   náhi   (ɗá)
HORT POT:go:home INTENT   (I:RES)
Let (me) continue to go!

na   kaɗa   tniū   (té)
HORT POT:do work (he:WS)
Let (him) work!

(See also 7.38, 7.67, 7.74, and 7.76.)

The marker *na* is also used in object complements that express a request
or an indirect command, in subordinate purpose sentences, and in other
subordinate sentences when the speaker does not wish to commit himself
to the certainty of a potential event.

The hortatory marker *mashku* is used in negative sentences when the
speaker assumes that the actor wishes to or has begun to carry out the
action of the verb. When the speaker assumes that the actor does not wish
to carry out the action of the verb, *na* is used instead, followed by the
negative *ñáha.*

mashku   nduá(-ń)
NEG:HORT   POT:fall(-you:RES)
Don't fall!

nā   ñáha   nduá(-ń)
HORT NEG POT:fall(-you:RES)
Don't fall!

mashku   kayú(-ń)
NEG:HORT POT:burn(-you:RES)
Don't get burned!

nā   ñáha   kayú(-ń)
HORT NEG POT:burn(-you:RES)
Don't get burned!

In one example the negative marker following *na* appears to have been deleted, leaving its high tone on the *na*.

ná   ndúa(-n)
HORT POT:fall(-you:RES)
Don't fall!

The seventh order of preverbal elements is manner, which is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers; they include stative verbs and stative verb phrases (see §2.3) and also adverbs and adverb phrases (see §4.2). There is also a postverbal manner position. Most modifiers can occur in either position, but intensifying elements and some adverbs are restricted to preverbal position, and some other modifiers are restricted to postverbal position. See §2.1.3 for further discussion of the difference between the two.

With stative verbs:

ndehe   n-yûhû(-s)
fierce COM-be:afraid(-he:MS)
(He) was very much frightened.

ndichi   xahân   (da)
profound CON:speak (I:RES)
(I) speak profoundly.

nunu   kikû   (ña dió da)
wide CON:sew (she skirt my:RES)
(She) sews wide (skirts for me).

kanda   ndehā   (té)
visible CON:see (he:WS)
(He) sees clearly.

kanda kiḏa   tníú   (té)
visible CON:do work (he:ws)
(The viewer can see) clearly (that he) is working.

yútnû   nukóō (mesha   ḏá)
treelike CON:sit (table   my:RES)
(My table [Sp. *mesa*]) is standing firmly.

ḏānā   n-kíḏaváhá(-s   vēhe-s)
distinct COM-make(-he:MS   house-his:MS)
(He) made (his house) distinct.

úhû ndūndéē   (ti)
evil COM:become:fat   (it:AML)
It was hard to fatten (the animal).

(See also 7.57.)

With adverbs:

sheē   shitā   (ñá)
fast   CON:sing   (she)
(She) sings at a fast pace.

níhí   ḏukú   (shīti   'ti)
tightly CON:be:tied (stomach its:AML)
(The animal's stomach) is bound tightly.

kahú   n-tnukwéhe   (ndāha-s)
seriously COM-be:wounded (hand-his:MS)
(His hand) was severely wounded.

īnī   kāndóḏo   (toto)
precariously CON:lie:on:top (rock)
(The rock) lies precariously on (something).

ḏanáā   n-kíshi   (te)
suddenly COM-come   (he:ws)
(He) came all of a sudden.

ku   xíhîn(-ń)
first POT:go(-you:RES)
(You) go first!

(See also 7.2, which contains an adverb phrase.)

The eighth order of preverbal elements is temporal, expressed only by *shá*, which means 'about to' or 'already', depending on the aspect of the verb.

> *shā   kashdenhñu   (đá)*
> about:to   POT:eat:dinner   (I:RES)
> (I) am about to eat dinner.

> *shā   shashdénhñú   (đá)*
> already   CON:eat:dinner   (I:RES)
> (I) just started to eat dinner.

> *shā   n-sháshdenhñu   (đá)*
> already   COM-eat:dinner   (I:RES)
> (I) have just eaten dinner.

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are seven orders of postverbal elements. These occur in the following order starting from the nucleus and going to the right: manner, object, intent, scope, plural, repetitive, and incorporated noun.

Postverbal manner is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers. They are: stative verbs, nouns, noun phrases, locative adverbs, temporal adverbs, various other kinds of adverbs, and general quantifiers.

With stative verbs:

> *ndikō   ndáhú   (đá)*
> CON:grind   poor   (I:RES)
> (I) grind in exchange for food because of financial necessity.

> *shikā   tihi   (ti)*
> CON:walk   hump-backed   (it:AML)
> (The animal) walks hump-backed.

> *xahān   đéén   (te)*
> CON:speak   sharply   (he:WS)
> (He) speaks sharply.

> *shikā   yakwa   (ti)*
> CON:walk   crippled   (it:AML)
> (The animal) is crippled.

> *xahán   shehini   (té   núū   đa)*
> CON:speak   disrespectful (he:WS face   my:RES)
> (He) speaks disrespectfully (to me).

xahān   úhû   (te)
CON:speak evil   (he:ws)
(He) curses (people).

(See also 7.44.)

With nouns:

shikā   shehe   (ro)
CON:walk   foot   (we:IN)
(We) go by foot.

xahān   ɗínhni(-s)
CON:speak nose(-he:MS)
(He) talks through his nose.

With noun phrases:

shashī   ɗiko   tkwéē   (tílâ)
CON:eat flavor   citrus:fruit (bread)
(The bread [Sp. *Castilla* 'Castile']) has the flavor of citrus fruit.

With locative adverbs:

xundii   ndéyú(-s)
CON:slide   prone(-he:MS)
(He) slides headfirst on his stomach.

kikú   kanduā   (ñâ)
CON:sew reverse   (she)
(She) sews on the wrong side of the cloth.

With temporal adverbs:

n-shéhén   núu   (te)
COM-go   first:time (he:ws)
(He) went for the first time.

kikú   ndúú   (ña)
CON:sew daytime   (she)
(She) sews during the day.

nakaka   niū   (yôô)
CON:walk:again at:night   (moon)
(The moon) travels at night.

With general adverbs:

> *shidō*   *lākwa*   *(nduchī tnúū)*
> CON:boil with:heavy:plops (legume black)
> (The black beans) are boiling hard.

> *nukóō* *yōho*   *(mēsha)*
> CON:sit crooked (table)
> (The table) is standing crooked.

With general quantifiers:

> *n-tée*   *kwehe*   *(ña   dítâ)*
> COM-pat   many   (she tortilla)
> (She) patted many (tortillas).

> *n-shíhi*   *kwehe*   *(ña   ndūte)*
> COM-drink much   (she water)
> (She) drank a lot (of water).

> *kida*   *dává (dá*   *shihin* *te*   *tníu)*
> CON:do half (I:RES with   he:WS work)
> (He and I) are (each) doing half (of the work).

> *shahndē* *dáva(-s*   *tviní)*
> CON:cut   half(-he:MS   money)
> (They) divided (the money [old Sp. *tomín*]) into two parts.

Note that the quantifier refers to the direct object of a transitive sentence, even though it occurs as manner in the verb phrase.

Sometimes two elements occur in manner; the order is often fixed. The modifiers in the following examples must occur in the order given below.

> *n-sháxan* *ndodo*   *ndēyu*   *(ña   dahyá   ña)*
> COM-lay   on:top   prone   (she child   her)
> (She) lay (her child) down prone on top of (something).

> *n-sháxan* *tuu*   *ndeyū(-s*   *lélú-s)*
> COM-lay   on:ground prone(-he:MS hat-his:MS)
> (He) lay (his hat [Sp. *sombrero*]) on the ground with the brim touching the ground.

> *n-sháxan* *tuu*   *nuū*   *(te   véhé   té)*
> COM-lay   on:ground borrowed (he:WS house his:WS)
> (He) built (his house) on rented land.

Many modifiers, such as stative verbs and various kinds of adverbs, can occur in either the preverbal (see §2.1.2) or the postverbal manner position with no apparent change in meaning. Consider the following pairs of sentences.

With stative verbs:

> xahān   kóxon   (te)
> CON:speak thick   (he:ws)
> (He) has a low voice.

> cf. kóxon xahān   ('te)
>   thick   CON:speak (he:ws)
>   (He) has a low voice.

> xahān   neñúū ('te)
> CON:speak false   (he:ws)
> (He) is telling absurd lies.

> cf. nēñúū xahān   ('te)
>   false   CON:speak (he:ws)
>   (He) is telling absurd lies.

> kikû   nunu (ña   díó   da)
> CON:sew wide (she skirt my:RES)
> (She) sews wide (skirts for me).

> cf. nunu kikû   (ña   díó   da)
>   wide CON:sew (she skirt my:RES)
>   (She) sews wide (skirts for me).

> ndehā   kándá (té)
> CON:look:at visible (he:ws)
> (He) sees clearly.

> cf. kanda ndehā   (té)
>   visible CON:look:at (he:ws)
>   (He) sees clearly.

> nukóō   yutnu   (mēsha   da)
> CON:sit treelike (table   my:RES)
> (My table) is standing firmly.

> cf. yútnû nukóō (mesha đá)
>   treelike CON:sit (table my:RES)
>   (My table) is standing firmly.

With temporal adverbs:

> *n-kíkû*   *niu*   *(ñâ)*
> COM-sew   at:night   (she)
> (She) sewed at night.

> cf. *niu*   *n-kíkû*   *(ña)*
>   at:night   COM-sew   (she)
>   (She) sewed at night.

> *kee*   *nehe (rô)*
> POT:leave   early (we:IN)
> (We) will leave early.

> cf. *nehe kéē*   *(ro)*
>   early POT:leave   (we:IN)
>   (We) will leave early.

With general adverbs:

> *shitā*   *shéé (ñá)*
> CON:sing   loud (she)
> (She) sings loudly.

> cf. *shēe shitā*   *(ñâ)*
>   loud CON:sing   (she)
>   (She) sings loudly.

> *shikā*   *chuchi*   *(te)*
> CON:walk   with:little:steps   (he:WS)
> (He) walks taking small steps.

> cf. *chuchi*   *shikā*   *(té)*
>   with:little:steps CON:walk   (he:WS)
>   (He) walks taking small steps.

> *dukū*   *níhí*   *(shiti*   *tɨ)*
> CON:be:tied   tightly   (stomach   its:AML)
> (The animal's stomach) is bound tightly.

> cf. *níhí*   *dukú*   *(shīti*   *'tɨ)*
>   tightly CON:be:tied   (stomach   its:AML)
>   (The animal's stomach) is bound tightly.

Some modifiers have different sense discriminations depending on whether they occur as preverbal or postverbal manner. Sometimes the

meaning is dependent on the verb that occurs with the modifier, as well as on its position. Compare the following pairs of sentences.

chiyáhu   *kweē*   *('te)*
CON:pay   slow   (he:ws)
(He) waits to pay.

cf.   *kweē*   *chiyahû*   *(te)*
      slow   CON:pay   (he:ws)
      (He) uses slow movements (when he) pays.

ndúndéē   *úhû*   *(tɨ)*
COM:become:fat evil   (it:AML)
(The animal) became too fat and is ugly.

cf.   *úhú*   *ndūndéē*   *(tɨ)*
      evil   COM:become:fat   (it:AML)
      It was hard to fatten (the animal).

xahān   *ndáā*   *(te)*
CON:speak   straight   (he:ws)
(He) speaks the truth. *or* (He) testifies truly.

cf.   *ndáā*   *xahân*   *(te)*
      straight   CON:speak   (he:ws)
      (He) speaks the truth.

nshee   *néē*   *(ña)*
POT:arrive   dark   (she)
(She) will arrive when it is dark (with no artificial lights).

cf.   *nēé*   *nshée*   *(ña)*
      dark   POT:arrive   (she)
      (She) will arrive when it is dark (at night).

kidā   *tníu*   *kándá*   *(té)*
CON:do   work   visible   (he:ws)
(He) does his work in the open (not secretly).

cf.   *kanda kidā*   *tníú*   *(té)*
      visible CON:do   work   (he:ws)
      (The viewer can see) clearly (that he) is working.

kadaváhá   *kanhnu*   *(ro*   *vēhe*   *ró)*
POT:make   big:SG   (we:IN   house   our:IN)
(We) will build (our house) together.

cf. *kanhnu   kaḍaváhá   (ro   vēhe   ró)*
     big:SG   POT:make   (we:IN   house   our:IN)
     (We) will make (our house) large.

There are two object markers: the noun *tnáha* 'companion' and the verbal marker *ñáha* 'known object'. Either object marker can refer to first, second, or third person, depending on the context. The marker *tnaha* is used to express reciprocal.

    shemani   tnáhâ   (ro)
    CON:love   companion   (we:IN)
    (We) love each other.

    chindee   tnáhá(-ń   shīhin   te)
    CON:help   companion(-you:RES   with   he:WS)
    (You and he) help each other.

    chindēē   tnaha   (te)
    CON:help   companion   (he:WS)
    (They) help each other.

    chindēē   tnāha   (ḍa   shíhín-s)
    CON:help   companion   (I:RES   with-he:MS)
    (He and I) help each other.

The marker *ñáha* 'known object' must occur if the direct object of a nonreflexive sentence is either first or second person. It always denotes first person when the subject is second person and second person when the subject is first person. When the subject is third person, the object may be expressed by *ñáha,* rather than by a sentence-level element, and *ñáha* can denote any person. The context usually makes the referent of *ñáha* clear, but a sentence-level object may also occur. This is discussed further in §3.1.3.

    n-dākikú   ñáha(-ń   ḍānhma)
    COM-cause:to:sew   KNO(-you:RES   clothing)
    (You) made me sew (clothing).

    n-dākikú   ñáha (ḍa   ḍānhma)
    COM-cause:to:sew   KNO (I:RES   clothing)
    (I) made you sew (clothing).

    n-dākikú   ñáha (ña   ḍanhmá)
    COM-cause:to:sew   KNO (she   clothing)
    (She) caused someone to sew (clothing).

(See also 7.49–51, 7.57, 7.60, 7.68, and 7.71.)

The modifier of intent, *náhi,* means 'as planned' or 'anyway' if the action has not yet started, and 'still' or 'continue' if the action has already started. The meaning depends on the context and is indeterminate in isolated sentences.

> *xɨhɨn   náhi   (te)*
> POT:go   INTENT   (he:WS)
> (He) is going as (he) planned (to do).

> *na   ndɨko   náhi   (ña)*
> HORT   POT:grind   INTENT   (she)
> Let (her) continue grinding!

Scope comprises the limiters and the additive. The limiters are *ni* 'no more' or 'just' and *nga,* which has various meanings, depending on the verb it occurs with and the context. Among its meanings are: 'without motivation', 'without any purpose', 'in addition to', 'just', 'anyway', and 'as a gift'. The additive, which extends the scope of an action, is *ka* 'more'.

With *ni:*

> *ndishi   ni   (ɗá)*
> POT:return   LIM   (I:RES)
> (I) will just go (and not loiter).

> *n-sháshi   ni   (ña)*
> COM-eat   LIM   (she)
> (She) just ate (without taking the situation into account).

(See also 7.14, 7.23, 7.43, and 7.56.)

With *nga:*

> *kíkû   nga   (ɗa)*
> POT:sew   just   (I:RES)
> (I) will sew (but it doesn't make any difference to me whether or not I do it).

> *xwini   ngá   (ɗá   sha   xíni   ɗa)*
> CON:want   just   (I:RES   CMP   POT:see   I:RES)
> (I) just want (to see). (I have no other purpose or motive.)

> *naxinɨ   ngá   (ɗá   tráshti)*
> CON:wash   just   (I:RES   dish)
> In addition (I) wash (dishes [Sp. *traste*]).

kūndehā   ngā   (ɖá   lívru)
POT:look:at just (I:RES book)
(I) will look at (the book [Sp. *libro*]) (since there isn't anything better to watch).

xɨ̄hɨ̄n   nga   (ɖa)
POT:go just (I:RES)
(I) shall go anyway.

nihɨ̄   nga   (ɖa   tílâ)
CON:receive just (I:RES bread)
(I) receive free (bread).

With *ka:*

kɨ́kû   ka   (ɖa)
POT:sew ADD (I:RES)
(I) will sew longer.

(See also 7.18 and 7.73.)

When the negative markers *ñá* or *ñatū* occur with *nga*, the combined meaning is 'not very'.

ñatū   kóxon   nga   (ɖa)
NEG CON:be:hungry just (I:RES)
(I) am not very hungry.

When the negative marker *ta* and a verb in potential aspect occur with *ka* 'more', the combined meaning is 'not yet'.

ta   katâ   ka   (te)
not:yet POT:sing ADD (he:ws)
(He) hasn't sung yet.

ta   kɨ̂kû   ka   (ɖá)
not:yet POT:sew ADD (I:RES)
(I) haven't sewn yet.

When other negative markers occur with *ka*, the combined meaning is 'no longer'.

ñā   shāshi   ka   (te   ɖitâ)
NEG CON:eat   ADD (he:ws tortilla)
(He) doesn't eat anymore.

```
ma  kãshi    ka   ('te)
NEG POT:eat   ADD  (he:ws)
```
(He) will not eat anymore.

The postverbal plural is *koio*. Unlike the preverbal plurals, which do not occur with potential, *koio* occurs with verbs in any of the three aspects.

```
kundeha     koiõ  (dá)
POT:look:at  PL    (I:RES)
```
(We) shall look at it.

The plural *koio* can occur with a preverbal plural, and when both occur, they give emphasis to the plural subject of a sentence.

```
ka   kishĩ     kóió  (té)
PL   CON:come   PL    (he:ws)
```
(They) are coming.

```
n-ká    kĩshi   kóio  (te)
COM-PL  come    PL    (he:ws)
```
Many (of them) came.

```
sh   ndeka          kóio(-s    tĩ)
PL   CON:take:care:of  PL(-he:MS  it:AML)
```
(They) take care of (the animals).

```
n-ká    sho     kãdoko        kóio  (da    kĩtĩ)
COM-PL  COM:HAB  carry:on:shoulder  PL    (I:RES  animal)
```
(We) carried (the animals) on our shoulders.

With the motion verbs *xwáhân* 'to go (incompletive)' and *váshí* 'to come (incompletive)', *koio* occurs instead of a preverbal plural.

```
xwahãn  kóio  (te)
INC:go   PL    (he:ws)
```
(They) went.

```
vashí     kóio  (te)
INC:come   PL    (he:ws)
```
(They) are coming.

The repetitive is *ntuku* 'again', which expresses action that is repeated.

```
nakatē    ntúkú   (ñá)
CON:wash   REP     (she)
```
(She) is washing (clothes) again.

The seventh order of postverbal elements is incorporated noun, expressed mainly by *ini* 'insides' and *anu* 'heart' (Sp. *ánima* 'soul'). This element and the verb nucleus together form a potentially discontinuous lexical unit.

> *kutnunī*   *ini*   *(đá)*
> POT:be:marked   insides   (I:RES)
> (I) am advancing in understanding.

> *kukwedī*   *inî*   *(đa)*
> POT:be:jealous   insides   (I:RES)
> (I) am jealous.

> *kukaxān*   *inî*   *(đá)*
> POT:ask:for   insides   (I:RES)
> (I) desire (it).

> *đākukōhyo*   *ini*   *(ñá-s)*
> POT:make:damp   insides   (she-him:MS)
> (She) causes (him) to be sad.

Examples of stative verb phrases containing *anu* are given in §2.3.

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. Six of the eight preverbal elements combine freely. They are: directional, habitual, plural, completive aspect, truth value, and manner.

> *ñā*   *ndahu*   *kéē*   *n-ká*   *sho*   *shē*   *kíkû*   *(ña)*
> NEG   poor   ?   COM-PL   COM:HAB   CON:go   POT:sew   (she)
> (They) did not habitually go away to sew with serious intent.

(See also 7.56–57.)

Hortatory occurs with truth value, with directional, with directional and manner, or with habitual and manner.

> *nā*   *ñáha tnūkwéhe(-ń)*
> HORT   NEG   POT:get:hurt(-you:RES)
> Don't get hurt!

> *néhé*   *na*   *xīn*   *kátâ*   *(ro)*
> early   HORT   POT:go   POT:sing   (we:IN)
> Let (us) go early and sing!

> *koxon nā*   *ku*   *katā*   *(ró)*
> thick   HORT   POT:HAB   POT:sing   (we:IN)
> Let (us) habitually sing low!

(See also 7.67.)

Temporal occurs with directional, habitual, and plural; with directional, plural, and completive aspect; or with manner, completive aspect, and plural.

> *shā   ka shkó   she   kátâ   (da)*
> already PL CON:HAB CON:go POT:sing (I:RES)
> (We) already have habitually gone and sang.

> *shā   n-ká   she   kátâ   (da)*
> already COM-PL CON:go POT:sing (I:RES)
> (We) already went and sang.

> *shā   kunú n-ká   shate(-s)*
> already deep COM-PL dig(-he:MS)
> (They) already began to dig deeply.

Some items that express various elements show cooccurrence prefer-ences. Habitual does not occur with directionals that express one-way trips. Nonpotential plural does not occur with the directionals *vāsh* and *xwān*, and only a few elements that express manner occur with temporal.

Negative occurs with preverbal manner only when manner is expressed by an intensifying element. When negative is expressed by the simple form *ñā*, it follows manner, but when negative is expressed by a compound like *ñatū*, manner follows negative. (The reason for this difference is that compound negative forms contain an existential verb and are used to express a cleft construction.)

> *ndēhē ña   yuhú(-s)*
> fierce NEG   CON:be:afraid(-he:MS)
> (He) isn't very much afraid.

> *ñatū   ndēhē yuhú(-s)*
> NEG   fierce CON:be:afraid(-he:MS)
> (He) isn't very much afraid.

Lengthy combinations of postverbal elements can, but rarely do, occur. Common speech uses no more than three elements in the same utterance.

> *n-dākíkû   vahá ñaha nahi   ni   ntúkú   (ñá)*
> COM-cause:to:sew good KNO INTENT LIM   REP   (she)
> (She) caused someone to just continue to sew well again.

> *n-dākíkû   vahá ñaha nahi   koiō ntúkú   (ñá)*
> COM-cause:to:sew good KNO INTENT PL   REP   (she)
> (They) caused someone to continue to sew well again.

Some items show cooccurrence restrictions. Quantifiers that express manner do not occur with plural. The marker *nga,* which expresses scope, is compatible with only a limited number of elements that express manner.

The basic order of the postverbal elements as given in §2.1.3 above is manner, object, intent, scope, plural, repetitive, and incorporated noun, but the following orders also occur. Intent can directly follow manner, plural can directly follow object, and object can directly follow the verb nucleus. The following examples show intent either between manner and object or between object and limiter.

> *n-dākíkû*   *vahá   nahi   ñaha ni   ntúkú   (ñá)*
> COM-cause:to:sew   good   INTENT KNO LIM   REP   (she)
> (She) caused someone to continue to just sew well again.

> *n-dākíkû*   *vahá   ñaha nahi   ni   ntúkú   (ñá)*
> COM-cause:to:sew   good   KNO INTENT LIM   REP   (she)
> (She) caused someone to continue to just sew well again.

The following examples show plural either between intent and repetitive or between object and intent.

> *n-dākíkû*   *vahá   ñaha nahi   koiō ntúkú   (ñá)*
> COM-cause:to:sew   good   KNO INTENT PL   REP   (she)
> (They) caused someone to continue to sew well another time.

> *n-dākíkû*   *vahá ñaha koiō   nahi   ntúkú   (ñá)*
> COM-cause:to:sew   good KNO PL   INTENT REP   (she)
> (They) caused someone to continue to sew well another time.

The following examples show object either between a stative verb expressing manner and intent or between the verb nucleus and a stative verb expressing manner.

> *n-dākíkû*   *vahá ñaha nahi   ni   ntúkú   (ñá)*
> COM-cause:to:sew   good KNO INTENT LIM   REP   (she)
> (She) caused someone to continue to just sew well again.

> *n-dākíkû*   *ñaha váha nahi   ni   ntúkú   (ñá)*
> COM-cause:to:sew   KNO good INTENT LIM   REP   (she)
> (She) caused someone to continue to just sew well again.

> *n-dākíkû*   *kanda ñaha nahi   ni   ntúkú   (ñá)*
> COM-cause:to:sew   visible KNO INTENT LIM   REP   (she)
> (She) just continued to make someone sew in plain sight again.

n-dākíkû   *ñaha kanda nahi ni ntúkú (ñá)*
COM-cause:to:sew KNO visible INTENT LIM REP (she)
(She) just continued to make someone sew in plain sight again.

There are few systematic restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements. The interaction of preverbal and postverbal plural markers has been discussed in §2.1.3 above, and a few semantically specialized combinations have also been discussed in §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3.

na xïn nūtnï̃ ñáha koió(-s)
HORT POT:go POT:arrest:again KNO PL(-he:MS)
Let (them) go and arrest someone again!

n-ká she nūtnï̃ tnáha koió(-s)
COM-PL go POT:arrest:again companion PL(-he:MS)
(They) went and arrested one of their members again.

n-ká she kweka ñāha vahá(-s)
COM-PL go POT:get KNO good(-he:MS)
(They) went and picked up someone in a welcoming manner.

n-ká sho kíkû vaha kōio (ña)
COM-PL COM:HAB sew good PL (she)
(They) used to sew well.

váhâ n-ka dakíkû ñáha koiō (ñá)
good COM-PL cause:to:sew KNO PL (she)
(They) used a good method to show someone how to sew.

váhâ n-ka dakíkû ñáha ntúkú (ñá)
good COM-PL cause:to:sew KNO REP (she)
(They) used a good method to again show someone how to sew.

ñatū shko chíyahu ñāha vahá kōio(-s)
NEG CON:HAB CON:pay KNO good PL(-he:MS)
(They) haven't paid someone well.

shā xán ñaha ntūku(-s)
already COM:hit KNO REP(-he:MS)
(He) already hit me again.

n-ká sho kíkû nāhi koiō (ñá)
COM-PL COM:HAB sew INTENT PL (she)
(They) used to keep on sewing.

ka	*shāsh*	*níhno*	*tnāha*	*(yuhú-s*	*shihin*
PL	CON:eat	inside	companion	(mouth-his:MS	with

ñadíhî-s)
woman-his:MS)
(They) kiss (their wives).

(See also 7.57.)

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on the equative verbs *kuu* 'to be
(potential)', *nduu* 'to become (potential)' or 'to be again', and *kunani* 'to
be named (potential)'. The verb *kuu* occurs with all the preverbal elements
that occur with content verbs, except directional and manner, and with all
the postverbal elements, except manner and the object marker *tnáha*
'companion'. These elements occur in the same order as in content verb
phrases.

With *kuu:*

(yïï   ñá)   kuū   (té)
(husband her) CON:be (he:ws)
(He) is (her husband).

(ita   ndékâ)   kúū   (ta)
(flower purple) CON:be (it:flower)
(It) is (a purple flower).

(nshúâ) kuū   (té)
(John)   CON:be (he:ws)
(He) is (John).

(tē   tūha   váhâ) kuū   (té)
(he:ws   knowledgeable good) CON:be (he:ws)
(He) is (a knowledgeable person).

kuū   (té   'té   tūha   váhâ)
CON:be (he:ws he:ws knowledgeable good)
(He) is (a knowledgeable person).

kuū   (í   yûû)
CON:be (UN stone)
(It) is (a stone).

With *nduu:*

> *ndúu*   *(te   taā   ñúū)*
> COM:become   (he:ws   father   town)
> (He) became (a leader of the town).
>
> *ndúu*   *(te   té   vahá)*
> COM:become   (he:ws   he:ws   good)
> (He) became (a good man).
>
> *(té   vahá)   ndúu*   *(te)*
> (he:ws   good)   COM:become   (he:ws)
> (He) became (a good man).

With *nani:*

> *(sndóñû)*   *nánî(-s)*
> (Antonio:MS)   CON:be:named(-he:MS)
> (His) name is (Antonio). *or* (Antonio) is (his) name.

2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases have simple stative verbs as their nuclei.

> *kweē   (té)*
> slow   (he:ws)
> (He) is slow.
>
> *kohyō (ndôhô)*
> damp   (adobe)
> (The adobe bricks) are damp.
>
> *víɗî   (ɗôô)*
> warm   (blanket)
> (The blanket) is warm.
>
> *nunu   (shehe   véstíɗo)*
> wide   (foot   garment)
> (The hem of the garment [Sp. *vestido* 'dress']) is wide.
>
> *kānda*
> visible
> (There) is light.
>
> *kwiñā   (ñâ)*
> jealous   (she)
> (She) is a jealous person.

Stative verbs occur with the following preverbal elements, although members of classes show cooccurrence restrictions: the directional *vāsh,* habitual, plural, negative, and manner.

The directional *vāsh* 'to come (incompletive)' is used to signal progressive meaning (see §2.1.2); it occurs with only a few stative verbs.

> *vásh   kwāan (ña)*
> INC:come   yellow (she)
> (She) is becoming pale.

> *vásh   vídí(-s)*
> INC:come   gray(-he:MS)
> (He) is getting gray (hairs).

The habitual marker is limited to the continuative aspect form.

> *shkō   veē   (da   ūdíko   kiló)*
> CON:HAB weigh (I:RES forty   kilo)
> (I) have been weighing (forty kilos [Sp. *kilo*]).

> *shkó   kwaan (trīú   yōō   mársu)*
> CON:HAB yellow (wheat month March)
> (The wheat) always ripens (in the month of March [Sp. *marzo*]).

The plural is *ūnū;* it is distinct from the plural which occurs with content verbs.

> *ūnū nánhnú anū   (ñâ)*
> PL   big:PL   heart (she)
> (They) are unafraid.

> *ūnū kōhyo (ndôhô)*
> PL   damp   (adobe)
> (The adobe bricks) are damp.

> *ūnū dihíni(-s)*
> PL   happy(-he:MS)
> (They) are happy.

> *ūnū ínhní(-s)*
> PL   hot(-he:MS)
> (They) are braggarts.

The negatives *ñā* or *ñatū* may occur.

> *ñatū*   *vetê*   *(te)*
> NEG   untruthful   (he:ws)
> (He) doesn't tell lies.

> *ñatū*   *víshî*
> NEG   cold
> (It) isn't cold.

> *ñā*   *vâhâ (te)*
> NEG   good   (he:ws)
> (He) isn't a good man.

> *ñatū*   *kwíña (ñâ)*
> NEG   jealous (she)
> (She) is not jealous.

Manner comprises intensifying adverbs and a few stative verbs that function as intensifying elements.

With intensifying adverbs:

> *yó*   *ndayu (yuchi*   *tríū)*
> INTS coarse (powder wheat)
> (The wheat flour) is very coarse.

> *víchi*   *đēén*   *(ña)*
> INTS   sharp   (she)
> (She) is a harsh scolder.

> *yó*   *vēé(-s)*
> INTS heavy(-he:MS)
> (He) weighs a lot.

With stative verbs:

> *kwihá*   *vēte*   *(te)*
> ugly   untruthful   (he:ws)
> (He's) a vicious liar.

> *ndēhe*   *đoho(-s)*
> fierce   naughty(-he:MS)
> (He) is very naughty.

The following combinations of preverbal elements occur: negative and plural; negative and habitual; negative, manner, and habitual; negative and the directional *vāsh;* and manner and plural.

> *ñatū   unu   nánhnú   anū   (ñâ)*
> NEG   PL   big:PL   heart   (she)
> (They) are not all brave.

> *ñatū   unu   lehvā(-s)*
> NEG   PL   missing:teeth(-he:MS)
> (They) are not missing teeth.

> *ña   shko   uhā   (ndeyū   ñá)*
> NEG   CON:HAB   thick   (food   her)
> (Her food) is not usually thick.

> *ñatū   yo   shko   uhá   (ndeyū   ñá)*
> NEG   INTS   CON:HAB   thick   (food   her)
> (Her food) is not usually very thick.

> *ñátu   vāsh   ndíkô   (te   ā)*
> NEG   INC:come   cold   (it:LIQ   INT)
> Isn't (it) getting cold(?)

> *vichi   ūnū   nánhnú   anū   (ñâ)*
> INTS   PL   big:PL   heart   (she)
> (They) are very brave.

> *yó   unu   dīhíni(-s)*
> INTS   PL   happy(-he:MS)
> (They) are very happy.

The following postverbal elements occur with stative verbs: manner, intent, scope, repetitive, and incorporated noun.

With manner:

> *kanda vahá*
> visible good
> The visibility is good. *or* (One) can see (it) well.

> *kohyō ka   (ndóhô)*
> damp ADD   (adobe)
> (The adobe bricks) are still damp.

With intent:

> *kanda náhí*
> visible INTENT
> (It) is still light (outdoors).

> *kanī   náhí   (yóhó)*
> long   INTENT   (rope)
> (The rope) is still long, anyway.

With scope:

> *yɨvídɨ̂   nga   (ndūte)*
> lukewarm just   (water)
> (The water) is just lukewarm.

> *lehva   ngā(-s)*
> missing:teeth   just(-he:MS)
> (He) is just missing teeth.

> *kanda ká*
> visible ADD
> (It) is still light (outdoors).

With repetitive:

> *koxon ntūku   (dɨ́tá   io   vítna)*
> thick   REP   (tortilla CON:exist today)
> Again (today the tortillas) are thick. *or* (The tortillas that there are today) are thick again.

> *kanu   ntūkū   (víhndê)*
> slimy   REP   (nopal)
> (The prickly pear cactus leaves) are slimy again.

With incorporated noun:

> *kanhnu anū   (ñâ)*
> big:SG   heart   (she)
> (She) is brave.

Very few combinations of postverbal elements occur. Those that occur with a very limited number of nuclei are: intent and the additive marker *ka*, and intent and repetitive.

>*kanda nāhī   ká*
> visible INTENT ADD
> (It) is still light.

>*koxon nāhī   ntūku   (dítâ)*
> thick INTENT REP   (tortilla)
> (The tortillas) are thick again, as before.

Some preverbal elements occur with postverbal elements. Preverbal manner and plural occur with postverbal intent, and the preverbal negative *ñatū* and plural occur with the postverbal additive marker *ka*.

>*lokō   únu   kānū nāhi   (víhndê)*
> crazy PL   slimy INTENT (nopal)
> (The prickly pear cactus leaves) were still very (Sp. *loco*) slimy.

>*ñatū   únu   lehvā   ká(-s)*
> NEG PL   missing:teeth ADD(-he:ms)
> (They) are no longer liars. (lit. [They] are no longer missing teeth.)

>*ñā   kanda vahá*
> NEG visible good
> (It) is not very light (outdoors).

>*ñatū   adī   vahá (ndēyu)*
> NEG tasty good (food)
> (The food) is not very tasty.

Stative verb phrases occur both as the predicate of stative sentences (see §1.1.6) and as manner in content verb phrases (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3).

2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Repetitive verb phrases are based on either content or stative verbs. This construction indicates repeated or intensified actions or states.

Repetitive verb phrases based on content verbs repeat a simple content verb nucleus; the limiter *ni* optionally follows the second part.

>*shikā   shika   (kíû)*
> CON:walk CON:walk (day)
> (Many days) passed.

>*nuxwíñí   nuxwíñí   ni   (te)*
> CON:stand CON:stand LIM   (he:ws)
> (He) stood for a long time.

(núdaa) vee   vēé(-n)
(how)   CON:weigh   CON:weigh(-you:FAM:MS)
(How) heavy (you) are!

Repetitive verb phrases based on stative verbs are of two types. A simple
stative verb may be repeated with the limiter *ni* optionally following the
second part, or two instances of a stative verb may be linked by the
complementizer *sha*. The first type occurs only as a preverbal manner in
content verb phrases, and the second type occurs also as the predicate of
stative sentences.

ndāā   ndāá   ni   (xwáhân   te)
straight   straight   LIM   (INC:go   he:WS)
(He went) stɪ ɪight.

kānhnu   kānhnu   (kōō   anû-ń)
big:SG   big:SG   (POT:exist   heart-you:RES)
Be brave! (Don't grieve anymore!)

(núdaa) ñāmā   ñáma(-n)
(how)   light   light(-you:FAM:MS)
(How) light in weight (you) are!

vahā   sha   vahá   (te)
good   CMP   good   (he:WS)
(He) is very good. *or* (He) is a very good person.

2.5 Additive Stative Verb Phrases

Additive stative verb phrases comprise two short stative verb phrases
linked by *te* 'and'.

(danhma) kaní   te   kwiñí
(clothing)   long:SG   and   narrow
(clothing) that is long and narrow

(kídí) kóxon   te   ndāyu
(pot)   thick   and   rough
(pot) that is thick and rough in texture

naní   te   unu   ndíka   (danhma da)
long:PL   and   PL   wide   (clothing   my:RES)
(My clothing) is long and wide.

> *ndââ   te   nanī   (yútnú)*
> true   and   long:PL (tree)
> (The poles) are long and straight.

2.6 Appositional Verb Phrases

Appositional verb phrases consist of two semantically related parts. The first words of the two parts are usually identical, and the second words are different.

> *xwān   ndée   xwān   ndíu(-s)*
> INC:go POT:leave:again   INC:go POT:enter:again(-he:MS)
> (He) went in and out repeatedly.

Sometimes these phrases consist of two derived or compound verb stems (see §5.1.1), the first parts of which are identical.

> *kulokō   kudúha(-s)*
> CON:be:crazy   CON:be:in:vain(-he:MS)
> (He) acts ridiculously.

> *xanndāa   xankwíti(-s)*
> CON:speak:straight   CON:speak:short(-he:MS)
> (He) speaks only the truth.

> *xankēe   xanndá 'hú(-s)*
> CON:speak:humble   CON:speak:poor(-he:MS)
> (He) pleads over a period of time.

This construction is common in everyday speech, but occurs with even greater frequency in formal and ritual speech.

3

Noun Phrases

3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

Basic noun phrases have a noun or pronoun nucleus, which may be expanded by the prenominal quantifier and by the postnominal scope, deictic, and relative clause.

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

ɖítâ	'tortilla'
yóɖô	'metate'
núnî	'corn'
tnúhû	'word'
kɨ̄tɨ	'animal'
ndohó	'you:FAM:MS'

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that comprises a noun followed by a frozen modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral, a stative verb, or a content verb.

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Noun plus noun:

> *nduchi   nûû*
> legume   face
> eyes
>
> *ndute   nûû*
> water   face
> tears
>
> *ita   vílu*
> flower   cat
> a kind of orchid
>
> *ini   ndáha*
> insides   hand
> palm of the hand

Noun plus numeral:

> *kaa   ushî*
> metal   ten
> ten o'clock
>
> *kɨɨ̄   óko*
> day   twenty
> the twentieth day

Noun plus stative verb:

> *tkwee   viɖî*
> citrus:fruit   sweet
> sweet lime
>
> *ɖahyá   ndahú*
> child   poor
> orphan

Noun plus content verb:

> *makí   kîkû*
> machine   CON:sew
> sewing machine (Sp. *máquina*)

Occasionally a complex nucleus has three parts.

    ɖichi   lūchi   yⁱ̵̃
    child   small:sɢ   male
    small boy

    ñua   ñuñu   kwéchî
    wax   bee   small:ᴘʟ
    beeswax

    kaā   íñú yóɖo
    metal   six ᴄᴏɴ:be:on:top
    six thirty

3.1.2 Prenominal elements. Only the quantifier occurs in prenominal position. Three kinds of quantifiers occur: general quantifiers, numerals (and numeral phrases), and specifiers.

General quantifiers:

    itáhu   ndeyú
    little   food
    a little bit of food

    ɖava   téyⁱ̵̃
    half   man
    some men *or* half the men

    kwehe kⁱ̵tⁱ̵
    many   animal
    many animals

Numerals:

    ⁱ̵̄n   kⁱ̵û
    one   day
    one day

    ūú   tútû
    two   paper
    two pieces of paper

The numeral *ⁱ̵̃n* 'one' is often used simply as an indefinite article.

    ⁱ̵̃n   ɖúnhnû
    one   shirt
    one shirt *or* a shirt

Specifiers comprise *mee* 'same' or 'self', *tŭku* 'a distinct', and *diŭ* 'the aforementioned'.

mēē   té   tashnuní
SPEC   he:ws   CON:rule
the very man who governs

tŭku   ñayíu
distinct   people
another person (from outside the group)

diŭ   *té*
the:aforementioned   he:ws
the aforementioned

The word *kwēhe* 'many' sometimes occurs in the verb phrase even when it refers to a noun phrase (see §2.1.3).

3.1.3 Postnominal elements. Three optional elements follow the noun nucleus: scope, deictic, and relative clause.

Scope comprises the limiters and additive. The limiters are *ni* 'just' and *nga* 'just' (refers to what remains). The additive is *ka* 'more'.

tŭtŭ   nî
paper   LIM
just paper

kandŭ   ngá
soup   just
just soup (Sp. *caldo*)

tŭtŭ   kâ
paper   ADD
more paper

(See also 7.25.)

Three locative adverbs function as deictics: *yaha* or *ya* 'here', *dían* 'there' (near addressee), and *ínxan* or *xan* 'over there'. These words are glossed 'this', 'that' (near addressee), and 'that', respectively, when they function as deictics. There is also a nominal marker that functions only as a deictic, *de* 'that'. The deictic *dían* refers to objects near the addressee, and it often contrasts one referent to some other one, while *de* refers to objects near the addressee, but it does not contrast one object with another. The deictic *de* is also used for an object previously referred to in the discourse context.

The deictic *ínxan* or *xan* refers to objects distant from both speaker and addressee.

    vēhē   inxān
    house that
    that house

    ñayíu   yāha
    people this
    these people

    te   xán
    he:ws that
    that man

    tūtū   đíân
    paper that:near:addressee
    that paper

    tūtū   đê
    paper that
    that paper

Restrictive relative clauses follow the noun or pronoun nucleus. Relative clauses are usually marked as such by their distribution following nouns or pronouns and by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. In the case of relative clauses based on a locative adjunct, or on a location or time peripheral element, the locative noun *nūú* 'face' and the subordinate conjunction *na* 'when' function as relative pronouns.

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject, the object, an adjunct, or a peripheral element.

The head can be coreferential with the subject or the object. The head is coreferential with the subject when the verb of the relative clause is intransitive or when the only nominal of the relative clause is the verbal marker *ñáha* 'known object' (see §2.1.3).

    té   n-kuhú
    he:ws COM-be:sick
    the man who was sick

    té   n-shánhni   ñāha
    he:ws COM-kill   KNO
    the man who killed someone

té   kundáhú
he:ws CON:be:poor
the man who is poor

ndēyu n-kúhvâ
food   COM-be:bitter
food that was bitter

(See also 7.41.)

The head is coreferential with the object when the subject of the relative clause is a first or second person pronoun.

téyɨ̈   ndukū   dá
man:ws CON:look:for I:RES
the man for whom I'm looking

téyɨ̈   nduku-ń
man:ws CON:look:for-you:RES
the man for whom you are looking

(See also 7.67.)

When the relative clause contains a noun phrase or a third person pronoun, the resulting construction is ambiguous. The head may be coreferential with either the subject or the object. The discourse and/or cultural context, however, usually clarifies the meaning.

ñá   dakwaha   nshúâ
she CON:teach   John
the woman who teaches John *or* the woman whom John teaches

sé   chíndihú   ñadɨ̈hɨ̂
he:MS CON:put:in:jail   woman
the man who is putting the woman in jail *or* the man whom the woman is putting in jail

séyɨ̈   chindihú   ña
man:MS CON:put:in:jail she/her
the man who is putting her in jail *or* the man whom she is putting in jail

sé   dᶏkwaha   ñᶏ
he:MS CON:teach   she/her
the man who teaches her *or* the man whom she teaches

If the nominal that functions as a subject of the relative clause is a full noun phrase, rather than a pronoun, and if the speaker wishes to indicate

that the head is coreferential with the object, he uses the verbal marker
ñáha in the relative clause. Compare the following examples with the first
two in the above block of examples.

> *ñá   đākwaha   ñāha nshúâ*
> she   CON:teach   KNO   John
> the woman whom John teaches

> *sé   chindihú   ñāha ñadɨhɨ*
> he:MS   CON:put:in:jail   KNO   woman
> the man whom the woman is putting in jail

> *ñadɨhɨ   n-dandoō   ñāha yɨɨ   ña*
> woman   COM:leave   KNO   husband   her
> the woman whose husband left her

The head may also be coreferential with an adjunct. The locative noun
nūú 'face' optionally follows the head noun and functions as a relative
pronoun.

> *yūkū   nuu   shko   shehên ro*
> mountain face   CON:HAB   CON:go we:IN
> the mountain where we habitually go

> *ñūú   n-shéhên te*
> town   COM-go   he:WS
> the town he went to

(See also 7.59.)

The head may also be coreferential with a peripheral element. When the
peripheral element is location, the locative noun *nūú* 'face' optionally
follows the head and functions as a relative pronoun. When the peripheral
element is time, the subordinate conjunction *na* 'when' optionally follows
the head and functions as a relative pronoun.

> *ñayíu   nuu   tashnúni ianshūsh*
> people   face   CON:rule God
> people in the place where God reigns

> *ñá   nuu   shīnō   kwéchî đa*
> she   face   CON:run   errand I:RES
> the woman in the place where I serve

> *kɨú   n-shéhên te   nūndúa*
> day   COM-go   he:WS   Oaxaca
> the day he went to Oaxaca

kɨ̄ú   nā   n-shéhên te   nūndúa
day   when   COM-go   he:ws   Oaxaca
the day he went to Oaxaca

Sentences with equative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject or a peripheral element.

té   kuū   dító   dá
he:ws   CON:be uncle   my:RES
the man who is my uncle

té   kuū   yɨ̄   ña
he:ws   CON:be husband her
the man who is her husband

té   kuū   prisidenté
he:ws   CON:be president
the man who is president (Sp. *presidente*)

té   kuū   musíkâ
he:ws   CON:be music
the man who is a musician (Sp. *música*)

kwīá   n-kúu   nshūá   prisidenté
year   COM-be John   president
the year John was president

Stative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

té   duxún
he:ws   tall
the tall man

yūshā   luhlē
corndough   thick
thick dough

(See also 7.9 and 7.28.)

In relative clauses numerals function like stative verbs to express ordinals; they follow the equative verb *kuū* 'to be'.

kɨ̄ū   kuū   unî
day   CON:be three
the third day

(See also 7.24.)

There are also sequences in which a noun (or complex noun nucleus) modifies another noun that should probably be considered to contain relative clauses with a deleted verb. The second noun may give the material out of which the first is made, the topic of the first noun, what is contained in the first noun, or a specifying characteristic of the first noun.

ɖúndú ñuâ
doll   wax
wax doll

ñunu   yohó
net   rope
net made of rope

vehe   ndóhô
house adobe
an adobe brick house

vehe   tkūyêê
house maguey:leaf
a house made of maguey (century plant) leaves

ñuhu   trǖú
land   wheat
wheat (Sp. *trigo*) field

kwentū   konéxô
story   rabbit
a story (Sp. *cuento*) about a rabbit (Sp. *conejo*)

tnúhû   ianshúsh
word   God
the word of God

shtóho   ñúhu
owner   land
owner of the land

shtóho   véhe
owner   house
owner of the house

yīka   tilâ
basket   bread
a basket in which to store bread (Sp. *Castilla* 'Castile')

yɨka   ndondohó
basket   handle
a basket with a handle

(See also 7.6.)

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. All four nonnuclear elements (quantifier, relative clause, scope, and deictic) combine freely, although scope and deictic are rare following long relative clauses. Also, subclasses of words and individual words show cooccurrence restrictions. For example, the specifier *mee* does not occur with *ni* 'just' or *nga* 'just'. The order of postnominal elements is: relative clause, scope, and deictic.

ɗichi   lúchí   ni
child   small:SG   LIM
just the smaller child

ñâ   n-kíshi   xan
she   COM-come   that
that woman that came

mee   ñaɗíhɨ   n-shéhên   xan
self   woman   COM-go   that
that very woman who went

kwēhē   ñá   ka   kundáhú   xân
many   she   PL   CON:be:poor   that
those many poor women

úú   ɗichi   lūchi   ni   xan
two   child   small:SG   LIM   that
just those two small children

kwēhē   ñá   ka   kuū   maéstrá   xân
many   she   PL   CON:be   teacher   that
those many women who are teachers (Sp. *maestra*)

ñá   ka   kuū   maéstra   ni   xan
she   PL   CON:be   teacher   just   that
those women who are just teachers

In the last example the limiter forms part of the noun phrase within the relative clause, but the deictic modifies the head noun.

It is also possible for a noun to be modified by two relative clauses. Both may be based on stative verbs, or one may be based on a stative verb and the other on a content verb. When there are two stative verbs, the order

is usually determined by convention. For example, color precedes size, and size precedes gender.

> *ɖanhma kwishí kánhnû*
> clothing white big:SG
> large white clothing

> *yɨ̃ka   kwechi   tkúte*
> basket   small:PL   round
> small round baskets

A relative clause based on a stative verb always precedes one based on a content verb.

> *kwēhē sé   kwechi   kahū   lívrú*
> many he:MS   small:PL CON:read book
> many boys who are reading books (Sp. *libro*)

> *kwēhē   té   vahá n-ká   kuu prisiɖenté*
> many   he:WS   good COM-PL be   president
> many good men who were president

A quantifier such as *ɨ̄n* 'one' may occur in noun phrases with no nucleus expressed; examples are found in 7.12–13, 7.18, and 7.21–22.

3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

Measurement noun phrases consist of a noun phrase expressing a unit of measurement, usually modified by a preposed quantifier and occasionally by a short postposed relative clause. They occur only as quantifiers in other noun phrases, and in the following examples, the higher noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

> *litrú (petroleú)*
> liter (kerosene)
> a liter (Sp. *litro*) (of kerosene [Sp. *petroleo*])

> *úní   táyu   (ndíshâ)*
> three   pair   (sandal)
> three pairs (of sandals)

> *úú   lítru   (petroleú)*
> two   liter   (kerosene)
> two liters (of kerosene)

ɨ̵n   nuhne   kánhnú   (ītī   kwíshí)
one   bundle   big:SG   (candle   white)
a large bundle (of white candles)

3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a possessed noun as their nucleus followed
by an obligatory possessor. The nucleus is either an inherently possessed
noun, such as a kinship term or a body part, or an optionally possessed
noun. The possessor is a full noun phrase.

ndáhá   ñá
hand   her
her hand

ɗanhma   mariâ
clothing   Mary
Mary's (Sp. *María*) clothing

(See also 7.14–15, 7.23–24, 7.27, 7.52, 7.62, and 7.74.)

The citation form for an inherently possessed noun is a short possessive
noun phrase with *ro* 'first person plural inclusive' as the possessor.

ndaha   ro
hand   our:IN
hand *or* our hands

kúhû   ro
sister:FE   our:IN
our sister

This pronoun is also used idiomatically in many vocative forms.

taā   ro
father   our:IN
father! (lit. 'our father', used to address both God and one's own
father)

The possessive noun phrase plus the verb *iō* 'to exist' is one of the chief
devices of the language to convey possession of any entity.

iō   vehe   ɗá
CON:exist   house   my:RES
I have a house.

Possessive noun phrases may be expanded by optional elements. A quantifier may precede the nucleus; and a short relative clause, the nominal marker *ka* 'own', the plural marker *koio,* or the limiter *ni* may come between the nucleus and the possessor.

> *úú   lívru kwéhe nshúâ*
> two book red   John
> John's two red books

> *taā   ka   te*
> father own his:ws
> his own father

> *díkí   kōio   ña*
> head   PL   her
> their heads

> *ñíí   ni   tí*
> skin LIM its:AML
> just the animal's skin

> *danhma   ni   ñadíhí*
> clothing   LIM woman
> just clothing for women

A longer relative clause occasionally follows the possessor and refers to the nucleus.

> *tnúhû   ianshúsh yodōtnúni*
> word   God   CON:be:written
> the word of God which is written down

> *vēhe   solndádo   n-shánu-s*
> house soldier   COM-destroy-he:MS
> the soldier's house which he destroyed

The limiter may follow the possessor and be ambiguous as to whether it refers to the nucleus or to the possessor.

> *ndatníu ñadíhí   nî*
> thing   woman   LIM
> just things for women *or* things for just women

> *ñíí   kíí   ní*
> skin animal just
> just skins of animals *or* skins of just animals

When the full form of a deictic immediately follows a possessor expressed by a noun, the deictic refers to the possessor.

úú   lívru   kwéhe   nshúâ   yaha
two book   red   John   this
two red books of this John

úú   lívru   dĩchĩ   yũ   inxân
two book   child   male   that
that boy's two books

tihína   dichi   kwēchi   inxân
dog   child   small:PL   that
the dog of those small children

tihína   dichi   kwēchi   shkwéla   inxân
dog   child   small:PL   school   that
the dog of the little children of that school (Sp. *escuela*)

tihína   dichi   kwēchi   shkwéla   yáhâ
dog   child   small:PL   school   this
the dog of the little children of this school

When the shortened form of the deictic immediately follows a noun that is a possessor, it is ambiguous as to whether the deictic is part of the possessor or whether it is part of the possessive noun phrase.

dĩtõ   ñadĩhĩ   xân
uncle woman   that
that woman's uncle *or* that uncle of the woman

lívru   kwéhe   nshúâ   ya
book   red   John   this
the red books of this John *or* these red books of John

shtoho   ngútu   ndóyo   xan
owner   ox   COM:be:lost   that
the owner of that lost ox *or* that owner of the lost ox

When a postnuclear element follows a possessor that is expressed by a pronoun, however, there is no ambiguity. If the possessor is a poststressed pronoun (see §5.4), the postnuclear element refers to the noun nucleus; if the possessor is a prestressed pronoun, it refers to the possessor.

With poststressed pronouns:

> *chūún   ña   inxân*
> chicken   her   that
> that chicken of the woman

> *ngutu   té   xán*
> ox   his:ws   that
> that ox of his

> *vehe   te   iō   yáha*
> house   his:ws CON:exist   here
> his house which is here

> *chūún   ña   ni*
> chicken   her   LIM
> just her chicken

With a prestressed pronoun:

> *chuūn   ñá   inxân*
> chicken   her   that
> that woman's chicken

The possessor may itself be a possessive noun phrase.

> *đahyá   đītō   đíhî   đa*
> child   uncle   mother   my:RES
> child of my mother's uncle

> *livrū   ñani   đá*
> book   brother:ME   my:RES
> my brother's book

3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed by preposing one of the following interrogative words to a noun phrase: *na* 'what?', *nađáā* 'how many?', *xūndu* 'who?', or *ndēđáā* 'which?'. The interrogative word is always initial in its noun phrase, and an interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence.

> *na   đichi*
> what   child
> what child? (what kind of child?)

nadáā   te
how:many he:ws
how many of them?

xūndu vehé
who   house
whose house?

ndédáā   iin   te
which   one   he:ws
which one of the two?

Certain fixed interrogative phrases function like single-word interrogative pronouns or adverbs. They are:

na   shā
what   it:INAN
what?

na   hōra
what   hour
what time (Sp. *hora*)? *or* when?

na   kīú
what   day
what day? *or* when?

na   kwēnda
what   account
why (Sp. *cuenta*)?

xūndu nūú
who   face
to whom?

3.5 Truth-Value Noun Phrases

Truth-value noun phrases affirm the locative existence or nonexistence or the presence or absence of an entity. They can be affirmative or negative. They occur only in focus position in the sentence and occur only with nonpotential aspects.

An affirmative truth-value noun phrase comprises *ná* 'affirmative' plus a noun phrase. The locative adverb *yāha* 'here' or its reduced form *ya* usually occurs with *ná*.

> *na-r*   *(túŭ*   *ya)*
> AFF-I:FAM   (CON:exist   here)
> (Here) I (am). *or* I (am here).

> *ná-s*   *(vashī*   *kóio)*
> AFF-he:MS   (INC:come   PL)
> They (are coming).

> *na*   *véhe*   *te*   *(iō*   *yáhâ)*
> AFF   house   his:WS   (CON:exist   here)
> (Here is) his house. *or* His house (is here).

Occasionally, the verb of existence is unexpressed.

> *nā*   *tátná*   *(yáhâ)*
> AFF   medicine   (here)
> (Here is) the medicine.

A negative truth-value noun phrase comprises a compound negative plus a noun phrase; compound negatives are *ñatŭ, ñayō, mayō,* and *ñãḍu.* Sometimes the interrogative pronoun *na* 'what?' follows the negative marker and is used in this construction to mean 'any'.

The marker *ñatŭ* is derived from *ñã* 'nonpotential negative' and *tuŭ* 'to exist' (in space); *ñatŭ* occurs when the following noun phrase has an inanimate referent.

> *ñatŭ*   *livru té*   *(néhe*   *té*   / *vashī*   *á)*
> NEG   book his:WS   (CON:hold   he:WS   INC:come   INT)
> (Did he) not (bring) his books(?)

> *ñatŭ*   *na*   *livru té*   *(néhe*   *té)*
> NEG   what   book his:WS   (CON:hold   he:WS)
> (He does) not (have) any of his books (with him).

> *ñatŭ*   *ndishā*   *ña*   *(iō*   *á)*
> NEG ·   sandal   her   (CON:exist   INT)
> (Does she) not (have) any sandals(?)

> *ñatŭ*   *ndáā ḍanhma ro*   *(váshî)*
> NEG   all   clothing   our:IN   (INC:come)
> Not all of our clothing (is coming).

The markers *ñayō* and *mayō* are derived from *ñã* 'nonpotential negative' or *mã* 'potential negative' and *iō* 'to exist (continuative)'. These two forms occur when the following noun phrase has an animate referent.

ñayō   te   (sháshi)
NEG   he:ws   (CON:eat)
None of them (is eating). *or* No man who exists (is eating).

ñayō   te   (túū)
NEG   he:ws   (CON:exist)
None of them (is here).

mayō   te   (kūtúū)
NEG   he:ws   (POT:exist)
None of them (will be here).

mayō   te   (káshi)
NEG   he:ws   (POT:eat)
None of them (will eat). *or* No man who exists (will eat).

The marker *ñãdu* negates a noun and implies that an alternate noun could substitute for it; *ñãdu is* derived from *ñã* 'nonpotential negative' and *kuū* 'to be'.

ñãdu   dió   (kūú   /   chi   vestidō kúu)
NEG   skirt (CON:be because dress   CON:be)
([It] is) not a skirt (because [it] is a dress [Sp. *vestido*]).

ñãdu   dió   (n-kúu   / chi   vestidō n-kúu)
NEG   skirt (COM-be   because dress   COM-be)
([It] was) not a skirt (because [it] was a dress).

3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Adverbial noun phrases are either basic or possessive. The first subtype consists of a basic noun phrase with a locative or temporal noun or pronoun nucleus. They function as locative adjuncts and as location or time peripheral elements.

With a locative noun nucleus:

ichī   kānhnu
road   big:SG
a big road

ĩn   nuu   naní   yúku   kánhnú
one   face CON:be:named   mountain big:SG
a place called Large Mountain

With a temporal noun nucleus:

> *kїї kánhnû*
> day big:sᴳ
> an important day
>
> *kїї íi*
> day holy
> a holy day
>
> *kїї ndїyî*
> day dead
> the day of the dead (All Saints' Day)

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with an inherently possessed locative noun as nucleus. These nouns are mainly body-part nouns used with extended meanings, but the Spanish loanword *kwenda* 'account' also occurs. These phrases do not usually contain prenuclear elements or postnuclear elements other than possessor. They function as adjuncts (see §1.1.4) and as peripheral elements (see §1.1.7).

> *nȗú ña*
> face her
> her face
>
> *dїkї yúku*
> head mountain
> top of the mountain
>
> *shiti sēmánâ*
> stomach week
> during the week (Sp. *semana*)
>
> *dїkї yōó*
> head moon
> the end of the month
>
> *nuu ñúhu*
> face ground
> on the ground
>
> *nuu mésha*
> face table
> on the table (Sp. *mesa*)

(See also 7.69.)

When the body-part nouns *nūú* 'face' and *shīti* 'stomach' have specialized
meanings, they may be modified by a quantifier.

ɨ̄n   nuu   kóhô
one   face   plate
on a plate

đava   shīti   véhe
half   stomach   house
in the middle of the house

3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun
phrases in the same structural position joined without a conjunction. They
occur in any noun phrase position.

kúhû   đa   / líndâ
sister:FE   my:RES   Linda
my sister, Linda (Sp. *Linda*)

ñūū   / nuu   n-shátashehe   te
town   face   COM-dance   he:ws
the town, the place where he danced

te   tashnuní   / te   kuū   prisidenté   /
he:ws   CON:rule   he:ws   CON:be   president

    te   xahān   tnúhúñuđāu
    he:ws   CON:speak   Mixtec
he who rules, he who is president, he who speaks Mixtec

đa 'ñá   / se   yakwa
I:RES   he:MS   crippled
myself, a crippled man

đitó-s   / sé   kuhû
uncle-his:MS   he:MS   sick
his uncle, the one who is sick

Appositional noun phrases, like appositional verb phrases (see §2.6),
often serve as a literary device. The nucleus is repeated, and when it is
modified twice, the modifiers are different, but often semantically related.

đanhma váhâ   / đanhma   víta
clothing good   clothing   soft
fine, soft clothing

đītā   kéē   / đītā   ndáhu
tortilla humble   tortilla poor
a poor man's tortillas

itáhu   nūú   / itáhu   yátâ
little   face   little   back
a little in the front and a little in the back

nuu   ñúhu / nuu   ndehyû
face   land   face   mud
in the mud

īīn   sha   víī   / īīn   sha   vahá
one   it:INAN gentle   one   it:INAN good
a good and pleasant thing

3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are coordinate or disjunctive.

There are three ways of coordinating noun phrases within the bounds of a single sentence. They may be linked by *shihin* 'with' or 'along with', by *đu* 'also', or by pause.

Additive noun phrases with *shihin* occur in all noun phrase positions. These phrases function as a unit. For example, animate subjects linked by *shihin* perform the action of the verb at the same time in the same place, and inanimate nouns linked by *shihin* often refer to substances mixed together. An additive noun phrase that functions as a subject often occurs with a plural marker in the verb phrase (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3). The preposition *shihin* may occur after each item in a series, except the last, it may occur only after the first item in a series, or it may occur only before the last item in a series. No change in meaning is associated with any of these variants.

(n-shéhên) te   shihin đahyá te
(COM-go)   he:ws   with   child his:ws
He and his child (went).

(n-ká   kiđa tniū) te   shihin ñadíhí tê   shihin đahyá te
(COM-PL do   work) he:ws   with   woman his:ws with   child his:ws
He and his wife and child (worked).

(n-ká   kiđa tniū) te   shihin ñadíhí tê   / đahyá te
(COM-PL do   work) he:ws   with   woman his:ws child   his:ws
He and his wife and child (worked).

(xwáhân) tāā   i / d̶í̶h̶î̶ i / kúhâ   i
(INC:go) father UN   mother UN   sister:ME UN

　shihin ñanî   i
　with   brother:ME UN
His father, mother, sister, and brother (went).

(xahân   te)   nuu nshúâ shihin mariâ
(CON:speak he:ws) face John   with   Mary
(He is talking) to John and Mary.

(n-k̶i̶d̶a̶   tniũ te)   sha shēhe nshúâ shihin mariâ
(COM-do   work he:ws)   CMP foot John   with   Mary
(He worked) for John and Mary. *or* (He worked) instead of John
and Mary.

(iō   vêhe)   xusēé shihin mariâ
(CON:exist house) Joseph with   Mary
Joseph (Sp. *José*) and Mary (have a house).

(n-shîhî   d̶i̶h̶i̶)   yōó   shihin ngándii
(COM-die   mother) moon with   sun
(The mother of) the moon and the sun (died).

(n-shíhi   ña)   kafeē shihin ashúka
(COM-drink she)   coffee with   sugar
(She drank) coffee (Sp. *café*) and sugar (Sp. *azúcar*).

In some cases an additive noun phrase could be reinterpreted as a
simple noun phrase followed by an associative adjunct (see §1.1.4). For
example, the first sentence above could also be translated, 'He went with
his child.'

Additive noun phrases with *shihin* show attraction when the second of
two component noun phrases permits the interpretation that its referent is
included in the first one; that is, these phrases are partially coreferential.
The first component is a noun phrase with a quantifier.

　ndūú-s   shihin ñanî-s
　the:two-he:MS   with   brother:ME-his:MS
　he and his brother

Some additive noun phrases that are linked with *shihin* have an idiomatic
meaning.

　vēhe   shihin vehé
　house with   house
　from house to house

The marker *đu* 'also' links noun phrases which function as subjects or objects in a series; *đu* follows the last item in a series of nouns. When it links subjects, it links them to a single plural marker in the verb phrase. Nouns linked by *đu* perform the action of the verb at the same time in the same place, but the actions do not need to be as closely related as those where the nouns are linked by *shihin.*

(n-ká   káhu)   ñadíhî / téyŧi / đichi   kwé'chî   đu
(COM-PL study) woman   man   child   small:PL   also
The women, men, and children (studied).

(nduku   ñá) gayétâ / nduchi   tnūú / ndŧu chūún   đu
(CON:look:for she) cookie   legume   black   egg chicken   also
(She looked for) cookies (Sp. *galleta*), black beans, and chicken eggs.

(n-ká   sheen   ñayíu)   itî   / īnu   / ndŧdŧ   kwíshi   đū
(COM-PL buy   people) candle   cigarette   liquor   white   also
(The people bought) candles, cigarettes, and pulque.

Noun phrases linked by pause do not necessarily perform the action of the verb at the same time or in the same place.

(n-ká   káhu)   ñadíhî / téyŧi / đichi kwé'chî
(COM-PL study) woman   man   child small:PL
Women, men, and small children (studied).

(ka shāshi   te)   víhndê / nduchi / chāka /
(PL CON:eat he:ws) nopal   legume   fish

   tílâ /   đúhân   / đítâ
   bread   chocolate   tortilla
(They eat) prickly pear cactus leaves, beans, fish, bread, chocolate, and tortillas.

(shkō đandeē   táhû te)   ñŧhŧ   /
(HAB   CON:put:in:again gift   he:ws) sweatbath

   yuté / nuu n-káku-s
   river   face COM-be:born-he:MS
(He places offerings) in the sweatbath, in the river, and where he was born.

A fourth way to link noun phrases involves repeating the verb.

Additive noun phrases that show disjunction are linked by *a* 'or' or *ni* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*). Any number of noun phrases may be linked by *a* or *ni: a* occurs before the last item, and *ni* occurs before each item.

With *a:*

    (kúū   tê)   kwéhé   yuchi   a   kwehe   bála
    (POT:die he:ws) sickness knife   or sickness bullet
    (He will die from) a knife wound or from being shot (Sp. *bala*).

    (ka tné'né)   dichi kwéchî / té   shanhnu / ñá   shanhnu /
    (PL CON:drown) child small:PL he:ws old   she old

       ngūtu   / a   tkāchi
       ox   or sheep
    Children, old men, old women, oxen, or sheep (drown in the current).

With *ni:*

    ni   díhɨ   te / ni   dahyá te / ni   ñani   'té
    nor mother his:ws nor   child   his:ws nor brother:ME his:ws
    neither his wife, his child, nor his brother

    ni   mée-s   / ni   mée ña
    nor SPEC-he:MS nor SPEC she
    neither he nor she

3.9 Repetitive Noun Phrases

Repetitive noun phrases comprise a repeated noun or a repeated numeral plus noun. The limiter *ni* optionally follows the second noun.

    pēshu péshu
    peso   peso
    in denominations of pesos (Sp. *peso*)

    hōra   hóra
    hour   hour
    by the hour

    yoho yoho ní
    root   root LIM
    only at the roots

    shēhe shéhê ni   tnu
    foot   foot   LIM   its:WOD
    only at the foot of the trees

ɨ̀n *shío* ɨ̀n *shío* *íchi*
one side one side road
each on a side of the road

In the above two examples, the repetitive noun phrase contains a possessed noun, and the two repetitions share a single possessor.

3.10 Personal-Name Noun Phrases

Personal-name noun phrases consist of one of four markers that indicate respect followed by a noun nucleus. These markers are: *đi* 'aunt' preceding a woman's name, *to* 'uncle' or *ta* 'father' preceding a man's name, and *ndi* 'deceased' preceding a name or a kinship term.

đi   *tmárta*
aunt   Martha
Mrs. Martha

to   *spédrû*
uncle   Peter:MS
Uncle Peter

to   *smárkû*
uncle   Mark:MS
Mr. Mark

to   *nmárkû*
uncle   Mark:WS
Mr. Mark

ta   *pédrû*
father Peter
Mr. Peter

ndi   *pédrû*
deceased   Peter
the late Peter

ndí   *taā*   *đa*
deceased   father   my:RES
my deceased father

4
Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases. In additive numeral phrases simple numerals combine to form the numerals eleven through fourteen, sixteen through nineteen, twenty-one through thirty, and thirty-five. The larger numeral always occurs first. When the numeral *shá 'hún* 'fifteen' occurs as the nonfinal numeral in additive numeral phrases, a reduced form, *sháún,* occurs.

ú 'shí   ú 'ú
ten   two
twelve

sháún   íín
fifteen   one
sixteen

ó 'kó   ú 'shí
twenty   ten
thirty

ó 'kó   shá 'hún
twenty   fifteen
thirty-five

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

> *ó'kó   ú'shí   ú'ú*
> twenty   ten   two
> thirty-two

> *ó'kó   shá'hún   kó'ón*
> twenty   fifteen   four
> thirty-nine

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

> *kó'ón ɖí'kó*
> four   twenty
> eighty

> *ú'ná   sientú*
> eight   hundred
> eight hundred (Sp. *ciento*)

> *ú'ní   mííl*
> three   thousand
> three thousand (Sp. *mil*)

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

> *ú'ú ɖí'kó   sháún   ítn*
> two twenty   fifteen one
> fifty-six

> *ú'shá sientú   ú'ní   ɖí'kó   ú'shí   ítn*
> seven hundred three   twenty   ten   one
> seven hundred seventy-one

> *ítn   mííl   í'ín   sientú   ú'ní   ɖí'kó   sháún   ú'ní*
> one thousand   nine hundred three   twenty   fifteen   three
> one thousand nine hundred seventy-eight

4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases. A numeral (or short numeral phrase) and the numeral classifier *tnáhá* 'companion' combine to form aggregative numeral phrases, which are relatively rare. In this construction *tnáhá* means 'together'; it does not occur with the numeral one. In the following example, an entire noun phrase is given with the part outside the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

> *ú'ní   tnáhá   (té)*
> three   companion (he:ws)
> the three (of them) together

Aggregative numeral phrases may be questioned.

> *ná'đá   tnáhá(-ń)*
> how:many companion(-you:RES)
> How many (of you) (are there)?

4.1.4 Expanded numeral phrases. A simple numeral, an additive numeral phrase, or an attributive numeral phrase may serve as the nucleus of expanded numeral phrases.

> *í'ñú   (véhé)*
> six   (house)
> six (houses)

> *sháún   ú'ní   (véhé)*
> fifteen   three   (house)
> eighteen (houses)

> *ú'ú đí'kó   (véhé)*
> two twenty (house)
> forty (houses)

> *ú'ní   đí'kó   ú'shí   íín   (véhé)*
> three twenty ten   one   (house)
> seventy-one (houses)

> *đává   (kiló)*
> fraction (kilogram)
> half (a kilogram [Sp. *kilo*])

> *đává   (nú'ú   ndúté)*
> fraction (face   water)
> midway (across the river)

There is one prenuclear position, which comprises the following elements: *ní* 'not even' (Sp. *ni*); *váá* 'approximately'; *ná'shá* 'what?', used in

this context to mean 'about'; *ntná* 'every'; and *ndaá* 'all'. The conjunction *ní* 'not even' occurs only with the numeral nucleus *ǐǐn* 'one'. The general quantifier *ndaá* 'all' fuses with *ú 'ú* 'two' and *ú 'ní* 'three' to form *nduú* 'both' and *ndruní* 'the three'. In combination with other numerals, *ndaá* is usually reduced to *nh* before a vowel and *n* before a consonant. The combination of *ndaá* and a following numeral functions in the larger discourse context to refer to a previously mentioned number of items or people.

ní   ǐǐn
nor   one
not even one

váá   ú 'shí   (dá)
approximately ten   (I:RES)
approximately ten (of us)

váá   kó 'ón   (yútnú)
approximately four   (tree)
approximately four (trees)

ná 'shá   ó 'kó   (ñá 'yíu)
what   twenty (people)
about twenty (people)

ntná   ú 'ná   (kǐ 'ú)
every   eight   (day)
every eight (days)

nduú   (té)
both   (he:ws)
both (of them)

nduú   (tnáhá   té)
both   (companion he:ws)
both (of them together)

nduú   (yá   shíhín   ñá 'ní   yá)
both   (DEI   with   brother:ME DEI)
both (of them, the holy one and his brother)

ndruní   (ró)
the:three (we:IN)
the three (of us)

nkó 'ón(-s)
all:four(-he:MS)
all four (of them)

nshá 'hún (í)
all:fifteen (UN)
all fifteen (of them)

nhó 'kó   (ñá)
all:twenty (she)
all twenty (of them)

nhú 'ní dí 'kó   ú 'shí   (tí)
all:three twenty ten   (it:AML)
all seventy (of the animals)

There are two postnuclear positions. The first is expressed by four elements. One of these is the verb *yodó* 'to be on top', which in this context means 'another half'.

í 'ñú   yodó   (dí 'tá)
six   CON:be:on:top (tortilla)
six and a half (tortillas)

íín   yodó   (orá)
one   CON:be:on:top (hour)
one and one half (hours [Sp. *hora*])

íín   yodó   (kwiá)
one   CON:be:on:top (year)
a (year) and a half

íín   yodó   (sientú)
one   CON:be:on:top (hundred)
one (hundred) fifty (pesos)

(ká 'á) í 'ñú yodó
(metal) six   CON:be:on:top
half past six (o'clock)

In the above example, the expanded numeral phrase follows the noun nucleus because it serves as an ordinal.

The remaining three elements that express the first postnuclear position are the limiter *ní* 'only', the additive *ká* 'more', and *ngá* 'just more'. When the numeral *íín* 'one' occurs with *ní* or *ngá*, the suppletive allomorph *í 'dí* is sometimes used.

í 'ɖí ní
one LIM
only one

í 'ɖí ngá
one just:more
just one more

ní   ɨ́n   ká
nor   one   ADD
not even one more

ɨ́n   ká   (véhé)
one   ADD   (house)
another (house)

ɨ́n   ká   (ñá 'yíu)
one   ADD   (people)
other (people)

ú 'ní   ní
three   LIM
only three

í 'ñú   ngá
six   just:more
just six more

ɨ́n   ká   (ueltá)
one   ADD   (time)
another (time [Sp. *vuelta*]) *or* one more (time)

ɨ́n   ká   (kí 'ú)
one   ADD   (day)
another (day)

ɨ́n   ká   (laɖú)
one   ADD   (side)
the other (side [Sp. *lado*])

í 'ɖí ní   (véhé   xéró 'ñú)
one LIM   (house Jerry)
only (at Jerry's [Sp. *Gerónimo*] house)

í 'ɖí ní   ueltá (n-kané   í 'ní   té)
one LIM   time (COM-spring:forth insides he:ws)
(He vomited) ONLY ONCE.

nduú   ní(-s   shíhín   ñá 'ní-s)
both   LIM(-he:MS   with   brother:ME-his:MS)
only the two (of them, he and his brother)

kó 'ón ní   (tviní)
four   LIM   (money)
only fifty centavos (lit. only four [bits (Sp. *tomín*)])

đává   ní   (panelá)
fraction LIM   (brown:sugar)
only half (a block of brown sugar [Sp. *panela*])

(See also 7.22.)

Note that the limiter occurs also at the end of the entire noun phrase (see §3.1.4). When the limiter is part of the numeral phrase, it refers only to the numeral; when it is part of the noun phrase, it refers to the entire noun phrase.

In the following example, two quantifier phrases occur; the second one is an expanded numeral phrase with *ká* 'more', and its meaning is determined by the context provided by the first phrase.

đává   (ñá 'yíu) ... đává   ká   (ñá 'yíu)
fraction (people) ... fraction ADD   (people)
some (of the people) ... the rest (of the people)

The second postnuclear position is expressed only by the numeral *đává* 'fraction', which occurs only with the numeral nucleus *íín* 'one'. Because *đává* follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the expanded numeral phrase occurs, the quantifier is discontinuous. The combination occurs only in limited contexts, such as with *đí 'tá* 'tortilla' as noun nucleus.

íín   (đí 'tá)   đává
one   (tortilla) fraction
half (a tortilla)

The numeral *đává* may also occur as a numeral nucleus, as seen in various examples above.

4.1.5 General quantifier phrases. Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. The nucleus consists of a nonnumeral quantifier.

(tásh)   ítáhú
(POT:give) a:little
(Give [me]) a little!

(ngó'ó-ń)   *shakú*
(POT:sit-you:RES) a:little
(Sit down) for awhile!

(díkó-ń)   *shakú*
(POT:sell-you:RES) a:little
(Sell) some!

ítáhú   *(yó'ó   luchí)*
a:little   (moon   small:SG)
a crescent (moon)

kwé'hé   (ueltá)
many   (time)
many (times)

kwé'hé   (íti   shíhín   í'tá)
many   (candle with   flower)
many (candles and flowers)

ndaá   (kí'ú)
all   (day)
every (day)

ndaá   (yarné'shí)
all   (Friday)
every (Friday [Sp. *viernes*])

ndaá   (íchí)
all   (road)
the whole (road) *or* all (the roads)

nitúhú   *(ñú'ú)*
throughout   (town)
throughout (the town)

nitúhú   *(ínxán)*
throughout   (over:there)
everywhere (over there)

nitúhú   *(dé'hvá   kó'ó   yú'té)*
throughout   (canyon   snake   river)
throughout (River Snake Canyon)

nitúhú   *(n-shehén   dá)*
throughout   (COM-go   I:RES)
everywhere (I went)

>   *ntnáhá   (ueltá   đá   n-kíđá   té)*
>   every   (time   thus   COM-do   he:ws)
>   EVERY (TIME he did it like that).

Several compound forms beginning with *nđaá* 'all' occur in the nucleus of the general quantifier phrase.

>   *ndantu'hú   (shá   xwéén   đá)*
>   all   (it:INAN   POT:buy   I:RES)
>   every(thing that I'll buy)

>   *ndantu'hú   (fversá í)*
>   all   (force   UN)
>   all (their might [Sp. *fuerza*])

>   *ntakántu'hú   (kítí)*
>   all   (animal)
>   all kinds (of animals)

>   *ntakántu'hú   (shá   kuyahú)*
>   all   (it:INAN   CON:be:sold)
>   all the kinds (of things that are sold)

>   *nđanditu'hú   (shá   kuyahú)*
>   all   (it:INAN   CON:be:sold)
>   all parts (of that which is sold)

The specifier *méé* also occurs as the nucleus of the general quantifier phrase.

>   *méé   (ianyúúsh)*
>   SPEC   (God)
>   (God [Sp. *Dios*]) Himself

One other word occurs as a general quantifier, *đavá'hánga* 'whatever'.

>   *đavá'hánga   (ñá'yíu)*
>   whatever   (people)
>   whoever

>   *đavá'hánga   (kí'ú)*
>   whatever   (day)
>   whenever

>   *đavá'hánga   (nú'ú)*
>   whatever   (face)
>   wherever

There is one prenuclear element, expressed only by the intensifying elements *yó* 'very' and *lokó* 'crazy' (Sp. *loco*). This prenuclear element is rare and occurs only with *ítáhú* 'a little' and *kwé'hé* 'many'.

> *yó   ítáhú   (kosechá)*
> INTS a:little (harvest)
> very few (crops [Sp. *cosecha*])

> *yó   kwé'hé   (mí'hí)*
> INTS many   (garbage)
> a whole lot (of garbage)

> *lokó   kwé'hé   (kɨtɨ)*
> crazy   many   (animal)
> a great many (animals)

Occasionally both intensifiers occur together.

> *yó   lokó   kwé'hé   (tviní)*
> INTS crazy many   (money)
> an awful lot (of money)

There are three postnuclear elements: the limiter *ní*, the additive *ká*, and *ngá* 'just more'. They occur only with *ítáhú* 'a little', *shakú* 'a little', *kwé'hé* 'many', and the specifier *méé*, except that *ká* does not occur with *méé*.

> *ítáhú   ní   (trɨú   nú'ní)*
> a:little   LIM   (wheat corn)
> only a little bit (of wheat [Sp. *trigo*] and corn)

> *shakú   ní   (yó'ó)*
> a:little   LIM   (moon)
> only a few (months)

> *(tásh)   ítáhú   ní*
> (POT:give) a:little LIM
> (Give [me]) only a little bit!

> *(tásh)   ítáhú   ká*
> (POT:give) a:little ADD
> (Give [me]) a little bit more!

> *(tásh)   ítáhú   ngá*
> (POT:give) a:little just:more
> (Give [me]) just a little bit more!

méé   ní   (tníú)
SPEC   LIM   (work)
only (work)

méé   ngá   (chudí'ní   kwechí)
SPEC   just:more   (star   small:PL)
just (little stars), nothing more

méé   ngá   (dá'ú   víí)
SPEC   just:more   (rain   gentle)
just (gentle rain), nothing more

The following example shows both prenuclear and postnuclear positions.

yó   lokó   kwé'hé   ká
INTS   crazy many   ADD
an awful lot more

4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases. A repeated numeral, which is usually grammatically simple, constitutes a simple distributive numeral phrase; the limiter *ní* may follow the second numeral or both numerals. This phrase expresses the meaning 'each' or 'in groups of'.

íín   íín   (véhé)
one one   (house)
each (house)

íín   íín   (ladú)
one one   (side)
(on) each (side [Sp. *lado*])

íín   íín(-ń)
one one(-you:RES)
each (of you)

íín   íín   ní
one one   LIM
only one by one

íín   ní   íín   ní   (xwáhán té)
one   LIM   one   LIM   (INC:go   he:ws)
ONE AT A TIME (they went).

íín   sientú   íín   sientú   (í)
one hundred one   hundred   (UN)
by hundreds (one hundred people in each group)

ú'ú *ɗí'kó* *ú'shí* *ú'ú* *ɗí'kó* *ú'shí* *(í)*
two twenty ten   two twenty ten   (UN)
by fifties (fifty people in each group)

ɗává *ɗává* *ní*
fraction fraction LIM
by halves

4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases. Two numerals of limited complexity, with the second expressing a somewhat larger quantity than the first, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The numerals are simply juxtaposed and express an approximation.

íín *ú'ú* *(tú'tú)*
one two (paper)
some (papers)

ú'ú *ú'ní* *(kwí'hí)*
two three (banana)
a few (bananas)

ú'ní *kó'ón* *(ñá'yíu)*
three four (people)
several (people)

ú'shí *shá'hún* *(kí'ú)*
ten   fifteen (day)
a week or two[3]

4.1.8 Repetitive quantifier phrases. There are two ways to form repetitive quantifier phrases, which intensify the meaning of a numeral or general quantifier. In the first way, the quantifier is simply repeated; the limiter *ní* may follow the second one.

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[3]It is possible to combine two numeral phrases, rather than two simple numerals, in an alternative relation, but it appears to be necessary to have a noun nucleus after each one, as seen in the following example.

ntná *shá'hún* *(kí'ú)* *ntná* *ó'kó* *(kí'ú)*
every fifteen (day) every twenty (day)
every two or three weeks

Because of the repeated noun, this example has the structure of an alternative noun phrase.

ɖává   ɖává   (yúkú)
fraction fraction (mountain)
the very middle (of the mountain)

ítáhú   ítáhú   ní   (káká   ɖá)
a:little   a:little   LIM   (POT:walk I:RES)
LITTLE BY LITTLE (I'll walk).

Note that the form ɖává ɖává occurs in both repetitive quantifier phrases and in distributive numeral phrases. The ambiguity is resolved by context.

  In the second way, the complementizer shá occurs between the repetitions; in the present data this construction occurs only with kwé'hé 'many'.

kwé'hé   shá   kwé'hé   (ñá'yíu)
many   CMP   many   (people)
multitudes (of people)

kwé'hé   shá   kwé'hé   (ítí   shoɖó   té)
many   CMP   many   (candle CON:hang   he:ws)
(He will hang) MANY MANY (CANDLES).

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. The nucleus of basic adverb phrases may be a locative, temporal, or general adverb.

vítná   (kunú   ɖá   shá   kí'dí   ɖá)
now   (CON:want I:RES CMP   POT:sleep   I:RES)
NOW (I want to go to sleep).

ɖáá   (n-shó'ɖó   té   ngútú)
that:time   (COM-ride   he:ws   bull)
AT THAT TIME (he rode the bulls).

ndú'shí   (má   kutúú   ɖá)
next:year   (NEG   POT:be   I:RES)
NEXT YEAR (I won't be [here]).

ɖaɖá   (ndíshí   ntúku   ɖá)
then   (POT:return:coming   REP   I:RES)
THEN (I'll come back again).

ínxán   (túú   té)
over:there (CON:be he:ws)
(He lives) OVER THERE.

> *(ndaá ñá'yíu ɖákéshio   vinú   vá'há ká) kinhnánu*
> (all   people CON:distribute wine   good ADD) first
> (EVERYBODY gives out the better wine [Sp. *viño*]) first.

> *ɖadá (ɖákéshio   í   vinú ndahú ká)*
> then (CON:distribute UN   wine poor ADD)
> THEN (they give out the poorer wine).

> *shíká (xí'hín   ɖá)*
> far   (POT:go   I:RES)
> (I'm going) FAR (up the mountain).

These phrases have an optional prenuclear intensifier, expressed only by the intensifying elements *yó* 'very' and *lokó* 'crazy'.

> *(ɖichí   luchí)   yó   ní'hí (shinó)*
> (unmarried:person small:SG) INTS fast (CON:run)
> (THE LITTLE GIRL runs) very fast.

> *(ɖichí   luchí)   yó   ya'chí (ndíkó)*
> (unmarried:person small:SG) INTS quickly (CON:grind)
> (THE LITTLE GIRL grinds) very quickly.

> *lokó   vilí   (shitá-ń)*
> crazy   pretty (CON:sing-you:RES)
> (You sing) awfully pretty. *or* (You sing) very nicely.

They also have an optional postnuclear element expressed by the limiter *ní*, the additive *ká*, and *ngá* 'just more'.

> *yáhá   ní*
> here   LIM
> just here

> *ɖíkó   ngá*
> only   just:more
> the only (thing)

> *ɖá   ní*
> thus   LIM
> just thus *or* also

> *ínxán   ní*
> over:there   LIM
> just over there

ɖíkó   ní   (ndetú   ró)
only   LIM   (CON:wait   we:IN)
(We're) just (waiting).

kinhnánu   ká
first   ADD
at the very first

(See also 7.2.)

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

Locative:

ínxán   / véhé   marɖuán shánhnú
over:there   house steward CON:be:mature
over there at the head steward's (Sp. *mayordomo*) house

ínxán   ní / mersé
over:there   LIM   Merced
just over there at the Merced (Sp. *Merced*) market

nú 'ú íó-ń   xán   / yá 'tá   véhé-ń
face   CON:exist-you:RES over:there back   house-your:RES
over there where you live, behind your house

nú 'ú kúrushí kúú   ú 'ú / ínxán
face   cross   CON:be two   over:there
at the second cross (Sp. *cruz*), over there

Temporal:

tné 'é   / sabá 'ɖú
tomorrow   Saturday
tomorrow, Saturday (Sp. *sábado*)

né 'hé / ɖá 'tné
early   morning
early in the morning

tné 'e   / ɖá 'tné
tomorrow   morning
tomorrow in the morning

đá'tné   xán   / ká'a   ú'shá đá'tné
morning that metal seven morning
that morning, at seven o'clock in the morning

ó'kó   ó'hón fébrerú / đáá
twenty five   February that-time
the twenty-fifth of February (Sp. *febrero*), on that day

đisiembré   sháún ú'ní / đáá
December   fifteen three that:time
December (Sp. *diciembre*) eighteenth, on that day

kí'ú   ó'kó   ú'shí   íín   otubrí /đáá
day   twenty ten   one   October that:time
on the thirty-first of October (Sp. *octubre*), on that day

kí'ú   ó'hón xán / đáá
day   five   that that:time
on the fifth day, on that day

kí'ú   kúú   ú'shí   ú'ú đisiembré / kí'ú shuhún
day   CON:be ten   two December day CON:?

   gwađalupé / đáá
   Guadalupe that:time
on the twelfth day of December, on Guadalupe (Sp. *Guadalupe*)
Day, on that day

ká'á   ú'shá shá   kwaá / shá
metal seven   it:INAN blind   already
already, at seven o'clock in the evening

ndé   shá   kwaá / ká'á   ú'shá shá   kwaá
until it:INAN blind   metal seven   it:INAN blind
until in the evening, at seven o'clock in the evening

ndé   kwiá ká / ndé   ná   káká   ká   í   shkwelá
until year ADD   until HORT POT:walk ADD UN school
until later, until he has been able to finish his schooling (Sp. *escuela*)

4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases. There are two ways to form additive adverb
phrases. Two noncoreferential adverbs, adverb phrases, or adverbial noun
phrases (see §3.6) may be simply juxtaposed.

   ndúú   shá   kwaá
   day   it:INAN blind
   in the daytime and at night

In the second way, two noncoreferential adverbs, adverb phrases, adverbial noun phrases, or prepositional phrases with *ndé* 'until' are linked by *shíhín* 'with'.

> *yáhá   shíhín   ndé   núndúa*
> here   with   until   Oaxaca:City
> from here to Oaxaca City

4.2.4 Alternative adverb phrases. Two noncoreferential adverbs may be juxtaposed to form alternative adverb phrases. This construction is therefore identical in structure with the additive adverb phrase. Each of these constructions is limited to a handful of examples, however, and so a particular example can be assigned to one or the other largely by convention.

> *tné'é   idá*
> tomorrow   day:after:tomorrow
> tomorrow or the next day

> *yáhá   ínxán*
> here   over:there
> here or there *or* wherever

4.2.5 Repetitive adverb phrases. There are two ways to form repetitive adverb phrases, which intensify the meaning of an adverb. In the first way, the adverb is simply repeated; the limiter *ní* may occur after each part, or rarely after only the second.

> *dánaa   dánaa*
> suddenly   suddenly
> very suddenly

> *vítná   vítná*
> now   now
> immediately

> *kweé   ní   kweé   ní*
> slow   LIM   slow   LIM
> slowly slowly *or* little by little

(See also 7.45.)

In the second way, the complementizer *shá* occurs between the repetitions. In the present data, only *shíká* 'far' and *yátní* 'near' occur in this construction.

>shíká   shá   shíká (xwáhán   té)
>far   CMP   far   (INC:go   he:ws)
>(He went) AWFULLY FAR AWAY. (as to the United States)

>yátní   shá   yátní (vá'shí   tí)
>near   CMP   near (INC:come it:AML)
>(The animal's getting) AWFULLY CLOSE.

Occasionally the second adverb is not identical to the first one, but is closely related to it. In the following example, *vítná dí* is a complex temporal adverb.

>vítná   vítná dí
>now   now   INTS
>immediately right now

Both simple repetition, and repetition with the complementizer *shá* between the two parts, are mechanisms used to intensify words that belong to various parts of speech. In addition to adverbs, they are used with quantifiers (see §4.1.8) and with stative verbs (see §2.4). The same two mechanisms are also used in restatement sentences (see §6.1.2).

4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which is expressed either by a noun phrase or an adverb or adverb phrase. The set of prepositions is small because prepositional function is carried largely by locative nouns (see §§5.3.2 and 3.6). It includes only *shíhín* 'with'; *ndé* 'until', 'as far as', or 'even'; *dó* 'direction' (perhaps a shortened form of Spanish *lado* 'side'); *mén'hñú* 'among'; and *shá shé'hé* 'on behalf of' or 'on account of'. Prepositional phrases occur mainly as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

With *shíhín:*

>shíhín tá'á   í
>with   father UN
>with his father

>shíhín ñádihí   dá   shíhín ndaá dá'hyá dá
>with   woman   my:RES with   all   child my:RES
>with my wife and all my children

shíhín tnú ʼhú yá (n-kídá vá ʼhá yá ndaá shá íó)
with word DEI (COM-do good DEI all it:INAN CON:exist)
By His word (He made everything that there is).

With *ndé*:

ndé   vítná
until now
until now

ndé   yáhá
until here
even to here

ndé   tné ʼé / tné ʼé   yarné santú / dáá
until tomorrow tomorrow Friday holy   that:time
until tomorrow, Good (Sp. *santo*) Friday (Sp. *viernes*), that day

ndé   santú mingú
until Santo Domingo
as far as (the town of) Santo Domingo (Sp. *Domingo*)

ndé   nú ʼú túú   sí
until face CON:be he:MS
as far as where he lives

ndé   dá ʼhyá kwechí tá   kakú   ká
until child   small:PL not:yet POT:be:born ADD
even children not yet born

(See also 7.27.)

With *dó*:

dó   ñúkóhyo
direction   Mexico:City
in the direction of Mexico City

dó   dí ʼkí
direction   head
from the mountain (west)

dó   ní ʼná
direction   ?
from the valley (east)

>*đó   nú'ú kané   tá'chí đá'ú*
> direction face CON:blow wind   rain
> in the direction of the place from which comes the rain wind (the
> gentle wind, south, from Monte Negro)
>
>*đó   nú'ú kané   tá'chí yú'há*
> direction face CON:blow   wind   ice
> in the direction of the place from which comes the icy wind (the
> harsh wind, north, from Tidaa)

With *mén'hñú:*

>*mén'hñú ñá'yíu ñútnúu*
> among   people Tilantongo
> in the midst of the people of Tilantongo

With *shá shé'hé:*

>*shá shé'hé tá'á   té*
> CMP foot   father his:ws
> on account of his father
>
>*shá shé'hé ñúhú*
> CMP foot   land
> on account of the land
>
>*shá shé'hé ró*
> CMP foot   us:IN
> on our account

5

Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

5.1.1 Derivation. Content verbs may be formed either by prefixation or by compounding.

There are two derivational prefixes, *ɖa-* 'causative' and *na-* or *nu-* 'repetitive'.

The causative prefix *ɖā-* adds an agent; it combines with content verbs and also occasionally with nouns. It is attached to a stem that contains the segments of the potential aspect form, but sometimes differs from it in tone. Verbs that take the prefix *ku-* in potential aspect do not have it in causative forms.

> *ɖā-ndōó*
> CAUS-POT:remain
> to abandon, to leave as is

> *ɖā-ndoo*
> CAUS-POT:be:clean
> to erase

> *ɖā-xɨhɨn*
> CAUS-POT:go
> to lose

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ɗā-xahan
CAUS-POT:say
to tempt

ɗā-ndeha
CAUS-POT:look:at
to show (something) to (someone)

ɗā-tnuni
CAUS-mark
to mark off (as boundaries)

The repetitive prefix *na-* combines with content verbs; it is also added to the potential aspect form.

nā-xaan
REP-POT:open
to open again

nā-nduku
REP-POT:look:for
to look for something lost

nā-chihi
REP-POT:cast:into
to put (something) inside (something that opens on the side) again

nā-kahnde
REP-POT:cut
to distribute (something that requires a payment)

nā-kate
REP-POT:scatter
to wash

nā-xani
REP-POT:hit
to tell, to hit again

When *nā-* precedes stem-initial *k*, the resulting sequence may be *nd*, rather than the expected *nak*.

ndaɗa 'to make again' (cf. *kaɗa* 'to do')
ndee 'to leave again' (cf. *kee* 'to leave')
ndeē 'to enter going down again' (cf. *keē* 'to enter going down')

ndaa 'to ascend again' (cf. *kaa* 'to ascend')

nduu 'to become' (cf. *kuu* 'to be')

The verb *ndada* occurs only as the first element in compounds.
    The prefix *nā-* also becomes *nd* before stative verbs with initial *v*.

nd-vídî
REP-warm
to become warm again (as a solid)

When *nā-* precedes the potential prefix *ku-*, the sequence *nuko* occurs, rather than the expected *naku.*

nū-kondeha
REP-POT:look:at
to see again (a blind person)

Both prefixes may occur on a single verb, with the causative prefix closer to the stem in most cases.

nā-da-ndeha
REP-CAUS-CON:look:at
to show (something) to (someone) again

nā-da-xihin
REP-CAUS-POT:go
to lose again

nā-da-kate
REP-CAUS-POT:scatter
to cause to wash (clothes) again

dā-nd-vidi
CAUS-REP-warm
to warm up (something that was heated before)

dā-na-nitáhu
CAUS-REP-POT:receive:pardon
to cause to be saved

In compounding, which is very common, a complex verb nucleus (see §2.1.1) fuses to become a single word. The first part of the compound is a verb, and the second part can be any of various parts of speech. The verb in the first part is in continuative aspect, but it usually occurs in a reduced form. Sometimes a given verb has been reduced to a compound for some speakers, but not for others.

The verbs of existence *kuū* 'to be' (in time), *tuū* 'to exist' (in space), and *nduū* 'to become' all have shortened forms that combine with words from various parts of speech to create content verbs.

With *kuū:*

> *ku-ndéhé*
> CON:be-fierce
> to be fierce
>
> *ku-ndándú*
> CON:be-ambitious
> to be ambitious
>
> *ku-duxun*
> POT:be-tall
> to become tall
>
> *ku-vahá*
> CON:be-good
> to be good
>
> *ku-kwedī*   *inî*
> POT:be-POT:press:on   insides
> to be jealous
>
> *kū-kaxān*   *ini*
> POT:be-POT:ask:for   insides
> to have a desire for
>
> *ku-díkî*
> POT:be-head
> to be responsible (for something one has borrowed)
>
> *ku-kwenda*
> POT:be-account
> to be the possession of (Sp. *cuenta* 'account')
>
> *ku-ñuhu*
> POT:be-ground
> to be muddy (as water)
>
> *ku-kahu*
> POT:be-grave
> to be gravely ill

n-kú-naha
COM-be-long:in:time
to have become a long time

ku-ɗava
POT:be-half
to share equally (something given as a gift)

With *tuū:*

tu-ɗúha
CON:exist-thus
to stay without paying, to live together without marrying

tu-ndáhu
CON:exist-poor
to live with another family because of poverty

tu-néé
CON:exist-dark
to live without artificial lights, to live in ignorance

With *nduū:*

ndū-ndéhé
COM:become-fierce
to become fierce

ndú-kanhnu
COM:become-big:SG
to become large again

ndū-vídî
POT:become-warm
to become warm again

ndū-ɗahyá
POT:become-child
to adopt

A number of position verbs occur as the first part of compounds, usually in a reduced form. They are *ka- (kaā)* 'to lie', *ke- (kêê)* 'to enter going down', and *shan- (shanī)* 'to stand something up'.

With *ka-:*

> *ka-ndāá*
> CON:lie-straight
> to be level full (not heaping over)
>
> *kā-ndee*
> CON:lie-POT:guard
> to watch and sleep
>
> *kā-ndetāú*
> CON:lie-CON:rest
> to lie slanted (as a hill)
>
> *kā-ndíhi*
> CON:lie-on:top
> to lie on top of (as on a mat)
>
> *kā-ndodō*
> CON:lie-on:top
> to lie on top of (as on a bed)

With *ke-:*

> *ké-yahú*
> CON:enter:going:down-value
> to be priced at
>
> *ké-nuu*
> CON:enter:going:down-CON:descend:again
> to go down to go to a destination
>
> *ké-hini*
> COM-enter:going:down-insides
> to understand

With *shan-:*

> *shan-yukū*
> CON:stand-mountain
> to place in a pile
>
> *shan-tuū*
> CON:stand-erect
> to place in an erect position

Many other verbs occur as the first part of compounds, some of them in a reduced form. Some of the most common ones are: *chi- (chihī)* 'to cast' (into), *yɨ- (yɨhɨ)* 'to be in', *ke- (keē)* 'to leave', *nde- (ndeē)* 'to leave again', *tash- (tashī)* 'to give', *te- (teē)* 'to shoot', *xan- (xanī)* 'to hit', *kā- (kaā)* 'to appear', *kidā* 'to do', *ndada* 'to make again', *shekō* 'gloss unknown', and verbs that indicate motion and arrival.

With *chi-:*

> *chī-nee*
> CON:cast-dark
> to put (something) inside (something else)

> *chi-ndushî*
> CON:cast-POT:be:buried
> to bury (something), but not permanently

> *chī-doo*
> CON:cast-blanket
> to cover in order to protect

> *chī-tuu*
> CON:cast-erect
> to put (something) inside (something else) in an erect position

> *chī-ndeyu*
> CON:cast-prone
> to put (a container) upside down, to tip over and to spill accidentally

With *yɨ-:*

> *yɨ-neē*
> CON:be:in-dark
> to be inside (something)

> *yɨ-tnɨɨ*
> CON:be:in-POT:take
> to hold (something else) up

> *yɨ-tnunī*
> CON:be:in-mark
> to be apportioned

> *yɨ-ndeyū*
> CON:be:in-prone
> to be upside down (as a basket)

With *ke-:*

> *kē-ndōó*
> CON:leave-POT:remain
> to keep

> *kē-shiō*
> CON:leave-side
> to be distributed

> *n-ké-ndodo*
> COM-leave-on:top
> to be left over

With *nde-:*

> *nde-ndāá*
> POT:leave:again-straight
> to be redacted

> *ndē-nuu*
> CON:leave:again-POT:descend:again
> to shed (as skin)

> *ndē-ndaha*
> CON:leave:again-hand
> to drop

> *ndé-tkohí*
> COM:leave:again-swaybacked
> to be swaybacked

With *tash-:*

> *tash-ndetū*
> CON:give-CON:wait
> to cause (someone) to wait

> *tásh-kweē*
> CON:give-slow
> to cause (someone) to be delayed

> *tash-nuū*
> CON:give-borrowed
> to loan

With *te-:*

> *tē-ndixûn*
> CON:shoot-POT:be:tied
> to tie (someone) to (something)

> *tē-ñuhū*
> CON:shoot-fire
> to set on fire

With *xan-:*

> *xān-yohō*
> CON:hit-rope
> to hit with a rope

> *xān-tnaha*
> CON:hit-companion
> to fight

With *kaā:*

> *kā-ndandu*
> CON:appear-pretty
> to be pretty and healthy

> *kā-nduyu*
> CON:appear-stake
> to look healthy (animals)

> *kā-ñadíhí*
> CON:appear-woman
> to be feminine

> *kā-visha*
> CON:appear-?
> to be good looking and clean (people, clothing), to be without blood
> (meat)

With *kidā:*

> *kida-vahá*
> CON:do-good
> to make, to write

kida-yatâ
CON:do-back
to reject (someone)

kida-dává
CON:do-half
to divide in half (as work)

With *ndada:*

ndãda-kanhnu
POT:remake-big:SG
to make (something) larger, to worship

With *shekō:*

shekō-vahá
ʔ-good
to be hiding

shekō-daká
ʔ-CON:be:mixed
to be being mixed

n-shéko-tuū
COM-ʔ-CON:exist
to become established (as a town)

With motion verbs:

she-ndío
CON:go-over
to move over to the side (when lying)

she-xúhûn
CON:go-IMP:hold
to spend money

she-sheē
CON:go-POT:arrive
to climb

ki-tuhā
POT:come-CON:be:prepared
to come closer

n-kí-shēé
COM-come-CON:arrive
to arrive and stay

A compound verb may contain three parts.

ki-nde-tnáhâ
CON:come-POT:leave-companion
to come apart

Sometimes the causative or repetitive prefix occurs with a compound verb.

đa-kū-tnunī
CAUS-POT:be-mark
to cause to be lit

đā-ku-kōhyo   ini
CAUS-POT:be-damp insides
to cause to be sad

nā-xun-ñahā
CON:REP-?-KNO
to give again

nā-chi-yahû
CON:REP-POT:cast-value
to pay back

Some pairs of verbs that are transitive-intransitive counterparts differ in form only in their initial syllable, and sometimes also in tone.

Transitive		Intransitive	
kánhnû	'will break'	*tnáhnû*	'will be broken'
kanu	'will break into pieces'	*tnánû*	'will be broken into pieces'
kahnde	'will cut'	*táhndê*	'will be cut'
kani	'will hit'	*ñaní*	'will be hit'
chiđo	'will cause to be on top'	*kođo*	'will be on top'

Some verbs that differ in transitivity differ only by tone.

Transitive		Intransitive	
ɗuku	'will tie up'	*ɗúkû*	'will be tied up'
tahu	'will split'	*táhû*	'will be split'

The verb *iō* 'to exist' has two continuative forms: *yoō* and *iō*. The form *yoō* occurs with *ná* 'affirmative' and with negatives; *iō* occurs elsewhere. When a negative occurs with *yoō*, the subject must be animate (see §2.1.2).

> *iō*   *ñayíu*
> CON:exist   people
> There are people.

> *iō*   *kɨ̄tɨ*
> CON:exist   animal
> There are animals.

> *iō*   *ítâ*
> CON:exist   flower
> There are flowers.

> *ná* *yoō*   *ɗa*   *yáhâ*
> AFF CON:exist I:RES here
> I am here.

> *ná* *yoō*   *ūú* *yúchí*   / *iō*   *yâ*
> AFF CON:exist two   knife   CON:exist here
> Here are two knives. *or* There are two knives here.

> *ña* *yoō*   *ñayíu*
> NEG CON:exist people
> There aren't any people.

> *ña* *yoō*   *kɨ̄tɨ*
> NEG CON:exist animal
> There aren't any animals.

The verb *tuū* 'to exist' (in space) also makes an animacy contrast contingent on the truth value of a construction: *tuū* occurs with animate subjects when the truth value is positive, and it occurs with inanimate subjects when the truth value is negative.

> *tuū*   *ɗá*
> CON:exist   I:RES
> I am (here).

ña   tuū   ndúte
NEG CON:exist water
There isn't any water.

One pair of verbs is in a suppletive relationship that depends on the person of the indirect object: one verb is used when the indirect object is first or second person, and the other one is used when it is third person. The third person form includes a fused known-object marker. The potential aspect forms of these verbs are:

tashi   'to give' (nonthird object)

xunñáha 'to give' (third object)

Three verbs in their continuative aspect indicate a singular or plural subject by a stem change.

	SG	PL
appear	kaā	sh ndáā
lie	kaā	sh ndáā
exist	iō	sh nda shío

Sometimes, however, iō occurs even when the subject is plural.

5.1.2 Inflection. Content and equative verbs are inflected for three aspects: potential, continuative, and completive. The potential aspect form provides the best basic form for predicting the others. Aspect is marked by tone changes and sometimes also by segmental changes. Completive aspect is also marked by the preverbal element n- (see §2.1.2). When the basic form of the verb begins with n-, however, the preverbal aspect marker does not occur, nor does it occur in some verbs with initial x.

Verbs that mark aspect by tone changes alone have any of three tone patterns in the potential aspect form. If they have high high-glide, they retain this tone pattern in completive, but change to low high-glide in continuative.

	POT	CON	COM
cry	ndáhî	ndahî	ndáhî
get wet	ndóyô	ndoyô	ndóyô
ask for back	ndáxân	ndaxân	ndáxân

boil	ndúhâ	nduhâ	ndúhâ
speak	xáhân, káhân	xahân, kahân	n-káhân
burn	káyû	kayû	n-káyû
choose	káshî	kashî	n-káshî
pass	yáhâ	yahâ	n-yáhâ

Verbs that have low mid in potential retain this pattern in completive, but change to a sequence of two high-glides in continuative.

	POT	CON	COM
enter going down	keē	kêê	n-keē
enter (as a house)	kɨū	kɨ̂û	n-kɨū
be exposed (as guilt)	tuū	tûû	n-tuū
perish	tɨū	tɨ̂û	n-tɨū

Verbs that have low low in potential change to low mid in continuative, and high low in completive.

	POT	CON	COM
scratch	ñehe	ñehē	n-ñéhe
tear out	tnuhu	tnuhū	n-tnúhu
weave	kunu	kunū	n-kúnu
be afraid	yuhu	yuhū	n-yúhu
spread	chido	chidō	n-chído
be stolen	ndoyo	ndoyō	ndóyo
grind	ndiko	ndikō	ndíko
be punished	ndoho	ndohō	ndóho
be awake	ndoto	ndotō	ndóto
drag	ñuhu	ñuhū	ñúhu
return	ndishi	ndishī	ndíshi
mistake	dana	danā	n-dána
get thin	yoho	yohō	n-yóho
be blind	kwaa	kwaā	n-kwáa

There is a very small class of verbs with initial *x*. The completive form of these verbs does not contain *n-* 'completive'; instead, the completive aspect is marked by high tone on the first syllable. The other tones may or may not follow regular patterns.

	POT	CON	COM
fall from above	*xūnngava*	*xūnngavā*	*xúnngava*
fall in pieces	*xūnkoio*	*xūnkoiō*	*xúnkoio*
charge	*xēnyáhû*	*xēnyahû*	*xényáhû*
grab	*xīndee*	*xīndeē*	*xíndee*

Some irregular verbs show tone patterns that do not fit any of the above categories.

	POT	CON	COM
take away	*đita*	*đitā*	*n-đítá*
sell	*điko*	*điko*	*n-đíkó*
wash	*nākate*	*nākatē*	*nákate*
become clean	*ndoō*	*ndóo*	*ndóo*
melt	*ndute*	*ndúté*	*ndúte*
arrive (at base)	*nsheē*	*nsheē*	*nshée*

Many verbs show segmental changes in addition to tone changes. A class of very common verbs has two stem forms, which differ in the shape of the first syllable. The potential aspect form begins with a velar (*k, kw,* or *x*), and the continuative and completive aspect form begins with a palatal (*sh, ñ,* or *y*). The tone patterns may be regular or irregular.

	POT	CON	COM
eat	*kashi*	*shashī*	*n-sháshi*
sing	*kata*	*shitā*	*n-shíta*
walk	*kaka*	*shikā*	*n-shíka*
get sour	*kwíâ*	*shiâ*	*n-shíâ*
rotate	*kwiko*	*shikō*	*n-shíko*
examine	*koto*	*shitō*	*n-shíto*
bathe	*kuchi*	*shichī*	*n-shíchi*

carry on the back	kwido	shidō	n-shido
make a mistake	kwídô	shidô	n-shídô
press on	kwédî	shedî	n-shédî
wear (as a hat)	xuhun	ñuhu	n-ñúhú
be on top	kodo	yodo	n-yódô

Compound verbs whose first member is a verb from the above group also show segmental changes.

	POT	CON	COM
love	xwenmaní	shemaní	n-shémaní
take care of	xunnúú	ñunúú	n-ñúnuú
carry under the arm	kídehe	yídehe	n-yídehe

Some compound verbs have a potential aspect form that begins with *kwi* or *ka,* a continuative aspect form that begins with *n,* and a completive aspect form that begins with *shi.*

	POT	CON	COM
rain hard	kwitane'ne	ntane'ne	n-shítane'ne
be a follower of	kwitāndíxûn	ntāndíxûn	n-shítandíxûn
dance	katashéhe	ntāshéhe	n-shítashéhe

In another class of verbs, potential aspect is signaled by the prefix *ku-.* When a directional occurs with verbs of this class, however, *ku-* does not occur. The tone patterns in these verbs may be regular or irregular. The preverbal habitual marker *sho* usually occurs to mark completive aspect. There is, however, another way to express completive aspect with these verbs. A motion verb in completive can occur at the end of the sentence, in which case neither *n-* nor *sho* occurs, and the simple continuative form is used instead as the main verb. (In chapter six this construction is analyzed as a sentence combination; see §6.2.2.) There are two completive aspect forms for a few of these verbs; *sho* occurs in only one of these forms.

With two completive forms:

	POT	CON	COM 1	COM 2
look at	kū-ndeha	ndeha	ndéhâ	n-shó ndeha
be closed off,				
be sealed	kū-ndíhû	ndihû	ndíhû	n-sho ndíhû

With one completive form:

	POT	CON	COM
be tied	ku-ɗúkû	ɗukû	n-shō ɗúkû
be leashed	ku-ndíxûn	ndixûn	n-sho ndíxûn
be seated	kū-nukoō	nukoō	n-shō nukoō
take care of	kū-ndeka	ndeka	n-shō ndeka
hold (in hand)	kū-nehe	nehe	n-shó nehe
exist (in space)	ku-tuū	tuū	n-shō tuū
be assembled	ku-yuku	yuku	n-shō yúkû

The following sentence shows a verb of this class together with a motion verb to mark completive aspect.

> ndixûn   tihína   /   n-shéhên
> CON:be:leashed   dog   COM-go
> The dog was tied as it went.

Another class of verbs that shows segmental changes has the prefix *ka-* in the potential and completive forms. However, when a directional occurs with these verbs, *ka-* (like *ku-* above) does not occur. As in the verb class above, the tone patterns may be regular or irregular. There are two completive aspect forms for each of these verbs, one with the preverbal habitual *sho*. As in the class above, completive aspect can be expressed by a motion verb at the end of the sentence. Unlike the above class, however, when *sho* does not occur in the completive form, the construction must be negative.

	POT	CON	COM 1	COM 2
carry on the	kā-ɗoko	ɗoko	n-kā-ɗoko	n-shó kā-ɗoko
shoulder				

carry	kā-nehe	nehe	n-kā-néhe	n-shó kā-nehe
follow	kā-ndixun	ndixun	n-ka-ndíxún	n-shó kā-ndíxûn

The following sentences show verbs of this class together with a motion verb to mark completive aspect.

ɖoko   ɖa   yútnu   /   n-shéhên
CON:carry:on:shoulder I:RES tree   COM-go
I carried the pole on my shoulder as I went there and came back (with it).

nehe   ña   tūtū   /   xwáhân
CON:carry she   paper   INC:go
She took the paper and she went (with it).

A few highly irregular verbs do not fit into any of the above groups.

	POT	CON	COM
die	kuū	shíhî	n-shíhî
be (in time)	kuu	kuū	n-kúu
lie (SG)	kavā	kaā	n-kaā
appear (SG)	kavā	kaā	n-káa
drink	koho	shihī	n-shíhi
do	kaɖa	kiɖā	n-kíɖa
exist (SG)	koo	iō, yoō	n-shío
run away	kunu	shinō	n-shíno
stand in file	xwīnyuxun	īnyuxún	n-shínyúxun

Two motion verbs have an incompletive aspect form in addition to the other three forms. (It is also possible to consider the two incompletive forms to be separate verbs that express one-way trips and have only one form, which serves as both continuative and completive.)

	POT	CON	COM	INC
go	xíhîn	shéhên	n-shéhên	xwáhân
come	kishi	kishī	n-kíshi	váshî

Compound verbs with a reduced motion verb as the first part mark aspect by segmental changes that reflect the irregularity of the source verb.

Some of these verbs also occur with the directional *vāsh* or the compound directional *vāsh kí* (see §2.1.2). In the following examples the motion verbs are combined with *tuha* 'closer', *-ndío* 'over' (when sitting or lying), and *-ndehe* 'over' (when standing).

	POT	CON	COM	INC
go closer	*xíntúha*	*shētúha*	*n-shētúha*	*xwantúha*
come closer	*kituha*	*kītuha*	*n-kítuha*	*vāsh kítuha*
return closer	*ndituha*	*ndītuha*	*ndítúha*	*vāsh kí ndituha*
go over	*xínndío*	*shēndío*	*n-shēndío*	*xwanndío*
come over	*kindiō*	*kīndiō*	*n-kíndio*	*vāsh kíndio*
return over	*ndindiō*	*ndīndiō*	*ndíndio*	*vāsh ndíndio*
go over	*xínndéhe*	*shēndéhe*	*n-shēndéhe*	*xwanndéhe*
come over	*kindehe*	*kīndehe*	*n-kíndehe*	*vāsh kindehe*
return over	*ndindehe*	*ndīndehe*	*ndíndehe*	*vāsh ndíndehe*

With some verbs which have a continuative aspect form that is homophonous with potential, continuative aspect is signalled by *vāsh* or *vāsh kí*. When, however, potential and continuative have distinct forms, *vāsh* signals progressive action, leaving the continuative form to express only habitual action. Examples in which *vāsh* marks aspect are given in §2.1.2.

With verbs that express movement, the directional *xwān* signals the aspectual meaning 'already begun'; examples are given in §2.1.2.

Some verbs are defective. For example, *kúú* 'to say' has only a continuative form; *nkóō* 'to sit down (potential)' has no continuative form; the completive form is *nūkoō*.

For most verbs the potential aspect form is used for imperatives (see §1.3). There are, however, three kinds of verbs that have other imperative forms. Some verbs with the derivational prefix *ku-*, which is a reduced form of *kuu* 'to be', add the prefix *ku-* to the potential aspect form.

kū-kūnshánhnu
IMP-POT:behave
behave!

ku-kuñūkashi'ní
IMP-POT:behave
behave!

A few verbs add the imperative prefix *ta-* to the potential aspect form.

tā-núū
IMP-POT:descend
get down!

tā-kéē
IMP-POT:leave
leave!

tā-kítuha
IMP-POT:approach
come closer!

Three verbs have special suppletive imperative forms.

néhê
IMP:come
come! (familiar)

xwáhân
IMP:go
go away!

xuhun
IMP:hold
take (it)! *or* hold (it)!

The interplay of these devices, plus whether or not a subject pronoun is expressed, allows the speaker to make a distinction between familiar and respect and also between immediate action required and delayed action permitted. A detailed treatment of these distinctions is, however, beyond the scope of this sketch.

5.2 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs differ from content and equative verbs in that they are not inflected for aspect. Stative verbs are either basic or derived from nouns by means of a tone change. They also differ in that they can occur in the postnuclear manner position in verb phrases, and content verbs cannot.

Basic stative verbs:

kweē   'slow'
kōhyo   'damp'

vídî   'warm'

nunu   'wide'

Derived stative verbs:

Stative verb		Noun	
chuun	'reckless'	*chūún*	'chicken'
yútnû	'stiff'	*yūtnu*	'tree'
yahu	'costly'	*yáhû*	'price'

A few stative verbs have two different forms, one for singular referents and the other for plural referents.

	SG	PL
big	*kānhnu*	*nānhnu*
long	*kaní*	*naní*
small	*luchī*	*kwechī*

Some stative verbs function as intensifying elements.

ndehé   'fierce'

loko   'crazy' (Sp. *loco*)

The prefix *t-*, denoting roundness, is used with two stative verbs.

t-kute   'disk-shaped'

t-ndúú   'spherical'

5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. Many compound nouns are formed by the fusion of complex noun nuclei (see §3.1.1) into single words. A large number of nouns that name animals, plants, fruit, etc., consist of a prestressed pronoun (see §5.4) plus a noun or an indeterminate element.

ia-nshúsh
DEI-god
God (Sp. *Dios*)

té-yɨ̈
he:ws-male
man

ña-díhî
she-female
woman

tɨ-tníñɨ
it:AML-fingernail
mouse

ti-hînâ
it:AML-dog
dog

t-káchi
it:AML-cotton
sheep

sha-ñúhu
it:INAN-respect
respect

sha-ñukúñu
it:INAN-?
statue   (cf. *ñúhu* 'respect')

tnu-yáa
it:WOD-music
oak

tnu-tíchɨ
it:WOD-avocado
avocado tree

nte-ndēyu
· it:LIQ-food
juice of food

t-nána
it:SPH-?
tomato

t-núu
it:SPH-?
crabapple

> *t-véa*
> it:SPH-ʔ
> maguey (century plant) blossom

5.3.2 Classification. Nouns can be classified by gender, possessibility, distribution, or countability.

Nouns fall into nine gender classes according to the third person pronouns that can substitute for them: masculine, feminine, deity, animal, wood, liquid, flower, spherical, and unspecified.

Masculine nouns:

téyɨ̵	'man'
dítô	'uncle'

Feminine nouns:

ñadɨ̵hɨ̂	'woman, wife'
dídɨ̂	'aunt'

Deity nouns:

ianshúsh	'god'
dutú	'priest'

Animal nouns:

titnɨ́ñɨ	'mouse'
chudínɨ̂	'star'

Wood nouns:

tnutíchɨ	'avocado tree'
radiú	'radio' (Sp. *radio*)

Liquid nouns:

nteñúhú	'flood'
ndɨ̵te	'water'

Flower nouns:

> *tavĩó* 'a kind of flower'
>
> *tayɨ́dî* 'a kind of flower'

Spherical nouns:

> *tnána* 'tomato'
>
> *tnúu* 'crabapple'

Unspecified nouns:

> *tniũ* 'work'
>
> *víkô* 'cloud'
>
> *vĩko* 'party'
>
> *yũtnu* 'tree'
>
> *ɖichí* 'child'
>
> *yûû* 'stone'

Nouns may also be divided into those that can be possessed and those that cannot. The unpossessible nouns refer to topographical and meteorological phenomena.

> *kĩú* 'day'
>
> *yũku* 'mountain'
>
> *ngándii* 'sun'
>
> *yôô* 'moon'

Words in the above category may have more than one meaning, one of which is possessible.

> *táchî* 'wind'
>
> *táchî ro*
> wind our:IN
> our breath

Possessible nouns are those that can occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase (see §3.3). They are either inherently or optionally possessed. Inherently possessed nouns characteristically occur in this position; they are usually kinship terms or body parts, but also include a few others, like the word for 'name'.

Inherently possessed nouns:

dɨhɨ̂	'mother'
yátâ	'back'
diũ	'name'

Optionally possessed nouns:

ñūhu	'land'
ñúhû	'fire'
yūku	'mountain'
ítû	'cornfield'
kɨ̄tɨ	'animal'
vēhe	'house'

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

Vocatives occur as independent utterances, or loosely connected to sentences (see §1.4). They include a special set of vocative kinship terms.

táta	'father'
nána	'mother'
kwalí	'comother, cofather' (of woman) (Sp. *comadre*)
mbáa	'cofather' (of man) (Sp. *compadre*)

Personal names are also used as vocatives; to show respect they are preceded by a kinship term. See the table given below for some examples of vocative forms.

Proper nouns include personal names, nicknames, and place names. Personal names are usually Spanish loanwords; an initial consonant is often added to the Spanish form. For a man's name, this initial consonant is *s* if the speaker is a man, and *n* or *m* if the speaker is a woman. For a woman's name, the initial consonant is *t*. These consonants may be the remnant of a classifier system; note the resemblance between the initial *s* and the masculine prestressed pronoun *sê* 'he'. The following table illustrates these forms.

	MS	WS	Vocative	Spanish
Peter	*spedrú*	*mpedrú*	*pédru*	*Pedro*
Paul	*spalú*	*mpalú*	*pálu*	*Pablo*
Matthew	*stēú, shtēú*	*nteú*	*téu*	*Mateo*
Francis	*nchikú*	*nchikú*	*chíku*	*Chico*
Eugenia	*tkéña*	*tkéña*	*xéña*	*Eugenia*
Paula	*tvalá*	*tvalá*	*tvála*	*Paula*
Frances	*tshiká* ˙	*tshiká*	*shíka*	*Chica*

Derogatory nicknames consist of the prestressed masculine pronoun *t-* and a stative verb denoting a denigrating characteristic. Even though this pronoun is used only by women, the nicknames are used by speakers of both sexes.

t-véte
he:ws-untruthful
liar

t-láhle
he:ws-gossipy
gossiper

t-léhva
he:ws-toothless
gossiper

Place names are often compound words.

yu-yau-yíhi
mouth-hole-tiger
Edge of the Tiger's Hole

tnū-yaa-vikó
tree-piece:of:music-party
Tree of the Music Party

ta-díkô
flower-fragrance
Fragrant Flower

ñu-kóhyo
town-damp
Mexico City

Locative nouns occur as the nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and

those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes names for topographical features.

īchi	'road'
ñûû	'town'
yūte	'river'

The second category includes mainly body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense. The most common ones are:

nūú
face
on, in front of

dîkî
head
on top of

shéhê
foot
at the foot of

yūhu
mouth
edge of

shiti
stomach
within, underside

yátâ
back
behind, in back of

kwenda
account
pertaining to

The noun *nūú* also serves as a prestressed pronoun that means 'place where' and as a relative pronoun that means 'where' (see §3.1.3). See 7.59 for an example of this use.

Temporal nouns are also divided into these two categories. The first category includes names for units of time and calendric sequences.

kīú	'day'
kwi'á	'year'
yôô	'moon'
ndúshî	'next year'

The second category includes two body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense.

shiti
stomach
within

dîkî
head
end of

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see §3.2).

| *núhnê* | 'bunch' |
| *chíhô* | 'from shoulder to fingertip' |

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

ítû	'cornfield'
lihí	'rooster'
dîkû	'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:

ndūte	'water'
yūsha	'tortilla dough'
ndēyu	'some types of food'

Count nouns:

tútû	'paper'
tílâ	'bread (Sp. *Castilla* 'Castile', probably by reduction from a phrase like *dita tila* 'Castilian tortilla')'
ndūchi	'legume'

5.4 Pronouns

Pronouns are personal, interrogative, or demonstrative.

Personal pronouns are either free or reduced, and free pronouns are basic or compound.

In first and second person pronouns, there is a contrast between familiar and respect forms. Number is not marked except that there is a first person plural form with an inclusive meaning. Familiar forms for second person contrast sex of speaker. Familiar pronouns are used to speak to persons younger than the speaker and to persons who are of approximately the same age as the speaker and with whom the speaker has a close or an intimate relationship. Males, and some females, use these to speak to their mates. The inclusive pronouns are used in soliloquy to refer to oneself; an example is found in 7.67.

The basic free first and second person pronouns are:

	FAM	RES	PL
first	*rúhû*	*dáñâ*	*rōo*
second			
MS	*ndohó*	*ndishí*	—
WS	*yohó*	*ndishí*	—

Basic free pronouns occur as subjects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions, either in normal position or in focus position. They occur as objects of verbs, however, only in focus position. When these pronouns occur in focus position, they focus the participant in contrast to the action. Second person pronouns occur also as vocatives; the familiar forms *ndohó* and *yohó* are reduced to *ndō* and *yō* to express greater familiarity. The second person respect form shows more respect than the respect form of the compound free pronouns described below.

The reduced first and second person pronouns are shortened forms of the basic free pronouns described above; they are:

	FAM	RES	PL
first	-r	da	ro
second			
MS	-n	-ń	—
WS	ün	-ń	—

Reduced first and second person pronouns occur as subjects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions. They do not occur alone as objects of verbs, nor do they occur in focus position or as vocatives.

In third person there are no basic free pronouns, but there are two series of reduced pronouns: poststressed and prestressed. They show a number of different gender classes, which follows from the fact that they are often reduced forms of very general nouns. These two sets, and the nouns that served as their sources, are:

	Poststressed	Prestressed	Source noun
masculine			
MS	-s, si	sê	—
WS	te	tê, t-	—
feminine	ña	ña	—
deity	iá	ya, ia	—
animal	-t, ti	ti, kit	kiti
wood	tnu	tnu	yutnu
liquid	tē	nte	ndute
flower	ta	tâ	itâ
spherical	-t, ti	t-	—
unspecified	i	dich	dichi
inanimate	—	shá, sh-	—

Reduced third person poststressed pronouns occur as subjects of verbs, objects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions. They do not occur alone in focus position or as vocatives.

The specifically human pronouns indicate respect. The distribution of the unspecified pronoun *i* referring to people is determined by marital and social status. It refers to people in general when gender and social status are not indicated. It is always the appropriate pronoun when referring to a mixed group of people and to unmarried females. In women's speech, *i*

refers to unmarried persons of both sexes, but in men's speech the respect third person masculine pronoun refers to both unmarried and married males. An unmarried person may be referred to by a respect pronoun instead of *i,* if he or she is a stranger or if he or she has high social status. The pronoun *i* also refers to baby animals, to spirits, to the deceased, to some plants, and to inanimate objects.

Reduced third person prestressed pronouns must be followed by some other element in the noun phrase, most often a relative clause (see §3.1.3). They also frequently serve as the first part of complex noun nuclei (see §3.1.1) and of compound nouns (see §5.3.1). Noun phrases containing prestressed pronouns occur in all syntactic functions.

The pronoun *sha* functions as a complementizer (see §1.1.9); and as a conjunction meaning 'in order that' (see §6.2.1). In addition it enters into the formation of complex prepositions and conjunctions.

There are two sets of compound free pronouns. One set is formed by combining the specifier *mee* with reduced poststressed pronouns.

		FAM	RES	PL
first		*meē-r*	*mee ɖā*	*mee rō*
second				
	MS	*mēē-n*	*mēē-ń*	
	WS	*mee ūn*	*mēē-ń*	
third				
	masculine			
	MS		*meē-s,*	
			meē sɨ̄	
	WS		*meē tē*	
	feminine		*mee ñā*	
	deity		*mēē íá*	
	animal		*mēē tɨ̄*	
	wood		*mēē tnū*	
	liquid		*mēē tē*	
	flower		*mēē tá*	
	unspecified		*mēē i*	

When these pronouns occur in object position together with the known-object marker *ñáha* in the verb phrase, they clarify the referent of *ñáha.* When they occur in object position without *ñáha,* or when they occur in other positions, they are emphatic in meaning and contrast the referent of the pronoun with any other possible referent. They occur as subjects of

verbs, objects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions. They may occur in normal position or in focus position, which is more emphatic. The second person forms also occur as vocatives.

The second set of compound free pronouns appears to be an older formation, which consists of the indeterminate element *a-* and a fused pronoun.

		FAM	RES	PL
first		*arū*	*adāī*	*arō*
second				
	MS	*andō*	*andīsh*	
	WS	*ayō*	*andīsh*	
third				
	masculine			
	MS		*asē*	
	WS		*atē*	
	feminine		*añā*	
	deity		*ayā*	
	animal		*atī, akít*	
	wood		*atnū*	
	liquid		*antē*	
	flower		*atâ*	
	unspecified		*adich*	

These pronouns have a restricted distribution. They occur only as subjects of verbs and only in focus position. They express emotion, often disagreement, and they are used to answer a question beginning with *ndēshu* 'where?' if the discourse requires the pronoun to occur in focus position.

Position distinguishes the grammatical function of a third person pronoun when two or three poststressed or compound pronouns are contiguous. The first position is the subject, the last position is the object, and the middle position is the indirect object. When one third person pronoun is in focus position and another one follows the verb, it is ambiguous whether they function as subjects or as objects.

ndído   *méé*   *tē*   *ñā*
COM:carry   SPEC   he:ws   her
He carried her.

n-dándeha   *tē*   *ña tâ*
COM-cause:to:see   he:ws   her   it:flower
He showed her the flower.

n-dándeha   *tē*   *méé ña*   *tâ*
COM-cause:to:see   he:ws   SPEC her   it:flower
He showed her the flower.

méé   *te*   *n-chīndīhú*   *ña*
SPEC   he/him:ws   COM-put:in:jail   she/her
HE jailed her. *or* She jailed HIM.

nshúa n-chīndīhú   *te*
John   COM-put:in:jail   he/him:ws
JOHN jailed him. *or* He jailed JOHN.

There are three interrogative pronouns. They are:

xūndu	'who?'
na	'what?'
nāsh	'what?' (cf. *na* 'what?', *shá* 'it:INAN')

The demonstrative pronouns are formed by combining the prestressed inanimate pronoun *shá* with the locative adverbs *yāha* 'here' and *īnxan* 'over there'. They are:

shāha	'this thing'
shīnxan	'that thing'

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, and interrogative. See §§2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.3, and 4.2 for a description of the constructions in which adverbs commonly occur.

Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns.

yāha or *ya*	'here' (near speaker)
dīan	'there' (near addressee)
īnxan or *xan*	'over there' (not near speaker or addressee)
ndēyu	'prone, headfirst'
ndūa	'supine'

| *ndúû* | 'around' |
| *nĭhni* | 'through, inside' |

(See also 7.31, 7.41, 7.52, 7.69, and 7.70.)

The first three adverbs in the above list have an additional function as deictics in noun phrases (see §3.1.3); in this use they are glossed as 'this' and 'that', rather than as 'here' and 'there'.

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns, and also some complex expressions.

Simple temporal adverbs:

nshakansháā	'all day'
nĭníû	'throughout the night'
danúdangwéé	'every once in a while'
sabādu	'Saturday' (Sp. *sábado*)
tnéê	'tomorrow'
vítna	'today, now'
dáā	'at that time'
ĭda	'day after tomorrow'
ndushi	'next year'

Complex temporal adverb:

niū	*dáva*
at:night	half
around midnight	

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs; they are simple or complex.

Simple:

dáā	'so' (so much)
dāa or *dúha*	'thus' (as shown or said)
ñukúûn	'on purpose'
kwāan	'without supports'
daa or *dāna*	'in vain'

Complex:

> *sháku ngā*
> few   just
> almost

There are two intensifying adverbs.

> *yóō*   'very'
> *vīchī*   'very'

See §5.2 for stative verbs that also function as intensifying elements.
Interrogative adverbs are simple or complex; they occur in direct and indirect questions (see §§1.2.2 and 1.2.3).

Simple:

> *ndēshu* or *nde*   'where?'
> *xānda* or *nānda*   'how?'

Complex:

> *ndē   ndáa*
> until   ?
> up to where?, how far?, up to when?, how long?

See §3.4 for a description of interrogative noun phrases that function like interrogative adverbs.

5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers; both occur in quantifier phrases (see §4.1) and as prenominal elements in noun phrases (see §3.1.2); and general quantifiers occasionally occur as postverbal manner in verb phrases (see §2.1.3). Sometimes a noun nucleus is not expressed, in which case a quantifier appears to function as a noun; examples are found in 7.12–13, 7.18, and 7.21–7.22.
The simple numerals are:

> *īīn*   'one'
> *úū*   'two'
> *únî*   'three'
> *kóôn*   'four'

óhôn	'five'
íñû	'six'
ushâ	'seven'
unâ	'eight'
ǐǐn	'nine'
ushî	'ten'
shánhûn	'fifteen'
ókô	'twenty'
ɗíko	'twenty' (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
sientú	'hundred' (Sp. *ciento*)
miǐl	'thousand' (Sp. *mil*)

There are also definite numerals formed by combining *nɨn* or *n-* with a numeral.

nduu	'the two'
ndruni	'the three'
nɨn óhon	'the five'

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. The most common ones are:

nǐtúhû	'all'
ntakantúhu	'every single one of many'
tǐtnî	'several of many'
nɗanditúhu	'every single one of many'
shaku	'few'
ɗaváhangā	'whatever' (cf. *ɗāa* 'thus', *váhâ* 'good', *nga* 'just')
ntnāha	'every'
ndōndoo	'much, many'
kwehé	'much, many'
ǐtáhu	'little, a little bit of'
ɗava	'half of, part of'
nɗāa	'all'
ndoko	'all of'
nshāka	'all of'

Some quantifiers are restricted to certain nouns; for example, *nshāka* occurs only with words that pertain to days.

nshāka   (kīû)
all:of   (day)
all of one (day)

5.7 Prepositions

There are five simple prepositions and two complex prepositions.

Simple:

shīhin	'with'
nde	'until'
đō	'toward'
méhñû	'between, among'
nɨkandúū	'around the circumference' (cf. *ndúū* 'around')

Complex:

sha nde
CMP until
up to

sha shēhe
CMP foot
for, on account of, on behalf of

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions link combinations of sentences in a coordinate or subordinate relationship (see §§6.1.1 and 6.2.1); they also link combinations of stative verb phrases (see §2.5) or noun phrases (see §3.8). Subordinate conjunctions may be simple or complex.

Coordinate conjunctions:

te	'and'
ko	'but'
a	'or'

o   'or' (Sp. *o*)

ni   'nor' (Sp. *ni*)

Simple subordinate conjunctions:

chi	'because'
nīni	'while'
xwiní	'even though'
nadá	'lest'
núū	'if' (in an unreal condition)
nūsha or *nush*	'if' (cf. *núū* 'if', *shá* 'CMP')
na or *nu*	'when' (with completive aspect)
na	'as'
nani	'as' (cf. *na* 'as', *ni* 'LIM')
ora	'when' (Sp. *hora*) (with continuative aspect)
dada	'than'

Complex subordinate conjunctions:

ora   na
when   when
when (with potential aspect)

sha   shéhe   shá
CMP   foot   CMP
because

ndē   na
until   when
until

kwēnda   kiū
account   CON:enter
like, as

The conjunction *na* 'when' also functions as a relative pronoun (see §3.1.3).

5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form part of sentences or phrases but are not included in the parts of speech already described. They are verbal, nominal, numerical, general, or sentential.

Verbal markers are preverbal or postverbal. The preverbal markers are: directionals, habituals, plurals, completive aspect, negatives, temporal, and hortatory. The directionals are:

ndi	'will return'
ndī	'returns'
ndí	'returned'
xín	'will go (away)'
shē	'goes (and returns)'
n-shé	'went (and returned)'
xwān	'went (away)'
ki	'will come (and go)'
kī	'comes (and goes)'
n-kí	'came (and went)'
vāsh	'is coming'
nú	'will go home'

The habitual markers are:

ku	'potential habitual'
shko or *shkā* or *sh*	'continuative habitual'
sho	'completive habitual'

The other preverbal markers are:

sh	'plural' (with continuative aspect)
ka	'plural' (with continuative and completive aspects)
ūnū	'plural' (with stative verbs)
n-	'completive'
mā	'not' (with potential aspect)
ñā	'not' (with continuative and completive aspects)
ta	'not yet' (when combined with postverbal *ka*)

| *na* | 'hortatory' |
| *shá* | 'about to, already' |

The postverbal markers are:

| *ñáha* | 'known object' |
| *nāhi* | 'intent' |

See §§2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.5 for a discussion of how these markers are used in verb phrases.

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

ɖi	'aunt'
to	'uncle'
ta	'father'
ndi	'deceased'
ka	'own' (as his very own)
ɖe	'that' (does not indicate contrast)
mee	'same, self'
ɖiū	'the aforementioned'
ndeɖaa	'which?'
mayō	'not'
ñayō	'not'
ɖu	'also'

Numerical markers occur as prenuclear elements in quantifier phrases (see §4.1).

| *nīn* or *n-* | 'those' |
| *ndī* | 'in sets of' |

General markers are the scope markers, the repetitive, one negative, and the affirmative.

ka	'more'
ni	'just'
nga	'just, anyway' (cf. *ni* 'just', *ka* 'more')

koio	'plural'
ntúku	'another, again'
ñatū	'not'
ñā̱du	'not' (contrasts)
ná	'affirmative'

Sentential markers are either sentence initial or sentence final. Sentence-initial markers are simple or complex.

Simple:

d̸áā̱	'at that time'
nūnsha	'according to what someone says'
vāa	'probably'
d̸īko	'only' (excludes any other reason)

Complex:

d̸āā̱   ni
thus   just
in the same manner

d̸ɯ̄ɯ̄   ni
the:aforementioned just
also, thus also

mēē̄   ni
SPEC   just
only (excludes any other action)

shínxān   kūū̱   shá
that:thing CON:be CMP
that is why

shaha   kuu   shá
this:thing CON:be CMP
this is why

d̸áā̱   nga
thus   just
always, and so, anyway

sha shēhe   shinxán
CMP foot   that:thing
because of that

sha shēhe   sháha
CMP foot   this:thing
because of this

Some common sentence-final markers are:

vi	'then (logical), agreement'
ne	'I repeat' (when not heard the first time)
ka	'for proof of it'
nda	'in conclusion'
a or *u*	'interrogative'

The sentential marker *vaa* 'probably' can occur either sentence initial or sentence final.

See §§1.5 and 6.4 for examples of sentences containing some of these markers.

5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences; they express emotions and acknowlegement in response to an act or statement. They are simple or complex.

Simple:

īin	'oh, I heard what you said, but I doubt it.'
āsháā	'shucks!'
xái	'what did you say?'
ūun	'response to a command one does not want to carry out'
xīīn	'see! It's just as I told you.'
xóôn	'yes'
ñáhâ	'no'
tnóō	'what's wrong?'
áte	'shucks!, pause form'

Complex:

> *ñáha*   *nga*
> NEG   just
> not much
>
> *ɖáā*   *ní*
> thus   just
> oh, is that right?
>
> *ñahá*   *ve*
> NEG   ?
> nothing important
>
> *vītna*   *nsha*
> now   COM:occur
> accomplished
>
> *nash*   *nāni*
> what   CON:be:named
> pause form

The two interjections glossed as pause forms occur medially when the speaker is considering what to say next.

[blank]

6
Intersentential Relations

6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some combinations of sentences are connected by a conjunction, and some
are not.

6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions. Coordinate sentences with
conjunctions express coordination, antithesis, and disjunction.

Coordinate sentences with *té* 'and' are relatively infrequent in Diuxi-
Tilantongo Mixtec. The text in chapter seven, for example, contains no
examples of this construction. When coordinate sentences with *té* occur,
the first component sentence is central to the discourse context, and the
sentences following *té* are usually peripheral to the discourse context.

> *n-tnúndáha té / té   xwáhán té*
> COM-marry he:ws and INC:go he:ws
> He married, and he went away.

> *nditó   ñá / té   shó shitá   ñá*
> CON:be:awake she and HAB CON:sing she
> She awakens, and she continually sings.

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ká'á   ú'shí   shtashéhé   moró   / té   kwé'hé
metal ten   CON:dance   moro:dancers   and many

ñá'yíu   n-kíshí
people   COM-come

AT TEN O'CLOCK the Moors (Sp. *moro*) were dancing, and MANY PEOPLE
came (to see them).

téyíi   xán / kwaán ídí   dí'kí í / té   ñútílu   dí'hí /
man:ws   that   yellow hair head UN and   earth:people female

kwehé   ídí   dí'kí í
red   hair   head UN

As for those men, their hair is blond, and as for the "earth-people"
women, their hair is red.

kwé'hé   ueltá kádá   té   / té   kádá   té   víkó
many   time POT:do he:ws and   POT:do he:ws fiesta

kánhnú   xuñú
big:SG   June

He will make (them) MANY TIMES (Sp. *vuelta*), and he will make them
at the big fiesta in June (Sp. *junio*).

n-kí'ú   ñá'ñá kúralí ró   / té   n-shanhní tí
COM-enter   coyote corral our:IN and   COM-kill   it:AML

tkáchi ró   / té   néhé   tí   íín   tkólelu luchí
sheep our:IN and   COM:carry it:AML   one   lamb   small:SG

The coyote entered our corral (Sp. *corral*), and it killed our sheep,
and it took a little lamb.

Two common leave-takings also fall into this pattern.

ná   xín   dá / té   kíí   dá
HORT   POT:go I:RES and   POT:come   I:RES
Goodbye! (lit. Let me go, and I will come.)

xwán-ń   / té   kíí-ń
IMP:go-you:RES   and   POT:come-you:RES
Goodbye! (lit. Go, and come!)

Another use of *té* is seen in additive noun phrases in which the two parts
form a conceptual unit (see the first example in §6.3 below). The same
notion of pairing seems to underlie the use of *té* 'and', rather than *kó* 'but',
in the following example, which forms part of an extended riddle.

íó   shé'hé đá   / té ñá   kwahá
CON:exist foot   my:RES   and NEG CON:be:possible

kákꜰ   đá
POT:walk I:RES
I have feet, and I can't walk.

The antithetical conjunction *kó* 'but' connects two sentences that express a contrast. This contrast is often shown by using a negative in one sentence but not in the other.

n-shitá   ñá / kó ñá   n-tnáhíní   đá
COM-sing she but NEG COM-be:pleased I:RES
She sang, but I didn't like (it).

íó   đɨ'kɨ í nú'ú í yúhu í ndáha í shé'hé í /
CON:exist head UN face UN mouth UN hand UN foot   UN

kó ñá túú   đɨ'kɨ shé'hé í
but NEG CON:be head foot   UN
They (the "earth-people") have heads, faces, mouths, hands, (and) feet, but they don't have toes.

n-kíshehé   ɨ́n   ká gerá kwentá kristianú /
COM-begin   one ADD war narrative Christian

kó ñá'tú   n-shí'hí té
but NEG COM-die he:ws
Another war (Sp. *guerra*) in the narrative (Sp. *cuenta*) of the Christians (Sp. *cristiano*) began, but they did not die (were not killed).

Usually the positive side of the contrast occurs first, but occasionally the negative side occurs first.

ñá túú   đɨ'tá vítná / kó tné'é   / chí   kóó
NEG CON:be tortilla now   but tomorrow because POT:exist
There aren't (any) tortillas now, but TOMORROW indeed there will be.

Sometimes no negative occurs.

yá'hú tnú   ó'kó ú'shí peshú / kó vilí káá   tnú
CON:cost it:WOD twenty ten   peso but pretty CON:appear it:WOD
It costs thirty pesos (Sp. *peso*), but it's pretty. (The table is expensive, but it's nice; let's take it.)

luchí   í / kó   kidá   í   tníú
small:SG UN but   CON:do UN   work
She's little (only six years old), but she (can) do chores.

The second part of an antithetical sentence is sometimes not a complete sentence; it is possible to omit information that can be inferred from the first part.

ni'hí   dá / kó   ítáhú   ní   triú   nú'ní
CON:gain   I:RES but   a:little LIM   wheat   corn
I gain (a crop), but only a little wheat (Sp. *trigo*) (and) corn.

káá   ró   kú'ñú / kó   vítná / chí   ñá'há
POT:eat we:I   meat   but   now   because   NEG
We will eat meat (when Holy Week is over), but indeed not NOW.

ndíshí   í / kó   ndé   kwiá ká /
POT:return:coming UN but   until year ADD

  ndé   náka a   ká   í   shkwelá
  until POT:walk:again ADD UN   school
He will return (home), but not until more years have passed, not until he has gone to school (Sp. *escuela*) more. (lit. He will return, but until more years, until he walks more to school.)

Disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *á* 'or'. This conjunction is rare, and I have found no examples in text material where it serves as a link between two statements that together make up a compound sentence. It does occur, however, between the two parts of disjunctive questions. In the examples I have found, the two sentences either contain the same verb, or the second sentence consists of the fixed expression *á ñá'há* 'or not'.

machú ká-ń   / á   machú ká-ŕ   á
male   ADD-you:FAM:MS or male   ADD-I:FAM   INT
Are you more of a man (Sp. *macho*), or am I more of a man?

tá'hndé-ń   / á   tá'hndé-ŕ   á
POT:jump-you:FAM:MS or POT:jump-I:FAM   INT
Will you jump, or shall I jump?

kíshí   ñá / á   ñá'há
POT:come she   or   NEG
Will she come or not?

shaní   í'ní-ń   shá kíshí   yá / á   ñá'há
CON:stand insides-you:FAM:MS CMP POT:come DEI   or NEG
Do you think He will come or not?

(See also 7.11 and 7.77.)

It is possible to form an indirect disjunctive question by using the conjunction *nú* 'if' as a complementizer.

ñá	*shiní*	*đá*	*nú*	*xahán*	*ndá'á*	*ñá* /	*á*	*ñá'há*
NEG	CON:know	I:RES	if	CON:speak	true	she	or	NEG

I don't know if she is speaking truthfully or not.

ná	*xín*	*ndukú-ŕ*	*nú*	*náni'hí-ŕ*	/	*á*	*ñá'há*
HORT	POT:go	POT:look:for-I:FAM	if	POT:find-I:FAM		or	NEG

Let me go look (and see) if I can find it or not.

6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions. It is possible to simply juxtapose two (or rarely three) independent sentences that share the same verb aspect, often with a slight pause at the boundaries. This construction is used only to link sentences that are closely related in the mind of the speaker.

In one important subtype, the sentences refer to the same event and thus show a restatement relation. The use of more than one sentence to describe an event serves to highlight it in the discourse. Sometimes the same verb is used in both parts of the sentence.

ni'hí	*đá* /	*ni'hí*	*đá* /	*(kó*	*ítáhú*	*ní*	*triú*	*nú'ní)*
CON:gain	I:RES	CON:gain	I:RES	(but	a:little	LIM	wheat	corn)

I gain; I gain, (but only a little wheat [and] corn).

íó	*yó'ó* /	*íó*	*yó'ó*	*víkó*	*íí*
CON:exist	moon	CON:exist	moon	fiesta	holy

There is a moon; there is a moon during Holy Week.

xwáhán /	*xwáhán*
IMP:go	IMP:go

Go on!

n-yá'há	*víkó*	*íí* /	*n-yá'há*	*ú'shá*	*pasioón*	*xesús*
COM-pass	fiesta	holy	COM-pass	seven	passion	Jesus

Holy Week passed; the seven sufferings (Sp. *pasión*) of Jesus (Sp. *Jesús*) passed.

xwéén   ró   ñɨ́'ɨ́ / xwéén   ró   ɨ́ɨn   aruá
POT:buy we:IN salt   POT:buy we:IN one   measure

   yá'hú   ó'hón   kándoɖó   kó'ón
   CON:cost five   POT:carry four
We'll buy salt; we'll buy a measure (Sp. *arroba*) (of salt) that costs $5.50. (lit. five pesos carrying four bits)

Occasionally the complementizer *shá* occurs between the two parts.

   xúnehe   í / shá   xúnehe   í
   CON:have:diarrhea UN CMP CON:have:diarrhea   UN
She has more and more diarrhea.

Sometimes the verbs are different, or one is the negative counterpart of the other.

   ñá   kándá   vá'há / ñá   túú   ká   chuɖí'ní kánhnú
   NEG visible   good   NEG CON:be ADD star   big:SG
There isn't enough light; the planet is no longer (shining).

   ná   kóó   shá   má'ní / mash'kú   kóó   pletú
   HORT POT:exist it:INAN love   NEG:HORT POT:exist quarrel
Let there be peace; let there not be quarreling (Sp. *pleito*)!

   kéé   té   ɖeklarasioón / xahán   té   shá   ñá'há
   CON:leave he:WS declaration   CON:speak he:WS CMP NEG
He makes a declaration (Sp. *declaración*); he says that it isn't so (the accusation made before the judge).

   n-kinéhé   té   ɨ́ɨn karíl / ɨ́ɨn liñá   ndá'á
   COM-take:out he:WS one track   one line   straight

   n-shantuu   énxiñerú
   COM-place   engineer
He made a track (Sp. *carril*); A STRAIGHT LINE (Sp. *línea*) the engineer (Sp. *ingeniero*) laid out.

Sometimes the verb of the first sentence is a motion verb, and the second sentence contains the corresponding directional, in which case the directional agrees with the first verb in aspect, and the main verb of the second sentence is in potential aspect. Note that the semantic relationship between the two sentences is restatement, and the relationship between the directional and the verb nucleus of the second sentence is purpose.

xí'hín   ró / xín   ndehá   ró
POT:go   we:IN POT:go POT:look:at we:IN
We'll go; we'll go see.

xí'hín   ɖá / xín   núkáte   ɖá   ɖánhmá   ɖá'hyá ɖá
POT:go I:RES POT:go POT:wash I:RES cloth   child   my:RES
I will go (to the river); I'll go to wash my children's clothes.

n-shehén   té / n-shé   ndehá   té   núndúa
COM-go   he:ws COM-go POT:look:at he:ws Oaxaca:City
He went; he went to see Oaxaca City.

In the next two examples, the directional is *n,* the reduced form of *xín* 'to go (potential)' that precedes a stem with initial *k* or *x.*

xí'hín   ró / n   xéhén   ró   ú'shí ú'ú yútnú tndí'yí
POT:go   we:IN POT:go POT:carry we:IN ten two tree rafter

   véhé ró
   house our:IN
We'll go; we'll go bring the twelve poles (we will use for) the rafters of our house.[4]

xí'hín   ró / n   ká'hndé ró   ndáhá yáú   / shá
POT:go   we:IN POT:go POT:cut we:IN hand   maguey   it:INAN

   kinéhé   ró   pédasú / shá   kúɖú'kú   yútnú
   POT:take:out we:IN piece   it:INAN POT:be:tied tree

   shíhín   náha tnúyú'tú   ínxán
   with   rib   maguey:stalk over:there
We'll go; we'll go cut maguey (century plant) leaves, the ones from which we will tear off pieces (Sp. *pedazo*), the ones with which the lengths of maguey stalk will be tied to those poles (of the rafters).[5]

In the following example, the focused subject serves for both parts.

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[4]The form *xéhén* appears to be a special potential-aspect form of *néhé* 'to carry' that occurs following directionals (see §2.1.2).

[5]This sentence has a second reading, in which both instances of *shá* function as conjunctions that introduce subordinate purpose sentences (see §6.2.1 below); the free translation for the purpose reading is: 'We'll go; we'll go cut maguey leaves in order that we may tear off pieces in order that the lengths of maguey stalk may be tied to those poles.'

méé   ñá   xwáhán   /   xwán   xéhén   ndúté
SPEC   she   INC:go   INC:go POT:carry water
SHE went; SHE went to get water.

In the following example, a restatement sentence occurs as the second part of a coordinate sentence.

n-shé   xéhén   dá   shá'tnú /   té   n-shehén dá /   n-shé
COM-go   POT:carry   I:RES trunk   and   COM-go   I:RES   COM-go

   núnéhé   dá
   POT:carry:again   I:RES
I went to bring the boxes (home), and I went; I went to return (them to the church).

In the following example, a restatement sentence occurs as the subject complement of ndoñúhú 'to be necessary'.

ndoñúhú   shá xí'hín ró / n   xéhén
CON:be:necessary   CMP POT:go we:IN   POT:go POT:carry

   ró   ndúté
   we:IN   water
It is necessary that we go; we go to get water.

In the following example, a restatement sentence occurs as the second part of another restatement sentence.

kéé   tí   / shehén tí   / shé   ndukú
CON:leave   it:AML   CON:go it:AML   CON:go POT:look:for

   tí   shá   káshí   tí
   it:AML it:INAN POT:eat it:AML
It leaves; it goes; it goes to look for something to eat.

In other juxtaposed coordinate sentences, the component sentences describe different, but closely related, events. Sometimes the relationship is primarily temporal because the actions are simultaneous or occur in close sequence. In many of these sentences, the subjects are coreferential, but they need not be. Sometimes, however, the relationship between the component sentences is primarily logical in that each describes a part of some conceptual whole. In these sentences, the subjects are usually non-coreferential.

With coreferential subjects:

> *tnǔ*   *té*   *ndúté*   *ñú'á* / *shoḍó*   *té*   *ítí*
> CON:grasp he:ws   water   wax   CON:pour he:ws   candle
> He takes the liquid wax, (and) he pours (it) over the candles.

> *shínxân*   *kí'ú*   *ḍá* / *ndváha*   *ḍá*
> that:thing CON:enter   I:RES CON:become:good   I:RES
> I enter THAT, (and) I am healed.

> *shitá*   *í* / *shtashéhé*   *í*
> CON:sing UN   CON:dance   UN
> They sing, (and) they dance.

> *xí'hín*   *ró* / *ni'hí*   *ró*   *ñú'ú*   *íí*
> POT:go   we:IN   POT:gain we:IN   palm   holy
> We go, (and) we get the blessed palm.

> *kíshí*   *tí* / *káshí*   *tí*   *tkáchi ró*
> POT:come it:AML   POT:eat   it:AML   sheep   our:IN
> It (the coyote) will come, (and) it will eat our sheep.

> *n-sheé*   *nlí'pé* / *núndee*   *í*   *tá'á*   *í*
> COM-arrive   Philip:ws   COM:hug   UN   father   UN
> Philip arrived, (and) he hugged his father.

> *násheé*   *yá* / *shíá'hán*   *yá*   *shá*   *káshí*   *ḍí'hí*   *yá*
> COM:arrive   DEI   CON:speak   DEI   CMP   POT:eat mother   DEI
> They arrived, (and) they told their mother to eat (it).

> *xí'hín-ń*   / *xínéhé-ń*   *shá*   *káshí*   *tá'á-ń*
> POT:go-you:RES   POT:take-you:RES   it:INAN POT:eat   father-your:RES
> Go, (and) take that which your father will eat!

> *kinéhé*   *tí*   *ndáhá* *tí* / *tnǔ*   *tí*   /
> CON:take:out it:AML   hand   its:AML CON:grasp it:AML

>   *shashí*   *tí*
>   CON:eat   it:AML
> It (the squirrel) puts out its paw, (and) takes (it [the peanut], and)
> eats (it).

With noncoreferential subjects:

> *kúnîní*   / *ná*   *náxani-ř*   *kwentú*
> POT:listen   HORT   POT:relate-I:FAM   story
> Listen, (and) let me tell (you) the story (Sp. *cuento*)!

shá   n-shíó   dá'hyá ñá / dadá n-tnúndáha   ñá
already COM-exist child   her then COM-marry   she
She already had children, (and) then she was married. (lit. Her
children already existed; THEN she was married.)

íín-s   kwíkó   yú'té / íín-s   daká   ndé'hyú
one-he:MS POT:make:a:turn river   one-he:MS POT:mix   mud
ONE OF THEM will carry water, (and) ONE OF THEM will mix the mud.

kándé   ká'á / kahndí   tirú
POT:sound metal POT:explode fireworks
The bell will ring, (and) the fireworks (Sp. *tiro*) will explode. (to
signal the beginning of the fiesta)

ínxán   tiú   musíká   / vá'shí   meshá
over:there CON:play band:member   INC:come table
THERE the band (Sp. *música*) plays, (and) the table (Sp. *mesa*)
comes. (a new table bought by the people of the town for the
church)

In the following three-part example, the first two parts describe two
closely related events, which together enter into a restatement relationship
with the third part.

íó   shá   nánhnú / íó   shá   kwechí /
CON:exist it:INAN big:PL   CON:exist it:INAN small:PL

    ndaá shá   íó
    all   it:INAN CON:exist
There are big ones; there are small ones; ALL THESE there are.

In the following example, the relationships are more complex. Four
sentences together constitute the object complement of *xahán* 'to speak'.
The first of the four sentences appears to be in a restatement relation with
the last three, and the second one appears to be in a restatement relation
with the last two, which are closely related events.

xahán   ñá   shá   dúhá káá   shé'hé í / íó
CON:speak she CMP thus CON:appear foot   UN CON:exist

    kwadradú shé'hé í / ñá   túú   shédéyu í /
    squared   foot   UN NEG CON:be ankle   UN

    ñá   túú   di'ki   shé'hé í
    NEG CON:be head   foot   UN
She says that their feet are like this: they are squared (Sp. *cuadrado*);
they don't have ankles; they don't have toes.

In the following example, a juxtaposed coordinate sentence with coreferential subjects occurs as the object complement of *xahán* 'to speak'.

> *xahán   í   shá   xí'hín   í   ó'hón   kwiá /*
> CON:speak UN CMP POT:go UN five   year
>
> > *kutúú   í   ñúkóhyo*
> > POT:be UN Mexico:City
> He says that he will go for five years, (and) he will live in Mexico City.

There is also a highly restricted juxtaposed coordinate construction that involves two verbs of existence and a shared noun phrase.[6] In the following examples, the solidus that signals the break between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

> *ñá   túú   káfeé /   íó*
> NEG CON:be coffee   CON:exist
> There is no coffee (Sp. *café*).

> *ñá   túú   ndúté /   íó*
> NEG CON:be water   CON:exist
> There is no water.

> *ñá   túú   násh /   íó*
> NEG CON:be what   CON:exist
> There isn't anything.

> *ñá   yó'ó   prinsesá   xán /   túú*
> NEG CON:exist princess   that   CON:be
> That princess (Sp. *princesa*) is not here.

Sometimes this construction contains other elements, such as a peripheral location, as seen in the following examples.

> *ñá   túú   tá   yáhá /   íó   ñú'ú   ró*
> NEG CON:be it:flower here   CON:exist town   our:IN
> There are none of this (kind of) flower in our town.

> *ñá   túú   ná   mólinú /   íó   yáhá*
> NEG CON:be what mill   CON:exist   here
> There aren't any flour mills (Sp. *molino*) here.

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[6]It would also be possible to analyze examples of this construction as simple sentences in which the first element is a noun phrase containing a negative quantifier *ñá'tú, ñáyó,* or *máyó* 'no'.

6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are usually expressed by using conjunctions, but some relations may be expressed by simple juxtaposition.

6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to express cause, condition, concession, purpose, negative purpose, simultaneous action, and comparison.

Cause sentences are introduced by the conjunction *chí* 'because', or simply by the complementizer *shá* with the extended meaning 'because'. Cause sentences usually follow the main sentence. The following examples show cause sentences with *chí.*

> *xí'hín   tí   yúkú   vítná /*
> POT:go   it:AML mountain   now
>
>   *chí   ñá   túú   shá   káshí   tí*
>   because NEG   CON:be it:INAN POT:eat it:AML
> They (the oxen) will go to the mountain (pastures) now because
> there isn't anything for them to eat (here).

> *ínxán   kódó   kóyó té   ngútú / chí*
> over:there POT:ride   PL   he:ws ox   because
>
>   *víkó   karnavaál   kúú*
>   fiesta   Carnival   CON:be
> OVER THERE they will ride the bulls because it is Carnival (Sp.
> *carnaval*) (pre-Lenten celebration).

> *vété   kúú-ŕ   / chí   shá   kúyátní   kí'ú*
> happy CON:be-I:FAM because already   CON:be:near   day
>
>   *nú'hú   ró*
>   POT:return:going   we:IN
> I'm happy because already the day is near that we will go back
> (home).

> *ná   kúndoo   triú / chí   ndíkó   ró*
> HORT   POT:be:clean wheat because POT:grind   we:IN
> Let the wheat be clean because we are going to grind (it).

Sometimes two or more subordinate sentences introduced by *chí* 'because' occur in the same sentence. In most cases a *chí* sentence that follows another one depends on the preceding subordinate sentence, rather than the main sentence.

> *vítná   vá'há   tiempú   n-sheé   đá'ú / chí   yó*
> now   good   time   COM-arrive   rain   because INTS
>
> *kúndáhu   ró   yáhá / chí   ñá   túú   ndúté*
> CON:be:poor   we:IN   here   because   NEG   CON:be   water

NOW IN GOOD TIME (Sp. *tiempo*) the rain has arrived because we are very poor here because there is no water.

> *pí'ná   ñá   tnáhíní   / chí   shíá'hán   ñá   shá   ñúhú*
> Pina   NEG   CON:be:pleased   because   CON:speak   she   CMP   land
>
> *méé   ñá   kúú / chí   ñúhú   tá'á   ñá   kúú*
> SPEC   her   CON:be because   land   father   her   CON:be

PINA (Sp. *Agripina*) isn't pleased because she says that it is her land because it was her father's land.

In the next example, there are three *chí* sentences. The third one seems to depend on the second one, while the first and second ones both seem to depend on the main sentence.

> *kúđúhíni   đá / chí   shínxán   ni'hí   ró*
> CON:be:happy   I:RES because   that:thing   POT:gain   we:IN
>
> *shâ   káá   ró / chí   đá'ú xán   đađá túú*
> it:INAN   POT:eat   we:IN   because   rain that   then CON:be
>
> *ró   / chí   yáhá kúú   ñúhú   yichí*
> we:IN   because   here CON:be   land   CON:be:dry

I am happy because WITH THAT (RAIN) we will get that which we will eat because WITH THAT RAIN THEN, we live because HERE it is dry land.

Occasionally the *chí* sentence precedes the main sentence.

> *chí   íó   yó'ó / mash'kú   yuhú*
> because   CON:exist   moon   NEG:HORT   POT:be:afraid

Because there is a moon, don't be afraid!

The following examples show cause sentences with *shá*; in two of these sentences the word *shá* also occurs in another use, namely, as part of the complex preposition *shá shé'hé* 'on behalf of' or 'on account of'.

> *n-shó   nditó   đá / shá   nda'hí   í*
> COM-HAB   be:awake   I:RES CMP   CON:cry UN

I was awake because he (the baby) was crying.

n-kɨ'ú   ñá'ñá   kúralí   ró   / té   n-shanhní   tɨ
COM-enter coyote corral our:IN and COM-kill   it:AML

tkáchi ró / té   néhé   tɨ   ɨ́n   tkólelu luchí
sheep our:IN and COM:carry it:AML one   lamb   small:SG

shá   shé'hé kwéchí okeí   dé   shíhín   parís   dé   /
CMP   foot   fault   Okay   that:near   with   Paris   that:near

shá   ñá   n-shó   ndi'xún tɨ
CMP   NEG   COM-HAB be:tied   it:AML

The coyote entered our corral, and it killed our sheep, and it took a
little lamb on account of the fault of that Okay (Sp. *okey,* English
okay) and that Paris (Sp. *París*) (the dogs) because they weren't tied
up (at the corral).

tnáu'hiní   dá   shá   shé'hé   í / shá   ñá'tú   n-shó   túú
CON:be:sad   I:RES CMP   foot   UN   CMP   NEG   COM-HAB   be

í   ñúñá'yíu
UN   world

I am sad on her account because she did not live in the world. (the
baby lived only a month)

Occasionally the sentence introduced by *shá* precedes the main sentence,
in which case *té* 'and' may introduce the main sentence. In the following
example, the first instance of *shá* functions as a conjunction, and the
second one forms part of a repetitive stative verb phrase (see §2.4).

méé   ñá   shá   kuhú   ñá / té   kóhyo shá   kóhyo shitá   ñá
SPEC she CMP   CON:be:sick she and sad   CMP   sad   CON:sing she
AS FOR HER, because she is sick, SADLY, SADLY she sings.

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunctions *nushá* (or
núsh) and *nú,* both of which mean 'if'. Subordinate sentences with *nushá*
or *núsh* may precede or follow the main sentence.

xánñáhá   té   / nushá   má   xú'ñáha đá   shá
POT:hit   he:ws if   NEG POT:give I:RES it:INAN

    káshđíní   kóyó đá'hyá đá
    POT:eat:supper PL   child my:RES
He will hit me if I don't give my children their supper.

ndoñúhú   ró   ú'shá   đosená náha /
CON:need   we:IN   seven   dozen   rib

    nushá ndíhɨ   ni'hí   ró
    if   POT:be:finished POT:gain we:IN
We need seven dozen (Sp. *docena*) ribs (of maguey stalk) if we finish
getting (all we will need).

xú'ñáha-ń   shá   ñíhɨ   n-kɨ'ú-ń   /
POT:say-you:RES   CMP   sweatbath   COM-enter-you:RES

    núsh xú'ndú   shi'xán   tnú'hú ñáha
    if   who   CON:ask   word   KNO
Say you entered THE SWEATBATH if ANYONE asks you.

núsh xwíní   ró   / kánéhé ró   siyá nánhnú đává
if   CON:want we:IN   POT:carry we:IN chair big:PL   fraction

    đosená té   đává   đosená siyá   kwechí
    dozen and   fraction dozen   chair small:PL
If we want to, we can take a half dozen big chairs (Sp. *silla*) and a
half dozen small chairs.

núsh ñá   ni'hí   ró   / té   ndíí   ró   /
if   NEG CON:gain we:IN   and   COM:return:coming we:IN

    té   kíshí   té   véhé   ró
    and POT:come he:ws house our:IN
If we don't get (the blessed palm), and we return home (without it),
he will come to our house (with it).

Subordinate sentences introduced by *nú* are less frequent; in the present
data they only precede the main sentence.

nú   yó   machú-ń   / xwán   ká'á   /
if   INTS male-you:FAM:MS   IMP:go POT:climb

    tavá-ń   ndɨ'ú   ntá'đú
    POT:take:out-you:FAM:MS egg   eagle
If you're so much of a man, climb up (and) take the eagle's egg!

There are two ways of expressing a contrafactual condition. In one way, the subordinate sentence is introduced by *nushá* or *núsh* 'if', and it is closed by *n-kúú* 'to be (completive)'. The *n-kúú* serves as the main verb of the subordinate sentence, and the rest of the subordinate sentence functions as a subject complement. The main sentence follows the subordinate sentence, and it is introduced by *té* 'and'.

> *nushá ndoñúhú ñáha xéró'ñú   n-kúú / té*
> if   CON:need KNO   Jerry   COM-be   and
>
> *xahán   dá   shá   ná   nú'hú-ń*
> POT:speak   I:RES CMP   HORT POT:return:going-you:RES
> If it were that Jerry (Sp. *Gerónimo*) needs you, then I would tell you to go.

> *nushá ndoñúhú   ñáha xéró'ñú   n-kúú / té*
> if   COM:need   KNO   Jerry   COM-be   and
>
> *n-xahán   dá   shá   xwán   nú'hú-ń*
> COM-speak   I:RES CMP   IMP:go POT:return:going-you:RES
> If Jerry had needed you, I would have told you to go.

In the second way, the subordinate sentence is introduced by *nushá* 'if', and its verb is in completive aspect. The main sentence follows the subordinate sentence, it is not introduced by *té* 'and', and its verb must either be in potential aspect, or it must be the verb *íó* 'to exist' in continuative aspect.

> *nushá n-kótó   yá'tá   chilidáá / má   kádá   tníú   vá'há ró*
> if   COM-turn   back   bird   NEG   POT:do work   good   we:IN
> If the bird had turned its back to us, we wouldn't work well.

> *nushá n-shánhnú   xwán / íó   í   shá'hún kwiá   vítná*
> if   COM-be:mature   John   CON:exist UN   fifteen   year   now
> If John (Sp. *Juan*) had lived, he would be fifteen years old now.

Concession sentences are introduced by the conjunction *xwiní* 'although', and they usually precede the main sentence, in which case *kó* 'but' introduces the main sentence.

> *xwiní   yá'hú   tnú   / kó meshá   vá'há kúú   tnú*
> although   CON:cost   it:WOD but table   good   CON:be it:WOD
> Even though it costs (is expensive), it's a good table. (so let's take it)

xwiní   *ú'hú*   / *kó*   *dúhá* *kí'kú*   *dá*
although difficult but thus CON:sew I:RES
Even though (it) is difficult, that's the way I sew.

xwiní   *kwé'hé* *vidá* *yá'há* *dá* / *shá* *túú*   *dá*
although many   life   CON:pass I:RES CMP CON:be I:RES

   yúkú   / *kó*   *ni'hí*   *dá*   *shá*   *káá*   *dá*
   mountain but CON:gain I:RES it:INAN POT:eat I:RES
Even though I suffer because I live in the mountains (backwoods), I
make a living. (lit. Even though I pass through MUCH LIFE [Sp. *vida*]
because I live in the mountains, but I gain that which I will eat.)

Sometimes the material that follows *xwiní* is less than a full sentence
because it is possible to omit information that can be inferred from
context.

xwiní   *kwé'hé* *tviní* / *kó*   *dá*   *xwíní*   *dá*
although many   money but thus CON:want I:RES

   shá   *kádá*   *dá*   *íín*   *mishá*
   CMP   POT:do I:RES one   mass
Even though (it's) a lot of money (Sp. *tomín*), I want to have a mass
(Sp. *misa*) said.

xwíní   *ndé*   *dá'hyá* *kwechí* *tá*   *kakú*   *ká* /
although until child   small:PL not:yet POT:be:born ADD

   kó   *náxini*   *í*   *shá*   *shínxán*   *n-kídá*   *defenderí*
   but POT:recognize UN CMP that:thing COM-do   defend

   salvadoór *shíhín* *sílvés'tré* *shíhín* *pabló*
   Salvador   with   Silvester with   Paul
Even though children not yet born (don't exist), they will recognize
that IN THAT WAY Salvador (Sp. *Salvador*) and Silvester (Sp. *Silvestre*)
and Paul (Sp. *Pablo*) defended (Sp. *defender*) (their rights).

Sometimes a concession sentence will be embedded within another sub-
ordinate sentence; in the following example the first concession sentence
modifies the main sentence, and the second one modifies a cause sentence
that in turn modifies the main sentence.

xwiní   *ɖá 'hyá té*   /   *kó*   *ñá*   *tnáhíní*   *té*   /   *chí*
although child his:ws but NEG CON:be:pleased he:ws because

xwiní   *kúndáhu*   *té*   /   *kó*   *ñá 'tú*   *ɖuhú*   *té*
although CON:be:poor he:ws but NEG   CON:steal he:ws
Even though (it is) his daughter (that is being tortured), he does not
like it (that she is a criminal and will not defend her), because even
though he is poor, he doesn't steal.

When the concession sentence is not focused, *kó* 'but' does not occur.

ná   *ka 'xán*   *ñú 'hú*   *nahí*   *ró*   /   *xwiní*   *n-kúneé*
HORT POT:spread:out fire   INTENT we:IN although COM-be:night
Let's go on building up the fire even though it is night.

Purpose sentences are sometimes introduced by the complementizer *shá*,
which functions as a conjunction meaning 'in order that'. The verb of the
purpose sentence must be in potential aspect, and the sentence sometimes
contains the preverbal marker *ná* 'hortatory' (see §2.1.2). (The complemen-
tizer *shá* also sometimes means 'because', but the two uses can be distin-
guished by aspect restrictions: a subordinate cause sentence with *shá* never
occurs in potential aspect.)

kinéhé   *ɖá*   *tviní*   /   *shá*   *xí 'hín*   *ɖá*   *yá 'hú*
CON:take:out I:RES money CMP POT:go I:RES market
I get (from my hard work) money in order that I (can) go to market.

chiyá 'hú   *ɖá*   *yá*   *ú 'ú*   *sientú*   /
POT:pay I:RES DEI two hundred

shá   *ndáɖá*   *kánhnú*   *yá*   *santú*
CMP POT:do:again big:SG   DEI   saint
I will pay the priest two hundred (Sp. *ciento*) (pesos) in order that
he may celebrate (the fiesta of) the saint (Sp. *santo*).

n-sheén   *ɖá*   *ñú 'á*   /   *té*   *n-ɖándaa*   *ɖá*   *ítí*   /   .
COM-buy I:RES wax   and COM-make I:RES candle

shá   *káká*   *ɖá*   *véñu 'hú*   *yarné 'shí*   *shíhín*   *dómingú*
CMP POT:walk I:RES church   Friday   with   Sunday
I bought beeswax, and I made candles in order that I might go to
church Fridays (Sp. *viernes*) and Sundays (Sp. *domingo*) (for a year).

ágostó   shá   íó   ndídí   í'tú   dá   /
August   already CON:exist sweet:corn   field my:RES

   shá   kâshí   dá'hyá dá
   CMP   POT:eat child   my:RES

IN AUGUST (Sp. *agosto*) there is already sweet corn in my fields in order that my children may eat (it).

ó'hón   mushú   dá   kídá   tníú shíhín   dá   /
five   hired:hand my:RES CON:do work with   me:RES

   shá   dákee   dá   shíhín-s   í'tú   dá
   CMP   POT:harvest I:RES   with-him:MS   field my:RES

MY FIVE HIRED HANDS (Sp. *mozo*) work with me in order that with them I may harvest my fields.

néhé   ká   ñá   í   / shá   ná   ndó'yó   vá'há ká   í
CON:carry ADD she UN   CMP HORT POT:be:wet good   ADD UN

She carries it (the baby) further (in the rain) in order that it may get good and wet. (being baptized by the rain)

xí'hín   té   shíhín radiú / shá   ná   xúñáha   té
POT:go   he:WS   with   radio   CMP HORT POT:give he:WS

   radiú   xúshtishiá
   radio   authority

He will go with the radio (Sp. *radio*) in order that he may give the radio to the authorities (Sp. *justicia*).

nlí'pé   túndaha   íín telegramá nú'ú tá'á   í   shíhín dí'hí
Philip:WS CON:send   one telegram face father UN with   mother

   í / shá ná   kúndetu   té   nú'ú ndíshí   treén
   UN CMP HORT POT:wait he:WS   face POT:return:coming train

PHILIP sends a telegram (Sp. *telegrama*) to his father and his mother in order that they will be waiting (for him) at the train (Sp. *tren*) station.

n-shó   shi'xán   níhná   té   / shá ná   kóó   shá
COM-HAB   CON:ask   ?   he:WS   CMP HORT POT:exist it:INAN

   má'ní / mash'kú   kóó   pletú
   love   NEG:HORT   POT:exist quarrel

He was continually asking (their help) in order that there might be peace in order that there might not be quarreling.

(See also 7.5.)

Purpose is also expressed without the use of a conjunction, as described in §6.2.2. Such a purpose sentence occurs at the end of the last example above, following the purpose sentence introduced by *shá*.

Negative purpose sentences are introduced by the conjunction *ná 'dá* 'lest', and the verb must be in potential aspect.

tétní 'í   tí 'hína / ná 'dá kíshí   tí   /
POT:tie:up dog   lest   POT:come it:AML

   káshí   tí   tkáchi ró
   POT:eat it:AML sheep our:IN

Tie up the dogs lest it (the coyote) come, (and) it eat our sheep.

ná   kúndí 'xún vá 'há tí   / ná 'dá kúnú   okeí   dé
HORT   POT:be:tied good it:AML lest   POT:flee Okay that

Let them (the dogs) be well tied lest that Okay run away.

ñúnú 'ú   í / ná 'dá káshí tí   tríú
CON:care:for UN lest   POT:eat it:AML wheat

He is herding lest they (the sheep) eat the wheat.

méé   dá   kánéhé dí 'tá kóhó kádí   ndúté / ná
SPEC I:RES POT:carry tortilla plate spoon water   HORT

   kóhó   mushú   dá / ná 'dá yí 'chí   té   ndúté
   POT:drink hired:hand my:RES lest   POT:thirst he:ws water

ɪ will carry the tortillas, the plates, the spoons, (and) the water in order that my hired-hands may drink lest they thirst for water.

Negative purpose is also expressed without the use of a conjunction, as described in §6.2.2.

Simultaneous action sentences are introduced by the conjunction *níní* 'while'. When a simultaneous action sentence introduced by *níní* precedes the main sentence, *té* 'and' introduces the main sentence.

ná   kwídó   dá   yútnú / níní   nayichí
HORT POT:carry I:RES tree   while   CON:be:dry:again

Let me carry poles, while they (the adobes) are drying (on the other side).

níní   dá   nakuyichí   ñíñí   dá / té   ndukú
while thus CON:be:dry:again corn:ear my:RES and POT:look:for

   dá   mushú   ná   dákoyó   ñíñí   dá
   I:RES hired:hand HORT POT:shell   corn:ear my:RES

While the harvested corn is drying, I will look for hired hands in order that (they) can shell my corn.

Another kind of subordinate time sentence is introduced by *ndé ná*
'until'.

> *kádá   kumplirí té   kúkúú té   musíká   /*
> POT:do   complete he:ws   POT:be he:ws band:member

> *ndé ná   kú 'ú   té*
> until when POT:die he:ws
> He will fulfill (Sp. *cumplir*) (his job as) a member of the town band
> until he dies.

Other subordinate time sentences are introduced by the conjunctions *ná,*
orá (Sp. *hora*), and *nú,* all of which mean 'when'. All may precede the
main sentence, and those with *ná* or *orá* may follow the main sentence as
well. In the present data, *té* 'and' may introduce a main sentence following
a subordinate sentence with *orá,* and *dadá* 'then' may introduce a main
sentence following a subordinate sentence with *ná.*

With *ná:*

> *ná   yó   kwaá / násheé   ró*
> when INTS blind   POT:arrive we:IN
> When it is very dark, we will arrive (at home).

> *ndónéhé dá / ná   yí 'chí   vá 'há*
> POT:lift:up I:RES when   CON:be:dry good
> I will lift up (the adobe bricks) when (they) are well dried.

> *ná   sheé   ú 'ná   kí 'ú / dómingú pashkwá /*
> when POT:arrive eight   day   Sunday Easter

> *shínókava   víkó   íí*
> POT:be:complete fiesta holy
> In eight days, on Easter (Sp. *pascua*) Sunday, Holy Week is
> finished.

> *ná   nsheé   dá   ó 'kó   mayú / dáá   / kódó*
> when POT:arrive I:RES twenty May   that:time POT:pour

> *dá   ítí / shá   ndúkánhnú   santú yó 'ó xuñú*
> I:RES candle it:INAN POT:become:big   saint moon   June
> When it's May (Sp. *mayo*) 20th, that day, I will dip candles, the ones
> that celebrate the images in the month of June.

ná   kíshí   đá'ú ndehé / ndoñúhú   ró   íín
when POT:come   rain strong   CON:need we:IN   one

　đichí   luchí   xúñáha   ró   ñú'ú íí / ná
　unmarried:person small:SG   POT:give we:IN   palm holy   HORT

tnú'ú   í / mash'kú   kíshí   đá'ú ndehé
POT:light UN NEG:HORT POT:come   rain strong
When the heavy rains come, we need a little girl to whom to give
the blessed palm in order that she may light (it) in order that the
heavy rains will not come.

íó   í   ú'shí   kwiá / ná   n-kéé   í   véhé   đá
CON:exist UN ten   year   when COM-leave UN house my:RES
He was ten years old when he left home.

té   ínxán   n-đákwahá musíká / ná   kwechí   í
he:ws over:there COM-learn music   when small:PL UN
THOSE MEN learned music (began to play in the town band) when they
were young.

íó   ó'kó   ú'ú   kwiá / ná   n-shó   kúú   đá   kwechí
CON:exist twenty two   year   when COM-HAB be   I:RES small:PL
That was twenty-two years ago when we were young.

ná   tú'ú   kɨ'ú ú'shí   íín   sétiembré /
when CON:dawn   day   ten   one   September

　đađá xwándíshí   kamiá ndé véhé   té   đíú'shí
　then INC:return:coming cot   until house his:ws Diuxi
When it was dawning on the eleventh of September (Sp. *septiembre*),
THEN the stretcher (Sp. *camilla*) was returning (was being carried) to
his house in Diuxi.

With *orá:*

ténee   ró   yá   yéhé ró   / mash'kú   kɨkɨú
POT:lean we:IN DEI door our:IN NEG:HORT POT:enter

　tá'chí véhé   ró   / orá   kí'đí   ró
　wind   house our:IN when CON:sleep we:IN
We will lean it (the blessed palm) against our door in order that evil
spirits will not enter our house when we are sleeping.

ndaá   kɨtɨ́   íó   yúkú   kánhní té   /
all   animal CON:exist mountain   POT:kill he:ws

    orá   ndíí   yó'ó
    when   CON:shine moon

ALL THE ANIMALS THAT THERE ARE IN THE MOUNTAINS they will kill when
the moon shines.

orá   ndó'yó   shá   ndó'yó   ñá'yíu / ñá'tú kɨtɨ́'hɨ́ní
when   CON:be:wet CMP   CON:be:wet people   NEG   CON:be:angry

    í   / chí   kúvété   í
    UN   because CON:be:happy UN

When people (get) very wet (in the rain), they aren't angry, because
they are happy. (being baptized by the rain)

orá   xúún   ɖá'ú íchí / té   ndó'yó
when   CON:be:produced rain road and   CON:be:wet

    ɖichí   yɨxɨ́n / xahán   ñá   shá n-yí'chí
    unmarried:person tender CON:speak she   CMP COM-thirst

    í   ndúté íí
    UN   water holy

When the rain falls on the trail, and the infant gets wet (in the rain),
she says that the baby was thirsty for holy water (the rain).

orá   násheé   ñá véhé   ñá / náchídú'kú   ñá í ɖánhmá
when   POT:arrive she house her   POT:wrap:again she UN cloth

    íó   ndóó / té   vá'há   kí'ɖí   í / ndótó   í   ndé
    CON:exist   clean   and   good   POT:sleep UN POT:waken UN   until

    ɨ́ɨn ká   kí'ú
    one   ADD day

When she arrives home, she will wrap the baby in clean clothes, and
he will sleep WELL; he will (not) awake until the next day.

orá   ndéé   tahú ñá / té   xúnehe   í /
when   CON:offer debt she and   CON:have:diarrhea   UN

    shá   xúnehe   í
    CMP   CON:have:diarrhea   UN

When she makes her offering (to the earth spirit), then she has more
and more diarrhea. (lit. it gives diarrhea)

orá   túú   đá   ínxán   /   té   xéró'ñú   n-shó   kíđá
when   CON:be   I:RES   over:there   and   Jerry   COM-HAB   CON:do

tníú
work
When we were there, JERRY was working.

With *nú:*

nú   n-tú'ú   /   đá   nú'ú   mí'hí   káá   tí
when   COM-dawn   thus   face   garbage   CON:lie   it:AML
When it dawned, THUS (as we said) it (the dog) was lying IN THE
GARBAGE.

nú   shishá   tnúyú'tú   ínxán   /
when   CON:mature   maguey:stalk   over:there

   xúún   tndíí
CON:be:produced   maguey:flower
When that maguey stalk matures, maguey flowers will be produced.
(to use as food)

nú   n-kúkwéchí   /   íín   metrú   shíhín   íín   kwartá   kúú
when   COM-be:small:PL   one   meter   with   one   span   CON:be

   ndáhá   đún'hnú
hand   blouse
When it (the cloth) was cut in pieces, one meter (Sp. *metro*) with
one hand's breadth (Sp. *cuarta*) was (became) the sleeves of the
blouse.

Comparison of likeness sentences are introduced by the conjunction *ná*
'when', used in this construction to mean 'as', or the conjunction *nání* 'as'.
The same verb must occur in both the comparison sentence and the main
sentence, but they need not agree in aspect. The comparison sentence may
either follow the main sentence or precede it. When it follows, the verb is
sometimes not expressed in the comparative sentence. When it precedes,
the main sentence is often introduced by *đá* 'thus' (or *đání*, if the subor-
dinate sentence has *nání*).

ká   nda'hí   tí   /   ná   ká   nda'hí   tkáchi
PL   CON:cry   it:AML   when   PL   CON:cry   sheep
They are crying as sheep cry.

nánhnú shé'hé tí   / ná   shé'hé elefanté
big:PL   foot   its:AML when foot   elephant
Their feet are big like elephants' (Sp. *elefante*) feet.

ná   kúú   ndúú / kúú   shá   kwaá
when CON:be day   CON:be it:INAN blind
The night is as the day is (it's so light).

ná   káá   nú'ú ñá'yíu / káá   nú'ú changú
when CON:appear face people   CON:appear face monkey
The monkey's (Sp. *chango*) face is like a person's face. (lit. The
monkey's face appears as a person's face appears.)

ná   káá   nchí'vá luchí   / káá   tí
when CON:appear goat   small:SG CON:appear it:AML
It looks like a little goat (Sp. *chiva*). (lit. It appears as a little goat
appears.)

nání   shaá   dá / ni'hí   dá
as   CON:eat I:RES CON:gain I:RES
As I eat, I gain. (I make a living)

ná   kúú   tá'tá xúngava íchí / dá   kúú   dává   ñá'yíu
when CON:be seed CON:fall road thus CON:be fraction people
As is seed (that) falls on the trail, so are some people.

Sometimes a sentence that contains a subordinate comparative sentence
is embedded in another sentence.

xó'ón / ví'shí / kó   ñá   ví'shí / ná   ví'shí vítná
yes   cold   but   NEG   cold   when   cold   now
Yes, it was cold (then), but not as cold as it is now.

xahán   ñá   shá   kúú   í / ná   kúú   xwání'tó estelá
CON:speak she   CMP   CON:be UN when   CON:be Johnny   Stella
She says that they (the "earth-people") are as Johnny (Sp. *Juanito*)
and Stella (Sp. *Estela*) are.

Hypothetical comparison is expressed by the complex conjunctions
kwendá kúú or *ná kúú shá,* both of which mean 'as if'. The verb of the
subordinate sentence must be in completive aspect.

shá 'tú   shá   shá 'tú   yúhu   đá   / kwendá   kúú
CON:burn   CMP   CON:burn   mouth   my:RES   account   CON:be

   n-shashí   đá   yáhá
   COM-eat   I:RES   chili
My mouth burns awfully as if I had eaten chili peppers.

shá 'tú   shá   shá 'tú   yúhu   đá   / ná   kúú   shá
CON:burn   CMP   CON:burn   mouth   my:RES   when   CON:be   CMP

   n-shashí   đá   yáhá
   COM:eat   I:RES   chili
My mouth burns awfully as if I had eaten chili peppers.

6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions. Some subordinate rela-
tions can be expressed by simply juxtaposing the subordinate sentence to the
main sentence, without any conjunction. The relation is signaled instead by
some formal feature within the subordinate sentence. In the material collected
to date, three kinds of juxtaposed subordinate sentences have been observed:
purpose, time, and location.

There are two kinds of juxtaposed sentences that express purpose, both
of which are characterized by having potential aspect in the subordinate
purpose sentence. In the first kind, the purpose sentence is introduced by
the hortatory marker *ná* or the negative hortatory marker *mash 'kú*. If the
sentence is a command, the main sentence may also be introduced by a
hortatory marker. The purpose sentence usually follows the main sentence.

   kắđá   vá 'há   đá   ndéyú / ná   káshđíní   đá 'hyá   đá
   POT:do good   I:RES   meal   HORT   POT:eat:supper   child   my:RES
   I will make the meal in order that my children may eat supper.

   ná   đayaá   ró   yóhó / ná   ndókoó-t
   HORT   POT:release   we:IN   rope   HORT   POT:stand-it:AML
   Let's untie the ropes in order that it (the ox) may get up!

   ténéé   ró   yá   yéhé ró   /
   POT:lean   we:IN   DEI   door our:IN

      mash 'kú   kíkíú   tá 'chí   véhé   ró
      NEG:HORT   POT:enter   wind   house   our:IN
   We will lean it (the blessed palm) against our door in order that evil
   spirits will not enter our house.

Occasionally a purpose sentence precedes the main sentence; in the
following example, the main sentence is a restatement sentence that begins

with the hortatory marker *ná* because it functions as a third person command.

ná	*kwahá*	*tekú*	*đó'hó*	*tí*	/ *ná*	*xí'hín*
HORT	POT:be:possible	POT:hear	ear	its:AML	HORT	POT:go

tí	*n*	*kává*	*tí*	*yá'tá*	*kúralí*
it:AML	POT:go	POT:lie:down	it:AML	back	corral

In order that its (the dog's) ears may be able to hear, let it go lie down behind the corral!

Sometimes two or more purpose sentences occur in a single sentence. In the first example below, the second purpose sentence is subordinate to the first purpose sentence, which is subordinate to the main sentence. This example also contains two juxtaposed sentences which together form a subordinate cause sentence. In the other two examples below, the two purpose sentences are in a restatement relation with each other, and both are subordinate to the main sentence.

kwé'hé	*tútnú*	*kiú*	/ *ná*	*kokó*	*vá'há* /
many	wood	POT:put:on	HORT	POT:burn	good

ná	*nadaá*	*vá'há*	/ *chí*	*shínxán*	*kí'ú*
HORT	POT:be:hot	good	because	that:thing	CON:enter

đá	*ndváha*	*đá*
I:RES	CON:become:good	I:RES

Put A LOT OF WOOD on in order that it may burn well in order that it may be good and hot because WITH THAT (SWEATBATH) that I enter I am healed.

xí'hín	*đá*	*shíhín*	*kwalí*	*đá*	*sélí'á*	/ *ná*	*chindéé*
POT:go	I:RES	with	comadre	my:RES	Celia	HORT	POT:help

ñáha	*ñá*	/ *ná*	*kánéhé*	*ñá*	*ndéyú*
KNO	she	HORT	POT:carry	she	meal

I will go with my child's godmother (Sp. *comadre*) Celia (Sp. *Celia*) in order that she may help me in order that she may carry the dinner.

katundéé   *ró*   *té*   *shévé'hé*   *ró*   / *ná*   *kí'đí*
POT:sprinkle we:IN it:LIQ house:wall our:IN HORT POT:sleep

  vá'há *ró* / *mash'kú* *kachishé'né* *lokó* *ró*
  good we:IN NEG:HORT POT:dream crazy we:IN

We will sprinkle it (the holy water) on the walls of our house in order that we may sleep well in order that we will not have bad (Sp. *loco*) dreams.

When the purpose sentence follows the main sentence, and the subjects are coreferential, the *ná* is occasionally omitted.

  ndú'híní *đá* / *téé* *đá* *đí'tá*
  CON:be:anxious I:RES POT:cast I:RES tortilla
  I am in a hurry to make the tortillas.

  xín *sheé* *ró* / *kúndéhá* *ró* *ná*
  POT:go POT:arrive we:IN POT:look:at we:IN what

  íó *ñú'ú* *ínxán*
  CON:exist town over:there
  We are going to arrive to see what there is in the town over there.

In the second kind of purpose sentence, a shared noun phrase occurs at the seam between the main sentence and the following purpose sentence. This noun phrase must be the final element in the main sentence, which means that it may be the subject only if the main verb is intransitive. It is most often the object, but it may be an adjunct or a peripheral element. The shared noun phrase may have any function in the purpose sentence.[7] In the following examples, the solidus that signals the break between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

  téé *ró* *đí'tá* / *káá* *ró*
  CON:cast we:IN tortilla POT:eat we:IN
  We are making tortillas to eat.

---

[7]Occasionally a juxtaposed sentence with a shared noun phrase has completive aspect rather than potential in the second part, as in the following example.

  yó'ó *n-shíá'hán* *chí'kí*   / *n-shashí* *í*
  moon COM-give prickly:pear:fruit COM-eat UN
  The moon gave him prickly pear fruit to eat.

It seems likely that such sentences express a result, i.e., an accomplished purpose, and that the main sentence must be in completive aspect as well.

té   nsheé   ɖá / xándóɖó   ɖá   káfeé /
and POT:arrive I:RES POT:put:on I:RES coffee

  káshɖíní   ɖá 'hyá ɖá
  POT:eat:supper child   my:RES
And (when) I arrive, I will put on the coffee for my children to eat supper.

té   ínxán   ndukú   ɖá   alvañíɨ́ /
and over:there POT:look:for I:RES mason

  káɖá   vá 'há véhé   ɖá
  POT:do good   house   my:RES
And THERE I will look for masons (Sp. *albañil*) to build my house.

ínxán   ɖaɖá kwikonuú   ró   núyáhú   /
over:there then POT:walk:around we:IN marketplace

  kúndéhá   ró
  POT:look:at we:IN
THERE THEN we will walk around the marketplace to see (what there is to see).

káɖá vá 'há ró   méé ní   kú 'ñú vá 'há /
POT:do good   we:IN SPEC LIM meat   good

  ké 'é   shí 'tí   tkóo
  POT:enter stomach   tamale
We will make (them) with purely good (breast) meat to put inside the tamales.

tátnú   ɖichí   ínxán   xín   ndukú
errand:boy   unmarried:person   over:there   POT:go POT:look:for

  í 'tá / ndúkútú   kúrushí
  flower POT:become:tied   cross
THE TOWN ERRAND BOY, THAT BOY, will go to look for flowers to be tied on the crosses (Sp. *cruz*).

ɖá   káɖá   ró   ɨ́ín   í 'tá / xantuú   ró   altáár xesús
thus POT:do we:IN one   flower POT:put:on we:IN altar   Jesus
Thus we will make a flower to put on the altar (Sp. *altar*) of Jesus.

A juxtaposed subordinate time sentence gives a temporal setting for the main sentence. Its verb must be in continuative aspect, while the verb of the main sentence must be in some other aspect. In most cases the subject of the subordinate sentence is coreferential with the subject of the main

sentence. A subordinate time sentence can either follow or precede the main sentence.

With subordinate sentence following:

> *n-kíshí   sán   xoséé   shíhín   mariá / shíxán   yá   posadá*
> COM-come St.   Joseph with   Mary   CON:ask:for DEI   lodging
> St. (Sp. *san*) Joseph (Sp. *José*) and Mary (Sp. *María*) came asking for lodging (Sp. *posada*). (part of the Christmas celebration in Mexico)

> *ínxán   xwáhán tí   / shé   ndukú   tí*
> over:there INC:go   it:AML CON:go   POT:look:for it:AML
>
> *shá   káshí chilidáá kwechí   n-tá'hú*
> it:INAN POT:eat bird   small:PL COM-break
> THERE it (the mother bird) went looking for food for the newly hatched little birds.

> *n-sheé   ñá véhé / dashá   ñá í'tá*
> COM-arrive   she house CON:give she flower
> She arrived at the house giving out flowers.

> *kává   í   shá'hún kí'ú / yí'chí   í*
> POT:lie:down   UN fifteen   day   CON:be:dry UN
> They (the adobe bricks) will be laid out for fifteen days drying.

> *yáhá kútúú í / yá'há   í   vakasioón*
> here   POT:be UN CON:pass UN vacation
> He will be HERE for his vacation (Sp. *vacación*).

> (See also 7.8 and 7.40.)

With subordinate sentence preceding:

> *nda'hí dí'hí   í / n-shiní   ñáha   ñá*
> CON:cry mother   UN COM-see   KNO   she
> His mother was crying (when) she saw him.

> *kúdúhíni   tá'á   í / n-shé'tnáha ñáha té*
> CON:be:happy father   UN COM-meet   KNO he
> His father was happy (when) he met him (his son).

> *xúún   ñíí dókó / n-chídú'kú dá   delantárí dá*
> CON:be:produced skin vapor COM-wrap   I:RES apron   my:RES
> The placenta having been passed, I wrapped (it) in my apron (Sp. *delantal*).

The following examples show various embeddings.

>   *ndukú*   *yá*   *tndáka* / *n-kídá*   *vá'há yá*   *kulambrá* /
>   CON:look:for DEI   bee   COM-do   good DEI   hive
>
>   *n-kinéhé*   *yá*   *kú'ñú*
>   COM-take:out DEI   meat

Looking for bees, they made a hive (Sp. *enjambre*) (of the deer's carcass), (and) they took out the meat.

>   *shiká*   *ñá* / *xwáhán*   *ñá* / *nánduku*   *ñá*
>   CON:walk she   INC:go   she   POT:look:for:again she

Walking she went to look again (for him).

A juxtaposed subordinate location sentence contains a motion verb that expresses the direction of the action in the main sentence; the two verbs agree in aspect. The location sentence invariably follows the main sentence, and no subject is expressed, but it is always construed as having a subject coreferential with that of the main sentence.

>   *néhé*   *yá*   *kú'ñú* / *xwánú'hú*   *nú'ú dí'hí*   *yá*
>   CON:carry DEI   meat   INC:return:going face mother DEI

They were bringing the meat to their mother.

>   *néhé*   *í*   *tá* /   *xwándíshí*   *ndé yáhá*
>   CON:carry UN it:flower INC:return:coming until here

She was bringing the flowers here.

>   *kánéhé*   *dá*   *tá* /   *xí'hín*   *véñu'hú* *dómingú*
>   POT:carry I:RES it:flower POT:go   church   Sunday

I will take the flowers to church on Sunday.

>   *kúdúhíni*   *í* / *xwándíshí*   *íchí*
>   CON:be:happy UN INC:return:coming road
>
>   *shíhín* *tá'á* *í*   *shíhín* *dí'hí*   *í*
>   with   father UN with   mother UN

He was happy returning (home) on the road with his father and his mother.

>   *ndéká*   *ñáha navóór nú'ú kídá*   *tníú-s*   / *n-shehén*
>   COM:take KNO Nabor face CON:do   work-he:MS   COM-go

Nabor (Sp. *Nabor*) took me to where he works.

(See also 7.27.)

The location sentence usually expresses a destination, as in the above examples, but if the destination is clear from the context, it may be unexpressed.

> *kúdú 'kú   té   / xí 'hín*
> POT:be:tied he:ws POT:go
> He will go (to prison with his hands) tied (behind him).

In the following example, the direct object of the main sentence, which is a long indirect quotation, follows the subordinate location sentence.

> *shíá 'hán   nlí 'pé   / xwándíshí   / shá kutuú   í   véhé   í*
> CON:say   Philip:ws INC:return:coming CMP POT:be UN house UN
>
> *shíhín   fámiliá í   kí 'ú   vakasioón*
> with   family   UN day   vacation
> Philip says returning (home on the road) that he will be at home with his family (Sp. *familia*) during his vacation.

6.3 Direct Quotations

Direct quotations consist of three elements: the quotation itself, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation, which consists of one or more full sentences or fragments, must occur. Both the introducer and the closer are optional. Note that in the text in chapter seven no introducers or closers occur. Both the introducer and the closer consist of a verb of speaking, usually *xahán* 'to speak' or *shíá 'hán* 'to speak', its subject, and sometimes an addressee. Occasionally other information is included. The following sentences have a quotation introducer.

> *xahán   té   / orá   n-tá 'shí   té   / xúhún*
> CON:speak he:ws when COM-give he:ws IMP:take
>
> *ndátníú-ń   yá / ó 'hón vasú té   íín   tndó 'hó*
> possession-your:RES this five   glass and one   pitcher
> He was saying when he gave (it to me), "Take this prize of yours, five glasses (Sp. *vaso*) and a pitcher."

> *shíá 'hán   dí 'hí   yó 'ó / xí 'hín-ń   /*
> CON:speak mother moon   POT:go-you:RES
>
> *xínehé-ń   shá   káshí tá 'á-ń*
> POT:take-you:RES it:INAN POT:eat father-your:RES
> The moon's mother says to him, "Go, (and) take your father's food (to him)."

ngándii   shíhín   yó'ó   xahán   / *xó'ón* /   *xí'hín   dá*
sun   with   moon   CON:speak yes   POT:go I:RES
THE SUN AND THE MOON say, "Yes, we will go."

ndátnú'hú   ngándii shíhín   yó'ó /   *kánhní ró*
CON:chat   sun   with   moon   POT:kill we:IN
The sun and the moon say to each other, "We will kill (him)."

n-xahán   kú'ñú /   *shásh   ún   yɨ̵   ún*
COM-speak   meat   CON:eat   you:FAM:WS   husband   your:FAM:WS
The meat said, "You are eating your husband."

shí'ántnaha   í / *í'di   ní   véhé   xéró'ñú n-ká   ni'hí ró*
CON:converse   UN one   LIM   house   Jerry   COM-PL gain   we:IN

   piñatá
   piñata
They were saying to each other, "ONLY AT JERRY'S HOUSE did we have
a piñata (Sp. *piñata*)."

orá   íó   dá'ú /   *xahán   ñá'yíu* /
when   CON:exist rain   CON:speak people

   vá'shí   ndúté ianyúúsh
   INC:come water   God
When the rains come, the people say, "The water of God is coming."

Several sentences may follow a single quotation introducer.

n-sheé   ñá   ínxán   / *kaná   ñá* / *shákwe'e* / *shákwe'e* /
COM-arrive she over:there   CON:call she   Shakwee   Shakwee

   né'hé / *né'hé* // *ñá   yó'ó   ún* // *násh kúú   shá*
   IMP:come IMP:come NEG CON:exist you:FAM what CON:be CMP

   ñá   yó'ó   ún
   NEG   CON:exist you:FAM:WS
She arrived there, calling, "Shakwee (mythical deer), Shakwee, come,
come! You aren't (here). Why is it that you aren't (here)?"

A direct quotation may be embedded within another direct quotation.

shíá'hán	*ñá*	*ɖá'hyá*	*ñá*	/	*ná*	*kwendá*	*xahán*	*kú'ñú*	/
CON:speak	she	child	her		what	account	CON:speak	meat	

shásh	*ún*	*yɨ́*	*ún*		// *mash'kú*	*ɖá*
CON:eat	you:FAM:WS	husband	your:FAM:WS		NEG:HORT	thus

kásh	*ún*
POT:eat	you:FAM:WS

She says to her children, "Why does the meat say, 'You are eating your husband. Don't eat this way!'?"

Occasionally the quotation introducer is less than a complete sentence; in the following example, only a subordinate time sentence (see §6.2.2) occurs.

násheé	*ñá*	*véhé*	*ñá*	/	*ná*	*kwendá*	*n-shanhní*
COM:arrive	she	house	her		what	account	COM-kill

ún	*tá'á*	*ún*
you:FAM:WS	father	your:FAM:WS

Having arrived at her house, (she said,) "Why did you kill your father?"

In the present data, quotation closers are less frequent than quotation introducers, and some speakers use them more often than others.

ná	*yá'há*	*sémaná*	*santá*	/	*nákáɖá*	*tníú*	*ró*	/
when	POT:pass	week	holy		POT:do	work	we:IN	

xahán	*ɖú'tú*
CON:speak	priest

"When Holy (Sp. *santa*) Week (Sp. *semana*) is over, we will work again," says the priest.

xó'ón	/	*vilí*	*káá*	/	*ká*	*xahán*	*ñáɖɨhí*	*xán*
yes		pretty	CON:appear		PL	CON:speak	woman	that

"Yes, (it) is pretty," say those women.

Sometimes the closer contains a reduced equative sentence identifying the speaker. In the first example below, a verb of speech occurs as a relative clause modifying the subject of *kúú* 'to be (continuative)', and in the second one, a juxtaposed sentence occurs, with a verb of speech in the second part.

násh   kúú   ñá'há / núsh   xwéén-ń   íín   ngútú /
what   CON:be no   if   POT:buy-you:FAM:MS   one   ox

ná   káá-ŕ   shíhín   dí'hí-ŕ   / té   nakandeká
HORT POT:eat-I:FAM with   mother-my:FAM   and   POT:take:again

ñáha-ŕ   / xí'hín / kúú   ñá'ú   yú'té   shíá'hán
KNO-I:FAM   POT:go   CON:be eagle   river   CON:speak

"Why not, if you will buy an ox, so that I may eat (it) with my
mother, and (then) I will take you," (it) was the river eagle that said
(it).

ñá   túú   ná   shá   n-kídá-ŕ   / kúú   í / shíá'hán   í
NEG CON:be what it:INAN COM-do-I:FAM CON:be UN CON:speak UN
"I didn't do anything;" he was (the one); he said.

The following example contains both an introducer and a closer.

shíá'hán   ñá'ú   yú'té   xán   kuné'né-ń   / chí
CON:speak eagle   river   that   POT:shut:eye-you:RES because

dánaa   xúngava-ń   / kúú   tí / shíá'hán   tí
suddenly POT:fall:off-you:RES CON:be it:AML CON:speak it:AML
The river eagle said, "Shut your eyes because you might suddenly
fall," it was (the eagle); it said (it).

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 coordinate conjunctions, adverbs, one
subordinate conjunction, and complex sentential markers.

The coordinate conjunctions that occur in sentence-initial position are *té*
'and', *kó* 'but', *ó* (Sp. *o*) 'or', *á* 'or', and *ní* (Sp. *ni*) 'nor'.

When *té* occurs in this position, it often signals temporal sequence, and
I have translated it 'and then', but it may also introduce information that
is not central to the discourse context, in which case I have translated it
'and'.[8]

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[8]The native speaker who dictated this text consistently distinguished these two uses
when she provided a Spanish translation. She left the temporal sequence use
untranslated, and used *y* for information not central to the discourse context.

nóviembré   *ú'shí*   /   *kí'ú*   *ú'shí*   *nóviembré*   /   *đáá*   /
November   ten   day   ten   November   that:time

   n-kakú   *đá'hyá đá*   // *té*   *kí'ú*   *ú'shí*   *ú'ú*   *disiembré* /
   COM-be:born   child   my:RES   and day   ten   two   December

   kí'ú   *shuhún*   *gwadalupé* / *đáá*   / *n-shéndute*   *í*
   day   CON:?   Guadalupe   that:time   COM-be:baptized   UN

NOVEMBER (Sp. *noviembre*) TENTH, THE TENTH OF NOVEMBER, THAT DAY,
my child was born. And then ON THE TWELFTH OF DECEMBER (Sp.
diciembre), GUADALUPE (Sp. *Guadalupe*) DAY, THAT DAY, she was
baptized.

nú   *n-tú'ú*   /   *đá*   *nú'ú*   *mí'hí*   *káá*   *tí*   // *té*
when   COM-da\vn   thus   face   garbage   CON:lie   it:AML   and

   n-kí'ú   *ñá'ñá*   *kúralí*   *ró*   / *té*   *n-shanhní*   *tí*
   COM:enter   coyote   corral   our:IN   and   COM-kill   it:AML

   tkáchi   *ró*   / *té*   *néhé*   *tí*   *íín*   *tkólelu*   *luchí*   *shá*
   sheep   our:IN   and   COM:carry   it:AML   one   lamb   small:SG   CMP

   shé'hé   *kwechí*   *okeí*   *đé*   *shíhín*   *parís*   *đé*   / *shá*
   foot   fault   Okay   that:near   with   Paris   that:near   CMP

   ñá   *n-shó*   *ndi'xún*   *tí*
   NEG   COM-HAB   be:tied   it:AML

When it dawned, THUS (as we said) it (the dog) was lying IN THE
GARBAGE. And a coyote (had) entered our corral, and it (had) killed
our sheep, and it (had) taken a little lamb on account of the fault of
that Okay and that Paris (dogs), because they weren't tied up (at the
corral).

   In the following example, which comprises a significant fragment of a
text about making tortillas, both uses of *té* occur. The sequential use is
found only in the sentences that are central to the discourse context.

kádá	*vá 'há*	*đá*	*ndéyú*	*ná*	*káshđénhñú*	*đá 'hyá đá*	//
POT:do	good	I:RES	meal	HORT	POT:eat:dinner	child my:RES	

té	*náxíní*	*đá*	*trashtí*	*đá*	//	*té*	*natihú*	*đá*
and	POT:wash	I:RES	dish	my:RES		and	POT:sweep	I:RES

véhé	*đá*	*kushiná*	*đá*	//	*té*	*xí 'hín*	*đá*	/	*xín*
house	my:RES	kitchen	my:RES		and	POT:go	I:RES		POT:go

núkáte	*đá*	*đánhmá*	*đá 'hyá đá*	//	*té*	*nsheé*	*đá*	/
POT:wash	I:RES	cloth	child my:RES		and	POT:arrive	I:RES	

xándóđó	*đá*	*káfeé*	/	*káshđíní*	*đá 'hyá đá*	/	*ná 'đá*
POT:put:on	I:RES	coffee		POT:eat:supper	child my:RES		lest

yó	*kúneé*	/	*té*	*má 'yó í*	*káshđíní*	*í*	//	*kí 'đí*
INTS	CON:be:dark		and	no	UN POT:eat:supper	UN		POT:sleep

kóyó í	//	*té*	*nsheé*	*yii*	*đá*	//	*té*	*xánñáhá*
PL UN		and	POT:arrive	husband	my:RES		and	POT:hit

té	/	*nushá*	*má*	*xúñáha*	*đá*	*shá*	*káshđíní*
he:ws		if	NEG	POT:give	I:RES	it:INAN	POT:eat:supper

kóyó	*đá 'hyá*	*đá*
PL	child	my:RES

I will make the dinner in order that my children may eat. And I will wash the dishes (Sp. *traste*). And I will sweep the house (and) the kitchen house (Sp. *cocina*). And I will go wash my children's clothes. And then (when) I get back (home), I will put on the coffee in order that my children may eat supper, lest it be very dark, and none of them will eat. They will go to sleep. And my husband will come home. And then he will hit me if I don't give my children their supper.

The antithetical conjunction *kó* 'but' also occurs in sentence-initial position when the sentence expresses contrast with the preceding discourse context. The following text fragment contains two instances of *kó*. The contrast expressed in the first instance is found in the cultural context, rather than in the discourse context. A baptized baby that has died is believed to be safe in heaven, as stated in the final sentence of the fragment, and the mother's sadness is in contrast to this, rather than to the mere fact of the child's death.

té   n-shí'hí   í //   kó   tnáu'híní   đá   shá   shé'hé   í /
and COM-die   UN   but   CON:be:sad I:RES CMP foot   UN

shá   ñá'tú n-shó   túú í   ñúñá'yíu // ñá   túú   ká
because NEG   COM-HAB be UN world   NEG CON:be ADD

ná   muđú // tnáu'híní đá   shá   shé'hé í //   kó ádi'chí
what way   CON:be:sad I:RES CMP foot   UN   but she

shá   n-shí'hí // shá   xwánú'hú   í   ándiu
already COM-die   already INC:return:going UN heaven

And then she died. But I am sad on her account because she didn't
ever live in the world. There's nothing (that I can do) (Sp. *modo*). I
am sad on her account. But SHE has already died. Already she is
returning to heaven.

In the present data the Spanish loan conjunction *ó* 'or' occurs only twice
in sentence-initial position, and for some speakers, the native *á* 'or' does
not occur there. Compare this situation with the use of these conjunctions
in sentence-medial position, described in §6.1.1, where *á* is rare, and *ó* does
not occur.

nđaá shá   kwaá íó   yó'ó   ká shehén téyii   yúkú   //
all   it:INAN blind CON:exist moon PL CON:go man:WS mountain

ó   xwiní   ñá   túú   yó'ó / kó   ndíí   chuđí'ní
or   although NEG CON:be moon   but CON:shine   star

EVERY NIGHT (THAT) THERE IS (A) MOON, the men go to the mountains.
Or even though there isn't (a) moon, the stars are shining.

vá'há kandú tló'tí   shá   kóhó   ñá'yíu ndúlokó   //
good soup   buzzard CMP POT:drink people COM:become:crazy

ó   káshí   í   kú'ñú tí   // ó   kóhó   í   ndúté tavakú
or   POT:eat UN meat   its:AML or POT:drink UN water tobacco

shíhín ndúté   axú   / ndúté   mínó   ñúđaú
with   water   garlic water   specific:herb land:rain

Buzzard soup (Sp. *caldo*) is good for people who have rabies to
drink. Or they (can) eat its (the buzzard's) meat. Or they (can) drink
an infusion of tobacco (Sp. *tabaco*) with an infusion of garlic (Sp.
ajo) and an infusion of a specific herb (that grows) in the land of
the rain (the land of the Mixtec people).

(See also 7.11–12, 7.17–18, and 7.20–21.)

The conjunction *ní* 'nor' sometimes occurs in sentence-initial position.

vítná   n-shiní   đá   víkó   ñú'ú đá   // ndú'shí   má   kutuú
now   COM-see   I:RES fiesta town my:RES next:year   NEG   POT:be

đá // xí'hín   đá   ñú'kóhyo //ní   má   xí'ní   ká   đá
I:RES POT:go   I:RES Mexico:City nor   NEG   POT:see   ADD   I:RES

NOW I have seen my town's fiesta. NEXT YEAR I will not be (here). I
am going to Mexico City. Nor will I see (the fiesta then).

nání   sháá   đá / ni'hí   đá   // ní   ñá   túú   ná
as   CON:eat I:RES CON:gain I:RES nor   NEG   CON:be what

tviní   đá   // ñá   túú   ná   đánhmá vá'há   đá   //
money   my:RES NEG   CON:be what cloth   good   my:RES

ní   ñá   túú   ná   sápatú đá
nor   NEG   CON:be what shoe   my:RES

As I eat, I gain. (I get only enough to eat from my fields.) Nor do I
have any money. I don't have any good clothes. Nor do I have shoes
(Sp. *zapato*).

The adverbs in focus position (see §1.1.8) that commonly occur with a
discourse-linking function are: *vítná* 'now', *dađá* 'then', and *ínxán* 'over
there', which sometimes means 'and then'.

With *vítná*:

vítná   vá'shí   đá'ú // kaná   đá'ú // kíshí   đá'ú ñíñí   //
now   INC:come rain   CON:call rain   POT:come rain hail

n-kaná   yá   đó   đí'kí // n-kaná   yá   đó   ní'ná //
COM-call DEI   direction head   COM-call DEI   direction ?

té   vásh   xúún   đá'ú // vítná vá'há   tiempú /
and   INC:come CON:be:produced rain   now   good   time

vá'shí   đá'ú / chí   kíshí   kosechá ró   // vítná kắđá
INC:come rain   because POT:come crop   our:IN now   POT:do

kosecharí   ró   // đáke'é   ró   tá'tá   đá'ú
reap   we:IN POT:plant we:IN seed   rain

NOW the rain is coming. It is thundering. The hail will come. It
thundered in the west. It thundered in the east. And the rain will
fall. NOW the time is good; the rain is coming because our crops (Sp.
cosecha) will come. NOW we will reap (a harvest) (Sp. *cosechar*). We
will plant rainy-season seed.

(See also 7.72–74.)

With *dadá:*

> *xí'hín   dá / xín   ndukú   tníú   dá //*
> POT:go   I:RES POT:go POT:look:for   work   I:RES

>> *dadá ndíshí   ntúku   dá   ndé   shá   kúú*
>> then   POT:return:coming   REP   I:RES until it:INAN CON:be

>> *karnavaál   ndú'shí*
>> Carnival   next:year

I'm going to look for work. THEN I will return again even at next year's Carnival.

> *kádá   kumplirí té   kúkúú té   musíká   / ndé   ná*
> POT:do   complete he:ws POT:be he:ws band:member   until when

>> *kú'ú   té   // dadá dándoó   té*
>> POT:die he:ws then   POT:leave   he:ws

He will fulfill (his job as) a member of the town band until he dies. THEN he (can) leave (it).

With *ínxán:*

> *n-sheén   dá   íín   mííl   texá   // ínxán   n*
> COM-buy   I:RES one thousand roof:tile over:there POT:go

>> *kwídó   dá // ínxán   n-sheén   dá   ú'ní   sientú*
>> POT:carry I:RES over:there   COM-buy   I:RES three   hundred

>> *íín   mííl   xán / shá kádá   vá'há   dá   véhé //*
>> one   thousand   that CMP POT:do good   I:RES house

>> *ndukú   dá   machú   mulá   burú   /*
>> POT:look:for   I:RES he:mule   she:mule donkey

>> *shá   n   kwídó   tí   texá*
>> CMP POT:go POT:carry it:AML roof:tile

I bought a thousand (Sp. *mil*) roof tiles (Sp. *teja*). THERE I will go to carry (them home). THERE I bought for three hundred (Sp. *ciento*) (pesos) a thousand of those (tiles) in order that I may build a house. I will look for mules (Sp. *macho, mula*) and donkeys (Sp. *burro*) in order that they may carry the tiles.

n-sheé   prinsesá // ínxán   ndátnúhú
COM-arrive   princess   over:there CON:chat

sé   kúú   dveñú xán shíhín prinsesá xán
he:MS CON:be owner that   with   princess that
The princess arrived. Then the one who was the owner (Sp. *dueño*)
was chatting with that princess.[9]

íó   dá'hyá dá   // íín   dichí   nání
CON:exist child   my:RES one   unmarried:person CON:be:named

paskwal // íó   í   ú'shí kwiá ná n-kéé   í   véhé
Pascual   CON:exist UN ten   year when COM-leave UN house

dá // vítná íó   ú'ní kwiá túú   í   ñúkóhyo   //
my:RES now   CON:exist three year CON:be UN Mexico:City

ínxán   kídá   tníú í   ñúkóhyo // ínxán   yíhí
over:there CON:do work UN Mexico:City over:there CON:be:in

í   shkwelá nú'ú nání   kalsadá xaviér mexiá //
UN school   face CON:be:named   Calzada Xavier Mejía

ínxán   yíhí   dá'hyá dá   shkwelá
over:there CON:be:in child   my:RES school
I have children. One son is named Pascual (Sp. *Pascual*). He was ten
years old when he left home. NOW for three years he has been in
Mexico City. THERE he is working in Mexico City. THERE he attends
a school in (the place) called Calzada Xavier Mejía (Sp. *Calzada
Xavier Mejía*). THERE my son attends school.

(See also 7.68–70.)

The subordinate conjunction that occurs in sentence-initial position is *chí*
'because'. An example of this use of *chí* is found in 7.51–52, where the
sentence introduced by *chí* gives a reason for the prohibition in the
previous sentence, which is expressed indirectly by means of a question.
Note that the sentence with *chí* also has a focused locative adjunct
expressed by the adverb *ínxán* 'over there'.

There are a number of complex sentential markers that commonly occur
in sentence-initial position: *shínxán kúú shá* or *shínxán shá* 'therefore', *méé
ní shá* 'it's purely that', *méé ngá shá* 'it's just that', *díkʋ shá* 'it's only that',

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[9]The native speaker who dictated this text consistently distinguished between the
locative and temporal uses of *ínxán* when he provided a Spanish translation. He left
the locative use untranslated, and he used *y* or *luego* for the temporal use.

and *vítná kúú shá* 'now it is that'. Occasionally two markers occur in the same sentence.

n-kí   kaní   té   té   đíú'shí //   méé ní   tnúshíi
COM-come POT:hit he:ws he:ws   Diuxi   SPEC LIM   gun

xántnáhá   té   // shínxán   kúú   shá / orá   n-kídá
CON:fight   he:ws   that:thing CON:be   CMP   when   COM-do

té   pás /   té   n-shántuu té   íín   moxonerá
he:ws   peace and COM-place he:ws   one   boundary:marker

They (the men of Tidaa) came to fight the men of Diuxi. PURELY WITH GUNS they were fighting each other. Therefore when they made peace (Sp. *paz*), they put up a boundary marker (Sp. *mojonera*) (on the line between the two towns).

n-kídá   xanarí đá   // ndó'ó   ká   đá   shíhín   shá'hún
COM-do   gain   I:RES   CON:remain ADD I:RES with   fifteen

sentaú // shínxán   kúú   shá ndaá tiempú névahá   đá
centavo   that:thing CON:be   CMP all   time   CON:guard I:RES

tndó'hó / chí   shínxán   kúú   íín   sverté vá'há /
pitcher   because that:thing CON:be one   luck   good

chí   ni'hí   đá   ndátníú   đá   / xahán
because COM:gain I:RES possession my:RES   CON:speak

tó'hó   xán
stranger that

I won (Sp. *ganar*)! I still had fifteen cents (Sp. *centavo*)! Therefore I have ALWAYS kept the pitcher because that was good luck (Sp. *suerte*) because I got my possession (prize), that stranger said.

méé í   shíá'hán   shá kúđí ñá // shínxán   shá ñá
SPEC UN CON:speak CMP lazy she   that:thing CMP NEG

túú   káfeé // ní   ñá   koxón   ká   í
CON:be coffee   nor NEG CON:be:hungry ADD UN

HE says that she is lazy. Therefore there isn't (any) coffee. Nor is he hungry (any) more.

ñá'tú kúyodó   / shá kwahá   vá'há / méé ní   tndú'ú /
NEG   CON:be:flat CMP POT:be:able good SPEC LIM hill

    méé ní   dé'hvá // méé ní   shá náchítnú
    SPEC LIM canyon   SPEC LIM CMP CON:gather:again

    dá   yú'ú yútnú
    I:RES rock tree

(This land) isn't level in order that (it) may produce well; (it's) purely hills, purely canyons. It's purely that I terrace (it) with rocks (and) trees.

n-shó   shiká   shé'hé tá'á   dá   yáhá shíhín ndé
COM-HAB CON:walk foot   father my:RES here with   until

    núndúa   // ñá   túú   kareterá / ñá   túú   kamióón //
    Oaxaca:City NEG CON:be highway NEG CON:be truck

    shínxán   kúú   shá méé ní   shá
    that:thing CON:be CMP SPEC LIM CMP

    n-shó   shiká   shé'hé té
    COM-HAB CON:walk foot   he:ws

My father traveled on foot from here to Oaxaca City. There were no highways (Sp. *carretera*); there were no trucks (Sp. *camión*). Therefore it's purely that he traveled on foot.

(See also 7.32–33, 7.43–44, and 7.49–50.)

7

Text

7.1 *shásh   konexó ndúchí*
CON:eat rabbit bean
The rabbit (Sp. *conejo*) was eating beans.[10]

7.2 *đúhá ní   shé   kotó-s*
thus LIM   CON:go POT:examine-he:MS
And so he (the man) went to look at (his beanfield).

7.3 *té   n-sheé-s*
and   COM-arrive-he:MS
And he arrived.

7.4 *ñutuú   konexó*
CON:be:in rabbit
The rabbit had been in (the beanfield).

7.5 *té   shehén-s   / shá xantuú-s   solndadó*
and   CON:go-he:MS   CMP POT:place-he:MS soldier

    ñú 'á   ñú 'ñú   kwechí
    wax   bee   small:PL
So he went in order to set up a soldier (Sp. *soldado*) (made of) beeswax (the "tar baby").

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[10]Note that many of the sentences in the following text are relatively short and very few begin with *té* 'and'. Note also the absence of quotation introducers and closers. For a fuller discussion of this narrative style, see Oram and Todd (n.d.)

7.6 *té   n-sheé-s*   / *shántuu-s*   *solndadó*
     and COM-arrive-he:MS   CON:place-he:MS   soldier
     And he arrived, putting the tar baby in place.

7.7 *té   n-sheé   konexó*
     and COM-arrive rabbit
     And the rabbit arrived.

7.8 *n-sheé   konexó / shíá 'hán   tí*
     COM-arrive   rabbit   CON:speak   it:AML
     The rabbit arrived, speaking (to the tar baby).

7.9 *násh   kídá-n   ú / sé   luchí*
     what CON:do-you:FAM:MS INT   he:MS small:SG
     "What are you doing, little one?

7.10 *nú   ñá   xahán-n   ú*
     why NEG CON:speak-you:FAM:MS INT
     Why don't you talk?

7.11 *xahán-ń   / á   ñá 'há ú*
     POT:speak-you:FAM:MS or NEG   INT
     Will you talk or not?

7.12 *á   kwé 'ñí-ŕ   íín   á*
     or   POT:kick-I:FAM one   INT
     Or shall I give you a kick?"

7.13 *n-shé 'ñí   konexó íín*
     COM-kick   rabbit   one
     The rabbit gave (him) a kick.

7.14 *n-tníí   ní   í   shé 'hé tí*
     COM-grasp LIM UN foot   its:AML
     It grabbed his foot!

7.15 *núda   shé 'hé-ŕ   n-tníí-n   ú*
     why   foot-my:FAM   COM-grasp-you:FAM:MS INT
     "Why are you holding MY FOOT?

7.16 *dayaá*
     POT:release
     Let go!

7.17 *dayaá   shé 'hé-ŕ*
     POT:release foot-my:FAM
     Let go of my foot!

7.18   *á*   *kwé'ñí*   *ká-ŕ*   *íín*   *á*
       or   POT:kick   ADD-I:FAM   one   INT
       Or shall I give you another kick?"

7.19   *n-shé'ñí*   *tí*
       COM-kick   it:AML
       The rabbit gave him a kick.

7.20   *dayaá*   *shé'hé-ŕ*
       POT:release   foot-my:FAM
       "Let go of my foot!

7.21   *á*   *kaní-ŕ*   *íín*   *á*
       or   POT:hit-I:FAM   one   INT
       Or shall I sock you one?"

7.22   *n-kaní*   *tí*   *íín*   *ngá*
       COM-hit   it:AML   one   just
       The rabbit socked him one for the last time.

7.23   *n-tníí*   *ní*   *í*   *ndáhá*   *tí*
       COM-grasp   LIM   UN   hand   its:AML
       It grabbed his hand!

7.24   *kí'ú*   *kúú*   *ú'ú*   *n-sheé*   *stóhó*   *ndúchí*
       day   CON:be   two   COM-arrive   owner   bean
       THE NEXT DAY the owner of the beanfield arrived.

7.25   *ndohó*   *ní*   *shásh*   *ndúchí-ŕ*
       you:FAM:MS   LIM   CON:eat   bean-my:FAM
       "YOU are the one who is eating my beans!"

7.26   *n-tníí-s*   *konexó*
       COM-grasp-he:MS   rabbit
       He grabbed the rabbit.

7.27   *ndéká-s*   *tí*   /   *xwáhán ndé*   *véhé-s*
       CON:take-he:MS   it:AML   INC:go   until   house-his:MS
       He took him to his house.

7.28   *xándódó-s*   *nté*   *ínhní*
       CON:put-he:MS   it:LIQ   hot
       He put water (on the fire) to boil.

7.29   *n-chítuú-s*   *tí*   *shí'tí*   *ñúnú*
       COM-put:in-he:MS   it:AML   stomach   net
       He put (the rabbit) in a net bag.

7.30 *n-sheé*   *ñá 'ñá*
COM-arrive   coyote
The coyote arrived.

7.31 *násh   kídá-ń*   *yá   ú   / sé   luchí*
what   CON:do-you:FAM:MS   here   INT   he:MS   small:SG
"What are you doing here, little one?"

7.32 *tnúndáha-ŕ*
POT:marry-I:FAM
"I'm getting married.

7.33 *dikó   shá   shánhnú   ñádihí-ŕ*
only   CMP   CON:be:mature   woman-my:FAM
It's only that my woman is an old one."

7.34 *ndé   kí'ú   tnúndáha-n   ú*
which   day   POT:marry-you:FAM:MS   INT
"When are you getting married?"

7.35 *tné'é*
tomorrow
"Tomorrow!

7.36 *kúniní   shá   kándé*
POT:listen   it:INAN   CON:sound
Listen; it (the bell) is ringing (for the wedding fiesta)!"

7.37 *tákáné*
IMP:POT:get:out
"Get out!

7.38 *ná   sheé   méé-ŕ*
HORT   POT:arrive   SPEC-I:FAM
Let me go (in your place)!"

7.39 *n-ké'é   ñá'ñá*
COM-enter   coyote
The coyote got in (the net bag).

7.40 *n-sheé-s   / néhé-s   nté   ínhní*
COM-arrive-he:MS   CON:carry-he:MS   it:LIQ   hot
He (the owner of the beanfield) arrived carrying the hot water.

7.41 *násh   kúú   shá   ñutuú   yá*
what   CON:be   it:INAN   CON:be:in   here
"What do we have here?"

7.42 đá   ñá'ñá   ñutuú
thus   coyote CON:be:in
It was THE COYOTE.

7.43 n-shođó   ní-s   nté   ínhní yá'tá   ñá'ñá
COM-pour LIM-he:MS it:LIQ hot   back   coyote
He poured the boiling water down the coyote's back.

7.44 méé   ngá   shá   kaná   shíin tí
SPEC just CMP   CON:call loud it:AML
Did the coyote howl!

7.45 vítná   vítná n-sháhnde tí   yóhó ñúnú
now   now   COM-break it:AML   rope net
IMMEDIATELY the coyote broke the net.

7.46 xwán   lokó tí
INC:go crazy it:AML
Wildly (Sp. loco) it fled.

7.47 n-shé   núnduku   tí   konexó
COM-go POT:look:for it:AML   rabbit
He went to look for the rabbit.

7.48 náníñá'há   tí
COM:find   it:AML
He found (him).

7.49 ndohó   n-đándahú   ñáha
you:FAM:MS   COM-deceive KNO
"YOU deceived me!

7.50 vítná   kúú   shá   káshí   áhan-ŕ
now   CON:be CMP   POT:eat   KNO-I:FAM
NOW it is that I'll eat you."

7.51 násh   kúú   shá   káshí   áhan-ń
what   CON:be CMP   POT:eat   KNO-you:FAM:MS
"What do you mean you're going to eat me?

7.52 chí   ínxán   katúú đí'kí tkáchi
because over:there   CON:lie head sheep
BECAUSE OVER THERE lies a sheep's head (for you to eat)."

7.53 xwáhán ñá'ñá
INC:go coyote
The coyote went (over to look).

7.54 *n-sheé   tí*
COM-arrive   it:AML
He arrived.

7.55 *n-dá 'xínyuhu tí*
COM-grab   it:AML
He grabbed it in his mouth.

7.56 *n-ká   núú   ní   yó 'kó*
COM-PL   descend   LIM   wasp
Wasps came out!

7.57 *lokó   n-ká   túú   ñáha tí*
crazy COM-PL puncture KNO   it:AML
They stung him TERRIBLY!

7.58 *n-kéndava ñá 'ñá*
COM-run   coyote
The coyote ran away.

7.59 *n-sheé   tí   nú 'ú nukóó konexó*
COM-arrive   it:AML face CON:sit rabbit
He arrived where the rabbit was sitting down.

7.60 *ndohó   n-dándahú   ñáha*
you:FAM:MS COM-deceive   KNO
"YOU deceived me!"

7.61 *ñá   shiní   dá*
NEG CON:know I:RES
"I don't know (anything about it).

7.62 *ú 'shá ñá 'ní   dá   íó*
seven brother:ME my:RES CON:exist
I have SEVEN BROTHERS.

7.63 *ñá   shiní   dá*
NEG CON:know I:RES
I don't know (anything about it)."[11]

7.64 *n-shí 'hí   ñá 'ñá*
COM-die   coyote
The coyote died.

---

[11]Rabbit shifted from the familiar first person singular pronoun to the respect pronoun in order to convince coyote that he was not the rabbit who had tricked him previously.

7.65 *kúvete   konexó*
CON:be:happy   rabbit
The rabbit was happy.

7.66 *n-kakú-ŕ*
COM-escape-I:FAM
"I've escaped!

7.67 *ná   xín   ndukú   ró   shá   káá   ró*
HORT POT:go POT:look:for we:IN it:INAN POT:eat we:IN
Let's go look for something to eat."[12]

7.68 *chídó   ndíxún ñáha ñá'ú   yú'té*
CON:spread:out   behind KNO eagle   river
An eagle chased him to the river.

7.69 *ínxán   xwán   ndɨ'ú   tí   ká   yú'ú*
over:there INC:go POT:enter:again it:AML hip   stone
THERE the rabbit hid under a rock.

7.70 *ínxán   yukú   kó'ó*
over:there CON:be:piled:up snake
THERE a snake was coiled.

7.71 *n-tnɨ́ɨ́   ñáha tí*
COM-grasp KNO it:AML
The snake grabbed him.

7.72 *n-shí'hí konexó*
COM-die rabbit
The rabbit died.[13]

7.73 *n-sheé   ká   tí*
COM-arrive ADD it:AML
Another rabbit arrived.

7.74 *vítná / ñá'ní-ŕ   / ná   xɨ́'hín-ŕ*
now   brother:ME-my:FAM   HORT POT:go-I:FAM
"NOW, my brother, let me go!

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[12]Note the use of the we inclusive pronoun for soliloquy; some speakers do not, however, accept this. It is rather like the joking form used in English, "me, myself, and I."

[13]Note that not only the villain but also the hero is punished in some way. This is typical of Diuxi-Tilantongo folktales.

7.75 *n-shí'hí-ń*
COM-die-you:FAM:MS
You have died.

7.76 *ná   kwikonuú-ŕ*
HORT   POT:walk:around-I:FAM
Let me wander!

7.77 *nú   n-shí'hí-ŕ   / á   n-kakú-ŕ*
if   COM-die-I:FAM   or COM-escape-I:FAM
If I die, I die; if I live, I live."[14] (lit. If I died or I escaped.)

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[14]This sentence does not fit the analysis developed in this sketch. It appears to be a formulaic proverbial saying. Compare it with the contrafactual construction described in §6.2.1.