

THE SENTENCE OF NORTHERN POPOLOCA
Polly Machin

0. A previous paper described the structure of the clauses of Northern Popoloca, which is, essentially, the structure of the simple sentence.¹ The present paper describes the various ways in which a clause may be combined with another clause or integrated (embedded) into another clause within the same sentence.

Coordinate clauses may be combined into one sentence by juxtaposition (where the relation between the constituents is implicit) and by coordinating conjunctions.

Clauses may be subordinated to the main clause as a whole through subordinating conjunctions, although under certain circumstances there is no subordinating conjunction expressed.

Thirdly, clauses may be integrated into one of the constituents of the main clause as a modifier to a noun (relative clause) or as the sole expression of that constituent (nominalized clause). Frequently the same words may be used either to link a relative clause to its antecedent or to identify a nominalized clause as a constituent of the main clause.

For each relation between clauses the paper cites the pertinent linking word and describes permissible omissions or changes in linear order as well as any cooccurrence restrictions between the clauses involved.

Finally, the paper describes the incidental non-clause elements of a sentence, such as interjections, vocatives, affirmatives, and negatives.

COORDINATE CLAUSES

1. Two independent clauses may be joined together with a coordinating conjunction. Four relationships may be expressed by the use of coordinate clauses: addition, contrast, expectancy reversal, and sequence.

1.1 Addition. In an addition relationship, the coordinating conjunction is co 'and'. The first clause states a fact and the second clause adds to that fact and does not detract from it. For example: Nhecjina pelota co rrochjaha naho peso. 'Sell the ball to me and I'll give you five pesos.'

Sattji co ttienja sihi. 'Go and then come back.'

The addition relationship may be expanded to three clauses in a series. The coordinating conjunction co 'and' is used between each

clause. For example: Tsjá ná co tsjá iná co ttienja tsjá iná. 'She threw one (stone) and she threw another and then she threw another.'

Disehe co xanxinhi já nttihi co ncháo zihi tsjen. 'Lean over and put your head in here and you'll be able to drink syrup.'

If, because of repetition, four clauses are joined in an addition relationship, the conjunction between the second clause and the third clause is omitted. For example: Condaniša čhinca va co čhinca va, čhinca va co čhinca va. 'The coyote jumped and jumped, he jumped and jumped.' In the above clause, the coordinating conjunction is present between the first clause and the second clause, and between the third clause and the fourth clause, but is omitted between the second clause and the third.

1.2 Contrast and Expectancy Reversal. One of two coordinating conjunctions may be used for either the contrast relationship or the expectancy reversal relationship: aro or pero 'but'. In a contrast relationship, the first clause states a fact, and the second clause states another fact in contrast to the first fact. For example: Čhonja xanchían o čhonja iná chojni tti jointtayaha, aro jeha janha jointtayaha. 'Maybe my brother or maybe another person is the one who deceived you, but it wasn't I who deceived you.'

Upon occasion, a contrast relationship is expressed without the conjunction. In this instance, the contrast between the first clause and the second clause is so implicit, that the conjunction is understood without being stated. For example: Tarritsjá jían, coha tti Isabet. 'I looked hard for Isabelle, (but) she wasn't there.' The contrastive conjunction pero 'but' is understood but not stated.

In an expectancy reversal relationship, the first clause states the present condition, and the second clause states the expected condition which is a reversal of the present condition. For example: Joí čhin, pero nganito jna ná nttía vehe ná conchecha. 'The rain has come, but one time on the side of the mountain there was a rainbow.' The inhabitants of San Marcos Tlacoyalco believe that the presence of a rainbow means the rain will pass by their town and go to another place. Therefore, the presence of a rainbow is an undesired condition.

1.3 Sequence. In a sequence relationship, the coordinating conjunction may be expressed twice: once preceding each clause. The coordinating conjunction used is are which means 'when' when preceding the first clause and 'then' when preceding the second clause. The conjunction co ttimeja 'and then' may be used preceding the second clause when elapsed time is indicated. This conjunction may not be used in a sequence of action when the second action occurs immediately after the first action.

The coordinating conjunction in a sequence relationship may be

expressed twice, but if one conjunction is omitted, the other conjunction must occur.

The first clause describes an action that occurs before the action in the second clause. The second clause may not precede the first clause. Usually the tense in both the first clause and the second clause is the past tense.

The following three examples are alternatives of the same sentence and have the same meaning. The first example has the conjunction preceding the first clause but not the second clause: Are xiré, jaicoa vixinhi na. 'When it opened, they went in fast.'

The second example has the conjunction preceding the second clause but not the first clause: Xiré, are jaicoa vixinhi na. 'It opened, then they went in fast.'

The third example has the conjunction preceding both the first clause and the second clause: Are xiré, are jaicoa vixinhi na. 'When it opened, then they went in fast.'

The same is true of the following three examples. They are alternatives of the same sentence and have the same meaning. The first example has the conjunction preceding the first clause but not the second clause: Are čhintáon llantachjan yá, coantocoa joincheenfrená tti jidacangui. 'When that tire blew out, the one who drove stopped the car fast.'

The second example has the conjunction preceding the second clause but not the first clause: Čhintáon llantachjan yá, are coantocoa joincheenfrená tti jidacangui. 'That tire blew out, then the one who drove stopped the car fast.'

The third example has the conjunction preceding both the first clause and the second clause: Are čhintáon llantachjan yá, are coantocoa joincheenfrená tti jidacangui. 'When that tire blew out, then the one who drove stopped the car fast.'

There are also elliptical sentences where the omitted constituent is clear from the context. In the following example only the second clause and the conjunction preceding it are expressed: Are coá carrera coatáon jngui. 'Then he ran to the field.' The full form of this sentence is 'When he saw his pig was gone, then he ran to the field.'

In these elliptical sentences, only the conjunction are 'then' may be used. co ttimeja 'and then' is frequently used in discourse level to signal paragraphs. Therefore it may not be the first word of a sequence sentence in its elliptical form.

A second example of an elliptical sentence follows: Are conttoji cončhinji va xičhe. 'Then the opossum plucked a cactus fruit.' The full form of this sentence is 'When the coyote had closed his eyes,

then the opossum plucked a cactus fruit.'

The sequence relationship may also join three clauses together. Each of the three clauses may have a conjunction preceding it. The conjunction co ttimeja 'and then' may only precede the third clause; it may never precede the first clause or second clause.

In the following examples, the conjunction precedes the first clause and the second clause. No conjunction precedes the third clause. Are vicon xa ná coxijna, are ttexin xa va, conttoni co góen xa va. 'When he saw a deer, then he aimed at it, (then) he shot and killed it.'

Are joexin joantsjenga já va nezhoé cačo, are joí xilachiquero, coaxin xa va xo. 'When he (animal) finished getting his head out of the trunk of the cactus, when the man who drains the cactus came, (then) he (the man) threw a stone.'

In a few cases, the first clause occurs in the present tense with the in-progress prefix, while the second clause remains in the past tense. The reason for this variant may be some characteristic of discourse level, which is not handled in this present study. However, the examples with the first clause in the in-process aspect were volunteered as full forms of the elliptical sentences. To date we have no parallel examples in text materials. Perhaps it is most natural for the first clause with the present tense to be unexpressed and to use only the second clause with the past tense. For example: Are coinhi nichja conche. 'Then he heard the snake speak.' The full form of this sentence is 'When he is standing there, then he heard the snake speak.'

A second example: Are ndačo cocochi, "dío". 'Then the pig said, "hello".' The full form of this sentence is 'When the donkey is eating the plants there, then the pig said, "hello".'

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

2. A clause may be subordinated to the main clause by a subordinating conjunction. The independent clause usually precedes the dependent clause, but they may permute. Whether the dependent clause precedes or follows the independent clause, the subordinating conjunction always precedes the dependent clause. The relationships expressed by subordinating clauses are as follows: result, condition, concession, reason, purpose, comparison, manner, time, and clarification.

2.1 Result. To express result, the subordinating conjunction mexin 'therefore' is used. In a result relationship, the independent clause states a fact, and the dependent clause states the result of that fact. For example: Tti Mario nihi mexin tajijoa. 'Mario is sick, therefore he is sleeping.'

Atto sé tarritsjá xón mexin atto ttín jmacon. 'I read a book a long time, therefore my eyes hurt.'

2.2 Condition. In a condition relationship, one of several subordinating conjunctions may be used, all meaning 'if': isi ~ ise, and si. The independent clause states a possible action, and the dependent clause states the condition that makes the action possible. Usually the subordinating conjunction and the dependent clause precede the independent clause. For example: Isi tsji xola, rináo tsji na janha. 'If you go to Tlacotepec, I want to go also.'

Ise tsehna ná niottja, ndatsjena nio. 'If I buy a piece of bread, I will use it up.'

2.3 Concession. In the concession relationship, the subordinating conjunction used is masqui 'even though'. The independent clause states a fact and the dependent clause states a concession related to that fact. For example: Tattíta jidoñáo masqui chjé na tte peso. 'The man is angry even though they gave him ten pesos.'

Tattíta rrogondehe conxin masqui ttjiha cjin. 'The man will need the horse even though he isn't going far.'

2.4 Reason. In a reason relationship, the subordinating conjunction is ixin 'because'. The independent clause states a fact, and the dependent clause states the reason for that fact. For example: Ndóe xonhi clase jí ixin ndóe sabado. 'There will be no class tomorrow because tomorrow is Saturday.'

Diconha jannana ixin atto cjin jí jan. 'I don't see my mother because she is very far (away).'

Nchetjañana ixin ngachje rottéa. 'Forgive me because I stepped on your foot.'

If a sentence expressing reason is an answer to a question, an elliptical form of the sentence may be used. The independent clause is used in the question, and may therefore be omitted in the answer. Only the subordinating conjunction and the dependent clause is stated in the elliptical form. The independent clause is understood but not explicitly stated.

For example, in answer to the question 'Why are the bells ringing?' the following sentence may be used: Ixin anto tsje chojni ttji misa. 'Because many people go to mass.' The full answer would have been 'The bells are ringing because many people go to mass.' Because the independent clause of the answer has already been stated in the question, it does not have to be stated again.

The corpus of data includes several examples of a reason clause without the subordinating conjunction. The logical relationship of the juxtaposed clauses in these cases is implied by the intonational unity because the two clauses are included within one breath group.

In these cases the conjunction ixin 'because' may be supplied. In fact, the use of the conjunction is much more common than the simple juxtaposition. For example: ¿Quehe tečho ra? janha ttianxinha. 'What are you (pl) saying? (because) I don't understand.'

Janha tarrihi, rrinttaha xana ngaxin nchianía. 'I am (here)(because) I am doing my work inside my house.'

2.5 Purpose. In the purpose relationship, the subordinating conjunction is one of the following: para ~ para que, ixin, or para ixin, all of which mean 'in order to'. The word para is used most frequently. The independent clause states a fact, and the dependent clause states the purpose for that fact. The purpose clause is usually in the future tense. For example: Tarritsjá himnario para rrinttacoanxin. 'I am looking at the hymnal in order to worship.'

Satsji ngáin xinche xóan ixin sirroá ná xóan zihi. 'I will go to the doctor in order to get medicine to drink.'

There are many instances of clauses in the purpose relationship which omit the subordinating conjunction. For example: Zeca coche, satsji xola. 'I will drive the car, (in order to) go to Tlacotepec.' (Literally: 'I will drive the car, I will go to Tlacotepec.') The breath pauses indicate that these two clauses are joined together. The speaker does not pause between the two clauses but utters them in the same breath.

Nhecjen na pelota, rrotsontaonxin. 'Loan me the ball, (in order that) I may play with it.' (Literally: 'Loan the ball to me, I will play with (it).') As in the previous sentence, the breath pauses of this sentence indicate that the two clauses are joined together.

One example in the data obligatorily takes the subordinating conjunction: xonhi xé jinche para zachje adobe. 'The dirt is no use in order to take out (make) adobes (mud bricks).'

The semantics of a few purpose clauses restricts the fillers of the subordinating conjunction tagmeme. In these cases only para ~ para que, or para ixin may be used. If ixin alone were used as the subordinating conjunction, there would be ambiguity as to whether the word ixin means 'in order to' or 'because'. This causes confusion concerning the idea of the clause: whether it is a reason clause or a purpose clause. For example: Zeca colocho, para satsji ngatáon jngui ndóe. 'I will drive the donkey, in order to go to the field tomorrow.' If in the above sentence the subordinating conjunction were ixin and not para, the meaning would be ambiguous. The sentence could mean either 'I will drive the donkey in order to go to the field tomorrow' or 'I will drive the donkey because I am going to the field tomorrow'.

Rrideca colocho nttédo, para satsji anto cjin. 'I am driving the donkey fast, in order to go very far.' If in the above sentence the subordinating conjunction were ixin and not para, the meaning would

be ambiguous. The sentence could mean either 'I am driving the donkey fast in order to go very far' or 'I am driving the donkey fast because I will go very far'.

If a sentence expressing purpose is an answer to a question, an elliptical form of the sentence may be used, omitting the main clause. In these instances, the subordinating conjunction must be the word para to avoid ambiguities.

For example, in answer to the question 'Why does he preach?' the following sentence may be used: Para tsinhi cáin chojni. 'In order that all the people will hear.' The full answer would have been 'He preaches in order that all the people will hear.' Because the independent clause of the answer has already been stated in the question, it does not have to be stated again.

2.6 Comparison. In a comparison relationship, the subordinating conjunction is inchin 'as, like'. The independent clause states a fact, and the dependent clause states a fact which is compared to the first fact. In a comparison relationship, usually the subordinating conjunction and the dependent clause precede the independent clause. The main clause is usually introduced by jamé 'thus'. For example: Inchin jí presidencié Ixmiquilpan, jamé jí presidencié ndachjían. 'As there is a county office in Ixmiquilpan, thus there is a county office in Tehuacán.'

Inchin nchehe ndodé, jamé nchehe xenhe. 'As the father does, thus the child does.'

2.7 Manner. In a manner relationship, a zero morpheme is the subordinating conjunction. The independent clause states an action, and the dependent clause states how the action is done. Sentences using the manner relationship are rare. For example: Satsji para xola, coche tsjinha. 'I will go to Tlacotepec, I will take the car.' In the above example, the dependent clause states how the travel will be done.

Janha rrideca coche, anto soji jittinga. 'I am driving the car, it goes very fast.' In the above example, the dependent clause states how the car is being driven.

Ná xichjan jitsontaonxin columpio, anto soji jittinguittjen. 'The boy is playing on the swing, he is standing-swinging very hard.' In the above example, the dependent clause states how the boy is playing.

In each of the above sentences, the breath pauses indicate that the two clauses are joined together. The speaker never breathes between the two clauses. He may take a breath after the first word of the second clause, or not take a breath until the end of the entire utterance.

2.8 Time. In the time relationship, the independent clause states an action, and the dependent clause states the time of that action, that is, when the action took place. There are three types of time relationships: immediate sequence, simultaneous action, and interrupting action.

2.8.1 Immediate Sequence. In the immediate sequence clauses, the subordinating conjunction used is cara 'as soon as'. The following sentence is the only sentence in the data with the immediate sequence relationship.

Cara xanxinhi condanixa já va nezhóe cacho, conttoji xanguí va cacho ná rotté va. 'As soon as the coyote put his head in the trunk of the cactus, the opossum pushed down the cactus with a kick.'

2.8.2 Simultaneous Action. In the simultaneous clauses, the subordinating conjunction used is are 'when'. The sentence carries the same meaning whether the independent clause precedes or follows the subordinating conjunction and the dependent clause. For example: Janha coehna ná saco, are cjoi ndachjían. 'I bought a pineapple, when I went to Tehuacán.'

When the independent clause of the above sentence occurs last, there is no change of meaning: Are cjoi ndachjían, janha coehna ná saco. 'When I went to Tehuacán, I bought a pineapple.'

Whatever tense is expressed in the independent clause, must also be expressed in the dependent clause. The following sentences demonstrate simultaneous action clauses in the past tense: Vintte na México, are coingui nontte. 'We were in Mexico when the earth shook (earthquake).' The implication of this sentence is that we were in Mexico for a long time. During this time there was an earthquake.

Are vacji escuela, janha vatsjá xón. 'When I went to school, I read a book.'

The following sentences demonstrate simultaneous action clauses in the present tense: Are ttexinhi conoquéro da'xóí va, condanixa ché va. 'When the yellow jackets begin to buzz, the coyote is very happy.'

Are sattji xa, jehe tti n'chí ttjinho na tienda nttacji na. 'When the man is gone, the woman takes us to the store to sell us.'

The following sentences demonstrate simultaneous action clauses in the future tense: Tti Sharón tsinhi, are rronichja radio ndóe. 'Sharon will listen, when the radio speaks tomorrow.'

Are zicon tsí condanixa, jaca nda'cho. 'When you see the coyote coming, fast say so.' In this final sentence, the verb in the independent clause is in the imperative form. However, the future tense is implied since the action is to be done later, not at present.

2.8.3 Interrupting Action. In the interrupting action relationship, the subordinating conjunction is are 'when'. The independent clause may either precede or follow the subordinating conjunction and the dependent clause.

In the interrupting action relationship, the independent clause describes an existing situation and uses the present tense. The dependent clause describes the interrupting action and uses the past tense. For example: Are vingasán, onttiha te va. 'When it was morning, there they (animals) are.' In this sentence, the existing situation is the presence of the animals. The interrupting action is the coming of morning when the animals are noticed.

Are vetancoa tattíta xichehe, jiyame xa cocochi. 'When the man suddenly met the thief, he is carrying the pig.' In the above sentence, the existing situation is the thief carrying the pig. The interrupting action is the meeting of the man and the thief.

Nttiha tají va, are viji condaniña iná. 'There he (animal) is when the coyote reached him (animal) again.' In the above sentence, the existing situation is the presence of the animal. The interrupting action is the arrival of the coyote.

2.9 Clarification. A clarification of the action in the main clause is expressed by a clause introduced by the conjunction ixin 'in that, about' or que 'that, about'. Only two sentences in the data illustrate the clarification relationship, and they use different conjunctions. The clarification may specify a general verb or it may cite a circumstance relevant to the main action.

The first example may use the conjunction ixin or the conjunction may be omitted. ¿Onda janhi joinchehe tti xicompañero nttoji (ixin) joincheyana xa? 'Why did my friend the opossum do thus (in that) he lied to me?'

Because the example is a question, the word janhi 'thus' immediately follows the informative question word onda 'why'. Therefore the relative clause is separated from its antecedent in the main clause.

The second example uses either ixin or que. ¿Que donda joincheyana ixin ~ que ttochjoin rrinda jaha? 'Why did you lie to me about the fruit you were caring for?'

INTEGRATED CLAUSES

3. Clauses may be integrated into one of the constituents of the main clause as a modifier to a noun (relative clause) or as the sole expression of that constituent (nominalized clause). Usually relative pronouns link the relative clause to its antecedent and identify the nominalized clause as a constituent of the main clause.

Clauses which modify a noun are introduced by a general relative

pronoun (que or tti) or a specific pronoun referring to plural pronouns (xo) or to a place (tti nó) or to a time (are). The specific relative pronouns and the general relative pronoun tti may introduce a clause without an antecedent, thus marking a nominalized clause.

3.1 Que. The relative pronoun que 'which' introduces a clause which modifies a noun antecedent. However, native speakers prefer to omit the relative pronoun when the antecedent is present. For example: Jaca tse pelota, (que) ojoí. 'You quickly caught the ball, (which) came.' The meaning of the sentence is not altered whether the relative pronoun is stated or omitted.

Janha rrochjaha guitarrá (que) chjana. 'I won't give you the guitar (which) you gave me.'

In the following example, because the dependent clause is related to the subject tagmeme of the independent clause, the dependent clause is embedded in the independent clause.

Ná xichjan (que) tajitsinga, tajitsjehe conitjao. 'The boy (who) is lying down, is looking at the moon.'

This same sentence could be rendered another way but with a change in meaning: Ná xichjan tajitsinga, ixin tajitsjehe conitjao. 'The boy is lying down, because he is looking at the moon.' (See section 2.4)

Since the original sentence omitted both relative pronoun and subordinating conjunction, the meaning is ambiguous. Therefore, ná xichjan tajitsinga, tajitsjehe conitjao, could mean either 'the boy who is lying down, is looking at the moon' or 'the boy is lying down, because he is looking at the moon'.

In the data, only one example demonstrates discontinuous constituents, that is, a constituent in the main clause separating the relative clause from its antecedent. The interfering constituent may also be moved in order for the relative clause to follow immediately after its antecedent. For example: Ná naníta jihi jiricaoxin ná chilittochjan, ngataha já, jiringachjían ttochjoin. 'This woman is carrying a bowl, on her head, (which) is filled with fruit.' (In English, the thought might be that it is her head which is filled with fruit, but this confusion does not exist for the speakers of Northern Popoloca.)

The location tagmeme in the independent clause stands between the relative clause and 'the bowl' which is its antecedent. This location tagmeme may be moved in order for the dependent clause to follow immediately after 'the bowl'. Thus, Ngataha já, ná naníta jihi jiricaoxin ná chilittochjan, jiringachjían ttochjoin. 'On her head, this woman is carrying a bowl, (which) is filled with fruit.'

If the word order of English were used, confusion in meaning would

result. Ná naníta jihi jiricaoxin ná chilittochjan, jiringachjían ttochjoin, ngataha já. 'This woman is carrying a bowl, (which) is filled with fruit, on her head.' The implication is that fruit is on the woman's head, without the bowl. She is carrying the bowl somewhere else, perhaps in her hands. Therefore this order of the sentence may not be used.

3.2 Tti. The relative pronoun tti 'that which' is also used to introduce a clause which modifies a noun. In all cases in the data, the relative pronoun is stated even if its antecedent in the main clause is omitted. For example: Anto joincheřoxinna (clase) tti cjoagohna maestrana. 'I very much liked (the class) which my teacher taught me.'

Tti Paulita ditticaonha (palabra) tti nichja janha. 'Polly does not believe (the words) which I spoke.'

The relative pronoun with the relative clause may precede the main clause. For example: Tti joinchehe xichjan, anto joincheřáon janné. 'That which the boy did, very much frightened his mother.' The action that the boy did is not stated, but must be implicitly understood by the speaker and the hearer of this sentence.

The relative pronoun tti is also used to introduce clauses which modify a noun referring to a person. The relative pronoun is stated even if its antecedent in the main clause is omitted. For example: Atto nohe (xichjan) tti dinchechjían yá. '(The boys) who made that, very much know (how).'
[Literally: 'very much know (how) (the boys) who made that'.]

Jeha janha tti jointtayaha. 'It wasn't I who lied to you.'
¿Quexehe tti condái foco? 'Which (one) is the one who broke the light bulb?'

Jaha tti nichja nguígoa. 'You are the one who speaks Popoloca.'

One example in the data demonstrates the omission of the relative pronoun. Jeha janha jointtayaha. 'It wasn't I (who) lied to you.' Even though the relative pronoun tti 'the one who' is omitted, it is understood in the sentence.

3.3 Xo. The specific relative pronoun xo 'the ones who' refers to plural persons. However it is very rare. Only one example in the data uses it. Jaha ra xo nichja ra nguígoa. 'You (pl) are the ones who speak Popoloca.'

3.4 Tti nó. The specific relative pronoun tti nó 'the place where' is used to introduce a clause which refers to a place. The general relative pronoun tti may also be used to refer to a place. In all cases in the data, the relative pronoun is stated even if its antecedent in the main clause is omitted.

Noaha na tti nó vittohe tomi ngadoho nontte. 'They didn't know

where the money was left under the earth.'

(Mero centro), tti jointtaha na ša, anto čhjoin jí. '(The very center), where we worked, is very pretty.'

Icoha cocochihi tti cointtohe va. 'His pig was not there where he left it.'

Sacjoi va tti jí ná ndoha cochoca. 'He went to where there is an ant hill.'

3.5 Are. The specific relative pronoun are 'the time when' is used to introduce relative clauses referring to a time. In the data, every example of a relative clause referring to a time follows a duration tagmeme in the independent clause. For example: Tsončhjenna na rajna hasta nano 1980 are satsji na San Luis. 'We will stay in this town until the year 1980, when we will go to San Luis.'

Tsangui nguigoa nttihi hasta enero are satsji rajna. 'I will study Popoloca here until January, when I will go to the town.'

Tavejoa hasta ndoexin, are jehe vicon ngaxinhi nchiandoha. 'He slept until the next day, when he looked inside his house.'

3.6 Direct Complement. There are two verbs that take only clauses for a direct complement: čhoha 'to not be able' and joexin 'to finish'. The predicate of the clause which is the direct complement must follow immediately after the main predicate. There is no conjunction between the two verbs. For example: šá čhoha nichja tti Mario. 'Mario still can't talk.' (Literally: 'still can't talk Mario'.)

Čhoha tsji coche. 'The car won't go.' (Literally: 'can't go the car'.)

Janha joexin jointtašotte jma. 'I am finished cooking beans.'

Joexin tsjá ná šón. 'I finished reading a book.'

Janha joexin joine. 'I finished eating.'

When the verb čhoha 'to not be able' has a different meaning, 'to refuse', there is no conjunction, but the verb of the clause which is the direct complement may not follow directly after the main predicate. For example: Čhoha tti Mario nichja. 'Mario won't speak.' (Literally: 'won't Mario speak'.)

There are three verbs that take clauses for a direct complement when they have a limited meaning: rináo 'to want (to do something)', nchešoxinhi 'to like (to do something)', and nohe 'to know how (to do something)'. With these limited meanings, there is no conjunction, and the predicate of the clause which is the direct complement must follow directly after the main predicate. [The verb 'to want (a

thing)' and 'to like (a thing)' take a noun or a noun phrase as a direct complement. The verb 'to know (a fact)' will be handled later in this section.] For example: Tti Mario rináo tsjanga ná catte. 'Mario wants to put on a sandal.' (Literally: 'Mario wants, he will put on a sandal'.)

Janha rinaho zatto iná nchía. 'I want to move to another house.' (Literally: 'I want, I will move to another house'.) Rinaho is a form of the verb rináo 'to want'.

Janha rinaho tsji para xola. 'I want to go to Tlacotepec.' (Literally: 'I want, I will go to Tlacotepec'.)

Tti Ruben atto ncheřoxinhi tsontáon. 'Ruben very much likes to play.'

Tti Pancha atto ncheřoxinhi jine. 'Pancha very much likes to eat.'

Tti Juan atto ncheřoxinhi dejoa. 'John very much likes to sleep.'

Tti Paulita noeha nichja nguigoa. 'Polly doesn't know how to speak Popoloca.' Noeha is the negative form of nohe 'to know how'.

Tti Sharón nohe deca coche. 'Sharon knows how to drive a car.'

Tti Silvia noeha ncheřotte ndařa. Sylvia doesn't know how to cook dinner.'

The verbs nohe 'to know (a fact)' and ttían 'to listen, to hear' may take a clause for a direct complement. The conjunction ixin 'that' may be used or omitted. In these instances the clause which is the direct complement may have any word order. For example: Nonaha (ixin) atsi řhin ngorrato. 'I don't know if it will rain later (or not)'. Literally: 'I don't know (that) will come rain later?'. Machin's manuscript (1974) discusses the question marker a- which prefixes the verb stem. Nonaha is another form of the verb nohe 'to know'. Janha tarrittían (ixin) chojni jidintja puerta. 'I am hearing someone knocking on the door'. Literally: 'I am hearing (that) a person is knocking on the door'. Tarrittían is another form of the verb ttían 'to listen, to hear'.

A conjunction is not permitted when a clause which is a direct complement begins with an informative question word and follows either of the verbs nohe 'to know (a fact)' or ttían 'to hear, to listen'. Machin's manuscript (1974) describes informational question words. For example: Jaha noaha, quehe rrinttaha. 'You don't know what I am doing.' Noaha is another form of the verb nohe 'to know'. Quehe 'what' is a question word.

Janha nonaha queřén jiřho xichjan. 'I don't know what the boy said.' Queřén 'how' is a question word.

Tsianxin queǵén jiǵho son. 'I will hear how the music sounds.' Tsianxin is another form of the verb ttían 'to hear, to listen'. Queǵén 'how' is a question word.

The verb dicon 'to see' may have a clause for a direct complement, but the conjunction used is que 'that'. As with previous verbs, the conjunction may or may not be used. The clause which is the direct complement may have any word order. For example: Janha vicon (que) Paulita co Sharón joí. 'I saw (that) Polly and Sharon came.' Vicon is a past tense of the verb dicon 'to see'.

3.7 Direct Quotations. Direct quotations are basically ditransitive sentences in which the quotation is the direct complement of the verb.

The quotation may be a clause, sentence, paragraph, or series of paragraphs. It is simply the utterance that the person speaks, and lasts as long as he is still speaking.

Three verbs may use direct quotations: ndaǵho 'to say', ǵaxáon ndaǵho 'to think-say', and ǵáon ndaǵho 'to be afraid-say'. Each of these verbs has a counterpart indirect quotation (see section 3.8). For example: Ndaǵho, "carro rrojamangui". 'He said, "a car will turn over".' These exact words were spoken out loud.

ǵaxáon ndaǵho, "carro rrojamangui". 'He thought, "a car will turn over".' These were the exact words he thought.

ǵáon ndaǵho, "carro rrojamangui". 'He was afraid-said, "a car will turn over".' These exact words were what he said or thought in his fear.

The one who says the quotation is the subject. The one who hears the quotation is the second complement (Machin's manuscript, 1974). When the form ndaǵho or ǵho of the verb 'to say' is used, the second complement is not included. For example: Naníta ndaǵho, "satsji xola". 'The woman said, "he is going to Tlacotepec".'

Condaniǵa ndaǵho va, "tsianxin queǵén jiǵho son". 'The coyote said, "I will hear how the music sounds".'

In both of the above examples, it is not stated to whom the subject is speaking. However, if the listener is included in the clause using the ndaǵho form of the verb, a location word must be added to the second complement, either ngáin 'to, toward him' or nganji 'to, toward me'. For example: Naníta ndaǵho ngáin tattíta, "satsji xola". 'The woman said to the man, "he is going to Tlacotepec".'

Naníta ndaǵho nganji janha, "satsji xola". 'The woman said to me, "he is going to Tlacotepec".'

The verb 'to say' has an irregular stem to indicate the indirect

object marker: ndache 'to say to (someone), to tell'. When this form of 'to say' is used, the second complement must be stated without ngáin or nganji. For example: Naníta ndache tattíta, "satsji xola". 'The woman told the man, "he is going to Tlacotepec".'

There are several permutations that may take place in the clause nucleus. Usually the subject is first, then the predicate, with the second complement following the predicate. But the subject may follow the predicate, whether the second complement is stated or not. For example: Ndačho condaniša, "ncháo jí". 'Said the coyote, "it is good".' In the above sentence, the predicate precedes the subject, with the quotation following.

Ndache naníta tattíta, "satsji xola". 'Said the woman to the man, "he is going to Tlacotepec".' Here the predicate precedes the subject and the second complement, with the quotation following.

The quotation may occur before the predicate but it never comes between the subject and the predicate. If the quotation comes first, the subject follows the predicate, and a shortened form of the verb 'to say' is used: čho. For example: "Satsji xola," čho naníta. '"He is going to Tlacotepec," said the woman.'

"¿Arinaoha sintte ná ttochjoin?" čho conttoji ngáin condaniša. '"Don't you want to eat a piece of fruit?" said the opossum to the coyote.'

In oral speech, story telling, and on occasions when emphasis is necessary, the verb 'to say' may occur twice: before and after the quotation. In this case, the subject is stated before the quotation only. For example: Ndačho condaniša, "¿Quehe rrinchehe jaha nttihi, compañero?" čho va. 'Said the coyote, "what are you doing here, friend?" he said.' This construction, however, is fairly rare.

3.8 Indirect Quotations. Indirect quotations only give an approximation of the utterance spoken. They do not give the exact words.

Three verbs may use indirect quotations: ndačho 'to say', řaxáon 'to think', and řáon 'to be afraid'. For example: Ndačho que carro rrojamangui. 'He said that a car will turn over.' The exact words he said are not given.

řaxáon que carro rrojamangui. 'He thought that a car would turn over.' The exact words that he thought are not given.

řáon que carro rrojamangui. 'He was afraid that the car would turn over.' The idea of his fear is given but not the exact words.

The conjunction used is either ixin or que both of which mean either 'that' or 'about'. For example: Rrondattjan ixin ~ que jí ná cometa. 'I will tell him that there is a comet.' Rrondattjan is a

form of the verb ndache 'to say to, to tell.'

Xaxanho ixin ~ que satsji rajna. 'I am thinking about going to the town.' Xaxanho is another form of the verb ǰaxáon 'to think'.

INCIDENTAL NON-CLAUSE ELEMENTS

4. There are several incidental non-clause elements: affirmatives, negatives, interjections, vocatives, attention words, exclamations, and request words. All of these elements may precede a clause or sentence. For example: Ján, nandá joihi. 'Yes, I just came.'

Nahi, tjanaha nttihi. 'No, she didn't like it here.'

Jannché, tsji sicjé xa. 'Okay, I will go look for him.'

Tsjexin, darrinda sonna nttihi. 'Look here, I am caring for my music here.' Another attention word is jala 'look'.

Jái, ¿jaha quehe rrinchehe nttihi?. 'Ah, what are you doing here?'

Cara, nacoa maletachjan ttjiho ra. 'If you want (please), take only one of my suitcases.' Another request word is ndatsaha ñáo 'please'.

Upon occasion two non-clause elements may occur together. For example: Pero, jannché, sicjé co zittja sine. 'But, okay I'll search for him and will find and eat him.'

Ján, compañero, nttihi rrihi janha. 'Yes, friend, here am I.'

Vocative elements usually follow the clause or sentence. For example: Xacjoi nttihi, Isaac. 'Come here, Isaac.'

¿Quehe rrinchehe jaha nttihi, compañero? 'What are you doing here, friend?'

FOOTNOTES

¹The village of San Marcos Tlacoyalco, where Northern Popoloca is spoken, is located north of Tehuacán, Puebla, México. It is a village of approximately 2700 inhabitants. One other village of similar size, San Luis Temalacayuca, plus a few scattered hamlets speak a closely related dialect.

Northern Popoloca, an Otomanguan language, is distinguished from Western Popoloca (Pierson, 1953; Williams, 1967 and 1968) and from Eastern Popoloca (Kalstrom, 1968). It is completely different from Popoloca which belongs to a Zoque-Mixe linguistic stock, and which is located in the state of Veracruz.

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The phonemes of Northern Popoloca are: consonants /p, t, ṭ, k, ʔ, ṭ, ṭ̄, ʃ, s, ʃ, ʃ̄, h, b, a, z, ž, g, m, n, ñ, l, y, ʃ, ʃ̄/, and vowels /i, e, a, o, ī, ē, ā, ō/. The Stark manuscript (1972) contains a complete description of the phonemes and the syllable patterns.

Examples in this paper are written in the Spanish-oriented orthography: ch for /ṭ̄/, c and qu for /k/, h for /ʔ/, j for /h/, g and gu for /g/, ts for /ṭ̄/, x for /ʃ̄/, t for /ṭ/ which is dental, tt for /t/ which is alveolar, and rr for /ʃ̄̄/. A word initial /ʃ̄̄/ is also written rr because it contrasts with word initial /ʃ̄/ which is written as a single r.

A wedge over ch or x indicates retroflexion: ṭ̄h, x̄. An accent over a vowel indicates stress which is realized as length: á. Consonant stress is predictable and therefore not marked. An n following a vowel indicates nasalization: an. Sometimes nasalization is ambiguous with syllable initial n. Tone is unmarked.