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DIUXI MIXTEC VERBS OF MOTION AND ARRIVAL

ALBERTHA KUIPER AND WILLIAM R. MERRIFIELD

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

1. Introduction
2. Momentary verbs
3. Graphs
4. Verbs presented
5. Base
6. Auxiliaries
7. Directionals

1. Verbs of motion function as main verbs, as auxiliaries, and as directional modifiers in Mixtec.¹ Verbs of arrival function as main verbs and as auxiliaries. Each of these functions is discussed in order below.²

There are six verbs of motion in Mixtec, all active verbs (i.e., verbs inflected for aspect) which occur syntactically with an Agent as Subject and the name of a Place as Goal.³ Thus:

- (1) $h\dot{i}^?i\text{-te } n\dot{u}nd\dot{u}a$ *He will go to Oaxaca*
(lit. *will-go-he Oaxaca*).

¹ Diuxi Mixtec is spoken in San Juan Diuxi and several other nearby villages of the district of Nochixtlan, Oaxaca. A. Kuiper began her study of Mixtec in May 1971 and undertook this study at a linguistic workshop in Mitla, Oaxaca, in the fall of 1972 in collaboration with W. R. Merrifield. The principal informant during this period was Sra. Amelia Martínez Pérez de Matías, a native of Diuxi. The orthography is based on Eunice V. Pike and Joy Oram, "Length, Stress and Tone of San Juan Diuxi Mixtec," except that low tone is left unmarked.

² There is no syntactic distinction between Goal and Source in sentences like (1), which is therefore ambiguous, having the alternative meaning *He will go from Oaxaca*. Our experience has been, however, that in any isolated sentence which could be taken ambiguously, the informant invariably interprets a place name as Goal rather than Source. The only contexts in which we can

The basic meaning of all six verbs is, rather pedantically, *motion of an agent through space and time to a goal*. The factors which serve to distinguish the meanings of the several verbs have to do with the direction of the Agent's motion in relation to: (a) the place of the locutionary act (PLA); (b) the location of the Goal; and (c) the location of the Agent's Base.³ The six verbs are:

- (2) $ki\dot{s}i$ *move to non-Base toward PLA, and return away from PLA*
 $v\dot{a}si$ *move to non-Base toward PLA*
 $ndisi$ *move to Base toward PLA*
 $\dot{s}\dot{e}^?e$ *move to non-Base away from PLA, and return toward PLA*
 $h\dot{i}^?i$ *move to non-Base away from PLA*
 $n\dot{u}^?u$ *move to Base away from PLA*

Comparison of the forms in (2) indicates that in the history of Mixtec there may have been at one time just two verbs—one indicating motion toward PLA and one indicating motion away from PLA—to which inflectional affixes were added to indicate either "round trip" or "Base." Although phonological reshaping has tended to obscure the inflectional pattern,

consistently get an interpretation as Source are isolated sentences combining a motion verb and an arrival verb in consecutive sentences, as in $hw\dot{a}^?a\text{-te } dyu\dot{s}i$; $n\dot{s}\dot{e}\dot{e}\text{-te } ?a't\acute{o}h\acute{o}$ *He went from Diuxi, and arrived at Nochixtlan*. A complete analysis of Goal and Source has not been undertaken yet, and all examples given in this paper will treat the place names simply as Goals.

³ The concept "Base" will be discussed in more detail below. For our purposes here, it is sufficient to think of a person's Base as his home—the place to which he most frequently returns at the end of a day's work or a trip.

the semantic structure allows us to see that one probably did exist.

The six verbs of motion are matched by four verbs of arrival, all based on the same root and sharing a common core of meaning: *arrival of an Agent at a Goal*. The four verbs are:

- (3) *kíšéé arrive at non-Base toward PLA*
nšéé arrive at Base toward PLA
šéé arrive at non-Base away from PLA
nášéé arrive at Base away from PLA

2. The first thing that must be noted about all ten of these verbs is the fact that they are viewed as Momentary verbs.⁴ In order to explain what this means for Mixtec verbs of motion and arrival, it is necessary first to outline briefly the pattern of inflection.

In general, there are three inflectional forms of a verb: potential, continuative, and completive. The inflectional patterns are fairly complex and need not be discussed in detail; but, in general, the potential stem is unmarked, the continuative stem usually differs from the potential by tone, and the completive stem is marked by the prefix *n-*. The completive stem may also have a different tone from that of the potential stem, and either continuative or completive stems, or both, may have a different stem-initial consonant from that of the unmarked potential stem.

The majority of active verbs may occur inflected for any of the three aspects. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the pattern.

- (4) *kači-dá tu'tú I will tear the paper.*
kači-dá tu'tú I am tearing the paper.
nkáči-da tu'tú I tore the paper.
 (5) *kate-dá žá'ú I will dig a hole.*
šaté-dá žá'ú I am digging a hole.
nšáte-da žá'ú I dug a hole.

⁴ Charles J. Fillmore, "Types of Lexical Information," in *Studies in Syntax and Semantics*, ed. Ferenc Kiefer (Dordrecht, 1969), p. 112.

- (6) *ndiko-dá žúša I will grind the corn dough.*
ndikó-dá žúša I am grinding the corn dough.
ndíko-da žúša I ground the corn dough.

The ten verbs of motion and arrival occur inflected for only two aspects. This creates no problem of interpretation with the four verbs of arrival; forms like those in (7) are easily interpretable as potential and appropriate to arrivals expected subsequent to TLA,⁵ and forms like those in (8) are clearly completive and appropriate to arrivals prior to TLA.

- (7) *kíšéé-te tne'é He will arrive (here) tomorrow.*
 (8) *nkíšéé-te tne'é He arrived (here) yesterday.*

Either the potential or completive form of a verb may be used iteratively (as well as the continuative form of those forms so inflected). With verbs of arrival or motion, the range of reference of potential forms does not exclude that of completive forms. Thus, (9) may refer to repeated arrivals both prior and subsequent to TLA, while (10) is limited in reference to arrivals prior to TLA.

- (9) *kíšéé-te n'daa kíú He arrives daily.*
 (10) *nkíšéé-te n'daa kíú He arrived daily.*

Apart from the iterative interpretation of verbs of arrival, they refer to activities as either having taken place or not. In this sense, they are Momentary or non-Progressive verbs. They do not view activities as "in progress." While there is nothing remarkable about verbs of arrival being so considered, we find that verbs of motion, in Mixtec, are of this same sort—they view the movement of an Agent as not yet initiated and, therefore, potential, or as initiated and, therefore, completive. The focus is on the initiation of the motion.

⁵ "Time of Locutionary Act," from Fillmore, p. 110.

Once the motion is initiated, the simple aspect of the verb does not clarify whether the action continues in progress at TLA, or whether it has finished prior to TLA. Thus, the potential form of the verb in (11) is appropriate to a situation in which a third person is expected to initiate motion away from PLA. However, as soon as that motion is begun, only (12) is appropriate.

(11) $h\acute{i}^?i\text{-}te\ n\acute{u}nd\acute{u}a$ *He will go to Oaxaca.*

(12) $hw\acute{a}^?a\text{-}te\ n\acute{u}nd\acute{u}a$ *He went to Oaxaca.*

The contrast is very frequently heard in the first person. Thus, a person may be sitting talking, or preparing to leave. During all this time he might say:

(13) $h\acute{i}^?i\text{-}da$ *I will go.*

But then, as he gets up to leave, or as he steps toward the door, he will often say:

(14) $hw\acute{a}^?a\text{-}da$ *I am going (lit. I went).⁶*

The potential form of a motion verb

⁶ It would alternatively be possible to consider $hw\acute{a}^?a$ as a continuative form of the verb, and this indeed may have been the case in Proto-Mixtecan. Robert E. Longacre (*Proto-Mixtecan*, Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics, publication no. 5 [Bloomington, Ind., 1957], p. 56) lists *w-* as one form of the continuative aspect morpheme at that horizon. In such an interpretation, $h\acute{i}^?i$ is considered potential, indicating a motion as in progress (the agent has left PLA and whether he reached Goal or not is not known), and $n\acute{s}\acute{e}^?e$ is considered completive, indicating not only that the agent reached his goal, but that he also returned to Base, thus completing the trip. There are a number of reasons why we reject this alternative. First, $hw\acute{a}^?a$ collocates with words like $^?iku$ *yesterday*, as does $n\acute{s}\acute{e}^?e$. Second, $hw\acute{a}^?a$ occurs as an auxiliary verb with $n\acute{d}\acute{i}ši$ and $n\acute{u}^?u$ (discussed below in this paper) to indicate completive aspect. Third, *n\acute{s}\acute{e}-* (*imperfect*), which usually occurs with continuative forms of stems, occurs with $h\acute{i}^?i$ in the absence of a continuative form, rather than with $hw\acute{a}^?a$. Fourth, our analysis provides a symmetrical system of aspects for all verbs of motion and arrival and a better basis for the interpretation of the semantic categories which distinguish the several verbs of the set from one another; namely, the categories of "round trip" and "Base."

may also be used iteratively, as with verbs of arrival. Thus, a potential form is appropriate for both (15) and (16).

(15) $kiši\text{-}d\acute{a}\ tne'e$ *I will come tomorrow.*

(16) $kiši\text{-}d\acute{a}\ n'daa\ k\acute{u}$ *I come daily.*

3. Ten different verbs which map the movements and arrivals of persons within the intersection of three kinds of space—PLA, Goal, and Base—present something of a challenge to describe. This we will try to do below, but first, to aid in the presentation, we would like to introduce what we hope will seem a fairly simple scheme for displaying the time and direction of motion of particular verbs in relation to these parameters and to TLA. Consider figure 1.

In figure 1, each horizontal line is a time line at a particular point in space. By convention, the lower of two such lines will be considered the time line at PLA. Any imaginary point along either line represents the intersection of a given point of time and the point in space represented by the line, with successive points to the right representing successively later points in time. The vertical line represents TLA. The diagonal line represents the motion of an Agent through time and space. A dot at one end of a diagonal represents arrival of the Agent at his Goal.

Figure 1 thus maps a hypothetical real-world situation appropriate to the non-iterative use of sentence (17); namely, a third-person Agent is expected to initiate motion away from PLA, say at San Juan Diuxi, and travel to Oaxaca as Goal.

(17) $h\acute{i}^?i\text{-}te\ n\acute{u}nd\acute{u}a\ tne'e$ *He will go to Oaxaca tomorrow.*

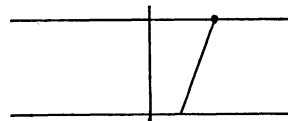


FIG. 1

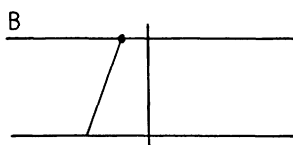


FIG. 2

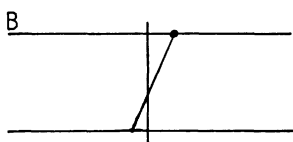


FIG. 3

Similarly, the completive aspect sentence (18) is appropriate to situations represented by either figure 2 or figure 3, the former indicating that an Agent left PLA and arrived at Goal prior to TLA, the latter indicating that the Agent has left PLA prior to TLA but has not by that time reached Goal. The letter "B" on the upper horizontal line in these examples indicates that the Agent returns to his Base as Goal away from PLA.

(18) *hwá-núʔú-te dyuši* *He went (home there) to Diuxi.*⁷

As the foregoing examples indicate, the following generalizations can be made about mapping potential and completive verbs on these diagrams: (1) a map of potential aspect will consist of a diagonal completely to the right of (subsequent to) TLA, and (2) a map of completive aspect will consist of a diagonal initiating to the

left of (prior to) TLA but terminating either to the right or left of TLA.⁸

4. We may now address ourselves to the use of each of the verbs, focusing particularly on those situations where certain of the paradigms of person and aspect are defective due to overlap of semantic reference among the set of ten.

Theoretically, we may divide the six motion verbs into a set of four which denote action in one direction only, as opposed to the other two which denote a round trip. In actual fact, however, because of the participation of first and second persons at the intersection of TLA and PLA, and because of the nature of the concept Base, all of the verbs may imply a round trip, in one situation or another.

We will consider first the five verbs used for situations in which the Agent moves to a Goal toward (or at) PLA, starting with *kiši*, the verb of motion which refers to a round trip to PLA and return away again. To simplify the explanation of the examples that follow we will use just three place names familiar to all Diuxi Mixtec speakers. Diuxi will be held constant in examples as

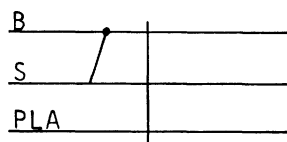


FIG. 4

⁷ It should be clear that the correct use of a sentence like (18) does not necessarily imply that the Agent of the verb actually reaches the expected destination even when the destination is explicitly stated in the sentence. Apart from extrasensory perception or a message received from the point of goal, a speaker cannot know that the agent did not die of snakebite on the trail or for some other reason fail to reach the expected goal, any more than he can tell if a potential action will ever actually be undertaken. This point is not at issue.

⁸ Real-world situations more complicated than those indicated in the above figures are also appropriate to the use of sentences like (18). Nothing dictates, for example, that PLA and the place where action is initiated—the Source of the action—must be coterminous. Fig. 4 is also appropriate to (18) when the Source, say Mexico City, lies between PLA, say Los Angeles, and Goal. Since the motion verbs themselves never distinguish situations like that represented in fig. 4 from the one represented in fig. 2, we will limit our illustrations to those which require just two time lines.

the Agent's Base. Oaxaca, the capital of the state, will be used as a distant point; and Nochixtlan, the head town of the district, will be used as an intermediate point located on the road between Diuxi and Oaxaca.

Kiši, *move to non-Base toward PLA and return away from PLA*. This verb is used to indicate the motion of an Agent to a Goal which is other than the Agent's Base, but which lies in the direction of PLA or is itself PLA. It is thus appropriate to an Agent whose Base is Diuxi and whose Goal is Nochixtlan, when PLA is either Nochixtlan or Oaxaca. Sentences (19)–(22) may be used in this context. Figures 5–8 represent the situation in which Nochixtlan is both Goal and PLA.

(19) *kiši-dá* ʔa'tóhó *I will come to Nochixtlan.*

(20) *kiši-té* ʔa'tóhó *He will come to Nochixtlan.*

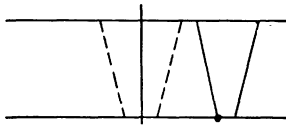


FIG. 5

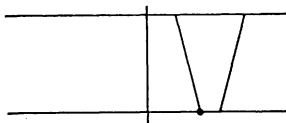


FIG. 6

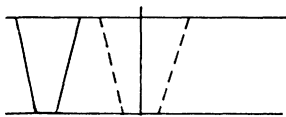


FIG. 7

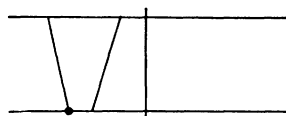


FIG. 8

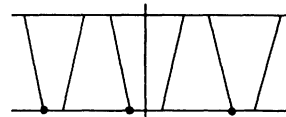


FIG. 9

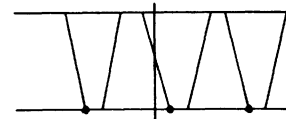


FIG. 10

(21) *nkíši-da* ʔa'tóhó *I came to Nochixtlan.*

(22) *nkíši-te* ʔa'tóhó *He came to Nochixtlan.*

Though idiomatic English glosses of the sentences do not make it clear, the figures show that the verbs explicitly assume the return of the Agent away from Goal, in this case PLA, when his business in Nochixtlan is finished. They also show, as indicated by the dotted lines, that a further trip is implied for a first person in order to be in Nochixtlan at TLA.⁹

Sentences (19)–(22) are also appropriate to the iterative situations represented in figures 9–12. Beyond the addition of dotted lines for first-person Agent, figure 9

⁹ First and second persons are usually both located at the intersection of PLA and TLA. (Fillmore mentions a few cases where this is not so, but we have not focused on these special cases.) This limitation has important implications for the use of motion verbs. It means, for example, that further motion beyond that strictly denoted by a particular verb is implied for a first or second person, as indicated in figs. 5 and 7 by the dotted lines. Since the facts are the same for first and second persons in this regard, all examples are given using just two pronouns, *idá* *I* and *-té* *he*, to simplify the presentation for nonstudents of Mixtec. Just one comment on the more complex situations referred to above: when a Mixtec mother calls her child and receives a vocal response, each speaker considers himself at PLA. Mother says, "Come here, Johnny," and Johnny replies, "I'll arrive (there), Mother."

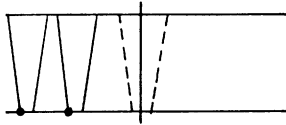


FIG. 11

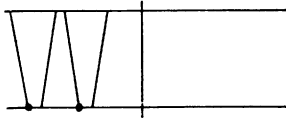


FIG. 12

differs from figure 10 in that Agent must be present at the intersection of PLA and TLA.

We now turn to a consideration of the motion verb *váší* which has the same general configuration of Goal and PLA, but which explicitly signals only a one-way trip.

Váší, *move to non-Base toward PLA*. A comparison of the glosses for *kiši* and *váší* indicates that the only difference between the meaning of the two is that *kiši* signals a return away from PLA after the Goal has been reached by the Agent. This similarity of meaning may be considered to be correlated with the fact that *váší*'s paradigm is defective. It only occurs with completive inflection¹⁰ and is replaced by *kiši* in those sentences which refer to situations where one might logically expect to find *váší* with potential inflection.

Both (23) and (24) are appropriate to the situation represented in figure 13. They

¹⁰ *Váší* does not particularly look like a completive form and may actually have been a continuative historically; but it patterns today as a completive in the same way as *hwáʔá*, as argued in n. 6 above. It cannot occur, for example, with *nšo-* (*imperfect*), though *kiši* does. It is also true that the sequence *nv* is not at all common, so that there is also the possibility that the completive *n-* has been reduced in this case before *v*, but we do not rest our case on this possibility.

translate fairly well as perfects rather than as straight past *I came, he came* because of the implication that the Agent remains at Goal at TLA.

(23) *váší-da I have come.*

(24) *váší-te núndúa He has come to Oaxaca.*

Sentence (24) may also be translated progressively *he is coming* in a situation where a third-person Agent is seen approaching PLA. Sentence (23) is very appropriate to a situation in which a first-person Agent arrives within hearing distance of a friend's home.

One situation for which we might logically suppose a potential form of *váší* might be appropriate may be represented as in figures 14 and 15, for first and third-person Agents respectively. In fact, however, the potential form of *kiši* is used to refer to such situations, as well as those represented in figures 5 and 6. We might attempt to account for this fact impressionistically by saying that in situations like those in figures 14 and 15, it is always assumed at TLA that the Agent will ultimately return to Base. As far as we can

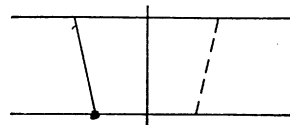


FIG. 13

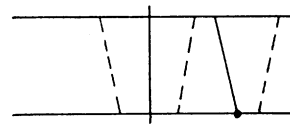


FIG. 14

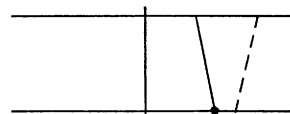


FIG. 15

tell, however, this is purely a linguistic usage as opposed to a sociolinguistic one. That is, it does not have anything to do with "being polite" or any other social phenomenon, as far as we can discern.

Sentences (25) and (26) refer to typical situations in which the replacement of *váši* by the potential form of *kiši* can be seen. In (25), rain can be seen approaching in the distance. Sentence (26) is appropriate to a situation where rain is not yet in sight. (25) *váši da'ú* *It's going to rain.* (lit. *came rain*).

(26) *kiši da'ú* *It's going to rain.* (lit. *will-come rain*).

Now before considering the final motion verb in this set, we want to discuss briefly the arrival verb *kíšéé*, which has the same configuration of Goal and PLA as *váši* and *kiši*.

Kíšéé, *arrive at non-Base toward PLA*. Little needs to be said about this verb

other than to present examples of its use in particular situations. A comparison of sentences (27)–(30) with figures 16–19 and with the preceding discussion of *váši* and *kiši* should convince the reader that the three words comprise a set. In general, *kíšéé*, inflected properly for aspect, is appropriate to any situation which might invoke the use of either of the other two verbs of the set. It strictly designates arrival only, but implies the same movements as the motion verbs.

(27) *kíšéé-da núndúa tne'é* *I will arrive (back here) in Oaxaca tomorrow.*

(28) *kíšéé-te núndúa tne'é* *He will arrive here in Oaxaca tomorrow.*

(29) *nkíšéé-da núndúa ʔénerú* *I arrived (here) in Oaxaca in January.*

(30) *nkíšéé-te núndúa ʔénerú* *He arrived (here) in Oaxaca in January.*

Two verbs remain to be considered in this first set of five, a verb of motion and a verb of arrival. They differ from the other three in focusing on Base as Goal. We will consider the verb of motion *ndiši* first, and then *nšéé*.

Ndiši, *Move to Base toward PLA*. This verb is appropriate to situations in which the Agent returns toward PLA to Base, whether Base is located at PLA or merely in the direction of PLA in terms of the Agent's trajectory. It is thus appropriate for an Agent who lives in Diuxi, when the interlocutors are themselves in Diuxi at TLA or at a point beyond Diuxi opposite to that from which the Agent is moving. Its paradigm is defective in no way, occurring in both potential and completive aspects and with any person as Agent. Inasmuch as *ndiši* denotes motion toward Base, an earlier movement away from Base is also necessarily implied, as indicated in figures 20–23 which accompany sentences (31)–(34).

(31) *ndiši-dá dyuší tne'é* *I will come (home here) to Diuxi tomorrow.*

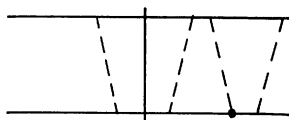


FIG. 16



FIG. 17

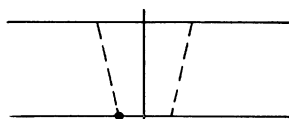


FIG. 18

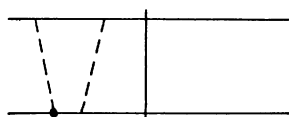


FIG. 19

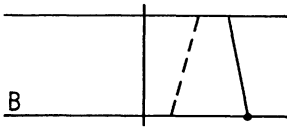


FIG. 20

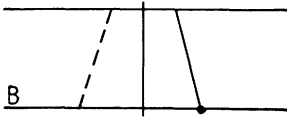


FIG. 21

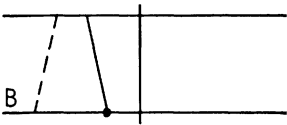


FIG. 22

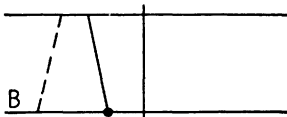


FIG. 23

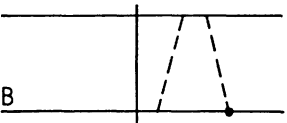


FIG. 24

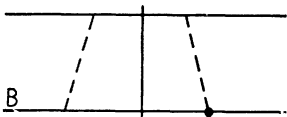


FIG. 25

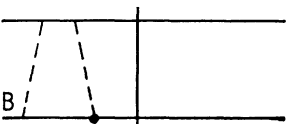


FIG. 26

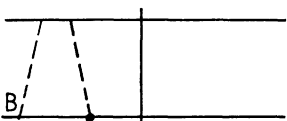


FIG. 27

(32) ndiši-té dyuší tne'é *He will come (home here) to Diuxi tomorrow.*

(33) ndiši-da dyuší 'íku *I came (home here) to Diuxi yesterday.*

(34) ndiši-te dyuší 'íku *He came (home here) to Diuxi yesterday.*

Nšéé, *arrive at Base toward PLA.* As a member of a pair with ndiši, both verbs are in general appropriate to the same kinds of situations. Although the replacement is not complete, the completive aspect form of this verb is the more often used in those situations where the completive aspect form of ndiši would also be appropriate. Figures 24-27 accompany sentences (35)-(38).

(35) nšéé-da dyuší tne'é *I will arrive (home here) in Diuxi tomorrow.*

(36) nšéé-te dyuší tne'é *He will arrive (home here) in Diuxi tomorrow.*

(37) nšéé-da dyuší 'íku *I arrived (home here) in Diuxi yesterday.*

(38) nšéé-te dyuší 'íku *He arrived (home here) in Diuxi yesterday.*

The second set of five verbs share the characteristic that the Agent moves to a Goal away from PLA. As with the first set of five verbs, we will begin our discussion with the verb of motion which refers explicitly to a round trip.

Šé'é, *move to non-Base away from PLA and return toward PLA.* The use of this verb is defective, with h'í'í (which will be discussed next) replacing it in some situations where we might logically expect it to be used. The following sentences are appropriate, however, to the situations correlated with them (see figs. 28-31).

(39) šé'é-da 'a'tóhó n'daa kíú *I go to Nochixtlan every day.*

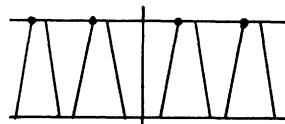


FIG. 28

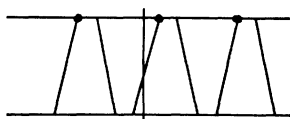


FIG. 29

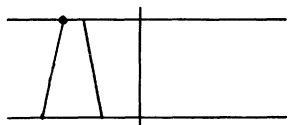


FIG. 30

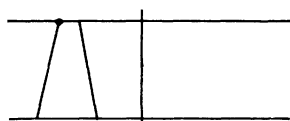


FIG. 31

- (40) šéʔé-te ʔa'tóhó n'daa kíu *He goes to Nochixtlan every day.*
 (41) nšéʔé-da ʔa'tohó ʔiku *I went to Nochixtlan yesterday.*
 (42) nšéʔé-te ʔa'tohó ʔiku *He went to Nochixtlan yesterday.*

Potential forms are inevitably interpreted iteratively whether or not a specific phrase like *n'daa kíu every day* is used. In a noniterative situation, *híʔí* is used, not explicitly indicating a return from Goal.¹¹

Híʔí, *move to non-Base away from PLA*. This verb is appropriate to describe a trip to Nochixtlan or Oaxaca by a resident of Diuxi with Diuxi as PLA. Sentences (43)–(52) may be used in this context, and figures 32–35 may serve to represent the situation.

- (43) híʔí-da núndúa *I am going to Oaxaca.*
 (44) híʔí-te núndúa *He is going to Oaxaca.*

¹¹ We do not pretend to understand why *kiši* replaces *váši* in potential actions, thus explicitly implying a return of Agent away from PLA as Goal, while *híʔí* replaces *šéʔé* in potential actions, thus avoiding the explicit implication of a return of Agent from Goal to PLA.

- (45) hwáʔá-da núndúa *I am going to Oaxaca.*

- (46) hwáʔá-te núndúa *He went to Oaxaca.*

The first-person completive *hwáʔá-da* is most appropriate to the leave-taking situation where the speaker has just begun to leave for his destination. It cannot normally be used for an earlier trip in which the Agent has returned to PLA, since such a situation calls for the use of *šéʔé-da*. For the same reason, *šéʔé* replaces *híʔí* when an iterative interpretation is indicated.

It was possible for us to elicit, in what we believe to have been a spontaneous way, the use of *hwáʔá-te* for a narration of a hypothetical trip which involved several stops along the way before final return to Base (“He left Diuxi and *went to Yodoco*. Then he *went to Nochixtlan*. Then he *went to Oaxaca*,” etc.). But *šéʔé-te* is also very appropriate for such a narrative,

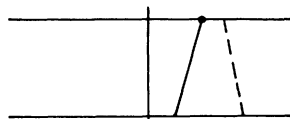


FIG. 32

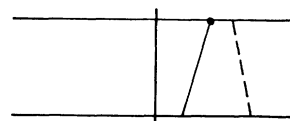


FIG. 33

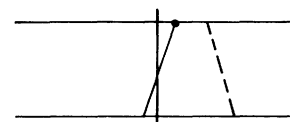


FIG. 34

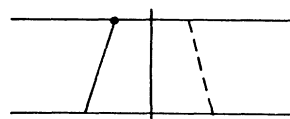


FIG. 35

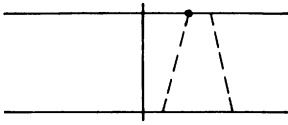


FIG. 36

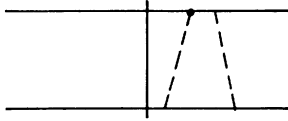


FIG. 37

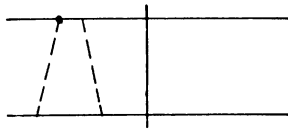


FIG. 38

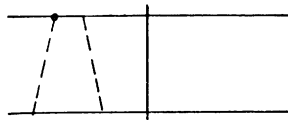


FIG. 39

actually more likely to be used, and does not imply a round trip return to base at each stage of the journey.

Although šééʔé tends to replace híʔí in first-person completive and in iterative contexts in this way, híʔí replaces šééʔé in potential noniterative situations as mentioned above.

Šéé, *arrive at non-Base away from PLA*. This verb forms a set with šééʔé and híʔí and is appropriate to any situation which might invoke the use of either of the other two. Illustrative sentences ([47]–[50]) and representations of appropriate situations for their use (figs. 36–39) are as follows:¹² (47) šéé-da núndúa tne'é *I will arrive in Oaxaca tomorrow*.

¹² Through the addition of n- (*completive*), the completive form of this verb is homophonous with the potential form of nšéé *arrive at Base toward PLA*, a fact which in some contexts might offer real possibilities for miscommunication.

(48) šéé-te ʔa'tóhó tne'é *He will arrive in Nochixtlan tomorrow*.

(49) nšéé-da núndúa martéši *I arrived in Oaxaca Tuesday*.

(50) nšéé-te núndúa martéši *He arrived in Oaxaca Tuesday*.

Núʔú, *move to Base away from PLA*. This verb is not defective in any way, occurring in both potential and completive aspects, though there is a slight complication due to its having an n-initial stem. Since completive aspect is signaled by a preposed n, it happens that potential and completive forms of this verb are homophonous. This homophony is usually, though optionally, avoided by use of the completive form of the motion verb híʔí *go* (completive: hwáʔá) as an auxiliary to núʔú, without noticeably changing the meaning from that of simple completive núʔú. The use of shortened forms of verbs of motion as Auxiliary verbs will be discussed more fully in 6. At this point, however, we merely introduce hwá- as the shortened completive form of híʔí and use it to distinguish completive forms of núʔú from potential forms. In this context, hwá- can be removed without change of meaning.¹³ Sentences (51)–(54) are appropriate to situations represented in figures 40–43. The first-person completive form hwá-núʔú-da' is particularly appropriate to leave-taking, as the speaker begins to

¹³ The interpretation of hwá- as a mere vehicle for clarifying the inflection for completive aspect is supported by the fact that it also occurs with ndiši *move toward PLA to Base*. Though this verb also has an n-initial stem, its completive form differs from the potential form by tone. Nevertheless, the auxiliary hwá- may optionally be preposed to the completive form to further mark aspect. In this case, it is clearly just aspect that is marked, since hwáʔá signals motion in a direction opposite to that of ndiši, except in the configuration hwá-ndiši *came (home here)*. By analogy, we can assume that the hwá- of hwá-núʔú is merely a vehicle for clarifying aspect.

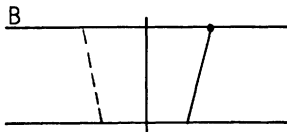


FIG. 40

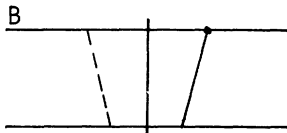


FIG. 41

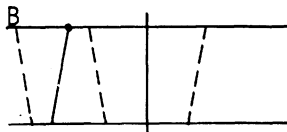


FIG. 42

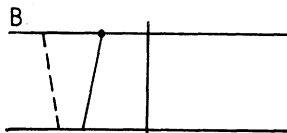


FIG. 43

leave a location to return home.

(51) nú[?]ú-da dyuší tne'é *I will go (home) to Diuxi tomorrow.*

(52) nú[?]ú-te dyuší tne'é *He will go (home) to Diuxi tomorrow.*

(53) hwá-nú[?]ú-da dyuší ?íku *I went (home) to Diuxi yesterday.*

(54) hwá-nú[?]ú-te dyuší ?íku *He went (home) to Diuxi yesterday.*

Nášeé, *arrive at Base away from PLA.* This verb is a mate of nú[?]ú, most contexts appropriate to the use of one being also appropriate for the other. It also begins with n and has homophonous potential and completive forms. In this case, the auxiliary hwá- may not be added to remove ambiguity. A comparison of the following sentences ([55]–[58]) and figures (44–47) with those above will show the similarity

in meaning of this verb with that of nú[?]ú.
(55) nášeé-da tne'é *I will arrive (home there) tomorrow.*

(56) nášeé-te tne'é *He will arrive (home there) tomorrow.*

(57) nášeé-da ?íku *I arrived (home there) yesterday.*

(58) nášeé-te ?íku *He arrived (home there) yesterday.*

5. As regards verbs of motion and arrival, it is sufficient to think of “Base” as the place to which the Agent of an action returns at the end of the day or at the end of a trip—his home, his hometown, his home district, etc.—the size and precise location in space of the Base being a function of the order of magnitude of the trip in question. There is reason to believe, however, that the notion is related to a more general semantic notion in Mixtec,

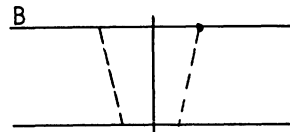


FIG. 44

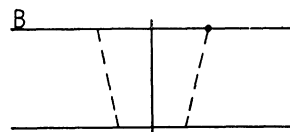


FIG. 45

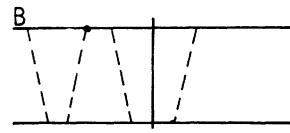


FIG. 46

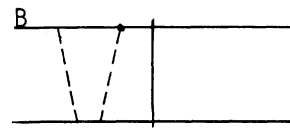


FIG. 47

the notion of "repetition" of an action. A related phenomenon has been reported for Chinantec¹⁴ and for Zapotec,¹⁵ both Otomanguan languages of Oaxaca.

In Mixtec, there is a derivational prefix ná- which occurs preposed to certain verb stems to indicate the action designated by the verb is viewed as a repetition of a previous action. A few paired sentences will serve best to illustrate this morpheme.

- (59) hwęę-dá líbru *I will purchase a book.*
 ná-hwęę-dá líbru *I will purchase a book secondhand.*
- (60) kíkú-da dá²má *I will make the dress.*
 ná-kíkú-da dá²má *I will mend the dress.*
- (61) hini-da-té *I will see him.*
 ná-hini-da-té *I will recognize the man.*
- (62) kata-dá dá²má *I will hang up the wash to dry.*
 ná-kata-dá dá²má *I will hang up the wash again to dry.*
- (63) nduku-dá ²i²dú *I will look for a deer.*
 ná-nduku-dá čú³ú *I will look for the (lost) chicken.*

It only takes a little reflection then to note that the relationship between the foregoing pairs is not unlike that which exists between verbs of motion and arrival like the following:

- (64) hį²ı̄-da *I will go.*
 nú²ú-da *I will go (home).*
- (65) šeé-da *I will arrive (there).*
 nšeé-da *I will arrive (home there).*
- (66) váši-da *I have come.*
 ndiši-da *I have come (home).*

The more general notion of repetition has taken on the more specific idea of Base in the context of motion verbs, as well as

phonological reshaping through sound change. It is also probable that nášeé-da *I will arrive (home there)* represents the same morphological construction as nšeé-da *I will arrive (home here)*, the latter perhaps being invented and reshaped at an earlier point in the phonological history of the language, and the former being a later analogical addition.

6. A complete analysis of the Mixtec Verb phrase is not attempted here; but, in our description of motion verbs, notice must be taken of the fact that they occur in shortened form as auxiliary verbs, preposed to a main verb, to indicate motion of the Agent which immediately precedes the performance of the action indicated by the main verb. All six motion verbs occur as auxiliaries.

Motion of an agent away from PLA related to an action performed subsequent to that motion may be indicated by the use of an auxiliary form of hį²ı̄, nú²ú, or šé²é.

Auxiliary forms of hį²ı̄ are hı̄- (*potential*) and hwá- (*completive*). They simply indicate that motion is away from PLA.

The use of nú²ú as an auxiliary focuses on the repetitive nature of the motion and action to be performed. A paraphrase of nú²ú might be: *The agent has gone to this place to perform this action before.* In terms of the notion "Base," this verb has the effect of viewing the place where the action of the main verb is performed as a kind of Base for the performance of that action. The auxiliary form of nú²ú is nú. Since potential and completive forms would be homophonous, as with nú²ú as a main verb, auxiliary forms of hį²ı̄ occur with nú as vehicles for clarifying the inflection for aspect.

The auxiliary forms of šé²é are šé- (*potential*) and nsé- (*completive*). In addition to signaling motion away from PLA, this auxiliary indicates a return toward

¹⁴ William R. Merrifield, *Palantla Chinantec Grammar*, Papeles de la Chinantla no. 5, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Serie Científica no. 9 (Mexico, D. F., 1968).

¹⁵ L. Lyman, personal communication, October 1972.

PLA when the performance of the action indicated by the main verb is complete. The implication is that the agent returns away from the place where the action is to be performed to a Base, but the verb does not preclude the idea that the agent may have gone to the place and performed the action there before. Whether or not the place where the action is performed is to be viewed as a Base for performing that action is not in focus with this verb.

Illustrative sentences for these verbs, and others to be described below, will use *kuči bathe* as typical of main verbs used with auxiliaries. The main verb itself is unmarked for aspect, and the time of the action which it signals is immediately subsequent to that of the auxiliary verb. As in the case of completive action of verbs of motion as main verbs, completive aspect auxiliaries only indicate that the motion has begun and are ambiguous as to whether the motion or the action indicated by the main verb is completed.

- (67) *h̄i-kúči-te* *He will go and bathe.*
hwá-kúči-te *He went and bathed [or to bathe].*
h̄i-nú-kúči-te *He will go [again] and bathe.*
hwá-nú-kúči-te *He went [again] and bathed [or to bathe].*
š̄é-kúči-te *He will go and bathe and come back.*
nš̄é-kúči-te *He went to bathe and will come [or came] back.*

Motion of an agent toward PLA related to an action performed subsequent to that motion may be indicated by the use of auxiliary forms of *váši*, *ndiši*, and *kiši*.

Inasmuch as *váši* only occurs as completive, it has just one form as an auxiliary verb, *váš-*; when occurring as a true motion auxiliary, it unaccountably always occurs with the auxiliary form *ki-* of *kiši*. It only occurs alone, without *ki-*, as a pseudo-motion verb, as in *váš-kane ?í'tú the crop*

is coming alone (i.e., it has begun to sprout) or *váš-kanú-dá žúu I am unraveling the mat.*

The auxiliary forms of *ndiši* are *ndi-* (*potential*) and *ndí-* (*completive*). Like *nú'ú*, *ndiši* has the effect of viewing the place where the action of the main verb is performed as a kind of Base for the performance of that action by the Agent.

The auxiliary forms of *kiši* and *ki-* (*potential*) and *nkí-* (*completive*) signal a return away from PLA subsequent to the performance of the action of the main verb. As with *š̄é'é*, the auxiliary use of *kiši* does not convey information regarding whether the place of performing the action of the main verb is viewed as a Base for performing that action.

- (68) *váš-ki-kuči-té* *He has come to bathe.*
ndí-kuči-té *He will come [again] to bathe.*
ndí-kuči-té *He came [again] to bathe.*
ki-kuči-té *He will come and bathe and go back.*
nkí-kuči-té *He came to bathe and will go [or went] back.*

In addition to the sequences *h̄i-nú-*, *hwá-nú-*, and *váš-ki-*, a few other combinations of motion verbs as auxiliaries also occur. Their use in combinations is apparently merely stylistic, adding no real difference in meaning from that of auxiliaries used singly. All acceptable combinations, in addition to the three above, are illustrated in (69).

- (69) *hwá-š̄é-kúči-te* *He went and bathed and came back.*
hwá-š̄é-nú-kúči-te *He went [again] and bathed and came back.*
ki-ndi-kuči-té *He will come [again] to bathe and go back.*
váš-ki-ndí-kuči-té *He came [again] to bathe and went back.*

7. Any motion verb may also occur following a main verb to indicate motion

and direction of an Agent simultaneous to the performance of the action indicated by the main verb. The potential form of a motion verb may occur with either the potential or continuative form of a main verb, without a difference of meaning, to indicate action to begin after TLA. The completive form of a motion verb may occur with either the continuative or completive form of a main verb, without a difference of meaning, to indicate action begun prior to TLA.¹⁶ A full paradigm of directional verbs is presented in (70)–(75) with the verb *kata sing*.

(70) *kata-té kǐší* *He will come singing.*

šítá-té kǐší *He comes singing.*

šítá-té nkǐší *He came and went singing.*

nšíta-te nkǐší *He came and went singing.*

¹⁶ This pattern of cooccurrence of aspects, incidently, provides further evidence that *váší* and *hwáʔá* are completive forms rather than continuative (cf. n. 6).

(71) *šítá-té váší* *He came singing.*

nšíta-te váší *He came singing.*

(72) *kata-té ndíši* *He will come home singing.*

šítá-té ndíši *He will come home singing.*

šítá-té ndíši *He came home singing.*

nšíta-te ndíši *He came home singing.*

(73) *kata-té šéʔé* *He will go singing (iterative).*

šítá-té šéʔé *He goes singing.*

šítá-té nšéʔé *He went and came back singing.*

nšíta-te nšéʔé *He went and came back singing.*

(74) *kata-té hǐʔǐ* *He will go singing.*

šítá-té hǐʔǐ *He will go singing.*

šítá-té hwáʔá *He went singing.*

nšíta-te hwáʔá *He went singing.*

(75) *kata-té núʔú* *He will go home singing.*

šítá-té núʔú *He will go home singing.*

šítá-té hwá-núʔu *He went home singing.*

nšíta-te hwá-núʔu *He went home singing.*