Studies in the
Syntax of Mixtecan Languages
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Abbreviations

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

A Syntactic Sketch of Yosondúa Mixtec

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Contents

Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Yosondúa Mixtec is spoken by approximately 7,000 people living under the jurisdiction of the municipal center of Santiago Yosondúa, in the district of Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca, Mexico. Spanish is spoken in the town center and in some of the outlying settlements, but Mixtec is spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of Cañada de Galicia, Buena Vista, Atalaya, Alacrán, Primavera, Plumas, Vergel, and Guajelotes.

Because Yosondúa is served by a truck road and functions as a commercial center for a number of surrounding towns, Yosondúa Mixtec is understood over a much wider area, which includes Santo Domingo Ixcatlán, Santa María Yolotepec, Yolotepec de la Paz, Santa Cruz Tacahua, and San Miguelito Ixcatlán, all located to the east of Yosondúa; Santa Catarina Cuanana, San Mateo Yucutindoo, and Santiago Amoltepec, all located to the south; and Chalcatongo de Hidalgo and San Miguel el Grande, both located to the north.

Yosondúa Mixtec shows some internal variation. In the area to the north bordering San Miguel el Grande and Chalcatongo, *u* is replaced by *o* in many words, and in the area to the east bordering Santo Domingo Ixcatlán, Yolotepec de la Paz, and Santa María Yolotepec, *Nn* is replaced by *ch*.

Because of the primary school system, which has been in the area for more than fifty years, and because many Mixtecs have spent time working away from the area, there exists a high degree of bilingualism. More and more people are speaking Spanish because of these factors, but in the

outlying areas, Mixtec remains the language of preference for communication within the group, and children learn Mixtec as their first language.

This study is based on data gathered during fieldwork in Yosondúa beginning in 1969. The principal language associate was Juventino Martínez Cruz. The text in chapter 7 was recorded on tape in February 1979 by Bernardino Martínez, a resident of Atalaya; he was then about seventy-five years old. Many of the examples were drawn from a concordance of texts compiled in 1970 on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, supported (in part) by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

0.2 Phonology

Yosondúa Mixtec has the following consonants and vowels: voiceless stops and affricate *p t ch k kw*, prenasalized stops and affricate *mb nd nj ng*, voiceless fricatives *s sy sh shy x*, voiced fricatives *v d*, simple nasals *m n ñ*, preaspirated nasals *Nn Ññ*, liquids *l r*, semivowels *w y*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop), oral vowels *i e i a u o*, and nasalized vowels *in in an on un*. The consonant *b* is also found in Spanish loanwords.

There are three tones: high (written with acute accent), mid (written with macron), and low (unmarked). This variety of Mixtec exhibits extensive tone sandhi, in which the basic tone of words is changed after certain other words. The tones written in this sketch are the basic tones, not the surface tones that result from the application of sandhi rules.

This variety of Mixtec is characterized by many fast-speech rules in which underlying forms with two syllables, especially those with the shape CVV, are reduced to a single syllable when they do not receive phrase stress. In this sketch the longer forms are written.

0.3 Bibliography

Farris, Ed. 1981. Yosondúa Mixtec Kinship Terms. In *Proto Otomanguean Kinship*, edited by William R. Merrifield, pp. 193–97. International Museum of Cultures, Publication 11. Dallas: International Museum of Cultures.

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Basic Sentences

1.1 Statements

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

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

> *Nnāa*
> CON:quake
> There is an earthquake. (lit. It is quaking.)

> *ndīī*
> CON:dawn
> It is dawning.

kɨhvɨ
CON:be:dark
It is dark.

kūñāā
CON:get:dark
It is getting dark.

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

chaa   rí
CON:arrive:here I:FAM
I am coming.

kíshī   rá
CON:sleep you:FAM
You are sleeping.

kátúú   dā
CON:lie   he
He is lying down.

kúhu   ī
CON:be:sick GEN
The child is sick.

xínū   taxa
CON:run flash
It is lightning. *or* Lightning is flashing.

(See also 7.6, 7.19, 7.21, 7.45, and 7.47.)

A subject may, however, be unexpressed if it can be supplied from the discourse context; two examples are found in 7.21 and 7.28.

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

xíhí   tī   ndūchā
CON:drink it:AML water
The animal is drinking water.

shíkó   ñā   nūni
CON:sell she   corn
She is selling corn.

ñúhū   ī   shndīkị
CON:lead   GEN   COW
The child is leading the cow.

sāmā   ñā   ndūchī
CON:change   she   bean
She is exchanging beans.

(See also 7.9, 7.10, 7.17, 7.47, and 7.51.)

Reflexive action may be indicated by using an appositional noun phrase containing either the specifier *máá* or the plural specifier *náá* as the subject of a transitive verb (see §§3.1.2 and 3.7).

ndéhé   dā máá dā
CON:look   he SPEC he
He sees [himself].

xáhni   dā máá dā
COM:kill   he SPEC he
He killed [himself].

kā   ndututu dā náá   dā
PL   CON:join   he SPEC:PL he
They got [themselves] together.

kā   ndéhé   máá dā náá   dā
PL   CON:look   SPEC he SPEC:PL he
They see [themselves].

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

xáhnī   dā kịtị
CON:kill   he animal
He hunts animals.

xáhnī   dā
CON:kill   he
He hunts. *or* He is a hunter.

When they can be recovered from the context, however, any subject or object may be unexpressed. Unexpressed subjects are found in 7.30 and 7.43, and an unexpressed object is found in 7.48.

1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, associative, instrument, and

referent. Adjuncts are frequently expressed by an adverbial noun phrase
(see §3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see §4.3), which follows the subject
in intransitive sentences and the object in transitive sentences. The specific
locative noun or preposition used depends on both the kind of adjunct and
the specific verb.

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

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative
adjunct expresses source or destination, and it has an animate, usually
human, referent. It is usually signaled by the locative noun *nŭu* 'face'.

> *kwāhā   ní   kaa   nŭu   dā*
> POT:give you:RES   metal   face his
> You will give him the axe.[1]

> *shíkó   ñā   nŭni   nŭu   dā*
> CON:sell she   corn   face his
> She is selling corn to him.

> *xaān   dā   kaa   nŭu   yó*
> COM:buy   he   metal face our:IN
> He bought an axe from us.

> *táxí   ñā   tŭtŭ   nŭu   kŭhu   ñā*
> CON:send she   paper   face sister:FE her
> She is sending a message to her sister.

> *ni   kahān   dā   ïïn   Nnuhu   nŭu   dā*
> COM   COM:speak he   one   word   face his
> He scolded him. (lit. He spoke one word to him.)

An example with no locative noun is found in 7.29.

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs),
the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, depending on such
factors as the meaning of the verb, the location of the speaker, and the

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[1]Yosondúa 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. In the above example the pronoun *dā* is the possessor of *nŭu*
'face', and so it is glossed 'his' in the literal gloss line. Because the phrase *nŭu dā* is
the indirect object, it appears as 'him' in the free translation. In earlier examples,
where *dā* functioned as the subject, it was glossed 'he'.

location of the subject; but destination is more frequent. Locative adjuncts
of this type usually have inanimate referents, and they are often expressed
by adverbs or nouns unmarked by any locative noun or preposition. They
may, however, be signaled by *nūu* 'face' or *ichī* 'trail'; *nūu* often indicates
a specific location, and *ichi* indicates that the source or destination is not
in the immediate vicinity. If the location has an animate referent, *nūu* must
occur. Words supplied in the free translation are enclosed in square
brackets.

> *kīhīn   ñā   yahu*
> POT:go   she   market
> She is going to market.

> *kīhīn   ñā   nūu   yahu*
> POT:go   she   face   market
> She is going to the market.

> *kwāhan   dā   ndinūū*
> INC:go   he   Tlaxiaco
> He is on the way to Tlaxiaco.

> *kwāhan   dā   īchī   ndinūū*
> INC:go   he   trail   Tlaxiaco
> He is going in the direction of Tlaxiaco.

> *vāxī   dā   īchī   ndinūū*
> INC:come   he   trail   Tlaxiaco
> He is coming back from Tlaxiaco.

> *ni   xahan   ná   nūu   "doctor"*
> COM COM:go   I:RES face   doctor
> I went to [see] the doctor.

> *ni   kanakava   īnī   ndūchā   ún*
> COM COM:fall   insides water   that
> [They] fell into the water.

(See also 7.20 and 7.48.)

   With intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct usually
occurs and expresses location. Its referent is commonly either inanimate or
part of an animate entity, and it is usually expressed by an adverbial noun
phrase (see §3.6).

> *ñúhú   ndūchī   īnī   ndōho*
> CON:be:in bean   insides palm:basket
> The beans are in the palm basket.

kánjā   *dā vehe   dā*
CON:be:located:SG he house his
He is at his house.

kánjā   *ītā   sīki   ndōho   yúkán*
CON:be:located:SG flower nape palm:basket that
That palm basket has a flower design on it. (lit. Flowers are located
on the outside of that palm basket.)

(See also 7.22, 7.31, 7.32, and 7.38.)

With transitive verbs that express placement or transport, the locative
adjunct expresses either source or destination. Sometimes the preposition
ūndi 'until' occurs to emphasize the distance involved.

chúhūn   ñā   staa   īnī   ndōho
CON:put:in she   tortilla insides palm:basket
She is putting tortillas in the palm basket.

chúshndéé   ñā   staa   nūu   mésa
CON:put:on she   tortilla face table
She is putting the tortillas on the table (Sp. *mesa*).

ndiso   ná   ndūku   vehe   ná
CON:carry I:RES firewood house my:RES
I am carrying the firewood to my house.

ndiso   ná   ndūku   ūndi vehe   ná
CON:carry I:RES firewood until house my:RES
I carry the firewood from my house.

(See also 7.1, 7.19, 7.34, and 7.48.)

The associative adjunct is marked by the preposition *xíin* 'with'; a variant
form *xíní* is used by some older speakers and appears in the text in chapter
7. This adjunct has two functions, one of which is to add a second
participant to some other element of the sentence, usually the subject.

vāxī   dā xíin   kwāyū
INC:come he with horse
He is coming with his horse (Sp. *caballo*).

sáhā   dā Nnīñū xíin   xwáa
CON:do he work   with John
He is working with John (Sp. *Juan*).

> *xáhnja   ná   ndūku   xíín   dā*
> CON:cut I:RES firewood with him
> I am cutting firewood with him.

> *yáxí   dā   staa   xíín   sēhē   dā*
> CON:eat he   tortilla with   child his
> He is eating tortillas with his son.

> *yésíkí   suchī lúlú   xíín   Nnáhā   kwáchí   ī*
> CON:play child small:SG with companion small:PL GEN
> The child is playing with his companions.

> *kā   sáhā   ná   īn   Nnīñū xíín   sēhē   ná*
> PL   CON:do I:RES one work   with   child my:RES
> We do one job with my child.

The second function of the associative adjunct is to express the addressee of
a direct quotation (see §6.3); two examples are found in 7.5 and 7.7.

Instrument adjuncts are also expressed by the preposition *xíín* 'with'.
With some verbs, however, instrument is expressed by a phrase in focus
position (see §1.1.8) with no locative noun or preposition signaling it.

> *xáhnja   dā xíín kaa*
> CON:cut he with metal
> He cuts [it] with an axe.

> *kāshin   yó   xíín yūu*
> POT:crush we:IN with rock
> We will crush [it] with a rock.

> *ni   kā xasí   dā ndūchī ya   xíín sāhmā*
> COM PL COM:close he bean   DEI with cloth
> They close his (the statue's) eyes with a cloth.

> *yūNnū kánī   dā síkí būrú   dā*
> wood   CON:hit he nape donkey his
> He hits his donkey (Sp. *burro*) on the back WITH A STICK.

The referent adjunct covers a broad semantic range, which includes
benefactives. This adjunct is usually signaled by one of various locative
nouns and prepositions. The locative nouns are *kwénta* 'account' (Sp.
cuenta), *síkí* 'nape', *xaha* 'foot', and *nūu* 'face'; and the prepositions are *xíín*
'with', *xākū* 'with reference to', and *xā síkí* 'because of'.

> *káhān   yó   kwénta   ñūu   yó*
> CON:speak we:IN account town our:IN
> We are talking about our town.

kahān   yó   sīkɨ   xwáa
CON:speak we:IN   nape   John
We are talking about John.

ni   kā   sahā   ī   nūu   sántu   kwáchí
COM PL   COM:do   GEN   face saint   small:PL
They do [things] for the little saints (Sp. *santo*).

kēxáhá   yó   xíín   Nnĩñū
POT:begin we:IN   with   work
We will begin work.

íyó   "voluntad" ñā   xākū   sēhē   yɨ̄   chaa ún
CON:exist willingness her with:reference:to child male man   that
She is willing to marry the man's son. (lit. Her willingness exists with
reference to that man's son.)

ni   kuhu   ná   xā   sīkɨ   ɨ̄ɨn   nundóhō
COM COM:be:sick I:RES CMP nape   one   suffering
I was sick with reference to a suffering.

When a referent adjunct has an animate referent and is marked by the
locative noun *xaha* 'foot', the meaning is usually benefactive.

kahān   dā   xaha xwáa
CON:speak he   foot John
He is speaking on John's behalf.

When a referent adjunct is marked by *xākū* 'with reference to' and the
verb phrase contains the additive marker *ka* 'more', the sentence expresses
a comparison of degree.

yāchī   ka   xínū   lálo xākū   nándo
fast   ADD   CON:run Ed   with:reference:to Ferd
Ed (Sp. *Lalo*) runs faster than Ferd (Sp. *Nando*).

Sometimes a referent adjunct occurs with no locative noun signaling it;
this is especially common when it serves as a sentence topic, as seen in 7.2.
Sometimes a referent is expressed as the possessor of the direct object.

káshín   kaa   sēhē   yúkán
CON:ring metal   child that
The bell is ringing for that child. (to announce his death)

xáhnja   ná   ndūku   nāna   ná
CON:cut I:RES firewood mother   my:RES
I am cutting firewood for my mother (Sp. *nana*).

Occasionally, two adjuncts occur in a single sentence. The order of the adjuncts is free.

> kwāhan dā ndinūū   nūu   ñānī   dā
> INC:go he Tlaxiaco face brother:ME his
> He left going to Tlaxiaco for his brother.

> vāxī   dā īchī ndinūū xíín kwāyū
> INC:come he trail Tlaxiaco with horse
> He is coming from Tlaxiaco with [his] horse.

The following sentence contains an associative adjunct and a referent expressed as the possessor of the direct object.

> xáhnja ná   ndūku nāna ná   xíín dā
> CON:cut I:RES firewood mother my:RES with him
> I am cutting firewood for my mother with him.

1.1.5 Equative sentences. The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of a nominal complement, an equative verb, and its subject. The equative verbs are *kūū* 'to be', *ndúu* 'to become', and *kōnání* 'to be named'.

> sūtū   kúū   dā
> priest CON:be he
> He is a priest.

> kīīī   nduu   ñā
> animal COM:become she
> She turned into an animal.

> "Ceniza" nání   ñūu
> Ceniza   CON:be:named town
> The town is called Ceniza.

> xwáa nání   dā
> John CON:be:named he
> His name is John.

When the equative verb occurs with preverbal or postverbal elements (see §2.2), the nominal complement usually follows the subject.

> tu   kuu   dā "soldado"
> NEG COM:be he soldier
> He was not a soldier.

ni   nduu   dā "maestro"
COM COM:become he teacher
He became a teacher again.

As in other sentence types, a subject that can be supplied from the discourse context may be unexpressed.

sāhmā   kúú
cloth   CON:be
[It] is cloth.

(See also 7.26 and 7.50.)

It is also possible to leave the verb *kūū* unexpressed if there is an expressed subject, as seen in 7.24.

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

káhnū tī
big:SG it:AML
It (the animal) is big.

ñáhnū   ñā
mature   she
She is mature.

njī̃ dā
old   he
He is elderly.

kāxīn sāhmā
damp cloth
The cloth is damp.

ndáhú   dā
poor   he
He is poor.

As in other sentence types, the subject may be unexpressed if it can be supplied from the context.

vixin
cold
[It] is cold.

    vīī
    pretty
    [It] is pretty.

    (See also 7.35, 7.41, and 7.44.)

Sometimes the equative verbs *kūū* 'to be' or *ndúu* 'to become', or the intransitive verbs *káā* 'to appear' or *kōō* 'to exist', occur in stative sentences following the stative verb. These verbs are inflected for aspect, and, to express an aspect other than continuative, it is necessary to use one of them together with the stative verb. Some stative verbs typically occur with one of these verbs, and other stative verbs have different sense discriminations when they occur with one of these verbs than when they occur alone.

With *kūū*:

    vaha   kúū   staa   yó
    good CON:be tortilla our:IN
    Our tortillas are good.

    ñáhnū   kúū   dā
    mature CON:be he
    He is mature.

    káhnū ni   kuu   tī
    big:SG COM COM:be it:AML
    It (the animal) got big.

    káhnū kúū   tī
    big:SG CON:be it:AML
    It (the animal) is big.

    káhnū kūū   tī
    big:SG POT:be it:AML
    It (the animal) will be big.

With *ndúu*:

    káhnū ndúu   tī
    big:SG COM:become it:AML
    It (the animal) got big again.

With *káā*:

> *vīī   káā   ñāsɨhɨ́   ún*
> pretty CON:appear   woman that
> That woman is pretty.

> *vaha   káā   sāhmā*
> good   CON:appear   cloth
> The cloth looks good.

With *kōō*:

> *vaha   kā   íyó   tríu*
> good   PL   CON:exist wheat
> The wheat [crop] (Sp. *trigo*) is good.

> *shāān   íyó   Nnāma*
> fierce COM:exist famine
> The famine was bad.

> *vaha   íyó   sāhmā*
> good   CON:exist cloth
> The cloth is good.

There are many intransitive verbs formed by fusing *kūū* 'to be' and *ndúu* 'to become' with a following stative verb (see §5.1.1). The resulting intransitive verbs are inflected for all three aspects.

Certain verbs of perception that are normally transitive, and a few other verbs, have special intransitive sense discriminations in stative sentences.

> *āsun   yáxɨ́*
> delicious   CON:eat
> [It] tastes delicious.

> *ndáhú   ni   sahā   "tiempo"*
> poor   COM COM:do   weather
> The weather was bad.

A few general adverbs (see §5.5) function as predicates of stative sentences containing *kūū* or *káā*.

> *syáhán   káā*
> in:this:way   CON:appear
> This is the way [it] seems.

    syúkán   *ni*   *kuu*
    in:that:way COM COM:be
    That's the way [it] was.

Stative sentences sometimes occur with adjuncts. To express comparison of degree, a referent adjunct marked by *xākū* 'with reference to' occurs together with the additive *ka* 'more' in the verb phrase.

    súkún ka   *chíku* *xākū*   *lálo*
    tall   ADD Chico with:reference:to Ed
    Chico (Sp. *Chico*) is taller than Ed.

1.1.7 Peripheral elements. All basic sentence types optionally indicate location, time, and manner. Peripheral location describes the setting of an entire predication and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Manner is somewhat infrequent and is expressed mainly by a few quantifiers and general adverbs. Peripheral elements follow subjects, objects, and adjuncts; they may be expressed by adverbs, adverb phrases (see §4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6), prepositional phrases (see §4.3), or subordinate sentences (see §6.2.1).

Location:

    ni   *Nnaa*   *"México"*
    COM quake Mexico:City
    There was an earthquake in Mexico City.

    sáNnīñū   *dā* *ītū*
    CON:work he cornfield
    He is working in the cornfield.

    ni   *yaxī*   *dā* *staa*   *yúkán*
    COM COM:eat he tortilla there
    He ate tortillas there.

    kūndātū ná   *xáhá ní*
    POT:wait I:RES here LIM
    I will wait right here.

    kíku   *ñā*   *īnī*   *vehe*
    CON:sew she insides house
    She is sewing in the house.

    sáNnīñū   *dā* *ūndi* *"México"*
    CON:work he until Mexico:City
    He works as far away as Mexico City.

(See also 7.11.)

Time:

> *ndíi   víNnā*
> CON:shine now
> [The sun] is shining today.

> *kūsámá   yó   kaa   ūu   /   víNnā*
> POT:eat:lunch we:IN metal   two   now
> We will eat at two o'clock today.

> *ni   xaha   dā nūni nūu   ná   īkū*
> COM COM:give he corn face my:RES yesterday
> He gave corn to me yesterday.

> *kana   dā īìn   nūndāa   /   víNnā*
> POT:call he one   little:later   now
> He will be calling you a little bit later today.

(See also 7.11.)

Manner:

> *ni   xaha   dā nūni nūu   ná   tūkū*
> COM COM:give he corn face my:RES REP
> He gave corn to me again.

> *ni   ndenda   tūkū ná   tíhlì*
> COM COM:appear:again REP I:RES a:little
> I just got back.

> *xwáa nání   dā sūnī*
> John   CON:be:named he also
> He's called John also.

(See also 7.2, 7.11, 7.17, 7.20, 7.41, and 7.44.)

When manner is expressed by *syáhán* 'in this way', it may occur within another phrase, as seen in 7.15. This adverb is often accompanied by a gesture.

Sometimes two peripheral elements occur in a single sentence.

> *sáNnīñū dā ītū   víNnā*
> CON:work he cornfield now
> He is working in the cornfield today.

ni	xaha	dā	nūni	nūu	ná	īkū	tūkū
COM	COM:give	he	corn	face	my:RES	yesterday	REP

He gave corn to me again yesterday.

(See also 7.11.)

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, one element of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase position. Throughout this sketch focused elements are indicated by capitalization in the free translation. When a noun subject is focused, a coreferential poststressed clitic pronoun (see §5.4) optionally follows the verb. A clitic pronoun may be focused only if it is preceded by a specifier or a quantifier phrase. Focused peripheral elements often occur at major transition points within the discourse.

Subject focus:

xwáa	tahu	ndūku
John	CON:split	firewood

JOHN is splitting firewood.

xwáa	xáhnu	yūNnū
John	CON:break	wood

JOHN is breaking the stick.

máá	dā	chāa
SPEC	he	CON:arrive:here

HE is coming.

máá	ñā	kíshī
SPEC	she	CON:sleep

SHE is sleeping.

Object focus:

ndūchā	xíhí	tī
water	CON:drink	it:AML

It (the animal) is drinking WATER.

yūNnū	xáhnu	dā
wood	CON:break	he

He is breaking THE STICK.

(See also 7.18.)

Locative adjunct focus:

> *ndinūū   kwāhan   dā*
> Tlaxiaco   INC:go   he
> He left for TLAXIACO.

> *nūu   máá   dā   shíkó   ñā   nūni*
> face SPEC his CON:sell she   corn
> She is selling the corn TO HIM.

> *ūndi   yūkū   ni   kakɨhɨ   ná   ndūku*
> until mountain COM   COM:carry I:RES firewood
> I carried the firewood FROM THE MOUNTAINS.

> *nūu   máá   yó   xaan   dā   kaa*
> face SPEC our:IN COM:buy he   metal
> He bought an axe FROM US.

> *xáhá   kūnjā   rá*
> here   POT:be:located:SG you:FAM
> You live HERE.

> *yúkán   kándē   yāu   "gentil"*
> there   CON:be:located:SG hole   ancient:people
> The ancient people's (Sp. *gentil* 'gentile') tombs are THERE.

Associative adjunct focus:

> *xíín   xwáa sáhā   dā   Nnīñū*
> with   John CON:do he   work
> He is working WITH JOHN.

Instrument adjunct focus:

> *xíín   kaa   xáhnja   dā*
> with   metal   CON:cut   he
> He is cutting [it] WITH AN AXE.

> *xíín   yūu   kāshin   yó*
> with   rock POT:crush   we:IN
> We will crush [it] WITH A ROCK.

> *yūNnū   kánī   dā   sɨkɨ   būrū   dā*
> wood   CON:hit he   nape   donkey   his
> He is hitting his donkey WITH A STICK.

Referent adjunct focus:

> *kwénta   ñūu   yó   ka   káhān   yó*
> account   town   our:IN   PL   CON:speak   we:IN
> We are speaking ABOUT OUR TOWN.

> *sɨkɨ   yúkán   kūNnīñū   ná*
> nape   that   POT:be:occupied   I:RES
> THAT will be my work. (lit. I will be occupied WITH REFERENCE TO
> THAT.)

> *xaha   xwáa   káhān   dā*
> foot   John   CON:speak   he
> He is speaking ON BEHALF OF JOHN.

> *kwénta   nāna   ñā   xáān   ñā   yaha*
> account   mother   her   CON:buy   she   chili
> She buys chili FOR HER MOTHER.

> *xākū   "mamá"   ná   kā   xáhnja   ná   ndūku*
> with:reference:to   mother   my:RES   PL   CON:cut   I:RES   firewood
> We are cutting firewood FOR OUR MOTHER.

Peripheral element focus:

> *ndinūū   saNnīñū   dā*
> Tlaxiaco   COM:work   he
> He worked IN TLAXIACO.

> *vīNnā   ndīī*
> now   CON:shine
> [The sun] is shining TODAY.

> *kaa   ūu   kūsámá   yó*
> metal   two   POT:eat:lunch   we:IN
> We will eat lunch AT TWO O'CLOCK.

(See also 7.9, 7.35, 7.38, 7.40, and 7.50.)

When an element expressed by either an adverbial possessive noun
phrase or a prepositional phrase is focused, it is possible to front only the
possessor of the noun or the object of the preposition and leave the
locative noun or the preposition in normal order.

> *suchī   ni   kahān   ñā   xaha*
> child   COM   COM:speak   she   foot
> She spoke on behalf of THE CHILD.

> *ñāhā   ni   chahu   dā shuhun nūu*
> woman   COM   COM:pay   he money face
> He paid money to THE WOMAN.

> *xwáa   sáhā   dā Nnīñū   xíín*
> John   CON:do he work   with
> He is working with JOHN.

Occasionally two elements may be focused. The following example shows a focused time followed by a focused manner.

> *īkū   tūkū ni   xaha   dā nūni nūu   ná*
> yesterday REP   COM   COM:give he corn face   my:RES
> He gave corn to me AGAIN YESTERDAY.

In equative sentences the subject may be focused, in which case the nominal complement must follow the verb, rather than precede it.

> *chaa   kúū   "mayordomo"*
> man   CON:be sponsor
> THE MAN is the sponsor (of the fiesta).

> *máá   ñā nduu   kītī*
> SPEC   she COM:become animal
> SHE became an animal.

> *máá   dā kúū   sūtū*
> SPEC   he CON:be priest
> HE is a priest.

To focus the subject of a stative sentence, the subject may simply be fronted.

> *sāhmā   kāxīn*
> cloth   damp
> THE CLOTH is damp.

> *máá   ñā   ñáhnū*
> SPEC   she   mature
> SHE is mature.

> *máá   dā ndáhú*
> SPEC   he poor
> HE is poor.

> *máá   ñāsīhí   ún   vīī   káā*
> SPEC   woman   that   pretty   CON:appear
> THAT WOMAN is pretty.

> sāhmā   vaha   kúū
> cloth   good   CON:be
> THE CLOTH is good.

The last sentence also has a reading as an equative sentence meaning '[It] is good cloth.'

To express the days of the month, there is a special construction employing the verb *xíka* 'to walk (continuative)' with the numbers from one through thirty-one as focused temporal elements. Another temporal element may occur at the end of the sentence.

> ɨ̄n   xíka   yōō   "marzo"   vīNnā
> one   CON:walk month March   now
> Today is March FIRST.

> ōko   ɨ̄n   xíka   yōō   "marzo"   vīNnā
> twenty nine CON:walk month March   now
> Today is March TWENTY-NINTH.

This construction is often juxtaposed with another sentence; see §6.2.2.

There are several ways of expressing a stronger kind of focus, which may be termed sentence topic. The conjunctions *tī* 'and' or *chī* 'because' (used in the sense of 'indeed') can follow the fronted element. If it is a subject, a clitic pronoun occurs in normal order. A slight pause (symbolized by /) optionally precedes the *tī* or *chī*.

> īÑñā   / tī   kāxī   dā ndúshyā
> tomorrow and   POT:eat he hominy
> As for tomorrow, he will eat hominy.

> īkū   / chī   ni   kihin   ñā   kɨsɨ   kāhnū
> yesterday because COM   COM:take she   cooking:pot big:SG
> As for yesterday, she bought a big cooking pot.

> ñānī   dā / chī   sáNnīñū   dā vīNnā
> brother:ME   his   because   CON:work   he now
> As for his brother, he is working now.

> "México"   / chī   sáNnīñū   dā yúkán
> Mexico:City   because CON:work   he there
> As for Mexico City, he works there.

(See also 7.2 and 7.3.)

In stative sentences it is especially common to use *chī*, possibly because it breaks up what would otherwise appear to be a noun phrase, but a clitic pronoun does not usually occur.

> *sāhmā* / *chī*   *vaha*
> cloth   because good
> As for the cloth, [it] is good.

> *sāhmā* / *chī*   *vaha kúū*
> cloth   because good CON:be
> As for the cloth, [it] is good.

It is also possible to place the complementizer *xā* before the fronted element, with an optional pause following it.

> *xā ñūu yó*   *tī*   *shñūu*   /
> CMP town our:IN and Chalcatongo

> *sáhā*   *yó*   *yāNnī ūhun óra*
> CON:do we:IN near five hour
> As for our town and Chalcatongo, we can go in about five hours (Sp. *hora*).

If the topic is the subject, sometimes only the clitic pronoun, and the optional pause following the fronted element, occur to signal topic.

> *xwáa* / *tahu*   *dā ndūku*
> John   CON:split he firewood
> As for John, he is splitting firewood.

1.1.9 Sentential complements. Basic sentences occur as subject complements, as object complements, and sometimes as complements functioning as adjuncts or nominal complements within other sentences. Object complements are most frequent.

There are two kinds of subject complements. The first kind serves as the subject of an intransitive sentence, and the second kind serves as the subject of a stative sentence.

The first kind of subject complement occurs only with a restricted set of intransitive verbs. They include *kēxáhá* 'to begin', *sīīn* 'to continue', *ndihi* 'to finish', *xinu* 'to finish', *kūū* 'to be possible' (homophonous with 'to be'), *kánúú* 'to be important', and *kuni* 'to want', used with subject complements to mean 'ought'. Subject complements optionally begin with the complementizer *xā*, except for those occurring with *kūū* 'to be possible'.

With *kēxáhá* 'to begin' as the main verb, the complement verb may have the same or a different aspect.

> *ni*   *kexāhā*   *Nnáā*   *shāān*
> COM COM:begin POT:quake fierce
> A bad earthquake began.

> *ni   kexāhā   kắyú   ná*
> COM COM:begin CON:cough I:RES
> I began to cough.

With *sīīn* 'to continue', *ndɨhɨ* 'to finish', and *xinu,* 'to finish', the complement verb must agree with the main verb in aspect.

> *sīīn   kắhān   dā*
> CON:continue CON:speak he
> He keeps on speaking.

> *ndɨhɨ   sáhā   dā vehe*
> CON:finish CON:do he house
> He is finishing building the house.

> *ndɨhɨ   tehnde   xītɨ́ yɨ̄*
> COM:finish COM:be:cut cord GEN
> His (the baby's) umbilical cord was done being cut.

> *ndɨhɨ   xā   kunu   ñā tɨkachi*
> POT:finish CMP POT:weave she blanket
> She will finish weaving the blanket.

> *xinu   ni   kahu   dā tūtū*
> COM:finish COM COM:read he paper
> He finished reading the book.

With *kūū* 'to be possible', *kánuú* 'to be important', and *kuni* 'ought', the complement verb must be in the potential aspect.

> *kúū   kahu   dā tūtū*
> CON:be:possible POT:read he paper
> He can read.

> *kúū   sáhā   dā Nnīñū*
> CON:be:possible POT:do he work
> He can work.

> *kūū   ndúu   dā vāhu*
> POT:be:possible POT:become he coyote
> He can turn into a coyote.

> *kánúú   xā   kīhīn dā*
> CON:be:important CMP POT:go he
> It is important that he go.

kuni   kwēē   kwēē   sáhā   ní
POT:want slowly slowly POT:do you:RES
You should do it very slowly.

The second kind of subject complement usually serves as the subject of
a stative sentence. It is frequently introduced by the complementizer *xā* or,
if a value judgment is involved, by the preverbal marker *ná* 'hortatory' (see
§2.1.2).

vaha   xā   kíxí   dā   īÑ̃ā
good   CMP   POT:come   he   tomorrow
It's good that he will come tomorrow.

vaha   ná   chíhī   dā   ītū   dā
good   HORT POT:thrust he   cornfield his
It's good that he should plant his cornfield.

The sentence in 7.7 contains a subject complement of a stative sentence
that is separated from the stative verb phrase by a vocative, followed by a
pause and the conjunction *tī* 'and'.

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

The first kind of object complement usually shows restrictions of subject
and/or aspect between the matrix and complement sentences, depending
on the main verb. These verbs include *kuni* 'to want', *xáNnāhā* 'to like'
(used only with *īnī* 'insides' in the subject), *skwáhā* 'to study', *kūtūhvā* 'to
learn', *kūnī* 'to know' (used with object complements to mean 'to know
how'), *kēxáhá* 'to begin', and *sáhā* 'to do'.

The main verb *kuni* 'to want' restricts the complement sentence to
potential aspect. If the subjects are coreferential, the complementizer is
frequently omitted. If the subjects are noncoreferential, the complemen-
tizer must occur.

kūni   dā   kahu   dā   tūtū
CON:want   he   POT:read he   paper
He wants to read.

kūni   dā   xā   kahu   dā   tūtū
CON:want   he   CMP   POT:read he   paper
He wants to read.

> *kūni   rí   xā   kūndātū rá*
> CON:want I:FAM   CMP   POT:wait you:FAM
> I want you to wait.

> *kūni   ñā   xā   kīhīn   dā yahu*
> CON:want she   CMP   POT:go   he market
> She wants him to go to market.

With the idiom *xáNnāhā īnī* 'to like', any aspect occurs in the comple-
ment sentence. If the aspect is completive, the complementizer must be
used, but with potential and continuative aspects, the complementizer is
usually omitted if the subjects of the main sentence and the complement
sentence are coreferential. If the subjects are noncoreferential, the com-
plementizer must occur.

> *xáNnāhā īnī   dā kīhīn   dā yahu*
> CON:like   insides his POT:go   he market
> He likes to go to market.

> *tu   xáNnāhā īnī   ñā   kāxī   ñā   kuñu r̈   kwéyáá*
> NEG CON:like insides her POT:eat   she   meat sheep   thin
> She doesn't like to eat lamb.

> *xáNnāhā īnī   ñā   xā   káhu   dā tūtū*
> CON:like   insides her   CMP   CON:read he paper
> She likes it that he reads.

With *skwáhā* 'to study' and *kūtūhvā* 'to learn', the subjects of both the
main sentence and the complement sentence are always coreferential. The
complement sentence must be in potential aspect, and the complementizer
does not occur. The same restrictions hold for the verb *kūnī* 'to know'
when it means 'to know how'.

> *ni   skwahā   dā kahu   dā tūtū*
> COM COM:study   he POT:read he paper
> He studied reading.

> *skwéla   ni   kutuhva   ná   kāhān   ná   san   stila*
> school   COM COM:learn I:RES POT:speak I:RES dialect Spanish
> I learned to speak Spanish (Sp. *Castilla* 'Castile') IN SCHOOL (Sp.
> *escuela*).

> *tū   xínī   kwt́t́   ñā chūhūn   ñā   sāhmā sēhē ñā*
> NEG CON:know completely she POT:put:in she cloth   child her
> She knows absolutely nothing about dressing her children.

With *kēxáhá* 'to begin', which also occurs with subject complements, the complement verb may have the same or a different aspect. The complementizer is usually omitted. The subjects are coreferential.

kā	*kexāhā*	*dā*	*kā*	*xítā*	*dā*
PL	COM:begin	he	PL	CON:sing	he

They began to sing.

kēxáhá	*īna*	*kūnū*	*tí*
POT:begin	dog	POT:run	it:AML

The dog will begin to run.

(See also 7.4.)

With *sáhā* 'to do', which is used to form syntactic causatives, the complement is usually fronted and the complementizer omitted. The complement may, however, occur in normal order, in which case the complementizer occurs. The two sentences usually require noncoreferential subjects, and the aspects normally agree.

sáhā	*"lombriz"*	*xā*	*kūhu*	*yó*
POT:do	worm	CMP	POT:be:sick	we:IN

Worms make us sick.

sáhā	*ñā*	*xā*	*kāxī*	*dā*	*ndīkā*
POT:do	she	CMP	POT:eat	he	banana

She will make him eat a banana.

kāxī	*dā*	*ndīkā*	/	*sáhā*	*ñā*
POT:eat	he	banana		POT:do	she

She will make him eat a banana.

sáhā	*ñā*	*xā*	*xíka*	*dā*	*skwéla*
CON:do	she	CMP	CON:walk	he	school

She makes him go to school.

xíka	*dā*	*skwéla*	/	*sáhā*	*ñā*
CON:walk	he	school		CON:do	she

She makes him go to school.

The second kind of object complement, which occurs with verbs that simply report, generally shows no restrictions on subject or aspect between the matrix sentence and the complement sentence. The complementizer usually occurs.

> *ndéhé*   *ná*   *xā*   *vāxī*   *dā*
> CON:look   I:RES CMP   INC:come   he
> I see that he is coming.

> *xíni̱*   *ná*   *xā*   *kahān*   *dā*
> CON:know   I:RES CMP   COM:speak   he
> I know that he spoke.

> *xini*   *ñá*   *xā*   *kwān*   *kwítá*   *dā*
> COM:know   she   CMP   INC:go   CON:be:tired   he
> She knew that he was getting tired.

> *kúhun*   *īnī*   *rí*   *xā*   *kíí*   *dā*   *īÑñā*
> CON:be:in   insides   my:FAM   CMP   POT:come   he   tomorrow
> I understand that he will come tomorrow.

(See also 7.1.)

When an equative sentence occurs as an object complement within another sentence, the unmarked order is verb—subject—nominal complement.

> *xíni̱*   *ná*   *xā*   *kú̱ū*   *dā*   *sūtū*
> CON:know   I:RES CMP   CON:be   he   priest
> I know that he is a priest.

Complement sentences that function as adjuncts also occur. No restrictions as to subject or aspect have been noted to date. The complementizer must occur. The following sentences contain complements that function as referent adjuncts. Two of them are signaled by the locative noun *si̱ki̱* 'nape', and the other two have no locative noun or preposition.

> *káhān*   *dā*   *si̱ki̱*   *xā*   *shíkó*   *ñā*   *nūni*
> CON:speak   he   nape   CMP   CON:sell   she   corn
> He speaks against her selling corn. *or* He speaks about her selling corn.

> *kā*   *ndāNnūhu*   *yó*   *si̱ki̱*   *xā*   *kwāhan*   *"presidente"*
> PL   CON:discuss   we:IN   nape   CMP   INC:go   president
> We are discussing the fact that the president has gone.

> *íyó*   *"razón"*   *xā*   *kā*   *ndúu*   *dā*   *vāhu*   *nī*
> CON:exist   reason   CMP   PL   POT:become   he   coyote   LIM
> There are reasons why they become just coyotes.

> *yúkán íyó   kwéntu xā   íyó   vehe   káhnǔ shāān*
> there CON:exist story CMP CON:exist house big:SG fierce
> THERE there is a story (Sp. *cuento*) to the effect that there is a very
> large house.

The last two examples could also be viewed as relative clauses modifying
razón and *kwéntu.*
   It is possible to focus an element found within a complement sentence
to the beginning of its own sentence or to the beginning of the matrix
sentence.

> *xínī   ná   xā   xwáa kíí*
> CON:know I:RES CMP John POT:come
> I know that JOHN will come.

> *xínī   ná   xā   īÑñā   kíxí   dā*
> CON:know I:RES CMP tomorrow POT:come he
> I know that TOMORROW he will come.

> *sáhā   yó   kwénta xā   ñúú   nī   ni   kā*
> CON:do we:IN account CMP all:night LIM   COM PL

> > *skahndɨ   kwéte*
> > COM:make:explode rocket
> > We realize that JUST AT NIGHT [they] fired the skyrockets.

In 7.1 the subject of an object complement sentence occurs at the
beginning of the matrix sentence.
   With many main verbs, an entire complement or element containing a
complement may be fronted for focus. The complementizer *xā* often
precedes the fronted complement, but never occurs if the main verb is *kuni*
'to want'.

> *xā   chíhī   dā / vaha*
> CMP POT:thrust he   good
> It is good THAT HE PLANT.

> *xā   vīī   íyó   / xínī   dā*
> CMP pretty CON:exist   CON:know he
> He knows THAT (IT) IS PRETTY.

> *sɨkɨ   xā   shíkó   ñá   nūni / káhān   dā*
> nape CMP CON:sell she   corn   CON:speak he
> He speaks AGAINST HER SELLING CORN. *or* He speaks ABOUT HER SELLING
> CORN.

xā vāxī   dā / ndéhé   ná
CMP INC:come he   CON:look I:RES
I see THAT HE IS COMING.

vāxī   dā / ndéhé   ná
INC:come he   CON:look I:RES
I see HE IS COMING.

kīhīn   dā / kūni   dā
POT:go   he   CON:want he
He wants TO GO.

(See also 7.47.)

Sometimes a fronted complement is followed by the conjunction *chī* 'because'. The complementizer frequently occurs.

xā   ni   sahā   dā Nnīñū / chī   ndīhī
CMP COM COM:do he work   because COM:finish
HE finished WORKING.

xā   sáhā   dā kīsī   / chī   kūtūhvā dā
CMP POT:do he cooking:pot because POT:learn he
He will learn TO MAKE COOKING POTS.

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 formed into a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative sentential marker *nú*, or its variant form *núh,* at the end. If it is clear from the context that the sentence is a question, however, the interrogative marker is usually unexpressed.

ni   Nnaa   nú
COM COM:quake INT
Was there an earthquake?

chaa   ní   nú
COM:arrive:here you:RES INT
Did you come?

kánjā   rá   nú
CON:be:located:SG you:FAM INT
Are you home?

xíhí   tĩ   ndũchā   nú
CON:drink it:AML   water   INT
Is it (the animal) drinking water?

máá dā kúũ   sũtũ   nú
SPEC he CON:be priest   INT
Is HE a priest?

káhnũ tĩ   nú
big:SG it:AML   INT
Is it (the animal) big?

ndũchā xíhí   tĩ
water   CON:drink it:AML
Is it (the animal) drinking WATER?

It is also possible to place the coordinate conjunction *shí* 'or' at the beginning of a sentence to signal a YES/NO question.

shí kĩhĩn   rá
or   POT:go you:FAM
Are you going?

For a description of disjunctive questions, see §6.1.1.

1.2.2 WH questions. Any element of a sentence may be questioned by using an appropriate interrogative pronoun, adverb, or noun phrase (see §§5.4, 5.5, and 3.4) in focus position.

Subjects, objects, and nominal complements are usually questioned by using *ndōō* 'what?' or a phrase. Less frequently they employ one of the other interrogative pronouns: *nā* 'what?', *nāũ* 'what?' or 'who?', and *návā* 'what?' or 'who?'.

Questioning subject:

nāũ   chaa ni   xahan xíín   ní
who   man COM COM:go with   you:RES
Which man went with you?

nāũ   yɨvɨ   kĩhĩn
what   person   POT:go
Who will go?

nāũ   ñāhā   ni   kunu   tɨkachi   xáhá
what   woman   COM   COM:weave   blanket   this
Who wove this blanket?

> *nāū   y̓v̓i   kúhu*
> what   person   CON:be:sick
> Who is sick?

> *nāū   chaa kúū   "presidente"   vīNnā*
> what   man CON:be   president   now
> Who is president now?

Questioning object:

> *ndōō   kíku   ñā*
> what   CON:sew   she
> What is she sewing?

> *ndōō   chīhī   rá*
> what   CON:cook you:FAM
> What are you cooking?

> *ndōō   ni   kā   sahā   dā*
> what   COM   PL   COM:do   he
> What did they make?

> *nāū   y̓v̓i   ni   kanā   dā*
> what   person COM   COM:call he/him
> Whom did he invite? *or* Who invited him?

Questioning nominal complement:

> *ndōō   nání   dā*
> what   CON:be:named he
> What is his name?

> *nāū   chaa kúū   dā*
> what   man CON:be he
> Who is he?

> *nāū   sēhē   kúū   dā*
> what   child CON:be he
> Whose child is he?

There is also an interrogative pronoun *nā* 'what?', which is presently used mainly in interrogative noun phrases (see §3.4). At an earlier time, however, this word apparently occurred frequently in an equative structure, in which *nā* was followed by *kúū* 'to be (continuative)' and a nominal complement, which consists of a relative clause introduced by the prestressed pronoun *xā* (see §§3.1.3 and 5.4).

nā   kúū   xā   chīhī
what   CON:be it:INAN CON:cook
What is cooking?

nā   kúū   xā   kíku   ñā
what   CON:be it:INAN CON:sew she
What is she sewing?

The sequence *nā kúū* has fused to *nāū*, and the sequence *nā kúū xā* has fused to *návā*.

nāū   xā   káhān
what   it:INAN CON:speak
Who [is] the one who is talking?

nāū   xā   yíndáhá   róhó
what   it:INAN CON:hold:in:hand you:FAM
Over whom do you have charge?

návā   kíku   ñā
what   CON:sew she
What is she sewing?

(See also 7.23.)

Both of these words now serve as interrogative pronouns meaning 'what?' or 'who?', and *nāū* can precede *kúū*.

nāū   kúū   yúkán
what   CON:be that
What is that?

nāū   kúū   xā   kíku   ñā
what   CON:be it:INAN CON:sew she
What is she sewing?

(See also 7.22 and 7.24.)

The subject of a stative sentence can be questioned only by using a content or equative verb together with the stative verb or adverb, or by using the equative structure described above.

nāū   kúū   yāchī
what   CON:be fast
Which one is fast?

     nā   kúū   xā   lúlú
     what CON:be it:INAN small:SG
     What is little?

Adjuncts are questioned by the interrogative adverbs *náchī* 'where?' or 'in which direction?'; *nándī* 'where?', 'as far as where?', or 'from where?'; *nánū* 'where?' or 'at which place?'; or by an interrogative noun phrase (see §3.4). Other adjuncts are questioned by *nā xíín* 'with what?' or 'with whom?'; by *ndōō, nā "razón" xā,* or *nā síkɨ xā,* all of which mean 'why?'; or by an interrogative noun or adverb phrase (see §§3.4 and 4.2.6).

     nándī kwāhan dā
     where INC:go   he
     Where did he leave for? *or* How far is he going?

     nándī máá njáā   róhó   yúkán
     where SPEC CON:be:located you:FAM there
     Precisely where over there do you live?

     nūu nāū xaha   dā tūtū
     face what COM:give he paper
     To whom did he give the paper?

     nā   xíín káhān   maría
     what with CON:speak Mary
     With whom is Mary (Sp. *María*) speaking?

     nā   xíín chihi rí   ndēyū
     what with POT:cook I:FAM food
     What will I cook the food with?

     ndōō shíkó   dā nūni
     why CON:sell he corn
     Why (for whose sake) does he sell corn?

     nā   "razón" xā   shíkó   dā nūni
     what reason CMP CON:sell he corn
     Why does he sell corn?

Peripheral location is questioned by the interrogative adverbs *náchī* 'where?' or 'in which direction?'; *nándī* 'where?', 'as far as where?', or 'from where?'; and *nánū* 'where?' or 'at which place?'. Time is questioned by *nāmā* 'when?', and manner is questioned by *nāsā* 'how?' and *nāsā módo* 'how?' or 'by what means?' (Sp. *modo*). Peripheral elements may also be questioned by an interrogative noun or adverb phrase.

náchī xíka   dā
where CON:walk he
Where is he walking?

nāmā ni   kuu   dā "presidente"
when COM COM:be he president
When was he president?

nāmā ni   xahan ní
when COM COM:go you:RES
When did you go?

nāsā ni   saNnīñū   dā
how COM COM:work he
How did he work?

nāū   kwīyā ni   iyo   "eclipse"
what year   COM COM:exist eclipse
Which year was the eclipse?

Subordinate cause and purpose sentences (see §6.2.1) may be questioned by *ndōō*, *nā "razón" xā*, or *nā síkɨ xā*, all of which mean 'why?', or by an interrogative noun phrase.

ndōō   ni   kā sahā
why   COM PL COM:do
Why did [they] do [it]?

(See also 7.25.)

Stative verbs are questioned by *nāsā* 'how?'. A content or equative verb, such as *kōō* 'to exist', *kūū* 'to be', *ndúu* 'to become', or *káā* 'to appear', must occur together with *nāsā*.

nāsā   íyó   ītū
how   CON:exist cornfield
How is the cornfield?

nāsā   kúū   rá
how   CON:be you:FAM
How are you?

nāsā   káā   ndīkā
how   CON:appear banana
How do the bananas appear?

The interrogative adverb *nāsā* is also sometimes used to question the nominal complement of *kōnání* 'to be named' and to question manner in

the verb phrase (see §2.1.3). In the latter use it is sometimes followed by
iyó 'to exist (continuative)'.

    nāsā   nání   ní
    how   CON:be:named   you:RES
    What is your name?

    nāsā   xāā   yó
    how   POT:arrive   we:IN
    How do we get there?

    nāsā   ni   saNnīñū   dā
    how   COM COM:work   he
    How did he work?

    nāsā   sáhā   mísa
    how   POT:do mass
    How do [we] do a mass (Sp. *misa*)?

    nāsā   njáá
    how   CON:cost
    How much does [it] cost?

    nāsā   íyó   ni   xahan rá
    how   CON:exist COM COM:go you:FAM
    How did you go?

   Questions introduced by *nāsā* may be rhetorical; an example is found in
7.49.

   Content verbs are questioned by using *nā* 'what?', *návā* 'what?', or *nāsā*
'how?', together with a very general verb. If the subject is agentive, the
verb used is *sáhā* 'to do', and if it is not agentive, the verb is *ndoho* 'to
suffer' or *Nnáhā* 'to fare'.

    nā   sáhā   dā
    what CON:do he
    What is he doing?

    návā   ndóho   dā
    what CON:suffer he
    What is the matter with him? *or* What is happening to him?

    nāsā   Nnáhā   ñā   vīNnā
    how   CON:fare she   now
    What's happening to her now?

Interrogative words and phrases occur in focus position, but it is possible for the sentence to have a topic as well.

> tī   róhó   / nāū   xā   kúū   rá
> and   you:FAM   who   it:INAN   CON:be   you:FAM
> And as for you, who are you?

1.2.3 Indirect questions. Both YES/NO questions and WH questions can occur as sentential complements in statements.

Indirect YES/NO questions are formed by placing the subordinate conjunction *nú* 'if' at the beginning of the question; the optional interrogative marker *nú* does not occur at the end.

> kāNnuhu   ní   nú ni   ndenda   ñānī   dā
> POT:ask   you:RES   if COM   COM:appear:again   brother:ME   his
> Ask [him] if his brother has returned.

> tu   xínī   ná   nú kīhīn   dā
> NEG   CON:know   I:RES   if POT:go   he
> I don't know if he will go.

> kīhīn   ná   ndéhé   nú tu   nīhi   ná   īso
> POT:go   I:RES   POT:look   if NEG   POT:get   I:RES   rabbit
> I'll go see if I can't get a rabbit.

(See also 7.16.)

Indirect WH questions are indistinguishable in form from the corresponding direct questions.

> xínī   ñā   nā   ndóho   dā
> CON:know   she   what   CON:suffer   he
> She knows what is the matter with him. *or* She knows what has happened to him.

> xínī   ná   nánū   kándē   dā
> CON:know   I:RES   where   CON:be:located   he
> I know where he is.

> xínī   ní   nāsā   sáhā   njākwáhá
> CON:know   you:RES   how   CON:do   tepache
> You know how to make tepache (an alcoholic beverage).

> tu   xínī   ná   ndōō   kā   sáhā   xíín   kōo
> NEG   CON:know   I:RES   what   PL   CON:do   with   snake
> I don't know what [we] should do with the snake.

   kāchī tūtū nánū kíhin dā nūni
   CON:say paper where CON:take he corn
   The paper says where he buys corn.

   tu chákū īnī rí nā kwénta kúū
   NEG CON:be:alive insides my:FAM what account CON:be
   I don't understand what [it]'s all about.

   (See also 7.12.)

  The following example contains an indirect question in apposition with the noun *kwéntu* 'story'.

   ná kānī ná ïïn kwéntu návā kā sáhā
   HORT POT:hit I:RES one story what PL POT:do

    chaa kā sāka   tríu
    man PL POT:scatter wheat
   May I tell a story [about] what men who sow wheat do.

In 7.26 an indirect question serves as the subject of an equative sentence.

1.3 Commands

To form a second person familiar positive command, a basic sentence in potential aspect is used, except that the subject is often unexpressed. Sometimes the stress of the verb shifts from the first syllable to the second in imperative forms.

   kíkū sāhmā
   POT:sew cloth
   Sew cloth!

   kíkū rá sāhmā
   POT:sew you:FAM cloth
   Sew cloth! *or* You will sew cloth.

   kāxī staa
   POT:eat tortilla
   Eat!

   (See also 7.36.)

  To form a second person respect command, a subject pronoun must be used.

kāxī   ní   staa
POT:eat   you:RES   tortilla
Eat! *or* You will eat.

ndétātū   ní
POT:rest   you:RES
Rest! *or* You will rest.

(See also 7.14 and 7.15.)

For a more polite command the hortatory marker *ná* (see §2.1.2) is used.

ná   kāxī   rá   staa
HORT   POT:eat you:FAM   tortilla
Eat!

ná   kīhin   ní
HORT   POT:take you:RES
You should get [it]!

Polite requests in first and third person usually take the hortatory marker *ná* and a subject.

ná   kāxī   yó   staa
HORT   POT:eat we:IN   tortilla
Let's eat!

ná   kīhīn   ná
HORT   POT:go   I:RES
Permit me to go!

ná   kíkū   ñā   sāhmā   īÑñā
HORT   POT:sew she   cloth   tomorrow
Let her sew the cloth tomorrow!

ná   sāNnīñū dā
HORT   POT:work he
Let him work!

(See also 7.8, 7.9, and 7.16.)

A few verbs have special imperative forms (see §5.1.2), which occur instead of potential aspect in commands.

kwáhán
IMP:go
Go!

ñaha
IMP:come
Come!

xáán
IMP:take
Take (it)!

yáhá
IMP:take
Take (it)!

chóhō
IMP:go:IN
Let's go!

Negative commands usually contain the imperative negative marker *koto* or *koto ma,* but they may also contain the ordinary negative marker *tu,* in which case they are less forceful.

koto   kīhīn   rá
NEG   POT:go   you:FAM
Don't go!

koto   ma   kīhīn   rá
NEG   NEG   POT:go   you:FAM
Don't go!

koto   sāNnīñū   ní   īÑñā
NEG   POT:work   you:RES   tomorrow
Don't work tomorrow!

tu   kīhīn   rá
NEG   POT:go   you:FAM
Don't go! *or* You won't go.

(See also 7.33 and 7.42.)

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur most frequently as independent utterances or in final position, but they also occur in initial position, especially when trying to attract the attention of the person addressed, and they are sometimes found following a sentence-initial conjunction or between the parts of complex sentences. Vocatives are set off from the rest of the sentence by pause. They include proper names, kinship or other terms used in direct

address, mutual relation terms like cofather, and free forms of the second
person pronouns.

> *ñaha   ní   xáhá / shīto*
> IMP:come   you:RES   here   uncle
> Come here, Uncle!

> *shīto / ñaha   ní   xáhá*
> uncle   IMP:come you:RES here
> Uncle, come here!

> *īna / kwáhán*
> dog   IMP:go
> Go outside, dog!

> *nāsā   kúū   rá   / maría*
> how   CON:be you:FAM   Mary
> How are you, Mary?

(See also 7.7, 7.14, 7.36, and 7.42.)

1.5 Sentential Markers

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

The temporal adverb *sáá* 'then' occurs after *nú* and converts a YES/NO
question into a tag question.

> *ndíshyā rá   nú sáá*
> correct   you:FAM   INT then
> You are right, aren't you?

The markers *sūū* 'affirmation' and *vasu* 'expectation' occur at the begin-
ning of a sentence and indicate that the speaker hopes the statement is
true.

> *sūū   sáhā   dā Nnīñū*
> AFFIRMATION   POT:do   he   work
> I am quite sure he will work.

> *sūū   kúū*
> AFFIRMATION   CON:be
> I believe [it] is.

> *vasu   īso   kúū*
> EXPECTATION   rabbit   CON:be
> I'm fairly sure [it] is a rabbit.

The markers *vā* 'really' and *vānūshīī* or *vānūshīā* 'with good reason' occur sentence initial.

> *vā   īso   kúū   núsáá*
> really rabbit CON:be okay
> Okay, [it] really is a rabbit.

> *vānūshīī   xíkāNnuhu ná   máá   ní*
> for:good:reason CON:ask   I:RES SPEC you:RES
> I am asking you for good reason.

The agreement marker *vātūni* occurs sentence initial.

> *vātūni   kīhīn   rá*
> AGREEMENT POT:go you:FAM
> Yes, you may go!

The sentential marker *ví* 'really' occurs sentence final.

> *yúhú   ndíshyā ná   ví*
> CON:be:afraid correct   I:RES really
> I am really scared.

> *sēhē   máá ñā   kúū   dā ví*
> child SPEC her CON:be he really
> He really is her son.

The contrafactual sentential marker *níkú* occurs sentence final and means the expected or desired activity did not take place.

> *kíxí   dā   níkú*
> POT:come he:RES CF
> He was going to come (but didn't).

> *shīkó   dā   nūni nūu ñā níkú*
> POT:sell he:RES corn face her CF
> He was going to sell corn to her (but didn't).

The verb *kāchī* 'to say (continuative)' and the sentential marker *chi* 'hearsay' occur sentence final and function as disclaimers meaning that the speaker does not want to accept responsibility for the accuracy of the information in the sentence.

> *ūu   "vuelta" ni   sahā   dā   chi*
> two time   COM COM:do he:RES HEARSAY
> He did it TWO TIMES, they say.

ni   nihi   dā   kwaha shuhun / kāchī
COM COM:get he:RES much   money   CON:say
He received a lot of money, they say.

2

Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

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

2.1.1 Verb nuclei. Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are idioms composed of a content verb plus some other word, which may be a noun, a content verb, a stative verb, an adverb, or an indeterminate element.

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.

> *chíhī*   *(dā)*
> CON:thrust (he)
> (He) plants.

> *chaa*   *(ná)*
> COM:arrive:here (I:RES)
> (I) came.

> *Nnāa*
> CON:quake
> (It) is quaking.

íyó   *(staa)*
CON:exist   (tortilla)
There are (tortillas).

kúū
CON:be
([It]) is happening.

xítā   *(dā)*
CON:sing   (he)
(He) sings.

kāhān   *(ñā)*
POT:speak   (she)
(She) will speak.

inī
COM:get:late
(It) got late (in the afternoon).

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a noun.[2] Occasionally the tone of a noun used to modify a verb is raised to high high.

xīkān   *táhū*   *(dā)*
CON:ask   gift   (he)
(He) is asking a favor.

xáán   *tāchi*   *(ñā)*
CON:pull   wind   (she)
(She) is breathing.

xíni̅   *soho*   *(dā)*
CON:see   ear   (he)
(He) is listening.

xākūn   *xītí*   *(ñā)*
CON:sit   knee   (she)
(She) is kneeling.

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[2]Some Mixtecan languages have incorporated the noun *inī* 'insides' from the subject into the verb phrase to form a large class of verbs that express emotional states. In Yosondúa Mixtec, however, even though *inī* is used to form such idioms, it has not been incorporated into the verb phrase, but remains part of the subject. For an example of such an idiom see 7.36.

       kātā   *xáhá*   *(dā)*
       POT:sing on:foot   (he)
       (He) will dance. (cf. *xaha* 'foot')

Reciprocal action is indicated by a verb followed by *Nnáhā* 'companion';
this construction is somewhat productive.

       kā   *xáhnī*   *Nnáhā*   *(dā)*
       PL   CON:kill companion (he)
       (They) are killing each other.

       nanúú   *Nnáhā*   *(dā)*
       CON:embrace companion (he)
       (They) embrace each other.

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

       kūnū   *njáā*   *(dā)*
       POT:run CON:be:located (he)
       (He) embraces.

       ndéñā   *njáā*   *(dā)*
       CON:be:sticky CON:be:located (he)
       (He) is sitting up against.

       yítú   *njāā*   *(nūxīī)*
       CON:stand POT:be:located (rifle)
       (The rifle) is standing on end.

A verb-plus-stative-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect
followed by a stative verb (see §5.2).

       chukū   *xáá*   *(ñā)*
       CON:place new (she)
       (She) is putting some more on. (e.g., food on the table)

       xūnū   *kwáchí (dā)*
       CON:complete little:PL (he)
       (He) is serving.

       núkōō   *síhí*   *(ñā)*
       CON:sit female (she)
       (She) is sitting the way women sit.

       xíka   *yátá*   *(dā)*
       CON:walk backward (he)
       (He) is walking backwards.

> *káhān   soo   (dā)*
> CON:speak bothered (he)
> (He) is complaining.

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

> *kwāhā   núú   (dā)*
> POT:give little:while (he)
> (He) will lend.

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

> *xaku   nduxi   (dā)*
> COM:place ?   (he)
> (He) was buried.

2.1.2 Preverbal elements. There are six orders of elements preceding the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the beginning of the verb phrase they are: directional, plural, aspect, temporal, negative, and hortatory.

There are nine directionals, which are reduced forms of motion verbs; they express the notions of motion and direction. These markers immediately precede a verb nucleus in potential aspect, except that prefixes that help to signal potential aspect (see §5.1.2) do not occur following a directional. The directionals are listed in the following table, along with their meanings and the fuller forms to which they are related.

Marker		Full form	
kīn	'will go'	*kīhīn*	POT:go
xán	'goes'	*xáhan*	CON:go
xan	'went'	*xahan*	COM:go
kwān	'has gone (and has not returned)'	*kwāhan*	INC:go
kwán	'go!'	*kwáhán*	IMP:go
chó	'let's go!'	*chóhó*	IMP:go:IN
kí	'will come'	*kíxí, kíí*	POT:come
ki	'came'	*kixi, kii*	COM:come
vē	'is coming'	*vāxī*	INC:come

The following examples show directionals used in sentences.

kīn   sete   (dā)
POT:go   POT:shave   (he)
(He)'s going to shave.

xan   súchá   (dā)
COM:go   POT:swim   (he)
(He) went to swim.

xan   kīhin   (ñā   ndūchā   táká   kīvɨ)
COM:go   POT:take   (she   water   each   day)
(She) went to get (water every day).

xan   njākā   (dā)
COM:go   POT:deposit   (he)
(He) went to leave ([something]).

kwān   kūchī   (dā)
INC:go   POT:bathe   (he)
(He)'s going to bathe.

kwān   kīhin   (dā   nūni)
INC:go   POT:take   (he   corn)
(He) has gone to get (corn).

kwán   kūchī
IMP:go   POT:bathe
Go take a bath!

chó   ndéhé
IMP:go:IN   POT:look
Let's go see!

ki   ndéhé   (dā)
COM:come   POT:look   (he)
(He) came to see.

ni   ki   kīhin   (dā   kɨsɨ   ñā)
COM   COM:come   POT:take   (he   cooking:pot   her)
(He) came to get (her cooking pot).

vē   njākā   (dā)
INC:come   POT:deposit   (he)
(He) is coming to leave ([something]).

vē   kīhin   (dā   staa)
INC:come POT:take (he   tortilla)
(He) is coming to get (tortillas).

vē   kīhin   (ná   ndūchī)
INC:come POT:take (I:RES bean)
(I) am coming [to your house] to get (beans).

(See also 7.12, 7.46, and 7.48.)

In addition to its directional meaning, *kwān* has also developed the aspectual meaning 'is in the process of'. In sentences with agentive subjects both meanings are possible, and in sentences without agentive subjects only the aspectual meaning is possible.

kwān   ini
INC:go POT:get:late
(It)'s getting late (in the afternoon).

kwān   kwahnu   (dā)
INC:go POT:grow (he)
(He) is growing.

kwān   ndukū   (dā   nūni)
INC:go POT:look:for (he   corn)
(He) has gone to look for (corn). *or* (He) is in the process of looking for (corn).

(See also 7.3.)

Constructions containing directionals can be considered a subtype of juxtaposed purpose sentences (see §6.2.2). It is very common to leave subjects unexpressed when they can be recovered from the context, and it is also common to reduce words that do not receive sentence stress to one syllable, especially those with the form CVV or CVhV.

Plural subject may be expressed by the plural marker *kā* when the verb nucleus is in continuative or completive aspect.

kā   kānāā   (yɨvɨ)
PL   CON:fight (person)
(The people) were fighting.

kā   kahān   (dā)
PL   COM:speak (he)
(They) were talking.

When the verb is in potential aspect, a plural subject cannot be marked in this way, but the plural specifier *náá* often occurs in the subject noun phrase (see §3.1.2).

Aspect is expressed only by *ni* 'completive'. For many verbs, completive aspect is already signaled unambiguously by the tone of the verb nucleus (see §5.1.2), and the use of *ni* is optional.

> *ni   kā   xíkónúú   (dā)*
> COM PL CON:walk:around   (he)
> (They) were traveling around.

> *ni   kā   xan   shíkó   (dā)*
> COM PL COM:go CON:sell   (he)
> (They) went to sell.

> *ni   yaxī   (dā   ndīkā)*
> COM COM:eat   (he   banana)
> (He) ate (bananas).

> *ni   sahā   (dā   yōhō)*
> COM COM:do   (he   rope)
> (He) made (rope).

> *ni   kwaa*
> COM COM:get:late
> (It) got late (at night).

(See also 7.1, 7.10, 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, 7.20, 7.38, 7.40, 7.44, 7.45, 7.46, 7.47, 7.50, and 7.51.)

The temporal elements are *xa* 'already', which occurs only with verbs in continuative or completive aspect, and *sā*, which occurs with verbs in any aspect, and, depending on the aspect, means 'about to', 'still', or 'just now'.

With *xa*:

> *xa   ni   kuu*
> already COM COM:be
> ([It]) is done. *or* ([It]) has already happened.

> *xa   ni   kā   sahā   (dā)*
> already COM PL COM:do (he)
> (They) already did ([it]).

> *xa   ni   kā   xan   njākā   (dā)*
> already COM PL COM:go POT:deposit (he)
> (They) already went to leave ([something]).

xa   yáxí   (dā   ndīkā)
already CON:eat (he   banana)
(He) is already eating (a banana).

(See also 7.45.)

With *sā*:

sā   kāhān   (dā)
just POT:speak (he)
(He) is about to speak.

sā   kōō   (īīn   vīkō)
just POT:exist (one fiesta)
In the near future there will be (a fiesta).

sā   káhān   (dā)
just CON:speak (he)
(He) is still talking.

sā   xan   kāhnjā (dā   yūNnū)
just COM:go POT:cut (he   tree)
(He) went just now to cut (trees).

sā   ni   kahān   (dā)
just COM COM:speak (he)
(He) just finished talking.

There are five negative markers: *tu* 'not', *tūkáā* 'no more' or 'no longer',
tuxáhī 'not yet', *koto* 'don't!', and *koto ma* 'don't!'.
The markers *tu* and *tūkáā* occur with verbs in any aspect.

With *tu*:

tu   kā   sndīhī   (dā)
NEG PL CON:finish (he)
(They) are not finishing ([it (the house)]).

tu   ni   kā xan   njākā   (dā)
NEG COM PL COM:go POT:deposit (he)
(They) did not go to leave ([something]).

(See also 7.12, 7.16, 7.23, 7.25, 7.26, 7.33, and 7.35.)

With *tūkáā*:

> *tūkáā   kánjūkū   (yɨvɨ   vehe)*
> no:more   CON:be:located:PL (person   house)
> (The people) aren't living in ([their] houses) any longer.

> *tūkáā   ni   xini   (ná)*
> no:more   COM   COM:know   (I:RES)
> (I) didn't know any more ([about it]).

There is a longer form of *tu, tuu,* which is used when no verb follows, as seen in 7.27. Both forms are related historically to the negative verb *tūū* 'to not exist'. *tūkáā* is also sometimes used alone.

The marker *tuxáhī* 'not yet' occurs only with verbs in potential or continuative aspect.

> *tuxáhī   kāhān   (dā)*
> not:yet   POT:speak   (he)
> (He) does not talk yet.

> *tuxáhī   kā   xinu   (dā)*
> not:yet   PL   CON:finish   (he)
> (They) haven't finished yet.

The markers *koto* and *koto ma* occur only with verbs in potential aspect.

> *koto   ndēhē   (rá)*
> NEG   POT:cry (you:FAM)
> Don't cry!

> *koto   ma   kīhīn   (rá)*
> NEG   NEG   POT:go   (you:FAM)
> Don't go!

The hortatory marker *ná* occurs only with verbs in potential aspect or with special imperative forms, and it usually signals a command (see §1.3), but it is also used in subject complements that express a value judgment (see §1.1.9).

> *ná   ndétātū   (dā)*
> HORT   POT:rest   (he)
> Let (him) rest a lot!

> *ná   kīhīn   (dā)*
> HORT   POT:go   (he)
> Let (him) go!

ná   kāchī   (dā   īīn   kwéntu)
HORT   POT:say (he   one   story)
Have (him) tell (a story [Sp. *cuento*])!

ná   kāxī   (yó   ndúshyā)
HORT   POT:eat (we:IN hominy)
Let('s) eat (hominy)!

(See also 7.8, 7.9, and 7.16.)

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are six orders of elements following the verb nucleus: manner, plural, limiter, additive, affirmative, and repetitive.

Manner is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers. Stative verbs, stative verb phrases (see §2.3), intensifying elements, general adverbs, and adverb phrases (see §4.2) are the most common elements in this position, but quantifiers and quantifier phrases (see §4.1) have also been found.

With stative verbs:

kahān   vaha (yɨvɨ   xíín   yó)
COM:speak   good (person   with   us:IN)
(The people) spoke kindly (to us).

ni   kahān   kāxí (dā)
COM COM:speak clear (he)
(He) spoke clearly.

With intensifying elements:

xínū   shāān   (dā)
CON:run   fierce (he)
(He) runs fast.

ndɨhɨ   kwɨtɨ   (ná)
COM:finish completely (I:RES)
(I) completely finished ([it]).

tuu   kwɨtɨ   (kɨtɨ   dā)
NEG:CON:exist   completely (animal   his)
(He) has absolutely no (animals). (lit. [His animals] don't exist at all.)

With adverbs:

>xíka   kwéē   (dā)
>CON:walk   slowly (he)
>(He) walks slowly.

>xītu   káhá   (dā)
>COM:plow   in:vain (he)
>(He) plowed in vain.

With quantifiers:

>sáNnīñū   kwaha (dā)
>CON:work   much   (he)
>(He) is working a lot.

>ni   ndoho   kwaha (dā)
>COM   COM:suffer much   (he)
>(He) suffered a lot.

Manner may occur at the beginning of the verb phrase to indicate focus. When it is expressed by a phrase, it often occurs in that position.

>vaha   xínī   (dā)
>good   CON:know   (he)
>(He) knows WELL.

>tíhlí   sáhā   (yó   Nnīñū)
>little:bit CON:do (we:IN work)
>(We) do A LITTLE (work).

>kwéē   nī   kīhīn   (dā)
>slowly LIM POT:go   (he)
>(He) JUST goes SLOWLY.

>kwéē   ka   xíka   (yī)
>slowly ADD   CON:walk (GEN)
>(The people) walk MORE SLOWLY.

>ndē   vaha   kuūn   (sāu)
>INTS   good   COM:fall (rain)
>(It) rained VERY WELL.

>kwéē   shāān   xíka   (dā)
>slowly fierce CON:walk (he)
>(He) walks VERY SLOWLY.

kwaha   shǎǎn   ndoho   (dǎ)
much   fierce   COM:suffer (he)
(He) suffered VERY MUCH.

A few adverbs expressing manner occur only in preverbal position.

ndḛ ni   kā   xihī   (njākwíxín)
INTS COM PL   COM:drink (pulque)
([They]) drank a lot (of pulque [fermented century-plant juice]).

sō   xahnja   (ñǎ)
thus   COM:cut   (she)
(She) cut ([it (her hair)]) thus.

māni   njaa   (ná)
just   COM:arrive:here   (I:RES)
(I) came for no particular reason.

māni   skwáhā   (yó)
just   CON:study (we:IN)
(We) just study.

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

ni   nihi   kwaha (dā   chaká)
COM COM:get   much   (he   fish)
(He) got a lot (of fish).

See also the example containing *ndḛ* in the paragraph above.
    Manner is questioned by using *nāsā* 'how?', or *nāsā módo* 'how?' or 'by what means?' (Sp. *modo*).

nāsā   ni   saNnīñū   (dā)
how   COM COM:work   (he)
How did (he) work?

nāsā   módo   xíka   (dā)
how   way   CON:walk (he)
How does (he) walk?

Such questions may be rhetorical, as seen in 7.49.
    The postverbal plural *koyo* occurs in second postverbal position. Like the preverbal plural, it indicates the number of the subject even though it occurs within the verb phrase. The postverbal plural occurs only with

motion verbs, but it occurs with all aspects. The two plural markers may
cooccur.

> *ni   kā   nāxāā*   *koyo*
> COM PL   COM:arrive:again PL
> ([They]) got back.

> *vendī   koyo   (ná)*
> COM:come PL   (I:RES)
> (We) came.

> *kwān   nohō   koyo*
> INC:go   POT:leave PL
> ([They]) are leaving.

> *kīhīn   koyo   (ná)*
> POT:go   PL   (I:RES)
> Let (us) go! *or* (We) will go.

Because *koyo* usually receives phrase stress, the verb that precedes it is
often reduced in fast speech: *nohō* and *kīhīn* are pronounced *nu* and *kīn.*
The limiter *nī* 'just' occurs in third postverbal position.

> *úhū   nī*
> CON:hurt   LIM
> ([It]) just hurts.

> *kwāhan nī   (tī)*
> INC:go   LIM   (it:AML)
> (It [the animal]) just went.

> *xítā   nī   (dā)*
> CON:sing LIM   (he)
> (He) is just singing.

> *kusū   nī   (dā)*
> POT:sleep LIM   (he)
> (He) will just sleep.

(See also 7.1 and 7.31.)

If the subject of the sentence is expressed by a poststressed clitic
pronoun, *nī* often follows the pronoun, even though it modifies the verb.

> *xítā   (dā) nī*
> CON:sing (he) LIM
> (He) is just singing.

When *nī* follows a fuller noun phrase, however, it is part of that phrase; see §3.1.3.

The additive *ka* 'more' occurs in fourth postverbal position.

> *chúhūn   ka*
> CON:put:in ADD
> ([He]) is putting more in.

> *ni   xahnu   ka   (dā)*
> COM COM:grow ADD (he)
> (He) got older.

> *kíí   ka   (dā)*
> POT:come ADD (he)
> (He) will still come.

> *tu   kāhān   ka   (yɨvɨ)*
> NEG POT:speak ADD (person)
> (People) won't talk anymore.

The affirmative marker *tū* 'really' occurs in fifth postverbal position. This marker occurs only in statements with verbs in continuative or completive aspect.

> *kachi   tū   (dā)*
> COM:say really (he)
> (He) really said ([it]).

In the text in chapter 7, *tū* occurs over thirty times before the climax at 7.43, where the rabbit bit the tar baby and was completely stuck, but not after that. This probably indicates that *tū* has some discourse function. In the data available, however, *tū* occurs only in texts given by one older speaker, and it is probably obsolescent.

The repetitive *tūkū* 'again' occurs in the last postverbal position.

> *sáhā   tūkū*
> POT:do   REP
> ([He]) will make ([it]) again.

> *ni   sahā   tūkū (dā)*
> COM COM:do   REP   (he)
> (He) did ([it]) again.

> *kwāhan tūkū (dā   ndinūū)*
> INC:go   REP (he   Tlaxiaco)
> (He) has gone (to Tlaxiaco) again.

ni   yaxī   tūkū   (dā   kuñu)
COM COM:eat   REP   (he   meat)
(He) ate (meat) again.

(See also 7.39.)

Repetitive *tūkū* also expresses peripheral manner, as seen in 7.40.

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. There are two cooccurrence restrictions among preverbal elements: negative and temporal do not cooccur, and hortatory occurs only with negative, directionals in potential aspect, and the intensifier *ndē*. All other combinations of preverbal elements are possible.

tu   ni   kā   xan   shíkó   (dā   shndīkɨ)
NEG   COM   PL   COM:go POT:sell   (he   bull)
(They) didn't go to sell (the bulls).

sā   ni   kā   xan   kāhnjā (yūNnū)
just COM   PL   COM:go POT:cut (tree)
([They]) just went to cut (the wood).

tu   ni   ki   kāxī   (dā)
NEG   COM   COM:come   POT:eat (he)
(He) didn't come to eat.

ná   kɨ́   kāxī   (dā)
HORT POT:come   POT:eat (he)
Have (him) come to eat!

ndē   kā   xíhi   (yɨvɨ   yúkán)
INTS PL   CON:die   (person   there)
(People) are really dying (there).

(See also 7.45 and 7.46.)

Postverbal elements also show various cooccurrence restrictions. Plural does not cooccur with manner, limiter, or additive, and it is rare for any element except repetitive to follow manner directly. (This is because manner can be expressed by stative verb phrases [see §2.3] and adverb phrases [see §4.2], both of which also optionally contain the limiter and additive.) When limiter and additive cooccur, they mean 'all the time'.

ñúhú   nī   ka
CON:be:in   LIM   ADD
([It]) contains ([something]) all the time.

kīhīn   koyo tūkū (dā)
POT:go   PL   REP   (he)
(They) are going again.

sáhā   ka   tūkū
POT:do   ADD REP
([He]) will make more again.

shíkó   kwaha tūkū (dā)
CON:sell much   REP   (he)
(He) is selling a lot again.

(See also 7.31.)

There are no specific cooccurrence restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements, but complex constructions are generally avoided.

tu   ni   saNnīñū   vaha tūkū (dā)
NEG COM COM:work good REP   (he)
(He) didn't work well again.

xa   ni   kā   xihī   shāān   ka   tūkū (dā)
already COM PL   COM:drink fierce ADD REP   (he)
(They) already drank very much more again.

kwān sāNnīñū ni   tūkū (dā)
INC:go POT:work LIM REP   (he)
(He) has gone to just work again.

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on three equative verbs: *kūū* 'to be', *ndúu* 'to become', and *kōnání* 'to be named'. While none enter into the formation of complex nuclei, all occur with the preverbal and postverbal elements described, although preverbal directional is restricted to *kwān* with the meaning 'is in the process of' (see §2.1.2), and postverbal plural *koyo* does not occur. Also, the negative *tu* is rare with *kūū* 'to be' because it is more common to use a negative noun phrase as the nominal complement (see §3.5).

tu   kuu   (dā   "soldado")
NEG COM:be (he   soldier)
(He) was not (a soldier).

kwā̃n kūū   *(dā   "maestro")*
INC:go POT:be (he   teacher)
(He) is in the process of becoming (a teacher).

ni   nduu   *(dā   "maestro")*
COM COM:become (he   teacher)
(He) became (a teacher) again.

vaha kā ndúu   *(dā   vāhu)*
good PL CON:become (he   coyote)
(They) turn into (coyotes) well.

xa   nání   *(dā   xwáa)*
already CON:be:named (he   John)
(He) is already named (John [Sp. *Juan*]).

tu   nání   *(dā   xwáa)*
NEG CON:be:named (he   John)
(His) name isn't (John).

ná   kūū   *(dā   "maestro")*
HORT POT:be (he   teacher)
Have (him) be (a teacher)!

2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which are not inflected for
aspect. These verbs occasionally form complex nuclei. They occur with only
two preverbal elements, temporal and negative, and with all postverbal
elements, but manner is expressed mainly by intensifying elements.

xa   ñáhnū (dā̃)
already mature (he)
(He) is already grown.

tu   ñáhnū (dā̃)
NEG mature (he)
(He) is not grown.

káhnū shāān   (tī̃)
big:SG fierce (it:AML)
(It [the animal]) is very big.

ndē vaha ka
INTS good ADD
([It]) is much better.

káhnū tūkū (tī)
big:SG REP (it:AML)
(It [the animal]) is big again.

lúlú   nī   (tī)
small:SG LIM   (it:AML)
(It [the animal]) is just little.

lúlú   ka   (tī)
small:SG ADD   (it:AML)
(It [the animal]) is smaller.

vaha shāān ka   tūkū
good   fierce ADD REP
([It]) is much better again.

(See also 7.7.)

Stative verb phrases occur alone in the predicate of stative sentences as seen in the above examples. They also occur in the predicate of stative sentences followed by a verb like *kūū* 'to be' or *káā* 'to appear'.

tu   vaha (kúū   sāhmā)
NEG good (CON:be cloth)
(The cloth is) not good.

sā   lúlú   (káā   tī)
just small:SG (CON:appear it:AML)
(It [the animal]) still (looks) little.

káhnū ka   (káā   tī)
big:SG ADD (CON:appear it:AML)
(It [the animal] looks) bigger.

lúlú   ni   (káā   tī)
small:SG LIM (CON:appear it:AML)
(It [the animal]) just (looks) little.

Stative verb phrases also occur as manner in content verb phrases (see §2.1.3), either following the nucleus or at the beginning of the phrase. When stative verb phrases express manner, the only preverbal element which may occur is negative. Only three postverbal elements may occur: a limited manner, expressed only by intensifying elements; limiter; and additive. When negative occurs in a stative verb phrase, that phrase must precede the main verb in the sentence.

> *(xítā)*   *vaha nī*   *(dā)*
> (CON:sing) good LIM   (he)
> (He) just (sings) well.

> *(xítā)*   *vaha ka*   *(dā)*
> (CON:sing) good ADD   (he)
> (He sings) better.

> *vaha   shāān   (xítā   dā)*
> good   fierce   (CON:sing he)
> (He sings) very well.

> *ndē   vaha   (kuūn   sāu)*
> INTS good   (COM:fall rain)
> (It rained) VERY WELL.

> *tu   vaha   (xítā   dā)*
> NEG good   (CON:sing he)
> (He does) NOT (sing) WELL.

It is, however, more common to place the negative in a content verb phrase than in a stative verb phrase expressing manner.

> *(tu   xítā)*   *vaha (dā)*
> (NEG CON:sing) good (he)
> (He doesn't sing) well.

2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Both content and stative verbs may be repeated to indicate continued or intensified action.

A content verb in any aspect may be repeated to indicate continued action. The preverbal elements aspect and hortatory optionally precede the first occurrence of the verb, and any postverbal element except manner optionally follows the second occurrence of the verb.

> *xíka   xíka   (ñā)*
> CON:walk CON:walk (she)
> (She) keeps on walking.

> *ni   xika   xika   (dā)*
> COM COM:walk COM:walk (he)
> (He) kept on walking.

> *kākā*   *kākā*   *(dā)*
> POT:walk   POT:walk   (he)
> (He) will keep walking.
>
> *ná*   *kātā*   *kātā*   *(dā)*
> HORT   POT:sing   POT:sing   (he)
> Have (him) keep on singing!
>
> *xíka*   *xíka*   *nī*   *(dā)*
> CON:walk   CON:walk   LIM   (he)
> (He) just keeps on walking.
>
> *xíka*   *xíka*   *ka*   *(dā)*
> CON:walk   CON:walk   ADD   (he)
> (He) still keeps on walking. *or* (He) keeps on walking more.
>
> *xíka*   *xíka*   *tūkū*   *(tī)*
> CON:walk   CON:walk   REP   (it:AML)
> (It [the animal]) keeps on walking again.
>
> (See also 7.11.)

A stative verb in the predicate of a stative sentence or in the postverbal or preverbal manner position in content verb phrases may be repeated to indicate intensification. No preverbal elements occur, and of the postverbal elements, only limiter and additive occur.

In stative sentences:

> *ndáhú*   *ndáhú*   *(dā)*
> poor   poor   (he)
> (He) is very poor.
>
> *ndáhú*   *ndáhú*   *nī*   *(dā)*
> poor   poor   LIM   (he)
> He is just very poor.
>
> *ndáhú*   *nī*   *ndáhú*   *nī*   *(dā)*
> poor   LIM   poor   LIM   (he)
> He is just very poor.
>
> *ndáhú*   *ndáhú*   *(dā)*   *nī*
> poor   poor   (he)   LIM
> (He) is just very poor.

ndáhú   ndáhú   nī   ka   (dā)
poor   poor   LIM   ADD   (he)
(He) is very poor all the time.

In manner:

(xíní)   *vaha   vaha   (dā)*
(CON:know)   good   good   (he)
(He knows) very well.

(xíní)   *vaha   vaha   ka   (dā)*
(CON:know)   good   good   ADD   (he)
(He knows) very much better.

vaha   vaha   (xíní   dā)
good   good   (CON:know he)
(He knows) VERY WELL.

2.5 Appositional Verb Phrases

Appositional verb phrases consist of two short semantically related phrases, which are simply juxtaposed or linked by the complementizer *xā*. The phrases contain only a few preverbal or postverbal elements, such as the completive aspect marker or the limiter.

kayu   xā   naa
CON:burn   CMP   CON:destroy
([They]) burned ([it]) up. (lit. [(They)] burned and destroyed [(it)].)

chóhō   xā   tuhva   ka
IMP:go:IN   CMP   POT:be:near ADD
Let's get closer!

(See also 7.1.)

3

Noun Phrases

3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

ndāhā	'hand'
Nnuhu	'word'
vela	'grandmother (Sp. *abuela*)'
vehe	'house'
chaa	'man'
kɨvɨ	'day'
staa	'tortilla'
chotō	'rat'
idā	'he'

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that comprises a noun or pronoun followed by a frozen modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral or general quantifier, a content verb, or a stative verb. The tone of a noun used to modify another noun is sometimes raised.

Noun plus noun:

> *yōhō   kaa*
> rope   metal
> wire
>
> *sāhmā   staa*
> cloth   tortilla
> tortilla cloth
>
> *tāNna   chóhó*
> medicine   flea
> flea powder (cf. *choho* 'flea')
>
> *īshī   yūhū*
> hair   mouth
> beard
>
> *ndūchā   nūu*
> water   face
> tear
>
> *tríu   sāu*
> wheat rain
> wheat (Sp. *trigo*) growing on nonirrigated land
>
> *ndūchā   ñ̵̄ñ̵̄*
> water   salt
> salt water
>
> *ñ̵̄ñ̵̄   yáhá*
> salt   chili:pepper
> salt mixed with ground chili pepper (cf. *yaha* 'chili pepper')

Noun plus numeral or general quantifier:

> *ñāhā   ūu*
> woman   two
> second wife
>
> *vītu   sāvā*
> beam   half
> a piece of a beam

Noun plus content verb:

> *yĩkĩ   xíka*
> bone   CON:walk
> legs

Noun plus stative verb:

> *ndūchā   vīshi*
> water   sweet
> soda pop

> *ndūchā   shāān*
> water   fierce
> white rum

> *xā   vīshi*
> it:INAN   sweet
> candy

> (See also 7.3.)

3.1.2 Prenominal elements. There are two elements that precede the nucleus, specifier and quantifier; the specifier occurs next to the nucleus.

The specifier comprises the general specifier *máá* 'the very' and the plural specifier *náá*. *náá* has a highly restricted distribution: it occurs only preceding a poststressed clitic pronoun that refers to the subject of the sentence (see §5.4), and the sequence of *náá* and the pronoun occurs only as the second part of an appositional noun phrase (see §3.7). *náá* is especially common when the main verb is in potential aspect because the preverbal plural marker *kā* does not cooccur with potential aspect (see §2.1.2).

> *máá   vehe*
> SPEC   house
> the very house

> *máá   maría*
> SPEC   Mary
> Mary (Sp. *María*) herself

> *(kāhan)   dā náá   dā*
> (POT:speak)   he SPEC:PL   he
> They themselves (will speak).

(kānaa)   *yɨvɨ*   *náá*   *ī*
(POT:fight)   person   SPEC:PL   GEN
The people (are going to fight) among themselves.

(See also 7.17.)

Both specifiers are also used to mark reflexive constructions; see §1.1.3.
The quantifier comprises numerals and general quantifiers.

Numerals:

ūu   vehe
two   house
two houses

ūhun   chaa
five   man
five men

ūna   dā
eight   he
eight of them

ūu   vétu
two   Robert
two Roberts (Sp. *Beto*)

(See also 7.20.)

General quantifiers:

kwaha   kɨtɨ
much   animal
many animals

tɨNnɨ   shndɨkɨ
several   bull
various bulls

xākū   vehe
few   house
a few houses

(See also 7.14 and 7.34.)

The numeral *ɨɨn* 'one' is often used simply as an indefinite article, and
the numeral *ūu* 'two', or the expanded numeral phrase *ūu nī* 'just two' (see
§4.1.4), sometimes mean 'a few'.

ïïn   ndïvɨ
one   egg
an egg *or* one egg

ūu   ndïshɨ
two   ear:of:corn
a few ears of corn *or* two ears of corn

ūu   nɨ̄   yɨ̄vɨ̄
two   LIM   person
a few people *or* just two people

(See also 7.7, 7.17, 7.30, and 7.37.)

The concept 'many' is sometimes expressed in the verb phrase even when it refers to a noun phrase (see §2.1.3).

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

Restrictive relative clauses are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or pronouns and usually by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. The complementizer *xā* sometimes occurs between the head and the relative clause, thus functioning as a relative pronoun. There are no nonrestrictive relative clauses; their function is filled by appositional noun phrases (see §3.7).

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

With subject as head:

ñāhā   xā   ni   kixi   īkū
woman   CMP   COM   COM:come   yesterday
the woman who came yesterday

chaa   xáhnī   ñāhā
man   CON:kill   woman
the man who kills women

yɨ̄vɨ̄   kánjūkū   ndinūū
person   CON:be:located:PL   Tlaxiaco
the people who live in Tlaxiaco

chaa   xáhnja   yūNnū
man   CON:cut   wood
the man who cuts down trees

chaa   xā   xáhnja   yūNnū
man   CMP   CON:cut   wood
the man who cuts down trees

ñā   kúhū
she   CON:be:sick
the woman who is sick

xārā   tu   íyó
UN   NEG   CON:exist
the stuff that doesn't exist

(See also 7.1, 7.22, and 7.23.)

With object as head:

staa   kāxī   dā
tortilla   POT:eat   he
the tortillas that he will eat

kɨ̄tɨ̄   njákā   yó
animal   CON:guide   we:IN
domesticated animals

kɨ̄tɨ̄   xā   njákā   yó
animal   CMP   COM:guide   we:IN
domesticated animals

shuhun   xā   ni   nihi   dā
money   CMP   COM   COM:get   he
the money he received

yɨvɨ   xā   chíndéé   yó
person   CMP   CON:help   we:IN
the people that we help

xārā   xínī   dā
UN   CON:know   he
that which he knows

xā   kāxī   yó
it:INAN   POT:eat   we:IN
that which we eat *or* food

With locative adjunct as head:

> *suchī   xā   xáhā   ñā   staa   nūu*
> child   CMP   CON:give   she   tortilla face
> the child to whom she gives the tortillas

> *suchī   ni   chahu   ñā*
> child   COM   COM:pay   she
> the child she paid [the money] to

> *ñūu   vāxī   vétu*
> town   INC:come   Robert
> the town from which Robert comes

> *nūu   kūndīchī*
> face   CON:be:placed
> the place where [it] is being built

> *nūu   kīn   kihin   dā   tūtū   dā*
> face   POT:go   POT:take   he   paper   his
> the place he is going to to get his documents

> *īchī   kwāhan   dā*
> trail   INC:go   he
> the trail he was traveling on

(See also 7.48.)

With associative adjunct as head:

> *suchī   kwāhan   dā   xíin*
> child   INC:go   he   with
> the child with whom he left

> *ndīshi   kwāhan   dā   xíin*
> liquor   INC:go   he   with
> the liquor he took with him

> *chaa   xā   sáhā   dā   Nnīñū   xíin*
> man   CMP   CON:do   he   work   with
> the man with whom he works

With instrument adjunct as head:

> *yūchi   xáhnja   dā   kuñu*
> knife   CON:cut   he   meat
> the knife with which he cuts meat

yūchi xáhnja   dā xíín   kuñu
knife CON:cut   he with   meat
the knife with which he cuts meat

kaa   xáhnja   dā ndūku
metal   CON:cut   he firewood
the axe he cuts firewood with

With referent adjunct as head:

chaa   káhān   dā kwachi sɨ́kɨ
man   CON:speak   he sin   nape
the man whom they are accusing (lit. the man they are speaking
blame against)

suchī   káhān   dā xaha
child   CON:speak   he foot
the child on whose behalf he speaks

suchī   ni   kahān   ñā   xaha
child   COM   COM:speak   she   foot
the child on whose behalf she spoke

xārā   íyó   kwéntu
UN   CON:exist   story
the one there is a story (Sp. *cuento*) about

tāNna   úhū   xāta   yó
medicine CON:hurt   back   our:IN
medicine for our backaches

With peripheral element as head:

ñūu   xā   shíkó   vétu   ndīkā
town CMP   CON:sell   Robert   banana
the town where Robert sells bananas

ñūu   shíkó   xwáa ndōho
town CON:sell   John palm:basket
the town where John (Sp. *Juan*) sells palm baskets

kɨ́vɨ xā   ni   xihi   vétu
day CMP   COM   COM:die   Robert
the day Robert died

> *kɨvɨ ni xihi xwáa*
> day COM COM:die John
> the day John died

> *yãNnī ūhun óra xã kākā xaha yó*
> near five hour CMP POT:walk foot our:IN
> about five hours (Sp. *hora*) that we walk on foot

(See also 7.19.)

A proper noun or a free personal pronoun may occur as the head of a relative clause.

> *vétu xã kwāhan īkū*
> Robert CMP INC:go yesterday
> the Robert who went yesterday

> *róhó xã kúū yɨvɨ san sāu*
> you:FAM CMP CON:be person dialect rain
> you who are Mixtecs

A poststressed clitic pronoun may occur as the head of a relative clause only if it follows a specifier and/or a quantifier.

> *máá dā xã kwāhan īkū*
> SPEC he CMP INC:go yesterday
> he who went yesterday

> *kwaha dā xã ndóho kwēhē yúkán*
> much he CMP CON:suffer sickness that
> many of those who have that sickness

Equative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject or a peripheral element.

> *chaa kúū shīni*
> man CON:be head
> the man who is town president

> *chaa xã kúū shīni*
> man CMP CON:be head
> the man who is town president

> *chaa kúū sūtū*
> man CON:be priest
> the man who is the priest

> *chaa   ni   nduu   "presidente"*
> man   COM   COM:become   president
> the man who became president

> *suchī   nání   vétu*
> child   CON:be:named   Robert
> the child who is named Robert

> *suchī   xā   nání   vétu*
> child   CMP   CON:be:named   Robert
> the child who is named Robert

> *kwīyā   xā   kuu   dā   "maestro"*
> year   CMP   COM:be he   teacher
> the year he was a teacher

Sentences with stative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject. The complementizer *xā* rarely occurs unless another verb is used together with the stative verb (see §1.1.6).

> *chaa   xíní*
> man   drunk
> drunk man

> *kūtī   shāān*
> animal   fierce
> fierce animal

> *sāhmā   vaha*
> cloth   good
> good cloth

> *sāhmā   xā   vaha*
> cloth   CMP   good
> good cloth

> *ītū   xā   kōō   vaha*
> cornfield   CMP   POT:exist   good
> the cornfield that will be good

> *xārā   vīī   káā*
> UN   pretty   CON:appear
> things that look pretty

Three stative verbs have suppletive forms for singular and plural (see §5.2). When these occur as simple relative clauses, the nouns they modify are singular or plural by virtue of the number of the stative verb form.

īna káhnū
dog big:SG
big dog

kītī   náhnū
animal   big:PL
big animals

chaa lúlú
man   small:SG
boy

chaa kwáchí
man   small:PL
boys

vehe lúlú
house small:SG
little house

vétu   lúlú
Robert small:SG
little Robert

yōhō kánī
rope   long:SG
long rope

yōhō nánī
rope   long:PL
long ropes

(See also 7.17.)

There are also sequences of a noun followed by a modifying noun that should probably be considered to be relative clauses with a deleted verb. The second noun often gives the material out of which the first is made, or the topic of the first noun. These constructions are freely formed and are therefore not complex nuclei.

móno ñūma
figure wax
wax figure (Sp. *mono*)

tūtū   kwéntu
paper story
book of stories

kwéntu   īso
story   rabbit
rabbit story

In relative clauses, but not in main sentences, numerals function like
stative verbs to express ordinals. The tone of the first syllable is replaced
by high.

kɨ̄vɨ   úshi
day   ten
the tenth day (cf. *ūshi*)

chaa   úni
man   three
the third man (cf. *ūni*)

Deictic function is carried by one nominal marker, *ún* 'that', and by two
locative adverbs, *xáhá* 'here' and *yúkán* 'there'. The nominal marker is
somewhat weaker than the locative adverb, and it is often used much like
a definite article. When the locative adverbs function as deictics, they are
glossed 'this' and 'that', respectively.

sāhmā   xáhá
cloth   this
this cloth

īchī xáhá
trail this
this trail

xārā   xáhá
UN   this
this one

kɨ̄nɨ̄ yúkán
pig   that
that pig

kɨ̄nɨ̄ ún
pig   that
that pig *or* the pig

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.9, 7.12, and 7.19.)

The limiter *nī* 'just' follows the deictic.

ndīkā   nī
banana LIM
just a banana

maría nī
Mary LIM
just Mary

The additive *ka* 'more' follows the limiter and occurs only if the limiter
does.

Nnīnū nī   ka
work LIM   ADD
only more work

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. All possible combinations of these
elements occur, except that the additive occurs only if the limiter also does.

ūu   chaa   ún
two man   that
those two men *or* the two men

ūu   chaa   kwáchí   ún
two man   small:PL   that
those two boys *or* the two boys

kwaha   kītī   shāān   ún
much   animal fierce   that
those many fierce animals *or* the many fierce animals

kwaha   vehe   xáá   xáhá
much   house   new   this
these many new houses

kwéntu   xā   tu   xíní   ná   ún
story   CMP   NEG   CON:know   I:RES that
the story that I don't know

kwēhē   ni   Nnaha   ná   ún
sickness COM   COM:fare I:RES that
that sickness I had

kūun   máá   chaa
four   SPEC   man
four of only men

tíhlí   máá ndúchā
little:bit SPEC water
only a little bit of water

kūun máá sāhmā xáhá
four SPEC cloth   this
four of these very cloths

sāhmā   yúkán   nī
cloth   that   LIM
just that cloth

táká   xā   ni   kā sahā   ī
each   it:INAN COM PL COM:do GEN
each thing that they did

máá   īchī   káhnū
SPEC   trail   big:SG
the big trail in particular

máá   sāhmā lúlú   yúkán
SPEC cloth small:SG   that
that little cloth itself

máá   ndīkā   nī   ka
SPEC banana LIM   ADD
just more bananas themselves

(See also 7.18 and 7.34.)

Long relative clauses, including most of those based on content verbs, usually occur at the end of a noun phrase, rather than immediately following the noun. They therefore sometimes follow the deictic and limiter, and when they follow any of these, the relative clause usually begins with the complementizer *xā*.

sāhmā   yúkán   xā   ni   kiku   ñā
cloth   that   CMP   COM COM:sew she
that cloth she sewed

chaa   lúlú   yúkán xā   xahan   ndinūū
man   small:SG   that   CMP COM:go   Tlaxiaco
that boy who went to Tlaxiaco

chaa   yúkán xā   kúū   "maestro"
man   that   CMP CON:be teacher
that man who is a teacher

(See also 7.23.)

More than one relative clause may occur in a single noun phrase. Relative clauses based on content verbs follow those based on stative verbs. Those based on stative verbs may occur in any order, although the preferred sequence seems to be color, state, and then size.

> sāhmā   kwáhá   téhndé   lúlú
> cloth   red   torn   small:SG
> little torn red cloth

> sāhmā   kwáhá   vaha   lúlú   xā   ni   kiku   ñā   xā
> cloth   red   good   small:SG CMP   COM   COM:sew   she   CMP
>
>   ñúhú   sehe   ñā
>   CON:be:in child   her
> the good little red cloth she sewed that her child wears

> chaa   vaha   kā   xínī
> man   good   PL   CON:know
> good men who know.

Under certain conditions in discourse, the nucleus of a noun phrase may be unexpressed.

> máá
> SPEC
> [it] itself

> yúkán
> that
> that [one]

> ūni
> three
> three [things]

> táká   yúkán
> each   that
> each of those [things]

(See also 7.29.)

3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

Measurement noun phrases have a noun expressing a unit of measurement as their nucleus, and they contain an obligatory quantifier. They occur only

as quantifiers in other noun phrases, and in the following examples, the
higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

> *ūshi métru   (sāhmā)*
> ten   meter   (cloth)
> ten meters (Sp. *metro*) (of cloth)

> *ïin   yāxīn   (ndūchā)*
> one   gourd   (water)
> one gourdful (of water)

> *ūu   nūndōō   (nūni)*
> two   maquila   (corn)
> two maquilas (four-quart measures) (of corn)

Measurement noun phrases optionally include the limiter *nī,* the additive
ka, a deictic, and certain restricted kinds of relative clauses.

> *ūni   yāxīn   nī   (ndūchā)*
> three   gourd   LIM   (water)
> just three gourdfuls (of water)

> *ūni   yāxīn   ka   (ndūchā)*
> three   gourd   ADD   (water)
> three more gourdfuls (of water)

> *ūu   nūndōō   nī   ka   ún   (nūni)*
> two   maquila   LIM   ADD   that   (corn)
> only two more of those maquilas (of corn)

> *ūni   yāxīn   lúlú   (ndūchā)*
> three   gourd   small:SG   (water)
> three little gourdfuls (of water)

(See also 7.17.)

Relative clauses in measurement noun phrases are limited to those based
on a stative verb, as in the last example above, or to the fraction *yóso sāvā,*
which consists of the verb *yóso* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be
in addition', and the general quantifier *sāvā* 'half'. This form is often
reduced to *yó sāvā* or simply to *sāvā.* The fraction often follows the
nucleus of the noun phrase in which the measurement noun phrase is
embedded, even though it logically belongs with the measurement noun
phrase. When the full form follows the nucleus, it may be preceded by the
conjunction *ïi* 'and'.

> *ūu   nūndōō   yóso   sāvā   (nūni)*
> two   maquila   CON:be:on:top   half   (corn)
> two and a half maquilas (of corn)

> *ūu   nūndōō   sāvā   (nūni)*
> two   maquila   half   (corn)
> two and a half maquilas (of corn)

> *ūu   kílo   (shahan)   yó   sāvā*
> two   kilogram   (lard)   CON:be:on:top   half
> two and a half kilograms (Sp. *kilo*) (of lard)

> *ūu   nūndōō   (nūni)   tī   yóso   sāvā*
> two   maquila   (corn)   and   CON:be:on:top   half
> two and a half maquilas (of corn)

Fraction does not cooccur with deictic, nor does it cooccur with an aggregative noun phrase (see §4.1.3) as quantifier.

3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. A quantifier or specifier may precede the nucleus, and a limiter or relative clause based on a stative verb may follow it. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to nouns that can be possessed. The possessor is a full noun phrase with no special genitive marking.

With inherently possessed nouns:

> *īnī   dā*
> insides   his
> his insides

> *ndāhā   ná*
> arm   my:RES
> my arm

> *shīni   lúsū*
> head   mouse
> the mouse's head

> *shīshī   ní*
> aunt   your:RES
> your aunt

sāxin   ñā
nephew her
her nephew

shīīn   vehe
owner   house
the owner of the house

ūu   sēhē   ñā
two   child her
her two children

ūu   sēhē   lúlú   īna
two   child small:SG dog
the dog's two little pups

(See also 7.5, 7.17, 7.33, 7.36, and 7.42.)

With optionally possessed nouns:

shndīkɨ   dā
bull   his
his bulls

ñuhu   yó
earth   our:IN
our land

vehe   ñā
house her
her house

shiní   vétu
hat   Robert
Robert's hat

kwéntu   tɨNnɨ   yɨvɨ   ñáhnū   yúkán
story   several person mature that
the story of several of those old people

vehe   káhnū   dā
house   big:SG his
his big house

táká   ndāxāha   dā
each   helper   his
each of his helpers

ūu   vehe   vaha dā
two   house   good his
his two good houses

If the possessor is expressed by a poststressed clitic pronoun, a deictic or relative clause that modifies the nucleus sometimes follows the possessor.

sēhē   dā   yúkán
child   his   that
that child of his

sēhē   dā   xā   ni   xahan
child   his   CMP   COM   COM:go
his child who went

sēhē   lúlú   dā   yúkán   xā   ni   xahan
child   small:SG   his   that   CMP   COM   COM:go
that little child of his who went

(See also 7.17.)

A possessive noun phrase may occur as the possessor in another possessive noun phrase.

īna   sēhē   ñānī   chaa   yúkán
dog   child   brother:ME   man   that
that man's brother's child's dog

3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed with the interrogative pronouns *nā* 'what?' and *nāū* 'what?' or 'who?', and the interrogative adverb *nāsā* 'how?' (used in this construction to mean 'how much?' or 'how many?'). The interrogative word is initial in its noun phrase, and an interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence (see §§1.1.8 and 1.2.2). Occasionally the tone of a noun is raised to high high following an interrogative word.

nā   sāhmā
what   cloth
what cloth?

nā   īchī
what   trail
what trail?

nāū   chaa
what   man
what man?

nāū   sēhē
what   child
what child?

nāū   suchī
who   child
whose child?

nāsā   yáhá
how   chili:pepper
how many chili peppers? (cf. *yaha* 'chili pepper')

Many interrogative noun phrases have acquired idiomatic meanings; they have the function of single-word interrogative pronouns or adverbs. Some of the most common ones are:

nāū   yɨvɨ
what   person
who?

nā   óra
what   hour
when?

nā   kɨvɨ
what   day
when?

nā   sɨkɨ
what   nape
why?

nā   kwénta
what   account
why? (Sp. *cuenta*)

nāū   xā   shīīn
who   CMP   owner
whose?

One idiomatic phrase has the interrogative word second.

nūu nāū
face who
to whom?

3.5 Negative Noun Phrases

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the negative marker *ansu* to a noun phrase; they occur only in focus position in the sentence. An equative sentence (see §1.1.5) is usually negated by using a negative noun phrase for the nominal complement, but negative noun phrases also occur in other sentence types. In the following sentences containing negative noun phrases, the portion of the sentence outside the negative noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

> *ansu   suchī vaha (ni   sahá   xáhá)*
> NEG   child good (COM COM:do this)
> ([It was]) NOT A GOOD CHILD ([who] did this).

> *ansu   sāhmā (ni   kihin   ñā)*
> NEG   cloth   (COM COM:take she)
> ([It was]) NOT CLOTH (she bought).

> *ansu   yūchi   vétu   (kúū)*
> NEG   knife   Robert (CON:be)
> ([It] is) not Robert's knife.

> *ansu   máá dā (kúū)*
> NEG   SPEC he (CON:be)
> ([It] is) not he himself.

3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

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

> *īchī   káhnū*
> path   big:SG
> big path

> *kɨvɨ káhnū*
> day big:SG
> important day

ñūu   lúlú   yúkán
town   small:SG   that
that little town

kwīyā   xáhá
year   this
this year

(See also 7.38.)

Many locative noun phrases have the nouns *nūu* 'face' or *īchī* 'trail' as nucleus, followed by a relative clause.

nūu   kīhīn   dā
face   POT:go   he
the place where he will go

nūu   xítú   dā
face   CON:plow he
the place where he is plowing

nūu   kwāhan   yó
face   INC:go   we:IN
the future (lit. the place we are going to)

īchī   kwāhan   dā
trail   INC:go   he
the direction he is going (lit. the trail he is going on)

(See also 7.19 and 7.48.)

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

nūu   ñāhā
face   woman
in front of the woman *or* to the woman

nūu   īchī
face   trail
on the trail

xāta   vehe
back   house
in back of the house

chii   chaa ún
stomach   man   that
that man's stomach *or* below where that man is

īnī   xaku
insides   corral
in the corral

īnī   yōō
insides   month
within the month

shīni   yūkū
head   mountain
at the top of the mountain

shīni   yōō
head   month
the end of the month

nūu   ūni   kɨvɨ
face three   day
within three days

sɨkɨ   ndōho   yúkán
nape   palm:basket   that
on the outside of that basket

xaha   nāna   ñā
foot   mother   her
at her mother's (Sp. *nana*) feet *or* for the sake of her mother

(See also 7.1 and 7.48.)

The nouns *īchī* 'trail' and *kwénta* 'account', which do not refer to body parts and are not inherently possessed, also occur frequently in adverbial possessive noun phrases.

īchī   ñūu
trail town
toward town

īchī   vehe
trail house
the way to the house *or* the way from the house

īchī xāta lóma
trail back hill
the trail behind the hill (Sp. *loma*)

īchī chii   cháhá
trail stomach this:place
the trail below this one

kwénta sēhē dā
account child his
for his child

Adverbial possessive noun phrases differ from ordinary possessive noun phrases in that they do not permit the nucleus to have prenuclear or postnuclear elements, whereas the nucleus of an ordinary possessive noun phrase can take prenuclear quantifier or specifier and postnuclear limiter or relative clause based on a stative verb (see §3.3).

3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun phrases in the same structural position joined with no conjunction linking them. They occur in any noun-phrase position. One function of appositional noun phrases is to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified, a function filled by nonrestrictive relative clauses in English.

kūhu   ñā / maría
sister:FE her   Mary
her sister, Mary

chaa lúlú   / sēhē chaa yúkán
man   small:SG child man   that
the boy, that man's child

vétu / chaa xā   ni   kixi   īkū
Robert man CMP COM COM:come yesterday
Robert, the man who came yesterday

ñūu / nūu njáā   dā
town   face CON:be:located he
the town, the place where he lives

máá   dā / chaa xā   xahan ndinūū
SPEC he   man CMP COM:go Tlaxiaco
he, the man who went to Tlaxiaco

vehe / *nǔu vãxǐ   xwáa*
house   face INC:come John
the house, the place John is coming from

īchī / *nǔu kā xínū   tǐ*
trail   face PL CON:run it:AML
the trail, the place where the animals run

kǐtǐ   njákā   yó / *ūu rḭ̌   yó*
animal CON:guide we:IN   two sheep our:IN
the animals we lead, our two sheep

músu   / chaa kā sáhā   Nnīñū
hired:hand man PL CON:do work
the hired hands (Sp. *mozo*), the men who work

xārā xínī   ní / *nǔu njáā*
UN   CON:know you:RES face CON:be:located

  tāa "Sebastián Ojeda" / *yúkán*
  sir Sebastian Ojeda   there
the one you know, the place where Mr. Sebastian Ojeda lives, over
there

(See also 7.4, 7.17, 7.23, and 7.46.)

3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are either coordinate or disjunctive. In the
coordinate type, noun phrases are linked by the preposition *xíín* 'with', or
less frequently by the coordinate conjunction *tǐ* 'and'; occasionally they
have no overt link. (Noun phrases may also be linked by repeating the
verb, as described in §6.1.2.)

  máá   dā xíín sēhē dā
  SPEC   he with child his
  he and his child

  ūu ñānī   dā tǐ   ǐin kwāhā   dā
  two brother:ME his and one sister:ME his
  two of his brothers and one of his sisters

When three or more items are conjoined, *xíín* may precede each item,
all but the first item, just the final item, or be omitted entirely.

xíin *rǖ*   *xíin* *shndɨkɨ* *xíin* *kɨnɨ* *xíin* *chuun*
with   sheep   with   bull   with   pig   with   chicken
sheep, bulls, pigs, and chickens

máá *yó*   *xíin* *mbáá*   *yó*
SPEC   we:IN   with   child's:godparent   our:IN

  xíin *táká* *yɨvɨ*   *xā* *chíndéé* *yó*
  with   each   person   CMP CON:help us:IN
we ourselves and our child's godparents (Sp. *compadre*) and each
person who is helping us

rǖ   *shndɨkɨ* *kɨnɨ* *xíin* *chuun*
sheep   bull   pig   with   chicken
sheep, bulls, pigs, and chickens

rǖ   *shndɨkɨ* *kɨnɨ* *chuun*
sheep   bull   pig   chicken
sheep, bulls, pigs, and chickens

ɨɨn *ndíÑña* *vaha* / *ɨɨn* *lēlu* *vaha* / *ɨɨn* *sāhmā* *vaha*
one   sandal   good   one   hat   good   one   cloth   good
a good pair of sandals, a good hat (Sp. *sombrero*), [and] a good
piece of clothing

A sequence of two noun phrases linked by *xíin* 'with' is sometimes
ambiguous between an additive noun phrase as subject or object and a
simple noun phrase followed by an associative adjunct (see §1.1.4).

(ni   *xahan)*   *chaa* *yúkán* *xíin* *ñānī*   *dā*
(COM   COM:go)   man   that   with   brother:ME   his
That man and his brother (went). *or* That man (went) with his
brother.

(ni   *kihin*   *ñā)*   *ndɨkɨn* *xíin* *tɨnānā*
(COM   COM:take she)   onion   with   tomato
(She bought) onions and tomatoes. *or* (She bought) onions with
tomatoes.

Additive noun phrases with *xíin* show attraction when the first component
noun phrase contains a plural quantifier and the second component noun
phrase permits the interpretation that it is included in the first one. This
construction is limited to noun phrases expressing kinship and other social
relationships. In this construction *xíin* should perhaps be translated 'including'
rather than 'with'.

> ndǐndúú dā xíín   ñānī   dā
> both   he with   brother:ME his
> both he and his brother

> ndǐ ūni   chaa yúkán xíín   ñānī   dā xíín kwāhā   dā
> all three   man that with brother:ME his with sister:ME his
> all three, including that man, his brother, and his sister

> táká   dā xíín   ñēro   dā
> each   he with companion his
> he and his companions (Sp. *compañero*)

> ndǐndúú yó   xíín ní
> both   we:IN with you:RES
> both you and I

To express a disjunctive relationship between two noun phrases, the coordinate conjunction *shí* 'or' occurs between the two.

> īchī cháhá   shí īchī   chúkán
> trail this:place   or trail that:place
> in this direction or that direction (lit. this trail or that trail)

> kwāhā   dā shí ñānī   dā
> sister:ME his or brother:ME his
> his sister or his brother

> tíkwā   shí ndīkā
> citrus:fruit   or banana
> either citrus fruit or bananas

To express a negative disjunction, the conjunction *nī* (or its variant form *nǐ*) 'nor' (Sp. *ni*) is used before each part. Only one such phrase may occur in a sentence, and the verb must also be negated.

> nī kwāhā   dā nī   ñānī   dā (tu   ni   xahan)
> nor sister:ME his nor brother:ME his (NEG COM   COM:go)
> NEITHER HIS SISTER NOR HIS BROTHER (went).

> nǐ ndǐshǐ dā nǐ   njākwáhá dā
> nor liquor his nor tepache his
> neither his liquor nor his tepache (an alcoholic beverage)

3.9 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Indefinite noun phrases are formed in two ways. In the first way the interrogative pronouns *nā* 'what?' or *nāū* 'what?' or 'who?' occur together

with a following noun phrase. The general quantifier *táká* 'each' may precede the interrogative pronoun, and the limiter *nī* may follow it.

> *nā   kɨvɨ*
> what   day
> any day *or* whenever

> *naū   ɨn   Nnuhu*
> what   one   word
> any word

> *táká   naū   kā   kihin   dā*
> each   what   PL   POT:take   he
> whatever else they may get

> *naū   nī   yɨvɨ*
> who   LIM   person
> anyone *or* whoever

Indefinite noun phrases formed in this way are similar to interrogative noun phrases, except that they are not restricted to sentence-initial position.

In the second way the nominal marker *sāvahni* 'any', optionally followed by the additive *ka*, occurs with a following noun.

> *sāvahni   ka   ndōho*
> any   ADD   palm:basket
> any palm basket

3.10 Classifier Noun Phrases

Classifier noun phrases are formed by combining a classifier with a noun, usually one that refers to a person or animal. The classifiers include the prestressed pronouns *rā* 'he', *ñā* 'she', *xā* 'it (inanimate)', and *xārā* 'unspecified', and also the nouns *tāa* 'sir' and *nāa* 'ma'am'.

> *rā   īso*
> he   rabbit
> Mr. rabbit *or* the rabbit

> *ñā   maría*
> she   Mary
> Miss Mary

> *xā   gríyu*
> it:INAN   cricket
> the cricket (Sp. *grillo*)

xǎrā   chaa
UN   man
Mr. man *or* the man

xǎrā   vǎhu
UN   coyote
Mr. coyote *or* the coyote

xǎrā   kōō
UN   terrace
the terrace

tāa   xwáa
sir   John
Mr. John

nāa   maña
ma'am   Mary
Mrs. Mary

(See also 7.1, 7.2, and 7.12.)

Sometimes a quantifier occurs between the classifier and the noun, and occasionally two classifiers occur together.

xǎrā   ïïn   gríyu
UN   one   cricket
the one cricket

xǎrā   táká   kïtï
UN   each   animal
each of the animals

rā   xǎrā   ndïkáhá
he   UN   lion
Mr. lion *or* the lion

Sometimes the classifier functions as an honorific title, and sometimes it simply slows down the flow of information.

4
Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

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

ūshi īīn
ten   one
eleven

shyāhun   ūni
fifteen   three
eighteen

ōko   ūshi
twenty   ten
thirty

ōko   shyāhun
twenty   fifteen
thirty-five

syéntu   ōko
hundred   twenty
one hundred (Sp. *ciento*) twenty

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

> *ōko*   *shyāhun*   *kūun*
> twenty   fifteen   four
> thirty-nine

> *mīil*   *syéntu*   *ōko*   *ūshi*   *ūu*
> thousand   hundred   twenty   ten   two
> one thousand (Sp. *mil*) one hundred thirty-two

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, *shīko,* occurs.

> *kūun*   *shīko*
> four   twenty
> eighty

> *ūna*   *syéntu*
> eight   hundred
> eight hundred

> *ūni*   *mīil*
> three   thousand
> three thousand

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

> *ūu*   *shīko*   *shyāhun*   *īin*
> two   twenty   fifteen   one
> fifty-six

> *ūu*   *mīil*   *ūshya*   *syéntu*   *ūni*   *shīko*   *ūshi*   *īin*
> two   thousand   seven   hundred   three   twenty   ten   one
> two thousand seven hundred seventy-one

4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases. A numeral higher than one, or a short expanded numeral phrase (see §4.1.4), combines with the noun *Nnáhā* 'companion' to form aggregative numeral phrases. In this construction *Nnáhā* means something like 'grouped'. These phrases occur as quantifiers in noun phrases and as nuclei in other numeral phrases. In

the following examples, an entire noun phrase is given with the part
outside the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

> *ūni   Nnáhā   (dā)*
> three companion (he)
> three (of them)

> *ūu   nī   ka   Nnáhā   (nūndōō)*
> two LIM ADD companion (maquila)
> only two more (maquilas [four-quart measures])

(See also 7.6.)

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

The prenuclear element comprises several words that quantify the
numeral nucleus. These include the locative adverb *yāNnī* 'near', used in
this construction to mean 'approximately', the general quantifiers *ndɨhɨ* or
ndɨ 'all' and *táká* 'each', and the specifier *máá*.

> *yāNnī ōko*
> near   twenty
> approximately twenty

> *ndɨhɨ syéntu*
> all   hundred
> all hundred

> *ndɨ ūshya*
> all   seven
> all seven

> *táká   ūu   (vehe)*
> each   two   (house)
> every other (house)

> *máá   ūshya*
> SPEC seven
> only seven

The general quantifier *ndɨ* 'all' fuses with the numeral *ūu* 'two' to form
ndúú 'both'. More commonly, however, *ndɨ* fuses again with *ndúú* to create
ndɨndúú.

There are five postnuclear elements: the general adverb *kwítí* 'completely', the repetitive *tūkū,* the limiter *nī,* the additive *ka,* and the fraction *yóso sāvā* 'half'. The first four of these occur in any combination in the above order.

> *ūu   kwítí*
> two completely
> exactly two

> *ūshya   tūkū*
> seven   REP
> seven other

> *ūhun   nī*
> five   LIM
> only five

> *ūhun   ka*
> five   ADD
> five more

> *ūna   kwítí   tūkū*
> eight   completely REP
> exactly eight other

> *ndī   ūhun nī   ka*
> all   five   LIM   ADD
> five more, that's all

> *máá   īin   nī*
> SPEC   one   LIM
> just one particular *or* a single

Sometimes *ka* follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the numeral phrase occurs, thus creating a discontinuous quantifier phrase.

> *ūu   (sēhē   nī)   ka   (chaa   yúkán)*
> two   (child   LIM) ADD   (man   that)
> (that man's only) two (children) that are left

The fraction *yóso sāvā* 'half' contains the verb *yóso* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition', and the general quantifier *sāvā* 'half'. It may be reduced to *yó sāvā* or simply *sāvā*. This element usually follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the numeral phrase occurs, thus creating a discontinuous quantifier phrase. The full form is sometimes preceded by the conjunction *tī* 'and'.

ɨɨn (ndɨkā) yóso   sāvā
one (banana) CON:be:on:top   half
one and a half (bananas)

ɨɨn (ndɨkā) yó   sāvā
one (banana) CON:be:on:top   half
one and a half (bananas)

ɨɨn (ndɨkā) sāvā
one (banana) half
one and a half (bananas)

ɨɨn (ndɨkā) tɨ   yóso   sāvā
one (banana) and CON:be:on:top   half
one and a half (bananas)

When fraction cooccurs with the limiter and/or the additive, the limiter and additive may either precede the noun nucleus or follow the fraction.

ūhun nɨ   ka   (ndɨkā)   yó   sāvā
five LIM ADD (banana) CON:be:on:top   half
only five and a half more (bananas)

ūhun nɨ   ka   (ndɨkā)   sāvā
five LIM ADD (banana) half
only five and a half more (bananas)

ūu   (stāā)   yó   sāvā nɨ   ka
two (tortilla) CON:be:on:top   half LIM ADD
only two and a half more (tortillas)

4.1.5 General quantifier phrases. Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which is a nonnumeral quantifier, two optional prenuclear elements, and three optional postnuclear elements. The prenuclear elements are the specifier *máá* and manner, expressed only by the intensifying adverb *ndē;* and the postnuclear elements are manner (expressed only by intensifying elements), the limiter *nɨ,* and the additive *ka.* All three postnuclear positions cooccur in the above order.

máá   tɨhlɨ   (ndūchā)
SPEC little:bit (water)
a little bit of that very (water)

ndē   kwaha (nūni)
INTS much (corn)
very much (corn)

kwaha   ka   (ndɨvɨ)
much   ADD   (egg)
many more (eggs)

ndɨ   kwɨtɨ   (chaa)
all   completely   (man)
every one (of the men)

xākū   nī   (kɨtɨ)
few   LIM   (animal)
just a few (animals)

tɨhlɨ   nī   (nūxīī)
little:bit   LIM   (firearm)
a few (rifles), no more

xākū   ka   (kɨtɨ)
few   ADD   (animal)
a few more (animals)

tɨhla   ka   (trɨu)
somewhat   ADD   (wheat)
some more (wheat [Sp. *trigo*])

tɨhlɨ   nī   ka   (nūxīī)
little:bit   LIM   ADD   (firearm)
a few more (rifles), that's all

xākū   kwɨtɨ   nī   ka   (kuñu)
few   completely   LIM   ADD   (meat)
just a very little bit more (meat)

Sometimes two intensifiers cooccur.

kwaha   shāān   tōndo   (kaa)
much   fierce   foolish   (metal)
very very much (metal)

4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases. A repeated numeral with no pre-
nuclear or postnuclear modifiers, or a repeated numeral preceded by *ndɨ* 'all',
constitutes a distributive numeral phrase.

ɨ̄n   ɨ̄n
one one
each

ūu   ūu
two   two
each pair

ndɨ   ɨɨn   ndɨ   ɨɨn
all   one   all   one
every single one

ndɨ   ūu   ndɨ   ūu
all   two   all   two
each pair

4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases. Two or three numerals, with the later ones expressing higher quantities, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The numerals may be simply juxtaposed, or the conjunction *shí* 'or' may precede the last phrase or all of them.

ɨɨn   ūu   (ndɨshɨ)
one   two   (ear:of:corn)
a few (ears of corn)

ɨɨn   ūu   ūni   (ndɨshɨ)
one   two   three   (ear:of:corn)
a few (ears of corn)

kūun   ūhun (yɨvɨ)
four   five   (person)
four or five (people)

ūna   shí   ūshi   (kɨtɨ)
eight   or   ten   (animal)
eight or ten (animals)

shí   ūna   shí   shyāhun   (kɨvɨ)
or   eight   or   fifteen   (day)
one or two (weeks)

Occasionally a brief expanded numeral phrase occurs as the first part of this construction.

yāNnī   ōko   ūhun / ōko   ūshi   (kɨtɨ)
near   twenty   five   twenty   ten   (animal)
approximately twenty-five or thirty (animals)

yāNnī   ōko   ūhun shí   ōko   ūshi   (kɨtɨ)
near   twenty   five   or   twenty   ten   (animal)
approximately twenty-five or thirty (animals)

4.1.8 Negative quantifier phrases. The conjunction *nī* or *nɨ* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*), used here in the sense of 'not even', combines with a numeral, a general quantifier, or a short general quantifier phrase expressing a minimal amount to form negative quantifier phrases.

> *nī   ɨ̇n*
> nor one
> not even one
>
> *nī   xākɨ̄*
> nor few
> not even a few
>
> *nī   tɨ́hlɨ̇*
> nor little:bit
> not even a little bit
>
> *nī   tɨ́hlɨ̇   nī*
> nor little:bit   LIM
> not even just a little bit
>
> *nī   tɨ́hlɨ̇   nī   ka*
> nor little:bit   LIM   ADD
> not even just a little bit more

Only one negative quantifier phrase may occur in a sentence, and the verb must also be negated unless the negative quantifier phrase is in focus position.

> *(tu   ni   kihin   ñā)   nī   ɨ̇n   (ndīkā)*
> (NEG   COM   COM:take she)   nor   one   (banana)
> (She didn't buy) even one (banana).
>
> *nī   tɨ́hlɨ̇   nī   (nūni   ni   kendo)*
> nor little:bit   LIM   (corn   COM   COM:stay)
> NOT EVEN A LITTLE (CORN was left).

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. A nucleus and three optional postnuclear elements combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus is expressed by a locative, temporal, or general adverb; and the postnuclear elements are manner (expressed only by intensifying elements), the limiter *nī*, and the additive *ka*. Semantically, manner and additive collocate only with certain general adverbs.

With locative adverbs:

> *xáhá   ni̅*
> here   LIM
> just here

> *yúkán ni̅*
> there   LIM
> just there

With temporal adverbs:

> *i̅ku̅   ni̅*
> yesterday LIM
> just yesterday

With general adverbs:

> *syúkán   ni̅*
> in:that:way   LIM
> just that way

> *yāchi̅   shāān   ka*
> fast   fierce   ADD
> much faster

> *kwe̅e̅   shāān   ni̅   ka*
> slowly fierce   LIM   ADD
> just very much more slowly

(See also 7.35.)

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

> *yúkán / nu̅u   sáNni̅ñu̅   dā*
> there   face   CON:work   he
> there, the place where he works

> *yúkán / i̅ni̅   vehe*
> there   insides house
> there, inside the house

> *xáhá   ni̅ / māhñu   ndi̅ndúú   vehe*
> here   LIM between both   house
> just here, between both houses

yúkán / ūndi   nūndūvā
there   until Oaxaca
there, as far as Oaxaca

īÑñā   / kɨvɨ ūshi
tomorrow   day   ten
tomorrow, the tenth day

kaa   ūshi / xākwāā
metal   ten   at:night
ten o'clock at night

kaa   ūu / vīNnā
metal   two   now
at two o'clock today

ɨɨn nūndāa   / vīNnā
one little:later now
a little bit later today

4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases.
There are two ways to form additive adverb phrases. Two noncoreferential adverbs may be juxtaposed with no conjunction linking them, or they may be linked by *xíín* 'with'.

ndúú   ñúú
all:day all:night
all day and all night

ndúú   xíín   ñúú
all:day with all:night
all day and all night

vīNnā īÑñā
now   tomorrow
today and tomorrow *or* in the near future

īÑñā   ísá
tomorrow day:after:tomorrow
tomorrow and the day after *or* in the future

4.2.4 Alternative adverb phrases.
Two adverbs or adverb phrases linked by the coordinate conjunction *shí* 'or' constitute an alternative adverb phrase. The interrogative marker occurs between the two parts and optionally before the first.

ĩÑñā   shí ísá
tomorrow or day:after:tomorrow
tomorrow or the day after

shí   ĩÑñā   shí ísá
or   tomorrow   or day:after:tomorrow
tomorrow or the day after

xáhá   shí yúkán
here   or   there
here or there

shí   xáhá shí yúkán
or   here or   there
here or there

4.2.5 Repetitive adverb phrases. The simple repetition of an adverb, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. The limiter *nĩ* may follow both adverbs, and the additive *ka* may follow the second.

kwēē   kwēē
slowly slowly
very slowly

kwēē   kwēē   nĩ
slowly slowly LIM
just very slowly

kwēē   nĩ   kwēē   nĩ
slowly LIM   slowly LIM
just very slowly

kwēē   kwēē   ka
slowly slowly ADD
much more slowly

kwēē   ka   kwēē   ka
slowly ADD   slowly ADD
much more slowly

Repetitive adverb phrases occur only in content verb phrases. Those consisting of a repeated adverb phrase occur only in preverbal manner position.

kwēē   nī   kwēē   nī   (ni   kee   koyo   y+v+)
slowly LIM slowly LIM (COM COM:leave PL   person)
(The people) just (left) very slowly.

In 7.13, however, a repetitive adverb phrase occurs as a sentence fragment.

4.2.6 Interrogative adverb phrases. An interrogative adverb may be combined with the specifier *máá* 'the very' to form an interrogative adverb phrase.

nándī   máá
where SPEC
precisely where?

4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which is expressed either by a noun phrase or by 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 *xíin* or *xíni* 'with', *ūndi* 'until',[3] *māhñu* 'between', *xākū* 'with reference to' or 'than', *xā sīk+* 'because of', and *māhñu sāvā* 'halfway between'. Prepositional phrases occur mainly as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

xíin   sēhē   dā
with   child   his
with his children

ūndi   vīNnā
until   now
until now *or* from now on

ūndi   vīNnā   nī
until   now   LIM
just until today *or* just from today on

māhñu   vehe
between   house
between the houses

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[3]The preposition *ūndi* has a wider distribution than other prepositions. Prepositional phrases with *ūndi* sometimes serve as subject, for example, or as part of the object of another preposition. Perhaps it could be more accurately classified as a specifier (see §3.1.2).

> *xākū*   *chíku*
> with:reference:to   Frank
> than Frank (Sp. *Chico*) *or* as for Frank
>
> *xā   sɨkɨ   ɨɨn   nūndóhō*
> CMP nape one   suffering
> because of a sickness
>
> *māhñu   sāvā   ūu   vehe*
> between   half   two   house
> halfway between the two houses
>
> (See also 7.5, 7.7, and 7.11.)

   The object of a preposition may be unexpressed if it can be supplied from the context.

   When two prepositional phrases with *ūndi* 'until' are juxtaposed, they express the spatial or temporal scope of an action; the first instance of *ūndi* is translated 'from', and the second one is translated 'to', 'until', or 'as far as'.

> *ūndi   "México"   ūndi   xáhá*
> until   Mexico:City   until   here
> from Mexico City to here
>
> *ūndi   vīNnā   ūndi   kwīyā   xā   kíxí*
> until   now   until   year   CMP   POT:come
> from now until next year

5

Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

5.1.1 Derivation. Content verbs are derived from other content verbs, stative verbs, and nouns by means of prefixes, sometimes accompanied by tone changes, and also by compounding.

The prefix *s-* or *sā-* 'causative', which is a reduced form of the verb *sáhá* 'to do', adds an agent. The *s-* form combines with content verbs in potential aspect in a highly productive derivational process. When this prefix is added, the tone of the first syllable of the stem changes to high.

> *s-káxī*
> CAUS-POT:eat
> to give to eat (cf. *kāxī* 'POT:eat')

> *s-kóhō*
> CAUS-POT:drink
> to give a drink to (cf. *kōhō* 'POT:drink')

> *s-kókó*
> CAUS-POT:swallow
> to cause to swallow (cf. *kōkó* 'POT:swallow')

> *s-kúnū*
> CAUS-POT:run
> to chase, to frighten (cf. *kūnū* 'POT:run')

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s-kwáhā
CAUS-POT:?
to study (cf. *kwāhā* 'POT:give')

s-ndɨhɨ
CAUS-POT:finish
to cause to finish (cf. *ndɨhɨ* 'POT:finish')

s-káhndɨ
CAUS-POT:explode
to cause to explode (cf. *kāhndɨ* 'POT:explode')

(See also 7.9.)

The *sā-* form combines with stative verbs and nouns to create derived content verbs.

With stative verbs:

sā-vaha
POT:CAUS-good
to put away

sā-ndáhú
POT:CAUS-poor
to humble (oneself)

With nouns:

sā-Nnīñū
POT:CAUS-work
to work

sā-kwīhnā
POT:CAUS-demon
to steal (cf. *kwīhna* 'demon')

The prefix *nā-* 'repetitive' combines with content and equative verbs in potential aspect. This prefix adds the meaning of repeated or resumed action, though many verbs with it have acquired idiomatic meanings.

nā-ndɨhɨ
POT:REP-POT:finish
to need

nā-kūnī
POT:REP-POT:see
to recognize

nā-kwāhā
POT:REP-POT:give
to hand over

Sometimes the prefix is reduced to *n-*, and a stem-initial *k* is either lost or replaced by *d*.

n-jāā
REP-POT:arrive:here
to return, to arrive back here (cf. *chāā* 'POT:arrive here')

n-dúu
REP-POT:be
to become (cf. *kūū* 'POT:be')

n-dēndā
REP-POT:appear
to show up again (cf. *kēndā* 'POT:appear')

n-dāā
REP-POT:ascend
to ascend again (cf. *kāā* 'POT:ascend')

Repetitive and causative prefixes can occur together in a word. The causative prefix occurs next to the stem.

nā-sā-vaha
POT:REP-POT:CAUS-good
to repair

nā-s-ndéē
POT:REP-CAUS-POT:lower
to transplant (cf. *ndēē* 'POT:lower')

nā-s-tútú
POT:REP-CAUS-POT:be:gathered:together
to reunite (cf. *tútú* 'POT:be:gathered:together')

Compounds are formed by the fusion of a complex verb nucleus (see §2.1.1) into a single word. Often the first part of the compound, which was the main verb of the original construction, is reduced to a single syllable.

The verbs *kūū* 'to be' and *ndúu* 'to become' combine with stative verbs, adverbs, and nouns to form content verbs.

kū-kwéé
POT:be-slowly
to be slow

kū-Nnīñū
POT:be-work
to be occupied

kū-tūhva
POT:be-intelligent
to learn

kū-tīluu
POT:be-round
to be round (cf. *tílúú* 'spherical')

ndū-shāān
POT:become-fierce
to get fierce

ndū-xáhán
POT:become-fertilized
to be fertilized (cf. *xāhān* 'fertilizer')

(See also 7.3, 7.20, 7.35, 7.41, 7.44, 7.47, and 7.50.)

Many other verbs serve as the first part of compounds.

With verbs of placement:

chū-sāmā
POT:put:in-POT:change
to change direction (cf. *chūhūn* 'POT:put:in')

chū-Nnāhā
POT:put:in-companion
to join together (cf. *Nnáhā* 'companion')

chī-ndéé
POT:thrust-brave
to help (cf. *chīhī* 'POT:thrust')

chī-ndáhá
POT:thrust-hand
to push (cf. *ndāhā* 'hand')

(See also 7.48.)

With verbs of movement:

> *kūn-jūkū*
> POT:fall-POT:put
> to be located (plural) (cf. *kūūn* 'POT:fall', *chūkū* 'POT:place')

> *kūn-soho*
> POT:fall-ear
> to listen

> *kē-xāhā*
> POT:leave-foot
> to begin (cf. *xaha* 'foot')

With other verbs:

> *kā-ndahu*
> POT:speak-poor
> to beg (cf. *kāhān* 'POT:speak', *ndáhú* 'poor')

> *kī-ndāhā*
> POT:be:joined-hand
> to care for (cf. *kīhī* 'POT:be:joined')

In some compounds it is difficult to determine the source of the first part.

> *ndá-Nnūhū*
> ?-word
> to discuss (cf. *Nnuhu* 'word')

> *nū-Nnāhā*
> ?-companion
> to embrace (cf. *Nnáhā* 'companion')

> *xā-Nnaha   (īnī)*
> ?-companion   (insides)
> to like

> *ná-ndāhā*
> ?-hand
> to marry

> *kō-nēnē*
> ?-POT:be:closed
> to close the eyes

kō-ñūhū
?-earth
to rake (cf. *ñuhu* 'earth')

nī-kwehe
?-sickness
to get sick (cf. *kwēhē* 'sickness')

nū-kāvā
?-POT:rest
to lay down

(See also 7.36, 7,43, and 7.45.)

Some words must be compounds because they contain three syllables, but both parts are of indeterminate origin.

ñú-ñáhmū
?-?
to be combined

xā-kwɨñɨ
?-?
to be still

One pair of verbs is in a suppletive relationship: one occurs with a singular subject, and the other with a plural subject.

kūnjā	'to be located (singular)'
kūnjūkū	'to be located (plural)'

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

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

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

There are two major inflectional classes of simple verbs. In the first class, aspect inflection is carried by tone changes, and in the second class, there are segmental changes as well.

One class of verbs that are inflected for aspect by means of tone changes alone shows changes only on the first syllable. Continuative aspect forms have high tone on the first syllable, and completive forms have low tone on the first syllable. If the potential aspect form has mid tone on the first syllable, there are three distinct aspect forms. If potential has high tone on the first syllable, continuative is homophonous with potential. (No verbs of this class have low tone on the first syllable of the potential form.) The preverbal marker *ni* 'completive' (see §2.1.2) optionally occurs with completive forms.

	POT	CON	COM
swim	*súchá*	*súchá*	*suchá*
look	*ndéhé*	*ndéhé*	*ndehé*
get wet	*ndáxí*	*ndáxí*	*ndaxí*
do	*sáhā*	*sáhā*	*sahā*
become	*ndúu*	*ndúu*	*nduu*
swallow	*kōkó*	*kókó*	*kokó*
ring	*kāshín*	*káshín*	*kashín*
plane	*yōkón*	*yókón*	*yokón*
pick fruit	*tāshín*	*táshín*	*tashín*
pat with hands	*kātū*	*kátū*	*katū*
paint	*kāhyū*	*káhyū*	*kahyū*
cover over	*sūkū*	*súkū*	*sukū*
appear like	*ndākū*	*ndákū*	*ndakū*
drip	*kōyō*	*kóyō*	*koyō*
hit	*kānī*	*kánī*	*kanī*
put out	*ndāhva*	*ndáhva*	*ndahva*
save, multiply	*kāya*	*káya*	*kaya*

In verbs of the form CVV, however, the low tone that marks completive carries across both syllables.

	POT	CON	COM
continue	*sīīn*	*sîîn*	*siin*
be	*kūū*	*kúū*	*kuu*
ascend	*kāā*	*káā*	*kaa*

Some verbs show other patterns of tone change.

	POT	CON	COM
desire	*xíhyó*	*xíhyó*	*xihyo*
dream	*xānī*	*xání*	*xani*
want, ought	*kuni*	*kūni*	*kuni*

Most verbs that have segmental changes begin with *k* or *kw* in potential, and with *x* or *y* in the other two aspects. These verbs also show various tone changes.

	POT	CON	COM
walk	*kākā*	*xíka*	*xika*
close	*kāsɨ̄*	*xásɨ̄*	*xasɨ*
be joined	*kɨ̄hɨ̄*	*yíhɨ̄*	*yɨhɨ̄*
buy	*kwāān*	*xáān*	*xaan*
sing	*kātā*	*xítā*	*xitā*
be careful	*kōtō*	*xítō*	*xitō*
place	*kānī*	*xánī*	*xanī*
run	*kūnū*	*xínū*	*xinū*
see, know	*kūnī*	*xínī*	*xini*
give	*kwāhā*	*xáhā*	*xaha*
cut	*kāhnjā*	*xáhnja*	*xahnja*

Some verbs show other changes.

	POT	CON	COM
eat	*kāxī*	*yáxí, yéé*	*yaxī, yeē*
drink	*kōhō*	*xíhí*	*xihī*

die	kūu	xíhi	xihi
be sour	kwīya	íyá	xiya
exist	kōō	íyó	iyo
sleep	kūsū	kíshī	kishi

Some verbs have a prefix *kū-* or *kō-* in potential aspect. This prefix does not occur when the potential aspect form follows a directional (see §2.1.2).

	POT	CON	COM
carry	kūndīsō	ndísō	ndiso
wait	kūndātū	ndátū	ndatu
guide, deposit	kūnjākā	njákā	njaka
watch	kūndītō	ndítō	ndito
be named	kōnání	nání	naní

Verbs with derivational prefixes usually change only the tone of the prefix. If, however, the prefix has no vowel, the tone change appears on the first syllable of the stem.

	POT	CON	COM
chant	nākwātū	nákwātū	nakwātū
recognize	nākūnī	nákūnī	nakūnī
hand over	nākwāhā	nákwāhā	nakwaha
give to drink	skóhō	skóhō	skohō
study	skwáhā	skwáhā	skwahā
work	sāNnīñū	sáNnīñū	saNnīñū
put away	sāvaha	sāvaha	savaha

In compound verbs the changes that indicate aspect usually occur only on the first part of the compound. These changes sometimes involve segments as well as tone.

	POT	CON	COM
push	chīndáhá	chíndáhá	chindáhá
discuss	ndāNnūhū	ndáNnūhū	ndaNnūhū
travel around	kwīkónúú	xíkónúú	xikónúú

bite	*kēyíhí*	*yéyíhí*	*yeyíhí*
begin	*kēxáhá*	*kéxāhā*	*kexāhā*
learn	*kūtūhvā*	*kútūhvā*	*kutuhva*
go in front	*kōshnúú*	*yóshnúú*	*yoshnuu*
be located (SG)	*kūnjā*	*kánjā*	*kunja*
be located (PL)	*kūnjūkū*	*kánjūkū*	*kunjuku*

A few compounds have suppletive forms for different aspects because they contain different verb stems as the first part.

	POT	CON	COM
listen	*kūnsoho*	*ñúsoho*	*ñusoho*
kneel	*kūnxītī*	*ñúxītī*	*ñuxītī*

The first part of these two verbs is *kūūn* 'to fall' in potential, and *ñúhú* 'to be in' in continuative and completive.

Two motion verbs have an incomplete aspect, used for trips that have been initiated but not yet terminated. Continuative aspect forms of motion verbs, when they occur, are used only for habitual action, never progressive.

	POT	CON	COM	INC
go	*kīhīn*	*xáhan*	*xahan*	*kwāhan*
come	*kíxí, kíí*	—	*kixi, kii*	*vāxī*

The potential aspect form is usually used to express imperative, but a few verbs have special imperative forms.

kwáhán   'go!' (cf. *kwāhan* 'INC:go')
chóhō   'let's go!' (cf. *yó* 'we:IN')
ñaha   'come!'
xáán   'take [it]!'
yáhá   'take [it]!'

The negative verb *tūū* 'to not exist' is defective in that it occurs only in continuative aspect.

5.2 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs differ from content and equative verbs in that they are not inflected for aspect.

vaha	'good'
vīī	'pretty'
ndáhú	'poor, sad'
kwáhá	'red'

Stative verbs are occasionally derived from nouns by raising the tone of both syllables to high.

súkún	'tall' (cf. *sūkun* 'throat')

Three stative verbs have distinct forms for singular and plural referents. They are:

	SG	PL
small	*lúlú*	*kwáchí*
big	*káhnū*	*náhnū*
long	*kánī*	*nánī*

The prefix *tí-* is used with some stative verbs to denote roundness; it is probably the same prefix that occurs with spherical nouns.

tí-kánī	'oblong' (cf. *kánī* 'long:SG')
tí-chúū	'doughnut shaped'
tí-lúú	'spherical'

(See also 7.3.)

Three stative verbs function as intensifying elements; they occur in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, quantifier phrases, and adverb phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, 4.1.4, 4.1.5, and 4.2). These stative verbs are:

shāān	'fierce'
lóko	'crazy (Sp. *loco*)'
tōndo	'foolish (Sp. *tonto*)'

5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There are, however, some prefixes, which are reduced forms of generic nouns. This is an especially common way to create animal, tree, and fruit names, and also abstract nouns.

Animal names are often derived by a prefix that has the forms *tɨ-*, *ndɨ-*, and occasionally *ndī-*, which come from *kɨtɨ* 'animal'. The meaning of the stem sometimes cannot be determined.

tɨ-suhmā or *ndɨ-suhmā*	'scorpion' (cf. *suhma* 'tail')
tɨ-kūchi	'bat' (cf. reg. Sp. *cuchi* 'pig')
ndɨ-nūñú	'chameleon'
ndɨ-káhá	'lion'
ndī-shīhyú	'goat' (cf. *īshī* 'hair', *yūhū* 'mouth')

Some animal names begin with *ch* or *nj*, which is probably a fused form of this prefix.

chaká	'fish'
chotō	'rat'
choho	'flea'
chukún	'fly'
njóhó	'hummingbird'

Tree names or wooden articles often have the derivational prefix *nū-*, from *yūNnū* 'tree'.

nū-ndikā	'banana tree' (cf. *ndīkā* 'banana')
nū-iñú	'sticker bush' (cf. *īñū* 'thorn')
nū-yushyá	'pine tree' (cf. *sushya* 'resin')
nū-yukún	'cypress tree'
nū-yaNnúú	'black oak tree' (cf. *Nnúú* 'black')
nū-yakwáán	'yellow oak tree' (cf. *kwáán* 'yellow')
nū-xīī	'firearm, rifle'

Some names of spherical articles, including fruit and vegetables, are formed by using a prefix of the form *tɨ-* or *ndɨ-*, which is probably related to the prefix that is used to form animal names.

tɨ-kwā	'citrus fruit'
tɨ-nānā	'tomato'
ndɨ-kɨn	'onion'

A few abstract nouns have been derived from verbs by the prefix *nu-*, or its variant form *Nnu-*, from *Nnuhu* 'word'.

nu-ndóhó	'suffering' (cf. *ndōho* 'POT:suffer')
nū-ndee	'courage, joy' (cf. *ndéé* 'brave, joyful')

Other prefixes that sometimes occur are: *njā-* (from *ndūchā* 'water'), *ndā-* (from *ndāhā* 'hand'), and *ñā-* (from *ñāhā* 'woman').

njā-kwáhá	'tepache (an alcoholic beverage)' (cf. *kwáhá* 'red')
njā-kwíxín	'pulque (an alcoholic beverage)' (cf. *kwíxín* 'white')
ndā-xāha	'helper'
ndā-Nníñú	'tool, thing' (cf. *Nnīñū* 'work')
ñā-sɨhɨ	'wife' (cf. *sɨhɨ* 'female')
ñā-táNná	'midwife' (cf. *tāNna* 'medicine')
ñā-tásɨ	'witch' (cf. *tāsɨ* 'witchcraft')

There are also compound nouns formed in other ways.

nduch-áhá	'chili sauce' (cf. *ndūchā* 'water', *yaha* 'chili pepper')
vē-ñuhu	'church' (cf. *vehe* 'house', *ñuhu* 'fire')
ñū-yɨvɨ	'world' (cf. *ñūu* 'town', *yɨvɨ* 'person')
sh-ndɨkɨ	'bull, cow' (cf. *ndɨkɨ* 'horn')

5.3.2 Classification. Nouns fall into several cross-cutting classifications; they may be divided according to gender, possessibility, distribution, and countability.

Nouns fall into five gender classes according to the third person poststressed pronouns (see §5.4) that can refer to them: masculine, feminine, animal, deity, and inanimate (no pronoun). This classification is for the most part natural, but a few exceptions are given in the examples

below. A few nouns fall into two classes; for example, *sūtū* 'priest' is
classified by some people as deity and by others as masculine. Animals in
folktales are sometimes classified as masculine or feminine.

Masculine nouns:

chaa	'man'
velu	'old man, grandfather (Sp. *abuelo*)'
shīto	'uncle'
ñānī	'brother (of male)'

Feminine nouns:

ñāhā	'woman'
ñāsɨhɨ	'wife'
kūhu	'woman's sister'

General nouns:

suchī	'child'
yɨvɨ	'person'

Animal nouns:

kɨtɨ	'animal'
shndīkɨ	'cow'
tɨsuhmā	'scorpion'
ndɨnūñú	'chameleon'
īna	'dog'

Deity nouns:

yaa	'God'
sántu	'saint (Sp. *santo*)'
sāu	'rain'

Wood nouns:

yūNnū	'tree, stick'
nūxīī	'firearm, rifle'
nūyushyá	'pine tree'

Liquid nouns:

ndūchā	'water'
ndīshi	'liquor'

Inanimate nouns:

yūu	'rock'
yāu	'hole, grave'
kisi	'cooking pot'
ndūchī	'bean, eye'
yōō	'moon, month'
sāhmā	'cloth'

Nouns may also be divided into those that cannot be possessed and those that can. Nouns that cannot be possessed often refer to topographical or meteorological phenomena, wild animals, or supernatural beings. They also include proper names.

yucha	'river'
vīko	'cloud'
yōō	'moon'
kōo	'snake'
vāhu	'coyote'
nihna	'ghost'
xwáa	'John (Sp. *Juan*)'

Nouns in the above category may have more than one sense discrimination, one of which may be possessible.

tāchi
wind, evil spirit

tāchi   da
wind   his
his breath *or* his voice

Nouns that can be possessed are either inherently or optionally possessed. Nouns which are inherently possessed are usually kinship terms or body parts.

ñā̄nī	'man's brother'
kwā̄hā̄	'man's sister, woman's brother'
shīto	'uncle'
īnī	'insides'
xā̄ta	'back'

Optionally possessed nouns include all others.

vehe	'house'
īso	'rabbit'
kwēhē	'sickness'
sā̄hmā̄	'cloth'
ñuhu	'earth, land'
yōhō	'rope'
nūni	'corn'
ītū	'cornfield'

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

Vocatives include personal names, kinship terms, and other terms of social relation. There is a special set of vocative kinship terms used in greetings.

Personal names:

| *xwáa* | 'John!' |
| *vétu* | 'Robert! (Sp. *Beto*)' |

Kinship terms:

ñā̄nī	'Brother! (of male)'
shīto	'Uncle!'
tía	'Aunt! (Sp. *tía*)'
velu	'Old one!, Grandfather! (term of respect)'

Other terms of social relation:

| *tā̄a* | 'sir!, mister!' |
| *nā̄a* | 'ma'am!, missus!' |

Proper nouns include personal and place names. They are simple or complex.

Simple:

maría	'Mary (Sp. *María*)'
lolo	'Isadore (Sp. *Isidoro*)'
shñuu	'Chalcatongo' (cf. *shīni* 'head', *ñūu* 'town')
nūndūvā	'city of Oaxaca' (cf. *nūu* 'face', *ndūvā* 'guaje pod')

Complex:

lachi   bom   bo
Plácido boom   boom
Plácido (Sp. *Plácido*) Boom Boom (plays bass drum in town band)

chíka   chɨhɨn
Frances skunk
Frances (Sp. *Chica*) Skunk

xwáa   "molino"
John   mill
John Mill (owns a mill)

yūkū   námá
mountain soap
Amoltepec

Locative nouns occur as nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes place names, names of topographical features, and some other nouns.

nūndūvā	'city of Oaxaca'
īchī	'trail'
ñūu	'town'
yahu	'market'
vehe	'house'
yūkū	'mountain'
yucha	'river'

The second category includes mainly certain body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense. The most common ones are:

xāta
back
behind

chii
stomach,   intestines
under, inside of

sīki̠
nape, upper   back
on top of, about, against

xaha
foot
at the foot of, on behalf of

nūu
face
in front of, toward, to

shīni
head
at the top of

yūhū
mouth
at the edge of

īnī
insides
in

sūkun
throat
on top of

īchī
trail
toward

kwénta
account
for (Sp. *cuenta*)

The noun *nūu* 'face' also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning 'place where' or 'time when', and *kwénta* 'account' also functions as a conjunction meaning 'somewhat like'.

Temporal nouns are also divided into these two categories. The first category includes names for units of time and calendric units, which occur as nuclei of adverbial basic noun phrases.

kɨvɨ	'day'
kwīyā	'year'
yōō	'month'
nūndāa	'a little later'
óra	'hour (Sp. *hora*)'

The second category includes only a few body-part nouns that are extended in a temporal sense; they are:

shīni
head
at the end of

xaha
foot
at the beginning of

nūu
face
within

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see §3.2).

yāxīn	'gourd, gourdful'
ndōho	'palm basket, basketful'
ndāhā	'hand, fathom'
nūndōō	'four-liter measure'
kílo	'kilogram (Sp. *kilo*)'

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

īsu	'deer'
vehe	'house'
staa	'tortilla'
kwēhē	'sickness'
īna	'dog'
ndūku	'firewood'

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:

ndūchā	'water'
nūni	'corn'
ndēhyu	'mud'

Count nouns:

staa	'tortilla'
chaa	'man'
kisi	'cooking pot'
īna	'dog'

Sometimes a single noun has two or more sense discriminations, some of which fall into the class of mass nouns, while the others fall into the class of count nouns.

tāchi	'wind, breath' (mass); 'evil spirit, voice' (count)
yūNnū	'wood' (mass); 'tree, stick, board' (count)

5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns for first and second person show a distinction in respect versus familiar and in free versus postclitic forms. Respect forms are used when the addressee has a higher status than the speaker, or between equals in a formal situation. Familiar forms are used elsewhere. Except for the inclusive form, which is inherently nonsingular, number is not relevant to the system. The remaining forms are used for both singular and plural referents. The free pronouns are:

	RES	FAM
first EX	*sáñá*	*rúhú*
first IN		*yóhó*	
second	*níhí*	*róhó*

The corresponding clitic pronouns are:

	RES	FAM
first EX	*ná*	*rí*
first IN		*yó*	
second	*ní*	*rá*

The free pronouns show no distributional restrictions; they occur as subject, object of verb, object of preposition, and possessor of noun. In all positions except object of verb, however, they are emphatic. The clitic pronouns, on the other hand, occur commonly as subject, object of preposition, and possessor of noun, but do not occur as object of verb or in focus position unless they are preceded by a specifier or a quantifier phrase.

Personal pronouns for third person are all clitics; there are six different gender classes of poststressed pronouns, and four of prestressed pronouns. The poststressed forms occur in focus position only when preceded by a specifier or a quantifier phrase. The poststressed pronouns all appear to be reduced forms of nouns; they are:

masculine	*dā* (cf. *chaa* 'man')
feminine	*ñā* (cf. *ñāhā* 'woman')
animal	*tǐ* (cf. *kǐtǐ* 'animal')
deity	*ya* (cf. *yaa* 'God')
general	*yǐ* or *ǐ* (cf. *yɨvɨ* 'person')
inanimate	*ø*

The general pronoun refers to people when gender is not specified and is often used for children. A child may also be referred to by the masculine or feminine pronoun. Inanimate objects do not have any specific pronoun that refers to them, and they are usually unexpressed. Under certain infrequent conditions in discourse structure, however, they are referred to by the general pronoun. Pronouns with a human or animal referent are

also sometimes unexpressed when the referent is clear from the context, as seen in 7.20 and 7.22.

There are four prestressed pronouns:

masculine	*rā*
feminine	*ñā*
inanimate	*xā*
unspecified	*xārā* (cf. *xā*, *rā*)

These pronouns occur mainly as classifiers preceding another noun (see §3.10). The feminine, inanimate, and unspecified pronouns also serve as heads of relative clauses; the unspecified pronoun may have a human, animal, or inanimate referent.

The inanimate pronoun *xā* also functions as a complementizer (see §1.1.9), as a relative pronoun (see §3.1.3), as a conjunction meaning both 'because' and 'in order that' (see §6.2.1), and as a focus marker (see §1.1.8). In addition, it separates the parts of appositional verb phrases (see §2.5) and juxtaposed coordinate sentences (see §6.1.2), and it separates a fronted complement sentence from the matrix sentence (see §1.1.9). In all of these functions it is glossed 'complementizer', rather than 'it (inanimate)'.

The locative noun *nūu* 'face' also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning 'place where' and 'time when'.

There are four interrogative pronouns.

nā	'what?'
ndōō	'what?' (homophonous with 'why?')
návā	'what?, who?' (cf. *nā*, *kúū* 'CON:be', *xā* 'it:INAN')
nāū	'what?, who?, whose?' (cf. *nā*, *kúū*)

The pronouns *nā* and *nāū* also occur in interrogative noun phrases (see §3.4), and in indefinite noun phrases (see §3.9).

A few fixed interrogative noun phrases function as interrogative pronouns (see §3.4).

There are two locative demonstrative pronouns, formed by combining *íchī* 'trail' with the locative adverbs *xáhá* 'here' and *yúkán* 'there'.

cháhá	'this place'
chúkán	'that place'

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.

Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns; they occur as locative adjuncts (see §1.1.4), as location peripheral elements (see §1.1.7), and as manner in the verb phrase (see §2.1.3).

xáhá	'here'
yúkán	'there'
yāNnī	'near'
xíká	'far'

The adverbs *xáhá* and *yúkán* have an additional function as deictics in noun phrases (see §3.1.3). In this function they are glossed 'this' and 'that', rather than 'here' and 'there'. Examples of the locative-adverb use are seen in 7.11 and 7.22; and examples of the deictic use are seen in 7.2 and 7.9. *yúkán* sometimes occurs in focus position, where it may be extended from a locative to a manner meaning, as seen in 7.9.

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns; they occur as time peripheral elements (see §1.1.7).

īkū	'yesterday'
vīNnā	'today'
īÑñā	'tomorrow'
ísá	'day after tomorrow'
xāhīnī	'in the afternoon' (cf. *xā* 'it:INAN', *īnī* 'POT:get:late')
xākwāā	'at night' (cf. *xā*, *kwāā* 'POT:get:late')
ndúú	'all day (daylight)'
ñúú	'all night'
sáá	'then'

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs.

syáhán	'in this way'
syúkán	'in that way' (cf. *yúkán* 'that')
sō	'thus'
kwɨ́tɨ́	'completely'
kwēē	'slowly'

yāchī	'fast'
yt́t́	'with difficulty'
káhá	'in vain'
māni	'just' (cf. *máá* 'SPEC', *nī* 'LIM')
sūnī	'also' (cf. *sūū* 'affirmation', *nī*)
núsáá	'okay' (cf. *nú* 'if, INT', *sáá* 'then')

General adverbs occur as peripheral manner (see §1.1.7) and as manner in the verb phrase (see §2.1.3). *sō* also functions as a conjunction meaning 'with the result that'.

There is one intensifying adverb; it is:

> *ndē*   'very'

The general adverb *kwt́t́* 'completely' also functions as an intensifying element, as do the stative verbs *shāān* 'fierce' and *tōndo* 'foolish' (see §5.2). Intensifying elements most commonly occur as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, quantifier phrases, and adverb phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, 4.1.4, 4.1.5, and 4.2.1).

Interrogative adverbs are simple or complex.

Simple:

> *náchī* 'where?, in which direction?' (cf. *nā* 'what?', *īchī* 'trail')
>
> *nándī* 'where?, as far as where?, from where?' (cf. *nā*, *ūndi* 'until')
>
> *nánū* 'where?, at which place?' (cf. *nā*, *nūu* 'face')
>
> *nāmā* 'when?' (cf. *nā*, *ama* 'when? [obsolete]')
>
> *nāsā* 'how?, in what manner? how much?' (cf. *nā*, *sáá* 'then')
>
> *ndōō* 'why?' (homophonous with 'what?')

Complex:

> *nā   xíín*
> what   with
> with what?, with whom?
>
> *nā   sɨkɨ   xā*
> what   nape   CMP
> why?

> *nā*   *"razón"*   *xā*
> what   reason   CMP
> why?

> *nāsā*   *módo*
> how   way
> how?, by what means (Sp. *modo*)?

There are also a number of interrogative noun phrases that function as interrogative adverbs (see §3.4).

5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. These elements commonly occur as quantifiers in noun phrases (see §§3.1.2 and 3.2) and as nuclei in quantifier phrases (see §4.1). They also occur as manner in verb phrases (see §2.1.3) and as ordinals in relative clauses (see §3.1.3). When no noun nucleus occurs, a quantifier sometimes appears to function as a noun.

The simple numerals are:

ïïn	'one, a'
ūu	'two, a few'
ūni	'three'
kūun	'four'
ūhun	'five'
īñu	'six'
ūshya	'seven'
ūna	'eight'
ïïn	'nine'
ūshi	'ten'
shyāhun	'fifteen'
ōko	'twenty'
shīko	'twenty' (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
syéntu	'hundred (Sp. *ciento*)'
míil	'thousand (Sp. *mil*)'

Other numerals are expressed by phrases, as described in §§4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

Numerals have an ordinal form, in which the tone of the first syllable is replaced by high. This form occurs in relative clauses (see §3.1.3).

úni	'third'
úshi	'tenth'

The numeral *ūu* 'two' fuses with *ndɨ*, the reduced form of *ndɨhɨ* 'all', to create *ndúú* 'both', and it often fuses a second time to create *ndɨndúú*.

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. They are simple or complex. The most common simple ones are:

sāvā	'half'
kwaha	'much, many'
xākū	'few'
ndɨhɨ or *ndɨ*	'all'
tɨhlɨ	'little bit'
tɨhla	'somewhat'
tɨNnɨ	'several, various'
táká	'each'
nɨnɨ	'only'
ɨnga	'another' (cf. *ɨɨn* 'one', *ka* 'ADD')
ɨnúú	'the same' (cf. *ɨɨn, nūu* 'face')

Two common complex general quantifiers are:

táká   nūu
each   face
each kind of, all kinds of

ndɨhɨ   nūu
all   face
every kind of

5.7 Prepositions

There are four simple prepositions and two complex prepositions.

Simple:

xíín or *xíní*	'with'
ūndi	'until, to, as far as, from'
māhñu	'between, among'
xākū	'with reference to, than' (cf. *xā* 'CMP', *kúū* 'CON:be')

Complex:

xā   sīkɨ
CMP nape
because of

māhñu   sāvā
between half
halfway between

The preposition *xíín* also occurs in additive noun phrases and additive adverb phrases (see §§3.8 and 4.2.3), and *ūndi* also functions as a conjunction meaning 'until' or 'since' (see §6.2.1).

Many prepositional functions are carried by noun phrases containing locative nouns used in an extended sense (see §3.6).

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used mainly to link combinations of sentences in a coordinate or subordinate relationship (see §§6.1.1 and 6.1.2). The coordinate conjunctions are simple or complex.

Simple:

tī	'and'
kō	'but'
shí	'or'
nī or *nɨ*	'nor (Sp. *ni*)'

Complex:

na   tī
when and
and then

xā   tī
CMP   and
and then

chī   sūnī
because also
but also

The conjunction *tī* 'and' sometimes follows a focused element or another conjunction (see §§1.1.8, 6.1.1, and 6.4); and it also occurs in measurement noun phrases (see §3.2), in additive noun phrases (see §3.8), and in expanded numeral phrases (see §4.1.4). *shí* 'or' also occurs in additive noun phrases (see §3.8), in alternative numeral phrases (see §4.1.7), and in YES/NO questions (see §1.2.1). *nī* 'nor' also occurs in additive noun phrases (see §3.8) and in negative quantifier phrases (see §4.1.8).

The subordinate conjunctions are also simple or complex.

Simple:

    chī   'because'

    nú   'if, whenever, when' (cf. *nūu* 'face')

                  (homophonous with ·INT·)

    vasu   'although' (cf. *vá* 'really', *sūū* 'affirmation')

                  (homophonous with 'expectation')

    na   'when'

    náva   'in order that' (cf. *na, kúū* 'CON:be', *xā* ·CMP·)

    nánū 'as, exactly like' (cf. *na, nú*)

Complex:

sīkɨ   xā
nape CMP
because

sō   xā
thus   CMP
with the result that

The conjunction *chī* 'because' sometimes follows a focused element (see §§1.1.8 and 6.4); in this use it has the meaning 'indeed'.

5.9 Markers

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

Verbal markers occur as preverbal and postverbal elements in verb phrases (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3). There are nine directionals, five negatives, one of which is complex, and six other verbal markers. The directionals are:

kīn	'will go'
xán	'goes'
xan	'went'
kwān	'has gone (and has not returned)'
kwán	'go!'
chó	'let's go!'
kí	'will come'
ki	'came'
vē	'is coming'

The simple negatives are:

tu	'not' (cf. *tūū* 'to not exist')
koto	'don't!' (cf. *kōtō* 'POT:be:careful')
tuxáhī	'not yet' (cf. *tu*)
tūkáā	'no more, no longer' (cf. *tu, ka* 'ADD')

The complex negative is:

koto   ma
NEG   NEG
don't!

The other verbal markers are:

ni	'completive aspect'
kā	'plural'
xa	'already'
sā	'just'
ná	'hortatory'

koyo	'plural'
tū	'affirmative'

Nominal markers occur in basic, negative, and indefinite noun phrases (see §§3.1.2, 3.1.3, 3.5, and 3.9); they are:

náá	'the very ones, selves'
ún	'that, the'
ansu	'not' (cf. *sūū* 'affirmation')
savahni	'any' (cf. *sáá* 'then', *vaha* 'good', *nī* 'LIM')

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type; they are:

máá	'the very, self'
tūkū	'again, also, other'
nī	'just'
ka	'more'

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind affects the mood or truth value of a sentence, as described in §1.5. They occur in initial or final position.

Initial only:

sūū	'affirmation'
vā	'really'
vānūshīī or *vānūshīā*	'for good reason'
	(cf. *vā* 'really', *nú* 'if', *shí* 'or', *xā* 'CMP')
vātūni	'agreement' (cf. *vā*, *tū* 'really', *nī* 'LIM')
vasu	'expectation' (cf. *vā*, *sūū*)
	(homophonous with 'although')

Final only:

nú or *núh*	'YES/NO interrogative' (homophonous with 'if')
ví	'really'
níkú	'contrafactual' (cf. *ni* 'COM', *kúū* 'CON:be')
chi	'hearsay' (cf. *kachi* 'COM:say')

The markers *vā* and *vānūshīā* also function as conjunctions meaning 'because' (see §6.2.1).

The second kind of sentential marker relates a sentence to its discourse context, as described in §6.4. Two of the most common ones are:

xā   yúkán
CMP   there
therefore

sīkɨ   yúkán
nape   there
therefore

5.10 Interjections

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

aa	'ah!'
xūta	'surprise'
suukū	'agreement' (cf. *sūū* 'affirmation', *kúū* 'CON:be')
xaxan	'oh!'
nání	'pause form' (cf. *nání* 'CON:be:named')

Examples of the pause form used in sentences are found in 7.7, 7.10, and 7.14.

Some interjections do not fit the phonological system of the language. A high-pitched bilabial trill is used to call chickens and turkeys, and *sst* is used to chase dogs out of the house.

6

Intersentential Relations

6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some combinations of sentences are connected by a conjunction, and some
are not.

6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions. Coordinate sentences with
conjunctions express coordination, antithesis, disjunction, temporal
sequence, and result.

General coordination is expressed by the conjunction *tī* 'and'.

> *ná kīhīn ná / tī kāhān yó*
> HORT POT:go I:RES and POT:speak we:IN
> I'm going, and we'll be talking [later].

> *nōhō ná / tī chāā ná īÑ̃ā*
> POT:leave I:RES and POT:arrive:here I:RES tomorrow
> I'm leaving, and I'll be back tomorrow.

> *ni yaxī dā staa / tī ni xihī dā ndūchā*
> COM COM:eat he tortilla and COM COM:drink he water
> He ate tortillas and drank water.

If the first sentence contains a negative noun phrase (see §3.5), the
second sentence may be introduced by the conjunction *chī sūnī* 'but also',
rather than by *tī*.

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ansu   nɨnɨ   ndɨshɨ   kōhō   yó   /   chī   sūnɨ
NEG   only   liquor   POT:drink   we:IN   because   also

  njākwáhá   kōhō   yó
  tepache   POT:drink   we:IN
We will NOT ONLY drink FIREWATER, but we will also drink TEPACHE
(an alcoholic beverage).

Antithesis is expressed by the conjunction *kō* 'but', or by *kō* followed by
another conjunction or adverb.

kīhīn   ná   /   kō   tu   njāā   ná
POT:go   I:RES   but   NEG   POT:arrive:back:here   I:RES
I'm going, but I'm not coming back.

kwāhan   ñā   nūu   yahu   /   kō   tu   ni   xini   ná
INC:go   she   face   market   but   NEG   COM   COM:see   I:RES
She went to the market, but I didn't see [her go].

tu   xínī   ná   /   kō   kāchī   tu   kwéntu
NEG   CON:know   I:RES   but   CON:say   really   story
I don't know, but the story (Sp. *cuento*) really tells [about it].

kīhīn   rí   /   kō   tī   kīhīn   ka   rí
POT:go   I:FAM   but   and   POT:go   DD   I:FAM
I'm going, but not yet.

vīī   íyó   kwéntu   /   kō   sáá   chī   tu   xínī
pretty   CON:exist   story   but   then   because   NEG   CON:know

  rí   nāsā   kwāhan
  I:FAM   how   INC:go
It's a nice story, but then indeed I really don't know how [it] goes.

Disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *shí* 'or' or by *shí* followed by
tī. Sentences containing *shí* alone, however, are construed as questions,
rather than as statements (see §1.2.1).

kīhīn   shīto   ná   /   shí   kīhīn   shīshī   ná
POT:go   uncle   my:RES   or   POT:go   aunt   my:RES
Is my uncle going, or my aunt?

ūni   ni   yaha   /   shí   kūun   ni   yaha
three   COM   COM:pass   or   four   COM   COM:pass
Did THREE or FOUR pass by?

xa   vāxī   / shí tī   kíí   ka   dā
already INC:come or and POT:come ADD he
[He] is already coming, or he hasn't left yet. (lit. . . . or he will still come.)

The second part of a disjunctive sentence may be reduced; the following example contains only a negative.

xíhí   dā ndūchā   / shí tuu
CON:drink he water   or NEG
Does he drink water, or not?

(See also 7.27.)

Negative disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *nī* or *nɨ* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*). The conjunction precedes both parts of the disjunction, and a negative marker must occur in each verb phrase.

nī   tu   yáxí   dā staa / nī   tu   xíhí   dā ndūchā
nor NEG CON:eat he tortilla nor NEG CON:drink he water
He neither eats tortillas, nor drinks water.

Temporal sequence is expressed by the complex conjunctions *na tī* and *xā tī*, which mean 'and then', by the sequences *tī sáá* and *sáá tī* 'and then', or simply by *tī* 'and'.

tī   kwaha ndūku   kāhnjā yó / xā   tī   kwīkō   yó
and much firewood POT:cut we:IN CMP and POT:stack we:IN
We will cut A LOT OF FIREWOOD, and then we'll stack [it] up.

xa   ni   xanī   dā shyāhun kɨvɨ /
already COM COM:place he fifteen day

tī   sáá   ni   xahan tūkū ná
and then COM COM:go REP I:RES
He allowed [me] two weeks, and then I was to go back.

ndōō ni   kā sahā   dā / sáá tī   yóhó xini
what COM PL COM:do he then and we:IN COM:know
What did [they] do, and then WE knew [about it]?

Examples of *tī* alone are found in 7.11, 7.17, 7.19, and 7.30.
Result may be expressed by *tī* 'and', followed by the complex sentential markers *xā yúkán* or *sɨkɨ yúkán*, both of which mean 'therefore'.

    xahan   dā   ndinūū   /   tī   xā   yúkán   tu   ni   kixi
    COM:go he   Tlaxiaco   and   CMP there   NEG   COM COM:come

      dā xáhá
      he here
    He went to Tlaxiaco, and therefore he didn't come here.

    ni   kuūn   vaha sāu   / tī   sɨkɨ yúkán xaha
    COM COM:fall good rain   and nape there COM:give

      vaha ītū
      good cornfield
    It rained well, and therefore the cornfield yielded [a] good [crop].

6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions. It is possible to simply juxtapose two or more independent sentences, with no pause at the seam, to link sentences that are closely related in the mind of the speaker. These sentences have coreferential subjects and verbs that usually agree in aspect. (Incompletive aspect in motion verbs [see §5.1.2] is considered to agree with either completive or continuative aspect in other verbs.) Sometimes the sentences describe different, but related, events or states, and sometimes the two sentences describe the same event; often one sentence is more specific than the other.

    xinū   dā / kwāhan dā
    COM:run he   INC:go   he
    He left running.

    xahan   dā / xan   kōhō   dā ndūchā
    COM:go he   COM:go POT:drink he water
    He went to drink water.

    ni   kundéé dā / nihi   dā īso
    COM COM:win he   COM:get he rabbit
    He won; he got the rabbit.

    (See also 7.12 and 7.47.)

  The second part is often a negative counterpart of the first.

    kwāhan dā ñūu / tu   kánjā   dā
    INC:go he town   NEG CON:be:located:SG he
    He went to town; he isn't [here].

    vāhu   kúū / ansu īna   kúū
    coyote CON:be NEG dog   CON:be
    [It]'s a coyote, not a dog.

Sometimes the two juxtaposed sentences describe simultaneous events.

xitā   dā   /   xikónúú   dā
COM:sing he   COM:walk:around he
He traveled around singing.

kēndā   tī   / kūnū   tī
POT:appear it:AML POT:run it:AML
It (the animal) will come running up.

vāxī   "Carranza"   /   xáhnī dā yɨvɨ
INC:come   Carranza   CON:kill he person
Carranza was coming along killing people.

kátúú   dā / kíshī   da
CON:lie he   CON:sleep he
He is lying asleep.

(See also 7.35 and 7.44.)

Sometimes the complementizer *xā* separates the parts of such a sentence; an example with three parts is found in 7.50.
Sometimes the two parts describe events that occur in close sequence.

ni   kihin   dā ichi / kwāhan dā
COM COM:take he path   INC:go   he
He took the road and went.

(See also 7.11, 7.43, 7.45, and 7.48.)

A series of items that form a list may be expressed by juxtaposition. If the items in the list serve as the subject of the sentence, the verb is stated before each item in the series.

ni   xihi   ndīshīhyú / ni   xihi   rɨ̄
COM COM:die   goat   COM COM:die sheep
Goats and sheep were killed.

xítā   chaa / xítā   ñāhā   / xítā   suchī
CON:sing man   CON:sing woman   CON:sing child
Men, women, and children are singing.

If the items in the list serve as something other than the subject, the verb and subject are stated before each item.

shíkó   dā nūni / shíkó   dā nduchī /   shíkó   dā tríu
CON:sell he corn   CON:sell he bean   CON:sell he wheat
He sells corn, beans, and wheat (Sp. *trigo*).

> *kāxī*   *rá*   *kuñu* / *kāxī*   *rá*   *staa*
> POT:eat   you:FAM   meat   POT:eat   you:FAM   tortilla
> You will eat meat and tortillas.

There is also a highly restricted juxtaposed coordinate construction that involves a verb of existence and a shared noun phrase. The first sentence must contain *kōō* 'to exist' or *tūū* 'to not exist', and a noun phrase as subject. The second sentence may have any verb, and the shared noun phrase may express any element within it. In the following examples, the solidus that signals the break between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

> *íyó*   *ndīkā* / *xáhā*   *ñā*   *nūu*   *dā*
> CON:exist   banana   CON:give   she   face   his
> There are bananas she is giving him.

> *tūū*   *nā*   *ñunu* / *kwāhan*   *dā*   *xíín*
> NEG:CON:exist   what   net:bag   INC:go   he   with
> He didn't take a net bag with him. (lit. There isn't any net bag he left with.)

> *tūū*   *kwénta* / *sáhā*   *yó*
> NEG:CON:exist   account   CON:do   we:IN
> We don't pay attention (Sp. *cuenta*).

6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are usually expressed using conjunctions, but purpose and one kind of temporal relation may be expressed by simple juxtaposition.

6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to express cause, result, condition, concession, purpose, time, and comparison of likeness.

Cause sentences are usually introduced by the conjunction *chī* 'because'. Less frequently they are introduced by the complex conjunction *sīkɨ xā* 'because', by the sentential markers *vā* 'really' and *vānūshīā* 'with good reason', or simply by the complementizer *xā*. Cause sentences usually follow the main sentence.

With *chī*:

> *kwān kwítá   dā / chī   kúhu   shāān dā*
> INC:go CON:be:tired he   because CON:be:sick fierce he
> He is getting tired because he is very sick.

> *íyó   nūndee īnī   / kō ná   kūndātū kwēē yó /*
> CON:exist joy   insides but HORT   POT:wait slowly we:IN

>   *chī   kwēē kīn   kōyō   yó*
>   because slowly POT:go POT:arrange we:IN
> [We] are happy, but we still have to wait because we are going to
> get [things] arranged slowly.

(See also 7.9, 7.26, 7.33, 7.36, and 7.42.)

With *síki xā*:

> *kúsɨ̓   īnī   dā / síki xā nihi   dā kwaha shuhun*
> CON:be:happy insides his   nape CMP COM:get he much money
> He is happy because he received a lot of money.

With *vā*:

> *kā xāchā   dā / vā   shuhun nī   kā ndúkú   dā*
> PL CON:dig he   really money LIM PL CON:look:for he
> They are digging because they are JUST looking for MONEY.

With *vānūshīā*:

> *tu yúhú   suchī kwáchí / vānūshīā*
> NEG POT:fear child small:PL for:good:reason

>   *kūnjā   nāna   ī*
>   POT:be:located:SG mother GEN
> The children will not be afraid because their mother (Sp. *nana*) will
> be [with them].

With *xā*:

> *kachi tɨ̄ / xā yúhū   tɨ̄   xārā kɨ̄tɨ̄   ún*
> COM:say it:AML CMP COM:fear it:AML UN   animal that
> It (the cricket) said [it] because he was afraid of the [other] animal.

> *nā xíín chihi rí ndēyū / xā tuu   ɨ̄n kɨsɨ*
> what with POT:cook I:FAM food   CMP NEG:CON:exist one pot
> With what will I cook the food because there isn't [even] one pot.

A sentence with *sɨkɨ xā* often has an adjunct-complement reading, as well as a cause-sentence reading; see §1.1.9. For example, the sentence above could also be glossed 'He is happy about receiving a lot of money.'

Cause sentences can also precede the main sentence, in which case the main sentence often begins with *tɨ* 'and'.

sɨkɨ   xā   nihi   dā kwaha shuhun / kúsɨɨ   īnī   dā
nape CMP COM:get he much   money   CON:be:happy insides his
Because he received a lot of money, he is happy.

chī   kúhu   shāān dā / tɨ   kwān kwɨtá   dā
because CON:be:sick fierce he   and INC:go CON:be:tired he
Because he is very sick, he is getting tired.

Result sentences are introduced by the adverb *sō* 'thus', used in this construction to mean 'with the result that', or by the complex conjunction *sō xā*. They follow the main sentence.

tu   ndíshyā dā / sō   shndáhú   dā
NEG true   he   thus CON:deceive he
He is not truthful with the result that he deceives (people).

xíkónáá   tɨ   / sō   xā   tūkáā   kundéé
CON:walk:around it:AML thus CMP no:more COM:win

   kwɨkó   tɨ
   POT:go:around it:AML
They (the animals) have been making (a lot of) turns with the result that they no longer enjoy it.

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunction *nú* 'if', which also means 'whenever' or simply 'when'. The condition sentence may precede or follow the main sentence; when it precedes, the main sentence is introduced by *tɨ* 'and' or *vasu* 'expectation'.

tɨ   ná   kāchī dā / nú íyó   "voluntad" sēhē dā
and HORT POT:say he   if CON:exist willingness child his
And let him say [so] if his child is willing. (lit. ... if his child's willingness exists.)

nú nánī   īshī ún / tɨ   sō   xahnja   ñā
if long:PL hair that and thus COM:cut she
If that hair [was] long, she cut [it] thus.

nú   tu   nīhi   yó   "pan" / vasu   staa   ná
if   NEG   POT:get we:IN   bread   EXPECTATION   tortilla HORT

  nīhi   yó
  POT:get   we:IN
If we don't find bread, we should surely [be able to] get TORTILLAS.

Contrafactual condition sentences often precede the main sentence; both parts of the sentence have verbs in completive aspect, and the main sentence may end with the contrafactual sentential marker níkú.

nú   ni   xihī   dā tāNna   / tī   xa   ni
if   COM   COM:drink   he medicine   and   already   COM

  nduvaha   dā níkú
  COM:get:well he CF
If he had drunk the medicine, he would have already gotten well.

An unfulfilled wish is expressed by a contrafactual condition sentence used alone.

nú   ni   kii   dā níkú
if   COM   COM:come   he CF
If only he had come!

Concession sentences precede the main sentence; they are introduced by the conjunction vasu 'although', and the main sentence is introduced by kō 'but'.

vasu   íyó   ñāsíhí dā / kō   kunja   dā
although   CON:exist wife   his   but COM:be:located:SG he

  xíín ñā
  with her
Even though he has a wife, he lived with her (another woman).

vasu   nāndúkú   yó   / kō   tu   nānīhī yó
although   POT:look:for we:IN   but NEG   POT:get we:IN
Even though we'll look for [it], we won't get [it].

Purpose sentences are introduced by náva 'in order that' or by an extended use of the complementizer xā. A potential verb is required in the subordinate sentence except in rare instances when instructions are being given. In these cases, continuative aspect is used. (Aspect and context distinguish purpose sentences with xā from the cause sentences described above, which usually have completive or continuative aspect.)

kīhīn   ñā   yahu   /   náva   kīhin   ñā   yaha
POT:go   she   market   in:order:that   POT:take   she   chili:pepper
She will go to the market to buy chili peppers.

kīhīn   dā   /   náva   kā   nándāhā   dā
POT:go   he   in:order:that   PL   POT:marry   he
They will go to get married.

Subordinate time sentences are introduced by the conjunctions *nú* 'when' or 'whenever' (which also means 'if') or *na* 'when', or by the preposition *ūndi* 'until', which also functions as a conjunction meaning 'until' or 'since'. When the time sentence precedes the main sentence, the main sentence often begins with *tī* 'and' or *na tī* 'and then'.

nú   ni   kākū   sēhē   ñā   /   tī   kā   kāā   ñā
when   COM   COM:be:born   child   her   and   PL   POT:ascend   she

  ñīhī   yúkán
  steambath   that
When women have borne children, they go up to the steambath.

tī   nú   ni   xahnu   tríu   /   kwān   īchi
and   when   COM   COM:grow   wheat   INC:go   POT:be:dry
And when the wheat is grown, [it] gets dry.

kuūn   sāu   /   na   ni   njaa   ní
COM:fall   rain   when   COM   COM:arrive:back:here   you:RES
It was raining when you arrived.

na   ni   xahan   rá   nūndūvā   /   tī   ni   kendo
when   COM   COM:go   you:FAM   Oaxaca   and   COM   COM:stay

  máá   īīn   rí
  SPEC   one   I:FAM
When you went to Oaxaca, I was left alone.

nú   ni   ndīhī   ni   xacha   dā   /
when   COM   COM:finish   COM   COM:sow   he

  na   tī   kā   kexāhā   dā   kā   xitu   dā
  when   and   PL   COM:begin   he   PL   COM:plow   he
When they finished sowing, they began to plow [it in].

> *syáhán*   *kachi*   *tu*   *xārā* *chaa* *ún* /
> in:this:way COM:say really UN man that
>
> *ūndi* *xaa*   *dā* *xíín* *yɨ*   *chii*   *yuku*   *ún*
> until COM:arrive he with GEN stomach mountain that
> That man said THAT until he arrived with the child in the mountains.

Comparison of likeness is introduced by the conjunction *nánū* 'as' or 'exactly like', or by the locative noun *kwénta*, which functions as a conjunction meaning 'somewhat like'. No verb occurs in the subordinate sentence, but it is assumed to be the same as the verb of the main sentence.

> *íyó*   *kwéntu* *dā* *nánū*   *xārā* *vāhu*
> CON:exist story his exactly:like UN coyote
> There are stories about him just like [the story there is about] Mr. coyote.

> *xínū*   *yó*   *kwénta*   *vāhu*
> CON:run we:IN somewhat:like coyote
> We run somewhat like coyotes [run].

Comparison of degree is expressed by a simple sentence containing a referent adjunct (see §1.1.4).

6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions. Two subordinate relations, purpose and one kind of temporal, may be expressed without a conjunction.

Purpose sentences follow the main sentence. They must have their verb in potential aspect.

> *xáhnja* *rí*   *yūNnū* / *sáhā*   *yó*   *vehe*
> CON:cut I:FAM tree   POT:do we:IN house
> I am cutting trees in order that we might build a house.

> *ndíkō*   *ñā*   *staa*   / *kāxī*   *yó*
> CON:grind she tortilla POT:eat we:IN
> She is grinding (making) tortillas for us to eat.

> *kɨvɨ* "*viernes*" *kōshyu* *ni* *kā* *xanī*   *yɨvɨ* / *kōhō*   *sántu*
> day Friday   midday   COM PL COM:place person POT:drink saint
> AT NOON ON FRIDAY (Sp. *viernes*) the people put out [something] for the saints (Sp. *santo*) to drink.

(See also 7.16 and 7.34.)

The day of the month is expressed as a basic sentence containing the verb *xíka* 'to walk (continuative)' (see §1.1.8). When such a sentence is

juxtaposed to the main sentence, it functions as a peripheral time element within it.

> *ūu   xíka   "abril"*   /   *kwāhan   dā   ndinūū*
> two   CON:walk   April   INC:go   he   Tlaxiaco
> ON APRIL SECOND he went to Tlaxiaco.

6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations consist of three parts: the quotation itself, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences (or fragments). The introducer and closer are both optional, but closers occur more frequently than introducers. Closers often contain only a verb of thinking or speaking, usually *kāchī* 'to say', and a subject. More detailed information is usually expressed in introducers.

With closer:

> *xáhá   ni   kande   rí*   //   *ndōō   xañu   rá*
> here   COM   COM:be:located   I:FAM   why   CON:step   you:FAM
>
>   *sɨkɨ   rí*   /   *kachi   tɨ*
>   nape   my:FAM   COM:say   it:AML
> "I have been RIGHT HERE. Why are you stepping all over me?" it (the animal) said.

> *tu   kāxī   rá   rúhú*   //   *tuu*   /   *chī*   *tuu* //
> NEG   POT:eat   you:FAM   me:FAM   NEG   because   NEG
>
>   *tu   kāxī   rá   rúhú*   /   *chī*   *"rey"*   *kúū*   *rí*   /
>   NEG   POT:eat   you:FAM   me:FAM   because   king   CON:be   I:FAM
>
>   *kachi   tɨ*   /   *xārā   gríyu   ún*
>   COM:say   it:AML   UN   cricket   that
> "You aren't going to eat me. No, you won't. You aren't going to eat me because I am a king," it, the cricket (Sp. *grillo*), said.

> *tɨ   róhó   nāū   xā   kúū   rá*   /   *kachi   tɨ*
> and   you:FAM   who   CMP   CON:be   you:FAM   COM:say   it:AML
>
>   *xíní   xārā   ndɨkáhá   ún*
>   with   UN   lion   that
> "And as for you, who are you?" it (the animal) said to the lion.

(See also 7.15–16, 7.22, 7.23–25, 7.27, 7.29, 7.33, 7.36, and 7.42.)

With introducer:

> tī   ni   kachi   dā / nōhō   ná   vīNnā
> and COM COM:say he   POT:leave I:RES now
> And he said, "I'm going back now."

> ni   xīkāNnuhu dā rúhú   / ndōō   sáhā   ní
> COM COM:ask   he me:FAM what   CON:do you:RES
> He asked me, "What are you doing?"

> tī   ni   ndōho   īnī   dā / ná   kūndéé   rí   nūu dā
> and COM COM:think insides his   HORT POT:win I:FAM face his
> And he thought, "May I win out over him!"

> tī   ni   kandahu dā xíín dā / ná   chīndéé   ní
> and COM COM:plead he   with him   HORT POT:help you:RES

> > sáñá
> > me:RES
> And he pleaded with him, "Help me!"

With both introducer and closer:

> ni   kahān   / ná   kenjaa   ndāhā rá   /
> COM COM:speak HORT POT:take:away hand   your:FAM

> > kachi   tī̄
> > COM:say it:AML
> [It] spoke, "Get your front paw off," it (the animal) said.

> ni   kā kexāhā   kā ndaNnuhu dā / ndōō ni   kahān
> COM PL COM:begin PL COM:discuss he   why   COM COM:speak

> > syáhán   chaa ún / kachi   dā / kā ndaNnuhu   dā
> > in:this:way man that   COM:say he   PL COM:discuss he
> They began to discuss, "Why does the man speak in this way?" they
> said, discussing it.

(See also 7.7–9 and 7.14.)

For dramatic style, it is possible to omit both the introducer and the
closer. The following text fragment contains three quotations, and only the
last has a closer.

tī   ndíshyā   rá   nú   sáá // ndíshyā   rí   //
and correct   you:FAM INT then correct   I:FAM

  ndíshyā   rá   núsáá / kāchī ndīkáhá   ún
  correct   you:FAM okay   CON:say lion   that
  "And you are right, aren't you?" "I am right." "Okay, you are right,"
  said the lion.

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 conjunctions, adverbs, and complex sentential
markers. These links occur commonly in narrative before the peak of the
discourse, but are not used when the speaker wants to heighten the
dramatic effect. In the text in chapter 7, they are quite common up to 7.30,
where the rabbit first hits the tar baby, and rare between 7.31 and 7.49,
the section which contains most of the action. A link occurs again in 7.50,
which is part of the conclusion.

The conjunctions that occur most frequently are the coordinate conjunc-
tions *tī* 'and', *kō* 'but', and *na tī* 'and then'; and the subordinate conjunc-
tion *chī* 'because'.

With *tī*:

  kā   xaha   dā njākwíxín nūu dā // tī   tu   ni   xihī
  PL   COM:give he pulque   face his   and NEG COM COM:drink
  They gave him pulque (an alcoholic beverage). And [he] did not
  drink [it].

  kachi   dā syáhán   nání   ñūu // tī   nduku
  COM:say he in:this:way CON:be:named town   and COM:look:for

  dā   īīn   vehe   kēndō   dā // tī   tu   ni   xaha
  he   one   house POT:stay he   and NEG COM COM:give

  chaa   ún   vehe
  man   that house
  He said [that] thus was the town named. And he looked for a house
  to stay in. And the man didn't give [him] a house.

tī   "sábado"   kā ndísō   dā ndūku   //
and Saturday   PL CON:carry he firewood

  tī   vē   koyo vīkō
  and INC:come PL   fiesta

And ON SATURDAY they carry firewood. And [they] started out for the fiesta.

(See also 7.2–5, 7.6–7, 7.10–12, 7.13–14, 7.15–17, 7.18–19, 7.20–24, 7.26–28, and 7.29–30.)

With *kō*:

kā   sahā   dā veñuhu ñūu yó   xáhá //
PL   COM:do he church town our:IN here

  ndē   vīī   kā xanī   dā kwéntu //
  INTS pretty PL COM:place he story

  kō   xā   sáñá / tu   ni   kā xini   ná
  but CMP I:RES NEG COM PL COM:see I:RES

They built the church in our town here. VERY BEAUTIFULLY they talked [about it]. But as for us, we didn't see [it].

(See also 7.1–2.)

With *na tī*:

kuūn   sāu // na   tī   ka kexāhā   dā kā xítú   dā
COM:fall rain   when and PL COM:begin he PL CON:plow he

It rained. And then they began to plow.

In 7.14 *kō* occurs at the beginning of a quotation. The narrator apparently did this to show that he was breaking into the middle of a conversation. In 7.29 the subordinate conjunction *chī* 'because' occurs at the beginning of a sentence, relating it back to 7.27.

Sometimes the conjunctions *tī* 'and' or *chī* 'because', used in the sense of 'indeed', occur after a sentence-initial conjunction, just as they sometimes occur after a focused element (see §1.1.8).

tī   tuu / chī   vāxī   ní   // kō   tī   kīhīn
and NEG   because INC:come you:RES   but and POT:go

  ka   ní   nūu kachi   ní
  ADD you:RES face COM:say you:RES

But no, you were coming. But you were still going to go where you said [you would].

The adverbs that commonly link sentences are *yúkán* 'there', *syúkán* 'in that way', *sáá* 'then', *súnī* 'also', and *núsáá* 'okay'. *yúkán* sometimes has a temporal, causal, or manner meaning, and *syúkán* is used to refer back to a fairly large span of material.

íyó   vekihin   // yúkán íyó   kwéntu xā
CON:exist Bequi:Cave   there CON:exist story CMP

  íyó   vehe   káhnū shāān
  CON:exist house   big:SG fierce
There's Bequi Cave. Then there's the story that there's a very big house.

tī   uhu   yīkī xíka   ná   // yúkán ni   sahā
and COM:hurt bone CON:walk my:RES   there COM COM:do

  "doctor"
  doctor
And my legs hurt. Therefore the doctor treated [me].

(See also 7.8–9 and 7.31–38.)

Sometimes the conjunctions *tī* 'and' or *chī* 'because', used in the sense of 'indeed', occur after a sentence-initial adverb, just as they sometimes occur after a focused element (see §1.1.8).

syáhán kachi   tī // yúkán tī ni   kā kandishya tī
thus   COM:say it:AML   there and COM PL COM:believe it:AML
It (the animal) said THAT. And then the (other) animals believed [it].

vātūni   kīhīn   rá   //
AGREEMENT POT:go   you:FAM

  núsáá tī   nā kīvi núñā   tūkū   rá
  okay   and what day POT:be:open REP   you:FAM
Yes, you can go. All right, what day are you free again?

ndōō kāchī   rá   nūu rí // sáá   chī
why   CON:say you:FAM   face my:FAM   then because

  vānūshīā   ná   kāchī rí   nūu rá
  for:good:reason   HORT POT:say I:FAM   face your:FAM
Why are you asking me? Then for good reason let me tell you.

In 7.7 the narrator began a quotation with *sáá tī*, apparently to indicate that he was breaking into the middle of a conversation.

Sometimes a sentence is introduced by a sequence of conjunctions and/or adverbs.

íyó   tāNna   nú úhū   ndūchī // tī   sūnī íyó
CON:exist medicine if CON:hurt bean   and   also CON:exist

 tāNna   úhū   xāta yó   syáhán   nú
 medicine   CON:hurt back our:IN in:this:way INT

There is medicine when [our] eyes hurt. And is there also medicine
for our backaches (gesturing)?

nú   ndáxí   yó   / tī   kīhin   kwēhē   shiNni yó   //
if   POT:get:wet we:IN and POT:take sickness nose   our:IN

 tī   sūnī sáhā   "lombriz" xā   kúhu   yó
 and   also CON:do   worm   CMP   CON:be:sick   we:IN

If we get wet, we get a cold. And also worms make us sick.

vīī   íyó   kwéntu // kō   sáá   chī   tu   xínī
pretty CON:exist story   but then because   NEG   CON:know

 rí   nāsā kwāhan
 I:FAM   how   INC:go

The stories are pretty. But then indeed I don't know how [they] go.

tī   kwaha ndūku   kāhnjā yó / xā   tī   kwīkō   yó   //
and much firewood POT:cut we:IN CMP and POT:stack we:IN

 tī   xā   tī   xāā   yó   chindɨyɨ yó   chii   ñuhu
 and   CMP and POT:arrive we:IN POT:cover we:IN stomach earth

We will cut A LOT OF FIREWOOD, and then we'll stack [it] up. And then
we'll arrive [and] cover [it] with dirt.

tī   náva   tu   kēē   yōko / ndɨhɨ   ni
and in:order:that NEG   POT:leave vapor   COM:finish COM

 xasɨ   ná   // tī   xā   tī   kɨvɨ   ñā   kúhu
 COM:close   I:RES   and CMP and POT:enter she   CON:be:sick

 kaña   ñɨhɨ   ún
 POT:rise   steambath   that

And so that the steam wouldn't escape, I finished closing [it] up. And
then a sick woman can enter [and] take a steambath.

tī   nú kwēhē   tāsɨ   kúū   / tī   tāvā   dā   //
and if sickness witchcraft   CON:be   and POT:take:out he

 yúkán na   tī   tɨvɨ   dā ndɨshɨ tāchi
 then when   and POT:blow he liquor wind

And if [it] is a sickness caused by witchcraft, he takes [it] out. And
then he blows a spray of liquor.

(See also 7.49–50.)

Two complex sentential markers that link sentences are *xā yúkán* 'therefore' and *sīkɨ yúkán* 'therefore'.

tī   yúkán   kwāhan   máá   "dios" //
and there   INC:go   SPEC   god

xā   yúkán   kā   chákū   yó   náá   yó
CMP   there   PL   CON:be:alive   we:IN   SPEC:PL   we:IN

And there went god (the sun) himself. Therefore we ourselves are alive.

7

Text

7.1   *xārā*   *īso*   / *kāchī*   *dā* *xā*   *ni*   *xaha*   *nī*   *xā*
      UN   rabbit CON:say   he CMP   COM COM:give LIM   CMP

      kanī   *shyɨkɨ* *chii*   *móno ndītō*   *ndūchī*
      COM:hit fist   stomach figure COM:guard ean
     They say that THE RABBIT just gave and threw punches at the figure
     (Sp. *mono*) that was guarding the peas.

7.2   *kō* *xārā* *yúkán* / *chī*   *kā* *sakā*   *tū*   *rā*   *chaa*
      but UN   that   because PL COM:plant really   he man

      ún   *ndūchī syáhán*
      that   bean   in:this:way
     But as for that guy (the figure), those men planted peas in this
     manner.

7.3   *tī*   *ndūchī tɨlúú* / *tī*   *kwān*   *kūvaha*   *ndūchī ún*
      and bean   spherical and INC:go CON:be:good bean   that
     And as for the peas, those legumes were growing very well.

7.4   *tī*   *kexāhā*   *"cabrón"* / *īso*   *yáxí*   *tɨ*   *ndūchī ún*
      and COM:begin bad:one   rabbit CON:eat it:AML bean   that
     And that bad rabbit started eating the peas.

7.5   *tɨ* *kāchī*   *tū*   *rā* *chaa ún*   *xíní* *tāta*   *dā*
      and CON:say really   he man that with father his
     And that man said to his father (Sp. *tata*).

7.6 *íyó   ūu   Nnáhā   dā*
CON:exist two   companion he
There were two of them (two brothers).

7.7 *tī   kāchī   tū   dā xíní   tāta   dā / nání / sáá   tī*
and CON:say   really   he with father   his PAUSE then and

    vaha nī / "papá" / tī   kwāān   ní   ɨ̄ɨn   "violín"
    good LIM   father   and POT:buy you:RES   one   violin
And he said to his father, "And then it would just be good, Father,
for you to buy a violin.

7.8 *ná   kīhīn   ná / ná   chāā   ná   yāā*
HORT POT:go I:RES HORT POT:play I:RES song
Let me go and play some songs.

7.9 *yúkán ná   skúnū   ná   īso / chī*
there HORT POT:frighten I:RES rabbit because

    yéé   tɨ̄   ndūchī xáhá / kachi   tū   dā
    CON:eat it:AML bean   this   COM:say really he
IN THAT WAY let me scare the rabbit because he is eating these peas,"
he said.

7.10 *nání / ni   xaan   tū   dā "violín"*
PAUSE   COM COM:buy really   he violin
Then he bought a violin.

7.11 *tī   kwāhan   tū   dā / núkōō dā syáhán /*
and INC:go   really he   CON:sit he in:this:way

    tī   cháā   cháā   tū   dā yāā
    and CON:play CON:play really he song

    xākī   ndúú   xáhá
    with:reference:to all:day here
And he went [and] sat down like this, and [then] he played and
played songs here all day long.

7.12 *tī   xākwāā   tu   xíní   dā nāsā xáhan tū*
and at:night NEG CON:know he how CON:go really

    rā kɨ̄tɨ̄   ún / xán   kāxī   tɨ̄   ndūchī ún
    he animal that CON:go POT:eat it:AML bean   that
And he didn't know how that animal kept going out AT NIGHT to eat
up those peas.

7.13   *syáhán   ni / syáhán   ni*
      in:this:way LIM in:this:way LIM
      This [is] just [the way it was].

7.14   *tī   kāchī   tū   inga   dā / nání / kō / "papá" /*
      and CON:say really another he   PAUSE but   father

          kwāān ní   / nání / ñūma / kāchī   tū   rā chaa ún
          POT:buy you:RES PAUSE wax   CON:say really he man that
      And the other one (brother) said, "But, Father, buy [some] wax,"
      that man said.

7.15   *kwāān ní   īin   "pelota" syáhán   ñūma*
      POT:buy you:RES one ball   in:this:way wax
      "Buy a ball of wax like this.

7.16   *tī   ná   kīhīn   ná / ndéhé   nú tu   nīhi   ná*
      and HORT POT:go I:RES POT:look if   NEG POT:get I:RES

          īso / kāchī   tū   dā
          rabbit CON:say really he
      And let me go to see if I can't get the rabbit," he said.

7.17   *tī   ni   xaan   tū   máá "papá" dā ún   īin   "pelota"*
      and COM COM:buy really SPEC father   his that one ball

          ñūma / tī   ni   sahā   dā īin   móno lúlú   /
          wax   and COM COM:do he one figure small:SG

          móno xā   súkún syáhán
          figure CMP tall   in:this:way
      And that very father of his bought a ball of wax, and [then] he made
      one little figure, a figure that was this tall.

7.18   *móno ñūma ún   ni   sahā   dā*
      figure wax   that COM COM:do he
      He made THAT WAX FIGURE.

7.19   *tī   ni   xaa   tū   rā chaa ún / tī   xanī*
      and COM COM:arrive really he man that and COM:place

          dā nūu yéé   tū   īso   ún   ndūchī ún
          he face CON:eat really rabbit that bean   that
      And that man arrived, and [then] he placed [it] in the place where
      the rabbit was eating those peas.

7.20 *ni   kūxīyō   īin   ládo syáhán / kánjā   dā*
COM COM:be:separated one   side in:this:way CON:be:located:SG he
[He] went off to one side (Sp. *lado*), [and] he was there [waiting].

7.21 *tī   xaa   tū   rā īso / xakunu   tū*
and COM:arrive really he rabbit COM:arrive really
And the rabbit arrived; he got there.

7.22 *tī   návā kúū   xārā kándīchī   xáhá / kachi   tū*
and what CON:be UN   CON:stand here   COM:say really
"And what is the thing standing here?" [he] said.

7.23 *tī   nāū xā   kāhān   tū / xārā ún   tu   kahān*
and who it:INAN POT:speak really   UN   that NEG COM:speak
"And who [is] the one who should speak, that one who did not
speak?

7.24 *tī   nāū róhó*
and who you:FAM
And who [are] you?

7.25 *ndōō tu   kāhān   rā   / kāchī   tū   rā īso*
why   NEG   POT:speak you:FAM CON:say really he rabbit
Why won't you speak?" the rabbit said.

7.26 *tu   kāhān   tū   rā ún / chī   móno kúū*
NEG   POT:speak really he that because figure CON:be

    nā   kāchī   yó
    what POT:say we:IN
That one won't speak because what we call [it] is a figure.

7.27 *tī   kāhān   rá   / shí tuu nú / kachi   tū*
and POT:speak you:FAM or NEG INT COM:say really
"And will you speak, or not?" [he] said.

7.28 *tī   ndavā*
and COM:jump
And [he] jumped.

7.29 *aa / chī   kwāhā   rí   īin   róhó / kachi   tī*
ah   because POT:give I:FAM one you:FAM COM:say it:AML
"Ah, because I'm going to give you one [punch]," he said.

7.30 *tī   ndavā   / tī   kanī   tū   īin   shyiki*
and COM:jump and COM:hit really one fist
And [he] jumped, and [then he] gave [it] a punch.

7.31 *Nnɨɨ   nī   tū   ndāhā chii   móno*
COM:stick LIM   really hand   stomach figure
[His] hand was just stuck to the figure.

7.32 *Nnɨɨ   tū   ndāhā chii   móno*
COM:stick really hand   stomach figure
[His] hand was stuck to the figure.

7.33 *xaxan / tu   yúhú   rá   / chī   íyó   ɨɨn*
oh   NEG   POT:fear you:FAM   because CON:exist one

    kā   ndāhā rí   / kachi   tū
    ADD   hand   my:FAM   COM:say really
"Oh, don't worry because I still have another hand!" [he] said.'[4]

7.34 *kīhin   tū   ɨnga   ndāhā nī   / kānī   tū   chii*
POT:take really another hand   LIM   POT:hit really   stomach

    móno
    figure
[He]'s getting just another hand ready to hit the figure.

7.35 *syáhán   nī   kutɨluu   tū   / ndéñā   /*
in:this:way LIM   CON:be:round really CON:be:sticky

    tu   xíka   móno
    NEG   CON:walk figure
IN THIS WAY [it] was round; [it] was sticky; the figure wasn't walking.

7.36 *aa   / "cabrón" / ndésáhā   īnī   rá   / chī*
ah   bad:one   POT:be:careful insides your:FAM   because

    íyó   sɨhɨn rí   / kāchī   tū
    CON:exist foot   my:FAM   CON:say really
"Ah, bad one, you'd better be careful because I have feet!" [he] said.

7.37 *xaha   tū   ɨɨn   "patada"*
COM:give   really one   kick
[He] gave [it] a kick.

7.38 *sūnī   ni   Nnɨɨ   tū   ɨɨn   ládo*
also   COM   COM:stick really one   side
[He] was ALSO stuck on one side.

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[4]The expression *tu yúhú rá* 'Don't be afraid!' is used ironically in this sentence, and has about the same force as English 'Don't worry!'. It serves to introduce a threat.

7.39 *xaha   tūkū ïnga   "patada"   ïnga   ládo*
COM:give REP another kick   another side
[He] gave [it] another kick on the other side.

7.40 *tūkū   ni   Nnÿ*
REP   COM   COM:stick
AGAIN [it] was stuck.

7.41 *kutīluu   tū   syáhán*
CON:be:round really in:this:way
[They] were balled up in this way.

7.42 *aa / "cabrón" / tu   yúhú   rá   / chī*
ah   bad:one   NEG   POT:fear you:FAM because

    íyó   yūhū   rí   / kachi   tū
    CON:exist mouth my:FAM   COM:say really
"Ah, bad one, don't worry because I've still got my mouth!" [he]
said.

7.43 *ndavā   / yeyÿhÿ   tū   chii   móno*
COM:jump   COM:bite really stomach figure
[He] jumped up [and] bit the stomach of the figure.

7.44 *ni Nnÿ   / kutīluu   syáhán   / ndeña*
COM COM:stick   CON:be:round in:this:way COM:be:sticky
[They] were stuck together in a round ball like this.

7.45 *xa   ni   kendāvā   chaa ún / ni   xahan dā*
already COM COM:jump:out man that COM COM:go he
Then that man jumped out, [and] he went.

7.46 *ni xan   Nnÿ   dā / chaa ndáhú īso*
COM COM:go POT:grab he   man poor   rabbit
The poor man caught the rabbit.

7.47 *ni kundéé dā / nihi   dā īso / kachi   dā*
COM COM:win he   COM:get he rabbit COM:say he
He won; he got the rabbit, he said.

7.48 *ná   chūndēe dā chii   ñunu / kwān nohō   dā*
HORT POT:put he stomach net:bag INC:go POT:leave he

    nūu kánjā   tāta   dā
    face CON:be:located:SG father his
Now may he put [him] inside the net bag, [and] return to the place
where his father lives.

7.49 *nāsā   kwāhan   rā   ún*
     how   INC:go   he   that
     How that [one] did go!

7.50 *kō   syúkán   ni   kuu   rā ún / xā   ni   nihi   dā*
     but in:that:way COM COM:be he that CMP   COM COM:get he

       īso / xā   ni   kundéé   dā
       rabbit CMP COM COM:win he
     But that man was LIKE THAT; he got the rabbit; he won.

7.51 *ni   Nnïï   dā   īso*
     COM COM:grab he   rabbit
     He caught the rabbit.