

LEXICAL CATEGORIES

This chapter defines and exemplifies the lexical categories of Chalcatongo Mixtec. Most of these are easily distinguished; substantive problems arise only with the identification of adjectives and prepositions.

5.1. Nouns and Pronouns

Nouns in Chalcatongo Mixtec bear no inflectional morphology whatsoever—there is no case or direct plural marking, for example. Nouns are identifiable by their distribution in phrases and clauses: they may be quantified or modified by adjectives or relative clauses, or they may take a demonstrative ('this', 'that'). (The syntax of the noun phrase is the topic of §6.2.)

Chalcatongo Mixtec nouns can be classified into the usual categories: mass versus count, proper versus common, full noun versus pronoun, etc. The latter class, pronoun, is the most interesting of these subcategories. The language has a fairly extensive system of clitic pronouns, but full pronouns only for first and second persons. The syntax of the pronominal forms is addressed in Chapter 6; here we confine ourselves to examination of the relationship between the clitics and the full forms. Table 11 displays the full set of pronominal clitics for the Chalcatongo dialect, as well as the corresponding pronouns and nouns.

The first thing to note about this system is that there are no free third person pronouns in Mixtec; rather, full nouns with generic reference correspond to the clitic forms. Thus, *čàà* means 'man', *ñāʔā* means 'woman', and so on. True pronouns exist only for first and second persons, in singular and plural, polite and familiar forms.

Second, while many of the pronominal clitics are identical with what would be the output of the rules of rapid speech contraction applied to the full forms (recall §2.6), a few are not (*rùʔù*=*rí*, *čàà*=*ǎe*). The syntax of the full forms and that of the clitic forms is quite different as well (see §6.7.1) and so the clitic forms cannot be the result of synchronic contraction of the full forms, but must instead be regarded as invariant phrasal affixes.

Table 11: Pronouns

PERS	GENDER	FREE	CLITIC
1	FAMILIAR	<i>rùʔù</i>	= <i>rí</i>
	POLITE	<i>naʔa</i>	= <i>na</i>
	INCLUSIVE (PL)	<i>žóʔó</i>	= <i>žó</i>
2	FAMILIAR	<i>roʔo</i>	= <i>ro</i>
	POLITE	<i>níʔí</i>	= <i>ní</i>
3	MASCULINE	<i>čàà</i> 'man'	= <i>ǎe</i>
	FEMININE	<i>ñāʔā</i> 'woman'	= <i>ñā</i>
	POLITE: OLDER	<i>toʔò</i> 'older person'	= <i>to</i>
	YOUNGER, DECEASED, etc.	(<i>žii</i> 'masculine')	= <i>žii</i>
	SUPERNATURAL	<i>íʔa</i> , <i>íža</i> 'god'	= <i>ža</i>
	ANIMAL	<i>kiti</i> 'animal'	= <i>ti</i>
	UNMARKED		= <i>∅</i>

Third, note that there is only one inherently plural pronoun: *žóʔó*, first person plural inclusive. Plurals of other persons and genders may be marked by addition of the prefix *ká-* to the verb stem when the subject is plural (see §4.1), and/or by various syntactic means, such as use of the plural word *xináʔa* in the NP (see §6.2.4, also §5.8). These options are illustrated in (1)–(5). Note in (1) that a first-person plural made with one of the number-neutral clitics and another pluralizing element (here, *ká-*) is exclusive of the hearer, and in (5) that more than one pluralizing element may be employed to mark the number of a single argument.

- (1) *ká-satíŭ=rí*
PL-work=1
'We're working' (exclusive of hearer)
- (2) *ká-xīnū=ro*
PL-run=2
'You (PL) run'
- (3) Mexico *ká-žaà=to*
Mexico PL-live=3POL.OLD
'They live in Mexico City'
- (4) *ndíto=to xináʔa*
be.awake=3POL.OLD plural
'They are awake'
- (5) *ka-xāʔā=∅ xináʔa beʔe*
PL-go=3 plural house
'They went to their house'

Finally, the item glossed 'younger, deceased, etc.' in Table 11, =*ži*, requires some explanation. Speakers give varying accounts of its semantics. One speaker said that it was used for young males and deceased persons. Another said that it was used for younger people of either gender, as well as for the deceased. Pérez Jiménez (1988:13) describes its use this way: "Hablando con ternura o compasión, como cuando se trata de niños, difuntos o seres queridos [speaking with tenderness or compassion, as when one refers to children, the deceased, or loved ones]."

This clitic form is also unique among the third person pronominal clitics in that it lacks a corresponding full noun with precisely the same semantics. The adjective *ži* 'masculine', the most obvious correspondent, is used only for living males and, furthermore, may be used for older as well as for younger males. There are several lines of speculation we might take on the source of this pronoun: First, sixteenth-century records indicate that there was at that time a clitic =*si*, which was used for "niño, cosa, el difunto [child, thing, or dead person]" (Arana and Swadesh 1965:25), and this could be the predecessor of the Chalcatongo =*ži* (although the correspondence between *s* and *ž* is not an expected one). Alternatively, we can note that the San Miguel dialect has a pronoun =*i*, which Dyk and Stoudt (1965) say is used for children, and which, according to them, derives from *sũčĩ* 'child'. This too could be related, although, again, the clitic form is not what would be expected from the full form. Finally, Barbara Hollenbach (personal communication) suggests another possibility: According to Farris (1992:135), Yosondúa Mixtec has a pronominal clitic =*yi* or =*i* 'general third person', which derives from *yĩvi* 'person', and this (or its cognate in this dialect, *ñãžĩũ*) could be the source for the Chalcatongo form as well. It is clear that determination of the source of =*ži* is a question which requires greater comparative data for resolution than are currently available.

Having examined the pronominal clitics, we can now classify Chalcatongo Mixtec nouns in a sort of gender or noun class system, according to which clitic is used to replace them. It is a fairly limited gender system, however, in that the only reflection of it is in the clitic pronouns. That is, there are no agreement rules or other such phenomena which depend on nominal gender. In general, this gender classification is quite straightforward: males are referred to by the masculine clitic, animals are referred to by the animal clitic, and so on. The genders which we can determine, then, are listed below with typical exemplars. It should be pointed out, however, that these third person pronominal clitics are never obligatory: any noun can take the zero clitic as long as the full noun is mentioned or is clear from context.

(6) MASCULINE

čàà	'man'
xa-žíí	'husband'
kʷàʔa	'brother (of female)'
ńáni	'brother (of male)'

(7) FEMININE

ñãʔã	'woman'
xa-síʔí	'girl, woman'
náa	'mother'
na-čĩso	'mother-in-law'

(8) POLITE, OLDER

toʔò	'person, stranger'
táa	'father'
awelita	'grandmother' (SP <i>abuelita</i>)
ñãʔã ñãʔnú	'old woman'

(9) ANIMAL

kiti	'animal, horse'
kini	'hog'
saã	'bird'
tikáxĩ	'worm'

(10) SUPERNATURAL

íʔa	'god, saint'
čúʔci	'Jesus, God' (SP <i>chuchó</i>)
sutù	'priest'
mõxa	'nun' (SP <i>monja</i>)
xa-úʔu	'the Devil'

(11) POLITE, YOUNGER/DECEASED

xa-žíí	'(late) husband'
xa-lúli	'boy'
xa-síʔí	'girl'
ndiži	'dead person'

(12) ZERO

ndežu	'food, dinner'
tičĩ	'avocado'
nundóʔo	'accident, problem'

5.2. Verbs

The grammar of Chalcatongo Mixtec does not make a clear distinction between the classes of verbs and adjectives. The problems in distinguishing the two are discussed in the next section; here, we look first at the clearest cases of verbs.

Recall from §3.1 that verbs in Chalcatongo Mixtec have at least two different stem forms. Approximately half have distinct stems for realis and potential aspect, and a few have a stative stem, and/or a stem beginning with the syllable *čV*, which often has a

transitivizing effect (among other functions). The existence of distinct realis and potential stems is one of the defining characteristics of verbs in Mixtec.

In addition, verbs allow affixation of all of the inflectional prefixes described in the preceding chapter: *ká-* 'plural', *ní-* 'completive', *na-/ma-* 'mood', and *a-* 'temporal'. These prefixes are illustrated again in (13)–(16):

- (13) *maría te x^wā ká-xita*
María and Juan PL-sing.R
 'María and Juan are singing'
- (14) *ni-čisa?í=ri máá=ri nuù=ðe*
 CP-hide.R=1 self=1 face=3MN
 'I hid myself from him'
- (15) *na-kúči=ðe*
 MOOD-bathe.P=3MN
 'He should/must bathe'
- (16) *a-ni-ndatu=rí uù órá*
 TEMP-CP-wait.R=1 two hora
 'I've already been waiting two hours'

A second defining characteristic of verbs is the form of the causative morpheme which they take. Recall from §3.2.1 that the causative for verbs is *s-*, as in (17)–(18):

- (17) *ma-s-kána=ro*
 NEG.MOOD-CAUS-throw=2
 'Don't throw it!'
- (18) *s-k^wisó=ri tik^wití*
 CAUS-boil(*vi*)=1 potato
 'I'm boiling the potatoes'

Third, verbs allow the inchoative prefix *ku-*, but not the inchoative prefix *ndu-* (these examples are repeated from §3.2.2; see the discussion there for more details):

- (19) *ku-k^wá?nú=ðe*
 INCHO-grow=3MN
 'He will grow'
- (20) *kú-kí?i ndendú=ro*
 INCHO-go.and.return both=2
 'Both of you are going to go'

Most verbs, of course, are not distinguished according to number of subject, but there are two pairs of verbs for which this is criterial.¹ As shown in §5.3 (examples [43]–[46]), there are also some adjectives that have distinct forms depending on the number of the noun that they modify, so this cannot be used as a criterion for distinguishing between verbs and adjectives.

- (21) *kúžaa (P), xížaa (R)* 'be located, singular subject'
kúšikú (P), kášikú/kášikú (R) 'be located, plural subject'
- (22) *kundee (P), xíndee (R)* 'be located in, singular subject'
k^wíñí (P), íí, ká?íí (R) 'be located in, plural subject'

Finally, there is a fairly large set of phrasal verbs which consist of verb plus body part term, as illustrated in (23). (Many more can be found in the lexicon which follows Chapter 9.) As noted, in some cases the first element (the verb) has an independent meaning, but in others speakers are not able to supply a literal translation.

- (23) *kítí iní (P,R)* 'be angry' (lit. 'boil insides')
ká?ā žaa (P,R) 'whisper' (lit. 'speak tongue')
ká?ā súkú (P,R) 'speak loudly, yell' (lit. 'speak neck')
xáta?ni iní (P,R) 'love'
kání iní (P), xání iní (R) 'think' (lit. 'stand up insides')

5.3. Adjectives

As mentioned above, it can be quite difficult to distinguish adjectives from verbs in Chalcatongo Mixtec.² There are only a few clear grammatical correlates of adjectival status. Instead, there seems to be a cluster of behaviors which, taken together, typify adjectives. Further complicating the matter is the fact that speakers occasionally differ in their grammaticality judgments for adjectival constructions. In what follows, I enumerate the grammatical behaviors which adjectives demonstrate and comment on the variability in behavior in each category.

ZERO COPULA: All adjectives can appear with a zero copula, as illustrated in (24)–(25). Of course, this fact contributes nothing to the search for features which distinguish adjectives from verbs.

¹Hills (1990:192) provides a list of twenty-three verbs in Ayutla Mixtec which make this distinction (almost all are verbs of position and location). I have only found the two pairs cited in the text in Chalcatongo Mixtec.

²This, of course, is not unusual in the languages of the world: "It must not be forgotten that a typological universal pattern is almost always a pattern of variation: some languages more clearly distinguish the category 'adjective' than others, . . . and it may be that some languages barely distinguish the category 'adjective' at all" (Croft 1991:94).

- (24) x^wā súčí=ká nuù=ri
 Juan young=ADD face=1
 'Juan is younger than I am'
- (25) nī?nī nduča
 hot water
 'The water is hot'

COPULA: Virtually all adjectives can appear with the copula, which takes the form *kaa* in realis aspect and *kuú* in potential aspect.³ (In rapid speech, these forms are almost always contracted to *ka* and *ku*, respectively.) Verbs, of course, never co-occur with these copular forms, and so this can be used as a test for distinguishing the two. (26)–(28) provide examples of adjectives in construction with the copula, the syntax of which is discussed further in §6.6.2.

- (26) ka nī?nī=Ø
 COP hot=3
 'It's hot'
- (27) ni-ka lúú=Ø
 CP-COP pretty=3
 'She was pretty'
- (28) kuú bà?à
 COP.P good
 'Be good!'

There is some indeterminacy with adjectives in construction with *ku* due to the fact that the potential copula and one of the two inchoative markers (see §3.2.2, and below) are homophonous (and possibly historically related). As a consequence, it is often unclear which form is present, as illustrated in (29):

- (29) kú nǎ?nū=Ø
 ? old=3
 'They will be/are getting old'

Although virtually all adjectives can co-occur with the copula, very occasionally a consultant rejects a form with *kaa* (e.g., **kaa ndàki* 'It is stale, hard' was judged unacceptable). In addition, there appear to be sporadic dialect differences concerning the grammaticality of a form with *kaa* (e.g., one speaker said that *ka šàà* 'It is fierce' was ungrammatical, while another found it perfectly acceptable).

³Apparently, in other dialects of Mixtec *kaa* is a main verb meaning 'appear' and *kuu* is the copula (Barbara Hollenbach, personal communication). This is not the case in Chalcatongo Mixtec, however.

EXISTENTIAL: Mixtec also allows a construction in which the existential is used with an adjective.⁴ This construction, which is illustrated in (30)–(31), apparently has the same meaning as the normal copula + adjective construction and can take a non-null subject. (See §6.6.1 for further discussion.)

- (30) žó nī?ni=Ø
 exist hot=3
 'It's hot'
- (31) žíí=rí žóó nī?i inì=ðe
 husband=1 exist strong insides=3MN
 'My husband is strong'

Again, there are some cases in which consultants reject the existential + adjective construction, for example *žó kúká 'S/he is rich', *žó žáči 'S/he is fast', *žó tú?ú 'S/he is gossipy'.

INCHOATIVE: All of the adjectives tested were found to co-occur with both the inchoatives *ku-* and *ndu-*, as illustrated below in (32)–(33). The former, as mentioned before, also occurs with verbs, but the latter only occurs with adjectives (see §3.2.2).

- (32) nǎ?ā wǎā ni-ku-šíí
 woman the CP-INCHO-thin
 'The woman became thin'
- (33) žíí=rí ndu-k^wíñí
 husband=1 INCHO-jealous
 'My husband is going to get jealous'

CAUSATIVE: Causative verb formation is discussed in §3.2.1. As pointed out in that section, verbs are always causativized with the prefix *s-*. Adjectives are usually causativized (and verbalized) by the prefix *sa-*, but some items allow either form. Examples are given in (34)–(37); note in (36) that *tí?lu* 'small' is an adjective which allows *sa-* or *s-*.

- (34) čàà wǎā ni-sa-ndá?u rú?u (*s-ndá?u)
 man the CP-CAUS-poor I
 'The man made me poor'
- (35) rù?ù sá-bà?à=rí (*s-bà?à)
 I CAUS-good=1
 'I'll fix it'

⁴Croft (1991:69) cites another language which also does this: Yagaría, as described by Renck (1975). Renck, however, does not give any explicit discussion of the construction, and I could find only one example in the grammar (p. 58).

- (36) *sá-tíʔlu / s-tíʔlu*
CAUS-small
'Shrink, make small'
- (37) *na-sá-ńíʔní=rí (*s-ńíʔní)*
REP-CAUS-hot=1
'I'll heat it'

INFLECTIONAL AFFIXATION: Of the five inflectional affixes (*ká-* 'plural', *ni-* 'completive', *na-/ma-* 'mood', and *a-* 'temporal'; see Chapter 4), only *ni-* occurs with a large number of adjectives. The plural marker *ká-* occurs with a few, while co-occurrence of adjectives with the mood markers or the temporal marker is unattested. (38)–(41) provide examples of the first two cases:

- (38) *ni-ńíʔní=∅*
CP-hot=3
'It was hot'
- (39) *ni-tíʔlu=∅*
CP-small=3
'It was small'
- (40) *ká-ià šāà tékʷaʔa žáʔa*
PL-sour very orange this
'These oranges are very sour'
- (41) *ká-kúká=∅*
PL-rich=3
'They are rich'

Consultants rejected completives with a few adjectives, including *ndoo* 'clean', *lúfí* 'small', and *žáʔu* 'expensive'. They also rejected a number of plurals with adjectives, including *ndoo* 'clean' and, for one speaker, *kúká* 'rich' (although another speaker found it acceptable, as shown above in (41)).

NOMINALIZATION: Finally, as described in §3.3.2, adjectives can be nominalized with the prefix *xa-*, as in (42):

- (42) *xa-kʷíí* 'the green one' (*kʷíí* 'green')
xa-lúfí 'child, boy' (*lúfí* 'small')
xa-ńáʔa 'morning' (*ńáʔa* 'early')

To sum up, then, the best predictors of adjectival status are co-occurrence with the copula, co-occurrence with the inchoative *ndu-*, and nominalization with *xa-*. The other grammatical correlates (e.g., lack of co-occurrence with the inflectional affixes *na-/ma-*

and *a-*, or co-occurrence with the causative *sa-*) can be fairly good indicators of adjectival status, but a number of particular forms vary by dialect or perhaps even idiolect. As stated above, the categories "verb" and "adjective" are not clear-cut categories in Chalcatongo Mixtec but seem instead to form a continuum with clear cases at either end, but many less clear cases toward the middle.

As a final observation about adjectives, there are two in Chalcatongo Mixtec which have distinct singular and plural stems.⁵ These are shown in (43)–(46):

- (43) *beʔe káʔnū=∅*
house big.SG=3
'The house is big'
- (44) *beʔe náʔnū=∅*
house big.PL=3
'The houses are big'
- (45) *žoʔo káni*
rope long.SG
'a long rope'
- (46) *žoʔo náni*
rope long.PL
'long ropes'

5.4. Prepositions

Most of the relationships which are coded with prepositions in a language like English are coded with body part nouns in Mixtec. This topic is discussed in depth in §8.2. Chalcatongo Mixtec does, however, have a small number of items which do function as prepositions: *kʷáʔl* 'due to', *kʷentá* 'about, like', *onde* 'up to, until', *xakúu* 'for', *máʔnú* 'between', *xíí* 'with', and *iči* 'toward'. The degree of certainty with which we can say that these forms are prepositions varies from cases in which there is no corresponding noun in the modern-day language (e.g., *xíí* 'with') to cases in which the corresponding noun is so similar in meaning and usage that perhaps it would be better not to consider the form a preposition at all (e.g., *iči* 'toward'). This wide variation across the set simply indicates that each one is in a different stage of grammaticization. Just as we saw with verbs and adjectives, Mixtec appears not to draw a sharp line between prepositions and nouns. (The syntax of these prepositions is covered in §6.3.)

⁵This has been noted for many other Mixtec dialects. The adjectives which show a number distinction always belong to the following small set: 'big', 'long', and 'small'. Yosondúa Mixtec (Farris 1992:125), Jicaltepec Mixtec (Bradley 1970:55), Ayutla Mixtec (Hills 1990:200), and Coatzacoapan Mixtec (Small 1990:405), for example, make the distinction with all three. Chalcatongo Mixtec, however, does not do it with any of the words for 'small'.

Starting with *kʷəčl* 'due to' or 'on account of', this form is related to a noun meaning 'fault' or 'cause'. It is used (in all of the examples found containing it) when the cause of some event is a negatively evaluated occurrence (as in [47] and [48]). The relative rarity of *kʷəčl* as a preposition may indicate that it is only just beginning down the path toward grammaticization.

- (47) ni-xíʔi=ðe kʷəčl ʃí rayú
CP-die=3MN due.to one rayo
'He died due to lightning/He was killed by lightning'
- (48) ni-xīnū=∅ kʷəʔā=∅ kʷəčl nundóʔo
CP-run=3 go=3 due.to accident
'She ran because of the accident'

kʷentá 'about, like' is borrowed from the Spanish word *cuenta*, meaning 'account'. The semantic development of this borrowing is somewhat obscure; *cuenta* can also mean 'reason' or 'consideration', and there are idioms *tener en cuenta* ('keep in mind, consider') and *tomar en cuenta* ('to be taken into account') which might provide the basis for the meaning 'about' in Mixtec. Additionally, there are idioms *por cuenta de* ('on account of') and *hacer de cuenta* ('to imagine, pretend as if') which plausibly could underlie the Mixtec use meaning 'like'. The important thing to note is that *cuenta* is a noun in Spanish, whereas *kʷentá* is a preposition in Mixtec (although it also has nominal uses as a noun meaning 'account'). It is extremely common in its prepositional use in this dialect of Mixtec, and is illustrated in the following examples:

- (49) ni-ndátūʔū=rí xí maría kʷentá ndatíū=rí
CP-talk=1 with María cuenta thing=1
'I talked to María about myself' (lit. 'my things')
- (50) bina xíʒaa=ro ʒáʔa kʷentá ndiʒi
now be.located=2 here like dead.person
'Now you are here like a dead person'

onde 'up to, until' is not related to any extant noun in Chalcatongo Mixtec, to my knowledge, and (as mentioned in Chapter 2) may well be an early loan from Spanish (from *de onde* 'from where', or perhaps just *donde* 'where'). Its spatial and temporal uses are shown in (51) and (52), respectively:

- (51) kù kaka=ʒó ondé San Miguel
be.able walk=1PL up.to San Miguel
'We can walk to San Miguel'
- (52) sátū=ʒó te onde ičāā s-ndíʔi=ʒó tíū=ʒó
work=1PL and until tomorrow CAUS-end=1PL work=1PL
'We are working and, when it is tomorrow, we will finish our job'

xakúu 'for' marks benefactives. Although it is treated here as an unanalyzable form, it undoubtedly originated as bimorphemic, as we can tell from its trisyllabic shape. A brief survey of the marking of benefactive in other Mixtec dialects yields a hypothesis about its origin. Of the six grammars that I consulted, five indicate that 'for' may be marked by the term for 'foot'. So, for example, Jamiltepec (Johnson 1988:24) uses *čaʔa* 'foot', Ocotepec (Alexander 1988:165) uses *xeʔe* 'foot', and Silacayoapan (Shields 1988:318–319) uses *saʔa* 'foot'. The Chalcatongo word for 'foot' is *xaʔa*, which would contract to *xa*, the first syllable of this form, by the usual rules. It is not clear what *kúu* is, although it may be the copula. There is actually one instance in data from spontaneous speech in which the benefactive is simply marked with *xa*, but I could never get a consultant to repeat it. This is shown in (53):

- (53) xa séʔe
(foot?) child
'for his/her child'

All other instances of benefactive 'for' make use of the full form *xakúu*. With the comparative evidence cited above in mind, we can assume, then, that *xakúu* was historically a use of a body part term plus some other element, which has now evolved into an unanalyzable preposition. I treat the form as synchronically monomorphemic and simply translate it as 'for'. (54)–(55) illustrate typical uses:

- (54) ni-sáʔa=rí ʃí šìð xakúu sesíʔi=rí
CP-make=1 one skirt for daughter=1
'I made a skirt for my daughter'
- (55) ʒúbaʔa=rí ndatíū xakúu=ro
have=1 thing for=2
'I have something for you'

māʔnū 'between' is related to the noun *māʔnū*, meaning 'middle'.⁶ Its use as a preposition is illustrated in (56)–(57):

- (56) na-xáʔa=rí māʔnū maría te xʷā
MOOD-pass=1 between María and Juan
'I will pass between María and Juan'
- (57) béʔe=rí xínʒa māʔnū béʔe maría te béʔe xʷā
house=1 be.located between house María and house Juan
'My house is located between María's house and Juan's house'

xíí 'with' marks both instrumental and comitative arguments. Although this form apparently derives from a body part term meaning 'side' (Hills and Merrifield 1974),

⁶An anonymous reader points out that *māʔnū* may be a loan, from Spanish *medio* 'middle'.

present-day Chalcatongo Mixtec speakers do not use it to refer to that part of the body, using either the native term ʃʔi 'side' or the Spanish loanword *ladú* (from *lado* 'side') instead. Thus, this form is completely grammaticized in its prepositional use. (58)–(59) illustrate:

(58) $\text{máá=rí ni-xáʔʒa=rí ndáʔa=rí xí žučí}$
EMPH=1 CP-cut=1 hand=1 with knife
'I cut my hand with the knife'

(59) ñáʔā xí=rí
come with=1
'Come with me'

The last member of this set of items is *iči* 'toward', which is related to a noun of the same form, *iči*, meaning 'path' or 'road'. The extension from 'path' to 'toward' is quite transparent; in fact, Brugman (1983:266–267) treats it as a kind of "honorary" body part noun, since it is so similar to the true body part nouns in the semantic extensions it manifests in its locative and temporal uses. Prepositional uses of *iči* in which it takes a simple NP complement are illustrated in (60)–(61):

(60) $\text{inā wáā kíʔi iči beʔe=ro}$
dog the go toward house=2
'The dog is going toward your house'

(61) $\text{kíti=ró káʔi iči wáā}$
animal=2 be.located.PL toward there
'Your animals are over there'

In the majority of examples containing *iči*, however, it takes a complement which consists of a locative phrase involving a body part term, as in (62)–(63). Since the body part terms are here treated as nouns, this is just another, slightly more complex, type of NP complement.

(62) $\text{ni-kenda=rí nūū=rí iči nū žuku}$
CP-exit=1 town=1 toward face mountain
'I walked from my town toward the mountain'

(63) $\text{kenda iči žata béʔe}$
exit toward human.back house
'Come outside!'

In conclusion, as discussed above, many of these apparent prepositions also have nominal uses: for example, kʷáʔi 'due to' also means 'fault', and kʷentá 'about, like' is a Spanish borrowing which is also used to mean 'account'. It seems quite likely that all Mixtec prepositions ultimately derive from nouns, and that the set which includes both

prepositions and body part terms used as locatives really forms a continuum of grammaticization from noun to preposition.⁷ I have chosen to treat the forms exemplified in (47)–(63) as prepositions because these words do not show typical nounlike behavior in their locative use: they cannot be modified, nor can they head noun phrases, for example. It is for this reason that they are here treated as a separate lexical category. I follow Brugman (1983) in treating the body part terms as nouns (discussion of these forms appears in §8.2). It must be admitted, however, that the line thus drawn is somewhat artificial; as discussed in Chapter 8, some of the body part terms seem to be more prepositional than others, just as some of the prepositions in the present section seem to be more nounlike than others.

5.5. Adverbs

Chalcatongo Mixtec adverbs are illustrated below, in (64)–(67). All of these forms are monomorphemic; there is no adverbializing derivation. The placement of adverbs is discussed in §6.1.

(64) $\text{žani xínža béʔe žáʔa}$
close be.located house this
'This house is close'

(65) rùʔù káʔā=rí súní
I speak=1 also
'I am speaking too'

(66) kʷéé kii=ró
slowly come=2
'You are coming slowly'

(67) xʷā ni-xínū žáči
Juan CP-run fast
'Juan ran fast'

5.6. Quantifiers

Quantifiers form a small closed class in Chalcatongo Mixtec and provide one of the ways of marking the plural within a noun phrase, as in (68) through (70):

⁷Brugman (1983:286, n. 6) also speculates that the prepositions derive from some other lexical category. For a different point of view, see Hollenbach (1995), who argues that Mixtecan body part terms have undergone a category shift to prepositions in their locative and temporal uses.

- (68) kʷaʔà sáá nǎʒíu kuní saʔa kúká
many much people want make rich
'Many people want to be/become rich'⁸
- (69) žóó kʷaʔà béʔe nūndézá
exist many house Chalcatongo
'There are many houses in Chalcatongo'
- (70) tíni kóʒlo 'various turkeys'
various turkey

The placement and use of quantifiers is addressed in §6.2.3.

5.7. Numbers

The numeral system of Mixtec is a mixed decimal and vigesimal system, with both additive and multiplicative components. This complex system is summarized in Table 12.

Table 12: Chalcatongo Mixtec Numerals

1	ḥ	11	uʃl ḥ	21	okò ḥ	31	okò uʃl ḥ	41	uè šíkó ḥ
2	uè	12	uʃl uè						
3	unì	13	uʃl unì						
4	kūù	14	uʃl kūù						
5	úʔu	15	šíáʔu	25	okò úʔu	35	okò šíáʔu	45	uè šíkó úʔu
6	ínū	16	šíáʔu ḥ	26	okò ínū	36	okò šíáʔu ḥ	46	uè šíkó ínū
7	úšia, úša	17	šíáʔu uè						
8	unà	18	šíáʔu unì						
9	ḥ	19	šíáʔu kūù						
10	uʃl	20	okò	30	okò uʃl	40	uè šíkó	50	uè šíkó uʃl
51	uè šíkó uʃl ḥ	61	uè šíkó okò ḥ	71	unì šíkó uʃl ḥ	81	kūù šíkó ḥ	91	kūù šíkó uʃl ḥ
55	uè šíkó šíáʔu	65	uè šíkó okò úʔu	75	unì šíkó šíáʔu	85	kūù šíkó úʔu	95	kūù šíkó šíáʔu
60	uè šíkó okò	70	unì šíkó uʃl	80	kūù šíkó	90	kūù šíkó uʃl	100	ḥ sientó
								1000	mil

⁸The extremely common quantifier sáá 'much' is homophonous with an adjective meaning 'fierce'. Barbara Hollenbach (personal communication) hypothesizes that the two are different senses of the same word.

As the table shows, the numbers 'one' through 'ten' are: ḥ, uè, unì, kūù, úʔu, ínū, úšia (or for some speakers, úša), unà, ḥ, uʃl.

'Eleven' through 'fourteen' are formed with the word for 'ten' plus the required digit, while 'fifteen' is monomorphemic: šíáʔu.⁹ 'Sixteen' through 'nineteen' are formed with 'fifteen' plus the required digit, for example, šíáʔu uè 'seventeen'.

'Twenty' is also monomorphemic: okò. 'Twenty-one' through 'thirty' are formed by adding digits to 'twenty'; 'thirty' being okò uʃl ('twenty + ten').

'Thirty-one' through 'thirty-four' are formed with 'twenty + ten' plus the appropriate digit, for example, okò uʃl unì 'thirty-three'. 'Thirty-five' is okò šíáʔu ('twenty + fifteen'). 'Thirty-six' through 'thirty-nine' are formed by adding digits to this base, so okò šíáʔu kūù, for example, is 'thirty-nine'.

Starting at forty, the system becomes simultaneously multiplicative and additive. From 'forty' to 'sixty-nine', the base is uè šíkó ('two × twenty'; the change in the form for 'twenty' in this context is discussed below). The same pattern as just described for the numbers under 'forty' is followed here: the numbers for 'forty-one' through 'sixty-nine' are formed by adding the appropriate number to the base uè šíkó. So, for example, 'fifty-six' is uè šíkó šíáʔu ḥ ('[two × twenty] + fifteen + one'), and 'sixty' is uè šíkó okò ('[two × twenty] + twenty').

Comparative evidence explains the two forms for 'twenty'. In isolation and in combinations forming 'twenty-one' through 'thirty-nine' it is okò. In most forms above 'thirty-nine', however, it is šíkó, as in uè šíkó 'forty' ('two × twenty'). My consultants could supply no independent gloss for šíkó, but dictionaries indicate that some dialects (e.g., San Miguel el Grande, see Dyk and Stoudt 1965) preserve a distinction between okò 'twenty' and šíkó 'score' (Spanish *veintena*). Thus, uè šíkó is, at least historically, parallel to 'two score' in English.

Numbers from 'sixty' to 'sixty-nine' are formed as described above: by multiplication plus addition ('[two × twenty] + twenty + n'),¹⁰ but the term for 'seventy' analyzes its component 'sixty' differently. The numbers from 'seventy' to 'seventy-nine' are based on unì šíkó uʃl ('[three × twenty] + ten'). 'Eighty' is kūù šíkó ('four × twenty'), and 'ninety' is kūù šíkó uʃl ('[four × twenty] + ten'). 'One hundred' is a mixed Mixtec-Spanish form: ḥ sientó (Spanish *siento* 'one hundred'), and numbers over 'one hundred' simply incorporate it: uè sientó okò 'two hundred and twenty'. 'One thousand' is the Spanish borrowing mil, and numbers over 'one thousand' likewise incorporate it: mil uè sientó 'one thousand two hundred'.

⁹Barbara Hollenbach (personal communication) suggests that this word may historically be formed from the words for 'ten' and 'five'. However, such a source is not transparent at all to current-day speakers.

¹⁰Other dialects of Mixtec do not have this composition for 'sixty' to 'sixty-nine'. For example, Ayuda Mixtec has unì šíkó 'sixty', literally 'three twenty' (Hills 1990:151).

5.8. Plural Word

As we saw in Chapter 3, plural agreement on the verb in Chalcatongo Mixtec is optional.¹¹ Marking of plurality in the noun phrase is also optional, and furthermore is it not direct, that is, there is no nominal affixation which marks argument plurality. However, there is a strategy for explicitly marking plurality of NPs: use of a free morpheme, *xináʔa*, which simply means 'plural'. The syntax of this word is discussed in the next chapter; here, we concentrate on its lexical category. The plural word is illustrated in (71)–(74):¹²

- (71) *táa=rí xináʔa na-šuk^{wíi} šíā*
 parents=1 plural REP-turn tomorrow
 'My parents will return tomorrow'
- (72) *káisiokú táa=rí xináʔa*
 be.here.PL parents=1 plural
 'My parents are here'
- (73) *s-kitáʔā žūnū žáʔa xináʔa*
 CAUS-meet wood this plural
 'Put these (pieces of) wood together'
- (74) *xwā xíndee xí ĩ=ka ũažīū wāā xináʔa*
Juan be.in with one=ADD people the plural
 'Juan is with/among those people'

Dryer (1989:865) discusses plural words like the one just exemplified and gives the following definition: "[The plural word is] a morpheme whose meaning and function is similar to that of plural affixes in other languages, but which is a separate word that functions as a modifier of the noun." The Chalcatongo Mixtec plural word fits Dryer's definition quite well. (However, as shown in Chapter 6, the plural word is not, strictly speaking, a *modifier* of the noun in Chalcatongo Mixtec but rather is placed in apposition to the entire NP.)

Dryer shows that languages with plural words tend to have a number of typological characteristics in common, and, indeed, Chalcatongo Mixtec fits the description quite well. These characteristics include the following: (a) they often have classifiers (see §3.3.3), (b)

¹¹Portions of this section (and of §6.2.4, in which the issue of the syntax of the plural word is discussed) have appeared previously as Macaulay (1989). The reader is directed to that source for more detailed information.

¹²The only other two Mixtec dialects for which a plural word is described are Peñoles (Daly 1973a: 20, 46) and Ataláhuca (Alexander 1980:54). The plural word in Peñoles Mixtec is quite unlike the one in Chalcatongo Mixtec, both in form (in Peñoles Mixtec it is *kwee*) and distribution. The one in Ataláhuca Mixtec, however, is quite similar to that in Chalcatongo Mixtec in both respects. See Macaulay (1989) for more details.

they tend towards isolating or analytic structure (although see the next point), (c) they often show some verbal inflection, and (d) they usually lack case marking.

Plural words, according to Dryer, can belong to a variety of lexical categories, but the most common case is for such forms to belong to a minor word class of their own. This is the case in Chalcatongo Mixtec, where it does not quite exhibit the behavior of members of the two most plausible other candidates for categories, pronoun and quantifier. I examine each possibility in turn, showing that *xináʔa* differs in significant ways from prototypical members of each category.

Examples like (75) and (76) illustrate the pronounlike behavior of *xináʔa*:

- (75) *káisiokú=∅ xináʔa nū mesa*
 be.located.PL=3 plural face *mesa*
 'They'll be on the table'
- (76) *ká-xāʔā=∅ xináʔa beʔe*
 PL-go=3 plural house
 'They went to their house'

In both examples, *xináʔa* could be interpreted as a subject pronoun in postverbal position. There are several reasons, however, why this cannot be correct. First, free pronouns are normally barred from postverbal subject position in Chalcatongo Mixtec (see §6.7.1). Free pronouns in subject function may only appear in topic position (a clause-initial position used for topicalized items; see §6.1).

Second, if *xináʔa* were a pronoun, it would be a rather deviant one, since it is neutral with respect to person. In fact, *xináʔa* itself can be overtly marked for any person through attachment of a pronominal clitic, as in (77)–(78):

- (77) *ndīʔi=rí xináʔá=rí ni-čā-kožo=rí*
 all=1 plural=1 CP-come-plural=1
 'We all came'
- (78) *roʔo xináʔá=ro kíʔi kóžo=ro¹³*
 you plural=2 go plural=2
 '(You plural) go!'

In addition to the fact that this lack of an inherent person category makes *xináʔa* quite unlike any true pronoun in Mixtec, we can observe that the true pronouns never allow attachment of a pronominal clitic at all, of the same or of a different person. Yet any pronominal clitic may attach to *xináʔa*. Such evidence clearly indicates that *xináʔa* is not a pronoun. In examples like (75) and (76), the zero third-person marker is what functions as the pronominal subject. *Xináʔa* marks that subject as plural, just as it may for any overt clitic pronoun (as it does in, e.g., [78]).

¹³*kóžo* is another plural marker (not a plural word, though), used exclusively with verbs of motion.

The evidence against the membership of *xináʔa* in the category "quantifier" is not as clear-cut as the evidence is against its pronominal status. One fairly convincing factor, though, is word order. As shown in §5.6, above, quantifiers precede the head in the Chalcatongo Mixtec noun phrase. However, as seen in (71)–(74), and again in (77), *xináʔa* follows a nominal head.

In addition, Dryer (1989:866–867) points out that plural words are not precisely parallel in their semantics to quantifiers like 'some' and 'many'. Plural words are semantically less complex than quantifiers. That is, quantifiers tend to code more than just plurality—as Dryer points out, they can be restricted to sets larger than two, they can signal indefiniteness, and so on. Plural words do not do any of this; they simply code argument plurality.

Thus, syntactic and semantic evidence indicates that *xináʔa* is not a quantifier. The best solution to the problem of its lexical category seems to be to assign it to a class of its own, which is, as mentioned above, one of the more common options Dryer finds in his sample. Again, the syntax of this unique word is the topic of §6.2.4.

5.9. Conjunctions and Disjunctions

Chalcatongo Mixtec makes use of several coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, as illustrated in (79)–(84):

(79) *te* 'and'

maría ni-xíta te x^{wā} ni-xičáʔá
María CP-sing and *Juan* CP-dance
 'María sang and Juan danced'

(80) *ši* 'or'

xáni ini=rí xa=kúʒaa=Ø ʃí ši uù kiù
 think insides=1 COMP=be.located=3 one or two day
 'I think that she'll be here one or two days'

(81) *o* 'or' (Spanish *o*)

ʒaʔá kúú xa=kúú çàà o xa=kúú xa-siʔi
 this COP COMP=COP man *o* COMP=COP NOM-feminine
 'Is this (animal) a male or a female?'

(82) *čìl* 'because'

čóʔo čìl bína xíʒaa=Ø
 go.HORT because now be.located=Ø
 'Let's go, because she's there now'

(83) *bàʔà* 'but'

maría xátāʔā káta bàʔà tu=xátāʔā kačáʔa
María like sing but NEG=like dance
 'María likes to sing but she doesn't like to dance'

(84) *pero* 'but' (Spanish *pero*)

ni-kandía=Ø *pero* bína tu=kandía=Ø
 CP-believe=Ø *pero* now NEG=believe=Ø
 'He used to believe (it), but now he doesn't'

As noted, two of these are Spanish loanwords, *o* 'or' and *pero* 'but'. The former does not occur very often in Chalcatongo Mixtec, while the latter is almost as common as the native form.

3.3.3.5. Terms for Younger Kin

Finally, there are several kin terms with a first syllable *se*, all of which denote a younger relative (the related noun *seʔe* means 'child'). Note again the irregular tone changes between root and derived form.

(116) *sendúča* 'godchild' (cf. *nduča* 'water')

(117) *sesfʔi* 'daughter' (cf. *síʔi* 'feminine')

(118) *sežíí* 'son' (cf. *žíi* 'masculine')

(119) *sexanú* 'daughter-in-law' (cf. *xánu* 'sister-in-law')

(120) *sekásá* 'son-in-law' (cf. *kása* 'brother-in-law')

3.3.3.6. Conclusion

To conclude this section, then, we have seen that there are a number of semantic domains in Chalcatongo Mixtec in which many of the words have a common first syllable which is suggestive of a classifier. However, while productive classifier systems have been documented for other Mixtec dialects, in Chalcatongo Mixtec we must conclude that the system is no longer productive. Arguments against synchronic derivation of the initial syllable from the full noun to which it is related include the following: (a) in most cases the corresponding full noun (when there is one) may not be substituted for the initial syllable; (b) in cases in which a NP + NP construction with the corresponding full noun *can* be created, this construction has a different meaning than the trisyllabic form does; and (c) the trisyllabic forms are susceptible to phonological and semantic change which would not be expected if the prefix represented a productive classifying element. Finally, we must also note that the prefixes in Chalcatongo Mixtec do not fulfill any of the typical functions of classifiers. That is, it is misleading to speak of the prefix co-occurring with some noun for which it has a quantifying or classifying (or other) function, since in the majority of cases the two final syllables do not constitute an independent morpheme.³³ I conclude that Chalcatongo Mixtec in its current state does not have an extant system of noun classification. The suggestive initial syllables which we observe in certain semantic domains are instead the fossilized remnants of an archaic classifier system.

³³Direct evidence that speakers are not conscious of the classifying function of these prefixes was provided by one of my consultants, who produced *zúúú núʔúʔa* for 'torchpine' on one occasion (cf. example [108]).

MORPHOLOGY: INFLECTION

Inflection in Mixtec, like derivation, is exclusively prefixing. It is also quite limited in that only verbs (and some adjectives) can be inflected. Furthermore, there are only five inflectional prefixes: plural, completive, mood (positive and negative), and temporal. Each of these is described in turn below.

4.1. Plural

Plural marking of all kinds is optional in Mixtec. The use of quantifiers, the "plural word," and a postverbal plural marker are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. This section describes the use of the inflectional prefix *ká-*, which marks plural subject agreement on the realis stem of verbs, and on some adjectives. There is no apparent semantic basis for the restriction to realis stems. In fact, I do have two or three spontaneous examples of *ká-* attached to potential stems in my data. However, all examples of *ká-* plus potential which I constructed to test this were rejected by my consultants as ungrammatical. (1)–(4) illustrate the use of this prefix:

- (1) *ká-ʔaà=to*
PL-reside=3POL.OLD
'They live (there)'
- (2) *ká-káʔã=ʔo*
PL-talk=1PL
'We are talking'
- (3) *ká-bèè ʂãã=Ø*
PL-weigh much=3
'They weigh a lot'

- (4) ndik^wftf nãziũ ká-ku ndá?u xiná?a¹
all people PL-COP poor plural
'All the people are poor'

As can be seen from the above examples, ká- has high tone and is not a perturber. However, there are some cases in my data in which ká- appears with mid tone instead of high, as in (5) and (6):

- (5) táa=rí xína?a ni-ka-xaà íkú
parent=1 plural CP-PL-arrive yesterday
'My parents arrived yesterday'

- (6) a-ni-ka-xá?ña=Ø
TEMP-CP-PL-cut=3
'They already cut (it)'

The majority of the examples in which ká- occurs with mid tone have the completive prefix ni- preceding it. As is discussed in the next section, the completive prefix often seems to have a lowering effect on the tone of the following syllable. The other cases of mid tone ká- are unexplained.

4.2. Completive

The completive prefix ni- attaches to the realis stem of verbs and marks an event as having been completed.² ni- can describe either a completed past event or a completed future event. The former use is shown in (7)–(9), while the latter is shown in (10)–(12):

- (7) ni-čaa=rí be?e=ró
CP-arrive=1 house=2
'I arrived at your house'
- (8) ni-ku-líf=ná
CP-INCHO-naked=1POL
'I took off my clothes' (lit. 'became naked')

¹ndik^wftf is a complex form composed of the initial syllable of ndftf 'all' and the word k^wftf 'just'.

²Pike (1944:125–126) makes the same point for San Miguel Mixtec, showing there that the prefix ni- does not indicate past tense, as one might think upon first inspection of the data. He gives examples like those in the present text to show that its function is instead to mark completion of the event described, regardless of the time reference of the utterance. Bickford and Marlett (1989) also make this point for the three Mixtec dialects that they describe, Santiago Nuyóo, Santo Domingo Nuxáa, and Tezoatlán.

- (9) ni-čfí?i=ró itũ=ro
CP-plant=2 cornfield=2
'You planted your cornfields'
- (10) ni-s-ndi?ã=rí orá wáá sá?a=rí tĩũ=rí
CP-CAUS-finish=1 hora that do=1 work=1
'I will have finished doing my work by then'
- (11) kana=ró ru?ũ nu=ní-na-ketá?ã=ro xí pe?rũ
call=2 me COND=CP-REP-find=2 with Pedro
'Call me when you find/if you have found Pedro'
- (12) bina xa=kíno?o=rí nú=a-ni-kutú?a=rí ká?ã=rí misteku
now COMP=leave=1 COND=TEMP-CP-learn=1 speak=1 Mixteco
'When (lit. 'Now that') I leave (Chalcatongo), I want to have learned to speak Mixtec'

As examples like (7) and (8) show, ni- is not a perturbing morpheme. However, it does seem to have other tonal effects. Recall the discussion in §2.5.5 of Buckley's (1991) rule of Low-Tone Spreading. In Buckley's data, ni- had low tone, which spread rightward in certain cases to an adjacent syllable (or syllables).³ However, in a sample of 302 forms in ni-, I found that 214 (71%) had mid tone on the prefix, 45 (15%) had low tone, and 43 (14%) had high tone (the result of following a morpheme with a floating H). In the cases in which ni- has mid tone, of course the low spreading rule cannot apply. In my data, ni- appears instead to have another effect on the tone of the following syllable, which is analogous to but not exactly the same as Buckley's rule: in slightly less than half the cases I examined, the tone of the following syllable or syllables is lowered by one step, that is, from H to M and from M to L. (13)–(15) are representative examples:

- (13) ni-xēī=rí bílu nù xító (stem: xēī)
CP-put=1 cat face bed
'I put the cat on the bed'
- (14) rù?ũ ni-žoo se?e=rí (stem: žóó)
I CP-exist child=1
'I had my children'
- (15) ni-čaa=na (stem: čaa)
CP-come=1POL
'I came'

There is no phonological (or other) conditioning that I can find that accounts for this lowering in only some examples. I assume, then, that it is an optional rule. Furthermore,

³I am simplifying somewhat. See Buckley (1991:169) for details.

it happens following both mid tone *ni-* and low tone *nì-*. Thus, Buckley's rule of Low-Tone Spreading (which does not exist in monomorphemic LM couplets for the speakers with whom I worked in Chalcatongo, as it does for Buckley's speaker) has to be changed in this case to a more specific rule which states that the syllable(s) following the completive prefix may optionally be lowered one step. I leave formalization of this rule aside here, since the topic of the tonal effects of the completive marker is still incompletely understood.

4.3. Mood

There are two mood-marking prefixes in Chalcatongo Mixtec: one which occurs in positive contexts, *na-*, and one which occurs in negative contexts, *ma-*. The grammars of other dialects which have this distinction (e.g., Alexander 1980; Pensinger 1974; Dyk and Stoudt 1973) describe *ma-* simply as a negative marker used with potential aspect and pair it with the clitic *tu=* (which is used primarily with realis aspect). However, I have shown elsewhere (Macaulay 1990) that in the Chalcatongo dialect this pairing fails, and that, in fact, *ma-* is in alternation with *na-*. This section begins with description of the positive form, *na-*, and then turns to the negative, *ma-*.

Examples (16)–(18) illustrate main clause uses of *na-* in Chalcatongo Mixtec. It is always prefixed to the potential verb stem and has a perturbing effect on the tone of the word which follows it.

- (16) *na-čindúčá=rí saʔma=rí* (stem: čindúčá)
MOOD-rinse=1 clothes=1
'I must rinse my clothes'
- (17) *na-čáa* (stem: čaà)
MOOD-come
'You must/should come' or 'Come!'
- (18) *na-kíí=Ø bina núʔni* (stem: kii)
MOOD-come=3 right.now
'He must/should come right now'

These examples illustrate the deontic mood function of *na-* in main clauses. Following Chung and Timberlake (1985:246), I take deontic mood to "characterize an event as non-actual by virtue of the fact that it is imposed on a given situation." (16), (17), and (18) illustrate three of the related senses that deontic mood may convey, depending on person of subject: (a) voluntative or desiderative ("the speaker expresses intention or deliberation to realize the event" [1985:247]), (b) imperative,⁴ and (c) optative ("the speaker desires some event of some participant" [1985:247]). What these three senses have in common is that they are all expressions of the will of the speaker.

⁴Consultants indicate that imperatives with *na-* are more "polite" than imperatives formed with the potential stem alone. (See §6.6.4.)

When *na-* occurs in subordinate clauses in Chalcatongo Mixtec, it has similar functions. It may appear in complements to verbs of causation (as in [19]), to verbs expressing the desire or directions of the subject (as in [20]), to verbs of permission (as in [21]), and in complements to imperatives, both when the two clauses have the same subject (as in [22]) and when they have different subjects (as in [23]).

- (19) *sáʔa xa=na-kíí=Ø* (stem: kii)
make COMP=MOOD-come=3
'Make him come'
- (20) *keè=Ø xà=na-čindé=ri róʔo* (stem: čindé)
say=3 COMP=MOOD-help=1 you
'She says that I should help you'
- (21) *s-ndóo na-kíʔí=Ø xí=ri* (stem: kíʔí)
allow MOOD-go=3 with=1
'Let him go with me'⁵
- (22) *kʷáʔá na-číʔu žuʔu=ró* (stem: číʔu)
go MOOD-rinse.out mouth=2
'Go rinse out your mouth'
- (23) *kéʔi seʔe=ró na-kúsu=Ø* (stem: kúsu)
put child=2 MOOD-sleep=3
'Put your child down to sleep'

na- also appears in conditional clauses, as in the following:

- (24) *nú=wáá na-sáʔa=Ø ku-sí šáá iní=ri* (stem: sáʔa)
COND=that MOOD-do=3 COP-happy much insides=1
'If he did that, I would be very happy'
- (25) *bàʔà=kà=Ø nu=na-kíʔí=ro šíá* (stem: kíʔí)
good=ADD=3 COND=MOOD-go=2 tomorrow
'It would be better if you went tomorrow'

These uses of *na-* in subordinate clauses all have in common that the occurrence of some event, while not certain, is desired. They differ from the main clause uses of *na-* in that the will which is expressed is not necessarily that of the speaker but is instead usually that of the subject of the main clause. It is true that this subject is, in fact, almost always the speaker—but it does not have to be, as shown in example (20). Chung and Timberlake (1985:249) call this the use of deontic mood in "secondary events." Note that (25) might be interpretable as an exception to the claim that the subject of the main clause is the one

⁵*s-ndóo* has the form of a causative, but it is unclear what the root is.

whose will is expressed; in this case, however, the sentence presumably reflects the will or desire of the speaker, whose identity is not expressed overtly in the sentence.⁶

We turn now to the negative mood marker, *ma-*, which is illustrated in (26)–(29). Note that *ma-*, like *na-*, carries a floating H tone.⁷

- (26) *ma-kíʔi=ri* (stem: *kíʔi*)
NEG.MOOD-go=1
'I will not go'
- (27) *ma-kuú=ro* (stem: *kuú*)
NEG.MOOD-die=2
'Don't die!'
- (28) *sáʔa xa=ma-kíi=Ø* (stem: *kíi*)
make COMP=NEG.MOOD-come=3
'Make him not come/Don't let him come'
- (29) *kaka kʷéé=ní xa=má-kʷítá=ní* (stem: *kʷítá*)
walk slow=2POL COMP=NEG.MOOD-tire=2POL
'Walk slowly so that you don't get tired'

The meaning of *ma-* is precisely the opposite of that of *na-*, that is, by using *ma-* the speaker indicates his or her expectation or desire that some event should not occur. An example like (26), then, is a negative volutive, that is, it expresses the speaker's intention *not* to realize the event in question. It is still deontic mood because it still characterizes the event as nonactual. In fact, it could be argued that such an utterance is more strongly nonactual than a positive volutive: not only is it nonactual in the present, but the speaker indicates a desire that it remain nonactual in the future.

4.4. Temporal

The fifth inflectional prefix is temporal *a-*, which attaches to realis verb stems. The meaning of this prefix appears to be quite similar to that of the Spanish *ya*, which can be translated as 'already', or 'now'.⁸ (30) through (33) illustrate:

⁶Hills (1990:73–74) says that the "hortatory" *nà-* in Ayutla Mixtec "always implies personal interest on the part of the speaker, and frequently a strong wish." However, Ayutla Mixtec differs from Chalcatongo Mixtec in that it has two prefixes, the hortatory *nà-* and the "obligation marker" *na-*, which is used in stating requirements. Thus, the uses may not be parallel. Furthermore, Hills does not discuss the use of either prefix in subordinate clauses.

⁷This is, in fact, another parallelism between *ma-* and *na-* which is not shared by the negative clitic *tu-*.

⁸Terrence Kaufman (personal communication) tells me that despite the phonological similarity, Mixtec *a-* is not borrowed from Spanish. This is supported by the fact that the Yosondúa dialect has two forms, *xa-* and *sa-*, fulfilling this function (Farris 1992:55–56).

- (30) *a-xíʔi toʔò náʔnū wáá*
TEMP-die man old the
'The old man is dying now'
- (31) *a-ni-kušíní=žó*
TEMP-CP-eat=1PL
'We already ate'
- (32) *tú=a-ni-kuní=ðe*
NEG=TEMP-CP-want=3MN
'He now didn't want to/He didn't want to anymore'
- (33) *saʔma wáá a-ni-ičí*
clothes the TEMP-CP-be.dry
'The clothes are dry now/have already dried'

4.5. Relative Ordering of Inflectional Prefixes

The mood prefixes do not co-occur with the plural, completive, or temporal prefixes because the former attach to potential verb stems, while the latter attach to realis verb stems. The plural, completive, and temporal do co-occur, however, as the following examples show:

- (34) *a-ni-ka-žesámá=ri*
TEMP-CP-PL-eat=1
'We already ate'
- (35) *a-ni-ka-káʔá=ró xí maestro*
TEMP-CP-PL-talk=2 with *maestro*
'You (PL) already talked with the teacher'

The relative ordering of these three prefixes, as these examples illustrate, is temporal > completive > plural.

LEXICAL CATEGORIES

This chapter defines and exemplifies the lexical categories of Chalcatongo Mixtec. Most of these are easily distinguished; substantive problems arise only with the identification of adjectives and prepositions.

5.1. Nouns and Pronouns

Nouns in Chalcatongo Mixtec bear no inflectional morphology whatsoever—there is no case or direct plural marking, for example. Nouns are identifiable by their distribution in phrases and clauses: they may be quantified or modified by adjectives or relative clauses, or they may take a demonstrative ('this', 'that'). (The syntax of the noun phrase is the topic of §6.2.)

Chalcatongo Mixtec nouns can be classified into the usual categories: mass versus count, proper versus common, full noun versus pronoun, etc. The latter class, pronoun, is the most interesting of these subcategories. The language has a fairly extensive system of clitic pronouns, but full pronouns only for first and second persons. The syntax of the pronominal forms is addressed in Chapter 6; here we confine ourselves to examination of the relationship between the clitics and the full forms. Table 11 displays the full set of pronominal clitics for the Chalcatongo dialect, as well as the corresponding pronouns and nouns.

The first thing to note about this system is that there are no free third person pronouns in Mixtec; rather, full nouns with generic reference correspond to the clitic forms. Thus, *čàà* means 'man', *ñāʔā* means 'woman', and so on. True pronouns exist only for first and second persons, in singular and plural, polite and familiar forms.

Second, while many of the pronominal clitics are identical with what would be the output of the rules of rapid speech contraction applied to the full forms (recall §2.6), a few are not (*rùʔù* = *rí*, *čàà* = *de*). The syntax of the full forms and that of the clitic forms is quite different as well (see §6.7.1) and so the clitic forms cannot be the result of synchronic contraction of the full forms, but must instead be regarded as invariant phrasal affixes.

Table 11: Pronouns

PERS	GENDER	FREE	CLITIC
1	FAMILIAR	<i>rùʔù</i>	= <i>rí</i>
	POLITE	<i>naʔa</i>	= <i>na</i>
	INCLUSIVE (PL)	<i>žóʔó</i>	= <i>žó</i>
2	FAMILIAR	<i>roʔo</i>	= <i>ro</i>
	POLITE	<i>níʔí</i>	= <i>ní</i>
3	MASCULINE	<i>čàà</i> 'man'	= <i>de</i>
	FEMININE	<i>ñāʔā</i> 'woman'	= <i>ña</i>
	POLITE: OLDER	<i>toʔò</i> 'older person'	= <i>to</i>
	YOUNGER, DECEASED, etc.	(<i>žii</i> 'masculine')	= <i>ži</i>
	SUPERNATURAL	<i>íʔa</i> , <i>íʔa</i> 'god'	= <i>ža</i>
	ANIMAL	<i>kiti</i> 'animal'	= <i>tí</i>
	UNMARKED		= <i>Ø</i>

Third, note that there is only one inherently plural pronoun: *žóʔó*, first person plural inclusive. Plurals of other persons and genders may be marked by addition of the prefix *ká-* to the verb stem when the subject is plural (see §4.1), and/or by various syntactic means, such as use of the plural word *xináʔa* in the NP (see §6.2.4, also §5.8). These options are illustrated in (1)–(5). Note in (1) that a first-person plural made with one of the number-neutral clitics and another pluralizing element (here, *ká-*) is exclusive of the hearer, and in (5) that more than one pluralizing element may be employed to mark the number of a single argument.

- (1) *ká-satíŭ=rí*
PL-work=1
'We're working' (exclusive of hearer)
- (2) *ká-xīnū=ro*
PL-run=2
'You (PL) run'
- (3) Mexico *ká-žaà=to*
Mexico PL-live=3POL.OLD
'They live in Mexico City'
- (4) *ndíto=to xináʔa*
be.awake=3POL.OLD plural
'They are awake'
- (5) *ka-xāʔā=Ø xináʔa beʔe*
PL-go=3 plural house
'They went to their house'

Finally, the item glossed 'younger, deceased, etc.' in Table 11, =*zi*, requires some explanation. Speakers give varying accounts of its semantics. One speaker said that it was used for young males and deceased persons. Another said that it was used for younger people of either gender, as well as for the deceased. Pérez Jiménez (1988:13) describes its use this way: "Hablando con ternura o compasión, como cuando se trata de niños, difuntos o seres queridos [speaking with tenderness or compassion, as when one refers to children, the deceased, or loved ones]."

This clitic form is also unique among the third person pronominal clitics in that it lacks a corresponding full noun with precisely the same semantics. The adjective *zii* 'masculine', the most obvious correspondent, is used only for living males and, furthermore, may be used for older as well as for younger males. There are several lines of speculation we might take on the source of this pronoun: First, sixteenth-century records indicate that there was at that time a clitic =*si*, which was used for "niño, cosa, el difunto [child, thing, or dead person]" (Arana and Swadesh 1965:25), and this could be the predecessor of the Chalcatongo =*zi* (although the correspondence between *s* and *z* is not an expected one). Alternatively, we can note that the San Miguel dialect has a pronoun =*i*, which Dyk and Stoudt (1965) say is used for children, and which, according to them, derives from *sùč'i* 'child'. This too could be related, although, again, the clitic form is not what would be expected from the full form. Finally, Barbara Hollenbach (personal communication) suggests another possibility: According to Farris (1992:135), Yosondúa Mixtec has a pronominal clitic =*yi* or =*i* 'general third person', which derives from *yiv'i* 'person', and this (or its cognate in this dialect, *ñažiñi*) could be the source for the Chalcatongo form as well. It is clear that determination of the source of =*zi* is a question which requires greater comparative data for resolution than are currently available.

Having examined the pronominal clitics, we can now classify Chalcatongo Mixtec nouns in a sort of gender or noun class system, according to which clitic is used to replace them. It is a fairly limited gender system, however, in that the only reflection of it is in the clitic pronouns. That is, there are no agreement rules or other such phenomena which depend on nominal gender. In general, this gender classification is quite straightforward: males are referred to by the masculine clitic, animals are referred to by the animal clitic, and so on. The genders which we can determine, then, are listed below with typical exemplars. It should be pointed out, however, that these third person pronominal clitics are never obligatory: any noun can take the zero clitic as long as the full noun is mentioned or is clear from context.

(6) MASCULINE

čàà	'man'
xa-žíí	'husband'
kʷàʔa	'brother (of female)'
ñáni	'brother (of male)'

(7) FEMININE

ñāʔā	'woman'
xa-siʔi	'girl, woman'
nāa	'mother'
na-číso	'mother-in-law'

(8) POLITE, OLDER

toʔò	'person, stranger'
tāa	'father'
awelita	'grandmother' (SP <i>abuelita</i>)
ñāʔā ñāʔnū	'old woman'

(9) ANIMAL

kiti	'animal, horse'
kini	'hog'
saà	'bird'
tikāxi	'worm'

(10) SUPERNATURAL

íʔa	'god, saint'
čúʔči	'Jesus, God' (SP <i>chucho</i>)
sutù	'priest'
mōxa	'nun' (SP <i>monja</i>)
xa-úʔu	'the Devil'

(11) POLITE, YOUNGER/DECEASED

xa-žíí	'(late) husband'
xa-lúli	'boy'
xa-siʔi	'girl'
ndiži	'dead person'

(12) ZERO

ndežu	'food, dinner'
tiči	'avocado'
nundóʔo	'accident, problem'

5.2. Verbs

The grammar of Chalcatongo Mixtec does not make a clear distinction between the classes of verbs and adjectives. The problems in distinguishing the two are discussed in the next section; here, we look first at the clearest cases of verbs.

Recall from §3.1 that verbs in Chalcatongo Mixtec have at least two different stem forms. Approximately half have distinct stems for realis and potential aspect, and a few have a stative stem, and/or a stem beginning with the syllable *čV*, which often has a

transitivizing effect (among other functions). The existence of distinct realis and potential stems is one of the defining characteristics of verbs in Mixtec.

In addition, verbs allow affixation of all of the inflectional prefixes described in the preceding chapter: *ká-* 'plural', *ni-* 'completive', *na-/ma-* 'mood', and *a-* 'temporal'. These prefixes are illustrated again in (13)–(16):

- (13) *maría te x^wá ká-xita*
María and Juan PL-sing.R
 'María and Juan are singing'
- (14) *ni-čisa?í=ri máá=ri nuù=ðe*
CP-hide.R=1 self=1 face=3MN
 'I hid myself from him'
- (15) *na-kúči=ðe*
MOOD-bathe.P=3MN
 'He should/must bathe'
- (16) *a-ni-ndatu=rí uù órá*
TEMP-CP-wait.R=1 two hora
 'I've already been waiting two hours'

A second defining characteristic of verbs is the form of the causative morpheme which they take. Recall from §3.2.1 that the causative for verbs is *s-*, as in (17)–(18):

- (17) *ma-s-kána=ro*
NEG.MOOD-CAUS-throw=2
 'Don't throw it!'
- (18) *s-k^wisó=ri tik^wití*
CAUS-boil(vi)=1 potato
 'I'm boiling the potatoes'

Third, verbs allow the inchoative prefix *ku-*, but not the inchoative prefix *ndu-* (these examples are repeated from §3.2.2; see the discussion there for more details):

- (19) *ku-k^wáñmū=ðe*
INCHO-grow=3MN
 'He will grow'
- (20) *kú-kí?í ndendú=ro*
INCHO-go.and.return both=2
 'Both of you are going to go'

Most verbs, of course, are not distinguished according to number of subject, but there are two pairs of verbs for which this is criterial.¹ As shown in §5.3 (examples [43]–[46]), there are also some adjectives that have distinct forms depending on the number of the noun that they modify, so this cannot be used as a criterion for distinguishing between verbs and adjectives.

- (21) *kúžaa (P), xížaa (R)* 'be located, singular subject'
kúsikú (P), káisikú/káišikú (R) 'be located, plural subject'
- (22) *kundee (P), xíndee (R)* 'be located in, singular subject'
k^wíñí (P), íí, ká?íí (R) 'be located in, plural subject'

Finally, there is a fairly large set of phrasal verbs which consist of verb plus body part term, as illustrated in (23). (Many more can be found in the lexicon which follows Chapter 9.) As noted, in some cases the first element (the verb) has an independent meaning, but in others speakers are not able to supply a literal translation.

- (23) *kítí inì (P,R)* 'be angry' (lit. 'boil insides')
ká?ā žaa (P,R) 'whisper' (lit. 'speak tongue')
ká?ā sūkú (P,R) 'speak loudly, yell' (lit. 'speak neck')
xāta?ni iní (P,R) 'love'
kání inì (P), xání inì (R) 'think' (lit. 'stand up insides')

5.3. Adjectives

As mentioned above, it can be quite difficult to distinguish adjectives from verbs in Chalcatongo Mixtec.² There are only a few clear grammatical correlates of adjectival status. Instead, there seems to be a cluster of behaviors which, taken together, typify adjectives. Further complicating the matter is the fact that speakers occasionally differ in their grammaticality judgments for adjectival constructions. In what follows, I enumerate the grammatical behaviors which adjectives demonstrate and comment on the variability in behavior in each category.

ZERO COPULA: All adjectives can appear with a zero copula, as illustrated in (24)–(25). Of course, this fact contributes nothing to the search for features which distinguish adjectives from verbs.

¹Hills (1990:192) provides a list of twenty-three verbs in Ayutla Mixtec which make this distinction (almost all are verbs of position and location). I have only found the two pairs cited in the text in Chalcatongo Mixtec.

²This, of course, is not unusual in the languages of the world: "It must not be forgotten that a typological universal pattern is almost always a pattern of variation: some languages more clearly distinguish the category 'adjective' than others, . . . and it may be that some languages barely distinguish the category 'adjective' at all" (Croft 1991:94).

(24) x^wā súʃí=ká nuʔ=ri
 Juan young=ADD face=1
 'Juan is younger than I am'

(25) ñíʔní nduča
 hot water
 'The water is hot'

COPULA: Virtually all adjectives can appear with the copula, which takes the form *kaa* in realis aspect and *kuú* in potential aspect.³ (In rapid speech, these forms are almost always contracted to *ka* and *ku*, respectively.) Verbs, of course, never co-occur with these copular forms, and so this can be used as a test for distinguishing the two. (26)–(28) provide examples of adjectives in construction with the copula, the syntax of which is discussed further in §6.6.2.

(26) ka ñíʔní=Ø
 COP hot=3
 'It's hot'

(27) ni-ka lúú=Ø
 CP-COP pretty=3
 'She was pretty'

(28) kuú bàʔa
 COP.P good
 'Be good!'

There is some indeterminacy with adjectives in construction with *ku* due to the fact that the potential copula and one of the two inchoative markers (see §3.2.2, and below) are homophonous (and possibly historically related). As a consequence, it is often unclear which form is present, as illustrated in (29):

(29) kú ñáʔnū=Ø
 ? old=3
 'They will be/are getting old'

Although virtually all adjectives can co-occur with the copula, very occasionally a consultant rejects a form with *kaa* (e.g., **kaa ndàki* 'It is stale, hard' was judged unacceptable). In addition, there appear to be sporadic dialect differences concerning the grammaticality of a form with *kaa* (e.g., one speaker said that *ka šáà* 'It is fierce' was ungrammatical, while another found it perfectly acceptable).

³Apparently, in other dialects of Mixtec *kaa* is a main verb meaning 'appear' and *kuu* is the copula (Barbara Hollenbach, personal communication). This is not the case in Chalcatongo Mixtec, however.

EXISTENTIAL: Mixtec also allows a construction in which the existential is used with an adjective.⁴ This construction, which is illustrated in (30)–(31), apparently has the same meaning as the normal copula + adjective construction and can take a non-null subject. (See §6.6.1 for further discussion.)

(30) žó ñíʔni=Ø
 exist hot=3
 'It's hot'

(31) žíí=rí žóó ñíʔi inì=ðe
 husband=1 exist strong insides=3MN
 'My husband is strong'

Again, there are some cases in which consultants reject the existential + adjective construction, for example *žó kúká 'S/he is rich', *žó žáči 'S/he is fast', *žó túʔú 'S/he is gossipy'.

INCHOATIVE: All of the adjectives tested were found to co-occur with both the inchoatives *ku-* and *ndu-*, as illustrated below in (32)–(33). The former, as mentioned before, also occurs with verbs, but the latter only occurs with adjectives (see §3.2.2).

(32) ñáʔá wáá ni-ku-šíí
 woman the CP-INCHO-thin
 'The woman became thin'

(33) žíí=rí ndu-k^wíñí
 husband=1 INCHO-jealous
 'My husband is going to get jealous'

CAUSATIVE: Causative verb formation is discussed in §3.2.1. As pointed out in that section, verbs are always causativized with the prefix *s-*. Adjectives are usually causativized (and verbalized) by the prefix *sa-*, but some items allow either form. Examples are given in (34)–(37); note in (36) that *tíʔtu* 'small' is an adjective which allows *sa-* or *s-*.

(34) čàà wáá ni-sa-ndáʔu rúʔu (*s-ndáʔu)
 man the CP-CAUS-poor I
 'The man made me poor'

(35) rùʔù sá-bàʔà=rí (*s-bàʔà)
 I CAUS-good=1
 'I'll fix it'

⁴Croft (1991:69) cites another language which also does this: Yagaría, as described by Renck (1975). Renck, however, does not give any explicit discussion of the construction, and I could find only one example in the grammar (p. 58).

(36) *sá-tíʔlu / s-tíʔlu*
CAUS-small
'Shrink, make small'

(37) *na-sá-ńíʔní=rí (*s-ńíʔní)*
REP-CAUS-hot=1
'I'll heat it'

INFLECTIONAL AFFIXATION: Of the five inflectional affixes (*ká-* 'plural', *ni-* 'completive', *na-/ma-* 'mood', and *a-* 'temporal'; see Chapter 4), only *ni-* occurs with a large number of adjectives. The plural marker *ká-* occurs with a few, while co-occurrence of adjectives with the mood markers or the temporal marker is unattested. (38)–(41) provide examples of the first two cases:

(38) *ni-ńíʔní=Ø*
CP-hot=3
'It was hot'

(39) *ni-tíʔlu=Ø*
CP-small=3
'It was small'

(40) *ká-jà šáà ték^waʔa žáʔa*
PL-sour very orange this
'These oranges are very sour'

(41) *ká-kúká=Ø*
PL-rich=3
'They are rich'

Consultants rejected completives with a few adjectives, including *ndoo* 'clean', *lúfi* 'small', and *žáʔu* 'expensive'. They also rejected a number of plurals with adjectives, including *ndoo* 'clean' and, for one speaker, *kúká* 'rich' (although another speaker found it acceptable, as shown above in (41)).

NOMINALIZATION: Finally, as described in §3.3.2, adjectives can be nominalized with the prefix *xa-*, as in (42):

(42) *xa-k^wífi* 'the green one' (*k^wífi* 'green')
xa-lúfi 'child, boy' (*lúfi* 'small')
xa-ńáʔa 'morning' (*ńáʔa* 'early')

To sum up, then, the best predictors of adjectival status are co-occurrence with the copula, co-occurrence with the inchoative *ndu-*, and nominalization with *xa-*. The other grammatical correlates (e.g., lack of co-occurrence with the inflectional affixes *na-/ma-*

and *a-*, or co-occurrence with the causative *sa-*) can be fairly good indicators of adjectival status, but a number of particular forms vary by dialect or perhaps even idiolect. As stated above, the categories "verb" and "adjective" are not clear-cut categories in Chalcatongo Mixtec but seem instead to form a continuum with clear cases at either end, but many less clear cases toward the middle.

As a final observation about adjectives, there are two in Chalcatongo Mixtec which have distinct singular and plural stems.⁵ These are shown in (43)–(46):

(43) *beʔe káʔnú=Ø*
house big.SG=3
'The house is big'

(44) *beʔe náʔnú=Ø*
house big.PL=3
'The houses are big'

(45) *žoʔo káni*
rope long.SG
'a long rope'

(46) *žoʔo náni*
rope long.PL
'long ropes'

5.4. Prepositions

Most of the relationships which are coded with prepositions in a language like English are coded with body part nouns in Mixtec. This topic is discussed in depth in §8.2. Chalcatongo Mixtec does, however, have a small number of items which do function as prepositions: *k^wàčì* 'due to', *k^wentá* 'about, like', *onde* 'up to, until', *xakúu* 'for', *máʔnú* 'between', *xífi* 'with', and *iči* 'toward'. The degree of certainty with which we can say that these forms are prepositions varies from cases in which there is no corresponding noun in the modern-day language (e.g., *xífi* 'with') to cases in which the corresponding noun is so similar in meaning and usage that perhaps it would be better not to consider the form a preposition at all (e.g., *iči* 'toward'). This wide variation across the set simply indicates that each one is in a different stage of grammaticization. Just as we saw with verbs and adjectives, Mixtec appears not to draw a sharp line between prepositions and nouns. (The syntax of these prepositions is covered in §6.3.)

⁵This has been noted for many other Mixtec dialects. The adjectives which show a number distinction always belong to the following small set: 'big', 'long', and 'small'. Yosondúa Mixtec (Farris 1992:125), Jicaltepec Mixtec (Bradley 1970:55), Ayutla Mixtec (Hills 1990:200), and Coatzacoapan Mixtec (Small 1990:405), for example, make the distinction with all three. Chalcatongo Mixtec, however, does not do it with any of the words for 'small'.

Starting with *kʷačl* 'due to' or 'on account of', this form is related to a noun meaning 'fault' or 'cause'. It is used (in all of the examples found containing it) when the cause of some event is a negatively evaluated occurrence (as in [47] and [48]). The relative rarity of *kʷačl* as a preposition may indicate that it is only just beginning down the path toward grammaticization.

(47) ni-xíʔi=ðe kʷačl ʔí rayú
CP-die=3MN due.to one rayo
'He died due to lightning/He was killed by lightning'

(48) ni-xīnū=Ø kʷaʔā=Ø kʷačl nundóʔo
CP-run=3 go=3 due.to accident
'She ran because of the accident'

kʷentá 'about, like' is borrowed from the Spanish word *cuenta*, meaning 'account'. The semantic development of this borrowing is somewhat obscure; *cuenta* can also mean 'reason' or 'consideration', and there are idioms *tener en cuenta* ('keep in mind, consider') and *tomar en cuenta* ('to be taken into account') which might provide the basis for the meaning 'about' in Mixtec. Additionally, there are idioms *por cuenta de* ('on account of') and *hacer de cuenta* ('to imagine, pretend as if') which plausibly could underlie the Mixtec use meaning 'like'. The important thing to note is that *cuenta* is a noun in Spanish, whereas *kʷentá* is a preposition in Mixtec (although it also has nominal uses as a noun meaning 'account'). It is extremely common in its prepositional use in this dialect of Mixtec, and is illustrated in the following examples:

(49) ni-ndātūʔū=rí xī maría kʷentá ndatíū=rí
CP-talk=1 with María cuenta thing=1
'I talked to María about myself' (lit. 'my things')

(50) bina xíʔaa=ro ʔáʔa kʷentá ndiʔi
now be.located=2 here like dead.person
'Now you are here like a dead person'

onde 'up to, until' is not related to any extant noun in Chalcatongo Mixtec, to my knowledge, and (as mentioned in Chapter 2) may well be an early loan from Spanish (from *de onde* 'from where', or perhaps just *donde* 'where'). Its spatial and temporal uses are shown in (51) and (52), respectively:

(51) kù kaka=ʔó ondé San Miguel
be.able walk=1PL up.to San Miguel
'We can walk to San Miguel'

(52) sātíū=ʔó te onde ičāā s-ndíʔi=ʔó tíū=ʔó
work=1PL and until tomorrow CAUS-end=1PL work=1PL
'We are working and, when it is tomorrow, we will finish our job'

xakúu 'for' marks benefactives. Although it is treated here as an unanalyzable form, it undoubtedly originated as bimorphemic, as we can tell from its trisyllabic shape. A brief survey of the marking of benefactive in other Mixtec dialects yields a hypothesis about its origin. Of the six grammars that I consulted, five indicate that 'for' may be marked by the term for 'foot'. So, for example, Jamiltepec (Johnson 1988:24) uses *čaʔa* 'foot', Ocotepec (Alexander 1988:165) uses *xeʔe* 'foot', and Silacayoapan (Shields 1988:318-319) uses *saʔa* 'foot'. The Chalcatongo word for 'foot' is *xaʔa*, which would contract to *xa*, the first syllable of this form, by the usual rules. It is not clear what *kúu* is, although it may be the copula. There is actually one instance in data from spontaneous speech in which the benefactive is simply marked with *xa*, but I could never get a consultant to repeat it. This is shown in (53):

(53) xa séʔe
(foot?) child
'for his/her child'

All other instances of benefactive 'for' make use of the full form *xakúu*. With the comparative evidence cited above in mind, we can assume, then, that *xakúu* was historically a use of a body part term plus some other element, which has now evolved into an unanalyzable preposition. I treat the form as synchronically monomorphemic and simply translate it as 'for'. (54)-(55) illustrate typical uses:

(54) ni-sáʔa=rí ʔí šid xakúu sesíʔi=rí
CP-make=1 one skirt for daughter=1
'I made a skirt for my daughter'

(55) ʔúbaʔa=rí ndatíū xakúu=ro
have=1 thing for=2
'I have something for you'

māʔnū 'between' is related to the noun *māʔnū*, meaning 'middle'.⁶ Its use as a preposition is illustrated in (56)-(57):

(56) na-xáʔa=rí māʔnū maría te xʷā
MOOD-pass=1 between María and Juan
'I will pass between María and Juan'

(57) béʔe=rí xínʔa māʔnū béʔe maría te béʔe xʷā
house=1 be.located between house María and house Juan
'My house is located between María's house and Juan's house'

xíí 'with' marks both instrumental and comitative arguments. Although this form apparently derives from a body part term meaning 'side' (Hills and Merrifield 1974),

⁶An anonymous reader points out that *māʔnū* may be a loan, from Spanish *medio* 'middle'.

present-day Chalcatongo Mixtec speakers do not use it to refer to that part of the body, using either the native term *šii* 'side' or the Spanish loanword *ladú* (from *lado* 'side') instead. Thus, this form is completely grammaticized in its prepositional use. (58)–(59) illustrate:

(58) *máá=rí ni-xáʔza=rí ndáʔa=rí xí žučí*
EMPH=1 CP-cut=1 hand=1 with knife
'I cut my hand with the knife'

(59) *náʔā xí=rí*
come with=1
'Come with me'

The last member of this set of items is *iči* 'toward', which is related to a noun of the same form, *iči*, meaning 'path' or 'road'. The extension from 'path' to 'toward' is quite transparent; in fact, Brugman (1983:266–267) treats it as a kind of "honorary" body part noun, since it is so similar to the true body part nouns in the semantic extensions it manifests in its locative and temporal uses. Prepositional uses of *iči* in which it takes a simple NP complement are illustrated in (60)–(61):

(60) *inā wáá kíʔi iči beʔe=ro*
dog the go toward house=2
'The dog is going toward your house'

(61) *kíti=ró káʔi iči wáá*
animal=2 be.located.PL toward there
'Your animals are over there'

In the majority of examples containing *iči*, however, it takes a complement which consists of a locative phrase involving a body part term, as in (62)–(63). Since the body part terms are here treated as nouns, this is just another, slightly more complex, type of NP complement.

(62) *ni-kenda=rí nūú=rí iči nū žuku*
CP-exit=1 town=1 toward face mountain
'I walked from my town toward the mountain'

(63) *kenda iči žata béʔe*
exit toward human.back house
'Come outside!'

In conclusion, as discussed above, many of these apparent prepositions also have nominal uses: for example, *kʷáči* 'due to' also means 'fault', and *kʷentá* 'about, like' is a Spanish borrowing which is also used to mean 'account'. It seems quite likely that all Mixtec prepositions ultimately derive from nouns, and that the set which includes both

prepositions and body part terms used as locatives really forms a continuum of grammaticization from noun to preposition.⁷ I have chosen to treat the forms exemplified in (47)–(63) as prepositions because these words do not show typical nounlike behavior in their locative use: they cannot be modified, nor can they head noun phrases, for example. It is for this reason that they are here treated as a separate lexical category. I follow Brugman (1983) in treating the body part terms as nouns (discussion of these forms appears in §8.2). It must be admitted, however, that the line thus drawn is somewhat artificial; as discussed in Chapter 8, some of the body part terms seem to be more prepositional than others, just as some of the prepositions in the present section seem to be more nounlike than others.

5.5. Adverbs

Chalcatongo Mixtec adverbs are illustrated below, in (64)–(67). All of these forms are monomorphemic; there is no adverbializing derivation. The placement of adverbs is discussed in §6.1.

(64) *žani xínža béʔe žáʔa*
close be.located house this
'This house is close'

(65) *rùʔù káʔā=rí súní*
I speak=1 also
'I am speaking too'

(66) *kʷéé kii=ró*
slowly come=2
'You are coming slowly'

(67) *xʷā ni-xínū žáči*
Juan CP-run fast
'Juan ran fast'

5.6. Quantifiers

Quantifiers form a small closed class in Chalcatongo Mixtec and provide one of the ways of marking the plural within a noun phrase, as in (68) through (70):

⁷Brugman (1983:286, n. 6) also speculates that the prepositions derive from some other lexical category. For a different point of view, see Hollenbach (1995), who argues that Mixtecan body part terms have undergone a category shift to prepositions in their locative and temporal uses.

- (68) k^waʔa šáá nāzīu kunī saʔa kúká
many much people want make rich
'Many people want to be/become rich'⁸
- (69) žóó k^waʔa béʔe nūndéžá
exist many house Chalcatongo
'There are many houses in Chalcatongo'
- (70) tíni kóʔlo 'various turkeys'
various turkey

The placement and use of quantifiers is addressed in §6.2.3.

5.7. Numbers

The numeral system of Mixtec is a mixed decimal and vigesimal system, with both additive and multiplicative components. This complex system is summarized in Table 12.

Table 12: Chalcatongo Mixtec Numerals

1	šš	11	ušl šš	21	okò šš	31	okò ušl šš	41	u šíró šš
2	uù	12	ušl uù						
3	unì	13	ušl unì						
4	kūù	14	ušl kūù						
5	úʔū	15	šíáʔū	25	okò úʔū	35	okò šíáʔū	45	u šíró úʔū
6	ínū	16	šíáʔū šš	26	okò ínū	36	okò šíáʔū šš	46	u šíró ínū
7	úšia, úša	17	šíáʔū uù						
8	unà	18	šíáʔū unì						
9	šš	19	šíáʔū kūù						
10	ušl	20	okò	30	okò ušl	40	u šíró	50	u šíró ušl
51	u šíró ušl šš	61	u šíró okò šš	71	unì šíró ušl šš	81	kūù šíró šš	91	kūù šíró ušl šš
55	u šíró šíáʔū	65	u šíró okò úʔū	75	unì šíró šíáʔū	85	kūù šíró úʔū	95	kūù šíró šíáʔū
60	u šíró okò	70	unì šíró ušl	80	kūù šíró	90	kūù šíró ušl	100	šš sientó
									1000 mil

⁸The extremely common quantifier šáá 'much' is homophonous with an adjective meaning 'fierce'. Barbara Hollenbach (personal communication) hypothesizes that the two are different senses of the same word.

As the table shows, the numbers 'one' through 'ten' are: šš, uù, unì, kūù, úʔū, ínū, úšia (or for some speakers, úša), unà, šš, ušl.

'Eleven' through 'fourteen' are formed with the word for 'ten' plus the required digit, while 'fifteen' is monomorphemic: šíáʔū.⁹ 'Sixteen' through 'nineteen' are formed with 'fifteen' plus the required digit, for example, šíáʔū uù 'seventeen'.

'Twenty' is also monomorphemic: okò. 'Twenty-one' through 'thirty' are formed by adding digits to 'twenty'; 'thirty' being okò ušl ('twenty + ten').

'Thirty-one' through 'thirty-four' are formed with 'twenty + ten' plus the appropriate digit, for example, okò ušl unì 'thirty-three'. 'Thirty-five' is okò šíáʔū ('twenty + fifteen'). 'Thirty-six' through 'thirty-nine' are formed by adding digits to this base, so okò šíáʔū kūù, for example, is 'thirty-nine'.

Starting at forty, the system becomes simultaneously multiplicative and additive. From 'forty' to 'sixty-nine', the base is uù šíró ('two × twenty'; the change in the form for 'twenty' in this context is discussed below). The same pattern as just described for the numbers under 'forty' is followed here: the numbers for 'forty-one' through 'sixty-nine' are formed by adding the appropriate number to the base uù šíró. So, for example, 'fifty-six' is uù šíró šíáʔū šš ('[two × twenty] + fifteen + one'), and 'sixty' is uù šíró okò ('[two × twenty] + twenty').

Comparative evidence explains the two forms for 'twenty'. In isolation and in combinations forming 'twenty-one' through 'thirty-nine' it is okò. In most forms above 'thirty-nine', however, it is šíró, as in uù šíró 'forty' ('two × twenty'). My consultants could supply no independent gloss for šíró, but dictionaries indicate that some dialects (e.g., San Miguel el Grande, see Dyk and Stoudt 1965) preserve a distinction between okò 'twenty' and šíró 'score' (Spanish *veintena*). Thus, uù šíró is, at least historically, parallel to 'two score' in English.

Numbers from 'sixty' to 'sixty-nine' are formed as described above: by multiplication plus addition ('[two × twenty] + twenty + n'),¹⁰ but the term for 'seventy' analyzes its component 'sixty' differently. The numbers from 'seventy' to 'seventy-nine' are based on unì šíró ušl ('[three × twenty] + ten'). 'Eighty' is kūù šíró ('four × twenty'), and 'ninety' is kūù šíró ušl ('[four × twenty] + ten'). 'One hundred' is a mixed Mixtec-Spanish form: šš sientó (Spanish *siento* 'one hundred'), and numbers over 'one hundred' simply incorporate it: uù sientó okò 'two hundred and twenty'. 'One thousand' is the Spanish borrowing mil, and numbers over 'one thousand' likewise incorporate it: mil uù sientó 'one thousand two hundred'.

⁹Barbara Hollenbach (personal communication) suggests that this word may historically be formed from the words for 'ten' and 'five'. However, such a source is not transparent at all to current-day speakers.

¹⁰Other dialects of Mixtec do not have this composition for 'sixty' to 'sixty-nine'. For example, Ayutla Mixtec has unì šíró 'sixty', literally 'three twenty' (Hills 1990:151).

5.8. Plural Word

As we saw in Chapter 3, plural agreement on the verb in Chalcatongo Mixtec is optional.¹¹ Marking of plurality in the noun phrase is also optional, and furthermore is it not direct, that is, there is no nominal affixation which marks argument plurality. However, there is a strategy for explicitly marking plurality of NPs: use of a free morpheme, *xináʔa*, which simply means 'plural'. The syntax of this word is discussed in the next chapter; here, we concentrate on its lexical category. The plural word is illustrated in (71)–(74):¹²

- (71) *táa=rí xínaʔa na-šuk^{wí}í šíʔa*
 parents=1 plural REP-turn tomorrow
 'My parents will return tomorrow'
- (72) *káisiokú táa=rí xínaʔa*
 be.here.PL parents=1 plural
 'My parents are here'
- (73) *s-kitáʔā žūnū žáʔa xínaʔa*
 CAUS-meet wood this plural
 'Put these (pieces of) wood together'
- (74) *x^{wá} xíndee xí ħ=ka ħažīū wáā xínaʔa*
Juan be.in with one=ADD people the plural
 'Juan is with/among those people'

Dryer (1989:865) discusses plural words like the one just exemplified and gives the following definition: "[The plural word is] a morpheme whose meaning and function is similar to that of plural affixes in other languages, but which is a separate word that functions as a modifier of the noun." The Chalcatongo Mixtec plural word fits Dryer's definition quite well. (However, as shown in Chapter 6, the plural word is not, strictly speaking, a *modifier* of the noun in Chalcatongo Mixtec but rather is placed in apposition to the entire NP.)

Dryer shows that languages with plural words tend to have a number of typological characteristics in common, and, indeed, Chalcatongo Mixtec fits the description quite well. These characteristics include the following: (a) they often have classifiers (see §3.3.3), (b)

¹¹Portions of this section (and of §6.2.4, in which the issue of the syntax of the plural word is discussed) have appeared previously as Macaulay (1989). The reader is directed to that source for more detailed information.

¹²The only other two Mixtec dialects for which a plural word is described are Peñoles (Daly 1973a: 20, 46) and Ataláhuca (Alexander 1980:54). The plural word in Peñoles Mixtec is quite unlike the one in Chalcatongo Mixtec, both in form (in Peñoles Mixtec it is *kwee*) and distribution. The one in Ataláhuca Mixtec, however, is quite similar to that in Chalcatongo Mixtec in both respects. See Macaulay (1989) for more details.

they tend towards isolating or analytic structure (although see the next point), (c) they often show some verbal inflection, and (d) they usually lack case marking.

Plural words, according to Dryer, can belong to a variety of lexical categories, but the most common case is for such forms to belong to a minor word class of their own. This is the case in Chalcatongo Mixtec, where it does not quite exhibit the behavior of members of the two most plausible other candidates for categories, pronoun and quantifier. I examine each possibility in turn, showing that *xináʔa* differs in significant ways from prototypical members of each category.

Examples like (75) and (76) illustrate the pronounlike behavior of *xináʔa*:

- (75) *káisikú=Ø xínaʔa nū mesa*
 be.located.PL=3 plural face *mesa*
 'They'll be on the table'
- (76) *ká-xāʔā=Ø xínaʔa beʔe*
 PL-go=3 plural house
 'They went to their house'

In both examples, *xináʔa* could be interpreted as a subject pronoun in postverbal position. There are several reasons, however, why this cannot be correct. First, free pronouns are normally barred from postverbal subject position in Chalcatongo Mixtec (see §6.7.1). Free pronouns in subject function may only appear in topic position (a clause-initial position used for topicalized items; see §6.1).

Second, if *xináʔa* were a pronoun, it would be a rather deviant one, since it is neutral with respect to person. In fact, *xináʔa* itself can be overtly marked for any person through attachment of a pronominal clitic, as in (77)–(78):

- (77) *ndiʔi=rí xínaʔá=rí ni-čā-kožo=rí*
 all=1 plural=1 CP-come-plural=1
 'We all came'
- (78) *roʔo xínaʔá=ro kíʔi kóžo=ro¹³*
 you plural=2 go plural=2
 '(You plural) go!'

In addition to the fact that this lack of an inherent person category makes *xináʔa* quite unlike any true pronoun in Mixtec, we can observe that the true pronouns never allow attachment of a pronominal clitic at all, of the same or of a different person. Yet any pronominal clitic may attach to *xináʔa*. Such evidence clearly indicates that *xináʔa* is not a pronoun. In examples like (75) and (76), the zero third-person marker is what functions as the pronominal subject. *Xináʔa* marks that subject as plural, just as it may for any overt clitic pronoun (as it does in, e.g., [78]).

¹³*kóžo* is another plural marker (not a plural word, though), used exclusively with verbs of motion.

The evidence against the membership of *xináʔa* in the category "quantifier" is not as clear-cut as the evidence is against its pronominal status. One fairly convincing factor, though, is word order. As shown in §5.6, above, quantifiers precede the head in the Chalcatongo Mixtec noun phrase. However, as seen in (71)–(74), and again in (77), *xináʔa* follows a nominal head.

In addition, Dryer (1989:866–867) points out that plural words are not precisely parallel in their semantics to quantifiers like 'some' and 'many'. Plural words are semantically less complex than quantifiers. That is, quantifiers tend to code more than just plurality—as Dryer points out, they can be restricted to sets larger than two, they can signal indefiniteness, and so on. Plural words do not do any of this; they simply code argument plurality.

Thus, syntactic and semantic evidence indicates that *xináʔa* is not a quantifier. The best solution to the problem of its lexical category seems to be to assign it to a class of its own, which is, as mentioned above, one of the more common options Dryer finds in his sample. Again, the syntax of this unique word is the topic of §6.2.4.

5.9. Conjunctions and Disjunctions

Chalcatongo Mixtec makes use of several coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, as illustrated in (79)–(84):

(79) *te* 'and'

maría ni-xíta te x^wā ni-xičáʔa
María CP-sing and *Juan* CP-dance
 'María sang and Juan danced'

(80) *ši* 'or'

xáni ini=rí xa=kúʔaa=Ø ʃí ši uù kiù
 think insides=1 COMP=be.located=3 one or two day
 'I think that she'll be here one or two days'

(81) *o* 'or' (Spanish *o*)

ʒaʔá kúú xa=kúú çàà o xa=kúú xa-siʔi
 this COP COMP=COP man *o* COMP=COP NOM-feminine
 'Is this (animal) a male or a female?'

(82) *čì* 'because'

čóʔo čì bína xíʒaa=Ø
 go.HORT because now be.located=Ø
 'Let's go, because she's there now'

(83) *bàʔa* 'but'

maría xátáʔa káta bàʔa tu=xátáʔa kačáʔa
María like sing but NEG=like dance
 'María likes to sing but she doesn't like to dance'

(84) *pero* 'but' (Spanish *pero*)

ni-kandí=Ø *pero* bína tu=kandí=Ø
 CP-believe=Ø *pero* now NEG=believe=Ø
 'He used to believe (it), but now he doesn't'

As noted, two of these are Spanish loanwords, *o* 'or' and *pero* 'but'. The former does not occur very often in Chalcatongo Mixtec, while the latter is almost as common as the native form.

PHRASAL AND CLAUSAL SYNTAX

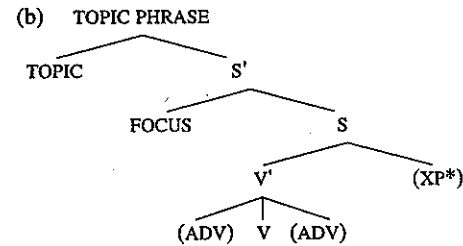
This chapter describes the basic syntactic constructions of Chalcatongo Mixtec: word order and constituency (§6.1), noun phrases (§6.2), prepositional phrases (§6.3), negation (§6.4), question formation (§6.5), a number of minor construction types (§6.6; including existentials, copular constructions, the additive and restrictive clitics, imperatives, and hortatives), and the placement of pronouns (§6.7). Several of these constructions require the presence of phrasal affixes (recall the discussion of this term in §1.4.2), each of which is discussed individually in its own section according to function.

As noted in §1.6, constituent structure is a major concern of this chapter. Throughout it, I develop and refine a schematization of Chalcatongo Mixtec clause structure which encompasses the basic constructions. I start with a simple schema in §6.1 and add to it as further elements are described.¹ Ultimately I arrive at a fairly complex schematization showing the position of arguments, the possibilities for topic and focus constituents, and the placement of phrasal affixes. A somewhat simplified preview of this is given in (1)—simplified because it omits the phrasal affixes—in both labeled bracketing and tree format:

(1) CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE OF THE MIXTEC CLAUSE

(a) TP[[TOPIC] s'[[FOC] s[v[(ADV) V (ADV)] (XP*)]]]

¹In determining the constituent structure of the Chalcatongo Mixtec clause, I have made use of work by Aissen (1992), done in the government-binding framework. At the same time, in keeping with the descriptive goals of this grammar, the characterization of clause structure is entirely surface-oriented, and no appeals are made to such notions as movement of constituents or morphemes. While this results in a somewhat idiosyncratic structure, making use of ideas drawn from government and binding but omitting such critical GB notions as INFL, IP, CP, and so on, the goal here is to get across as simply as possible my ideas about the constituency of the Chalcatongo Mixtec clause without clouding the picture with the paraphernalia necessary for more theoretical claims.



The structure in (1) is explained in detail as the chapter progresses. Briefly, (1) shows that the Chalcatongo Mixtec clause has an external position for topic and an internal position for focus. As shown in §6.4.2, below, the focus constituent contains a slot for a special negator reserved for focused elements and a slot for the focused item itself. Following that, we find the clause proper. Inside the S, the verb may be preceded and/or followed by an adverbial, and following that there are slots for NP and PP arguments (abbreviated here as XP*).² The syntax of complex sentences—coordination and subordination—is the topic of the next chapter.

6.1. Word Order and Constituency

Basic word order in Mixtec is VSO, as illustrated in examples (2)–(5). The Chalcatongo dialect manifests all of the expected word order correlations noted by Greenberg (1963) for a type I (VSO) language: it has (some) prepositions, nouns precede modifying adjectives, and the genitive follows the head noun in possessive constructions.

(2) VSO

nì-naa inì čáá ndo?ð
 CP-lose insides man basket
 'The man forgot his basket'

(3) ADV-VSO

íkú ni-xáá maría ndo?ð
 yesterday CP-buy María basket
 'Yesterday María bought a basket'

²By "XP," I mean a phrase of any category. An XP in an argument position will virtually always be a NP or PP; when I use it in the discussion of topic, XP can be NP, PP, ADVP, or anything else. The asterisk indicates that there can be more than one XP and the parentheses indicate that there can be zero.

(4) V-SUBJECT CLITIC-O

ká-ndiso=Ø íža siʔi natividad
 PL-carry=3 God female *natividad*

'They carried the (statue of the) Virgin of the Nativity'

(5) VS

ni-na-ič'i saʔma=ró
 CP-REP-be.dry clothes=2
 'Your clothes have dried'

While the basic word order in Mixtec is VSO, sentences with one or more constituents located in preverbal position are also found. (The presence of the alternative order SVO is another of the characteristics of a type I language, according to Greenberg 1963:63.) The evidence indicates that there are two preverbal positions, one for topic and one for focus. Topic is initial, and focus is the more internal of the two. (In addition, an adverbial may also precede the verb.) The syntax and semantics of topic and focus are discussed at length below. At this point, we start by considering examples (6) through (8), which illustrate sentences with one preverbal constituent each (set in boldface in the examples). Initial subjects and initial obliques are fairly common; initial objects are relatively rare. There is no passive in Chalcatongo Mixtec, probably at least in part because the language provides such flexible fronting options.

(6) INITIAL SUBJECT

(a) **náʔiú wáá** ni-ka-xáʔa nūú
 people that CP-PL-pass town
 'Those people went to the town'

(b) **spexó táʔu**
espejo break(*vi*)
 'The mirror breaks/is broken'

(7) INITIAL OBLIQUE

(a) **č'i ʒuú wáá ʒáá hí** kòò
 stomach rock that live one snake
 'Under that rock lives a snake'

(b) **nú ʒúkú wáá ʒáá hí** báʔú
 face mountain that live one coyote
 'In those mountains lives a coyote'

(8) INITIAL OBJECT

(a) **tutú wáá** ni-xáʔʒa peðrú
 paper that CP-cut *Pedro*
 'Pedro cut that (piece of) paper'

(b) **statilá** ni-saʔa miguel
 bread CP-make *Miguel*
 'Miguel made the bread'

All of the examples above are cases where the initial constituent is an argument of the verb. The initial constituent does not necessarily have to be an argument, however, as illustrated in the examples in (9):

(9) INITIAL NONARGUMENT

(a) **čàà** tú=ʒóó seʔe
 man NEG=exist child
 'That man has no children' (lit. 'As for that man, children do not exist')

(b) **marfa** ni-teʔnde saʔma
María CP-rip(*vi*) dress
María ripped her dress (lit. 'As for *María*, her dress ripped')

Adverbials may also appear in preverbal position. We have already seen one example in (3); two more appear in (10):³

(10) INITIAL ADVERBIAL

(a) **nú ʒòò** nú ʒò kīʔi=rí nuʒáʔu
 face month face month go=1 market
 'Every month I will go to the market'

(b) **wáá** ni-ka-ʒé=Ø staà
 there CP-PL-eat=3 tortilla
 'There, they ate'

Furthermore, initial NP constituents and pre-predicate adverbials may co-occur, in that order, as in (11):

(11) INITIAL NP AND ADVERBIAL

náni=rí ʒáá káʔā=Ø
 brother=1 much talk=3
 'My brother talks a lot/too much'

The opposite order—adverbial, NP—is generally rejected in explicit elicitation, but does occur (albeit rarely) in spontaneous speech. Compare (12a-c), and (13):

³Example (10b) has a direct object in the Mixtec version but is translated into English without one to reflect the fact that the phrase *ʒé=Ø staà* is interpreted as the generic 'eat'.

- (12) (a) *xʷā ni-xīnū žáči*
Juan CP-run fast
 'Juan ran fast'
- (b) *xʷā žáči ni-xīnū*
- (c) **žáči xʷā ni-xīnū*
 (judged ungrammatical in elicitation)
- (13) *iku maría ni-xiʔi*
 yesterday *María CP-die*
 'Yesterday María died'
 (spontaneously produced)

Setting example (13) aside for now, the data in (2) through (12) suggest that we can preliminarily illustrate the structure of the main clause in Chalcatongo Mixtec as in (14). As explained in footnote 2 of this chapter, I use "XP*" to represent slots for any number of arguments following the verb (in practice, this of course is usually zero, one, or two). These arguments can be of any phrasal category, but are usually NPs.

- (14) [[TOPIC] S[(ADV) V (XP*)]]

In (14) we see that the clause has an initial position for a topicalized constituent, and following that, a preverbal adverb position, and then slots for the verb and its arguments.

While the structure above can account for most simple sentences, I have found a few examples with word order which does not follow the pattern described. First, I have found a single instance of apparent VOS word order:

- (15) *čóʔo či a-sáʔa mísá sùtù*
 go.HORT because TEMP-make *misa* priest
 'Let's go, because the priest is already starting the mass'

A plausible explanation of this, however, is that *sáʔa mísá* is enough of a fixed phrase that it has become a compound verb (analogous to the causatives described in Chapter 3), and that (15) is actually an example of an intransitive with VS word order. This is precisely the kind of form which is likely to be shortened in rapid speech, and eventually fuse into a trisyllabic word.

There are also occasional instances of sentences which have *two* preverbal arguments, as in (16):

- (16) (a) *kaxá wáá ténana nūʔi=Ø*
caja the tomato contain=3
 'The box contains tomatoes'

- (b) *burrú=ró wáá nužáʔu xíndee=Ø*
burro=2 that plaza be.in=3
 'Your burro is in the plaza'

Compare (16a) and (16b) with (11), in which there are also two constituents before the verb. (11) contains a topicalized initial constituent, followed by an adverbial which modifies the verb. Both of the examples in (16), however, contain two NP arguments preceding the verb. Following Aissen's (1992) proposals for Mayan, I argue in Macaulay (1993) that Mixtec sentences have both a clause-internal focus position and a clause-external topic position. (The function and meaning of each of these is discussed below.) It is unusual for both of these positions to be filled, but as (16) shows, it occasionally happens. We can thus revise (14) to the following (still preliminary) rough schema for clause structure in Mixtec (the details of which are explained below):

- (17) TP[[TOPIC] S[[FOCUS] S[(ADV) V (XP*)]]]

In (17), TP (the topic phrase) is the root node and dominates the topic and the clause proper (S').⁴ The S' contains a position for a focused element and the S, and the S consists of an optional adverb, a verb, and optional arguments. As mentioned above, the general structure in (17) is adopted from Aissen (1992). As Aissen points out, external topics have been widely discussed in the syntactic literature, usually under the name "left-dislocation," and it is commonly assumed that they occur outside of S'. Crucially, they are treated as base-generated in situ, never moved from another position. This is precisely the status required of an element which does not fulfill any argument function in the clause, as is the case with topics. (In most instances the topic does in fact duplicate some argument, but there are examples where it does not, such as [9].)

Turning now to the function of elements in these positions, focus can be informally characterized as an argument which stands in the X position of an utterance of the form "It was X who/that . . ." while topic is more loosely what the sentence is about. A focused constituent must always fill an argument role in the clause, whereas a topic does not (indeed, may not). Furthermore, because (in most analyses) focused elements are moved to their position from other locations within S, coreferential pronominals never co-occur with them in the same clause. However, overt coreferential pronominals may co-occur with topics; this follows from the fact that topics are directly generated in position.⁵ This fact is important in determining the function of a sentence-initial NP in Mixtec. (18) and (19) provide examples of the semantic and syntactic contrast between topic and focus, respectively. Note that in (18) the topic is doubled by a second person pronominal clitic, whereas there is no pronominal clitic in (19).

⁴Aissen calls the root node "E," for "Expression," taking the term from Banfield (1973) and Emonds (1985). I use "Topic Phrase" here simply for clarity; "E" or any other name would serve just as well. Also, what I call "S'" is CP in Aissen's formulation.

- (18) TOPIC
roʔo tú=kúʔu=ro
you NEG=be.sick=2
'As for you, you aren't sick'
- (19) FOCUS
rùʔù kúʔu
I be.sick
'I'm the one who is sick'

Focus is often used to express a contrast, as is more explicitly illustrated in (20). Here again, it is clear that focus is involved (rather than topic) not just by the translation, but also by virtue of the fact that no pronominal clitic appears on either verb.

- (20) rùʔù číʔi itù te máá=ðe číʔi ndučí tūú
I plant corn and EMPH=3MN plant bean black
'I'm planting corn and/but *he's* planting black beans'

Out of context, a sentence containing a single preverbal NP and no overt pronominal clitic would be ambiguous between a focus reading and a topic reading. This is because Chalcatongo Mixtec has a zero third person subject clitic. Such a sentence might contain a focused constituent with no pronominal clitic, or a topic with a zero clitic. Because this third person subject marker has no phonetic content, the topic may appear to be the unique bearer of the role in question, but it is really the zero clitic which functions as the argument in such a construction. Occasionally the two possibilities can be distinguished by intonation: in some cases there is a pause after a topic, but normally there is no pause after a focused element. (21) provides an example of a sentence which not only has a pause after the topic but also shows that the topic can be coreferential with something in a subordinate clause, separated from it by the main clause.

- (21) x^wā, keè=Ø xa=číʔi=Ø nuni
Juan say=3 COMP=plant=3 corn
'As for Juan, they say he's planting corn'

However, most sentences with topics do not include a pause following the topic. Instead, such utterances are generally disambiguated by context. There is one other way in which we can distinguish topic from focus in Chalcatongo Mixtec; this is discussed in the section on negation (§6.4), where we see that there is a special negator for focus constituents.

We turn now to obliques, which generally follow the subject and object (if there is one) and express location, time, benefactive, instrumental, and comitative roles. Many of these roles are marked with body part terms (see §8.2), although some are marked with elements which are better considered prepositions (see §6.3), and some are not marked overtly at all. At this point, a few examples of each type are presented; each is discussed more thoroughly in the appropriate section.

Locative noun phrases, of course, express various types of stative location (as in [22]), but they are also used in Mixtec to express the roles source and goal. The distinctions that are coded in English by prepositions such as 'to' and 'from' can in most cases be deduced from context in Mixtec, while in other cases they are part of the verbal semantics.⁵ (23) and (24) provide two such examples; this is discussed further in Chapter 8.

- (22) saà wáá xindeè=Ø inl kaxa
bird the be.in=3 insides *caja*
'The bird is in the cage'
- (23) ni-ka-čaa=žó nuù béʔe
CP-PL-arrive=1PL face house
'We came to the house'
- (24) tóo nduča šinl béʔe
drip water head house
'Water is dripping from the roof'

Temporal notions are often expressed in subordinate clause form (see §7.2.5.1). However, they may also be expressed through simple adverbial adjuncts, which follow whatever arguments are present. Example (25a) contains an adverb of time, šíá 'tomorrow', and (25b) shows an expression of temporal duration, uù órá 'two hours'.

- (25) (a) rùʔù šíko=rí ndučí šíá
I sell=1 bean tomorrow
'I will sell beans tomorrow'
- (b) xalúfí wáá ni-kišf uù órá
child the CP-sleep two *hora*
'The child slept for two hours'

Benefactive is marked with the preposition xakúu (the probable etymology of which is discussed in §5.4). (26) illustrates:

- (26) (a) žúbaʔa=rí ĩ tíʔi xakúu=ro
have=1 one little.bit for=2
'I have something for you'

⁵For a discussion of the interaction of body part terms and verbs of location in Chalcatongo Mixtec, see Brugman and Macaulay (1986). For discussion of the semantics of the verbs of motion and their relation to notions like goal and source, see Macaulay (1982, 1985). Both of these topics are also addressed in Chapter 8.

- (b) ni-sáʔa=rí ʔ šìò xakúu sesíʔi=rí
 CP-make=1 one skirt for daughter=1
 'I made a skirt for my daughter'

Instrument and comitative are both marked with *xíí* 'with'. The source of this form is discussed in Chapter 5; there it is shown that it originated as a body part term meaning 'side', but that it is no longer found in that function in Chalcatongo Mixtec. (27)–(28) illustrate the instrumental and comitative uses of *xíí*, respectively:

- (27) ni-xaʔña=rí kùñù xí žučí
 CP-cut=1 meat with knife
 'I cut the meat with a knife'

- (28) náʔá xí=rí
 come with=1
 'Come with me'

§6.3 presents several other types of obliques such as expressions of cause, extent, path, and various locatives. In addition, Chapter 8 describes the use of body part terms in their functions as locatives and expressions of temporal relations.

6.2. Noun Phrases

The most common nominal construction in Chalcatongo Mixtec is one in which a noun phrase contains two other noun phrases in apposition. I refer to this construction informally as the NP + NP construction. It is used to express a wide range of semantic relationships, and because it most often consists only of two nouns, it is easily confused with compounding. However, it contrasts with true compounds in that it can contain internal modification. Both the NP + NP construction and compounding are described below.

6.2.1. NP + NP Genitive

The nominal possessive consists of two NPs which appear in the order possessed-possessor, as is illustrated in (29), below. (Pronominal possessives are created by the attachment of a pronominal enclitic to a noun phrase. These are discussed in §6.7.1.)

- (29) (a) kačíní peðrú 'Pedro's hat'
 hat *Pedro*
 (b) ndùà ndíkandí 'the sun's rays'
 ray sun

- (c) soʔo sndikà 'the bull's ear'
 ear bull

A classifying relationship between two nouns is also expressed by the NP + NP genitive construction in Chalcatongo Mixtec, as the following examples illustrate:

- (30) (a) pílón ñúʔú 'pile of dirt'
pílón earth
 (b) cuadríllá isù 'herd of deer'
cuadrilla deer

In another use of the genitive, the nonhead noun describes the contents of the object to which the head noun refers, as in the following:

- (31) (a) ndoʔò staà 'basket of tortillas'
 basket tortilla
 (b) xìka žáʔa 'basket of chiles'
 basket chile

All of the examples up to this point have simply contained two nouns. However, as mentioned above, such genitives are not noun-noun compounds. They are instead two full NPs, as we can tell by the fact that either may be modified, as in (32)–(34). (In examples [32] and [33], the relevant NP is shown bracketed to the right of the sentence.)

- (32) rùʔù kuní=rí kuú ʔí táa xasíʔi lúlí [NP [NP táa] [NP xasíʔi lúlí]]
 I want=1 COP one father girl little
 'I want to be the father of a little girl'
- (33) kwáʔá=Ø ladó ndaʔa bàʔà [NP [NP ladó] [NP ndaʔa bàʔà]]
 go=3 *lado* hand good
 'He's going to the right' (lit. 'the side of the good hand')
- (34) [NP [NP kačíní víéjó] [NP xwá]]
 hat *viejo* *Juan*
 'Juan's old hat'

6.2.2. Compounds

It is notoriously difficult to provide defining evidence of compound status. Lieber (1992:12–13) cites three criteria which may be useful for this task: (a) a characteristic stress pattern (as in the initial compound stress of English), (b) the juxtaposition of elements which could not normally be juxtaposed by the rules of the syntax (e.g., a noun

appearing before an adjective in an AP in English), and (c) the fact that in a compound, neither element may be individually modified, so that the elements are inseparable. The first two of these criteria are not helpful in identifying compounds in Mixtec, the first because there is no characteristic stress (or, for that matter, tonal pattern) associated with compounds in Chalcatongo Mixtec, and the second because the candidates for compound status are mostly N + N. Since NP + NP, as we have seen, is a highly productive syntactic pattern, and since each NP may consist of a single noun, apparent N + N compounds could well be NP + NP constructions instead. The third criterion is the only one which seems to work in judging compound status in this dialect of Mixtec. Some N + N sequences do indeed appear to be compounds, in that they cannot be internally modified. (35) and (36) illustrate:

- (35) (a) íʔa ndíʔkandí 'sun god'
god sun
(b) íʔa ndíʔkandí=ʒó 'our sun god'
god sun=1PL
(c) *íʔa=ʒó ndíʔkandí 'our sun god'
- (36) (a) kiù Miercúles 'Wednesday'
day *Miercúles*
(b) kiù Miercúles ʒáʔa 'this Wednesday'
day *Miercúles* this
(c) *kiù ʒáʔa Miercúles 'this Wednesday'

In addition, there are a number of compound place names, such as those in (37). The first noun in these is always *nūū* 'town', while the second noun either describes a characteristic associated with the town (as in [37a]) or is a word for which the meaning is no longer known to native speakers (as in [37b]–[37d]).⁶ Needless to say, these compounds cannot be internally modified.

- (37) (a) *nūū tikʷáʔá* 'Ticua'
town orange
(b) *nūū ñéle* 'San Miguel el Grande'
town (?)

⁶One reader suggests that *ñéle* in (37b) may actually be from the Spanish name of the town, as follows: (Sa)ñ (Migu)el e(l Grande). (37d), 'Chalcatongo', is commonly defined by speakers as something like 'town (where people) thrive', based on the verb *ndeʒá* 'increase' or 'thrive'. López Ramos (1987:61), however, suggests that this may be a folk etymology and says that in the sixteenth century Chalcatongo was called *Nuundaya*, *Lugar de Muerte*, 'Place of Death'.

- (c) *nūū koʔʒó* 'Mexico City'
town (?)
(d) *nūū ndéʒá* 'Chalcatongo'
town (?)

It is important to keep in mind that one cannot assume that any combination of two nouns found in Mixtec is a compound; as mentioned above, the highly productive NP + NP construction is a much more common source for juxtaposition of nouns.

6.2.3. Nonhead Elements of the NP

In addition to the head, NPs can contain quantifiers, adjectives, and determiners. The linear ordering of these elements is shown in (38):

- (38) (QP) – N – (AP) – (DET)

To start our discussion with the first element in the NP, a number of different quantifiers (including a numeral) are illustrated in examples (39)–(44). (The relevant NPs are all bracketed.)

- (39) *xa=ká-ʒikó=Ø nuní ndučí*, NP[kʷaʔà ndátíú]
COMP=PL-sell=3 corn beans many thing
'(People) who sell corn, beans, many things'
- (40) *kʷāā=rí* NP[xoð lana]
buy=1 a.little *lana*
'I'm going to buy a little wool'
- (41) *ni-s-kéé=rí* NP[ndíʔi seʔe=rí]
CP-CAUS-eat=1 all child=1
'I fed all my children'
- (42) *kʷaʔa nuù seʔe=rí* NP[tíʔi staà]
give face child=1 a.little tortilla
'Give my child a bit of tortilla'
- (43) *pero a-ni-kuu=Ø* NP[ʒāà kʷíʒa]
pero TEMP-CP-COP=3 many year
'But it has already been many years'
- (44) *ni-xíni=rí* NP[uù xa-lúfi]
CP-see=1 two NOM-small
'I saw two children'

There is one quantifier phrase which occurs quite frequently: *k'wa?à šáá*, literally 'much many', as shown in (45). Example (46) illustrates another, less common combination of quantifier plus *šáá*.

- (45) *či, žoo NP [k'wa?à šáá] ñažítú mezcladó*
 because exist much many people *mezclado*
 'Because there are so many mixed race people'
- (46) *NP [tini šáá] ñažítú ni-ka-kíi xiná?a*
 various many people CP-PL-come.and.return plural
 'Many people came (and left)'

Attributive adjectives follow the head in Mixtec. (47)–(48) are typical examples:

- (47) *te ni-ka-xáá=Ø NP [íža sí?i]*
 and CP-PL-buy=3 God female
 'And they bought (the statue of) the Virgin'
- (48) *NP [lagúna ká?nú] ni-žoo zá?a*
laguna big CP-exist here
 'There was a big lake here'
- (49) *kú?ú=rí NP [íí vestido xáá] šíá*
 wear=1 one *vestido* new tomorrow
 'I'm going to wear a new dress tomorrow'

Example (50) shows an adjective which is itself modified:⁷

- (50) *x'wá NP [čáá [kúká šáá]]*
Juan man rich very
 'Juan is a very rich man'

Finally, the only determiners in Chalcatongo Mixtec are the deictic demonstratives *ža?á* 'this' and *wáá* 'that', which are both used as definite determiners.⁸ These also follow the noun, as illustrated in (51)–(54):

⁷Note that (50) is a counterexample to the claim made below in §6.6.2 that predicate nominals require the presence of a copula of some sort. Either this is one of the occasional exceptions, or another analysis of the sentence is needed. One which might be plausible is that (50) is an instance of a sentence with two prepredicate nominals, that is, the adjective is actually the predicator. In that case it could be translated as 'As for Juan, it is *that man*; who is very rich'.

⁸The tones of both vary quite a bit, and it is possible that the corresponding adverbs *zá?a* 'here' and *wáá* 'there' have also developed uses as definite articles. Also note that the numeral *íí* 'one' appears prenominally as an indefinite article.

- (51) *na-k'wáá=Ø NP [iža sí?i wáá]*
 MOOD-buy=3 god female the
 'That they might buy (the statue of) the Virgin'
- (52) *NP [ñážítú wáá] ni-ka-xá?a=Ø ñúú*
 people that CP-PL-pass.by=3 town
 'Those people went to the town'
- (53) *te xa-k'wáa be-ndíí=ní=Ø NP [lugar zá?a]*
 and NOM-dark come-come=RES=3 *lugar* this
 'And at night she would come right here'
- (54) *te despues ni-kà-kii NP [ñážítú zá?a]*
 and *después* CP-PL-come people this
 'And later these people returned'

6.2.4. Plural Word

The lexical category of the plural word is discussed in §5.8. In this section, its syntactic behavior is considered.⁹ A number of examples of *xiná?a*, the Chalcatongo Mixtec plural word, were given in the previous discussion; (55)–(58) provide four more. (55) contains a postverbal plural subject, (56) a preverbal plural subject, (57) a plural object, and (58) a plural oblique argument. (In each case, the noun which is modified by the plural word is in boldface type.)

- (55) *wáá ká?íi carro wáá xina?a*
 there be.located.at.PL **carro** the plural
 'The trucks are over there'
- (56) *táa=rí xina?a ni-ka-xaà íkú*
 parents=1 plural CP-PL-arrive.there yesterday
 'My parents arrived yesterday'
- (57) *ni-xáá=rí k'wa?à žú?a káni xiná?a*
 CP-buy=1 many rope long plural
 'I bought many long ropes'
- (58) *čìi kuní=ná k'wáá=ná íí bultú xakúu ríí=na xina?a*
 because want=1POL buy=1POL one **bulto** for sheep=1POL plural
 'Because I want to buy a sack for my sheep'

⁹For a more detailed treatment of the syntactic aspects of use of the plural word in Chalcatongo Mixtec, see Macaulay (1989).

As discussed in the previous chapter, these examples show that *xináʔa* always follows the head which it modifies, contrary to the word order of true quantifiers (which precede the noun). Furthermore, the element marked as plural by *xináʔa* can be a full noun, as it is in (55)–(58), or it can be a pronominal clitic, as in (59)–(61), below. In (61), note that the argument which is pluralized is actually zero-marked:¹⁰

- (59) *kíʔi=ni xináʔa=ni*
go=2POL plural=2POL
'(You plural) go!'
- (60) *ndíto=to xináʔa=to*
be.awake=3POL,OLD plural=3POL.OLD
'They are awake'
- (61) *nì-kà-xīnū=Ø xináʔa=Ø*
CP-PL-run=3 plural=3
'They ran'

Finally, *xináʔa* has one very interesting and unusual syntactic property (unusual for Mixtec, that is): it can also be discontinuous with the head, as shown in (62)–(65).

- (62) *tóʔo wāā kúʔaa nundūa xináʔa*
person the live Oaxaca plural
'Those people will live in Oaxaca'
- (63) *kúʔaa=ri nundua xináʔa=ri*
live=1 Oaxaca plural=1
'We will live in Oaxaca'
- (64) *ñáʔā=ní xíʔi=ná xináʔá=ní*
come=2POL with=1POL plural=2POL
'(You plural) come with me'
- (65) *táa=rí čakú xináʔa Mexico*
parents=1 live plural Mexico
'My parents live in Mexico City'

In (62) a preverbal subject is marked as plural by a sentence-final instance of *xináʔa*, and in (63) and (64) the clitic subject is marked as plural in the same way. In both of the latter cases, the plural word is separated from the clitic subject by some other constituent. In (65), the plural word appears in postverbal subject position, marking a preverbal subject NP as plural. The only discontinuous configuration which is ruled out, to my knowledge,

is one in which there is a full NP subject in postverbal position, with *xináʔa* appearing in sentence-final position and separated from the subject by some other constituent, as in (66):

- (66) **nì-xitáʔā=Ø çàà wāā ñí xasiʔi xináʔa*
CP-fight=3 man that one woman plural
'The men fought over a woman'

6.3. Prepositional Phrases

As described in Chapter 8, most locative (and temporal) relationships are expressed in Chalcatongo Mixtec through the use of body part terms. This section describes the seven prepositions which complement that system: *kʷàçì* 'due to', *kʷentá* 'about, like', *onde* 'up to, until', *xakúu* 'for', *māʔnū* 'between', *xíʔi* 'with', and *and içi* 'toward'. In all cases, the prepositions take a following NP, and many may also take a following subordinate clause.

kʷàçì 'DUE TO': This form, as mentioned in Chapter 5, is related to a noun of the same form meaning 'cause' or 'fault'. Its use as a preposition is fairly limited; I have only found it in a small number of examples. (67) and (68) illustrate:

- (67) *ni-xíʔi=ðe kʷàçì ñí rayú*
CP-die=3MN due.to one rayo
'He died due to lightning/He was killed by lightning'
- (68) *ni-xīnū=Ø kʷāʔā=Ø kʷàçì nundóʔo*
CP-run=3 go=3 due.to accident
'He ran because of the accident'

In these examples, it seems as plausible to claim that the phrase containing *kʷàçì* is a NP + NP construction as it is to claim that it is a prepositional phrase. However, I have found one instance of *kʷàçì* with a clausal complement, which indicates that it is at least in the process of acquiring prepositional status:

- (69) *ni-xīnū=Ø kʷāʔā kʷàçì ni-sáʔa=Ø nundóʔo*
CP-run=3 go due.to CP-make=3 accident
'He ran because he caused an accident'

kʷentá 'ABOUT, LIKE': This form is a Spanish borrowing (*cuenta* 'account'). It has two primary senses in Chalcatongo Mixtec: 'about' (as in [70]–[71]), and 'like' or 'as if' (as in [72]–[73]):

- (70) *ni-ndātūʔū=rí xí maría kʷentá ndatíū=rí*
CP-talk=1 with María cuenta thing=1
'I talked to María about myself' (lit. 'my things')

¹⁰I am marking the zero on *xináʔa* in this example to make it explicit; in other examples, I omit it.

(71) beɪ=ná kʷentá ĩ̃ ndatĩũ xà=kuní=ná ndatũũ=na xĩĩ=ní
 come=1POL *cuenta* one thing COMP=want=1POL talk=1POL with=2POL
 'I am coming (to you) about a thing that I want to discuss with you'

(72) ni-ndé?e=Ø kʷentá sáũ
 CP-cry=3 *cuenta* rain
 'He cried like it was raining'

(73) sú?nú=rí ni-kuu=Ø xa-kʷǎǎ
 shirt=1 CP-COP=3 NOM-yellow
 'My shirt was yellow'

te žée=ro ni-kúú=Ø xa-kʷii kʷentá žee maría
 and POSS=2 CP-COP=3 NOM-green *cuenta* POSS María
 and yours was green like María's'

In addition to a nominal argument, *kʷentá* may also take a subordinate clause containing the complementizer *xá=* (see §7.2.1). The only examples of this that I have found all occur in a construction which means 'act like X' or 'act as if X', as in (74)–(75):

(74) sá?a kʷentá xa=xíçi=ró
 do *cuenta* COMP=bathe=2
 'Act like you're bathing'

(75) sá?a kʷentá xa=ká?ǎ=ro
 do *cuenta* COMP=talk=2
 'Act like you're talking'

onde 'UP TO, UNTIL': The spatial use of the preposition **onde** is illustrated in (76)–(79):

(76) kũ kaka=žó ondé San Miguel
 be.able walk=1PL up.to *San Miguel*
 'We can walk to San Miguel'

(77) kʷǎ?ǎ ondé inì be?e
 go up.to insides house
 'Go farther inside the house'

(78) xʷǎ ni-ndòò=Ø onde žata
 Juan CP-stay=3 up.to human.back
 'Juan stayed back, behind'

(79) xa=béi=Ø onde žata wǎá kú kʷa?a=rí
 COMP=come=3 up.to human.back the COP brother=1
 'The one who comes next will be my brother'

Note in (77) that **onde** co-occurs with a body part term locative. Because expressions with body part terms are treated here as noun phrases, we do not need to say that **onde** is a preposition that can take another prepositional phrase as complement; rather, the complement in (77) is simply a NP complement, as in, for example, (76). (78) and (79) also illustrate **onde** with a body part term (*žata* 'human back') as complement; in this case the body part term occurs alone, not in construction with another noun. In both cases, the subject is understood as being in the space that extends up to the relevant human's back.

onde also has a temporal use, usually best translated as 'until'. In this use it may have a NP or a clausal complement. (80)–(81) illustrate:

(80) onde ĩ̃=ka ísá
 until one=ADD next
 'the next time'

(81) sá?ũ=žó te onde ičǎǎ s-ndí?i=žó tĩũ=žó
 work=1PL and until tomorrow CAUS-end=1Pl work=1PL
 'We are working, and, when it is tomorrow, we will finish our job'

xakúú 'FOR': This is the term that marks a benefactive and (as discussed in §5.4) may be derived from the word for 'foot' (*xá?ǎ*) plus some unidentified element *kũú*. As (82)–(84) illustrate, **xakúú** allows a NP complement (or, equivalently, a clitic pronoun):

(82) tó?o wǎá ndíso=Ø ndatĩũ xakúú be?e
 man the carry=3 thing for house
 'The man is carrying things for his house'

(83) ni-sá?a=rí ĩ̃ šid xakúú sesí?i=rí
 CP-make=1 one skirt for daughter=1
 'I made a skirt for my daughter'

(84) rù?ù sa?a=rí xakúú=ńǎ
 I do=1 for=3F
 'I am doing it for her'

mǎ?ńǎ 'BETWEEN': As we saw in Chapter 5, this preposition is related to a noun meaning 'middle' and is possibly a borrowing of Spanish *medio* 'middle'. (85)–(86) illustrate:

(85) xʷǎ xíndee=Ø mǎ?ńǎ ńǎžĩũ
 Juan be.located=3 between people
 'Juan is over there, between those people'

- (86) *bé?e=rí xínža=Ø mā?núú bé?e maría te bé?e x^wā*
 house=1 be.located=3 between house *María* and house *Juan*
 'My house is located between María's house and Juan's house'

mā?núú can also be used with a temporal sense, and it can also take a clausal complement. The following example, in which the clausal complement is bracketed, illustrates:

- (87) *ku ndé?e=rí ro?o mā?núú [s ka uù kí ká kũù xa-fíní]*
 can see=1 you between [COP two or COP four NOM-late]
 'I can see you between two and four in the afternoon'

xíí 'WITH': As mentioned previously, *xíí* apparently originated as a body part term meaning 'side', but it is not recognized as such by present-day speakers of Chalcatongo Mixtec. Its instrumental use is illustrated in (88)–(90), and its comitative use is exemplified in (91)–(93):

- (88) *máá=rí ni-xá?ža=rí ndá?a=rí xí žučí*
 EMPH=1 CP-cut=1 hand=1 with knife
 'I cut my hand with the knife'

- (89) *taba=ró xí palá*
 take.out=2 with *pala*
 'Take it out with a shovel'

- (90) *sa?ma ndéčé=Ø xí tačí*
 clothes fly=3 with wind
 'The clothes are moving in the wind'

- (91) *peđrú kii=Ø xí=žo=nú ba?a tú=a-ni-kíí=Ø*
Pedro come=3 with=1PL=CFACT but NEG=TEMP-CP-come=3
 'Pedro was going to come with us but he didn't'

- (92) *maría xíta=Ø xíí x^wā*
María sing=Ø with *Juan*
 'María sang with Juan'

- (93) *k^wítí kuní=ri ndučí xí ndiù*
 just want=1 bean with egg
 'I just want beans with egg'

ičí 'TOWARD': In its nominal use, *ičí* means 'road' or 'path'. It is usually used prepositionally with the meaning 'toward'. In some cases (as in [94]–[95]) it has a simple NP complement, but in most cases (as in [96]–[97]) it takes a complement composed of a locative body part term plus NP:

- (94) *ndè?é ičí wāā žóó šāā itá*
 look toward there exist many flower
 'Look, there are many flowers over there!'

- (95) *a-ni-kíí=Ø ičí bé?e=žó*
 TEMP-CP-go=3 toward house=1PL
 'She's on her way to our house'

- (96) *bèi=Ø ičí núu=žó*
 come=3 toward face=1PL
 'She's coming toward us'

- (97) *inà žá?a ndé?é=Ø ičí ini be?e*
 dog that look=3 toward insides house
 'That dog is looking into the house'

A case in which *ičí* takes a clausal complement is shown in (98):

- (98) *šuk^wíí ičí ní-čāà=ro*
 return toward CP-arrive.here=2
 'Go back to where you came from'

As mentioned before, the semantics of the body part terms which are used in a fashion parallel to that of the prepositions is the topic of §8.2.

6.4. Negation

This section describes three different forms of negation in Chalcatongo Mixtec: negation with *tu=* (the phrasal affix which negates most verbal predicates), *túu* (the negative copula), and focus negation (marked with the form *niàsù*). The sentential negator *tu=* attaches to the initial constituent in S, that is, after any focused constituent. The focus negator *niàsù* precedes a focused constituent and has scope over that constituent alone. *túu* is used to negate nominal predicates only. Finally, negation of NPs is also discussed; the phrasal affix *tu=* performs this function as well.

6.4.1. Sentential Negation

Chalcatongo Mixtec has a bound negative marker *tu=* which corresponds to the full word *túu*, translated as 'no'. The bound form appears to the left of the verb (or copula plus adjective), and also to the left of any preverbal adverb. Examples (99) through (101) illustrate its use with verbal and adjectival predicates:

- (99) tu=ni-xíZaa=ró
NEG=CP-be.located=2
'You weren't there'
- (100) tu=ká-ku siì inf=ro
NEG=PL-COP happy insides=2
'You (PL) don't feel happy'
- (101) tu=šāā sá?a=Ø bixī
NEG=much make=3 cold
'It's less cold/It's not so cold'

In (99) and (100), we see *tu=* attaching directly to the inflected verb, before the completive prefix in the former, and before the plural prefix in the latter. (101) shows that the negative marker is a clitic, rather than a prefix, since in this case it attaches to the quantifier which precedes the verb.

Because adjectives can be used predicatively without a copula (see §6.6.2), we also find *tu=* attached directly to adjectives, as well as to modifiers of adjectives, a further indication of its clitic status. This is shown in (102)–(104):

- (102) tu=ñí?ní=Ø
NEG=hot=3
'It's not hot'
- (103) ndežu tí=ža?u=Ø
food NEG=expensive=3
'The food is not expensive'
- (104) sókó tí=šāā kúnú=Ø
well NEG=much deep=3
'The well is not very deep'

Sentences like (103) and (104) show that *tu=* is placed after a pre-predicate NP and before the predicate phrase itself, whether that predicate is verbal or adjectival.

There is only one NP in pre-predicate position in examples (103) and (104), and again we cannot tell a priori whether that phrase is in topic or focus position when the sentence appears out of context. The two possibilities for the placement of the negative marker *tu=* relative to a predicate-initial NP are shown in (105), below.

- (105) (a) TP[[TOPIC] NEG=s[[FOCUS] s[(ADV) V (XP*)]]]
(b) TP[[TOPIC] s[[FOCUS] NEG=s[(ADV) V (XP*)]]]

In (105a) the negative clitic precedes the focus, whereas in (105b) it follows the focus. I show below that the latter has to be the correct analysis. The primary evidence for this is

that Chalcatongo Mixtec has a distinct negator for focus (in sentences of the form 'It wasn't X who/that . . .'), ruling out a pre-focus position for *tu=*. The focus negator is the subject of §6.4.2; at this point I simply assume that (105b) is the correct structure.

We turn now to negation of nominal predicates, which differs from negation of verbal and adjectival predicates. The phonetic form of the negator for nominals in ordinary conversational speech is [tu], which sounds exactly like the phrasal affix *tu=* discussed above. ([106] provides an example.) However, in this case [tu] is the contracted form of the full form *túu* 'no', rather than the corresponding phrasal affix *tu=*. We can tell that this is the case because with nominal predicates the full form may be substituted for the monosyllabic form (as shown in [106]), whereas this is not possible with verbal or adjectival predicates.

- (106) tu-nũ?ũ (or: túu nũ?ũ)
NEG-tooth
'He doesn't have any teeth'

This use of the negator *túu* has some interesting characteristics. As shown in §6.6.2, in affirmative sentences, nouns (unlike adjectives) usually cannot be used predicatively without a copula. ([107], below, provides an example of an affirmative predicate nominal, for comparison.) However, as (106) and (108) show, a negative predicate nominal does not require the copula *kúu*, while (109) shows that it also does not *allow one*.¹¹

- (107) mǎá=Ø kú žii=rí (*mǎá=Ø žii=rí)
EMPH=3 COP husband=1
'That's my husband'
- (108) túu banco fiũndéža
NEG banco Chalcatongo
'There isn't a bank in Chalcatongo'
- (109) *tú=ku tutù
NEG=COP paper
'It's not paper/He doesn't have any paper/There isn't any paper'

Data like these lead to the conclusion that *túu* in these contexts is actually a negative copula. This is another topic that deserves comparative study—the only other mention of the issue of which I am aware is in Farris (1992:57), in which he says that Yosondúa Mixtec has a negative verb *tuu*, meaning 'not exist'.¹² Presumably, Yosondúa Mixtec speakers provided him with this translation; Chalcatongo Mixtec speakers translate the cognate *túu* only as 'no', so their form may be in the process (or further along in the process) of losing its verbal status.

¹¹Note that (108) contains the full form *túu*, rather than the contracted form. This happened spontaneously, under conditions of emphasis.

¹²Thanks to Barbara Hollenbach for pointing this out to me.

We must be careful, however, to distinguish between the negative copula (or existential) **túu** and the negative proclitic which appears in (99)–(104). Consider examples like (99) and (101). It would be nonsensical to claim that **tu=** is copular in such examples, since they contain verbal predicates. Such a claim is more plausible for examples like (100) and (102)–(104), which have adjectival predicates, except that, as (100) shows, here the negative marker **tu=** can *co-occur* with the affirmative copula. Further evidence against a copular analysis of the negative in these sentences comes from examples like (9a), repeated here as (110), in which the phrasal affix **tu=** co-occurs with the existential (which itself functions somewhat like a copula in this construction):

- (110) *čàà tú=žóó seʔe*
 man NEG=exist child
 'That man has no children' (lit. 'As for that man, children do not exist')

Thus, nominal predicates are negated by the full form **túu**, which in rapid speech may be shortened to **tu**, and which functions as a negative copula in such cases. However, verbal and adjectival predicates are negated by the phrasal affix **tu=**, which never appears in disyllabic form and which does not have any copular function. The phrasal affix is obviously related to the negative copula historically, but because of its different form and distribution, it must be treated as synchronically distinct from the full form in present-day Chalcatongo Mixtec.

In the next section I present another Chalcatongo Mixtec negator, and then in the section which follows that, we return to one final use of the clitic **tu=**.

6.4.2. Focus Negation

As mentioned earlier, focused arguments are not negated with **tu=** but rather have a special negator, **niàsù**. (111)–(113) illustrate:

- (111) (a) *niàsù roʔo kúʔu*
 NEG.FOC you sick
 'It's not *you* who is sick'
- (b) **tu=roʔo kúʔu*
 NEG=you sick
 'It's not *you* who is sick'
- (112) *niàsù čùù lîi ká-ku čì ká-ku kóní lúli*
 NEG.FOC chicken chick PL-COP but PL-COP turkey.hen small
 'They're not *chicken* chicks, they're *turkey* chicks'
- (113) *maría, kée=Ø xa=tándaʔa=Ø xí xwá*
María say=3 COMP=marry=3 with *Juan*
 'As for *María*, they say that she's marrying *Juan*'

(113), continued:

- pero niasu xí xwá tandaʔá=Ø čì tándaʔá=Ø xí pédrú*
 pero NEG.FOC with *Juan* marry=3 because marry=3 with *Pedro*
 but it isn't *Juan* who she's marrying, she's marrying *Pedro*'

The trisyllabic form of **niàsù** indicates a bimorphemic origin, but it is not clear what the source elements are. There is a form **nii** 'nor' (probably borrowed from the Spanish word of essentially the same form and meaning) and a form **asù** 'than', the two of which provide plausible components, but since there is no conclusive evidence for this analysis I treat it here as a monomorphemic word.¹³ It should also be noted that some speakers have **fiàsù**, with a palatal nasal in initial position, while one consultant with whom I spoke had **nísfú**:¹⁴

- (114) *fiàsù xá-kwáʔa kú xa-kwáá kú*
 NEG.FOC NOM-red COP NOM-yellow COP
 'It isn't *red*; it's *yellow*'
- (115) *nísfú tutú kú wáá*
 NEG.FOC paper COP that
 'That's not *paper*'

niàsù has scope only over the focused NP, so it can be added to our schema of the Chalcatongo Mixtec sentence as shown in (116). Here, the slot for NEGATIVE FOCUS is included as a sister to FOCUS, within the preverbal focus phrase.

- (116) TP[[TOPIC] S[[[NEG.FOC] [FOC]] NEG=S(ADV) V (XP*)]]

Thus, **niàsù** can provide us with a test for topic versus focus status in a preverbal NP: if the NP takes narrow scope negation with **niàsù**, we know that it is in focus position; if it only allows sentence-level negation with **tu=**, it must be a topic.

We return now to the simple negator **tu=**, considering one last possibility for its positioning: attached to the left margin of a NP, with the sense of 'no X' or 'no Xs'. Consideration of these data provides some evidence in favor of the clausal positioning of **tu=** given above in (105b). This is discussed further below.

6.4.3. Negation of NPs

As we have seen, the phrasal affix **tu=** attaches to the left of the predicate phrase, optionally following a single preverbal NP. There is one other position of occurrence for **tu=**, however, which is attachment to single NPs. Many of these constructions are fixed

¹³As we see in §7.2.3, **niàsù** occasionally appears in comparatives, strengthening the case for **asù** 'than' as its second element.

¹⁴For these two consultants, the focus negator appears to be a tonal perturber, while it is not one for the other consultants (note especially example [112]).

phrases, such as *tú=k^wítí* 'nothing' (as in [117]) and the negative indefinites (as in [118]–[120]), although nonce formations are also possible (as in [121]):

- (117) *tú=k^wítí xísiki=Ø*
NEG=just(?) play=3
'He doesn't play (at) anything'¹⁵
- (118) *tu=ndéu kíʔí=rí*
NEG=where go=1
'I have nowhere to go'
- (119) *tú=ndéú ní-kii=Ø*
NEG=who CP-come=3
'Nobody came'
- (120) *túu, tú=ndiči kíʔí=žo*
No NEG=in.what.direction go=1PL
'No, there's nowhere for us to go'
- (121) *ni-kexaʔá=rí xāá=rí nužáʔu te tú=šúʔú fiábaʔa=rí*
CP-start=1 buy=1 market and NEG=money have=1
'I started to buy (things) in the market, but I didn't have any money'

In all of these examples (with the possible exception of [117], in which it is not entirely clear what lexical category the root belongs to), the phrasal affix *tu=* attaches to a preverbal NP. In (105) (repeated below as [122], with the focus negator added), it was pointed out that there were two possibilities for the positioning of *tu=*: attached to the S' (as in [122a]) or attached to the S (as in [122b]).

- (122) (a) TP[[TOPIC] NEG=s[[[NEG.FOC] [FOC]]] s[(ADV) V (XP*)]]
(b) TP[[TOPIC] S'[[[NEG.FOC] [FOC]]] NEG=s[(ADV) V (XP*)]]

Examples such as (117)–(121) might seem to be evidence for the former claim; that is, we could argue that *tu=* appears before a focused NP in these examples because it attaches at the S' level (as in [122a]). However, consideration of the semantics of such sentences indicates that in fact *tu=* is more tightly bound to the NP than that. In each case, the

¹⁵It is not clear what the root is in *tú=k^wítí* 'nothing'. There are two words of the form *k^wítí*, one an adjective meaning 'short' and the other an adverb meaning 'just'. As mentioned in the text, *tú=k^wítí* does seem to function as a fixed phrase, and speakers do not (consciously) think of it as bimorphemic. However, I do have one example in which the two morphemes are separated:

- (i) *ši antes tu=ká-xini=Ø k^wítí*
because antes NEG=PL-know=3 ?
Because before they didn't know anything

The speaker could not give me a translation for the word *k^wítí* here, though.

negative has scope over only the NP it attaches to, rather than over the entire sentence. An example which supports this point is given in (123):

- (123) *tú=k^waʔà fiáʔtú ní-xaʔa=Ø*
NEG=many people CP-pass=3
'Not many people went'

Sentence (123) crucially means 'Not many people went' rather than 'Many people did not go', which would be the expected reading if the negative was attached to the S' and thus had scope over the entire sentence. Because the sentence has the reading it does, we know that *tú=* is attached only to the NP in this case, rather than to the S'.

Such negated NPs can occur in topic position (as in [123]), or they can occur in focus position (as in [124]). We can tell that the negated NP in (124) is focused because it is preceded by another preverbal NP, the topic.

- (124) *rùʔù tú=k^wítí no ní-žee=rí bina*
I NEG=little what CP-eat=1 now
'As for me, *nothing* is what I ate today'

Thus, there are two kinds of negation that can occur in conjunction with focused constituents: first, the special focus negator *niásù*, which produces readings like 'It is not X who/that . . .', and, second, simple negated NPs meaning 'no X'. To see this more clearly, consider (125), our current clause schema:

- (125) TP[[TOPIC] S'[[[NEG.FOC] [FOC]]] NEG=s[(ADV) V (XP*)]]

If a focused phrase is negated with *niásù*, the negator appears in the position marked NEG.FOC (for "negative focus"). However, if a negated NP is the form that is focused (as in [124]), this appears as a single constituent in the position marked FOC ("focus"), as a NP of the form shown in (126):

- (126) [. . . S'[FOC [tu=NP] s[(ADV) V (XP*)]]]

In the sections which follow, we find that there are other phrasal affixes whose positioning requires further modification of the structure shown in (125).

6.5. Questions

This section describes yes/no and WH-questions. Embedded questions are covered in §7.2.4.

6.5.1. Yes/No Questions

Yes/No questions are identical in form to statements. That is, there is no marking of the interrogative status of such forms—by question particle, intonation, tone, or other method. (127)–(128) illustrate:

- (127) *ñábaʔa=ró librú=ro*
 have=2 *libro*=2
 'You have your book/Do you have your book?'

- (128) *xakú=ro*
 laugh=2
 'You're laughing/Are you laughing?'

The formation of yes/no questions across the Mixtec dialects is quite diverse. Most other dialects mark such questions with a question particle. In most cases these are sentence-initial, but some are sentence-final, and at least one dialect places the question particle in second position. The sentence-initial forms include *án* (Alacatlazala Mixtec, see Zylstra 1991), *ñáá/áán* or a tone change (Ayutla Mixtec, see Hills 1990), *atu* (Jamiltepec Mixtec, see Johnson 1988), and *á* (Ocotepc Mixtec, see Alexander 1988; Silacayoapan Mixtec, see Shields 1988). Two dialects have sentence-final question markers: Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec uses *á* (Kuiper and Oram 1991), and Yosondúa Mixtec uses sentence-final *nú* (Farris 1992).¹⁶ Finally, Coatzospán Mixtec has a question particle *ndu*, which is placed in second position (Small 1990).

Like Chalcatongo Mixtec, the closely-related San Miguel dialect also lacks overt marking of yes/no questions (Pike 1944:136), so this may well be a small-scale areal phenomenon.

6.5.2. WH-Questions

WH-questions contain an interrogative word or phrase in focus position. The set of fixed interrogative words and phrases is listed in (129), below. In addition, interrogative phrases may be constructed with the prefix *na-* 'what' plus a relevant noun, as exemplified in (130).

¹⁶Note that this interrogative marker is identical in form to the Chalcatongo Mixtec counterfactual clitic =*nú* (see §7.2.2). The town of Yosondúa is about fifteen kilometers south of Chalcatongo, and the dialects are mutually intelligible, so there could be a connection.

- (129) *ndàsà* 'how'
ndéu 'where, which, who'
noð 'what, which'
čí-na-xaʔa, *ší-na-xaʔa*, *ná-xáʔa* 'why'
ndekíu, *ndikíu* 'when, what day' (*kiù* 'day')
ndíči, *ndéči* 'where, in what direction' (*iči* 'road, path')
xáu náʔá 'how long' (< *xa=ku náʔá*) (*náʔá* 'a long time')

- (130) *na-kiù* 'what day' (*kiù* 'day')
na-ma 'when' (*ma* unidentified)
na-orá 'what hour, what time' (Spanish *hora* 'hour')
na-sáa 'how many' (*sáa* unidentified)
na-sikà 'against whom' (*sikà* 'animal back')
na-xíí 'with whom' (*xíí* 'with', although see below)
na-žòð 'what month' (*žòð* 'month')

A few of the forms in (129) require some explanation. Starting with the phrase meaning 'why', we find variation between *čí-na-xaʔa*, *ší-na-xaʔa*, and *ná-xáʔa*. The most likely gloss is '(because)-what-foot'. Many other dialects of Mixtec have the word for 'foot' in their expression for 'why'—for example Ocotepc Mixtec has *nà xèʔè* (Alexander 1988:185), Ayutla Mixtec has *ndee šaʔaʔ* (Hills 1990:44), Alacatlazala Mixtec has *ndá šàʔa* (Zylstra 1991:37), and Silacayoapan has *ndá sàʔa* (Shields 1988:336). All are glossed as 'what foot' or 'which foot'. However, it is not clear what the first element (*čí* or *ší*) in the Chalcatongo form is. My hypothesis is that it is 'because', but this remains to be verified.

A second thing to note about the forms in (129) is that many of them have an initial *nd* or *nde*, which leads to the conclusion that at least historically there was a form *nd(e)*—which was a general interrogative marker.¹⁷ Under this hypothesis, *ndekíu* is transparently 'WH-day' (with optional vowel harmony producing *ndikíu*). *Ndíči* and its alternant *ndéči* are presumably *nd(e)*- plus *iči* 'road, path'. Finally, *ndéu* 'where, which, who' could be *nde*- plus *u* (the contracted form of the copula *kuú*), although the semantics is not as transparent. *Xáu náʔá* 'how long' appears also to be the result of contraction of *kuú*.

The forms in (130) are for the most part fairly transparent. One, *na-xíí* 'with whom', seems somewhat strange, however, if we interpret *xíí* in its present-day sense, 'with'. The resultant literal gloss would be 'what with', considerably different from the actual meaning 'with whom'. However, note the form meaning 'against whom', *na-sikà*. This is literally 'what animal.back'. Recall from §5.4 that *xíí* derives historically from a body part term meaning 'side'. Given the literal gloss 'what side', the interpretation 'with whom' of *na-xíí* becomes clear. Although speakers of present-day Chalcatongo Mixtec do not recognize *xíí* as a body part term, they apparently do retain it in this use in the frozen interrogative *na-xíí*.

¹⁷An anonymous reader points out the Yosondúa interrogative marker *ndu*- and asks if there could be a historical relationship. Very little is known about the source of these WH-elements, but this suggestion seems quite plausible.

Na-ma 'when' contains an unidentified morpheme **ma**. However, Jossereand (1983) reconstructs ***awā** for Proto-Mixtec 'when', and several dialects fairly closely related to Chalcatongo Mixtec have the reflex **ama** for this form (e.g., San Miguel el Grande, see Dyk and Stoudt 1965:77). It seems plausible, then, that **na-ma** was formed by analogy to other interrogatives, that is, that it was derived from **na-** plus **ama**.

Na- is quite productive, and can be used with virtually any noun to form an interrogative, as the attested examples in (131) show:

- (131) **na-čàà** 'what man'
na-k^wiža 'what year'
na-nund6ʔo 'what problem, misfortune'
na-tiempú 'what time' (Spanish *tiempo* 'time')
na-tūʔú 'what word'

(132)–(139) provide typical examples illustrating the syntax of WH-questions:

- (132) **noð kúú xa-sáʔá martá**
 what COP COMP=do *Marta*
 'What is Martha doing?'
- (133) **ndéu ní-ka-žaà táa=ní**
 where CP-PL-live parent=2POL
 'Where did your parents live?'
- (134) **ndéu xító beʔe žáʔa**
 who care.for house this
 'Who takes care of this house?'
- (135) **ši-na-xaʔa xakú=ro**
 (because)-what-foot laugh=2
 'Why are you laughing?'
- (136) **na-sáa čùù žúbaʔa=ró**
 what-? hen have=2
 'How many hens do you have?'
- (137) **na-orá kíʔi=ro**
 what-hora go=2
 'When (what time) will you leave?'
- (138) **ndikíu kíʔi=ro**
 when go=2
 'When (what day) will you leave?'

- (139) **ndéçi kéndòð beʔe maría**
 where place.be.located house *María*
 'Where (on what road) is María's house?'

As we see from (132)–(139), the interrogative word or phrase is in focus position, and is followed immediately by the verb. The following clause has a gap which corresponds to the argument (or adjunct) which is represented by the interrogative word or phrase. Otherwise, the syntax of the clause is unchanged from that of an assertion.

6.6. Minor Construction Types

This section presents five additional constructions: the existential (§6.6.1), the copular construction (§6.6.2), the additive and restrictive phrasal affixes (§6.6.3), imperatives (§6.6.4), and hortatives (§6.6.5).

6.6.1. Existential

The existential verb is **koo** in potential aspect and **žóó** in realis, although both stems most often appear in monosyllabic form: **ko** and **žó**. I refer to this verb by its realis form throughout this discussion because most of my examples of existentials are in that aspect.

The main construction in which the existential appears contains a NP subject and an optional locative, as in (140) through (142):

- (140) **lagúna káʔmū ni-žoo=Ø žáʔa**
laguna big CP-exist=3 here
 'There was a big lake here'
- (141) **inì kaxá wáā žoo tenàna**
 insides *caja* the exist tomato
 'In the box there are tomatoes'
- (142) **ko šāā nāžīū**
 exist.P many people
 'There will be a lot of people (here)'

In another common construction, **žóó** takes an adjectival complement and a subject NP (or pronominal clitic), as in (143) through (145):

- (143) **žó luu=Ø**
 exist pretty=3
 'It is pretty'

- (144) ko ičf=Ø
exist.P dry=3
'It will be dry'
- (145) kisi žó=Ø xáá
pot exist=3 new
'The pot is new/There is a new pot' (lit. 'As for the pot, it exists new')

Žóó may also take subjects other than third person, as in (146) and (147):

- (146) žáʔa žo=žó íñū
here exist=1PL six
'There are six of us here' (lit. 'Here we exist six')
- (147) ndeʔe žaʔa žoo=rí íñū=rì nuu ndati=rí
see here exist=1 six=1 face shadow=1
'Look, there are six of me (as in mirrored images)'

In these constructions, the existential appears to function as a copula. Coexisting with the existential is a more standard copula, which is the topic of the next section. The distinction between use of the existential and use of the copula with an adjectival complement, however, is not clear.

6.6.2. Copular Constructions

The copula in Mixtec has two forms, depending on whether the predicate is nominal or adjectival. Before adjectival predicates, it is *kaa* in realis aspect and *kuú* in potential. Before nominal predicates, it is *kuú* in realis aspect and, as with adjectives, *kuú* in potential. (All of these forms are virtually always shortened to a monosyllable in spontaneous speech.) (148) through (151) illustrate:¹⁸

- (148) xʷā ka=Ø lúfí
Juan COP.R=3 small
'Juan is small/short'
- (149) kuú=Ø súkú
COP.P=3 tall
'He will be tall (when he grows up)'

¹⁸Recall that there are two other morphemes with the form *ku(u)*: the inchoative (see §3.2.2) and the auxiliary verb 'can'.

- (150) wāá kú ĩ čàà sáfíū
that COP.R one man work
'That is a man who is working'
- (151) ku=Ø ĩ čàà káʔnū
COP.P=3 one man big
'He will be a big man'

In §6.6.1, it was pointed out that the existential Žóó also appears to function as a copula in some cases. We can further note that while nominal predicates require either an existential or the copula, adjectival predicates may occur alone.¹⁹ (152) and (153) are examples of adjectival predicates with no copula. Note also that the predicate may precede or follow the subject.

- (152) xa-lúfí čáʔā
NOM-small dirty
'The boy is dirty'
- (153) čáʔā xa-lúfí
dirty NOM-small
'The boy is dirty'

It is unclear to me what the semantic differences are among the copular use of the existential, use of the copula *kaa* or *kuú*, and use of a zero copula.²⁰

6.6.3. Additive/Restrictive

The additive and restrictive morphemes (=ka and =ni, respectively) are a complementary pair of phrasal affixes which attach to a wide variety of categories in almost any position. The additive indicates the notions 'more', 'most', 'to excess', etc., and the restrictive, 'just', 'still', 'alone', 'only', etc. The most common position for one of these elements is immediately following the verb (either stem) or predicate adjective, as in (154) through (157), below. However, because these two elements may also attach after any postverbal modifier, as shown in (158) through (160), we know that they are clitics, not affixes. (154), (156), and (157) additionally show that the additive/restrictive clitic immediately precedes the pronominal clitic when both are present.

¹⁹As mentioned above, there are occasional exceptions (e.g., [50]).

²⁰I have come across a few references to the existence of a relationship between an existential verb and a copula: see Munro (1977) for discussion of just this development in Yuman languages. Strom (1992: 124–126) also notes an existential used as a copula in the Tucanoan language Remar, and Clark (1978) discusses the relationship between locatives formed with the existential and the copula (among others).

- (154) ni-žéé=ka=rí takú ásu r676
CP-eat=ADD=1 *taco* than you
'I ate more tacos than you'
- (155) sókó zá?a k^wa-kù-kúnú=ka=Ø
well this go-INCHO-deep=ADD=3
'The well is getting deeper'
- (156) ro?o žéé=ni=ró
you eat=RES=2
'You just eat/you're just eating'
- (157) k^wítí kí?i kee=ni=rí uù
just go eat=RES=1 two
'I'm just going to eat two'
- (158) na-kí?i x^wā čì xínú žáči=ka=Ø
MOOD-go *Juan* because run fast=ADD=3
'Juan should go because he runs faster'
- (159) x^wā ká?nū šāā=ka=Ø asù peðrú
Juan fat much=ADD=3 than *Pedro*
'Juan is much fatter than Pedro'
- (160) kaka k^wéé=ni
walk slow=RES
'Just walk slowly'

(161) presents the structure of the Mixtec clause with the additive and restrictive enclitics added. The positioning of these clitics after an optional postverbal adverb indicates that the verb and modifying adverbs (preceding or following the V) form a constituent, called here V'.

(161) TP[[TOPIC] S'[[[NEG.FOC] [FOC]] NEG=S[V[(ADV) V (ADV)]=ADD/RES (XP*)]]]

=ka and =ni also appear on noun phrases in any position (including topic and focus), as illustrated in (162)–(164). They also appear inside noun phrases, when there is a quantifier of some sort modifying the noun, as in (165) through (167). In these cases the additive or restrictive element attaches to the modifying phrase contained within the noun phrase.

- (162) k^wa?a uù ndíká=ka nuè=rí
give two banana=ADD face=1
'Give me two more bananas'

- (163) xa-súčí=ka ni-tá?u=Ø vídriu
NOM-young=ADD=3 CP-break *vidrio*
'The youngest one broke the window'
- (164) ñáni=ni=rí kii
brother=RES=1 come
'It's just my brother who is coming'
- (165) tá?u=ni xa-lúli ž66
few=RES NOM-small exist
'There are just a few children (here)'
- (166) žéé=Ø uù=ka staà
eat=3 two=ADD tortilla
'He's eating two more tortillas'
- (167) rù?ù ñába?a=rí xoð=ka šü?ü te máá ñába?a k^wa?à=ka=Ø
I have=1 little=ADD money and EMPH have much=ADD=3
'As for me, I have less money than *he* does'
(lit. 'I have little money and *he* has more')

Note in (167) that the additive can be added to a word like *xoð* 'little', with the result meaning 'less'. From this we see that =ka, when added to a scalar adjective, draws the reference point further toward the relevant end of the scale, whether it is toward the positive or the negative end.

Finally, the additive and restrictive also appear in sentences (or sentence fragments) with no verbal or adjectival predicate, as in (168) through (170). In these cases, =ka and =ni simply attach to the noun, adverb, or quantifier phrase that makes up the utterance.

- (168) té ndéu=ka
and who=ADD
'And who else?'
- (169) k^wa?à šáā=ká ñáži?ü
much many=ADD people
'(There are) many more people'
- (170) zá?a=ni
here=RES
'right here'

6.6.4. Imperatives

The regular method of forming the imperative is use of the potential verb stem. Such imperatives generally do not carry a pronominal clitic overtly marking second person subject, although one may appear. This is most common when the speaker wants to soften the force of the imperative and does so by using the polite second person clitic, =ni. (171)–(174) illustrate:

(171) kee staà
eat.P tortilla
'Eat!'

(172) kaka xoð fíí
ask.P little.bit salt
'Ask for some salt'

(173) kʷāā=ró
buy.P=2
'Buy it!'

(174) ká?ā=ni
speak.P=2POL
'Please speak!'

Another way to soften an imperative is to use the deontic mood prefix, na- (see §4.3), which attaches to the potential verb stem, as in the following:

(175) na-kíí
MOOD-come.P
'Come!'

(176) na-čísó nuð=Ø
MOOD-answer face=3
'Answer him!'

As described in §8.1, the verbs of motion display more aspectual stem distinctions than do other verbs. Most of these verbs also show idiosyncrasies in formation of the imperative. Both of the verbs for 'go' ('go to base' and 'go to neutral goal'; see §8.1 for explanation of these definitions) use the progressive as the base of the imperative, as in (177) and (178):

(177) (a) kʷá-no?o
go.PROG-go.and.return
'Go home!'

(b) kʷa-no?o=Ø
go.PROG-go.and.return=3
'S/he is going home'

(178) (a) kʷá?ā inì be?e
go.PROG insides house
'Go inside the house!'

(b) kʷā?ā=Ø
go.PROG=3
'S/he is going'

As the examples show, there is a tonal component in the formation of these two imperatives—specifically, addition of a high tone to kʷá?ā (and its reduced form kʷa-). This alternation, however, is not manifested elsewhere in the grammar.

The potential stem is used to form the imperative of the verbs meaning 'come' and 'arrive here' (as in [179] and [180]), while the habitual stem is used for the imperative of the verb meaning 'enter' (not included in the set of verbs of motion but clearly semantically related), as in (181).

(179) žá?a kii=ni
here come.P=2POL
'Please come here!'

(180) čāā=ni
arrive.here.P=2POL
'Please come!'

(181) ndíu=ni
enter.HAB=2POL
'Please enter!'

One of the verbs of motion, kii 'come', has a suppletive imperative form: *fiá?ā* 'come.IMP'. As (179) shows, however, either the potential stem kii or the imperative *fiá?ā* may be used with imperative force; there appears to be no difference in meaning between the two.

Negative imperatives are made by prefixing the negative deontic mood marker ma- to the potential stem, as illustrated in (182)–(184). The person-marking clitic is obligatory in a negative imperative, whereas it is optional in an affirmative imperative.

(182) ma-kó?o=ró
NEG.MOOD-drink.P=2
'Don't drink it!'

- (183) ma-ká?á=ro nuù=Ø
NEG.MOOD-speak.P=2 face=3
'Don't scold him!'
- (184) ma-xá?a=ní
NEG.MOOD-pass.by=2POL
'Please don't pass by!'

The negative imperative of the verbs of motion is also formed by attaching *ma-* to the potential stem, as in (185)–(187). Note in (185) that this is the case even when the verb uses something other than its potential stem for the affirmative imperative. In other words, the suppletive forms cannot be negated; when speakers want to form a negative imperative, they must use the potential stem.

- (185) ma-kí?i=ro
NEG.MOOD-go.P=2
'Don't go!' (cf. [178a])
- (186) ma-kí?i=ní
NEG.MOOD-come.P=2POL
'Please don't come!' (cf. [179])
- (187) ma-čáa=ro šíá
NEG.MOOD-arrive.here.P=2 tomorrow
'Don't come tomorrow!' (cf. [180])

Finally, there are two verbs which have distinct imperatives but are not, strictly speaking, verbs of motion. These are the verbs 'bring' and 'take', as illustrated in (188) and (189):

- (188) čáá
bring.IMP
'Bring it!' (cf. kundá?á [P], xíndá?á [R])
- (189) zá?á
take.IMP
'Take it!' (cf. kí?i [P], kí?i [R])

6.6.5. Hortatives

Another specialized form which one verb of motion has is the hortative 'go', as shown in (190), below. This verb, which never carries a person marker, may be used alone or with a variety of complements. When it has a verbal complement, as in (191)–(192), it often loses the motion component of its semantic content, functioning simply as a generic

hortative. Note also in these examples that the verbal complement must be in potential aspect, and, further, that the hortative is often contracted to a monosyllable. (193)–(194) illustrate nominal goal complements to the hortative, and (195)–(196) illustrate body part term locative complements (which are also nominal).

- (190) čó?o
go.HORT
'Let's go'
- (191) čó?o kee staà
go.HORT eat.P tortilla
'Let's eat'
- (192) čó kaka
go.HORT walk.P
'Let's walk/Let's go walking'
- (193) čó?o nūū
go.HORT town
'Let's go to town'
- (194) čó?o bíkó
go.HORT party
'Let's go to the party'
- (195) čó?o žata skwélá
go.HORT animal.back *escuela*
'Let's go behind the school'
- (196) čó?o nuù žúnū wáá
go.HORT face tree there
'Let's go over to those trees there'
- In (197a) and (197b) we see another possibility, in which *čó?o* is followed by an independent pronoun. Note that these are the full forms of the pronouns, not the clitic forms, and that they function in the sentences as vocatives.
- (197) (a) čó?o ro?ó
go.HORT you
'Let's go, you!'
- (b) čó?o ní?í xína?a=ní
go.HORT you.POL plural=2POL
'Let's go, all of you!'

Finally, a verb in potential aspect with a first person plural pronominal clitic may also be used as a hortative, as in (198):²¹

- (198) *késama=žó*
 eat.P=1PL
 'Let's eat'

6.7. Pronouns

This section presents, first, the pronominal clitics of Chalcatongo Mixtec (§6.7.1) and then turns to reciprocals and reflexives (§6.7.2).

6.7.1. Pronominal Clitics

The Chalcatongo Mixtec pronominal clitics are a set of phrasal affixes which mark subjects on verbs, possessors on nouns, and objects on prepositions. They appear after any modifier or modifiers which follow the verb, or after the verb if there are no modifiers. Recall from Chapter 1 that a phrasal affix is a type of clitic which is defined by its positioning with respect to the phrase, rather than to the word. These pronominal clitics can be further classified as "special clitics" (Zwicky 1977; Zwicky and Pullum 1983), which are clitics that are related to full forms with different positional requirements. (Among the phrasal affixes of this dialect, only the pronominal enclitics and the negative proclitic fit into this category. The other clitics—e.g., the additive and restrictive—exist only in bound form.) As we saw in Table 11 of Chapter 5 (repeated below), the first and second person pronominal clitics correspond to full pronouns, while the third person pronominal clitics correspond to nouns with generic reference, rather than to pronouns. The difference in positioning between the clitics and the full forms is the primary topic of this section.²²

The table presents the pronominal clitics and the set of independent pronouns and nouns to which they are phonologically and semantically related. These clitics (when functioning as subjects) appear in different syntactic environments from those of the full forms, however, and, in addition, the distributional restrictions on the full first and second person pronouns are different from those on the full nonpronominal nouns. There are four possibilities for instantiation of subject in Chalcatongo Mixtec: (a) the subject may be represented by a postverbal clitic, (b) the subject may be a full NP (pronominal or not) in focus position, with no pronominal enclitic on the verb, (c) the subject may be a full NP (again, pronominal or nonpronominal) in topic position, in which case a postverbal clitic does

²¹The citation form for this verb is *kesámá*. Since it is the only example I have found of a potential verb stem used as a hortative, it is unclear whether or not the change in tone represents a productive process.

²²See Marlett (1993) for a description of types of pronouns in the closely-related Zapotec languages. Although Marlett uses quite different terminology to present the Zapotec data than is used here, it appears that the distribution of the different types of pronouns in Zapotec is very similar to that found in the Mixtec languages.

Pronouns

PERS	GENDER	FREE	CLITIC
1	FAMILIAR	rùʔù	=rí
	POLITE	naʔa	=na
	INCLUSIVE (PL)	žóʔó	=žó
2	FAMILIAR	roʔo	=ro
	POLITE	níʔí	=ní
3	MASCULINE	čàà 'man'	=čè
	FEMININE	nāʔā 'woman'	=nā
	POLITE: OLDER	toʔò 'older person'	=to
	YOUNGER, DECEASED, etc.	(žii 'masculine')	=ži
	SUPERNATURAL	fʔa, fʔa 'god'	=žʔa
	ANIMAL	kiti 'animal'	=ti
	UNMARKED		=∅

occur, and (d) the subject may be a full NP in postverbal position, with no clitic. In the last case, however, the subject may only be a nonpronominal NP but may not be a pronoun.²³ That is, if the subject is represented by a pronoun in postverbal position, it must be a clitic pronoun, not an independent pronoun. Independent pronouns may only occur in topic or focus position.

Consider, first, the examples in (199):

- (199) (a) *ni-žee=rí*
 CP-eat=1
 'I ate (it)'
- (b) *rùʔù ni-žee*
 I CP-eat
 'I'm the one who ate (it)'
- (c) *rùʔù ni-žee=rí*
 I CP-eat=1
 'As for me, I ate (it)'
- (d) **ni-žee rùʔù*
- (e) **ni-žee=rí rùʔù*

²³These distribution and co-occurrence facts raise interesting questions about argument structure in Mixtec—specifically, whether it is the full pronouns or the pronominal clitics which function as the arguments of the predicate (cf. Jelinek's [1984] arguments about pronominal argument versus lexical argument languages). For a more theoretical discussion of the issue than is found in this grammar, see Macaulay (1993).

(f) *rí=ni-žee

As (199a)–(199c) show, subject can be marked with a pronominal enclitic, a full pronoun in focus position, or a full pronoun in topic position co-occurring with a pronominal enclitic. Examples (199d) and (199e) show that a full subject pronoun may not appear postverbally (either with or without a clitic pronoun), and (199f) shows that the pronominal clitics may attach only to the right side of the V (this formulation is slightly modified below).

These positional restrictions hold only for pronominal subjects. Nominal subjects may occur in topic position, focus position, or following the verb, as shown in (200)–(202), respectively (the subjects are in boldface in each example):

- (200) **čaa wáá** xítuu=Ø
man that lie.down=3
'That man is lying down'
- (201) tú čí **x^waná** ni-sáʔa
no because Juana CP-do
'No, because Juana was the one who did (it)'
- (202) nì-naa inì **čáá** ndoʔo
CP-lose insides man basket
'The man forgot his basket' (cf. [199d])

Finally, the interaction of the clitic pronouns with full NP subjects is illustrated in (203), below. (203a) shows that a full NP subject in preverbal position may occur with no clitic subject. In this case the full NP is in focus position. (203b) shows that clitic and full NP subjects may co-occur when the NP is a topic. However, (203c) shows that they cannot co-occur when the full NP follows the verb.

- (203) (a) **nāʔā wáá** xínū
woman the run
'The woman is the one who is running'
- (b) **nāʔā wáá** xínū=ńá
woman the run=3F
'The woman is running'
- (c) *xínū=ńá **nāʔā wáá**
run=3F woman the
'The woman is running'

Independent pronouns and nouns also appear as direct objects (as in [204] and [205]), and as the standard of comparison in a comparative construction with the subordinator *asú* 'than' (as in [206]). The pronominal clitics may not appear in these positions.

- (204) kǐʔi číndé=ri róʔó (*číndé=ri=ro)
go help=1 you
'I'm going to help you'
- (205) na-číndé=Ø žóʔó (*na-číndé=Ø=žó)
MOOD-help=3 us
'He should/must help us'
- (206) ni-žéé=ka=rí takú ásu róʔó (*ásu=ro)
CP-eat=ADD=1 *taco* than you
'I ate more tacos than you did'

The independent forms, of course, may undergo rapid-speech contraction, making the surface form appear to be a pronominal clitic in object position. For example, (204) could be pronounced kǐʔi číndé=ri ró in rapid speech. However, ró in this case is a contraction of the full form róʔó, not an instance of the clitic =ro. (The asterisk in [204] indicates that the form would be ungrammatical with a *clitic* as direct object.) The way we can tell that the monosyllabic form is a contraction of the full form is by testing with one of the suppletive clitics, such as third person masculine. And, in these cases the clitic form never appears. Furthermore, one can always elicit the full form in object position, whereas it is explicitly rejected by speakers in positions which require clitics (such as for postverbal pronominal subjects).

Evidence that the bound pronouns are clitics and not inflectional affixes can be seen by comparing examples (207) and (208):

- (207) ni-žéé=rí staa
CP-eat=1 tortilla
'I ate'
- (208) ni-žéé **šāā**=rí staa
CP-eat much=1 tortilla
'I ate a lot/I ate excessively'

In (207), the first person subject marker attaches directly to the verb, and we have no way of knowing just from this whether it is an inflectional affix, or whether there is a phrasal boundary at that point which just happens to coincide with the "edge" of the verb. In (208), however, the subject marker attaches not to the verb but to the adverbial *šāā* 'much'.²⁴ This indicates that the pronominal is positioned at the right margin of the constituent which contains the verb (which I call V), evidence that the pronominal clitics are in fact phrasal affixes. (209) illustrates this structure:

- (209) [. . . NEG=S[V[(ADV) V (ADV)]=ADD/RES=PRO (XP*)]]

²⁴It is also possible to say ni-žéé=rí **šāā staa**, in which case *šāā staa* is a constituent, and the sentence means 'I ate many tortillas'.

In (209), we see that the pronominal clitic attaches to *V'*, after the additive or restrictive clitic, if one is present. (*V'* is a constituent containing the verb and two positions for adverbs.) (210) and (211) provide additional examples of sentences containing postverbal adverbs to which a pronominal clitic is attached (the adverb is in boldface in each):

(210) ma-kúʔni níʔi=ró
NEG.MOOD-tie tight=2
'Don't tie it tightly'

(211) a-ní-žo šāā kʷíʔa ni-xīnū bāʔà=ka=rí te bína tú=a
already-CP-exist many year CP-run well=ADD=1 and now NEG=TEMP
'Years ago I could run better but not any more'

Finally, the same set of pronominal clitics is also used to mark person (and other features) on body part terms in their functions as locatives and directionals (as in [212]), on prepositions (as in [213]), and on nouns as pronominal possessors (as in [214]).²⁵ The relevant phrases are set in boldface in (212)–(213).

(212) ndéʔé=rí iči=ǝe nú=beì=ǝe iči ʔáʔa
watch=1 path=3MN COND=come=3MN path here
'I am watching (to see) if he is coming toward here'

(213) s-ndóo na-kíʔi=ǝ xí=rí
allow MOOD-go=3 with=1
'Let him go with me'

(214) (a) seʔe=rí 'my son'
son=1

(b) beʔe=ró 'your house'
house=2

It is clear from the following examples that in the possessive the pronominal elements are still clitics, rather than affixes, since in these cases the pronoun follows something other than the head of the NP:

(215) kačíní kʷíʔi=rí xísndée=ǝ síkà mesá
hat green=1 be.on=3 animal.back mesa
'My green hat is on the table'

²⁵It could be argued that the use of the pronouns in (212) and (213) is in fact the same as it is in (214). That is, the former may well be possessive constructions too.

(216) xísndée ʔí kaxá káʔnū=rí síkà mesá
be.on one caja big=1 animal.back mesa
'My big box is on the table'

In (215) and (216), the pronominal clitic attaches to a NP-final adjective. However, we also find constructions like (217) and (218), in which the clitic attaches to the head of the NP, and the adjective follows:

(217) kačíní=rí kʷíʔi
hat=1 green
'my green hat/My hat is green'

(218) ni-ka-suʔú=ǝ súʔnū=ña lúú
CP-PL-steal=3 shirt=3F pretty
'Someone stole her pretty shirt'

The status of such constructions is not entirely clear: they may simply be NPs with internal clitic pronouns. On the other hand, they may include some sort of secondary predicate, in which case we would be able to say that the pronominal clitics only attach to the right margin of the NP. This is a topic which I leave for future research.

6.7.2. Reciprocals and Reflexives

There is no explicit marker of reciprocity in common use in Chalcatongo Mixtec. Examples (219)–(221) show the kinds of strategies that are most often employed to express the reciprocal:

(219) ni-ka-ketáʔā=ǝ
CP-PL-meet=3
'They found each other'

(220) peđrú te xʷā ni-ka-xitáʔā=ǝ
Pedro and Juan CP-PL-fight=3
'Pedro and Juan fought each other'

(221) peđrú ni-xitáʔā=ǝ xí xʷā
Pedro CP-fight=3 with Juan
'Pedro and Juan fought each other' (lit. 'Pedro fought with Juan')

In (219) and (220), the marking for plural subject in conjunction with the semantics of the verb suffices to express reciprocity. That is, a verb like 'meet' or 'fight' with a plural subject and no object specified may be interpreted as describing reciprocal action. Presumably, context disambiguates the reciprocal use of such constructions from the use in which there is a simple plural subject and an unexpressed object (e.g., for [220], 'they fought

[someone]'). In (221), the consultant opted for circumlocution in response to my persistent prompting for a reciprocal, splitting the plural subject into two separate arguments.

Note that both verbs used in the examples above contain the root *táʔa*. Chalcatongo Mixtec has a noun of this form meaning 'companion', 'friend' or 'relative', and apparently other dialects use the cognate forms semi-productively to form reciprocals (Barbara Hollenbach, personal communication). In fact, I did find a few examples of it in Chalcatongo Mixtec as well:

(222) *ká-kani táʔa xináʔa*
 PL-hit companion plural
 'They are hitting each other'²⁶

(223) *ni-ká-ku-manì nuè táʔa*
 CP-PL-INCHO-love face companion
 'They love each other'

In (222)–(223), the noun *táʔa* makes reciprocity explicit. I have glossed it as 'companion', its most usual translation, but when I asked what it meant in these examples the consultant said, "entre los dos [between the two]." This, then, is probably the most explicit way of marking a reciprocal in Chalcatongo Mixtec, but nonetheless it does not seem to be all that commonly used. The speaker who provided (221), for example, did not produce any sentences with *táʔa* despite my elaborate descriptions of situations which involve reciprocal actions or emotions.

Although use of the nominal form as a reciprocal is not that common in this dialect, it is significant that it does appear as a fused part of two verbs denoting actions which are often reciprocal. Since other dialects apparently use the noun more regularly, the Chalcatongo dialect may have only recently started to eliminate it.

Reflexives are formed in Chalcatongo Mixtec using the word *máa* 'self', which is marked with the appropriate pronominal clitic. This is illustrated in (224)–(226):

(224) *ni-čisaʔí=rí máa=rí nuè=ðe*
 CP-hide=1 self=1 face=3MN
 'I hid myself from him'

(225) *číku xátáʔa máa=Ø*
Francisco like self=3
 'Francisco likes himself'

(226) *na-taba=rí máa=rí*
 REP-draw=1 self=1
 'I'm going to draw (a picture of) myself'

²⁶Despite the potential stem form of the verb, the sentence was translated into Spanish in the progressive: *Se están peleando los dos*. This may just have been a performance error, however.

The fact that *máa* may be the host for a clitic pronoun indicates that it is not a pronoun itself but is instead a noun. This is a case of what Faltz (1977/1985:29–34) calls a "head reflexive," that is, one which is the head of a reflexive NP.

There is some lexical idiosyncrasy in the occurrence of *máa* with prepositions: it appears not to occur as the object of the preposition *kʷentá* 'about' (as in [227] and [228]), but it does occur as object of *xakúu* 'for' (as in [229]):²⁷

(227) *ni-ndátüʔü=rí xí maría kʷentá ndatíü=rí* (**kʷentá máa=rí*)
 CP-talk=1 with *María cuenta* thing=1
 'I talked to María about myself' (lit. 'my things')

(228) *ni-ndátüʔü=rí xí maría kʷentá ndatíü=ñá* (**kʷentá máa=ñá*)
 CP-talk=1 with *María cuenta* thing=3F
 'I talked to María about herself' (lit. 'her things')

(229) *roʔo sáʔa=ro xakúu máa=ro*
 you do=2 for self=2
 'You do it for yourself'

There are a few verbs which are lexically middle voice and so require no overt marking of the reflexive. (230)–(231) illustrate (see also the discussion in §3.1.3):

(230) *ni-künduxi=Ø*
 CP-bury.self=3
 'S/he buried him/herself'

(231) *ni-kindíʔu=rí inì beʔe*
 CP-lock.in.self=1 insides house
 'I locked myself in the house'

There are also verbs like *sete* 'shave', which allow for middle voice as the unmarked or default reading when no overt object is present, but this may be as much a function of pragmatics as semantics:

(232) *sete=ro*
 shave=2
 'You are shaving yourself'

(233) *sete=rí šíni=rí xa-ñíni*
 shave=1 head=1 NOM-late
 'I'll shave myself in a little while (in the afternoon)'

²⁷Amy Dahlstrom (personal communication) suggests that this may not be due to choice of preposition but rather to the semantics of the verb. I leave this an open question.

máá also has an emphatic use, as illustrated in (234)–(236):

- (234) máá xíʔi=ðe
EMPH drink=3MN
'That one, he's drinking'
- (235) máá=rí kačáʔa
EMPH=1 dance
'It's me who will dance'
- (236) máá=ðe ni-xaʔa=ðé taʔu=rí
EMPH=3MN CP-give=3MN hit=1
'As for him, he hit me'

Note that a sentence containing the emphatic máá may include a verb with a clitic pronoun functioning as subject, as in (234). The emphatic phrase (máá plus clitic) may also function as a focused subject, as in (235), in which case the verb does not carry a pronominal clitic. Finally, as a third option, the sentence may contain both a verb with a clitic pronoun attached (the subject argument) and a topicalized emphatic as well (as in [236]).

6.8. Sentence Structure and Clitic Placement

The structure of the basic Chalcatongo Mixtec main clause and placement of the phrasal affixes as it has been developed in this chapter is summarized in (237):

- (237) TP[[TOPIC] S[[[NEG.FOC] [FOC]] NEG=S[V[(ADV) V (ADV)]#ADD/RES=PRO (XP*)]]]

(237) shows that the clause may consist of an initial topic, which is not an argument of the predicate (although it may have the same reference as one of the arguments), and a S'. This S' may contain first a focused constituent (which may be negated by a special focus negator, *niàsù*), and the S. The S has an initial V', which contains the verb, and slots for phrase-initial and final adverbs. The additive and restrictive clitics and the pronominal subject-marking clitics attach as phrasal affixes to this V', in that order. Following the V', there may be one or more arguments of any category.

The schema in (237) assumes a verbal predicate, although, as we have seen, it is possible to use other lexical categories predicatively. The structure of such sentences is in most respects the same as it is with a verbal predicate, and so the structure above can be generalized to cover them as well. Also note that (237) includes a position for a clitic pronoun as subject, but recall that a full, nonpronominal NP can appear in postverbal subject position instead.

COMPLEX SENTENCES

This chapter presents the syntax of complex sentences in Chalcatongo Mixtec. §7.1 covers coordination (including conjunction and disjunction), while §7.2 presents a wide variety of different types of subordination (including sentential complements to verbs, purpose and result clauses, relative clauses, conditionals and counterfactuals, and embedded questions).

7.1. Coordination

This section describes the primary means in Chalcatongo Mixtec of creating conjunction and disjunction (which make use of the forms *te* 'and' and *šì* 'or', respectively). It also covers the expression of contrast and antithesis, which employs both the native word *bàʔa* 'but' and the Spanish borrowing *pero*, also meaning 'but'. Finally, an idiomatic construction is presented in which the form *čáʔa=ka* is conjoined to a positive sentence, with the result meaning 'not yet'.

7.1.1. Conjunction

The primary coordinator in Chalcatongo Mixtec is *te* 'and'. Examples (1)–(5) illustrate coordination of clauses, NPs, VPs, APs, and locative expressions, respectively.¹

- (1) xíta=ðe te xicáʔá=ña
sing=3MN and dance=3F
'He sings and she dances'

¹Actually, there are multiple analyses possible for most of these sentences. For example, (3) could be interpreted as a conjoined S' instead of as two VPs, and (4) as conjoined clauses (as in [1]), instead of APs. No important points rest on which analysis is chosen for each example here.

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*For my parents,
and for Joe*

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¹Actually, there are multiple analyses possible for most of these sentences. For example, (3) could be interpreted as a conjoined S' instead of as two VPs, and (4) as conjoined clauses (as in [1]), instead of APs. No important points rest on which analysis is chosen for each example here.

- (2) *maría te x^wá ká-xita=Ø*
María and Juan PL-sing=3
 'María and Juan are singing'
- (3) *maría xíta=Ø te xičá?á=Ø*
María sing=3 and dance=3
 'María is singing and dancing'
- (4) *ká?nū=ñia te síkú=ñia*
fat=3F and tall=3F
 'She is fat and she is tall'
- (5) *íí šāā čókó inì kaxá te síkì kaxá*
be.located many ant insides caja and animal.back caja
 'There are many ants in the box and on the box'

Coordinated clauses may have different subjects expressed by pronominal clitics (as in [1], above), may each have a distinct topic NP (as in [6]), or may each have a distinct postverbal subject (as in [7]):

- (6) *xasi?i wāá žéé=Ø tástila te žó?ó ká-nde?e=žo*
woman that eat=3 bread and we PL-see=1PL
 'That woman is eating the bread and we are watching her'
- (7) *na-xá?a ušl k^wía te čaā stod=rí*
MOOD-pass ten year and come uncle=1
 'Ten years will pass and then my uncle will come'

Alternatively, the two clauses may share a subject, as in the examples below. In some cases, the shared subject is repeated in each clause, as in (8), while in other cases there is a single shared topic, as in (9). (The conjoined clauses are bracketed in each example.)

- (8) *[ni-čundee=rí inì bolsá=rí] te [k^wá?á=rí]*
CP-put.in=1 insides bolsa=1 and go=1
 'I put (it) in my bag and I left'
- (9) *peđrú [[ni-kíí=Ø be?e=rí] te [k^wá?á=Ø]]*
Pedro CP-come=3 house=1 and go=3
 'Pedro came to our house and then he left'

Some examples of conjoined clauses show combinations of subject-marking strategies. A very common form is for the first clause to have a postverbal subject while the second clause has a topic. (10) and (11) illustrate:

- (10) *a-ni-kéndá žođ te ndi?i žúnú ká-xíto=Ø lúú*
TEMP-CP-exit moon and all tree PL-seem=3 pretty
 'The moon has come out and all the trees look pretty'
- (11) *ni-kexá?á tačí te ndi?i itu tá?nu=Ø*
CP-begin wind and all corn break=3
 'The wind is starting and all the corn will break'
- Another possibility is to have an overt postverbal subject in one conjunct but not in the other, as in (12) and (13):
- (12) *k^wá?á te kii=ro bina ní?ni*
go and come=2 right.away
 'Go and come right back'
- (13) *iža si?i ndúko=ži te ná-k^watu=Ø*
god feminine sit=3POL.DEC and REP-pray=3
 'The Virgin is sitting and praying'

The construction in (12), which contains a verb with an overt person-marker in the second clause, is most often found in imperatives. The first verb in such a sentence is in imperative form, and so occurs without a person-marker. It is conjoined with a statement about what the hearer will do after complying with the imperative, and the second verb therefore does bear a person-marking clitic. This construction of course is restricted to second person.

In (13), however, we see a somewhat less common pattern. In this example, the first conjunct has both a topic and an overt clitic, while the second conjunct has a zero clitic. In sentences like this one, the speaker is explicit about the noun classification of the third person subject in the first conjunct but then reverts to the general third-person marker in the second conjunct. (Alternatively, of course, we could say that there is no marking on the second conjunct, and that the person-marking clitic has been elided. There is no way to tell which of these alternatives is correct, since both involve the absence of phonetic content.)

Another common use of *te* is conjunction of a hypothetical statement and its contradiction (a case in which we would probably use 'but' in English). Often in such examples, the first clause has the counterfactual clitic =*nú* attached. (14)–(15) illustrate this use of *te*:

- (14) *a-bèl=Ø xí=ná=nú te ni-ndòđ=Ø iči žáta*
TEMP-come=3 with=1POL=CFACT and CP-stay=3 path human.back
 'He was going to come with me, but he stayed behind'
- (15) *nì-ki-kéé=Ø stáa te tú=ní-žéc=Ø*
CP-come-eat=3 tortilla and NEG=CP-eat=3
 'He came to eat, but he didn't eat anything'

There is, of course, often a relationship of temporal sequence between the two conjuncts. For example, in (16), below, the second conjunct is a clause expressing a desired outcome of the first, and in (17) the first clause expresses a condition for occurrence of the second:

(16) *sáʔa bàʔà=ʒó te na-kʷáá=Ø xináʔa*
make good=1PL and MOOD-buy=3 plural
'We'll repair it so that they will buy it'

(17) *na-čáa táa=ri te kási inì=ʒó*
MOOD-come father=1 and eat insides=1PL
'As soon as my father comes, we'll eat'

Finally, coordinate structures often exhibit ellipsis of various constituents in the second conjunct, as shown in (18)–(19):

(18) *maría xíta=Ø te xʷā súní*
María sing=3 and *Juan* too
'María sings and Juan does too'

(19) *xʷā ni-xáʔā=Ø skʷelá ndékíu te róʔo tuù*
Juan CP-go=3 *escuela* every.day and you no
'Juan went to school every day but you didn't'

7.1.2. Disjunction

The native word meaning 'or' in Chalcatongo Mixtec is *ši*, as illustrated in the following examples:

(20) *kúʒaa=Ø ʃí sí uù kiù*
be.located=3 one or two day
'She'll be here for one or two days'

(21) *na-tùʔü kʷaʔa=ró maría, ʒáá=ña čakú=ña ši noð ní-kuu xí=ña*
what-word give=2 *María*, live=3F alive=3F or what CP-be with=3F
'What can you tell me about María—is she alive, or what has happened to her?'

(22) *kusámá=rí ʒáʔa ši kíʔi=rí restauran*
eat=1 here or eat=1 *restaurán*
'I'll eat here or go to a restaurant'

A sentence containing disjunction of the form "neither X nor Y" can be constructed using *te* 'and' to conjoin two negative clauses, as in (23):

(23) *tú=kú=Ø káʔā=Ø te tú=xíni soʔo=Ø*
NEG=can=3 speak=3 and NEG=know ear=3
'He can't speak or hear' (lit. 'He can't speak and he can't hear')

Finally, the Spanish borrowing *o* ('or') is also used in some cases:

(24) *ʒaʔá kúú xa=kúú čàà o xa=kúú xa-siʔi*
this COP COMP=COP man *o* COMP=COP NOM-feminine
'Is this (animal) a male or a female?'

7.1.3. Contrast and Antithesis

The native word for 'but' in Chalcatongo Mixtec is *bàʔà*, as illustrated in (25)–(26), below. Speakers use the Spanish word *pero* with almost equal frequency, though, as in (27)–(28):

(25) *peðrú kii=Ø xí=ʒo=nú bàʔà tú=a-ni-kíi=Ø*
Pedro come=3 with=1PL=CFACT but NEG=TEMP-CP-come=3
'Pedro was supposed to come with us, but he didn't come'

(26) *maría xátāʔā=Ø kátá=Ø bàʔà tu=xátāʔā=Ø kačáʔá=Ø*
María like=3 sing=3 but NEG=like=3 dance=3
'María likes to sing, but she doesn't like to dance'

(27) *maría xátāʔā=Ø kučáʔá=Ø pero rùʔù tu=xátāʔā inì=ri*
María like=3 dance=3 *pero* I NEG=like insides=1
'María likes to dance, but I don't like to'

(28) *ndúkoo=Ø wáá pero luego kʷāʔā=Ø*
sit=3 there *pero luego* go=3
'He was sitting there, but then he left'

As noted in §7.1.1, the relationship between clauses expressed in English by 'but' may also be expressed in Mixtec through conjunction with *te* 'and' (as in examples [14] and [15], above).

7.1.4. 'Not Yet'

A special construction is used in Chalcatongo Mixtec to express the notion 'not yet': *čáʔā=ka te [S]*, where "[S]" indicates sentence. The first word appears to have the additive enclitic =ka attached (see §6.6.3), but the meaning of the root itself is unclear, since it appears only in this construction. This form (*čáʔā=ka*) is always conjoined to a positive

sentence in potential aspect, with the resultant meaning 'it is not the case that X yet', as illustrated in (29)–(31):

- (29) čá?ā=ka te kí?i=ri
not.yet=ADD and go=1
'I haven't gone yet'
- (30) čá?ā=ka te xaà miguel
not.yet=ADD and arrive Miguel
'Miguel hasn't arrived yet'
- (31) čá?ā=ka te ku=Ø kée=Ø xiná?a
not.yet=ADD and can=3 eat=3 plural
'They can't eat yet'

The construction čá?ā=ka te [S] appears in subordinate clauses as well as in main clauses, in which case it is preceded by the subordinator xa= (see §7.2.1, below). (32)–(33) illustrate:

- (32) žó?ó ka-xani inì=žo xa=čá?ā=ka te kí?i=riā
we PL-think insides=1PL COMP=not.yet=ADD and go=3F
'We think that she didn't go yet'
- (33) xáni inì=ri xa=čá?ā=ka te kenda=Ø
think insides=1 COMP=not.yet=ADD and exit=3
'I think he hasn't left yet'

Finally, on rare occasions, =ka is omitted, and čá?ā appears alone (but, as always, conjoined to a sentence which is not itself marked with a negative):

- (34) čá?ā te kexá?a=Ø kačá?a=Ø xiná?a
not.yet and begin=3 dance=3 plural
'They haven't started to dance yet'

7.2. Subordination

Before considering the types of subordinate clauses found in Chalcatongo Mixtec, one difference in word order from that illustrated in Chapter 6 should be noted. Basic word order in subordinate clauses is identical to basic word order in main clauses (VSO), but in subordinate clauses only one initial constituent may occur. Recall from Chapter 6 that the topic in Chalcatongo Mixtec is a clause-external topic. Because of this, it cannot occur in an embedded sentence, and this accounts for the fact that one never finds subordinate clauses with two preverbal constituents. Further evidence that the one preverbal position in

a subordinate clause is a focus position is provided by the fact that the focus negator, niāsù, can occur in this position, as shown in (35):

- (35) xwā kée=Ø xa=niasu maría tanda?á xí péðrú
Juan say=Ø COMP=NEG.FOC María marry with Pedro
Juan says that it's not María who is marrying Pedro

This section, then, presents five categories of subordinate clause: subordination with the complementizer xa= (§7.2.1), conditionals and counterfactuals (§7.2.2), comparatives and superlatives (§7.2.3), embedded questions (§7.2.4), and, finally, a section on other subordinators (§7.2.5).

7.2.1. Subordination with xa=

Chalcatongo Mixtec makes use of a multipurpose complementizer xa=, which is described in §7.2.1.1. In the sections after that, particular types of subordination which make use of this complementizer are described.

7.2.1.1. Complementizer xa=

The complementizer xa= is a monosyllabic phrasal affix which introduces subordinate clauses and has no corresponding full form.² It precedes the subordinate clause, attaching to the first constituent in the clause, whether that constituent is the predicate or a preverbal element. In (36) and (37), below, xa= introduces a verb-initial subordinate clause, and in (38) and (39) it introduces a NP-initial subordinate clause. Note also that xa= appears to be a tonal perturber (recall §2.5) for some speakers (e.g., in [38] and other examples below), but not for others (e.g., in [36], [37], and [39]).

- (36) xwā nì-kunì=Ø xa=nà-šuk^wi=ri
Juan CP-want=3 COMP=REP-turn=1
'Juan wanted me to go back home'
- (37) sá?a xa-si?i wāā xa=na-sá-k^witi=Ø
make NOM-feminine the COMP=MOOD-CAUS-short=3
'Make the woman shorten (it)'
- (38) ni-xìni=ri xa=úu xa-si?i lúli ká-nde?e núu=ri
CP-know=1 COMP=two NOM-feminine little PL-look face=1
'I knew that two girls were looking at me'

²See Hollenbach (1990) for a comparative study of xa= and its cognates and equivalents across the Mixtecan languages. Hollenbach argues that it is the use in headless relatives (see §7.2.1.4) which represents the original function of the element.

- (39) kuní=ri xa=xwā na-kí-noʔo béʔe
 want=1 COMP=Juan MOOD-come-go.and.return house
 'I want Juan to go home (and come back)'

Occasionally, xa= may occur in an apparent main clause in deontic mood (see §4.3), which usually also contains the mood-marking prefix na-. This is illustrated in example (40) and is interpreted as having an implicit main clause expressing the will of the speaker (something like 'I want'). This unstated or implied main clause accounts for the occurrence of the complementizer.

- (40) xa=na-kándía=Ø
 COMP=MOOD-believe=3
 'She must/has to believe (it)'

The complementizer xa=, as mentioned in §3.3.2, is homophonous with the nominalizer xa- (which we see in words like xa-síʔi 'woman'; literally 'NOM-feminine'). As Hollenbach (1990) argues, it is extremely likely that the two morphemes have a common origin. She treats the nominalizing use as a relativizer, glossing examples like xa-síʔi as 'the one who is feminine'. She considers this the basic function of xa= (or, more properly, its cognates across the thirteen dialects she examines), and argues that all other uses are synchronically related to this one: "son usos diversos del mismo morfema [they are diverse uses of the same morpheme]" (1990:1). While I agree that the complementizer and the nominalizer are clearly diachronically related, in Chalcatongo Mixtec the two forms do not have the same synchronic morphological status. They have different distributions: one is a phrasal affix, and the other is a derivational affix. Furthermore, Mixtec subordinate clauses show no morphological indication of being nominalized (e.g., person marking appears on the verb within the clause, rather than at the end, as we would expect if the whole clause were a nominal). Thus, they must be differentiated in a synchronic account of Chalcatongo Mixtec.

7.2.1.2. Sentential Complements to Verbs

Sentential complements to verbs in Mixtec may be introduced by the complementizer xa= or may have no complementizer at all. Complementizer type (xa= or zero) is in general determined by whether the subjects of the two clauses are the same or different, although no strict rule governing the appearance or nonappearance of xa= can be established.

When the subjects are the same, it is most common to have a zero complementizer, as in (41)–(46). The verb in such a subordinate clause can be in potential or in realis aspect and almost always carries person marking.

- (41) kuní=rí kée=rí
 want=1 eat.P=1
 'I want to eat something'

- (42) xátáʔa inl=rí kúnú=rí
 like insides=1 run.P=1
 'I like to run'
- (43) náá iní=rí kundáʔa=rí žúʔü
 lose insides=1 carry.P=1 money
 'I always forget to bring money'
- (44) ni-kexáʔá=Ø xíči=Ø
 CP-start=3 bathe.R=3
 'He started to bathe'
- (45) ni-s-ndiʔi=rí ni-žéé=rí staà
 CP-CAUS-finish=1 CP-eat.R=1 tortilla
 'I finished eating'
- (46) čáʔā=ka te kexáʔá=Ø /kačáʔa=Ø xináʔa
 not.yet=ADD and start=3 dance.P=3 plural
 'They haven't started to dance yet'

Occasionally, however, the complementizer xa= does appear in a same-subject construction, as shown in (47)–(48):

- (47) kuní=rí xa=ketáʔā=rí xī kúʔu=rí
 want=1 COMP=meet=1 with sister=1
 'I want to find/meet up with my sister'
- (48) xiní=rí xa=tú=kú sáʔa=rí
 know=1 COMP=NEG=can do=1
 'I know that I can't do (it)'

When the subjects of the two clauses are different, the complements of such verbs are almost always introduced by xa=, with one exception, as noted below. Again, the verb in the subordinate clause may be in either realis or potential aspect. We have seen some examples of this construction in (36)–(39); (49)–(52) provide a few more:

- (49) kuní=rí xa=ná-kíʔi=ro
 want=1 COMP=MOOD-go.P=2
 'I want you to go'
- (50) žúʔü=Ø xa=kúu táa
 be.afraid=3 COMP=die.P father
 'He is afraid that his father will die'

- (51) tú=kandíá=rí xa=ní-xí?i=Ø
NEG=believe=1 COMP=CP-die.R=3
'I don't believe that he died'
- (52) ni-kèe=ri xà=kíí=Ø žá?a šíá
CP-tell=1 COMP=come=3 here tomorrow
'I told you that he was coming here tomorrow'

The exception to the tendency toward presence of *xa=* when the subjects of the two clauses are different involves imperatives. When an imperative has a following subordinate clause—whether the two clauses have the same or different subjects—the complementizer *xa=* is far more likely to be omitted than in nonimperatives with different subjects. (53) and (54) show imperatives with no complementizer; (55) and (56) show imperatives with *xa=*:³

- (53) s-ndoo na-kí?i=Ø xí=ri
allow MOOD-go=3 with=1
'Let him go with me'
- (54) kéí se?e=ró na-kúsú=Ø
put child=2 MOOD-sleep=3
'Put your child down to sleep'
- (55) sá?a xa=na-čá?u=Ø
make COMP=MOOD-pay=3
'Make him pay'
- (56) k^wá-keè xiní ñianl=ro xa=tú=kí?i=ri
go-say know brother=2 COMP=NEG-go=1
'Go tell your brother that I am not going'

Thus, the presence or absence of the complementizer *xa=* in verbal complements is to a large extent governed by whether the subjects of the two clauses are the same or different. However, as we have seen, this is a tendency rather than a rule, and exceptions do exist.

7.2.1.3. Purpose and Result Clauses

Clauses of purpose or result are almost always introduced by *xa=* ([54], above, is an exception to this). (57) and (58) show cases in which the subjects are the same, and (59) and (60) provide cases in which the subjects are different:

³In (55) we see that it is not the presence of *na=* (the deontic mood prefix) which causes the absence of *xa=*, since this example shows the two co-occurring.

- (57) wáá ni-kuu hí parájé nuù ní-ka-ndùkoo=Ø xa=ní-ka-ndendātu=Ø xíná?a
there CP-COP one *paraje* face CP-PL-be.seated=3 COMP=CP-PL-rest=3 plural
'There, there was a spot in which they sat to rest'
- (58) ni-kíí=Ø xa=kéé=Ø staà
CP-come=3 COMP=eat.P=3 tortilla
'She came to eat'
- (59) ni-xà?à=ri xa=ní-žee se?é=ri
CP-give=1 COMP=CP-eat.R child=1
'I gave (food) so that my child could eat' (elicited: 'I gave food to my baby')
- (60) ni-xáá=rí ža?a xa=sá?a náa=ri molí
CP-buy=1 chile COMP=make mother=1 *mole*
'I bought chiles so that my mother could make mole'

As the contrast between (58) and (59) shows, the purpose or result clause may be in either potential or realis aspect, depending on the situation portrayed.

7.2.1.4. Relative Clauses

The complementizer *xa=* also functions as a relative pronoun in Chalcatongo Mixtec, as illustrated in (61)–(64). It is occasionally omitted in relative clauses, however, as in (65)–(66). The relative clause itself (bracketed in the examples below) follows the head noun and has the usual word order, except that the constituent which is coreferential with the head is not overtly present.

- (61) nde?e čàà [xa=xíndii žata xa-sí?i]
look man COMP=stand human.back NOM-feminine
'Look at the man who is standing behind the woman'
- (62) ni-ndukoo=rí nu mesá [xá=ni-ndaxi]
CP-sit=1 face *mesa* COMP=CP-wet
'I sat on a table which was wet'
- (63) kũñũ [xa=ní-žee=ri] kaa ží?i
meat COMP=CP-eat=1 COP raw
'The meat that I ate was raw'
- (64) ni-ku bá?a šáá ñiúú [xa=ní-ku bína]
CP-COP good very town COMP=CP-INCHO now
'The town that it has become now is very good.'

(65) wǎǎ kú ɸ ɸ ɸ ɸ [sáʔa tastilá]
that COP one man make bread
'He's a man who bakes bread'

(66) wǎǎ kú ɸ ɸ [kana=rí]
there COP man call=1
'There's the man who I will call'

(67) provides an example of relativization across two clause boundaries.

(67) beɪ=ná kʷentá ɸ ɸ ndatíú [xá=kuní=ná [ndatúʔù=na xíí=ní]]
come=1POL *cuenta* one thing COMP=want=1POL discuss=1POL with=2POL
'I am coming (to you) about a thing that I want to discuss with you'

Obliques may also be relativized, although in general this is avoided. The strategy which strikes consultants as most natural is to place the body part term marking the grammatical relation before the head noun, as in (68)–(69). The only examples I have found of this strategy, however, contain *nuù* 'face'.

(68) nuù xá-siʔí [xa=peðrú ʃíkú kùñù] ká kúʔu
face NOM-feminine COMP=*Pedro* sell meat COP sick
'The woman who Pedro sells meat to is sick'

(69) nuù xá-siʔí [xa=peðrú ni-xaʔa kùñù] ká káʔnù
face NOM-feminine COMP=*Pedro* CP-give meat COP fat
'The woman who Pedro gave the meat to was fat'

In these examples, we see that the body part term which marks the indirect object relationship appears in the main clause, rather than in the subordinate clause (either stranded by itself or adjacent to the relative pronoun). Such a construction seems to argue for a more literal reading of the body part term as a location, rather than as a purely grammatical or function morpheme. That is, it is the location described as 'face woman' (her front, the part facing the speaker or the agent of the action) which is being described as 'sick' or 'fat', and this is why the locative body part term appears in the main clause. As we see below, no marking of the grammatical relation of the head to the predicate is required in the relative clause itself, and this is why *nuù* 'face' does not appear in the subordinate clause. (Further discussion of body part terms used as locatives is presented in §8.2.)

Examples of relativized obliques without this kind of marking in the main clause are hard to find. The only examples I have been able to elicit are relativized instruments, and in one case an indirect object. It should be stressed that I have not found such examples spontaneously occurring in narratives or conversations, indicating that they are probably somewhat forced. Nonetheless, some interesting patterns of grammaticality emerge from these elicited examples. First, there is no overt marking of oblique status within the relative clause, as illustrated in (70)–(71):

(70) žučl [xa=ní-xaʔña=rí kùñù] tú=xáʔña
knife COMP=CP-cut=1 meat NEG=cut
'The knife that I cut the meat with was dull'

(71) wǎǎ kú xa-siʔí [xa=peðrú ku kʷaʔa žuù]
there COP NOM-feminine COMP=*Pedro* can give rocks
'There is a woman that Pedro can give rocks to'⁴

No preposition or body part term occurs in these examples to mark the particular grammatical relation borne by the element which is relativized. That is, there is nothing stranded in the subordinate clause, nor is there anything fronted to a position adjacent to the relative pronoun *xa=*. Consultants differ in their judgments about whether or not a sentence is grammatical if a body part term is stranded within the relative clause, as illustrated by (72) and (73) (produced by two different speakers). As shown, both contain *nuù* 'face', yet one speaker judged (72) to be grammatical, while another judged (73) to be ungrammatical.

(72) máá=ña ná-kuni ɸ ɸ [xa=ní-xini=ro nuù]
EMPH=3F REP-know man COMP=CP-know=2 face
'It's *she* who recognizes the man that you knew'⁵

(73) *xa-siʔí [xa=peðrú ni-xaʔa kùñù nuù] ká káʔnù
NOM-feminine COMP=*Pedro* CP-give meat face COP fat
'The woman who Pedro gave the meat to was fat'

In one example, however, the body part term itself seems to function as the relativizer, replacing *xa=*:⁶

(74) wǎǎ kú níúʔú [nuù ní-ɸiʔí=rí itù=rí]
that COP land face CP-plant=1 crop=1
'That is the land where I planted my crops'

A common alternative to the construction of relativized obliques is conjunction, as in the following:

⁴As stated in the text, these sentences are somewhat forced, which accounts for the silliness in the content of this particular sentence. It came up during a session in which I was trying to elicit relative clauses, although I do not remember exactly how this particular scene arose. However, it is grammatical and so is included to illustrate the point.

⁵The verb 'know' often takes a complement marked by *nuù* 'face'.

⁶Barbara Hollenbach (personal communication) suggests another analysis for sentence (74): she believes that the clause beginning with *nuù* is actually a headless relative, in which *nuù* means something like 'the place where'. Under this analysis, the headless relative clause is in apposition to the noun níúʔú 'land'.

- (75) rùʔù xini=ri seʒíí peðrú te wáá kʷáá beʔe xakúu=Ø
 I know=1 son Pedro and that buy house for=3
 'I know Pedro's son, and he (that one) will buy a house for him'
 (elicited: 'I know the child who Pedro will buy a house for')

Finally, headless relative clauses are constructed in the same manner as are headed ones and are always introduced by xa=, (76)–(78) illustrate:

- (76) xátáʔá=ka=rí asù [xa=ní-ʒúbaʔa=rí]
 like=ADD=1 than COMP=CP-have=1
 'I like it better than the one that I used to have'
- (77) rùʔù kuni=rí [xa=xíʒaa núu]
 I want=1 COMP=be.located face
 'I want the first one'
- (78) noð kú [xa=ní-xaʔa peðrú nuù maría]
 what COP COMP=CP-give Pedro face María
 'What did Pedro give María?' (lit. 'What is it that Pedro gave to María?')

Example (78) illustrates a very common method of forming WH-questions (see §6.5.2), in which the question is phrased as a kind of WH-cleft and contains a headless relative.

7.2.2. Conditionals and Counterfactuals

Conditionals and counterfactuals form overlapping categories in Chalcatongo Mixtec. Conditionals are marked by a proclitic phrasal affix nú=, which appears sentence-initially (in a position before the focus, if there is one, or before the verb if there is no focused NP). The antecedent can precede or follow the consequent and is often in deontic mood (marked with the prefix na-, as described in §4.3). (79)–(82) illustrate:

- (79) nú=wáá na-sáʔa=Ø ku sñí šáá iní=ri
 COND=that MOOD-do=3 COP happy much insides=1
 'If he would do that, I'd be very happy'
- (80) nú=na-xaà=Ø ku sñí šáá iní=ri
 COND=REP-arrive=3 COP happy much insides=1
 'If he would return, I'd be very happy'
- (81) ku sñ iní=ri nú=toʔð wáá ki-nóʔo nákúnúu
 COP happy insides=1 COND=man that come-go.and.return soon
 'I'd be happy if that man would go home soon'

- (82) bàʔa=ká nu=na-kíʔi=ro šíá
 good=ADD COND=MOOD-go=2 tomorrow
 'It would be better if you went tomorrow'

Counterfactual conditionals are also constructed with the proclitic nú= but, in addition, contain a phonologically identical enclitic =nú, which appears to the extreme right of the antecedent, as shown in (83)–(84). Also note that in these examples nú= appears to be a perturber, which it was not in the examples above. I do not have enough examples of counterfactual conditionals to determine if this is significant or not, however.

- (83) nú=rúʔù ʒúbaʔa šúʔú=nú ...
 COND=I have money=CFACT
 'If I had a lot of money ...'
- (84) nú=ní-xítu=ká=ri tíʔa=nu bina nūʔni kúnábaʔa=kà=ʒó xod šúʔú
 COND=CP-work=ADD=1 a.little=CFACT right.now keep=ADD=1PL few money
 'If I would have worked a little more, now we would have saved some money'

Counterfactuals which are not conditional are usually formed with the enclitic =nú only. This construction often translates as 'supposed to' or 'used to'.⁷

- (85) peðrú kii=Ø xí=ʒo=nú baʔa tú=ni-kíí=Ø
 Pedro come=3 with=1PL=CFACT but NEG=CP-come=3
 'Pedro was going to come with us, but he didn't'
- (86) íkú ta-ní-kʷa rúʔù sáʔíu=rí=nú
 yesterday ?-CP-dark I work=1=CFACT
 'Last night I was supposed to work (but I didn't)'
- (87) xʷá ni-sáʔíu=nu
 Juan CP-work=CFACT
 'Juan used to work (but now he doesn't)'

Occasionally, however, a plain counterfactual will be marked with the proclitic: nú=, instead of the enclitic =nú, as in the following:

- (88) nú=ní-ká-xáʔá=ʒo ndíxinu
 COND=CP-PL-go=1PL Tlaxiaco
 'We would have gone to Tlaxiaco'

⁷The second word in (86), ta-ní-kʷa is usually used to mean 'good evening'. The element ta- appears in fixed greeting expressions and may be a frozen vocative. (Other dialects have productive quotatives and vocatives; e.g., Jicaltepec has four: -tá, -na, -tí, and -to [Bradley 1970:39].) The use of what is normally a greeting in example (86) is unexplained, however.

(88), continued:

pero tú=ni-kúu či a-ní-ku?u náa=rí
pero NEG=CP-can because TEMP-CP-sick=mother=1
but we couldn't because my mother was sick'

Note that this instance of *nú=*, as in the counterfactual conditionals of (83)–(84), also perturbs the tone of the following syllable. It may be that the counterfactual construction involves not only addition of the enclitic =*nú* but also the addition of a floating H tone to the proclitic *nú=* (should it appear), and, furthermore, that occasionally only the latter operation is carried out in forming a counterfactual.

7.2.3. Comparatives and Superlatives

This section addresses comparatives of degree, comparatives of likeness, and superlatives. First, comparatives of degree in Chalcatongo Mixtec consist of two parts, the first of which almost always contains the additive or restrictive marker, and the second of which is introduced by a term meaning 'than'. The most common connective is the subordinator *asù* 'than', but the body part term *nuù* 'face' is also used in this function.

With *asù* 'than', the two halves are interpreted as clauses. The second clause generally consists on the surface of only a single NP (representing the standard of comparison) but is understood as containing the same predicate as the first clause. We have already seen a few examples of comparatives which use *asù* in §6.6.3; (89) and (90) provide two more examples:

(89) rù?ù sùkú=ka=rí asù ro?o
I tall=ADD=1 than you
'I am taller than you'

(90) xìka zá?a kí?i=ka=Ø tek^wite asù hí=ka wáá
basket this take=ADD=3 potato than one=ADD there
'This basket holds more potatoes than the other one there'

In some cases, *niàsù*, the focus negator (see §6.4.2), appears instead of *asù*. This lends credence to the hypothesis that the latter is the root of the former. The semantics seems to be of this form: A statement is true about one item; it is not the case that it is true about the other.⁸ (91)–(92) illustrate:

(91) žiki zá?a bèè=kà niàsù hí=ka ža?á
pumpkin this heavy=ADD NEG.FOC one=ADD this
'This pumpkin is heavier than this other one'

⁸An anonymous reader points out that this is similar to the expletive *ne* of literary French, as in *plus grand que je ne le croyais* 'bigger than I thought it was'.

(92) xa-lúlí zá?a sùkú=ka niàsù hí=ka
NOM-small this tall=ADD NEG.FOC one=ADD
'This boy is taller than the other one.'

The body part term *nuù* 'face' is also used in comparatives, as in (93)–(95):

(93) rù?ù sùkú=rí tí?a nuù=ro
I tall=I a.little face=2
'I am a little taller than you'

(94) xa-lúlí ká-kana xí=ka nù xa-si?i lúlí
NOM-small PL-call with=ADD face NOM-feminine little
'The boys yelled more than the girls'

(95) maría lúú=ka nù rosa
María pretty=ADD face Rosa
'María is prettier than Rosa'

With *nuù*, like *asù*, the standard of comparison always consists of a single NP. However, in this case the standard of comparison does not appear to constitute a reduced clause. Rather, the comparison is simply made with the addition of the NP consisting of the body part term and its object. Evidence for the difference in status between the *than*-phrase in an *asù* comparative and a *nuù* comparative comes from the form that a pronominal standard of comparison takes: notice that in (89), with *asù*, the pronoun is in full form, while in (93), with *nuù*, it is in clitic form. My hypothesis is that in comparatives with *asù*, the NP represents the focus of the reduced second clause. Recall from §6.7.1 that pronouns in topic or focus position always appear in full form. However, when the standard of comparison in a comparative with *nuù* is pronominal, it appears in clitic form and thus cannot be the focus of a clause that has undergone ellipsis. This leads to the conclusion that the NP (or pronoun) following *nuù* is the second half of a NP + NP construction (as discussed in §6.2), rather than what is left of a second clause after ellipsis.⁹

Comparison can also be expressed through conjunction of contrasting clauses, as in (96):

(96) rù?ù ñába?a=rí xod=ka šú?ü te maa=Ø ñába?a=Ø k^wa?à=ka
I have=1 little=ADD money and EMPH=3 have=3 much=ADD
'I have less money than he does' (lit. 'I have little money and he has more')

Comparatives of likeness make use of the subordinator *sa=* 'how'. These are illustrated in (97)–(98):

⁹I am somewhat tentative about this because it could be argued that the entire *nuù* + NP phrase is the focus of a reduced clause. I do not know what kind of tests one would have to devise to determine which analysis is correct, so I leave my claims in hypothesis form for now.

- (97) *žee=rí takú sa=ní-žee=ró*
eat=1 taco how=CP-eat=2
'I can eat as many tacos as you can'
- (98) *žee šāā=rí sa=ní-žee=ró*
eat much=1 how=CP-eat=2
'I eat a lot, like you do'

The superlative construction adds the nominalizer *xa-* (see §3.3.2) to the word expressing the quality being compared, yielding, in effect, 'the one that is more X', hence 'the X-est'. Most of my examples only contain one clause (i.e., there is no stated standard of comparison). This is illustrated in (99)–(100):

- (99) *xwā kú xa-lúf=ka*
Juan COP NOM-small=ADD
'Juan is the smallest'
- (100) *roʔo kúu xa-náxini=ka*
you COP NOM-drunk=ADD
'You are the drunkest'

When the standard of comparison is explicitly stated, the construction makes use of *nuù* 'face', as in the comparative examples given above in (93)–(95):

- (101) *skwélá žáʔa kúu xa-káʔnū=ka nu ndíʔi nu ndíʔi skwélá nūù žaʔá*
escuela here COP NOM-big=ADD face all face all escuela town this
'This school is the biggest of all the schools in town'
- (102) *xwā kú xa-lúf=ka nuù ndíʔi=žo*
Juan COP NOM-small=ADD face all=1PL
'Juan is the smallest of all of us'

7.2.4. Embedded Questions

Embedded interrogatives are virtually identical to main clause WH-questions (discussed in §6.5.2). All of the forms listed in the previous chapter (examples [129]–[130]), with the single exception of *ší-na-xaʔa* 'why', may appear in an embedded interrogative clause. Embedded interrogatives calling for 'why' use the shorter form *ná-xáʔa*, as in (103), below. The syntax of embedded interrogatives is the same as that of a main clause interrogative; that is, they consist of an interrogative word or phrase in focus position, followed by a clause with a corresponding gap in it. (103)–(107) illustrate:

- (103) *tú=xini=rí na-xaʔa nì-xāā=Ø*
NEG=know=1 what-foot CP-buy=3
'I don't know why he bought it'
- (104) *tú=xini=rí nama kíʔi=Ø nužáʔu*
NEG=know=1 when go=3 market
'I don't know when he's going to the market'
- (105) *s-náʔa ndàsà čaa=rí*
CAUS-remember how write=1
'Teach me how to write'
- (106) *tú=xini=rí ndéu kuní=rí*
NEG=know=1 which want=1
'I don't know which one I want'
- (107) *tú=xini=rí ndéu nì-žee statilá*
NEG=know=1 who CP-eat bread
'I don't know who ate the bread'

In addition to the fixed-phrase interrogatives, interrogative forms may be created with *na-* plus any appropriate noun or noun phrase and used in embedded questions, as in the following:

- (108) *máʔíí máá=ži xini=ži na-kastíu kʷaʔa=Ø žǝʔo*
alone EMPH=3POL.DEC know=3POL.DEC what-castigo give=3 us
'Only God knows what punishment he will give us'
- (109) *tú=xini=rí na-tūʔū káʔā=Ø*
NEG=know=1 what-word speak=3
'I don't know what he was talking about'

Finally, embedded questions corresponding to main clause yes/no questions are formed with the conditional proclitic *nú=*. This element has already been discussed in §7.2.2; examples (110)–(111) illustrate its use in embedded questions:

- (110) *tú=xini=rí nú=kíʔi=rí*
NEG=know=1 COND=go=1
'I don't know whether I'm going'
- (111) *tú=xini=rí nú=kāʔā=Ø xa-ndáa*
NEG=know=1 COND=speak=3 NOM-true
'I don't know if he's telling the truth'

7.2.5. Other Subordinators

This section presents two further categories of subordinate clause: subordinate time clauses (§7.2.5.1) and expressions of cause (§7.2.5.2).

7.2.5.1. Subordinate Time Clauses

There are a number of subordinating conjunctions which express a temporal relationship between the subordinate and main clause. The complementizer *xa=* may be used in this way and is usually translated as 'while', 'during the time that', or 'when'. (112)–(114) illustrate:

- (112) čáʔā=ka keé=ʒó staa te wáā xa=s-ndíʔi=ʒo ndatūʔū=ʒo
not.yet=ADD eat=1PL tortilla and then COMP=CAUS-finish=1PL talk=1PL
'First we'll eat and then, when we finish, we'll talk'
- (113) saʔma wáā na-ičl=∅ xa=kú ʔi ora
clothes the REP-be.dry=∅ COMP=COP one hora
'The clothes will be dry in an hour'
- (114) xíni níʔū=ka=rí ndíʔi xa=kú ʃiā
need=ADD=1 onion COMP=COP tomorrow
'I'll need more onions (when it is) tomorrow'

Another element which is used to show a temporal relationship between clauses is the preposition *onde* 'until', illustrated in (115)–(117), below. (Recall from §6.3 that the spatial use of this preposition means 'up to' or 'as far as'.) In (116), we see that *onde* may co-occur with the complementizer *xa=*. Contrast this with (115) (a sentence with essentially the same meaning), in which *onde* occurs alone. Also note in (117) the punctual, rather than continuous, sense that *onde* can convey.

- (115) ni-ndito=rí seʔé=∅ onde ni-xiʒaa=∅
CP-care.for=1 child=3 until CP-be.located=3
'I took care of her children until she returned'
- (116) ni-ndito=rí seʔe=ðé xínaʔa onde xa=ní-na-ʃúk^wi=∅
CP-care.for=1 child=3MN plural until COMP=CP-REP-return=3
'I took care of his children until he returned'
- (117) bíkó ʒáʔa ndíʔi onde kaa ʔi xa-k^wáá
party this end until COP nine NOM-dark
'The party will end at nine at night'

There are two forms which are used as subordinating conjunctions meaning 'when': a native form *sá=* and a Spanish borrowing, *orá* (from *hora* 'hour'). The subordinate clause may precede or follow the main clause. Within the subordinate clause, both *sá=* and *orá* occur before the verb or any preverbal constituent. (118)–(122) illustrate:

- (118) ni-kéndá=rí sa=nì-s-ndíʔi=rí ni-žéé=rí staa
CP-exit=1 when=CP-CAUS-end=1 CP-eat=1 tortilla
'I left when I finished eating/I left after I ate'
- (119) ni-ka-káʔā=rí xí x^wā sá=maría ni-s-náa ndáka
CP-PL-talk=1 with Juan when=María CP-CAUS-be.lost key
'We talked with Juan when María lost the keys'
- (120) sá=súči=∅ maría ní-nʒaa=∅ Chalcatongo
when=young=3 María CP-reside=3 Chalcatongo
'When María was young, she lived in Chalcatongo'
- (121) orá ni-s-ndíʔi=rí ni-žee=rí staa ni-kéndá=rí
hora CP-CAUS-end=1 CP-eat=1 tortilla CP-exit=1
'When I finished eating, I left'
- (122) ndíto=ðe orá maría ni-xaa
be.awake=3MN hora María CP-arrive.there
'He was awake when María arrived'

In the following example, the subordinate clause is embedded after the topic of the main clause:

- (123) x^wā orá xínū=∅ ni-xaʔnu=∅ xaʔa
Juan hora run=3 CP-break=3 foot
'Juan, while he was running, broke his foot'

7.2.5.2. Expressions of Cause

Subordinate clauses expressing cause contain the subordinator *čl* 'because'. For some speakers the [č] varies with [ʃ], although the former is more common. The clause marked by *čl* almost always follows the main clause, as (124)–(126) illustrate:

- (124) ku si iní=rí čl na-xaa=∅ ʃiā
COP happy insides=1 because REP-arrive.there=3 tomorrow
'I am happy because she is returning home tomorrow'

(125) čóʔo čìl bína xíʒaa=Ø
 go.HORT because now be.located=Ø
 'Let's go, because she's there now'

(126) ndéʔe čìl síʒa wáā ndata
 look because chair the break
 'Be careful because the chair is going to break'

The word meaning 'because' is homophonous with the word for 'stomach' (both are čìl). Whether there is in fact a relationship between the two is unclear to me. However, we can note that other dialects of Mixtec use a variety of other body part terms for 'because' (or as part of a phrase meaning 'because'). For example, Ayutla Mixtec uses the phrase šaʔaʔ à nā, literally 'foot its it' (Hills 1990:235), Jamiltepec Mixtec uses the phrase čāʔā čā vátyí, literally 'foot COMP because' (Johnson 1988:130), and Ocotepéc Mixtec uses two phrases which include body part terms: síkìl xā, literally 'nape COMP', and xèʔe xā, literally 'foot COMP' (Alexander 1988:284). I will continue to gloss Chalcatongo Mixtec čìl as 'because', but it should be borne in mind that it may in fact be another extended use of a body part term.

TOPICS IN LEXICAL SEMANTICS

A number of topics in Mixtec lexical semantics have been explored in various works (see, e.g., Kuiper and Merrifield 1975; Brugman 1983; Macaulay 1985; Brugman and Macaulay 1986; De León 1986). This chapter addresses three of these topics with respect to the Chalcatongo dialect: §8.1 presents the verbs of motion and arrival, §8.2 presents the body part terminology (used in the marking of locative and other relationships), and §8.3 discusses verbs of position and location, and the ways in which they interact with the system of body part terms.

8.1. Verbs of Motion and Arrival

Recall from Chapters 3 and 4 that Mixtec verbs have two stems—one for realis and one for potential aspect—and that the realis stem can be further inflected for completive aspect. The verbs of motion are exceptional in that they make several more aspectual distinctions than do other verbs, while the verbs of arrival actually make less. The former have distinct potential, imperative, progressive, and habitual stems and allow affixation of the completive prefix for a fifth possibility. The latter (the verbs of arrival) have only potential and completive forms, with no unprefixed realis stem in use, for reasons which are described below.

Mixtec verbs of motion were first discussed in depth by Kuiper and Merrifield (1975), and further work has been done on the topic by Pickett (1976), Speck and Pickett (1976), Macaulay (1982, 1985), and Merrifield (1992). In the present section I briefly sketch out the semantics of these verbs in Chalcatongo Mixtec as well as consider the morphological characteristics of the most complex of this set of verbs.¹

Table 13 lists the forms of the verbs of motion and arrival in Chalcatongo Mixtec. The first point to note is that in this language, verbs of motion are "round trip," that is, they code the progress of an agent to and from some goal. As a consequence, use of the

¹See Macaulay (1982, 1985) for further detail.

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*For my parents,
and for Joe*

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