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Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages

C. Henry Bradley
and
Barbara E. Hollenbach
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<td>KNO</td>
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<td>LIM</td>
<td>limiter</td>
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<td>collectivizer</td>
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Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Alacatlatzala Mixtec is spoken by about 10,000 persons living in the mountains of Guerrero, Mexico, in the municipalities of Malinaltepec and Atlamajalcingo del Monte. The dialect variant represented in this sketch is that spoken in Alacatlatzala, a village of about 1,000 persons, which is part of Malinaltepec. It is mutually intelligible with over ten surrounding villages, including Atlamajalcingo del Monte, Coatzoquitengo, Tototepec, Mixtecapan, Plan del Guadalupe, Tenetzelcingo, Cahuatache, Tepecocatlán, Tlaxco, and Ocotepec. Each town has some dialectal variation from the others, and there is some dialectal variation among speakers in the same town, probably partly due to intermarriage among the towns within the dialect area.

The area remains fairly monolingual. Over ninety percent of the women do not speak or understand any Spanish, but about eighty percent of the men speak enough Spanish to "get by" in making trips to large Mexican cities to work and make purchases. Even though there has been an elementary school in town for the past ten years, bilingualism is increasing very slowly. Children use Mixtec exclusively in play and interaction with one another, and Mixtec is the only language spoken in their homes. The vast majority of children do not attend school regularly enough to become good readers, and few go past the first two years. Even so, education is becoming a value, and most children learn to read a little, at least enough to decipher the letters. Less than half of adults over thirty can read and write, but over half of those under thirty can read and write a little.
This study is based on fieldwork conducted by the author in Alacatlazala beginning in 1978. The dialect variant represented in this paper is especially based upon the speech of three young men of that town: Juan Galindo Cano, Hipólito de los Santos Beltrán, and Rutilio Alejandro Reyes. Each of these men has one parent from a neighboring town in the dialect area so that each idiolect reflects minor differences in tone and lexicon. The text in chapter seven was recorded on magnetic tape and transcribed by Rutilio Alejandro Reyes in 1986; he was twenty-eight years old at that time.

I would like to express my appreciation to David Tuggy, who greatly aided me in preparing the first draft of this paper, and to Lynn Anderson, my co-worker, who proofread two later drafts.

0.2 Phonology

Alacatlazala Mixtec has the following phonological units: voiceless stops and affricate p (Spanish loans) t ch k kw, voiced stops b d g (Spanish loans), prenasalized stops mb nd, voiceless fricatives f (Spanish loans) s sh x, voiced fricative v, nasals m n ñ, liquids l r, semivowel y, laryngeal h (glottal stop), oral vowels i e a u o, nasalized vowels in an on un, surface form tones high (written with acute accent), mid (written with macron), and low (unmarked). For details of the phonology of Alacatlazala and that of neighboring Coatzoquitengo, see Zylstra (1980) and Casiano Franco (1982).

0.3 Bibliography


1
Basic Sentences

1.1 Statements

Verbs fall into three classes—content, equative, and stative. The first two are inflected for aspect, while stative verbs are not. Sentences with content verbs are impersonal, intransitive, or transitive; transitive and intransitive sentences optionally take various kinds of adjuncts. Equative sentences link a subject to a nominal complement by means of an equative verb. Stative sentences link a subject to a stative verb; sometimes this linkage is provided by another verb. Each of these sentence types may take peripheral elements of time or location. Also, any element within them may be fronted to indicate focus, and each type may be used as a sentential complement in another sentence.

1.1.1 Impersonal sentences. The minimal form of an impersonal sentence consists of only an impersonal verb with no subject or object. The verbs in the sentences below are the only impersonal verbs found to date; most refer to meteorological phenomena.

tāān
CON:quake
There is an earthquake.

ni tīvī
COM dawn
It dawned.
kānāā
POT:get:dark
It will get dark.

kāhndī
CON:explode
It is exploding.

(See also sentences 7.10 and 7.24 of the text in chapter seven.)

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

vāshī  ūnā
CON:come  she
She is coming (is on her way).

ni  shahan  rā
COM  COM:go  he
He went (and is back).

ndāhā  rī
CON:get:fat  it:AML
The animal is getting fat.

kūshū  yō
POT:eat  we:IN
We all will eat.

kānduhū  nō
CON:be:lying  it:wod
It (wooden object or machine) is lying down.

kūśīn  ūn
CON:sleep  you:SG
You are sleeping.

ni  shāa  ndī
COM  arrive  we:EX
We arrived.

(See also 7.2, 7.6, 7.9, 7.19, and various others.)

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

\textit{kanī} \textit{rā} \textit{rí}
\textsc{con:hit} \textsc{he} \textsc{it:AML}
He hit the animal.

\textit{shīshī} \textit{ńá} \textit{sita}
\textsc{con:eat} \textsc{she} \textsc{tortilla}
She eats tortillas.

\textit{ndākwu} \textit{rā} \textit{sīhūn}
\textsc{con:look:for} \textsc{he} \textsc{money}
He is looking for money. \textit{or} He is asking for money.

\textit{kwīsō} \textit{rā} \textit{tīton}
\textsc{pot:carry} \textsc{he} \textsc{firewood}
He will carry firewood (on his back).

\textit{kāhmī} \textit{nā} \textit{mīhī}
\textsc{pot:set:fire} \textsc{they} \textsc{trash}
They will burn trash.

\textit{shāhmī} \textit{rā} \textit{kwīno}
\textsc{con:set:fire} \textsc{he} \textsc{cigarette}
He is smoking a cigarette.

(See also 7.16, 7.28, 7.34, 7.49, and various others.)

To express reflexive action, a special construction is used: the verb is followed by the preposition \textit{shīhūn} ‘with’, the specifier \textit{mīī}, and a noun phrase, which refers to both subject and object.

\textit{shāhmā} \textit{shīhūn} \textit{mīī} \textit{rā}
\textsc{con:cut} \textsc{with} \textsc{spec} \textsc{he}
He's cutting himself.

\textit{shāhmī} \textit{shīhūn} \textit{mīī} \textit{rā}
\textsc{con:kill} \textsc{with} \textsc{spec} \textsc{he}
He killed himself.

This reflexive construction is rare; the preferred way of expressing reflexive action is to specify the body part which receives the action.
sháhndā rā šaha rā
com:cut he foot his
He cut his foot.¹

A few transitive verbs whose object is understood by cultural context do not require that the object be made explicit, as seen by comparing the sentences in each of the following pairs.

ni shishī rā
com com:eat he
He ate.

cf. ni shishī rā sīta
com com:eat he tortilla
He ate tortillas.

chíhī rā
com:plant he
He is planting.

cf. chíhī rā yātā
com:plant he cornfield
He is planting (his) cornfield.

ndīkō ŋā
pot:grind she
She will grind.

cf. ndīkō ŋā šáhā
pot:grind she boiled:corn
She will grind the boiled corn.

1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, referent, associative, and instrument. Adjuncts are frequently expressed by adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6) or by prepositional phrases (see §4.3), which usually follow the subject in intransitive sentences and the object in transitive sentences. The specific locative noun or preposition used depends on both the kind of adjunct and the specific verb.

¹Alacatlitzala Mixtec pronouns do not distinguish grammatical function (see §5.4). It would therefore be more accurate to gloss them consistently by a single English form. I have, however, chosen to gloss them by the English form most appropriate in the context in order to help the reader understand the structure of the Mixtec examples more quickly.
The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location, depending on the meaning of the verb; it includes elements traditionally classified as indirect object. This adjunct is normally required with verbs that express change of possession, change of location, position, or placement.

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, and it usually has an animate referent. The adjunct is signaled by the locative nouns noo ‘face’ or ndāhā ‘hand’; but ndāhā is restricted to humans, deities, and monkeys, and signals source with only two verbs: kihin ‘to get’ and tūn ‘to grab’.

\[
tāshī i tūtū ndāhā sihī ṇā
\]
\[
\text{con:give I paper hand mother her}
\]
\[
\text{I'm giving the paper to her mother.}
\]

\[
sikō ṇā noni ndāhā i
\]
\[
\text{con:sell she corn hand my}
\]
\[
\text{She's selling corn to me.}
\]

\[
sikō ṇā noni noo i
\]
\[
\text{con:sell she corn face my}
\]
\[
\text{She's selling corn to me.}
\]

\[
chāhvī i ushu pēsō noo sutu
\]
\[
\text{rot:pay I ten peso face priest}
\]
\[
\text{I'll pay ten pesos (Sp.) to the priest.}
\]

\[
chāhvī i ushu pēsō ndāhā sutu
\]
\[
\text{rot:pay I ten pesos hand priest}
\]
\[
\text{I'll pay ten pesos to the priest.}
\]

\[
sātā ṇā noni noo i
\]
\[
\text{rot:buy she corn face my}
\]
\[
\text{She'll buy corn from me.}
\]

\[
sikō ṇā noni noo i
\]
\[
\text{rot:sell she corn face my}
\]
\[
\text{She'll sell corn to me.}
\]

\[
kihīn sihī ṇā tūtū noo mīi i
\]
\[
\text{com:get mother her paper face spec my}
\]
\[
\text{Her mother received a paper from me.}
\]

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, depending on the meaning of the verb; but destination is more frequent. These instances of the locative adjunct usually have inanimate referents and they are often
unmarked by any locative noun or preposition, though *nda* ‘until’ or ‘as far as’ sometimes occurs.

Source:

\[
\text{ni kēē rā tōkīn} \\
\text{COM leave he Alacatlatzala} \\
\text{He left Alacatlatzala.}
\]

\[
kīshī Ńā ŕōkōhyō \\
\text{COM:come she Mexico:City} \\
\text{She came from Mexico City.}
\]

\[
kōyō yuku ndāha yīton \\
\text{CON:fall:PL leaf hand tree} \\
The leaves are falling from the tree branches.
\]

Destination:

\[
kwahan rā nda tandāhyī \\
\text{CON:go he until Tlapa} \\
\text{He is going (on his way) to Tlapa.}
\]

\[
kōhōn rā noyāhvī \\
\text{POT:go he market} \\
\text{He will go to the market.}
\]

\[
\text{ni shāa Ńā yūku} \\
\text{COM arrive she mountain} \\
\text{She arrived (away from home) at the mountains.}
\]

(See also 7.9, 7.28–29, 7.44, 7.81, and 7.96.)

Source and destination may also be expressed by a sentence combination; see §6.1.2.

With intransitive verbs that express position or existence, the locative adjunct expresses location. Its referent is usually inanimate, and it is sometimes expressed by an adverb.

\[
yōō sīhūn tishīn kāxā \\
\text{CON:exist money stomach box} \\
\text{There is money inside the box (Sp. caja).}
\]

\[
kānduhu ūkōto noo yuu \\
\text{CON:be:lying clothes face rock} \\
The clothes are lying on the rock.
kăñdō sāā sata yîton
con:perch bird back tree
The bird is perched on the tree trunk.

With transitive verbs that express placement, the locative adjunct expresses destination.

chînōo nā sîta noo shîyo
con:place:on she tortilla face comal
She put the tortilla on the comal.

chîndûhhû nā nîlôhô hôho
con:put:down she girl ground
She put the little girl down on the ground.

tāān nā sîhûn īnī kâxâ
con:put:in:PL they money insides box
They were putting money inside the box.

chîndōō râ lôhô yîtâ noo bûrû
con:scatter he little straw face donkey
He places a little straw before the donkey (Sp. burro).

(See also 7.8 and 7.105.)

Locative adjuncts are often found in sentences that are metaphorical in nature; in such sentences they do not necessarily refer to a spatial entity, and the verbs are not limited to the classes mentioned above.

tâshî râ sînî râ nđâha i
pot:give he head his hand my
He will give me his advice.

chikâa nā kwachî noo râ
con:put:in:sg they blame face his
They blamed him. (lit. They put the blame on his face.)

chikâa nā kwachî sata râ
con:put:in:sg they blame back his
They blamed him unjustly. (lit. They put the blame on his back.)

The referent adjunct is marked by the locative possessed nouns shaha 'foot' or noo 'face'; shaha may be translated 'for the benefit of', 'on behalf of', 'for', 'with reference to', or 'about', and noo may be translated 'in place of'.
For the benefit of:

\[
\text{ni shิกā ni i shaha ndó} \\
\text{com:walk much I foot your:pl} \\
\text{I walked a lot for you all.}
\]

\[
\text{shaki rā viko shaha ta xōsē} \\
\text{com:prepare he fiesta foot his Joe} \\
\text{He threw a fiesta for Joe (Sp. José).}
\]

\[
\text{ni sātā ōā yāha shaha sīhi rā} \\
\text{com:buy she chili foot mother his} \\
\text{She bought chilies for his mother.}
\]

On behalf of:

\[
\text{sāā rā shaha i} \\
\text{com:be:angry he foot my} \\
\text{He’s angry on my behalf. (because I was wronged)}
\]

\[
\text{tandāhā rā ōīī kārtā shaha kīhva rā} \\
\text{com:send he one letter foot sister:me his} \\
\text{He sent a letter (Sp. carta) on behalf of his sister.}
\]

\[
\text{sīkō ōā noni shaha i} \\
\text{com:sell she corn foot my} \\
\text{She’s selling corn on my behalf.}
\]

\[
\text{chāhvī i ushu pėsō shaha suu} \\
\text{pot:pay I ten peso foot priest} \\
\text{I’ll pay ten pesos on behalf of the priest.}
\]

For:

\[
\text{chāhvī ūn shaha tatan} \\
\text{pot:pay you:sg foot medicine} \\
\text{You’ll pay for the medicine.}
\]

\[
\text{kōnī ōā kwėntö shaha lbró} \\
\text{com:want she story foot book} \\
\text{She wants a story (Sp. cuento) for the book (Sp. libro).}
\]

With reference to:

\[
\text{shākū ōā shaha ta ni sīhi} \\
\text{com:cry she foot man com com:die} \\
\text{She’s crying about the dead man.}
\]
ni kahan rā shaha vēhē ún
com. speak he foot house your:sg
He talked about your house.

In place of:

kāsā chíñō ŋānī i noo i
pot:do work brother:me my face my
My brother will work in my place.

Sentences with noo are sometimes ambiguous; the noo may signal either
a locative or a referent adjunct.

chāhvī i ushu pēsō noo sutu
pot:pay I ten peso face priest
I'll pay ten pesos to the priest. or I'll pay ten pesos in place of the
priest's paying it.

A referent adjunct with noo is also used in sentences expressing compar-
ison of degree, in which case the additive marker ka must occur in the
verb phrase.

ndēē ni ka shīnō ta xwān noo ta xōsē
strong ints add com:run he John face his Joe
John (Sp. Juan) runs more than Joe.

kwaha ni ka noni satā ta xōsē noo ta kān
many ints add corn com:buy he Joe face his that
Joe bought very much more corn than he.

līvī ni ka shītā sāā yōhō noo tī / īnika kān
pretty ints add com:sing bird this face its:aml another that
This bird sings much prettier than that other one.

kāhvī vahā ka ŋā mārīā noo ŋā kān
com:study good add she Mary face her that
Mary (Sp. Mariá) studies harder than that other one.

The associative adjunct takes the preposition shīhīn 'with'. It often adds
a second participant to some other element of the sentence, usually the
subject. When an associative adjunct immediately follows the element it
expands, the combination of the two is ambiguous with an additive noun
phrase (see §3.8).

kwahan rā yāku shīhīn tisūhū
com:go he mountain with goat
He is going to the mountain country with the goats.
shíshí rā shíhín sāhya rā
con:eat he with child his
He’s eating with his children. or He and his children are eating.

kisā chiŋō rā shíhín ŋásíhí rā
con:do work he with wife his
He’s working with his wife. or He and his wife are working.

shíshí rā ndūshù shíhín yīkín
con:eat he chicken with squash
He’s eating chicken along with squash. or He’s eating chicken and squash.

(See also 7.43.)

The associative adjunct is also used to mark the addressee in verbs of speech (see §§1.1.9 and 6.3). Some examples of the addressee use are found in 7.1, 7.3–4, 7.6, 7.10, and many others; in 7.1 the associative adjunct precedes the direct object.

Instrument adjunct is also marked by the preposition shíhín ‘with’.

kisā chiŋō rā shíhín kīhi rā
con:do work he with hand:hoe his
He’s working with his hoe.

shíshí rā shíhín sīta
con:eat he with tortilla
He’s eating with a tortilla. (as opposed to a spoon)

sháhndā nā tūon shíhín yūchu
con:cut they firewood with machete
They’re chopping firewood with a machete.

chahvī ŋá lībrō shíhín sīhún
con:pay she book with money
She paid for the book with money.

Some sentences with shíhín are ambiguous: they may contain an instrument or associative adjunct, or an additive noun phrase (see §3.8).

shíshí rā ndūchu shíhín sīta
con:eat he bean with tortilla
He’s eating beans by means of tortillas. or He’s eating beans together with tortillas. or He’s eating beans and tortillas.
The preposition *shihin* may be omitted when instrument is expressed by a body-part noun or by the noun *sokō* ‘hunger’; a body-part noun expressing instrument precedes the direct object.

```
kanī ri ndāha ri sata mônō
```

*com:hit it:AML hand its:AML back doll*

It hit the back of the doll (Sp. *mono*) with its hand.

```
shihī rā sokō
```

*con:die he hunger*

He’s very hungry. (lit. He’s dying of hunger.)

(See also 7.18, 7.20, 7.22, 7.59–60, and 7.75–76.)

Sometimes a sentence contains two adjuncts; in such cases, there is no fixed order. If one of the two is a locative, however, it usually precedes the other one.

```
chahvī rā yihi shaha librō shihǐn biyéte káhnō
```

*com:pay he me foot book with bill big:SG*

He paid me for the book with a big bill (Sp. *billete*).

```
káhan rā shaha sāhya rā shihǐn kōmbārī rā
```

*con:speak he foot child his with cofather his*

He is speaking with his child’s godfather (Sp. *compadre*) on behalf of the child.

```
chinōo ŧá sita noo shiyō shaha yū ŧá
```

*com:place:on she tortilla face comal foot husband her*

She put the tortillas on the comal for her husband.

In general, speakers prefer short basic sentences. Rather than use more than two or three constituents beyond the verb phrase, it is common to employ a sentence combination (see §6.1.2), which provides an extra verb to which constituents are attached.

### 1.1.5 Equative sentences. The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of an equative verb, a subject, and a nominal complement. The verbs that occur in equative sentences are limited to the equative verbs *kūkū* ‘to be’, *kūnānī* ‘to be named’, and *ndūū* ‘to change into’. The completive aspect of the intransitive verb *kōō* ‘to exist’ also occurs in some equative sentences. The rare verb *sīvī* ‘to be’, which is not inflected for aspect, occurs in some sentences whose nominal complement is a kinship term.
Speakers avoid putting equative verbs first in a sentence, and so the preferred order is subject—equative verb—nominal complement. If, however, some preverbal element or prefix occurs (see §2.2), the verb phrase can be initial.

\[\text{ta kāa kūkūu sisō ún} \]
He that:visible pot:be father:in:law your:sg
He will be your father-in-law.

"Miguel de la Madrid" kūu prēsidēnte
Miguel de la Madrid conn:be president
Miguel de la Madrid is the president (Sp. presidente).

\[\text{shikūū ta páblō pōlisiā} \]
com:be he Paul police
Paul (Sp. Pablo) was a policeman (Sp. policía).

\[\text{talōhō yōhō kūnānī lēxandrō} \]
boy this pot:be:named Alexander
This boy will be named Alexander (Sp. Alejandro).

\[\text{ta kāa ndūū kīī} \]
he that:visible con:change:into animal
He changes into an animal.

\[\text{ta xōsē ni shiyō tachīnō} \]
he Joe com con:exist authority
Joe was the town authority.

\[\text{ta kāa sīvī yīvā ún} \]
he that:visible con:be father your:sg
He is your father.

(See also 7.26–27, and 7.78.)

Equative sentences sometimes take a referent adjunct expressing comparison.

\[\text{lāpī yōhō kūu ton kānī ka noo īnka nō} \]
pencil this con:be it:wod long:sg add face another its:wod
This pencil (Sp. lápiz) is longer than the other.

\[\text{sīta ndāā kūū ñā kwīkōn ka noo sīta kwāān} \]
tortilla dark con:be it:inan thick add face tortilla yellow
The dark tortillas are thicker than the yellow ones.

1.1.6 Stative sentences. The minimal form of a stative sentence consists of a stative verb and its subject (which is usually a noun phrase, but may
be an adverb). All such sentences are factual statements and continuative in meaning.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{livē} & \quad \text{viko} \\
\text{pretty} & \quad \text{cloud} \\
\text{The clouds are pretty.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yichē} & \quad \text{yōhō} \\
\text{dry} & \quad \text{here} \\
\text{It's dry here.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kūkā} & \quad \text{nā} \\
\text{rich} & \quad \text{they} \\
\text{They're rich.}
\end{align*}
\]

To express an aspect other than continuative, usually the intransitive verb kōō 'to exist' is used to link the stative verb and the subject. (The continuative aspect of kōō is yōō, and the completive aspect is ni shiyo.) Occasionally other intransitive verbs, such as nākāa 'to be located' or kūshāhān 'to smell', link the stative verb and the subject.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lātōn} & \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{shiyo} \quad \text{glōbō} \\
\text{beautiful} \quad \text{com} \quad \text{com:exist} \quad \text{balloon} \\
\text{The balloon (Sp. globo) was beautiful.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kāhnō} & \quad \text{kōō} \quad \text{rī} \\
\text{big:sg} \quad \text{pot:exist} \quad \text{it:aml} \\
\text{The animal will be big.}
\end{align*}
\]

---

2Some stative verbs occur only rarely as the predicate of independent stative sentences, but do occur freely in relative clauses (see §3.1.3). In such cases, an equative sentence in which the stative verb occurs as part of the nominal complement is used to express a stative idea. The first sentence in the following pair is less acceptable to native speakers than the second.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{livē} & \quad \text{sīyō} \\
\text{pretty} & \quad \text{dress} \\
\text{The dress is pretty.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sīyō} & \quad \text{livē} \quad \text{kūū} \quad \text{nā} \\
\text{dress} \quad \text{pretty} \quad \text{com:be} \quad \text{Ir:INAN} \\
\text{It's a pretty dress.}
\end{align*}
\]

Sentence 7.18 of the text contains both an equative construction used to express a stative idea, and a simple stative sentence.
kíní ni shiyo tākwī
dirty com com:exist water
The water was dirty.

yātin nákāa ńōkóhyō
ear com:be:located Mexico:City
Mexico City is close by.

līvī sháhān yūā
pretty com:smell flower
The flowers smell pretty.

(See also 7.89.)

Subjective states are expressed by a stative verb followed by kānāhā ‘to seem’ or kāā ‘to appear’. (The verb kāā does not have a potential aspect form.)

káhnō náhā ndīvi
big:sg com:seem egg
The egg seems big.

yūā kāā ndīvahyī
white com:appear coyote
The coyote looks white.

kíní náhā kíní yōhō
ugly com:appear pig this
This pig appears ugly.

Stative sentences sometimes take a referent adjunct expressing comparison.

káhnō ka yōhō noo yiḥi
big:sg add you:sg face my
You’re bigger than I am.

kwī ka yīton noo yūā
green add tree face plant
The tree is greener than the plant.

shıkwaḥa ka ta kán noo ta yōhō
old add he that face his this
That man is older than this one.

1.1.7 Peripheral elements. All sentence types may indicate time, location, and manner. Peripheral location describes the setting of an entire
predication and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs.

Time and location peripheral elements may be expressed by adverbs (see §5.5), adverb phrases (see §4.2), adverbal noun phrases (see §3.6), prepositional phrases (see §4.3), or subordinate sentences (see §6.2.1). Peripheral manner is expressed by a very limited class of elements.

Peripheral time or location usually occurs as the last element in the sentence, and when both time and location occur in a single sentence, time usually follows location. Occasionally, time or location is followed by an associative adjunct or by the general marker tín ‘also’ (which must occur last). Peripheral manner may occur as the first element in the sentence or at the end. When it is expressed by the general marker tükü ‘again’, it obligatorily occurs as the first element in the sentence.

Time:

nakoná ná yehé tákáhán kwíí
pot:open they door ? short
They will open the door in just a minute.

ndási tyéndá anda kaá ovi
closed store until hour two
The store (Sp. tienda) is closed until two o’clock.

ta káa kúú présidénté viin
he that:visible con:be president now
He is president now.

kohó rá níi pástiyá nökáhñó
pot:drink he one pill noon
He’ll take one pill (Sp. pastilla) at noon.

(See also 7.2, 7.10, 7.15, 7.94, and others.)

Location:

tasháhá rá yehé vëhë nòhó
con:dance he door house blessed
He dances in front of the church.

nakává níí tütü shaha rá
com:fall:sg one paper foot his
A sheet of paper fell at his feet.
síkō nā kuñō shiki
con: sell they meat hill
They're selling meat on the hill.

sátā rā kuñō vēhē ta xōsé
con: buy he meat house his Joe
He buys meat at Joe's house.

(See also 7.31 and 7.112.)

Manner:

tūkū sandāhvī rā sīhī rā
again com: cheat he mother his
Again he cheated his mother.

ni kīsā rā sāā
com do he thus
He did thus.

(See also 7.20 and 7.80.)

Time and location:

shishī nā kehē kōnī
com: eat they outside yesterday
They ate outside yesterday.

ni tāān ūōkóhyō kōnī
com quake Mexico: City yesterday
There was an earthquake in Mexico City yesterday.

Manner, time, and location:

ni kahan nā sāā vēhē rā kōnī
com speak they thus house his yesterday
They spoke thus at his house yesterday.

Associative adjunct following peripheral element:

shishī rā viūn shihūn sāhya rā
con: eat he now with child his
He's eating now with his children.

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, any one element of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase
position. Throughout this sketch focused elements are indicated by capitalization in the free translation. When the subject is focused, a clitic pronoun copy may also occur in normal subject position following the verb.

Subject focus:

ñá māríá chínđéñá ndíhi
she Mary CON:help she US:EX
MARY is helping us.

ñii òa ndohó rā shihín sāhyā rā
one man COM:fare he with child his
A MAN suffered along with his children.

yihi kohon i tandáhyi
I POT:go I Tlapa
I will go to Tlapa.

ndíhi íná nindoö rí shiki
all dog COM COM:sit:PL hill
ALL THE DOGS stayed on the hill.

Object focus:

lōhó ka tī visi kāshī i
little ADD it:SPh sweet POT:eat I
I'll eat A LITTLE MORE CANDY.

tūon ndisō i
firewood CON:carry:on:back I
I'm carrying FIREWOOD (on my back).

(See also 7.5.)

Adjunct focus:

ndāha mū i tāshī ún vistā
hand SPEC my POT:give you:SG viewmaster
You will give the viewmaster (Sp. vista) TO ME.

shāha sīhíñá shākūñá
foot mother her CON:cry she
She is crying FOR HER MOTHER.
shinhin yuçu shaa shahndä rä tütä
with machete new cut he firewood
He is cutting firewood with a new machete.

shinhin migö rä ni shaa rä nokoyö
with friend his come he Mexico:City
He arrived in Mexico City with his friend (Sp. amigo).

(See also 7.10, 7.52, 7.71, 7.74, 7.97, 7.100, 7.102–103, and 7.105.)

Peripheral element focus:

taan kishî nã vehê i
tomorrow come they house my
They'll come to my house tomorrow.

tandâhyî satä rä noni
Tlapa buy he corn
He bought corn in Tlapa.

ndâha ñíi yütä ni kisin nã
hand one tree sleep they
They slept in the branch of a tree.

vahâ yöõ i
good sit:sg I
I am getting along fine.

(See also 7.16, 7.32, 7.36, 7.45, 7.47, and various others.)

When a focused element is expressed by an adverbial possessive noun phrase (see §3.6), the locative noun may either be fronted along with the rest of the phrase or left in its original position.

ndâha miï i tashi rä tütä
hand my give he paper
He gave the paper to me.

miï i tashi rä tütä ndâha
my give he paper hand
He gave the paper to me.

In equative sentences, either the subject or the nominal complement may be focused. In that the subject is normally initial anyway, subject focus is signaled by the use of a clitic pronoun copy. The order may be either subject—verb—clitic pronoun—nominal complement, or subject—nominal complement—verb—clitic pronoun.
ta kāa kūkū rā tachiño
he that:visible pot:be he authority
he will be the head of the town council.

ta kāa tachiño kūkū rā
he that:visible authority pot:be he
he will be the head of the town council.

To focus the nominal complement, the order is nominal complement—
verb—subject.

sisó ún kūū ta kāa
father:in:law your:sg con:be he that:visible
He's your father-in-law.

nā ndivahā kūū nā
they evil con:be they
They are evil people (or evil spirits).

Two elements may be focused.

vitūn yū ún kūū rā
now husband your:sg con:be he
now he is your husband.

(See also 7.4, 7.20, and 7.74.)

A somewhat stronger degree of focus can be expressed by placing the
preposition nda ‘until’ before a fronted noun phrase, and the limiter vā
‘just’ after it.

nda ndivahyī vā ni ndetā
until coyote lim com leave:sg
just the coyote came out.

This kind of focus can take the place of the subject or object of two basic
sentences in a complex sentence, as seen in 7.42.

1.1.9 Sentential complements. Basic sentences occur both as subject
complements and as object complements within other sentences, though
object complements occur more frequently.

Subject complements occur in both intransitive and stative sentences. In
intransitive sentences, they immediately follow the main verb with no
intervening complementizer, and they occur with a restricted set of intrans-
itive verbs, including ndihī ‘to finish’, kishāhā ‘to begin’, kīvī ‘to be
possible’, kōnī nhohō ‘to be necessary’, and kōnī ‘to want’. Each of these
verbs requires that the complement verb be inflected for aspect, i.e., that it not be a stative verb alone.

When used with a subject complement, ndīhī ‘to finish’ may occur in any aspect, but it requires agreement of aspect in the complement verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndīhī} & \quad \text{kīsā} \quad \text{vahā} \quad \text{rā} \quad \text{sinī} \\
\text{com:finish} & \quad \text{com:do} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{hat} \\
\text{He finished making the hat.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndīhī} & \quad \text{kūshū} \quad \text{nā} \quad \text{tākāhān} \quad \text{kwītī} \\
\text{pot:finish} & \quad \text{pot:eat} \quad \text{they} \quad \text{?} \quad \text{short} \\
\text{They will finish eating in just a minute.}
\end{align*}
\]

The verb kishāhā ‘to begin’ occurs only in potential and completive aspects. In potential aspect, it requires a complement verb in potential aspect, but in completive aspect, it may occur with a complement verb in either continuative or completive aspect.\(^3\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kishāhā} & \quad \text{kāsā} \quad \text{chiño} \quad \text{rā} \quad \text{yūtū} \\
\text{pot:begin} & \quad \text{pot:do} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{cornfield} \\
\text{He’ll begin working in his cornfield.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kishāhā} & \quad \text{kāhan} \quad \text{rā} \\
\text{com:begin} & \quad \text{com:speak} \quad \text{he} \\
\text{He began to speak.}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.2, 7.63, and 7.75.)

The verb kīvī ‘to be possible’ is not inflected for aspect, and seldom takes any subject except a subject complement. The complement verb must be in potential aspect.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kīvī} & \quad \text{sātā} \quad \text{ṛā} \quad \text{stūśā} \quad \text{shaā} \quad \text{viūīn} \\
\text{com:be:possible} & \quad \text{pot:buy} \quad \text{she} \quad \text{stove} \quad \text{new} \quad \text{now} \\
\text{It is possible for her to buy a new stove (Sp. estufa) now.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kīvī} & \quad \text{kūsiki} \quad \text{nā} \quad \text{viūīn} \\
\text{com:be:possible} & \quad \text{pot:play} \quad \text{they} \quad \text{now} \\
\text{It is possible for them to play now.}
\end{align*}
\]

This verb occurs in the text in chapter seven only in 7.111, which contains an idiom, nī vāsā nī kīvī, which means ‘it was absolutely not possible’.

The verb kōnī nōhō ‘to be necessary’ may occur in any aspect, but it requires a complement verb in potential aspect.

\(^3\)In appropriate discourse contexts, kishāhā ‘to begin’ can also mean ‘to continue’; see 7.110.
shìnī  ŋōhō  kūsūn  rā
CON:see  CON:contain  POT:sleep  he
It is necessary that he sleep.

(See also 7.34.)

The verb kóni 'to want' appears only in continuative aspect when it is
used with a subject complement, in which use it means 'to be about to'. It
requires a complement verb in potential aspect.

kóni  kīvi  rā
CON:want  POT:die  he
He's about to die.

kóni  kōhō  rā  tatan
CON:want  POT:drink  he  medicine
He's about to take the medicine.

(See also 7.48.)

When a subject complement occurs in a stative sentence, it is optionally
introduced by the third person inanimate prestressed pronoun ŋā, which
functions as a complementizer. If the speaker is expressing an evaluation,
the complementizer is optionally omitted, and the preverbal marker ná
'hortatory' occurs in the subject complement (see §2.1.2).

nůshā  ŋā  ni  shahan  rā
true  CMP  COM  COM:go  he
It is true that he went.

nůshā  ni  shahan  rā
true  COM  COM:go  he
It is true he went.

tānī  ni  shāhān  kisā  vahā  ún
good:smelling  INTS  CON:smell  CON:do  good  you:SG

ndiwi  shihīn  tī  komi
egg  with  it:SPH  ?
Your making of the egg with onion smells very good.

vahā  ŋā  nā  kohon  rā
good  CMP  HORT  POT:go  he
It would be good that he go.

(See also 7.5, 7.35, and 7.108.)
Object complements are sometimes introduced by a complementizer, and sometimes show restrictions of subject or aspect between the matrix and complement sentences.

The verb kóní 'to want (continuative)' allows either coreferential or noncoreferential subjects, and kúchíñó 'to be able (continuative)' requires coreferential subjects. When the subjects are coreferential, the subject of the main verb may be unexpressed. These verbs require the complement verb to be in potential aspect. The complementizer is rare when the subjects are coreferential, and most speakers accept kóní and kúchíñó only in the continuative aspect, unless they are negated.

kóní rā kohon rā
CON:want he POT:go he
He wants to go.

kóní rā ŋā kohon rā
CON:want he CMP POT:go he
He wants to go.

kóní kohon rā
CON:want POT:go he
He wants to go. or He is about to go.

kóní ŋā ŋā kāhvī sāhya ŋā
CON:want she CMP POT:study child her
She wants her children to study.

kóní rā sātā ŋā nonī
CON:want he POT:buy she corn
He wants her to buy corn.

kúchíñó kókíhin rā títōn viūn
CON:be:able POT:get he firewood now
He can go get firewood now.

kúchíñó rā kákā rā viūn
CON:be:able he POT:walk he now
He can walk now.

The verbs ndūkú 'to intend', sāndihí 'to finish', and kísháhá 'to begin' require their subjects to be expressed when they occur with an object complement.

The subjects of ndūkú 'to intend' and its object complement may be coreferential or noncoreferential, and a complementizer is optional. It requires that the complement verb be in potential aspect.
The verb *sândihi* ‘to finish’ requires a coreferential subject in its object complement, a complementizer is optional, and the complement verb can be in either continuative or completive aspect.

`sândihi nā shishī nā tákāhān kwūī`

**com:**finish they **com:**eat they ? short
They finished eating just a minute ago.

`sândihi rā ŋā kisā vahā rā sīnī`

**com:**finish he **cmp** cond:do good he hat
He finished making a hat.

The verb *kishāhā* ‘to begin’ occurs only in potential and completive aspects. The aspect restrictions for its object complement verb are the same as those stated above for its subject complement verb.

*kishāhā rā shāhnī rā ři*

**com:**begin he **con:**kill he **it:**AML
He began to kill the animal.

(See also 7.76 and 7.77.)

Sentences with the causative verb *kásā* ‘to do’ require the complementizer ŋā, usually have noncoreferential subjects between the two parts, and follow certain aspect restrictions. If *kásā* is in potential aspect, the complement verb must agree in aspect; if it is in continuative aspect, the complement verb may have either potential or continuative aspect; and if it is in completive aspect, the complement verb may have any aspect.

*kásā ŋā ŋā kūshū sāhyā ŋā*

**pot:**do she **cmp** **pot:**eat child her
She will make her child eat.

*kisā rā ŋā chāhvī mígō rā*

**con:**do he **cmp** **pot:**pay friend his
He is making his friend pay.
kisā rā ŋā kohon ndi ŋōyāhvī
com:do he cmp pot:go we:ex market
He made us go to the market.

kisā rā ŋā kwahan īnā sana rā kehe
com:do he cmp con:go dog domestic:animal his outside
He made his dog go outside.

Other verbs that take object complements are mainly verbs of speech or mental process. They permit the subjects to be either coreferential or noncoreferential. The complement may have a verb in any aspect, and takes an optional complementizer ŋā.

káchtī nā ni shihi rā
con:say they com com:die he
They say he died.

káchtī nā ŋā ni shihi rā
con:say they cmp com com:die he
They say that he died.

shīnī i kishāa tachīnō tāan
con:see I pot:arrive authority tomorrow
I know the town authority will arrive tomorrow.

shīnī i ŋā kishāa tachīnō tāan
con:see I cmp pot:arrive authority tomorrow
I know that the town authority will arrive tomorrow.

With speech verbs, the addressee is usually expressed by an associative adjunct that precedes the object complement.

káchtī rā shīhūn ŋā iyó sita
con:say he with her con:exist tortilla
He was telling her there are tortillas.

ni kahan rā shīhūn nākwali kūkwīn nā
com speak he with children pot:cease they
He told the children to be quiet.

An element within a complement sentence may be focused by fronting it either to the beginning of the complement sentence or to the beginning of the matrix sentence.
sháñì sinì rà shihìn syérä kähndä rà yùon
con:hit head he with saw pot:cut he tree

shaha mésä
foot table
He thinks he will cut the wood for the table (Sp. mesa) with a saw (Sp. sierra).

înka nà kónì rà kähán rà
another it:inan con:want he pot:speak he
He wanted to tell another story.

vēhē shaá sháñì inì i kásä vahä nà
house new con:hit inside ins I pot:do good they
I was thinking that they'd make a new house.

Sometimes an entire object complement is fronted for focus. No complementizer occurs.

nì káchíñō ná / nì shùn
nor pot:work she com neg:com:want
She didn't even (Sp. nì) want to work.

ndísò rà ndâ ovi siko ushu kilò /
con:carry:on:back he until two twenty ten kilogram

káchíñō rà
con:be:able he
He can carry (on his back) up to fifty kilograms (Sp. kilo).

shihìn talōhō tatan / kisä sìhi rà
con:drink boy medicine con:do mother his
His mother makes the boy drink the medicine.

táán nì / kisä nà ndivahä
con:quake ints com:do they evil
Evil people caused the earth to quake strongly.

Object complements of speech or mental process verbs often occur in sentence-initial position, in which case no complementizer occurs. No special prominence is implied by this order.

kìshì māestró táan / kähán i
pot:come teacher tomorrow con:think I
The teacher (Sp. maestro) will come tomorrow, I think.
ndañóhó īnā / káchí nā
com:get:lost dog con:say they
The dog got lost, they say.

kūkū tā pédró sutu / shánī īnī rā
pot:be he Peter priest con:hit insides he
Peter (Sp. Pedro) will become a priest, he was thinking.

tāan kohon rā / shinī i
tomorrow pot:go he con:see I
I know that tomorrow he'll go.

1.2 Questions

1.2.1 YES/NO questions. Any basic sentence can be converted to a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative sentential marker án at the beginning.

áñ kihvi rā
int con:hurt he
Is he having pain?

áñ yūku ni shahan rā
int mountain com com:go he
Did he go to the MOUNTAIN?

áñ shinī ún ŋōō tandáhyi
int con:see you:sg town Tlapa
Are you familiar with the town of Tlapa?

áñ ņá kǎn kūū sìhí rā
int she that con:be mother his
Is she his mother?

áñ shíhí yìton ni kānī rā īnā
int with stick com hit he dog
Did he hit the dog with A STICK?

áñ kūní ún kōhō lōhō ka ún kāfē
int con:want you:sg pot:drink little add you:sg coffee
Would you like to drink a little more coffee (Sp. café)?

(See also 7.14, 7.17, 7.55, 7.67, 7.73, and others.)

The tag question marker ra and the general adverb sāá ‘thus’ occur at the end of YES/NO questions and other sentences, and are set off from them by pause. Both of these are used to express a question to which a positive answer is expected.
sāvā nā vāsā ndōō nā kān / sāā
half they NEG CONS:PL they there thus
Some of them don’t live there, isn’t that right?

ni shahan ndō noyāhvi / ra
COM go YOU:PL market TAG
You went to the market, right?

án kisā kwínhā rā / ra
INT COM:do robbery he TAG
He committed the robbery, right?

1.2.2 WH questions. Subjects and objects are questioned by using yō ‘who?’, yūkú ‘what?’, yūkía ‘what?’, or an interrogative noun phrase (see §3.4).

Questioning subject:

yō kisā vahā sīnī
who COM:do good hat
Who made the hat?

ndā nā ni shahan īnī ņōō
which they COM go insides town
Who went to the town center?

yūkú ņā līvī
what ʔINAN pretty
Which is the pretty one?

ndā kīti kwehe
which animal fierce
Which animal is fierce?

Questioning object:

yūkía kūnī ún
what CONS want YOU:SG
What do you want?

yūkía ndōho ún
what COM:fare YOU:SG
What happened to you?
ndá tāyi sātā ūn
which chair pot:buy you:sg
Which chair will you buy?

yūkū nā ndūkū ūn
what they con:look:for you:sg
For whom are you looking?

(See also 7.31.)

If both subject and object are animate, the sentence is ambiguous.

yūkū nā ni kānī ta xwán
what they/them com hit he/him John
Whom did John hit? or Who hit John?

By far the most usual way to question the subject, however, is to employ
an equative sentence, composed of an interrogative word or noun phrase,
an equative verb, and its subject, which often contains a relative clause.

ndá tōn kūū ton ni tivī
which it:wod com:be it:wod com break:down
Which car is the one that broke down?

yō kūū ta vātā
who com:be he dishonest
Who is the dishonest man?

Adjuncts and peripheral elements are usually questioned by using an
interrogative adverb or certain fixed interrogative noun phrases.

āmā kishāa ūn
when com:arrive you:sg
When did you arrive?

āmā nōho ndō
when pot:return:home you:pl
When will you return home?

ndá òrā kishāhā vīko
which hour pot:begin fiesta
What time (Sp. hora) will the fiesta begin?

michī yōō sīhī rā
where con: situ: sg mother his
Where does his mother live?
mikía kohon rā
where POT:go he
Where is he going to go?

ndáchún ni ndóo ndó
why COM sit:pl you:pl
Why did you remain?

ndáchún ni ndáhyì rā
why COM become:angry he
Why did he become angry?

(See also 7.60.)

Some interrogative expressions can be expanded by adding either kúū ‘to be (continuative)’ plus a pronoun, or kia ‘it is’, which creates a structure similar to that of an equative sentence.

ndá shaha kúū ŋā kohon rā
which foot CON:be it:inan POT:go he
For what purpose will he go?

ndá chihóo kía kwahan rā kán
which work CON:be:gen CON:go he there
Why is he going there?

(See also 7.11.).

The interrogative adverbs ndáchún ‘why?’ and mí ‘where?’ may be used rhetorically.

ndáchún livi ni yúku
why pretty INTS mountain
How lovely the mountains are!

mí kání savì
where CON:hit rain:god
Where is it raining? (I don’t see it!)

(See also 7.46–47, 7.50, 7.61, and others.)

When the possessor of a locative noun or the object of a preposition expressing an adjunct or a peripheral element is questioned, the locative noun or preposition usually remains in the original order.

ndá nā kāhan nā shaha
which they CON:speak they foot
Whom are they speaking about?
yūkū nā shishī rā sita shūnīn
what they con:eat he tortilla with
With whom is he eating tortillas?

yō kisā chiṅō rā noo
who con:do work he face
In whose place is he working?

The locative noun can also, however, immediately follow a simple interrogative pronoun.

yō noo ni sīkō ŋá nonī
who face com sell she corn
To whom did she sell corn?

ndā noo chiṅōo rā kāxā
which face com:place:on he box
On what surface did he put the box?

yō shaha nakālā ŋā tikoto
who foot com:wash she clothes
For whom did she wash the clothes?

The nominal complement of an equative sentence is questioned by using yūkū 'what?'

yūkū kūū ta kāa
what con:be he that:visible
Who is he?

Stative verbs are questioned by using the interrogative adverb ndāsāā 'how?' A content verb must always occur in such questions.

ndāsāā kōō vīko
how pot:exist fiesta
How will the fiesta be?

ndāsāā kāā ta kāa
how con:appear he that:visible
How does he appear?

ndāsāā nāhā ta kāa
how con:seem he that:visible
How does he seem?

Content verbs are questioned by yūkīa 'what?', followed by kāsā 'to do' if the subject of the verb is agentive, or by ndōhō 'to fare' or 'to happen to' if the subject of the verb is not agentive.
yúktá kísā ńalóhō
what con:do girl
What is the girl doing?

yúktá ndóhō rā
what con:fare he
What happened to him?

1.2.3 Indirect questions. Both YES/NO questions and WH questions can occur as object complements of such verbs as káhan 'to speak', ndákā tóhon 'to ask', káhán 'to think', kúndāa iní 'to understand', kóní 'to know', kótō 'to look', kóní sohò 'to hear', and kání iní 'to think'. In either case, the indirect question is indistinguishable in form from the corresponding direct question.

Indirect YES/NO questions:

ndákā tóhon rā án nōhō ndi tāan
con:deliver word he int pot:return:home we:ex tomorrow
He is asking if we're returning home tomorrow.

vásā shíňí ŋá án ndóö nā vūín
neg con:see she int con:sit:pl they now
She doesn't know if they're at home now.

(See also 7.103.)

Indirect WH questions:

ni káhan rā shíhín i ámā kíshaā ŋá
com speak he with me when pot:arrive she
He told me when she would arrive.

vásā shíňí i ndá kotó ndíshín rā vūín
neg con:know I which shirt con:wear he now
I don't know what shirt (Sp. cotón) he's wearing now.

kúndāa iní i yúkía kóní rā
con:be straight:insides I what con:want he
I know what he wants.

shíňí sohó rā mì kōō vīko
con:see ear he where pot:exist fiesta
He heard where the fiesta was going to be.
ni kahan rā ndāsāā kāvā yō kārō
com speak he how pot:turn we:in vehicle
He told us how to drive a car (Sp. carro).

shānī īnī i ndāsāā kāsā vahā yō vēhē shaā
con:hit insides I how pot:do good we:in house new
I've been thinking about how to make a new house.

(See also 7.88.)

1.3 Commands

To form a second person singular command, a basic sentence in potential aspect with no subject is used.

\[\text{ndākoō} \]
pot:get:up
Get up! (familiar)

\[\text{tāshī ūnā ndāha i} \]
pot:give it:inan hand my
Give it to me! (familiar)

These commands may be made more polite by adding a pronoun subject.

\[\text{ndākoō ūn} \]
pot:get:up you:sg
Get up! or You will get up.

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

\[\text{ndākoō ndō} \]
pot:get:up you:pl
Get up! or You all will get up.

Both singular and plural commands are often made more polite by the use of the preverbal marker nā 'hortatory' (see §2.1.2) and/or the stative verb lōhō 'little', which functions as a general quantifier in this construction.

\[\text{nā ndākoō ūn} \]
hort pot:get:up you:sg
Please get up!

\[\text{sātā lōhō ūn noni noo rā} \]
pot:buy little you:sg corn face his
Please buy corn from him!
ná  kūndāā  lōhō  ndó  rā
HORT  POT:take:care  little  you:PL  him
Please take care of him!

kūshū  lōhō  ndó
POT:eat  little  you:PL
Please eat!

First and third person commands are formed by the hortatory marker ná, a verb in potential aspect, and its subject.

ná  kāsā  chiñō  yō
HORT  POT:do  work  we:IN
Let's work!

ná  kīvī  rā
HORT  POT:die  he
May he die!

ná  kāsā  vahā  i  ŋā
HORT  POT:do  good  I  it:INAN
Let me make it! (lit. May I make it!)

(See also 7.99.)

Two motion verbs have special imperative forms (see §5.1.2). These special forms cannot take the hortatory marker.

nāhā
IMP:come
Come! (you:sg)

kwāhān  ndó
IMP:go  you:PL
Go! (you:PL)

(See also 7.54.)

There is also a special inclusive potential form of the verb kohon ‘to go’, which is used in commands.

kohyo
POT:go:we:IN
Let's go!

(See also 7.93 and 7.95.)

Negative commands (see §2.1.2) are identical in form to negative statements with the verb in potential aspect.
on kásá ndó sáá
NEG POT:do you:PL thus
Don't do that! or You will not do that.

(See also 7.51, 7.71, and 7.92.)

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur most frequently in final position, but they can also occur in initial position, at pause breaks, or as independent utterances. Vocatives include certain kinship terms, other relational terms such as companion, classificatory terms such as young man, and second person free pronouns such as yóhó 'you (singular)'. Proper names are rarely used, except for children, because among adults this is considered a sign of disrespect. Some kinship terms have extended meanings. For example, ṇañi 'brother' (of male) may be used vocatively among men with any close friend, or between husband and wife.

sííó / náhá yóhó
uncle IMP:come here
Uncle, come here!

án sikó ún tatan / náñá
INT CON:sell you:SG medicine ma'am
Do you sell medicine, ma'am?

ndáhví ní yóhó / ṇañí
poor INTS you:SG brother:ME
Poor you, Brother!

nda maá kúnálkáa yóhó / ta tiün
until way:inside POT:be:located you:SG he turkey
Take the place way INSIDE, Mr. Turkey!

nátáhán yó / yúkía kísá ndó viūn
companion OUR:IN what CON:do you:PL now
Friends, what are you doing now?

káchíño i / tátá / tâ sáá kisháa i
POT:work I sir and thus POT:arrive I
I'll work, sir, and then return.

míí ndó / yúkía káchí ndó
SPEC you:PL what CON:say you:PL
You all, what do you say?
1.5 Sentential Markers

The interrogative marker án occurs at the beginning of any basic sentence and converts it into a YES/NO question; see §§1.2.1 and 1.2.3 for examples of sentences containing án.

The tag question marker ra occurs at the end of YES/NO questions and other sentences to indicate that the speaker expects the addressee to agree. See §1.2.1 for examples containing ra.

The hearsay marker che occurs sentence finally, separated by pause. Its use makes it clear that the speaker is not the source of the information expressed in the sentence.

\[ \text{ni shūnī sohō i kīvī i / che} \]
COM see ear I POT:die I HEARSAY
I heard I'm going to die, they say.

\[ \text{siwī ta vahā kūū rā / che} \]
NEG he good CON:be he HEARSAY
He's not a good man, she says.

The contrafactual marker nīkūū occurs sentence finally, separated by pause, and means that the stated activity did not take place.

\[ \text{kōnī rā nōhō rā kōnī / nīkūū} \]
CON:want he POT:go:home he yesterday CF
He wanted to go home yesterday. (but he didn't)

\[ \text{vahā ka ni kīsā rā sāā / nīkūū} \]
good ADD COM NEG:do he thus CF
It would have been better if he hadn't done that. (but he did)

(See also 7.48.)

The sentential marker nīh expresses doubt or uncertainty about future events. It requires that the verb of the main sentence be in potential aspect, often with the hortatory marker ná. This word does not fit the normal phonological patterns of Alacatlatzala Mixtec because it ends in a glottal stop.

\[ \text{nā kōtō yō tá kīshāa rā / nīh} \]
HORT POT:look WE:IN if POT:arrive he DOUBT
Let's see if he comes or not! (but he probably won't)
vahā / nā sātā rā niī kārō kāvā rā / nih
good HORT POT:buy he one vehicle POT:turn he DOUBT
Okay, let him buy a car to drive! (but I doubt if he will)

The sentential marker kānvāhā is used only in rhetorical questions, and it expresses surprise or amazement. It is optionally set off by pause.

ān nishāhan rā / kānvāhā
INT NEG:COM:go he AMAZEMENT
Didn’t he go? (I’m amazed that he didn’t)

yūkū kūū ta yōhō / kānvāhā
what CON:be he this AMAZEMENT
Who in the world is this man?

(See also 7.17.)
2

Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

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

2.1.1 Verb nuclei. Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are frozen forms that consist of a verb followed by a noun, another verb, an adverb, or an indeterminate element.

A simple nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect. In the examples given in this chapter, each of which is a full sentence, the parts outside the verb phrase are enclosed in parentheses.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{shishî} & \quad (rā) \\
\text{CON:eat} & \quad (he) \\
(\text{He}) & \text{ is eating.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ketā} & \quad (rā) \\
\text{COM:leave:SG} & \quad (\text{she} \text{ trail}) \\
(\text{She}) & \text{ came out (on the trail).}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yóó} & \quad (rā) \\
\text{CON:sit:SG} & \quad (he) \\
(\text{He}) & \text{ is sitting.}
\end{align*}
\]
nākāsî (nā yēhē)
пор:close (they door)
(They) will close (the door).

(See 7.2, 7.10, 7.16, 7.19, 7.38, and various others.)

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a noun; the noun, which is often a body part, may be the logical instrument, object, manner, location, or part of the subject.

Instrument:

kōnī sōho (rā yīvā rā)
пор:see ear (he father his)
(He) will listen (to his father).

kāchī shāhā (rā yuu)
пор:say foot (he rock)
(He) will kick (the rock).

(See 7.17, 7.101, and 7.107.)

Object:

ni ndākä tōhon (rā ŋā)
com deliver word (he her)
(He) questioned (her).

kīsā chiño (rā yūtu)
con:do work (he cornfield)
(He) is working (in the cornfield).

ndīsō chiño (rā shīhīn kwāchi)
con:carry:on:back work (he with problem)
(He) is responsible (for [resolving] problems).

(See also 7.31.)

Manner:

vashī shāhā (ŋā)
con:come foot (she)
(He) is coming on foot.

kākā tōsō (rā)
por:walk hump (he)
(He) will walk stooped over.
**kísá**  *íná*  *(rā)*  
**con:**do  dog  *(he)*  
*(He) acts without scruples.*

**shíká**  *shūi*  *(rā)*  
**con:**walk  intestines  *(he)*  
*(He) is begging God on his knees.*

**shíká**  *nọo*  *(nā  ŋōō)*  
**con:**walk  face  *(they town)*  
*(They) are walking around *(town).*

**Location:**

**kaní**  *ndōsō*  *(ná  tākwū)*  
**con:**hit  flat:place  *(she water)*  
*(She) placed *(the water) on a flat place.*

*(See also 7.29.)*

**Subject:**

**kátá**  *sikon*  *(i)*  
**con:**itch  throat  *(I)*  
*(I) have a cough.*

Reciprocal action is indicated by a verb plus *táhān* *(companion).*

**sháñí**  *táhān*  *(nā)*  
**con:**fight  companion  *(they)*  
*(They) are fighting each other.*

**sháhní**  *táhān*  *(rí)*  
**con:**kill  companion  *(it:AML)*  
*(The animals) are killing each other.*

**kóní**  *táhān*  *(yō)*  
**pot:**see  companion  *(we:IN)*  
*(We) will see each other.*

There are two kinds of verb-plus-content-verb nuclei. One type consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a verb in potential or continuative aspect. These nuclei are rare and occasionally highly idiomatic.

**ndáká**  *ndētā*  *(rā)*  
**con:**deliver  **pot:**leave:sg  *(he)*  
*(He) was running along, jumping up and down.*
ndíkō níhi (rā ŋā)
cont:turn:around pot:hold (he it:inan)
(He) is turning (it) upside down. or (He) is returning (it).

sháhān táhyi (ŋā)
con:smell con:s poil (it:inan)
(It) smells rotten.

See also 7.5 and 7.8, which are slightly irregular in that the kā- prefix of
the potential aspect has been deleted from the second verb; kūndīchī 'to
stand' has become ndīchī.

The second type of verb-plus-content-verb nucleus occurs when Spanish
verbs are borrowed. These nuclei usually consist of the Mixtec verb kasa
'to do' followed by a phonological adaptation of the Spanish infinitive.

kísa kūsār (nā rā)
con:do accuse (they him)
(They) are accusing (Sp. acusar) (him).

kūsā mānēxār (ŋā)
pot:do drive (she)
(She) will drive (Sp. manejar).

kísa kānāā (nā)
con:do win (they)
(They) won (Sp. ganar).

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

shákū ndáhvī (rā noo nā)
con:cry poor (he face their)
(He) is begging (them) for a favor.

ndákā chihhā (rā sīhūn)
con:take handicapped (he money)
(He) is begging (for money).

kísa vāhā (nā vēhē)
con:do good (they house)
(They) are making (a house).

kōtō vāhā (ūn)
pot:look good (you:sg)
Be careful!
tāšī  vahā  (rā  sīhūn)
pro:give  good  (he  money)
(He)  will  store  (the  money)  in  a  safe  place.

shikā  sīi  (nā)
con:walk  happy  (they)
(They)  are  walking  for  the  fun  of  it.

kisā  tōhō  (rā  ndyōs)
con:do  respectful  (he  God)
(He)  worships  (God  [Sp.  Dios]).

(See  also  7.5  and  7.8.)

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

kindōd  nāhā  (ndi)
con:sit:pl  continuing  (we:ex)
(We)  are  staying  for  a  while.

kōtō  ndāā  (nā  rā)
pro:look  adheringly  (they  him)
(They)  will  examine  (him)  carefully.

nākāsī  kūtū  (rā  yēhē)
pro:close  tight  (he  door)
(He)  will  lock  (the  door).

(See  also  7.75  and  7.77.)

A  verb-plus-indeterminate-element  nucleus  consists  of  a  verb  inflected  for  aspect  followed  by  a  word  that  occurs  only  in  frozen  phrases.

shūō  ndāhyā  (nā  vistā)
con:look  ?  (they  viewmaster)
(They)  are  looking  (at  the  viewmaster  [Sp.  vista])  for  fun.

shūō  kāshūh  (rā  ta  kāa)
con:look  ?  (he  him  that:visible)
(He)  stared  (at  him).

(See  also  7.34.)

2.1.2 Preverbal  elements.  There  are  six  preverbal  elements.  Listed  from  the  nucleus  out  to  the  beginning  of  the  verb  phrase  they  are:  directional,  completive  aspect,  near-time,  manner,  negative,  and  hortatory.
Directional is expressed by *kwan*, a reduced form of *kwahan* 'to go (continuative)'. It occurs only with certain motion verbs, which can be in either potential or continuative aspect, and it means that the motion is progressive.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kwan} & \quad \text{ndāā} \quad (rā \ yūn) \\
\text{dir} & \quad \text{con:climb} \quad (\text{he tree}) \\
(\text{He}) & \quad \text{is climbing} \quad (\text{the tree}).
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kwan} & \quad \text{nōhō} \quad (rā \ viūn) \\
\text{dir} & \quad \text{con:go} \quad \text{home} \quad (\text{he now}) \\
(\text{He}) & \quad \text{is going} \quad \text{home} \quad (\text{now}).
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kwan} & \quad \text{ndākā} \quad (nā \ nākwali) \\
\text{dir} & \quad \text{pot:escort} \quad \text{they children} \\
(\text{They}) & \quad \text{will be} \quad \text{escorting} \quad \text{the children).
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.9, 7.28, and 7.30.)

In second preverbal position, the completive aspect marker *ni* occurs. With most verbs, completive aspect is optionally marked by tone only (see §5.1.2).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ni} & \quad \text{sātā} \quad (rā \ sita) \\
\text{com} & \quad \text{buy} \quad (\text{he tortilla}) \\
(\text{He}) & \quad \text{bought} \quad \text{tortillas}.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ni} & \quad \text{tāhvī} \quad (rā \ kōnī) \\
\text{com} & \quad \text{plow:with:oxen} \quad (\text{he yesterday}) \\
(\text{He}) & \quad \text{plowed} \quad \text{with oxen} \quad (\text{yesterday}).
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.2, 7.8, 7.18, 7.29, and others.).

There are two temporal markers: the general marker *sha* 'near time' and the verbal marker *shi* 'remote time'. The marker *sha* occurs in any aspect but is rare with potential aspect. It means 'about to' or 'already', depending on the aspect. The marker *shi* occurs only with completive aspect.

Near-time marker:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sha} & \quad \text{kīhīn} \quad (nā \ sīhūn) \\
\text{near:time} & \quad \text{ro:r:get} \quad (\text{they money}) \\
(\text{They}) & \quad \text{are about} \quad \text{to get} \quad \text{(money).}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sha} & \quad \text{vashī} \quad (rā) \\
\text{near:time} & \quad \text{con:come} \quad (\text{he}) \\
(\text{He}) & \quad \text{is already} \quad \text{coming}.
\end{align*}
\]
sha  ni  shīshī  (i)
near:time  com: eat  (I)
(I) already ate.

sha  tūn  (rā  yōho)
near:time  com:grab  (he  rope)
(He) is already holding (the rope).

sha  kōō  (rā  yūhu  yīchi)
near:time  pot:sit:sg  (he  mouth  trail)
(He) was just about to sit (at the edge of the trail).

(See also 7.75, 7.90, 7.101, and 7.106–107.)

Remote-time marker:

shi  kihūn  (nā  sihūn)
remote:time  com: get  (they  money)
(They) already got (money) a while ago.

shi  shishī  (i)
remote:time  com: eat  (I)
(I) already ate a while ago.

Some speakers do not differentiate between sha and shi, but use only shi for all the above uses.

While all other preverbal and postverbal elements comprise small closed classes, manner is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers. Stative verbs, stative verb phrases (see §2.3), adverbs, and adverb phrases (see §4.2) are the most common elements in this position, but quantifiers and quantifier phrases (see §4.1) have also been found.

With stative verbs or stative verb phrases:

kūnī  kāhan  (rā)
ugly  com:speak  (he)
(He) speaks nastily.

lūvī  nī  sákāhā  (rā  kītārā)
pretty  intrs  com:play  (he  guitar)
(He) plays (the guitar [Sp. guitarra]) very prettily.

(See also 7.47.)
With adverbs or adverb phrases:

\[ sāā \ kīsā \ (rā) \]
thus \( \text{cond} \) (he)
Thus (he) does.

\[ kweē \ nī \ và \ kāchīnō \ (rā) \]
slowly \( \text{INTS} \ \text{LIM} \ \text{POT:work} \) (he)
(He) will work just very slowly.

(See also 7.65.)

With a quantifier phrase:

\[ kwaha \ nī \ shāshī \ (rī) \]
much \( \text{INTS} \ \text{CON:eat} \) (it:AML)
(It) is eating a lot.

In fifth preverbal position, the negative markers \( \text{on} \) ‘not’, \( \text{tahān} \) ‘not yet’, and \( \text{vāsā} \) ‘not’ occur. The markers \( \text{on} \) and \( \text{tahān} \) occur only with verbs in potential aspect, and \( \text{vāsā} \) usually occurs with verbs in continuative aspect.\(^4\) Following \( \text{on} \), the first syllable of the verb changes its tone from mid to high, or rarely from low to mid. The complex verbal marker \( \text{on vāsā} \) also occurs with verbs in any aspect and adds emphasis to the negation.

Negation of potential aspect:

\[ \text{on tāshī} \ (nā \ ŋā \ kūshū \ i) \]
\( \text{NEG} \ \text{POT:give} \) (they it:INAN \text{POT:eat} \ I)
(They) will not give (me food).

\[ \text{on kūndātī} \ (nā) \]
\( \text{NEG} \ \text{POT:wait} \) (they)
(They) won’t wait.

\[ \text{tahān kohon} \ (rā) \]
\( \text{nöt} \ \text{POT:go} \) (he)
(He) hasn’t gone yet.

\[ \text{tahān chāhvī} \ (nā \ nāchīnō) \]
\( \text{nöt} \ \text{POT:pay} \) (they authorities)
(They) haven’t yet paid (the town council).

\(^4\)The marker \( \text{vāsā} \) also functions as an interjection meaning ‘it is not true’ or ‘that is not the case’. The marker use is probably a recent development from its use as an independent utterance.
on vásá kohon (rā)
NEG NEG POT:go (he)
(He) will NOT go.

(See also 7.14, 7.51, 7.71, 7.83, and 7.87.)

Negation of continuative aspect:

vásá kúnāā (ñá)
NEG CON:be:tired (she)
(He) is not tired.

vásá sándāhvī (rā yīvā rā)
NEG CON:cheat (he father his)
(He) is not cheating (his father).

on vásā shāshī (rā)
NEG NEG CON:eat (he)
(He) is NOT eating.

(See also 7.13 and 7.17.)

In completive aspect, verbs are negated by a tone change to high on the first syllable of the verb stem, which is obligatorily preceded by the completive aspect marker ni.

ni sátā (rā sita)
COM NEG:buy (he tortilla)
(He) didn’t buy (tortillas).

To emphasize negation in completive aspect, the negative verb form may be preceded by vásā or on vásā. When either emphatic form is used, the high tone signaling negation is realized on the completive aspect marker ni.

vásā ni sándāhvī (rā yīvā rā)
NEG COM:NEG cheat (he father his)
(He) did NOT cheat (his father).

on vásā ni shāshī (rā)
NEG NEG COM:NEG COM:eat (he)
(He) did NOT eat.

(See also 7.64.)

In sixth preverbal position, the hortatory marker ná occurs. It occurs only with verbs in potential aspect. The marker ná indicates a strong desire on the part of the speaker that the action take place, and it may be used in
a polite command (see §1.3). It is also common in purpose and hypothetical condition sentences (see §6.2), and it may introduce the subject complement of a stative sentence (see §1.1.9).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ná} & \quad \text{on kóndo} \quad \text{(nā)} \\
\text{HORT} & \quad \text{NEG POTSIT:PL} \quad \text{(they)} \\
\text{May} & \quad \text{(they) not stay!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ná} & \quad \text{kōni} \quad \text{sohō} \quad \text{(yó)} \\
\text{HORT} & \quad \text{POT:see ear} \quad \text{(we:IN)} \\
\text{May} & \quad \text{(we) listen!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ná} & \quad \text{tāshi} \quad \text{(ndō sihuń ndāha nā)} \\
\text{HORT} & \quad \text{POT:give} \quad \text{(you:PL money hand their)} \\
\text{May} & \quad \text{(you all) give (money to them)!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ná} & \quad \text{kūshū} \quad \text{(rā)} \\
\text{HORT} & \quad \text{POT:eat} \quad \text{(he)} \\
\text{May} & \quad \text{(he) eat!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ná} & \quad \text{ndākā} \quad \text{tohōń} \quad \text{(i ŉānī i)} \\
\text{HORT} & \quad \text{POT:deliver word} \quad \text{(I brother:ME my)} \\
\text{Let} & \quad \text{(me) ask (my brother)! (lit. May I ask my brother!)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ná} & \quad \text{yīchī} \quad \text{(nō)} \\
\text{HORT} & \quad \text{POT:dry (it:WOD)} \\
\text{May} & \quad \text{(it) dry out!}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.5, 7.12, 7.35, 7.54, 7.95, and others.)

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are five orders of elements following the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the end of the verb phrase they are: manner, repetitive, known object, quantifier/limiter, and locative.

The class of elements which may appear in postverbal manner position is quite restricted because manner most commonly occurs as a preverbal element (see §2.1.2). They include: the stative verbs vahā ‘good’, ndēé ‘strong’, and lōhō ‘little (singular)’, which functions as a general quantifier in this construction; the general quantifiers ndīhi ‘all’ and kwahā ‘much’; the adverbs ndūsha ‘surely’ and nihni ‘here and there’; the specifier mūi, used in this construction to mean ‘by itself’; and the intensifier ni, used in this construction to mean ‘much’. The intensifier ni is also common in short stative verb phrases and quantifier phrases that occur in postverbal manner position.
With stative verbs:

chíndée vahā (i yóhó)
CON:greet good (I you:SG)
(I) greet (you) thoroughly.

káchíño ndée (yó)
CON:work strong (we:IN)
(We) are working hard.

(See also 7.35.)

With general quantifiers:

ná kündishün lōhō (i)
HORT pot:dress little (I)
Please let (me) dress! (lit. May [I] dress a little!)

ni shāshī ndíhī (ří tehe rā)
CON eat all (it:AML vine his)
(The animal) ate up all (his vines). or (The animal) ate (his vine) thoroughly.

(See also 7.22, 7.35, and 7.112.)

With adverbs:

táshī ndūsha (rā sihūn ndāha nā)
CON:give surely (he money hand their)
(He) will surely give (money to them). or (He) will obligatorily give (money to them).

shíkă níhnī (rā)
CON:walk here:and:there (he)
(He) is flitting to and fro.

With the specifier:

nakāvā mīi (rā)
CON:fall:SG spec (it:INAN)
(It) fell by itself.

With the intensifier:

ndōhō nī (ndi)
CON:fare INTS (we:EX)
(We) are very sick. (lit. [We] are suffering much.)
ni šiḳā ní (i shaha ūn)
com walk INTS (I foot your:sg)
(I) walked a lot (on your behalf).

(See also 7.69.)

With a stative verb phrase:

ni shāhnī vahā ní (rā rī)
com kill good INTS (he it:aml)
(He) killed (it) very well.

With a general quantifier phrase:

ni kahan lōhō ka (rā)
com speak little ADD (he)
(He) spoke a little longer.

Following manner is the repetitive, which is expressed by the general marker tūkū ‘again’.

kāchī tūkū (rī sīhā)
com:say REP (it:aml thus)
(The animal) speaks again (in the same fashion).

ni shaa tūkū (rī yūku)
com arrive REP (it:aml mountain)
(The animal) arrived again (in the mountainous area).

nakāvā tūkū (rī nōho)
com:fall:sg REP (it:spH earth)
(The spherical object) fell again (on the ground).

(See also 7.20 and 7.66.)

Following the repetitive is the known-object marker ōlahā, which refers to an animate third person object whose identity is clear from the context. The use of ōlahā rather than a free object serves to defocus the participant.

ni ndākā tohōn ōlahā (rī)
com deliver word KNO (it:aml)
(The animal) questioned him/her/it/them.

sha ni shāhnī ōlahā (rā)
near:time com kill KNO (he)
(He) already killed him/her/it/them.
sháshi ndíhi ŋáhá (rí)
CON:eat all KNO (it:AML)
(The animal) eats him/her/it/them all up.
(See also 7.80.)

Two elements occur in the fourth postverbal position, the limiter vā 'just' and the additive ka 'more'.

tákū vā (i)
CON:live LIM (I)
(I) am just living.

vásá kwahan ka (i akapülkó)
NEG CON:GO ADD (I Acapulco)
(I) am not going anymore (to Acapulco [Sp.]).

shíshi vā (rā)
CON:eat LIM (he)
(He) is just eating.

káshí ka (rí)
POT:eat ADD (it:AML)
(The animal) will eat more.

táa ka (ńá sita)
CON:pat ADD (she tortilla)
(She) is making more (tortillas).
(See also 7.6, 7.30, 7.40, 7.58, and 7.83.)

The locative noun iní 'insides' occurs in the fifth postverbal position. It occurs with a limited set of verbs, whose nucleus may be simple or complex, and the phrase usually describes an emotion or state of being.

kásá káhnó iní (i shaha ún)
POT:do big:sg insides (I foot your:sg)
(I) will forgive (you). (lit. [I] will make big insides [on your behalf].)

kúšíí ní iní (yó)
CON:be:happy INTS insides (we:IN)
(We) are very happy.

kúndáhvi iní (ndí)
CON:be:poor insides (we:EX)
(We) feel humble.
ñōhō  inī (rā shaha ndó)
CON:contain insides (he foot your:PL)
(He) holds (you) in remembrance.
(See also 7.83.)

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. The occurrence restrictions among preverbal elements are the following. The hortatory marker nā occurs only with a verb in potential aspect and does not occur with manner or with either of the temporal markers, manner does not occur with negative, and the near-time marker sha occurs with no negative except vāsā. All other combinations of preverbal elements are possible up to three elements.

vāsā sha kwan ndāā (rā yūton)
NEG near:time DIR CON:climb (he tree)
(He) is not already climbing (the tree).

sha on kōkāhin (ūn  sīnī  ūn)
near:time NEG POT:go (you:SG hat your:SG)
(You) are not right now going to go get (your hat).

nā  on kwan nōhōn  (nā)
HORT NEG DIR POT:go:home (they)
May (they) not go home!

sha kwan kīhī (rā vēhē  nā)
near:time DIR CON:enter (he house their)
(He) is already entering (their house).

The systematic occurrence restrictions among postverbal elements are that no more than three postverbal elements occur together, and that neither limiter nor additive directly follows manner. (Such sequences constitute a stative verb phrase expressing manner.) Also, inī 'insides' occurs only with the limiter vā 'just', the additive ka 'more', and the intensifier nī 'much'.

nashāa lōhō tūkū ka  (rī)
COM:arrive little REP ADD (it:AML)
(The animal) arrived for a little (while) longer again.

nakāvā ndēē nī tūkū (rā ŋōho)
COM:fall:SG strong INTS REP (he earth)
(He) fell very hard again (on the ground).
kwahan yātin tükü vā (rī)
CON:go near REP LIM (it:AML)
(The animal) is going just very near again.

shāšī nihni tükü ūñahá (rī)
CON:eat here:and:there REP KNO (it:AML)
(The animal) is again eating him/her/it THEM here and there.

on kōon ka inī (rā)
NEG POT:produce ADD insides (he)
(He) won’t have more diarrhea. or (He) won’t produce lots of work anymore.

Preverbal and postverbal elements may occur in the same verb phrase, except where restricted by semantics. If both occur, complexity in either is rare.

sha ni tāši lōhō ūñahá (rā)
near:time COM give little KNO (he)
(He) has already given him/her/IT THEM a little.

nā on kwān kihvi tükü (rī vēhē rī)
HORT NEG DIR POT:enter REP (it:AML house its:AML)
May (the animal) not enter (its house) again!

sha shishī vahā tükü ka (rā sita)
near:time COM:eat good REP ADD (he tortilla)
(He) already ate well more (tortillas) again.

(See also 7.80.)

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on the equative verbs kūkū ‘to be’, sīvī ‘to be’, ndūū ‘to change into’, kūnānī ‘to be named’, and the completive aspect of the intransitive verb kōō ‘to exist’. All preverbal elements except the directional can occur, but no more than two in one phrase. The only postverbal elements that occur are the stative verbs vahā ‘good’ and lōhō ‘little (singular)’, which functions as a general quantifier in this construction; the repetitive tükü ‘again’; the limiter va ‘just’; and certain simple stative verb phrases. In general, speakers prefer simple equative verb phrases; few examples contain more than a combined total of three preverbal and postverbal elements.
(ta kán) kūū lōhō (présidenté)
(he that) CON:be little (president)
(He) is (president [Sp. presidente]) for a little (while). or (He) is interim (president).

ná on kūkū tūkū (rā tačiňō)
HORT NEG POT:be REP (he authority)
May (he) not become (the town authority) again!

sha kūū tūkū vā (rā ta présidenté)
near:time CON:be REP LIM (he he president)
(He) is already just (the president) again.

(nūi taā) nindūū vahā (ndikāhā)
(one man) COM:change:into good (jaguar)
(A man) changed thoroughly into (a jaguar).

kūnānī vahā ni (rā xōsē)
POT:be:named good INTS (he Joe)
(He) will be very well named (Joe [Sp. José]).

(ta kán) sīvē (yīvā i)
(he that) CON:be (father my)
(He) is (my father).

(ta xōsē) nishiyō (ta kwikā)
(he Joe) COM:exist (he rich)
(Joe) was (a rich man).

2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which are not inflected for aspect. These verbs do not form complex nuclei.

kāhnō (ndīvī)
big:SG (egg)
(The egg) is big.

yātā (tūkoto)
old (clothes)
(The clothes) are old.

līvē (ńá)
pretty (she)
(He) is pretty.
Stative verbs occur with two preverbal elements: the negative marker vásā and the near-time marker sha. Postverbal elements are the following: a limited manner, expressed by the stative verbs lōhō 'little (singular)', which functions as a general quantifier in this construction, and vahā 'good', which functions as an intensifying element in this construction; the intensifier nī; the locative noun inī 'insides'; the limiter vā; and the additive ka.

sha yātā nī (nō)
near:time old INTS (it:WOD)
(It [the car]) is already very old.

ndishā nī vā (tohōn rā)
true INTS LIM (word his)
(His speech) is just very true.

ndēē inī (ńā)
strong insides (she)
(Shē) is strong-willed.

sākā nī inī (i)
mixed:up INTS insides (I)
(I) am very confused.

vūā vā inī (yō)
soft LIM insides (we:IN)
(We) are just gentle.

(See also 7.2 and 7.61.)

The negative marker vásā and the additive ka are used together to mean 'no longer'.

vásā ndēē nī ka (nā)
NEG strong INTS ADD (they)
(They) are no longer very strong.

---

5Instead of negating a stative verb, it is usually preferable to recast the sentence as an equative sentence (see §1.1.5) with a negative emphatic noun phrase (see §3.5) in focus position serving as the nominal complement.

sivī ta vahā kūū rā
NEG he good CON:be he
He is NOT a good man.
Stative verb phrases occur in the predicate of stative sentences, either alone, as in the above examples, or preceding an intransitive verb such as náhá ‘to seem’ (see §1.1.6).

\[
\text{káhnó ni (náhá vēhē i)} \\
\text{big:sg ints (con:seem house my)} \\
\text{(My house seems) very big.}
\]

\[
\text{vásā káhnó ni (ni shīyō vīko)} \\
\text{neg big ints (com com:exist fiesta)} \\
\text{(The fiesta was) not very big.}
\]

They also occur as preverbal or postverbal manner in content verb phrases (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3), or as manner within another stative verb phrase. In either function they take no preverbal elements and only three postverbal elements: the intensifier ní, the limiter vā, and the additive ka.

In preverbal manner position:

\[
\text{līvī ni (sákāhā rā kītārā)} \\
\text{pretty ints (con:play he guitar)} \\
\text{(He plays the guitar) very prettily.}
\]

In postverbal manner position:

\[
\text{(kāhan) līvī ni (rā)} \\
\text{(con:speak) pretty ints (he)} \\
\text{(He speaks) very well.}
\]

\[
\text{(chāhvi) vahā vā (rā)} \\
\text{(pot:pay) good lim (he)} \\
\text{(He will) just (pay) well.}
\]

As manner within another stative verb phrase:

\[
\text{(yākwa) lōhō vā (tākwīi)} \\
\text{(dirty) little lim (water)} \\
\text{(The water is) just a little (dirty).}
\]

\[
\text{(shiká) vahā ni ka (yōo vēhē i)} \\
\text{(far) good ints add (con:sit:sg house my)} \\
\text{(My house is) really very much (farther).}
\]
2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Both content and stative verbs may be repeated to indicate continued action or intensified state. A content verb (or complex nucleus) in continuative or completive aspect is repeated and followed by its subject. The only preverbal element that occurs is the completive aspect marker, and the only postverbal element that occurs is the intensifier ni.

\[ \text{\textit{ndáti}} \quad \text{\textit{ndáti}} \quad (\text{\textit{ndi}}) \]
\text{con:wait} \quad \text{con:wait} \quad (\text{we:ex})
(We) were waiting and waiting.

\[ \text{\textit{táá}} \quad \text{\textit{táá}} \quad (\text{\textit{ná yúshan}}) \]
\text{con:knead} \quad \text{con:knead} \quad (\text{she corn:dough})
(We) keep on kneading (tortilla dough).

\[ \text{\textit{táshí}} \quad \text{\textit{táshí}} \quad (\text{i tatan \textit{ndáha ná}}) \]
\text{con:give} \quad \text{con:give} \quad (\text{I medicine hand their})
(I) keep on giving (medicine to them).

\[ \text{\textit{shakú ni shakú ni}} \quad (\text{\textit{rá}}) \]
\text{com:cry} \quad \text{ints} \quad \text{com:cry} \quad \text{ints} \quad (\text{he})
(He) cried and cried a lot.

(See also 7.77.)

In all repetitive content verb phrases a clitic pronoun subject may be given twice, once between the two verbs and once following the second one.

\[ \text{\textit{ndáhyí}} \quad (\text{\textit{rí}}) \quad \text{\textit{ndáhyí}} \quad (\text{\textit{rí}}) \]
\text{con:cry:out} \quad (\text{\textit{it:aml}}) \quad \text{con:cry:out} \quad (\text{\textit{it:aml}})
(The animal) was crying out and crying out.

\[ \text{\textit{ni kání} (\text{\textit{rá}}) \quad \text{\textit{ni kání}} (\text{\textit{rá}}) \]
\text{com hit} \quad (\text{he}) \quad \text{com hit} \quad (\text{he})
(He) hit and hit.

(See also 7.75.)

A stative verb in preverbal manner position is repeated to indicate intensification. Each instance is optionally followed by the intensifier ni or by the additive ka.

\[ \text{\textit{líví ka} \quad \text{\textit{líví ka}} \quad (\text{\textit{káhan ná}}) \]
\text{pretty add} \quad \text{pretty add} \quad (\text{con:speak they})
(They speak) more and more prettily.
vātā nī vātā nī (kīsā ta kāa)
dishonest INTS dishonest INTS (CON:do he that:visible)
(He acts) very very dishonestly.
3
Noun Phrases

3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

\begin{align*}
\text{vēhē} & \quad \text{‘house’} \\
\text{yīton} & \quad \text{‘tree’} \\
\text{kītī} & \quad \text{‘animal’} \\
\text{taā} & \quad \text{‘man’} \\
\text{sītā} & \quad \text{‘tortilla’} \\
\text{yōhō} & \quad \text{‘you:sg’}
\end{align*}

A complex nucleus consists of a noun or pronoun followed by a modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral, or a stative verb. These sequences are lexical units except in the case of numerals. The noun or stative verb in this construction sometimes undergoes a tone change.
Noun or pronoun plus noun:

tūkīvā  yīton
butterfly  tree
wood shavings

vēhē  kaā
house  metal
jail

vēhē  chīñō
house  work
town hall

ndūchū  noō
bean  face
eye

tohōn  sāvi
word  rain:god
Mixtec language

yīki  sīni
bone  head
skull

yīchi  kārō
trail  vehicle
road (Sp. carro)

vīkō  ndū
fiesta  cadaver
All Saints' fiesta

ndāhā  chīñō
hand  work
tools of one's trade

ta  kwihrnā
he  robbery
robber

(See also 7.32.)
Noun or pronoun plus numeral:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sāhya} & \quad \text{ovi} \\
\text{child} & \quad \text{two} \\
\text{second child} & \\
\text{kaā} & \quad \text{komi} \\
\text{bell} & \quad \text{four} \\
\text{four o’clock} & \\
\text{kivi} & \quad \text{ushu} \\
\text{day} & \quad \text{ten} \\
\text{tenth day} & \\
\text{ton} & \quad \text{uni} \\
\text{it:wod} & \quad \text{three} \\
\text{third wooden thing} &
\end{align*}
\]

Noun or pronoun plus stative verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sita} & \quad \text{vāhā} \\
\text{tortilla} & \quad \text{good} \\
\text{bread} & \\
\text{ñá} & \quad \text{ndáhvī} \\
\text{she} & \quad \text{poor} \\
\text{widow} & \\
\text{vēhē} & \quad \text{kāhnō} \\
\text{house big:so} & \quad \text{mansion} \\
\text{tá} & \quad \text{visi} \\
\text{it:lo} & \quad \text{sweet} \\
\text{soft drink} &
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.2 Prenominal elements. There are two elements that may precede the nucleus: specifier and quantifier.

There is one specifier, \textit{miī} ‘that very’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{miī} & \quad \text{vēhē} \\
\text{SPEC} & \quad \text{house} \\
\text{that very house} & \\
\text{miī} & \quad \text{rā} \\
\text{SPEC} & \quad \text{he} \\
\text{him (that very one)} &
\end{align*}
\]
(See also 7.25, 7.27, and 7.45.)

Quantifiers comprise both numerals and general quantifiers.

**Numerals:**

\[ \text{ñaña} \quad \text{lēsōn} \]
- one rabbit
- one rabbit (Sp. *conejo*)

\[ \text{okon} \quad \text{kivi} \]
- five day
- five days

\[ \text{ovi} \quad \text{taā} \]
- two man
- two men

**General quantifiers:**

\[ \text{kwaha} \quad \text{kītī} \]
- many animal
- many animals

\[ \text{lōhō} \quad \text{kivi} \]
- little day
- a few days

\[ \text{sāvā} \quad \text{ñānā} \]
- half woman
- some women

\[ \text{īnka} \quad \text{yīchi} \]
- another trail
- another trail

(See also 7.19–7.21, 7.44, and 7.81.)

The numeral *ñaña* 'one' is often used simply as an indefinite article. The first example above could also be glossed 'a rabbit'; see also 7.1–2 and 7.113.

### 3.1.3 Postnominal elements.

Three elements follow the nucleus: deictic, limiter, and relative clause.

Four elements occur as deictics. All of them are locative adverbs: *yōhō* 'here', *kāa* 'there' (visible), *kān* 'there' (not visible), and *xaan* 'there' (known place). When they occur with nouns, *yōhō* is glossed 'this', *kāa* and
kán are glossed 'that', and xaan (which refers to a noun already introduced in the text) is glossed 'that same'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vēhē} & \quad \text{yōhō} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{this} \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{house} \\
\text{yūon} & \quad \text{kāa} \\
\text{tree} & \quad \text{that:visible} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{tree} \\
\text{ńāhā} & \quad \text{kán} \\
\text{woman} & \quad \text{that} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{woman} \\
\text{míshtón} & \quad \text{xaan} \\
\text{cat} & \quad \text{that:same} \\
\text{that same cat} & \quad \text{(old Sp. mistón)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.31, 7.42, 7.52, 7.60, 7.95, and various others.)

The limiter vā 'just' follows the nucleus.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{īnā} & \quad \text{vā} \\
\text{dog} & \quad \text{LIM} \\
\text{just} & \quad \text{the dog} \\
\text{sīta} & \quad \text{vā} \\
\text{tortilla} & \quad \text{LIM} \\
\text{just} & \quad \text{tortillas} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.42, 7.78, and 7.109.)

Relative clauses follow the nucleus. There are no relative pronouns; relative clauses are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or prestressed pronouns and by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. There is otherwise no change in the order of constituents within relative clauses.

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any noun or prepositional phrase within them. A locative noun or preposition associated with the head noun is retained in its original position in the relative clause. When the locative noun noo 'face' is the head of a relative clause, it means 'place where'.
With subject as head:

\[
\begin{align*}
ta & \quad sikō \quad mūñēkō \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{con:sell puppet} \\
& \quad \text{he who sells puppets (Sp. \textit{muñeco})}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ta & \quad iyō \quad ŋōyívī \quad kān \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{con:sit:sg world that} \\
& \quad \text{he who is in heaven}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ńā & \quad kōō \quad shīhūn \quad rā \\
\text{she} & \quad \text{pot:sit:sg with him} \\
& \quad \text{she who will marry him}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ńā & \quad nákāa \quad tishīn \quad ńā \\
\text{it:inan} & \quad \text{con:be:located stomach her} \\
& \quad \text{that which is in her womb}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.26–27.)

With object as head:

\[
\begin{align*}
ńā & \quad shīshī \quad i \\
\text{it:inan} & \quad \text{con:eat I} \\
& \quad \text{that which I eat}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ńā & \quad kāsā \quad vahā \quad ńā \\
\text{it:inan} & \quad \text{pot:do good she} \\
& \quad \text{that which she will make}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
sita & \quad sikō \quad nā \\
\text{tortilla} & \quad \text{con:sell they} \\
& \quad \text{the tortillas which they sell}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.33 and 7.113.)

With adjunct as head:

\[
\begin{align*}
ta & \quad ni \quad tāshī \quad rā \quad tūtū \quad ndāhā \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{com give he paper hand} \\
& \quad \text{the man he gave the paper to}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ńā & \quad ni \quad kahan \quad ūn \quad shāha \\
\text{she} & \quad \text{com speak you:sg foot} \\
& \quad \text{she on whose behalf you spoke}
\end{align*}
\]
noo kwahan rā
face con:go he
the place where he’s going

noo chinōō nā sita
face com:place:on she tortilla
the place where she put tortillas

noo iyó yūtū
face con:sit:sg cornfield
the place where the cornfield lies

(See also 7.8 and 7.31.)

With peripheral location as head:

noo shishāhā tīsūhu
face con:graze goat
the place where goats graze

noo nakkūhān nā shighth taā
face com:meet they with man
the place where they met a man

Relative clauses based on peripheral time may be headed by a temporal	noun or the noun tāhān ‘companion’, with the meaning ‘time when’.

kivi kākū sāhya nā
day pot:be:born child her
the day her child was to be born

tyēmpō ni shinhō kimi
time com appear star
the time (Sp. tiempo) the star appeared

tāhān kānī savi
companion con:hit rain:god
the time when it was raining

tāhān sha kwahan rā
companion near:time con:go he
the time when he was already on his way

Equative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

ta kūū mārtōmō
he con:be host
the man who is host (of a fiesta) (Sp. mayordomo)
ta  ni  ndūū  kūtī  
he  com  change:into  animal  
he  who  changed  into  an  animal  

Stative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject.

yūtā  kwāhā  
flower  red  
red  flower  

īnā  māsō  
dog  tame  
tame  (Sp.  manso)  dog  

yīchi  kīnī  
trail  ugly  
bad  trail  

tūtā  visi  
atole  sweet  
sweet  atole  

(See  also  7.19  and  7.62.)

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

vēhē  kāhnō  
house  big:sg  
big  house  

vēhē  nāhnō  
house  big:pl  
big  houses  

yīon  nānī  
tree  long:pl  
long  sticks  

lāshā  lōhō  
orange  little:sg  
little  orange  (Sp.  naranja)  

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

\[ \text{mónó} \quad \text{ñima} \]
doll wax
wax doll (Sp. *mono*)

\[ \text{vēhē} \quad \text{yīton} \]
house tree
house made of wood

\[ \text{kwēntó} \quad \text{ndūshū} \]
story chicken
chicken story (Sp. *cuento*)

(See also 7.5.)

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. All possible combinations of elements occur in the order specifier, quantifier, nucleus, relative clause, deictic, and limiter, with the only restrictions involving postnuclear elements. Relative clause and deictic occur together only if the relative clause consists of nothing more than a stative verb. Also, a limiter cannot directly follow a relative clause without an intervening deictic.

\[ \text{mīi} \quad \text{ovi} \quad \text{īnā} \quad \text{kwehe} \quad \text{kán} \]
spec two dog fierce that
those same two fierce dogs

\[ \text{sāvā} \quad \text{vēhē} \quad \text{vā} \quad \text{yóhō} \]
some house lim this
just some of these houses

\[ \text{ńīi} \quad \text{tisūhū} \quad \text{lōhō} \quad \text{kán} \]
one goat little:so that
that one little goat

Under certain discourse conditions, the nucleus of a noun phrase may be unexpressed, leaving a quantifier or a deictic as the only manifestation of a noun phrase.

\[ \text{inka} \]
another
another (one)

\[ \text{yóhō} \]
this
this (one)
(See also 7.38, 7.54, 7.105, and 7.114.)

3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

Measurement noun phrases have a noun expressing a unit of measurement as their nucleus, and they must contain a quantifier. They also optionally include a short relative clause based on a stative verb. Measurement noun phrases occur only as quantifiers in other noun phrases, and in the following examples, the higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

uni tihvi (nivï)
three group (person)
three groups (of people)

ñii kōhndõ lõhõ vā (lāshá)
one pile little:SG LIM (orange)
just one little pile (of oranges)

ushu nōmi (yīā)
ten bunch (flower)
ten bunches (of flowers)

ovi sisō (tīton)
two back:load (firewood)
two loads (of firewood)

3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. The specifier and quantifier may precede the nucleus, and a brief relative clause containing a stative verb may follow it. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to nouns that can be possessed. They are either inherently possessed nouns, which are largely body parts and kinship terms, or they are optionally possessed nouns. The possessor is a full noun phrase with no special genitive marking.

With inherently possessed nouns:

sata rā
back his
his back

uni ñānī váli ta kān
three brother:ME little:PL his that
his three little brothers
"ndũuni sãhya nãhã
all:three child woman
all three of the woman's children
kwaha nĩ sãhya ìnã nĩ sìkõ ta kãn
many INTS child dog COM sell he that
very many puppies of the dog that he sold
ndãha yũn sãvã nivi
hand left half person
the left hands of some people
(See also 7.3, 7.18-7.21, 7.34, and others.)

With optionally possessed nouns:

ńiũi vëhë rã
one house his
a house of his

doã lõhõ ìnka taã
shirt little:so another man
little shirt (Sp. cotón) of another man

miũ ovi yũchu ta xaan
SPEC two machete his that:same
the same two machetes of that man

vëhë kãhnõ rã
house big:so his
his big house
(See also 7.2, 7.4, 7.9, and others.)

When the possessor is a poststressed pronoun, a deictic may follow the possessor and refer to the nucleus.

sísí ũn kãã
aunt your:so that:visible
that aunt of yours
(See also 7.60.)

A possessive noun phrase may occur as the possessor in another possessive noun phrase.
isí  siní  rā
hair  head  his
his hair

nīi  taā  ŋōō  i
one  man  town  my
a man of my town

sūō  yivā  rā
uncle  father  his
his father's uncle

The inherently possessed noun táhān ‘companion’ sometimes means ‘time’.

táhān  yoo  vikō  ndīī
companion  moon  fiesta  cadaver
time of the month of the All Saints' fiesta

The inherently possessed noun noo ‘face’, when preceded by a quantifier, often has the special meaning ‘kind of’.

ndīhī  noo  kīī
all  face  animal
all kinds of animals

3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed by combining an interrogative word with a noun phrase. The interrogative is always initial in its noun phrase and, except for indirect questions, the interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence (see §§1.1.8 and 1.2.2). To ask which one, the nominal marker ndā ‘which?’ and the interrogative pronoun yūkū ‘what?’ are used; yūkū is restricted to animate referents.

ndā  kwāyī
which  horse
which horse (Sp. caballo)?

ndā  taā
which  man
which man?

yūkū  taā
what  man
which man?
\textit{ndá} \textit{yíchi}
which trail
which trail?

(See also 7.31.)

To question a quantifier, the interrogative adverb \textit{ndásáá} ‘how?’ is used.

\textit{ndásáá} \textit{tāyi}
how chair
how many chairs?

\textit{ndásáá} \textit{ñáhā}
how woman
how many women?

\textit{ndásáá} \textit{tākwiī}
how water
how much water?

To question a possessor, \textit{yō} ‘who?’ precedes the noun. This construction
is also used to question adjuncts which have the form of a possessive noun
phrase (see §§1.1.4 and 1.2.2).

\textit{yō} \textit{vēhē}
who house
whose house?

\textit{yō} \textit{ndāha}
who hand
to whom? or whose hand?

\textit{yō} \textit{shāha}
who foot
for whom? or whose foot?

\textit{yō} \textit{noo}
who face
in place of whom? or to whom? or whose face

3.5 Emphatic Noun Phrases

Emphatic noun phrases consist of both negative and affirmative subtypes,
with the negative type being by far the more common. The affirmative
consists of the nominal marker ściwi followed by a noun phrase. The negative consists of the nominal negative markers ściwi or āmā followed by a noun phrase. Emphatic noun phrases occur only in focus position. In the following examples, the portion of the sentence outside the emphatic noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

Affirmative:

ściwi yīvā ūn (kūū rā)  
AFF father your:SG (con:be he)  
(He is) really your father.

ściwi ta chiñō (kisā kwīhnā rā ņōō yōhō)  
AFF he work (con:do robbery he town this)  
that very town authority (robbed this town).

Negative:

ściwi yīvā i (kūū rā)  
NEG father my (con:be he)  
(He's) not my father.

ściwi ndūchu toōn (kōnī i)  
NEG bean black (con:want I)  
(It's) not black beans (I want).

ściwi ndāha ņā (tashī ūn tūtū)  
NEG hand her (con:give you:SG paper)  
not to her (did you give the book).

āmā ņāsīhī rā (kūū ņā)  
NEG wife his (con:be she)  
(she's) not his wife.

(See also 7.78 and 7.109.)

3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

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

6The nominal marker ściwi is almost certainly derived from the equative verb ściwi, which now is rarely used (see §§1.1.5 and 2.2).
yūtā kwū
green river

yīchi ndahyi
trail muddy
muddy trail

kāa shitaan
bell early
an early hour

The locative noun yīchi ‘trail’, when preceded by a quantifier or quantifier phrase, often has the special meaning ‘time’.

kwaha nī yīchi
many INTRs trail
very many times

īnka yīchi
another trail
another time

The near-time marker shā optionally precedes the quantifier in this construction, as seen in 7.84 and 7.86.

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with an inherently possessed locative noun as nucleus. These nouns include a subset of body-part nouns, which are used with extended meanings (see §5.3.2). Adverbial possessive noun phrases are used in all noun-phrase positions, but they are especially common as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

sata vēhē
the back outside the house

yūhu nōō yōhō
mouth town this
the edge of this town

tishūn sēmānā yōhō
stomach week this
within the week (Sp. semana)

shaha yoo
foot moon
the beginning of the month
shaha ndūchú noó i
foot bean face my
the base of my eyeball

noo nivē
face person
in front of the people

sohō kisi
ear pot
the handle of the pot

ndāha ŋá
hand her
to her

(See also 7.8, 7.53, 7.83, 7.89, and 7.105.)

3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun phrases in the same structural position joined without a conjunction. They occur in any noun-phrase position, and the second noun phrase often contains a relative clause. When one of the noun phrases is a personal name, it is often combined with a prestressed pronoun to show respect (see §3.10).

yōhō / migō i
you:so friend my
you, my friend (Sp. amigo)

miū taā / ta ni shahan yūku
spec man he com go mountain
that same man, he who went to the mountain country

ŋá māriā / sīśī i
she Mary aunt my
Mary (Sp. Mariā), my aunt

tatan / ŋā kūtatan kīhvā rā
medicine it:inan pot:cure sister:his
the medicine, that which will cure his sister

ŋūō / noo kisā chiṅō rā
town face cond:do work he
the town, the place where he works
kívi / táhān ni kākā sāhya ùn
day companion com be:born child your:sg
the day, the time when your son was born

órá / ŋā ni shāa rā
hour it:inAN com arrive he
the hour (Sp. hora), the one he arrived

(See also 7.8 and 7.62.)

Appositional noun phrases have at least four specific functions. The first of these is to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified. Such appositional noun phrases often have a proper name or a pronoun as the nucleus of the first part.

ta kāhvī / ta xwán
man com:study he John
the student, John (Sp. Juan)

ta xwán / ta ndīsō chīnō
he John he com:carry:on:back work
John, the man who is in charge

ňākán / ŋā nani mārīā
she she com:be:named Mary
she, the one who is named Mary

A second function of appositional noun phrases is to give more information about a noun or pronoun than is allowed in one noun phrase. Each of the component noun phrases usually contains a relative clause.

ĩnā kāhnō / ti kwāán
dog big:sg it:AML yellow
the big dog, the yellow one

tiũn chēē / ti yāā / ti nishāšī yihī
turkey big:male it:AML white it:AML com:eat me
the macho turkey, the white one, the one who bit me

sāhya rā / ŋā shikwaha / ŋā lēvī
child his she old she pretty
his child, the grown-up one, the pretty one

A third function of appositional noun phrases is to express the owner of a specific animal or spherical object. Because nouns referring to specific kinds of animals or spherical objects cannot occur as the nucleus of a possessive noun phrase, they occur in apposition to a possessive noun
phrase with the inherently possessed noun *sana* ‘domestic animal’ or ‘spherical object’ as its nucleus.

\[\text{inā} / \text{sana} \quad \text{rā} \]
dog domestic:animal his
his dog

\[\text{ndūshū} / \text{sana} \quad \text{ñā} \]
chicken domestic:animal her
her chickens

\[\text{nāñā} / \text{sana} \quad \text{i} \]
tomato spherical:object my
my tomatoes

A fourth function of appositional noun phrases is to express ordinals. It consists of two noun phrases, the second of which is a complex noun nucleus formed by a prestressed pronoun and a numeral.

\[\text{sēmáná} / \text{ñā} \quad \text{ovi} \]
week it:INAN two
the second week (Sp. *semana*)

\[\text{kwáyi} / \text{tí} \quad \text{uni} \]
horse it:AML three
the third horse

\[\text{grābādórā} / \text{tón} \quad \text{komi} \]
tape:recorder it:WOD four
the fourth tape recorder (Sp. *grabadora*)

### 3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Noun phrases may be linked in either a coordinate or a disjunctive relationship. Noun phrases may also be linked by repeating the verb; this is described in §6.1.2.

There are two ways of linking noun phrases in a coordinate relation. In the first type, noun phrases are linked by the preposition *shihín* ‘with’.

\[\text{ta xwān} \quad \text{shihín} \quad \text{ta pánchó} \]
he John with he Frank
John and Frank (Sp. *Pancho*)

\[\text{ñīī} \quad \text{ta ndāhvi} \quad \text{shihín} \quad \text{ñāshi} \quad \text{rā} \]
one he poor with wife his
a poor man and his wife
ñá māráš shihín ta pāńchó shihín ñúi inka tāa
she Mary with he Frank , with one another man
Mary and Frank and another man

ndāha ta xwán shihín ndāha ta pēdró
hand his John with hand his Peter
to John and Peter (Sp. Pedro)

If there are more than two noun phrases linked in a coordinate relation, shihín can be omitted except before the final noun phrase.

ta xwán ñá māráš ta pāńchó shihín nāvēhē nā
he John she Mary he Frank with family their
John, Mary, Frank, and their families

When an additive noun phrase functions as the subject of an intransitive verb, it is sometimes ambiguous with a simple noun phrase subject followed by an associative adjunct (see §1.1.4).

ni shīshī rā shihín sāhya rā
com eat he with child his
He and his children ate. or He ate with his children.

Some additive phrases with shihín show possession. These consist of a noun or prestressed pronoun with an animate referent linked by shihín to a noun phrase that refers to an inanimate possessed object.

ta shihín vēhē
he with house
he who owns the house

ñálōhō shihín ndūxan shaá
girl with shoe new
the girl with new shoes

(See also 7.25 and 7.39.)

Some additive phrases with shihín show attraction. The first phrase must contain a plural pronoun or quantifier, and the second phrase specifies some or all of the referents expressed by the first phrase. The more common type is appositional: the additive noun phrase expressing the second part has exactly the same set of referents as the first part.
\( \text{ndiuni} \ nā \ / \ \text{miī} \ ŋā \ \text{shihin} \)
all: three they \text{spec} she \text{with}

\( \text{kihvī} \ ŋā \ \text{shihin} \ \text{kihvā} \ ŋā \)
sister: \text{fe} her \text{with} brother: \text{fe} her
all three of them, she herself and her sister and her brother

\( \text{ndiuni} \ nā \ / \ \text{ta} \ \text{xwán} \ ŋā \ \text{māřīā} \ \text{shihin} \ \text{ta} \ \text{pāńchó} \)
all: three they \text{he} John \text{she} Mary \text{with} \text{he} Frank
all three of them, John, Mary, and Frank

\( \text{ndikomi} \ nā \ / \ \text{ta} \ \text{xwán} \ ŋā \ \text{māřīā} \ \text{ta} \ \text{pāńchó} \)
all: four they \text{he} John \text{she} Mary \text{he} Frank

\( \text{shihin} \ \text{sāhyā} \ rā \)
with child \text{his}
all four of them, John, Mary, Frank, and his child

When the second part expresses only some of the referents of the first part, \text{shihin} ‘with’ can be translated ‘including’.

\( \text{ndiövi} \ \text{ndi} \ \text{shihin} \ \text{kihvī} \ i \)
all: two \text{we:ex} with \text{sister:fe} \text{my}
both of us, including my sister

An example of this construction is found in 7.91; the first part consists of the inclusive pronoun ŋó fused to the verb (see §5.4).

A second way noun phrases may be linked in a coordinate relation is by use of the general marker \text{tin} ‘also’. The marker may be repeated after the second and each succeeding noun phrase in a series, or it may appear only after the final one.

\( \text{ta} \ \text{xwán} \ ŋā \ \text{māřīā} \ \text{tin} \ \text{ta} \ \text{pāńchó} \ \text{tin} \)
\text{he} John \text{she} Mary also \text{he} Frank also
John, Mary, and Frank

\( \text{būrō} \ \text{kwáyī} \ \text{ndi} \text{vahyī} \ \text{sindiki} \ \text{tin} \)
donkey horse coyahyī coyote cow also
donkeys (Sp. \text{burro}), horses, coyotes, and cattle

Two or more noun phrases may be linked in a disjunctive relationship by placing the YEŞ/NO interrogative marker ŋ’n, which is used in this construction to mean ‘or’, before each noun phrase, or before all but the first.
án láshá án ndahya
INT orange INT peach
either oranges or peaches

án vēhē chiňō án ūnka vēhē
INT house work INT another house
either the town hall or another building

án sita án ndūchu án yāha
INT tortilla INT bean INT chili
either tortillas or beans or chilies

án ndūchu án sita án yāhā án ūn
INT bean INT tortilla INT chili INT salt
beans or tortillas or chilies or salt

A negative disjunction is expressed by using nī ‘nor’ (Sp. nī) preceding each noun phrase.

nī nā māńā nī yū nā
nor she Mary nor husband her
neither Mary nor her husband

nī yūchu nī yāchā nī kūchîyō
nor machete nor ax nor knife
neither machete nor ax (Sp. hacha) nor knife (Sp. cuchillo)

3.9 Distributive Noun Phrases

Distributive noun phrases may be formed in one of three ways. The first subtype is formed by the repetition of a noun phrase which contains ūnī ‘one’ and a noun nucleus.

ūnī ūnō ūnī ūnō
one town one town
town to town

ūnī vēhē ūnī vēhē
one house one house
house to house

The second subtype is formed by the repetition of a noun phrase preceded by tāhān ‘companion’ or its shortened form tá.

tāhān ūnō tāhān ūnō
companion town companion town
town to town
tá vēhē tá vēhē
companion house companion house
house to house

The third subtype is formed by a repetition of the general marker tūkū 'again', followed by a short noun phrase.

\[
\begin{align*}
tūkū & \quad tūkū \quad ŋūō \\
\text{REP} & \quad \text{REP} \quad \text{town} \\
\text{town after town} \\
tūkū & \quad tūkū \quad vēhē \\
\text{REP} & \quad \text{REP} \quad \text{house} \\
\text{house after house}
\end{align*}
\]

3.10 Personal-Name Noun Phrases

Personal-name noun phrases consist of two elements: a gender marker and a nucleus. The prestressed third person pronouns ta 'he' and ŋá 'she' mark gender in these phrases. The nucleus is a personal name that agrees in gender with the marker. These phrases occur as nuclei in other noun phrases, and are usually employed to refer to an adult by name, except as a vocative or as the nominal complement of nānī 'to be named'.

\[
\begin{align*}
ŋá & \quad māriā \\
\text{she} & \quad \text{Mary} \\
\text{Mary} \\
ta & \quad xwán \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{John} \\
\text{John}
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes in folktales the prestressed third person animal pronoun is also used in this way, perhaps to indicate a tongue-in-cheek respect.

\[
\begin{align*}
tí & \quad lēsōn \\
\text{it:AML} & \quad \text{rabbit} \\
\text{Mr. Rabbit} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.8, 7.53, 7.73, and various others.)
4
Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases. In additive numeral phrases single numerals combine to form the numerals eleven through fourteen, sixteen through nineteen, twenty-one through thirty, thirty-five, and certain combinations involving hundred and thousand. The order of these numerals is fixed, and they form a close-knit unit.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ushu} & \quad \text{ńii} \\
\text{ten} & \quad \text{one} \\
\text{eleven} \\
\text{ushu} & \quad \text{komi} \\
\text{ten} & \quad \text{four} \\
\text{fourteen} \\
\text{shahun} & \quad \text{komi} \\
\text{fifteen} & \quad \text{four} \\
\text{nineteen} \\
\text{oko} & \quad \text{shahun} \\
\text{twenty} & \quad \text{fifteen} \\
\text{thirty-five} \\
\text{syéntó} & \quad \text{oko} \\
\text{hundred} & \quad \text{twenty} \\
\text{one hundred (Sp. ciento) twenty}
\end{align*}
\]
mil  ushu
thousand   ten
one thousand (Sp. mil) ten

Additive numeral phrases may contain more than two elements to form
the numerals thirty-one through thirty-four, thirty-six through thirty-nine,
and other larger numerals.

oko  ushu  ni
twenty  ten  one
thirty-one

oko  shahun  komi
twenty  fifteen  four
thirty-nine

syéntó  oko  shahun  ovi
hundred  twenty  fifteen  two
one hundred thirty-seven

mil  oko  ohon
thousand  twenty  five
one thousand twenty-five

4.1.2 Attributive numeral phrases. Multiples of twenty, one hundred,
and one thousand are expressed by attributive numeral phrases, which
have two parts in a quantifier-nucleus relationship. The larger numeral
occurs second. A suppletive form of twenty, siko, is used as the nucleus of
attributive numeral phrases.

ovi  siko
two  twenty
forty

komi  siko
four  twenty
eighty

ohon  syéntó
five  hundred
five hundred

ushu  mil
ten  thousand
ten thousand
Attributive numeral phrases combine with additive numeral phrases to form all the remaining nonsimple numerals.

\[
\begin{align*}
ovi & \quad siko & \quad shähun & \quad nīi \\
\text{two} & \quad \text{twenty} & \quad \text{fifteen} & \quad \text{one} \\
& \quad \text{fifty-six}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
usaha & \quad syéntō & \quad ushu & \quad komi \\
\text{seven hundred} & \quad \text{ten} & \quad \text{four} \\
& \quad \text{seven hundred fourteen}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
iño & \quad mil & \quad uni & \quad syéntō & \quad ovi & \quad siko & \quad uni \\
\text{six thousand} & \quad \text{three hundred} & \quad \text{two} & \quad \text{twenty} & \quad \text{three} \\
& \quad \text{six thousand three hundred forty-three}
\end{align*}
\]

4.1.3 **Aggregative numeral phrases.** A numeral and either of two numeral classifiers combine to form aggregative numeral phrases. The numerical marker \(mātōhōn\) occurs only with the numeral one, and the combination means ‘just one’; and the inherently possessed noun \(tāhān\) ‘companion’ occurs with any number except one and means either ‘parts of a whole’ or ‘item in a group’. These phrases occur as quantifiers in noun phrases and as nuclei in other numeral phrases. In the following examples, an entire noun phrase is given with the parts outside the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.

\[
\begin{align*}
nīi & \quad mātōhōn & \quad (yīton) \\
\text{one} & \quad \text{only} & \quad \text{(tree)} \\
& \quad \text{just one (tree)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
komī & \quad tāhān & \quad (yīton) \\
\text{four} & \quad \text{companion} & \quad \text{(tree)} \\
& \quad \text{four sections (of a tree) or four (trees) in a group}
\end{align*}
\]

4.1.4 **Expanded numeral phrases.** A simple numeral or an additive, attributive, or aggregative numeral phrase may serve as the nucleus of expanded numeral phrases. These phrases also include one optional prenuclear element and three optional postnuclear elements.

The prenuclear element is expressed by the numeral \(nīi\) ‘one’, used in the sense of ‘approximately’; the specifier \(mī\) ‘that very’; and the general quantifiers \(īnka\) ‘another’ and \(ndī\), a shortened form of \(ndīhī\) ‘all’. The quantifier \(ndī\)- combines with simple numerals to form a set of quantifiers that function in a larger discourse context referring to previously mentioned numbers of items or people.
ńiįi  oko  (taā)
one twenty (man)
about twenty (men)

īnka  ushu  (tāyi)
another ten (chair)
another ten (chairs)

mū  ohon  (sindiki)
spec five (cattle)
the same five (cattle)

ndikomi  (vēhē)
all:four (house)
all four (houses)

ndiovi  (nā)
all:two (they)
both (of them)

The first postnuclear element is a class of limiters that includes the
stative verb kwii ‘short’, used in this construction to mean ‘only’; the
general marker tūkū ‘again’, used in this construction to mean ‘another’;
and the numerical markers ndaa ‘exactly’ and lāā ‘only’.

ushu  kwii  (sita)
ten  short (tortilla)
only ten (tortillas)

ovi  tūkū  (yīchi)
two  rep (trail)
another two (times) (lit. another two trails)

ushu  ndaa  (tāyi)
ten  exactly (chair)
extactly ten (chairs)

ńiįi  lāā  (taā)
one only (man)
only one (man)

The second postnuclear element includes the limiter vā ‘just’ and the
additive ka ‘more’.

unī  vā  (taā)
three  lim (man)
just three (men)
ñii lāá vā (nūō)
one only lim (town)
just only one (town)

ovi lāá ka (kivi)
two only add (day)
only two more (days)

ohon kwūi vā (nivi)
five short lim (person)
just only five (people)

ovi syēntó ka (sindiki)
two hundred add (cattle)
two hundred more (cattle)

ñii lāá ka (sīnī)
one only add (hat)
just one more (hat)

These two postnuclear elements may occur with each other and with the prenuclear element.

ñii ovi siko tūkū (rī)
one two twenty rep (it:aml)
about forty more (animals)

īnka ovi kwūi vā (sītā)
another two short lim (tortilla)
just another two (tortillas)

The third postnuclear element comprises only the general quantifier sāvā ‘half’. This element usually follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the numeral phrase occurs, in which case the quantifier phrase is discontinuous. Postnuclear elements follow sāvā in discontinuous quantifier phrases.

uni (kivi) sāvā kwūi vā
three (day) half short lim
just only three and a half (days)

When the nucleus of the numeral phrase contains syēntó ‘hundred’ or mil ‘thousand’, however, the fraction follows the nucleus of the expanded numeral phrase.
nīi syéntó sāvā (pésó)
one hundred half (peso)
one hundred fifty (pesos [Sp. peso])

ovi míl sāvā tūkū ka (taā)
two thousand half REP ADD (man)another two thousand five hundred more (men)

4.1.5 General quantifier phrases. Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases are similar in structure to expanded numeral phrases. They include a nucleus, expressed by a general quantifier, optionally preceded by the specifier mī or the negative vāsā, and optionally followed by two postmodifiers. The first is expressed by the intensifier nī ‘very’ and the general marker tūkū ‘again’, and the second by the limiter vā ‘just’ and the additive ka ‘more’.

kwaha nī (láshá)
many INTS (orange)
very many (oranges [Sp. naranja])

mī inka (vēhē)
spec another (house)
that same other (house)

vāsā ndīhī ka (nivī)
NEG all ADD (person)
not all the rest (of the people)

sāvā tūkū vā (taā)
half REP LIM (man)
just also some (men)

lōhō ka (kafē)
little ADD (coffee)
a little more (coffee [Sp. cafē])

(See also 7.84 and 7.86.)

4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases. There are two ways to form distributive numeral phrases. In the first, a grammatically simple numeral is repeated. This phrase expresses the meaning ‘one by one’, ‘two by two’, etc. The phrase may be repeated, with pause between the pairs, to indicate intensification.

nīi nīi (vēhē)
one one (house)
each (house)
ovi ovi (taā)
two two (man)
(the men) two by two

ovi ovi / ovi ovi (kāi)
two two . two two (animal)
(the animals) two by two, two by two

In the second way, the noun tāhān ‘companion’ occurs before each numeral.

tāhān komi tāhān komi (िnā)
companion four companion four (dog)
(the dogs) four by four

Compare these phrases with distributive noun phrases (see §3.9), which are often similar in meaning.

4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases. Two or more numerals of limited complexity, with the succeeding ones expressing a somewhat higher quantity, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The numerals may be simply juxtaposed, in which case they express an approximation.

shahun oko (vēhē)
fifteen twenty (house)
about fifteen to twenty (houses)

ohon iño (sita)
five six (tortilla)
five or six (tortillas)

ovi uni komi (kivi)
two three four (day)
two to four (days)

It is also possible to use the YES/NO interrogative marker án before each numeral, or before each except the first, in which case they express alternative quantities.

uni án komi (tāyi)
three INT four (chair)
three or four (chairs)

án ovi án uni (tiūtiū)
INT two INT three (paper)
either two or three (papers)
komi án ohon án iⁿo (taā)
four INT five INT six (man)
four or five or six (men)

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. A nucleus, one optional prenuclear element, and two optional postnuclear elements combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus is expressed by a locative, temporal, or general adverb. The prenuclear element is the near-time marker sha. Postnuclear elements are manner, expressed by intensifying elements, and the limiter/additive position, expressed by vā 'just' and ka 'more', respectively.

With locative adverbs:

chikāa vā
over:there LIM
just over there

nino ni ka
up INTS ADD
much farther up

nina ka
down ADD
farther down

(See also 7.10.)

With temporal adverbs:

sha shikwāa ni
near:time late INTS
already very late

viūn ni vā
now INTS LIM
just this very moment

nahā ni
continuing INTS
for a long time

(See also 7.2.)
With general adverbs:

\[ \text{sāa } \text{vā} \]
thus \( \text{lim} \)
just like that

(See also 7.101.)

4.2.2 Appositional adverb phrases. Any two of the following structures may be juxtaposed to form appositional adverb phrases: adverbs, adverb phrases, adverbial noun phrases, or prepositional phrases.

\[ \text{chikāa } \text{/ sata vēhē rā} \]
over:there back house his
over there, behind his house

\[ \text{ñōō } \text{yō } \text{/ yōhō} \]
town our:in here
our town here

\[ \text{kōnī } \text{/ lūnē} \]
yesterday Monday
yesterday, Monday (Sp. lunes)

\[ \text{chikān } \text{/ ńī vēhē} \]
over:there inside house
over there, inside the house

\[ \text{shikā } \text{nī } \text{/ noo kīshi nā} \]
far into face come come they
very far, where they come from

4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases. Two noncoreferential adverbs linked by \( \text{tā} \) ‘and’ form an additive adverb phrase. \( \text{tā} \) also optionally precedes the first adverb. The adverbs that combine in these phrases always show a close semantic relation.

\[ \text{ñōō } \text{tā } \text{nūvī} \]
night and all:day
night and day

\[ \text{yōhō } \text{tā } \text{kāa} \]
here and there:visible
here and there
tā viūn tā tāan
and now and tomorrow
today and tomorrow

4.2.4 Repetitive adverb phrases. The simple repetition of an adverb or of the repetitive marker tākū, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. The limiter vā ‘just’ may follow the last adverb in the phrase.

ndikōn ndikōn
soon soon
immediately

tākū tākū
REP REP
again and again

kwēē kwēē vā
slowly slowly LIM
just very slowly

It is also possible to repeat a short general adverb phrase that includes the intensifier nī, or to repeat an idiomatic phrase.

kāmā nī kāmā nī
fast INTS fast INTS
very fast

viūn tāan viūn tāan
now tomorrow now tomorrow
day after day

Repetitive adverb phrases occur commonly in preverbal manner position in content verb phrases (see §2.1.2). Their structure often parallels that of repetitive stative verb phrases (see §2.4).

4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which is expressed either by a noun phrase or an adverb. The set of prepositions is small because prepositional function is carried largely by locative nouns (see §§5.3.2 and 3.6). It includes only shīhīn ‘with’, anda or nda ‘until’, māhīnō ‘in the middle of’, and tānō ‘among’. Prepositional phrases usually express adjuncts (see §1.1.4) and peripheral elements (see §1.1.7).
shihin tisuhu
with goat
with the goats
shihin yuchu
with machete
with a machete
anda nno kahnó
until town big:go
as far as a big town
mahnó viko
in:middle:of fiesta
midway through the fiesta
tanó nivi
among person
among the people

(See also 7.3, 7.10, 7.43–45, 7.81, 7.96, 7.102, 7.105, and 7.112.)

The subordinate conjunction tá ‘if’ occasionally functions as a preposition
meaning ‘from’, as seen in 7.98. One locative adverb, yâtên ‘near’, also
functions as a preposition.

yâtên wèhè râ
near house his
near his house

Compound prepositional phrases occasionally occur; they consist of two
juxtaposed prepositional phrases with anda or nda ‘until’. They express the
spatial or temporal scope of an action, with the first instance of nda
translated ‘from’ and the second translated ‘as far as’ or ‘until’.

nda tändahyì anda tôkiïn
until Tlapa until Alacatlatzala
from Tlapa as far as Alacatlatzala

nda kiï nda koní
until day:before:yesterday until yesterday
from the day before yesterday until yesterday

One example has developed an idiomatic meaning.

nda kãa nda kivi
until there:visible until mistake
very confused or mixed-up
5
Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

5.1.1 Derivation. Content verbs may be derived from other content verbs, from stative verbs, from nouns, or, in at least one case, from an adverb, by means of derivational prefixes. Unless otherwise stated, all examples are given in potential aspect.

The prefix sā- ‘causative’ frequently combines with content verbs to add an agent. Some of these content verbs may undergo a change in tone or reduction in segments. The tone of sā- indicates the aspect of the verb.

sā-yāhā
CON:CAUS-pass
to pass (something)

sā-yīhvī
CON:CAUS-fear
to frighten

sā-kākū
POT:CAUS-escape
to rescue

sā-ndūshūn
CON:CAUS-be:buried
to bury
sá-náyáá
CON:CAUS-become:dry
to dry (something)

sá-kündishín
POT:CAUS-be:dressed
to dress (someone)

sá-ndáhá
POT:CAUS-be:healed
to heal, to fix (cf. nduváhá ‘POT:be:healed’)

sá-níhi
CON:CAUS-hold
to give as a gift

sá-táüí
POT:CAUS-borrow
to lend

The prefix sá- ‘causative’ sometimes also combines with a stative verb or a noun, either of which may undergo a tone change.

With a stative verb:

sá-ndáhví
POT:CAUS-poor
to cheat, to trick (cf. ndáhví ‘poor’)

(See also 7.44.)

With nouns:

sá-náná
POT:CAUS-image
to draw (cf. náhná ‘image’)

sá-kwáčhi
POT:CAUS-piece
to divide into parts

Less common causative prefixes, which probably also are derived from kássá ‘to do’, are ká-, kí, and kú-. They create content verbs from stative verbs, nouns, and other content verbs. The verbs below are all in potential aspect.
With stative verbs:

\[
\text{ki-ndåå} \\
\text{POT:CAUS-straight} \\
to cease, to leave alone
\]

\[
kå-vahå \\
\text{POT:CAUS-good} \\
to make
\]

With nouns:

\[
kå-chiňô \\
\text{POT:CAUS-work} \\
to work
\]

\[
kå-noo \\
\text{POT:CAUS-face} \\
to perch
\]

\[
kå-tatan \\
\text{POT:CAUS-medicine} \\
to treat
\]

With a content verb:

\[
kå-kõhõn \\
\text{POT:CAUS-POT:go} \\
to arrest (cf. kohon \text{POT:go}')
\]

Another prefix \textit{kå}- is a reduced form of \textit{kûkû} 'to be'. It combines with stative verbs and nouns to create content verbs.

With stative verbs:

\[
kå-ndeë \\
\text{POT:be-strong} \\
to endure
\]

\[
kå-yii \\
\text{POT:be-holy} \\
to be holy
\]

\[
kå-nåå \\
\text{POT:be-dark} \\
to be tired
\]
With nouns:

\[ kū-chîñô \]
\[ 
\text{Pot:} \text{be-work} \\
\text{to be able} 
\]

\[ kî-shâhå \]
\[ 
\text{Pot:} \text{be-foot} \\
\text{to begin (cf. shaha ‘foot’)} 
\]

(See also 7.63.)

In some verbs, \( kî- \) appears to be a reduced form of \( kîhîn \) ‘to get’.

\[ kî-ndeê \]
\[ 
\text{Pot:} \text{get-strong} \\
\text{to rest} 
\]

\[ kî-tâhån \text{ or } kû-tâhån \]
\[ 
\text{Pot:} \text{get-companion} \\
\text{to meet} 
\]

Some content verbs that begin with \( kâ- \) or \( kû- \) have less transparent derivations; it is not clear whether the prefixes are derived from ‘to do’ or ‘to be’.

\[ kâ-ndîshå \]
\[ 
\text{Pot:} \text{?-true} \\
\text{to believe and obey} 
\]

\[ kâ-ndûhû \]
\[ 
\text{Pot:} \text{?-fat} \\
\text{to be lying down} 
\]

\[ kû-\text{mani} \]
\[ 
\text{Pot:} \text{?-without:cost} \\
\text{to be lacking?} 
\]

The prefix \( ndû- \) is a shortened form of the verb \( ndûû \) ‘to change into’. It combines with stative verbs to form content verbs.

\[ ndû-\text{vahå} \]
\[ 
\text{Pot:} \text{change:into-good} \\
\text{to become well} 
\]

\footnote{The verb \textit{kûmani} ‘to lack’ has an alternative form \textit{kåså manî}, which has a complex nucleus, and is conjugated the same as the verb \textit{kåså ‘to do’}. The longer form has the additional meanings of ‘to do favors for’ or ‘to treat well’.
}
ndū-yākwa
pot:change:into-dirty
to become dirty

ndū-yāā
pot:change:into-white
to become white

ndū-kwiká
pot:change:into-rich
to become rich

ndū-vishin
pot:change:into-cold
to become cold

ndū-ndahyi
pot:change:into-muddy
to become muddy

In a few frozen forms the repetitive prefix nā- has combined with content verbs and nouns to form content verbs.

With content verbs:

nā-kātā
rep-pot:scratch
to wash

nā-kāhán
rep-con:think
to remember

nā-kāhmā
rep-pot:pound
to sew

nā-kāvā
rep-pot:turn
to fall (singular)

na-kāsi
rep-pot:cover:up
to close

(See also 7.45 and 7.66.)
With a noun:

\[ n\-y\-a \]
\textit{REP-dust}
to become dry

The prefix \textit{chi-} ‘to place’ combines with stative verbs, nouns, and (rarely) with content verbs or adverbs.

With stative verbs:

\[ c\-i\-n\-d\-e\-e \]
\textit{ROT:place-strong}
to help, to greet

\[ c\-i\-s\-e\-h\-e \]
\textit{ROT:place-hidden}
to hide (cf. \textit{sehé} ‘hidden’)

\[ c\-i\-n\-d\-a\-h\-u \]
\textit{ROT:place-fat}
to put down

With nouns:

\[ c\-i\-n\-o\-o \]
\textit{ROT:place-face}
to place on (a surface)

\[ c\-i\-n\-d\-a\-h\-a \]
\textit{ROT:place-hand}
to push, to send (cf. \textit{ndaha} ‘hand’)

With a content verb:

\[ c\-i\-n\-d\-o\-o \]
\textit{ROT:place-ROT:sit:PL}
to scatter

With an adverb:

\[ c\-i\-k\-a\-a \]
\textit{ROT:place-there:visible}
to put in (one thing)

There are several other prefixes which create content verbs from nouns and other content verbs. These show limited productivity and are often
indeterminate in meaning. They probably developed by means of the fusion of a complex verb nucleus (see §2.1.1) into a single word. They are: *ndā-*-, *tā-*-, and *tō-*.

With nouns:

*ndā-tōhōn*
DER-word
to tell, to advise

*tā-ndāhā*
DER-hand
to send

*tō-ndāhā*
DER-hand
to marry

With content verbs:

*ndā-nǐhī*
DER-CON:hold
to lift up

*ndā-ñōhō*
DER-CON:contain
to lose, to get lost

*ndā-kindōo*
DER-POT:stay:limited:time
to carry on the shoulder

All verb stems with more than two syllables are probably derived or fused forms, but the derivation is not always transparent.

*tō-ndāa*
DER-?
to touch

*ndā-kwiīn*
DER-?
to reply

*tā-kāa*
DER-?
to be hanging
ndá-koō
DER-?
to get up

sā-kwāhā
CAUS-?
to study, to learn

A few intransitive verbs indicate a singular or plural subject by a stem change, and one transitive verb indicates a singular or plural object in this way. These verbs are:

- **kùndīchi**
  - POT:stand:SG
  - to stand (one person)

- **yūtā**
  - POT:stand:PL
  - to stand (plural)

- **kōō**
  - POT:sit:SG
  - to sit (one person)

- **kùndōō**
  - POT:sit:PL
  - to sit (plural)

- **nākāvā**
  - POT:fall:SG
  - to fall (one person)

- **kōyō**
  - POT:fall:PL
  - to fall (plural)

- **ndētā**
  - POT:leave:open:area:SG
  - to leave an open area (one person)

- **ndikōyō**
  - POT:leave:open:area:PL
  - to leave an open area (plural)

- **kētā**
  - POT:leave:closed:area:SG
  - to leave an enclosed area (one person)

- **kikōyō**
  - POT:leave:closed:area:PL
  - to leave an enclosed area (plural)

- **chikāa**
  - POT:put:in:SG
  - to put in (one thing)

- **tāān**
  - POT:put:in:PL
  - to put in (more than one thing)

One verb is inherently negative.

**shūn** ‘to not want’

The verbs kōō ‘to exist’ or ‘to sit (singular)’ and kīvī ‘to be able’ have irregular negative forms, which are the same for all aspects. Both verbs are negated by a high tone on the last syllable.
*koó* ‘to not exist’

*kivi* ‘to not be able’

(See also 7.40 and 7.58.)

5.1.2 Inflection. Content and equative verbs are inflected for three aspects: potential, continuative, and completive. These three aspects are similar to future, present, and past tenses, but cannot be equated with them because, once a time frame has been established in the discourse context, all three aspects can occur to express time relative to that frame. For example, continuative aspect is often used for ongoing action in the past.

Potential aspect is the basic form of the verb. Continuative and completive aspects are best described by means of changes from the potential form.

Most two-syllable verb stems are regular and have a mid mid tone pattern in potential aspect. A few have a mid high or mid low tone pattern.

There are three major inflectional classes of verbs. In the first class, aspect inflection is carried only by tone, and in the remaining two, there are segmental changes as well.

In Class I, all three aspects have identical segments, and differ in tone only on the first syllable: potential aspect has mid tone, continuative aspect has high tone, and completive aspect has low tone. (Instead of a tone change, verbs in this class are optionally marked for completive by the preverbal element *ni* [see §2.1.2].)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POT</th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>grab</strong></td>
<td>tŭīn</td>
<td>tūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>look for</strong></td>
<td>ndūkū</td>
<td>ndūkū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>buy</strong></td>
<td>sātā</td>
<td>sátā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>close</strong></td>
<td>nākāsī</td>
<td>nākāsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tie up</strong></td>
<td>kātōn</td>
<td>kātōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>get up</strong></td>
<td>ndākoō</td>
<td>ndākoō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>be born</strong></td>
<td>kākū</td>
<td>kākū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class II is a relatively small class of verbs which require the prefix *ku-* for potential aspect, and the prefix *shi-* for completive aspect. Verbs in this class are divided into two subclasses according to their continuative aspect form. Some verbs have the *shi-* prefix in continuative aspect, and others
show no prefix in continuative. The tone patterns for verbs of Class II are the same as those for Class I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>POT</th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>kū-kwūn</td>
<td>shi-kwūn</td>
<td>shi-kwūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomp on</td>
<td>kū-ndōsō</td>
<td>shi-ndōsō</td>
<td>shi-ndōsō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomp around</td>
<td>kū-nūñī</td>
<td>shi-nūñī</td>
<td>shi-nūñī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dress</td>
<td>kū-ndīshūn</td>
<td>ndīshūn</td>
<td>shi-ndīshūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have</td>
<td>kū-kōmī</td>
<td>kōmī</td>
<td>shi-kōmī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit:pl</td>
<td>kū-ndōō</td>
<td>ndōō</td>
<td>shi-ndōō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contain</td>
<td>kū-ñōhō</td>
<td>ñōhō</td>
<td>shi-ñōhō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wait</td>
<td>kū-ndātī</td>
<td>ndātī</td>
<td>shi-ndātī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand:sg</td>
<td>kū-ñōdīñī</td>
<td>ñī-ñōdīñī</td>
<td>shi-ñōdīñī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fit</td>
<td>kū-nāñī</td>
<td>nāñī</td>
<td>shi-nāñī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Class III, the tone changes are the same as for Class I, but each potential aspect form in Class III begins with k or kw, while continuative and completive aspect forms begin with sh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>POT</th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>set fire</td>
<td>kāhmī</td>
<td>shāhmī</td>
<td>shāhmī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>kāshī</td>
<td>shāshī</td>
<td>shāshī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>kūshū</td>
<td>shīshī</td>
<td>shīshī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cry</td>
<td>kwākū</td>
<td>shākū</td>
<td>shakū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look</td>
<td>kōtō</td>
<td>shītō</td>
<td>shītō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>kātā</td>
<td>shītā</td>
<td>shītā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scratch</td>
<td>kātā</td>
<td>shātā</td>
<td>shātā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8The completive prefix shi- that occurs with Class II verbs is identical in shape to the remote time marker (see §2.1.2). They do not cooccur, and it is quite likely that the two are derived from the same source. They are distinct in present-day Alacatlaltzala Mixtec, however, as shown by the fact that the prefix occurs with some continuative aspect forms, but the marker never does.

According to data gathered after this study was substantially completed, there appears to be a third shi with the meaning 'perfective'. This shi differs from the remote time marker in that it occurs only with the potential aspect form of the verb, and it follows the completive marker.
walk \( \text{kākā} \) shikā shikā
kill \( \text{kāhnī} \) shāhnī shahnī
cut \( \text{kāhndā} \) shāhndā shahndā
grow \( \text{kwāhnō} \) shāhnō shahnō
burn \( \text{kōkō} \) shishī shishī
swing \( \text{kwīkō} \) shikō shikō

For a few verbs in Class III the completive marker \( nī \) is obligatorily present or absent. This often reduces ambiguity with similar forms. For example, \( ni \text{ shini} \) means ‘was intoxicated’, and \( shini \) means ‘knew’.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{POT} & \text{CON} & \text{COM} \\
\text{die} & \text{kīvī} & \text{shihī} & \text{ni shihī}
\text{see, know} & \text{kōnī} & \text{shinī} & \text{shinī}
\end{array}
\]

Some irregular verbs do not fit any of the above patterns.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{POT} & \text{CON} & \text{COM} \\
\text{carry on back} & \text{kwīsō} & \text{ndīsō} & \text{shindīsō} \\
\text{be} & \text{kūkūū} & \text{kūū} & \text{shikūū or ni kūū}^9 \\
\text{go} & \text{kohon} & \text{kwahan} & \text{ni shahan or kishāa} \\
\text{come} & \text{kīshī} & \text{vashī} & \text{kishī} \\
\text{arrive (home)} & \text{kishāa} & \text{kishāā} & \text{nashāa or kishāa} \\
\text{arrive (away)} & \text{shāa} & \text{shāa} & \text{nishāa} \\
\text{sit:sg, exist} & \text{kōō} & \text{yōō or iyō} & \text{nishiyo} \\
\text{play} & \text{kūsiki} & \text{sāsiki} & \text{s. sīkī} \\
\text{bathe} & \text{kūchū} & \text{chichī} & \text{chichī} \\
\text{be mounted on} & \text{kōsō} & \text{yōsō} & \text{yosō} \\
\text{sleep} & \text{kūśūn} & \text{kīsūn} & \text{kīsūn} \\
\text{not want} & \text{shūn} & \text{shūn} & \text{ni shūn}
\end{array}
\]

---

\[^9\text{There are two alternative completive forms of kūkūū 'to be'. For some speakers, shikūū is a perfective aspect, but for others there is no apparent difference in meaning.}\]
The verbs kóni ‘to want’ and kíndoò ‘to stay for a limited time’ are defective in that they occur only in continuative aspect for most speakers. The verb ni ndòò ‘to remain there’ occurs only in completive aspect.

Two motion verbs have special imperative forms.

\[
\begin{align*}
náhá & \quad \text{IMP:come} \\
& \quad \text{come!} \\
kwáhán & \quad \text{IMP:go} \\
& \quad \text{go! (cf. kwahan ‘CON:go’)}
\end{align*}
\]

The verb kóni ‘to want (continuative)’ is sometimes used with an object complement to express the aspectual notion ‘about to’ (see §1.1.9), and the verb shíká ‘to walk (continuative)’ is used in a juxtaposed construction to express continuing action (see §6.1.2).

5.2 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs differ from content and equative verbs in that they are not inflected for aspect. Stative verbs are either basic or derived from nouns. Rarely, derived stative verbs show a tone change from the nouns they are derived from.

Basic stative verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
yatá & \quad \text{‘old’} \\
lívì & \quad \text{‘pretty’} \\
kwáán & \quad \text{‘yellow’} \\
kíni & \quad \text{‘ugly’} \\
veé & \quad \text{‘heavy’} \\
tòon & \quad \text{‘dark’}
\end{align*}
\]

Derived stative verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
ndahyi & \quad \text{‘muddy’ (cf. ndahyi ‘mud’)} \\
yuu & \quad \text{‘rocky’ (cf. yuu ‘rock’)} \\
̄nhma & \quad \text{‘smoky’ (cf. ŋhma ‘smoke’)} \\
ndéé & \quad \text{‘strong’ (cf. ndéé ‘strength’)} \\
sáhán & \quad \text{‘greasy’ (cf. sahán ‘grease’)} \\
kwehe & \quad \text{‘fierce’ (cf. kwehe ‘sickness’)}
\end{align*}
\]
A few stative verbs are similar in form and meaning to transitive verbs.

\[ \text{ndási} \quad \text{‘closed’ (cf. nákkásí ‘to close’)} \]
\[ \text{táhnó} \quad \text{‘broken’ (cf. kahnō ‘to break’)} \]
\[ \text{táhndá} \quad \text{‘cut’ (cf. káhndá ‘to cut’)} \]

Three stative verbs have distinctive forms for singular and plural referents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>káni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>káhnō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little</td>
<td>lōhō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stative verb lōhō ‘little (singular)’ also functions as a general quantifier, and the stative verb vahā ‘good’ also functions as an intensifying adverb (see 7.19).

5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There are, however, some prefixes derived from generic nouns, which, when combined with another element, create new nouns. Often these prefixes are identical in form to prestressed pronouns (see §5.4). Nouns referring to names of animals, trees, and fruit are often formed in this way.

Animal names are often derived by the prefixes ti- and ndi-, both of which come from káti ‘animal’. The meaning of the stem often cannot be determined.

\[ \text{ti-yaká} \quad \text{‘fish’} \]
\[ \text{ti-ñoño} \quad \text{‘bee’ (cf. ñoño ‘honey’)} \]
\[ \text{ti-sühü} \quad \text{‘goat’ (cf. sühü ‘beard’)} \]
\[ \text{ti-nñó} \quad \text{‘spider’} \]
\[ \text{ti-kivá} \quad \text{‘butterfly’} \]
\[ \text{ndi-káchī} \quad \text{‘sheep’ (cf. káchī ‘cotton’)} \]
\[ \text{ndi-kämā} \quad \text{‘fly’ (cf. kämā ‘fast’)} \]
\[ \text{ndi-yohō} \quad \text{‘hummingbird’} \]
\[ \text{ndi-yóchín} \quad \text{‘wasp’} \]
A few fruit and vegetable names are formed by using the prefix ti-. (There is no noun in the language now for ‘fruit’ or ‘round object’, but the presence of one in other Mixtec languages suggests that there was one in the past, from which this prefix was derived.)

\[\begin{align*}
ti-kwáán & \quad \text{‘orange’ (cf. kwáán ‘yellow’)} \\
ti-nānā & \quad \text{‘tomato’} \\
ti-kwití & \quad \text{‘potato’} \\
ti-kōmī & \quad \text{‘onion, garlic’} \\
ti-kohndo & \quad \text{‘knee’ (cf. kōhndo ‘pile’)}
\end{align*}\]

Tree names often have the derivational prefix ton-, from yīton ‘tree’. It is identical in form to the prestressed pronoun ton ‘it’ (wood).

\[\begin{align*}
ton-tichí & \quad \text{‘avocado tree’ (cf. tichí ‘avocado’)} \\
ton-ndahyá & \quad \text{‘peach tree’ (cf. ndahyá ‘peach’)} \\
ton-vihndá & \quad \text{‘prickly pear cactus’} \\
ton-yoó & \quad \text{‘bamboo’ (cf. yoó ‘reed’)}
\end{align*}\]

Other prefixes that sometimes occur are: tā- (from ndūlā ‘liquid’), ta- (from taā ‘man’), ūhā (from ūhā ‘woman’), nā- (from nāhā ‘they’), and no- (from noo ‘face’).

\[\begin{align*}
tā-ndáyí & \quad \text{‘liquid from cooked beans’} \\
tā-visi & \quad \text{‘soft drink’ (cf. visi ‘sweet’)} \\
ta-chīñō & \quad \text{‘town authority’ (cf. chīñō ‘work’)} \\
ta-kāhvē & \quad \text{‘student’ (cf. kāhvē ‘constudy’)} \\
ūhā-sihi & \quad \text{‘wife’ (cf. sihi ‘mother’)} \\
nū-vēhē & \quad \text{‘family’ (cf. vēhē ‘house’)} \\
nō-ndāhā & \quad \text{‘fingertip’ (cf. ndāha ‘hand’)} \\
nō-shāhā & \quad \text{‘tip of toe’ (cf. shaha ‘foot’)}
\end{align*}\]

A few other prefixes occur in only one or two forms, and their source cannot at present be determined.

\[\begin{align*}
si-ndiki & \quad \text{‘cattle’ (cf. ndiki ‘horn’)} \\
rū-yívī & \quad \text{‘sky, world’ (cf. nívī ‘person’)} \\
rū-katón & \quad \text{‘knot’ (cf. katón ‘comtie’)}
\end{align*}\]
shí-tóhó ‘owner’ (cf. tohó ‘respect’)
shí-nahña ‘reflection’ (cf. nahná ‘image’)

5.3.2 Classification. Nouns fall into several cross-cutting classifications: they may be divided according to gender, possessibility, distribution, or countability.

Nouns fall into seven gender classes according to the third person pronouns that can refer to them: masculine, feminine, animal/spherical, liquid, wood/metal, inanimate, and collective (human). A few nouns fall into two classes; for example, kimi ‘star’ is classified as animal by some speakers and as inanimate by others, ánxeł ‘angel’ (Sp. ángel) and some other spirits are classified as animal by some speakers and as masculine by others, and animal names may be classified as either animal or masculine when used in folktales.

Masculine nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
tá & \quad \text{‘man’} \\
r\tilde{ny}ós & \quad \text{‘God’ (Sp. Dios)} \\
sí&ó & \quad \text{‘uncle’}
\end{align*}
\]

Feminine nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
sí&í & \quad \text{‘mother’} \\
\tilde{ná}ha & \quad \text{‘woman’} \\
síś & \quad \text{‘aunt’} \\
shí&ta& & \quad \text{‘grandmother’} \\
\tilde{nálóhö} & \quad \text{‘girl’} \\
sándä rósä & \quad \text{‘Saint Rose’ (Sp. Santa Rosa)}
\end{align*}
\]

Animal/spherical nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
kí& & \quad \text{‘pig’} \\
\tilde{i}nä & \quad \text{‘dog’} \\
yísö&n & \quad \text{‘rabbit’ (Sp. conejo)} \\
yoo & \quad \text{‘moon’} \\
gló&bö & \quad \text{‘balloon’ (Sp. globo)}
\end{align*}
\]
Liquid nouns:

\[s\text{avi}\] ‘rain, rain god’
\[t\text{ākwī}i\] ‘water’
\[nd\text{ūtā}\] ‘liquid’

Wood/metal nouns:

\[k\text{ā}i\] ‘metal, bell’
\[yū\text{on}\] ‘tree’
\[k\text{ārō}\] ‘vehicle’ (Sp. carro)
\[t\text{āyi}\] ‘chair’
\[m\text{ākīnā}\] ‘machine, typewriter’ (Sp. máquina)

Inanimate nouns:

\[y\text{uu}\] ‘rock’
\[v\text{ēhē}\] ‘house’
\[t\text{ūtū}\] ‘paper’
\[s\text{iyō}\] ‘dress’
\[n\text{ōhō}\] ‘sun’

Collective nouns:

\[n\text{ākwālī}\] ‘children’
\[n\text{āvēhē}\] ‘family’

Nouns may also be divided into those that cannot be possessed and those that can. Nouns that cannot be possessed are proper names, nouns which refer to topographical and meteorological phenomena, and wild animal names.

\[m\text{ārītā}\] ‘Mary’
\[n\text{ōhō}\] ‘sun’
\[y\text{o}\] ‘moon’
\[t\text{achi}\] ‘wind’
\[s\text{avi}\] ‘rain, rain god’
\[n\text{dikāhā}\] ‘jaguar’
Nouns that can be possessed are either inherently possessed or optionally possessed. Nouns which are inherently possessed are mostly kinship terms and body parts, but they also include the nouns for 'family', 'name', and 'domestic animal'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sisi} & \quad \text{aunt}' \\
\text{yiva} & \quad \text{father}' \\
\text{ndaha} & \quad \text{hand}' \\
\text{shaha} & \quad \text{foot}' \\
\text{navehi} & \quad \text{family}' \\
\text{kivi} & \quad \text{name}' \\
\text{sana} & \quad \text{domestic animal, spherical object}'
\end{align*}
\]

Optionally possessed nouns include all others.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vehi} & \quad \text{house}' \\
\text{lapi} & \quad \text{pencil}' \ (\text{Sp. lapis}) \\
\text{yata} & \quad \text{plow}' \\
\text{noni} & \quad \text{corn}' \\
\text{nduchu} & \quad \text{bean}' \\
\text{tohon} & \quad \text{word}'
\end{align*}
\]

The distribution classes of nouns include vocatives, proper nouns, locative nouns, temporal nouns, measurement nouns, and common nouns. Some nouns fall into more than one class.

Vocatives include personal names, kinship terms, and other terms of social relation. Personal names are rarely used as vocatives, except for children, because calling an adult by his name is not considered respectful. The exception to this rule is that an adult of recognized higher social status or age may call a younger adult by his first name.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nana} & \quad \text{ma'am!}' \\
\text{nana} & \quad \text{Mother!}' \\
\text{tat} & \quad \text{sir!}' \\
\text{nani} & \quad \text{Brother (of male)!}' \\
\text{sito} & \quad \text{Uncle!}' \\
\text{migo} & \quad \text{friend!}' \ (\text{Sp. amigo})
\end{align*}
\]
talōhō    ‘boy!’
chiká    ‘Fran!’ (Sp. Chica)

(See also 7.46, 7.54–55, 7.67, and others.)

Proper nouns include personal and place names; personal names usually occur in personal-name noun phrases (see §3.10).

Personal names:

xwán    ‘John’ (Sp. Juan)
chávó    ‘nickname for Salvador’ (Sp. Chavo)

Place names:

ńōkóhyó    ‘Mexico City’ (cf. ńōō ‘town’, kohyo ‘swamp’)
tandáhyí    ‘Tlapa’ (cf. tá- ‘liquid’, ndáhyi ‘mud’)
tōkín    ‘Alacatlatzala’

Locative nouns occur as the nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see §3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes place names, names of topographical features, and some other nouns.

sínóní    ‘Tototepec’
yíchi    ‘trail’
shiki    ‘hill’
ńōō    ‘town’
yūku    ‘mountain country’

The second group includes mainly names for body parts that are used in an extended sense.

sata
back
outside of, behind

sini
head
top of
shaha
foot
on behalf of, about

nōo
face
on, in the presence of, in front of, in place of

tishōn
stomach
in the middle of

irī
insides
inside of, center of

ndāha
hand
to, from

kaha
buttocks
at the bottom of

yūhu
mouth
edge of

sohō
ear
handle of

The locative noun nōo 'face' also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning 'place where', as seen in 7.8 and 7.31 (see also §3.1.3). In this function it sometimes occurs in the reduced form no. The locative noun shaha 'foot' occasionally functions as a subordinate conjunction meaning 'because'.

Temporal nouns are also divided into two groups. The first group includes names for units of time and calendric units.

kivi 'day'
yoo 'month'
kwiyā 'year'
lūné 'Monday' (Sp. lunes)
The second group includes a few inherently possessed nouns which are extended in a temporal sense.

*shaha*
foot
beginning of

*tishīn*
stomach
within

*tāhān*
companion
time of

The noun *tāhān* 'companion' also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning 'time when' and as a subordinate conjunction meaning 'when'. Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see §3.2).

*mētro*  ‘meter’ (Sp. *metro*)

*tūhvi*  ‘group’

*nōmi*  ‘bunch’

*kōḥndō*  ‘pile’

Common nouns are all those nouns that are not included in any of the above distribution classes.

*īnā*  ‘dog’

*yīton*  ‘tree’

*yōho*  ‘rope’

*yūā*  ‘flower’

*yūūū*  ‘cornfield’

*taā*  ‘man’

Nouns may also be classified as either mass or count. Mass nouns do not permit a numeral or numeral phrase as quantifier, whereas count nouns do.
Mass nouns:

\[ \text{tākwī} \quad \text{‘water’} \\
\text{kākā} \quad \text{‘lime’} \\
\text{yuśhan} \quad \text{‘corn dough’} \\
\text{ñī} \quad \text{‘salt’} \]

Count nouns:

\[ \text{tūtū} \quad \text{‘paper’} \\
\text{sita} \quad \text{‘tortilla’} \\
\text{ndūchu} \quad \text{‘bean’} \\
\text{vēhē} \quad \text{‘house’} \\
\text{ñōō} \quad \text{‘town’} \\
\text{yēhē} \quad \text{‘door’} \]

5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns for first and second person show a contrast in number and also a distinction of free versus postclitic forms. The exception is first person plural inclusive, which has no free form. The free pronouns are:

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{SG} & \text{PL} \\
\text{first EX} & \text{yīhi} & \text{ndīhi} \\
\text{second} & \text{yōhō} & \text{ndoḥò} \\
\end{array}
\]

The corresponding clitic pronouns for first and second person are:

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{SG} & \text{PL} \\
\text{first EX} & \text{i} & \text{ndi} \\
\text{first IN} & \text{—} & \text{yō} \\
\text{second person} & \text{ún} & \text{ndo} \\
\end{array}
\]

The first person plural inclusive pronoun is often used in soliloquy to refer to oneself (see 7.60–62). This pronoun fuses with kohon ‘to go (potential)’ to create an imperative form khoyo ‘let’s go!’

The two singular clitics affect the preceding stem in various ways. The clitic ún nasalizes stem-final oral vowels. When it follows a stem-final low or high tone on or un, there is no change in the stem; stem-final mid tone
on or un followed by ún changes to high tone. The clitic i causes the stress to shift to the final syllable of the stem.

If either singular clitic follows a dissimilar stem-final vowel, the two often fuse into a one-syllable diphthong, especially in fast speech. In the examples below, a diphthong is represented by attaching the clitic to the stem by a hyphen. In fast speech, in words whose final stem vowel is preceded by a glottal stop, the final vowel of the stem is replaced by the vowel of the clitic, and certain tone changes also occur (see Zylstra 1980).

Without medial glottal stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic</th>
<th>Fast speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kisī i</td>
<td>kisī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jar my</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my jar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisī ún</td>
<td>kisī-ún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jar your:sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your jar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātōn i</td>
<td>kātōn-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>por:tie I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will tie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātōn ún</td>
<td>kātōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>por:tie you:sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you will tie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With medial glottal stop:

| ndāha i       | ndāhi                |
| hand my       |                      |
| my hand       |                      |
| ndāha ún      | ndāhun               |
| hand your:sg  |                      |
| your hand     |                      |
| vēhē i        | vēhi                 |
| house my      |                      |
| my house      |                      |
| vēhē ún       | vēhūn                |
| house your:sg |                      |
| your house    |                      |
Both free and clitic forms occur in all syntactic environments, except that clitics occur sentence initially only when preceded by the specifier *miī*.

Personal pronouns for third person show eight different gender classes, but no contrast of number, except for the pronoun *nā* ‘they’, whose referent is plural and human. Clitic forms divide into two groups, prestressed and poststressed. Prestressed clitic pronouns are often followed by any of four locative adverbs (see §5.5) that function as deictics. These combinations function somewhat like free pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prestressed</th>
<th>Poststressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masculine</td>
<td><em>ta</em></td>
<td><em>rā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td><em>nhā</em></td>
<td><em>nhā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal/spherical</td>
<td><em>tī</em></td>
<td><em>rī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td><em>tā</em></td>
<td><em>rā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood/metal</td>
<td><em>ton</em></td>
<td><em>nō</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td><em>nhā</em></td>
<td><em>nhā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>ā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collective (human)</td>
<td><em>nā</em></td>
<td><em>nā</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prestressed pronouns occur in noun phrases that include at least one postnominal element (see §3.1.3), and poststressed pronouns occur when they are final in their own noun phrase. Prestressed pronouns followed by a deictic may be focused, and poststressed pronouns can be focused when they are preceded by the specifier *miī*.

The prestressed inanimate pronoun *nhā* also functions as a complementizer (see §1.1.9), and sometimes as a conjunction meaning ‘in order that’ (see §6.2.1). In these functions it is glossed ‘complementizer’, rather than ‘it (inanimate)’. Two locative nouns, *nōo* ‘face’ and *tāhān* ‘companion’, also function as prestressed pronouns.

The general pronoun *ā* may refer to someone or something that is known from the context, and it may refer to any gender. It fuses with *kūu* ‘to be (continuative)’ to form *kía* (see 7.98).
There are four interrogative pronouns.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{yō} ‘who?’
\item \textit{yūkū} ‘what?’ (cf. \textit{yō} ‘who?’, \textit{kāa} ‘\textsc{con:be}’)
\item \textit{yūkía} ‘what?’ (cf. \textit{yūkū} ‘what?’, \textit{ā} ‘\textsc{gen}’)
\item \textit{yūkūti} ‘what animal?/what spherical object?’
\end{itemize}

(cf. \textit{yūkū} ‘what?’, \textit{tī} ‘\textsc{aml, sph}’)

See §§1.2.2 and 3.4 for a description of the constructions in which these pronouns occur.

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.

Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns; they occur as locative adjuncts and locative peripheral elements.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{yōhō} ‘here’
\item \textit{kān} ‘there (not visible)’
\item \textit{kāa} ‘there (visible)’
\item \textit{xaan} ‘there (same place)’
\item \textit{nino} ‘down’
\item \textit{ninō} ‘up’
\item \textit{chīkāa} ‘over there (visible)’
\end{itemize}

(cf. \textit{yīchi} ‘trail’, \textit{kāa} ‘there [visible]’)

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{chīkán} ‘over there’ (cf. \textit{yīchi} ‘trail’, \textit{kān} ‘there’).
\item \textit{yātin} ‘near’
\item \textit{shīkā} ‘far’
\end{itemize}

The first four adverbs in the above list have an additional function as deictics in noun phrases (see §3.1.3); in this use they are glossed as ‘this’, ‘that’, and ‘that same’, rather than as ‘here’ and ‘there’. Examples of the deictic use are seen in 7.31, 7.42, 7.52, 7.60, 7.95, and various others. Examples of the locative adverb use are seen in 7.10, 7.36, 7.52, 7.67–68, 7.71–72, 7.75, 7.96, and various others. In some cases either interpretation is possible, as seen in 7.25, 7.27, and 7.35. It is also possible for locative adverbs functioning as deictics to occur with no noun nucleus expressed,
in which case they appear to be functioning as demonstrative pronouns, as seen in 7.38, 7.54, 7.105, and 7.114.

The locative adverb yātin ‘near’ can also function as a preposition (see §4.3).

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns; one is complex. They occur as time peripheral elements.

Simple:

- viūn  ‘now’
- yachi  ‘soon’
- kōnī  ‘yesterday’
- sakān  ‘just about to, just begun, just ended’
- shitān  ‘early’
- shikwāā  ‘later, afternoon’
- ndivī  ‘all day long’ (cf. ndihī ‘all’, kivi ‘day’).
- nahā  ‘continuing’
- sōndihī  ‘afterward’ (cf. so ‘but rather’, ndihī ‘com:finish’)

Complex:

- takāhān  kwūī  
- ?  short
- right away, in a minute

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs.

- sāā  ‘thus’
- sīhā  ‘like this, thus’
- nōdā  ‘precisely’
- ndēkīā  ‘precisely’
- vāvāā  ‘maybe’

There is only one intensifying adverb, and it most commonly occurs as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, and adverb phrases (see §§2.1.3, 2.3, and 4.2.1).

- nī  ‘very’
The stative verb *vaha* ‘good’ also functions as an intensifying element (see §5.2).

Interrogative adverbs occur in WH and indirect questions (see §§1.2.2 and 1.2.3). They are simple or complex.

**Simple:**

- āmā  
  ‘when?’
- *mī*  
  ‘where?’
- *michī*  
  ‘where?’ (cf. *yīchi* ‘trail’)
- *mikía*  
  ‘where?’ (cf. *kía* ‘CON:be:GEN’)
- *ndāsāā*  
  ‘how?, how much?’ (cf. *sāā* ‘thus’)
- *ndāchūn*  
  ‘why?’ (cf. *chīnō* ‘work’)

**Complex:**

- *mikía*  
  *chī*
  where  
  place

**5.6 Quantifiers**

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. These elements commonly occur as quantifiers in noun phrases (see chapter three, especially §§3.1.2 and 3.2) and as nuclei in various quantifier phrases (see §4.1). They also occur occasionally as manner in verb phrases (see §2.1.3) and as ordinals in complex noun nuclei (see §§3.1.1 and 3.7).

The simple numerals are:

- *ńńi*  
  ‘one, a, approximately’
- *ovi*  
  ‘two’
- *uni*  
  ‘three’
- *komi*  
  ‘four’
- *ohon*  
  ‘five’
- *iño*  
  ‘six’
- *usha*  
  ‘seven’
- *ona*  
  ‘eight’
- *ńńi*  
  ‘nine’
- *ushu*  
  ‘ten’
shāhun ‘fifteen’
oko ‘twenty’
siko ‘twenty’ (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
syéntó ‘hundred’ (Sp. ciento)
mìl ‘thousand’ (Sp. mil)

See §§4.1.1 and 4.1.2 for a description of phrases that express the remaining numerals.
Simple numerals combine with the general quantifier ndī ‘all’ to form complex quantifiers. See §§3.8 and 4.1.4 for examples.
General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. The most common ones are:

kwaha ‘many’
inka ‘another’ (cf. nī ‘one’, ka ‘more’)
sāvā ‘half’
ndihī or ndī ‘all’
vīhī ‘much’

The stative verb lōhō ‘little (singular)’ also functions as a general quantifier meaning ‘a little bit’ or ‘a few’. In this use, it is glossed ‘little’, rather than ‘little (singular)’.
Rarely, no noun nucleus occurs, and a numeral or general quantifier appears to function as a noun.

inka kōni rā
another CON:want he
He wants another (one).

5.7 Prepositions

There are only four prepositions.

shīhīn ‘with’
anda or nda ‘until’
tāñō ‘among’
māhīnō ‘in the middle of’
Many prepositional functions are carried by noun phrases containing body-part nouns used in an extended sense (see §§3.6 and 5.3.2).

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are coordinate or subordinate; subordinate conjunctions are simple or complex.

Coordinate conjunctions:

\[ \text{tā} \quad \text{‘and’} \]
\[ \text{so} \quad \text{‘but rather’} \]
\[ \text{nī} \quad \text{‘nor’ (Sp. nī)} \]

Simple subordinate conjunctions:

\[ \text{tá} \quad \text{‘if, when, as’} \]
\[ \text{ǹākăn} \quad \text{‘with the result that’} \]
\[ \quad \text{(cf. ŋā ‘it:INAN’, kăn ‘there’)} \]
\[ \text{ǹāxaan} \quad \text{‘with the result that’} \]
\[ \quad \text{(cf. ŋā ‘it:INAN’, xaan ‘there:same’)} \]
\[ \text{kachī or chī} \quad \text{‘because’} \]
\[ \text{kōtō} \quad \text{‘lest’ (cf. kōtō ‘pat:look’).} \]
\[ \text{vanī} \quad \text{‘even though’ (cf. vā ‘just’, nī ‘nor’)} \]
\[ \text{ndatāhăn or ndatăn} \quad \text{‘somewhat like’} \]
\[ \quad \text{(cf. ndā ‘which?’, tāhăn ‘companion’)} \]

Complex subordinate conjunctions:

\[ \text{ǹākăn} \quad \text{kīa} \]
\[ \text{with:the:result:that} \quad \text{CON:be:GEN} \]
\[ \text{with the result that} \]
\[ \text{chī} \quad \text{tá} \]
\[ \text{because} \]
\[ \text{if} \]
\[ \text{in case} \]

The interrogative adverb āmā ‘when?’ also functions as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘while’, and the locative noun shaha ‘foot’ occasionally functions as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘because’.
5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form parts of sentences or phrases that are not included in the previous eight parts of speech. Markers are verbal, nominal, numerical, general, or sentential.

Verbal markers occur as preverbal and postverbal elements in verb phrases (see §§2.1.2 and 2.1.3). They are:

- **ni** ‘completive aspect’
- **shī** ‘remote time’
- **nā** ‘hortatory’
- **on** ‘not’ (with potential aspect)
- **tahān** ‘not yet’
- **vāsā** ‘not’ (with continuative aspect and stative verbs)
- **kwān** ‘directional’
- **nāhā** ‘known object’

There are four nominal markers, which occur in interrogative and emphatic noun phrases (see §§3.4 and 3.5).

- **ndá** ‘which?’
- **sīvī** ‘affirmative’
- **sivī** ‘not’
- **āmā** ‘not’

Numerical markers occur in aggregative and expanded numeral phrases (see §§4.1.3 and 4.1.4). They are:

- **mātōhōn** ‘only’
- **nďaâ** ‘exactly’
- **lāā** ‘only’

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type. They are:

- **mīī** ‘specifier’
- **sha** ‘near time’
- **vā** ‘just’
- **ka** ‘more’
tūkū 'again'
tīn 'also'

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind indicates the mood or truth value of the sentence. These markers are:

án 'YES/NO interrogative'
ra 'tag question'
che 'hearsay'
nikūū 'contrafactual' (cf. ū 'nor', kūū 'CON:be')
nīh 'doubt'
kānvāhā 'amazement'

See §§1.2.1, 1.2.3, and 1.5 for examples of sentences using these markers. The YES/NO interrogative marker án also functions as a conjunction to mean 'or' (see §§3.8, 4.1.7, and 6.1.1).

The second kind of sentential marker relates a sentence to its discourse context. See §6.4 for examples of sentences using these markers.

sāā tā
thus and
therefore

tā sāā tā
and thus and
so, as a result

tā sāā
and thus
and then

tā vițīn
and now
and then

sōndihī xaan
afterward that:same
after the aforementioned event

ndihī xaan tīn
com:finish that:same also
also after the aforementioned
sää  küū
thus  CON:be
thus it was

tā  sää  küū
and  thus  CON:be
and thus it was

nī  vāsā
nor  NEG
not even

nda  vitūn  ndēkīa
until  now  precisely
now at last

nda  vitūn  ndēā
until  now  precisely
now at last

5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences to express emotion.

vāi  ‘pain, distress, surprise’
oon  ‘mild agreement, noncommittal’
obon  ‘no’
chéé  ‘look!’
eéi  ‘okay!, right!’
āan  ‘yes, what do you want?’
yahūn  ‘pause form’ (cf. yāhā ‘to pass’, ún ‘you:sg’)

The pause form is used whenever the speaker stops to consider what to say next.

kwahan  rā / kwahan  rā / yahūn / nda  yūku
CON:go he  CON:go he  PAUSE  until mountain
He went and went, uh, until (he arrived at) the mountain country.

kōnī  kōnī  rā / yahūn / yahūn / sīsī  rā
CON:want  POT:see he  PAUSE  PAUSE  aunt his
He wants to see, uh, uh, his aunt.
6

Intersentential Relations

6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some combinations of sentences are connected by conjunctions and some are not.

6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions. Coordinate relations between two sentences may be expressed by the conjunctions tā ‘and’, sō ‘but rather’, and nī ‘nor’ (Sp. nī), and by the YES/NO interrogative marker ʾān, which is used to mean ‘or’.

Of these, tā is by far the most common. It appears to be the case that tā simply signals the break between two sentences, and carries no information about the specific relation between them, because the sentences linked by it show a variety of semantic relations. One of the most common uses is to link two or more sentences that refer to events in chronological or logical sequence.

ni tiin īnā rī / tā ni ndūkū
com grab dog it:AML and com look:for

ndēē rī / tā ni sānā rī
strong it:AML and com escape it:AML

The dog grabbed it, and it struggled hard, and it escaped.
ná tāti lōhō i ŋā /
hort pot:borrow little I it:inan

tā kishāa i shihin ā takāhān kwīī
and pot:arrive I with gen? short
May I please borrow it, and I'll come back with it shortly.

kāni ndāā tākwīī shaha vēhē / tā ndīvā ŋā
pot:hit straight water foot house and pot:fall it:inan
The water will pound the foundation of the house, and it will cave in.

shikūū ŋā shikwaha sīhī ndi /
com:be she old mother out:ex

 tā on kündeē ka ŋā kāsā chūnō ŋā
and neg pot:extend add she pot:do work she
Our mother is elderly, and she can't stand to work any more.

chahvi rā noo kiī / tā ni kāhnī nā rī
com:pay he face animal and com neg:kill they it:aML
He paid for the animals, and they didn't kill them.

kishāhā ndēē ni sāvi / tā chīū ndīhī rā
com:begin strong int: rain:god and com:get:wet all he
It began to rain very strongly, and he got all wet.

(See also 7.2, 7.5, 7.8, 7.18, 7.22, 7.29, 7.35, and various others.)

Another semantic relation between sentences linked by tā is simultaneous action. In these, the verbs are almost always in the same aspect, which is usually continuative.

shūtū ŋīī taα yūtū rā /
com:weed one man cornfield his

tā kākū sāhya rā vēhē rā
and com:be:born child his house his
A man was weeding his cornfield, and his child was being born at his house.

kwahan rā ŋōō / ŋā shikā /
com:go he town it:inan far

 tā shihī nī rā sokō
and cond:die int: he hunger
He was going to a town far away, and he was very hungry.
(See also 7.10, 7.43, 7.54, 7.60, and 7.72.)

A subtype of simultaneous action is setting, which describes an ongoing state or action as background for another more punctiliar action. The verb in the sentence providing setting is usually in continuative aspect. The following sentence, introduced by tā ‘and’, usually has a verb in completive aspect.

\[
yóo\ ta\ bétó\ níí\ nőó\ /\ 
\text{con:sit:sg he Bob one town}\ 
\]

\[
tā\ kishāa\ níí\ tā\ ndée\ ní\ ndóhhō\ 
\text{and com:arrive one man strong int:com:fare}\ 
\]

Bob (Sp. Beto) was in a town, and a man arrived who was very sick.

\[
kwahan\ káró\ /\ tā\ ni\ kíšín\ rā\ 
\text{con:go vehicle and com sleep he}\ 
\]

The truck (Sp. carro) was going along, and he fell asleep.

Note that, even though the above two examples are clearly coordinate because of the presence of the coordinate conjunction tā ‘and’, the setting might be more naturally translated in English by a subordinate clause.

The conjunction tā is also used before a sentence that is a partial restatement of the preceding one. This restatement serves to highlight an event.

\[
sákāhā\ rí\ kitárá\ /\ tā\ vahā\ ní\ sákāhā\ rí\ 
\text{con:play it:aml guitar and good int:con:play it:aml}\ 
\]

It was playing the guitar (Sp. guitarra), and it was playing very well.

\[
sháshí\ rí\ ndūshú\ /\ tā\ sháshí\ ndíhí\ náhá\ rí\ 
\text{con:eat it:aml chicken and com:eat all kno it:aml}\ 
\]

It eats chickens, and it eats them all up.

The conjunction tā can also be used to link sentences that are in an antithetical relation.

\[
kanā\ lésón\ ndūshú\ chée\ /\ 
\text{com:call rabbit chicken big:male}\ 
\]

\[
tā\ ni\ shūn\ rí\ kíshí\ rí\ 
\text{and com neg:want it:aml pot:come it:aml}\ 
\]

The rabbit (Sp. conejo) called the rooster, but the rooster didn’t want to come.

\[
kónī\ kohon\ i\ ñka\ yíchi\ /\ tā\ ni\ sháhān\ i\ 
\text{com:want pot:go I another trail and com neg:go I}\ 
\]

I wanted to go another time, but I didn’t.
kishāa ndi / tā ni kūchīnō kihvī ndi
com:arrive we:ex and com neg:be:able pot:enter we:ex

vēhē ndō
house your:pl
We arrived, but we couldn’t enter your house.

ndāhvī ni i viūn / tā ñīi kivi
poor ints I now and one day

kūkāū i ta kwikā
pot:be I he rich
I’m very poor now, but one day I will be a rich man.

(See also 7.13, 7.43, and 7.47.)

The conjunction tā can also introduce a sentence that expresses cause.

ni kūchīnō kihvī rī / tā yōō īnā
com neg:be:able pot:enter it:aml and con:sg:it dog
It couldn’t enter, since there was a dog.

yūkū ñā kāsā ndō / tā kwalī ni ndō
which it:inan pot:do you:pl and small:pl ints you:pl
What will you do, since you all are so small?

The conjunction sō ‘but rather’ is infrequent and is used only when one of the contrasting sentences contains a negative noun phrase or a negated verb.

sivī kēsō kūū ñā / sō shinahňā yoo
neg cheese con:be it:inan but:rather reflection moon

kūū ñā nākāa nda kaha tākwiī xaan
con:be it:inan con:be:located until buttocks water that:same
It wasn’t cheese (Sp. queso), but rather the thing that was at the very bottom of that water was the reflection of the moon.

sivī ñānī rā ni shāhnī rā yūsū /
eg neg brother:me his com kill he deer

sō yīvā rā shabhni rā rī
but:rather father his com:kill he it:aml
It wasn’t his brother who killed the deer, but rather his father killed it.
kóni kohon i tandáhyi / só ni shiín yívá
con:want pot:go I Tlapa but:rather com neg:want father

i táshí rá kohon i
my pot:give he pot:go I

I wanted to go to Tlapa, but my father didn’t want to give me (permission) to go.

(See also 7.78.)

A disjunctive relation between two or more sentences is expressed by an extended use of the YES/NO interrogative marker án to mean ‘or’, or by use of the conjunction ni ‘nor’ (Sp. ni). The marker án must precede each of the stated alternatives, and ni is obligatory before all but the first. Sentences linked by ni usually contain a negative verb or noun phrase. If the two parts have coreferential subjects, the second can be unexpressed.

With án:

án shihi ún café / án shihi ún tákwií
int con:drink you:sg coffee int con:drink you:sg water
Either you drink coffee (Sp. café), or you drink water.

án cháhví ún viín / án tään cháhví ún
int pot:pay you:sg now int tomorrow pot:pay you:sg
Either you will pay today, or you will pay tomorrow.

With ni:

ni kohon ŋá ńoyáhví / ni shiín ŋá /
nor pot:go she market com neg:want she

ni káchiñó ŋá / ni shiín
nor pot:work she com neg:want
She neither wanted to go to the market, nor did she want to work.

yóhó koó ná káhní yíhi /
here neg:con:exist they pot:kill me

ni koó ndívahyí yóhó
nor neg:con:exist coyote here
here there aren’t people that will kill me, nor are there coyotes here.

vásá táá rá / ni vásá káhví rá
neg con:write he nor neg con:study he
He doesn’t write, nor does he even read.
(See also 7.58.)

In some cases a sentence with án could be translated either as a statement or a question, since the basic function of án is as an interrogative marker. For example, the last example in the first block above could be translated, 'Will you pay today or tomorrow?' Context helps to resolve the ambiguity.

6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions. It is possible to simply juxtapose two independent sentences, often with a slight pause at the seam. This construction is very frequent and can link sentences that have several different semantic relations, including restatement, source and destination, generic-specific, and all of those relations between sentences that may be linked by the conjunction tã.

One important relation between juxtaposed sentences is restatement, which serves to highlight an event. Often part of the first sentence is repeated or paraphrased in the second one (which also may add information), and sometimes the two parts show a positive-negative relation.

\[
\text{sháshí ní tiín / sháshí ndíhí rí noni} \\
\text{con:eat INTS mouse con:eat all it:AML corn}
\]
The mouse is eating a lot; it is eating all the corn.

\[
\text{kámá ní ndíhí ŋá / koó ka ŋáha} \\
\text{fast INTS POT:finish it:INAN NEG:CON:exist ADD thing}
\]
Very fast it will be gone; it will not exist anymore.

(See also 7.105.)

Sentences with motion verbs that have coreferential subjects are frequently juxtaposed. This is a common way to express source and destination, though source is often not stated when it is implicit in the context.

\[
\text{keé rã věhē rã / kwahan rã ŋóyáhvi} \\
\text{com:leave he house his con:go he market}
\]
He left his house, going to the market.

\[
\text{kětã ŋá / kwahan ŋá yũku} \\
\text{com:leave:SG she con:go she mountain}
\]
She left, going to the mountain.

Juxtaposition of sentences that have the same verb is the preferred way to express a series of items that form a list. (Other ways of conjoining noun phrases are described in §3.8.)
búro kūū ri / kini kūū ri / sindiki kūū ri
donkey con:be it:aml pig con:be it:aml cow con:be it:aml
They are donkeys (Sp. burro), pigs, and cattle.

kānī rā lēsōn / kānī rā yūsū /
pot:hit he rabbit pot:hit he deer

kānī rā sāā / kānī rā ŋokwīi
pot:hit he bird pot:hit he fox
He killed rabbits, deer, birds, and foxes.

kwahan nāvalī / kwahan nā shikwaha
con:go children con:go they old
The children and the adults went.

kōmī rā ŋīi yata rā / kōmī rā yūchu rā /
con:have he one plow his con:have he machete his

kōmī ra kīhī rā
con:have he hand:hoe his
He has his plow, his machete, and his small hoe.

A generic-specific relation may also be expressed by juxtaposing two sentences.

vahā ni nāhā sīnī ún / chēē ni sīnī ún
good ints con:appear hat your:sg big:male ints hat your:sg
Your hat looks very good; it's very big.

yātin kōō viko / lūnē kōō viko tōndāhā i
near pot:exist fiesta Monday pot:exist fiesta pot:marry I
The fiesta is near; Monday (Sp. lunes) will be the fiesta of my
wedding.

kīnī ni shāhān ún / shāhān táhyī ni ún
ugly ints con:smell you:sg con:smell con:spoil ints you:sg
You smell awful; (it) smells (as if) you're rotting.

Sentences in a contrasting relation to one another may be juxtaposed.

sivī yihi sakānā chikān noo ún /
NEG I com:throw prickly:pear face your:sg

nakāvā miū ri
com:fall:sg spec it:spf
It wasn't I who threw the prickly pear at you; the fruit fell by itself.
yóó ni taá kísá kwíhná /
exist INTS man do robbery

yóó ni ta vaха ŋoyivé yóhö
exist INTS he good world this

There are lots of robbers; there are lots of good men in this world.

lésón kwahan rí / ni ndōō ĭnka kíli
rabbit GO it:AML COM sit:PL another animal
The rabbit was going away; the other animals stayed.

lŏhö ni náhá ta yóhö /
little:SG INTS appear he this

chéé ni ŋānū i
big:Male INTS brother:ME my
This man looks very small; my brother is very big.

(See also 7.103.)

Sentences that express simultaneous action may be juxtaposed. These sentences usually have coreferential subjects, and the main verbs are commonly in continuative aspect.

kwēé kwēé kwahan rā / shínl sohō rā
slow slow GO he see ear he
He was going very slowly, listening.

kwahan rí / sháshí rí tehe rā
GO it:AML CON:eat it:AML squash:vine his
It was going, eating his squash vines.

kísá vaха rā síní / ndátŏhōn rā shíhn nā
do good he hat tell he with them
He was making a hat (as) he talked with them.

Some of these sentences have main verbs that express simultaneous speech or motion. The verb in the first sentence usually describes a more specific type of the action expressed by the verb in the second sentence. The subjects are always coreferential.

shínl rí / kwahan rí
GO run it:AML GO it:AML
It ran (as) it was going.

ni ndākā tohōn rā nā / káhan rā
deliver word he them speak he
He asked them (as) he was speaking.
Another subtype of simultaneous action requires that one of the main verbs describe the position of the subject as he performs some action.

\[ \text{kán yóō rā / ŋíndíchí rā} \]
there CON:exist he CON:stand:SG he
\[ \text{there he was; he was standing.} \]

\[ \text{nákāa rí / sháshí rí noni} \]
CON:be:located it:AML CON:eat it:AML corn
\[ \text{It stayed; it was eating corn.} \]

\[ \text{yóhō yóō i / sánáhā i nákwaří} \]
here CON:sit:SG I CON:teach I children
\[ \text{here I sit; I’re teaching the children.} \]

\[ \text{níi náʣáhá kándūhā rí / kísìn rí} \]
one tiger CON:be:lying it:AML CON:sleep it:AML
\[ \text{A TIGER was lying down; it was sleeping.} \]

(See also 7.10, 7.38, 7.52, 7.57, and 7.71.)

Occasionally the subject of the second sentence is unexpressed, as seen in 7.11. A noun phrase in focus position can serve as the subject of both sentences in such a construction, as seen in 7.42.

A third subtype of simultaneous action occurs when a sentence whose main verb is the continuative aspect of káká ‘to walk’ is followed by a sentence containing another content verb. In these constructions, káká usually means that the action of the following content verb occurs continuously over time.

\[ \text{shíká nā / sásíkí nā} \]
CON:walk they CON:play they
\[ \text{They are going around playing.} \]

\[ \text{níi rí shíká / sháshí rí kúńo sindiki} \]
one it:AML CON:walk CON:eat it:AML meat COW
\[ \text{AN ANIMAL was continuing to eat beef.} \]

\[ \text{shíká yó / kíchíńo yó vütń} \]
CON:walk we:IN CON:work we:IN now
\[ \text{We are continuously working now.} \]

(See also 7.50.)
A fourth subtype of simultaneous action consists of the juxtaposition of an emotion verb with kōnī 'to see'. This construction is used to express an object of an emotion verb.

kāsī́  īnī  nā  /  shinī  nā  yihū
con:be:happy insides they con:see they me
They like me. (lit. They are happy; they see me.)

kīhvī  nī  īnī  rā  /  shinī  rā  ta  ndāhvī
con:hurt insides he con:see he him poor
He has a lot of compassion on the poor man. (lit. He hurts inside; he sees the poor man.)

sāā  rā  /  shinī  rā  sūtō  rā
con:be:angry he con:see he uncle his
He's angry with his uncle. (lit. He is angry; he sees his uncle.)

Events which are closely related in temporal or logical sequence may be expressed by juxtaposition. The main verbs may differ in aspect, but usually share the same subject. Motion verbs are especially common in these constructions.

ni  shāā  rā  /  kaya  rā  sihūn  /  ni  tāān  rā  kivi  nā
com arrive he com:gather he money com write he name their
He arrived, collected the money, (and) wrote down their names.

shishī  nā  /  ni  kīhūn  nā  ndāha  chirō  nā  /
com:eat they com get they hand work their

kwahan  nā  yūtu
con:go they cornfield
They ate, got their tools, (and) went to the cornfield.

ndihī  ti  shati  nakayā  rī  /
all it:aml poisonous com:gather it:aml

nakutāhān  rī  noo  shiki
com:meet it:aml face hill
It gathered together all of the poisonous insects, and it met (them) on the top of the hill.

kōnī  keē  rā  /  viūn  kīshāa  rā
yesterday com:leave he now pot:arrive he
yesterday he left; today he'll come back.

(See also 7.8–9, 7.20, 7.81, and 7.96.)
One type of temporal sequence may be expressed by juxtaposing two or more sentences, the first of which contains the verb *ndíhí* ‘to finish’ and a subject complement. The main verbs in each sentence must agree in aspect.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndíhí} & \quad \text{kisā} \quad \text{chīnō} \quad \text{nā} / \quad \text{nohō} \quad \text{nā} \\
& \quad \text{com:finish} \quad \text{com:do} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{they} \quad \text{com:go:home} \quad \text{they}
\end{align*}
\]

They finished working, (and then) they went home.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndíhí} & \quad \text{kāhan} \quad \text{rā} / \quad \text{kisháhā} \quad \text{vīko} \\
& \quad \text{pot:finish} \quad \text{con:speak} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{pot:begin} \quad \text{fiesta}
\end{align*}
\]

He will finish speaking, (and then) the fiesta will begin.

Two sentences may be juxtaposed that have a shared noun phrase occurring between them. The first sentence must contain the verb *koó* ‘to not exist’. The order of elements in these sentences is identical to that in simple sentences in which the subject is modified by a relative clause, but the structure of the two constructions is different. This is shown by the fact that sentence combinations with a shared noun phrase take poststressed pronouns, while relative clauses are introduced by prestressed pronouns. In the following three examples of the pivot construction, the solidus that signals the boundary between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase. The fourth example contains a relative clause; it is included to show the difference between the two constructions.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{koó} & \quad \text{sāhyā} \quad \text{nā} / \quad \text{yóō} \\
& \quad \text{neg:con:exist} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{her} \quad \text{con:exist}
\end{align*}
\]

She doesn’t have a child.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{koó} & \quad \text{nāha} / \quad \text{kāshi} \quad \text{rā} \\
& \quad \text{neg:con:exist} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{pot:eat} \quad \text{he}
\end{align*}
\]

There wasn’t anything that he could eat.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{koó} & \quad \text{ri} / \quad \text{ńindichí} \\
& \quad \text{neg:con:exist it:aml} \quad \text{con:stand:sg}
\end{align*}
\]

There aren’t any animals standing.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cf. koó} & \quad \text{tí} \quad \text{ńindichí} \\
& \quad \text{neg:con:exist it:aml} \quad \text{con:stand:sg}
\end{align*}
\]

The animals which stand are not (there).

Rarely, the shared noun phrase is unexpressed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{koó} & \quad / \quad \text{kūchīnō} \quad \text{sāndáhā} \quad \text{nó} \\
& \quad \text{neg:con:exist} \quad \text{con:be:able} \quad \text{pot:repair} \quad \text{it:wod}
\end{align*}
\]

There isn’t (anyone that) can fix it.
6.2 Subordinate Relations

6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to express cause, condition, possible future cause, concession, negative purpose, time, and comparison. The complementizer ŋā functions as a conjunction to express purpose.

Cause sentences are introduced by the conjunction kāchih ‘because’, by its shortened form chī, or (rarely) by the locative noun shaha ‘foot’. Cause sentences usually follow the main sentence.

\[ kūsīi \quad īni \quad nā \quad / \quad shinī \quad nā \quad yihi \]  
\text{con:be:happy} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{they} \quad \text{con:see} \quad \text{they me} 

\[ chī \quad līvī \quad nī \quad sohō \quad i \]  
\text{because} \quad \text{pretty} \quad \text{ints} \quad \text{ear} \quad \text{my} 

They like me because my ears are so lovely.

\[ vūtin \quad kāshī \quad iyōhō \quad / \quad chī \quad sandāhvī \quad nī \quad ūn \quad yihi \]  
\text{now \:pote:at} \quad \text{I you:sg} \quad \text{because} \quad \text{com:cheat} \quad \text{ints} \quad \text{you:sg} \quad \text{me} 
\text{now} \quad \text{I'm going to eat you} \quad \text{because} \quad \text{you have cheated me} \quad \text{a lot.}

\[ vūtin \quad nōhō \quad ūn \]  
\text{now} \quad \text{pote:go:home} \quad \text{you:sg} 

\[ chī \quad kōnī \quad kīvī \quad sīhī \quad ūn \]  
\text{because} \quad \text{con:want} \quad \text{pote:die} \quad \text{mother} \quad \text{you:sg} 
\text{now} \quad \text{go home} \quad \text{because} \quad \text{your mother is about to die.}

\[ ŋā \quad kihvī \quad kisā \quad ūn \quad / \quad chī \quad sinū \quad ūn \quad kūmānī \]  
\text{it:pain} \quad \text{stupid} \quad \text{condo} \quad \text{you:sg} \quad \text{because} \quad \text{head} \quad \text{you:sg} \quad \text{con:lack} 
\text{You do stupid things} \quad \text{because} \quad \text{you lack} \quad \text{sense.}

\[ sandāhvī \quad nā \quad yihi \quad / \quad shaha \quad vitā \quad kōnī \quad i \]  
\text{com:cheat} \quad \text{they me} \quad \text{foot} \quad \text{soft} \quad \text{con:sense} \quad \text{I} 
\text{They cheated me} \quad \text{because} \quad \text{I was naive.}

(See also 7.16, 7.34, 7.71, and 7.95.)

In some cases, a cause sentence is subordinate to a reduced main sentence that is expressed only by a simple stative verb (see 7.19, 7.21, and 7.26).

Result sentences follow the main sentence; they are introduced by the conjunctions ŋākān, ŋāxaan, or ŋākān kīa, all of which mean ‘with the result that’.

\[ kūchūchū \quad īni \quad rā \quad / \quad ŋākān \quad sīhī \quad rā \]  
\text{con:be:sad} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{with:the:result:that} \quad \text{con:drink} \quad \text{he} 
\text{He's sad with the result that he drinks.}
nīkā rā kwaha nī sīhūn noo ta xōsē /
CON:owe he many INTS money face his Joe

nāxaan ndūshā kāsā chinō rā shaha rā
with:the:result:that surely POT:do work he foot his
He owes very much money to Joe (Sp. José) with the result that
obligatorily he will work for him.

shīkā nī nākwīnī yiṭhī vūṭīn / nākān
CON:walk INTS enemy:PL trail now with:the:result:that

kīa yiḥvī nī rā kohon rā
CON:be:GEN CON:be:afraid INTS he POT:go he
Enemies are walking a lot on the trail now with the result that he is
very afraid to go.

(See also 7.34.)

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunction tā ‘if’. The
subordinate sentence usually precedes the main sentence, in which case the
main sentence is introduced by the coordinate conjunction tā ‘and’, trans-
lated here as ‘then’. The verb of the main sentence is usually in potential
aspect.

tā lōhō kūshū nā / tā nā ndōō sita
if little POT:eat they and HORT POT:sit:PL tortilla
If they eat a little, then may some tortillas be left over.

tā kwahan ndō / tā yōhō ndātī i ndōhō
if CON:go you:PL and here POT:wait:for I you:PL
If you’re going, then here I’ll wait for you.

tā tāshī ūn ūnō xoan /
if POT:give you:SG hammock that:same

rā on kāshī i yōhō
and NEG:POT eat I you:SG
If you give (me) that hammock, then I won’t eat you.

ndyōs kūsīī īnī / tā yōō v:ḥā ūn
God CON:be:happy insides if CON:sit:SG good you:SG
God (Sp. Dios) is pleased if you are well.

(See also 7.19, 7.75, and 7.100.)

To express a hypothetical condition, the hortatory nā is used in the
subordinate sentence (see §2.1.2). The main sentence is usually introduced
by the coordinate conjunction tā ‘and’.
tā nā sātā i sita vāhā /
if hort pot:buy tortilla good

tā yāchī ni ndāhī ŋā
and soon ints pot:finish it:inan

If I were to buy bread, then it would very soon be gone.

tā nā kohon i shihin ūn /
if hort pot:go I with you:sg

tā koō nā kūndāā vehē i
and neg:con:exist they pot:guard house my

If I were to go with you, then there's no one to guard my house.

(See also 7.6 and 7.53.)

Contrafactual condition is also introduced by tā 'if'. The verb of the subordinate sentence must be in either completive or continuative aspect, and the verb in the main sentence is usually in potential aspect. Many speakers prefer to add nikūū 'contrafactual' to the end of either the conditional or the main sentence.

tā shihī i ni shihī rā /
if con:know I com die he

tā kohon i vehe rā / nikūū
and pot:go I house his cf

If I had known that he had died, I would have gone to his house.

ntā ni tashī i tatan ndāha rā / nikūū /
if com give I medicine hand his cf

tā yōō rā vīūn
and con:exist he now

If I had given him medicine, he would be alive now.

tā ta shikwaha kūū rā / tā on kūchīnō rā
if he old con:be he and neg con:be:able he

kāsā rā sāā
pot:do he thus

If he were old, he wouldn't be able to do that.

The complex subordinate conjunction chi tā 'in case' or 'in the event that' introduces a sentence that expresses a possible future cause.
nákātā  i tūkoto  i viūn /
con:wash  I clothes  my now

chī  tā kishāa  sāvi  tāan
because  if  pot:arrive  rain:god  tomorrow
I'm washing my clothes today in case it rains tomorrow.

kūchū  rā / chī  tā tāvā  nā  nahnā  rā
pot:bathe  he  because  if  pot:take:out  they  image  his
He's going to bathe in case they take his picture.

Concession sentences are introduced by the subordinate conjunction vanī 'even though'. The subordinate sentence normally follows the main sentence. If a subordinate sentence with vanī precedes the main sentence, the latter must be introduced by tā 'and'.

ñā  kihvī  kisā  nā /
it:inan  stupid  con:do  they

vanī  shīnī  nā  ñā  vahā  kāsā  nā
even:though  con:know  they  it:inan  good  pot:do  they
They do stupid things even though they know the right things to do.

ndūkū  rā  īnka  ñāhā /
con:look:for  he  another  woman

vanī  yōō  ñāsīhī  rā
even:though  con:exist  wife  his
He's looking for another woman even though he has a wife.

vanī  ta  tāhān  rā  kūū  rā /
even:though  he  companion  his  con:be  he

tā  sándāhvī  ni  rā  ta  xaan
and  con:cheat  ints  he  him  that:same
Even though he was his friend, he was cheating that man a lot.

The coordinate conjunction ni 'nor' introduces some concession sentences. In this usage, it may be translated 'even though'. If the concession sentence precedes the main sentence, the latter must be introduced by tā sāā ni 'and then nor'.

kohon  i / chihi  i viūn / ni  tahān  kōōn  savi
pot:go  I  pot:plant  I  now  nor  not:yet  pot:produce  rain:god
I'm going to plant today even though it hasn't yet rained.
nī nihī ūn yávé /
nor con:hold you:sg key

tā sāā nī ni shūn ūn kīhvī ūn
and thus nor com neg:want you:sg pot:enter you:sg

Even though you were holding the key (Sp. llave), you didn’t want to enter.

nī ni chíhī rā yůtū /
nor com neg:plant he cornfield

tā sāā nī yōō œā shīshī rā
and thus nor con:exist it:inan con:eat he

Even though he didn’t plant a cornfield, there was food for him to eat.

Purpose sentences are sometimes introduced by the complementizer œā (see §1.1.9), which functions here as a subordinate conjunction. (This word is basically a prestressed pronoun; see §§3.1.3 and 5.4.) The purpose sentence always follows the main sentence, and its verb must be in potential aspect.

kwahan rā akapūlkō / œā nihī rā lōhō sīhūn
cmn:go he Acapulco ccm:pot:hold he little money
He went to Acapulco (Sp.) in order to earn a little money.

vashī rā / œā chīndēē rā ndīhi
cmn:come he ccm:pot:help he us:ex
He is coming to help us.

tashī na yūchu ndāha ndō /
cmn:give they machete hand you:pl

ŷā kāhndā ndō ūton
cmp pot:cut you:pl firewood
They gave you all machetes so that you will cut firewood.

A further example of this construction is found in 7.29, which also contains a juxtaposed purpose sentence (see §6.2.2).

Negative purpose sentences are introduced by kōtō ‘lest’. The verb must be in potential aspect. They normally follow the main sentence, but may precede to indicate focus, in which case the coordinate conjunction tā ‘and’ optionally introduces the main sentence.
on kāshū ún yāha shīhīn tatan yōhō /
NEG POT:eat you:SG chili with medicine this

kotō ndēē nī ndōhō ún
lest strong INTS POT:fare you:SG

Don't eat chili with this medicine lest you get really sick.

ni ndāā rā yūton lōhō kāa / kotō tāhnō nó
COM NEG:climb he tree little:SG that lest POT:break it:WOD

He didn't climb that little tree lest it break.

kwahan takāa yāchī nī / kōtō kōōn savi
CON:go he soon INTS lest POT:produce rain:god

He's going very soon lest it rain.

kotō kāshī rī mū yó / nā kohyo
lest POT:eat it:AML SPEC US:IN HORT POT:go:WE:IN
Lest it eat us, let's go!

(See also 7.32.)

One kind of subordinate time sentence is introduced by the preposition nda 'until', which also functions as a conjunction meaning 'until' or 'since'. It normally follows the main sentence, but may be fronted for focus.

ndāū rā / nda shaā yīvā rā
CON:wait he until POT:arrive father his
He's waiting until his father arrives.

tashāhā nā / nda tūvī tāan
POT:dance they until POT:dawn tomorrow
They will dance until it dawns tomorrow.

nda ni shīnō ōhō / kwahan rā yīchī
until COM complete sun CON:go he trail
Since the sun rose, he's been going on the trail.

The subordinate conjunction tā is best translated 'when', rather than 'if', if the verbs in both the subordinate and main sentences are in completive or continuative aspects. This construction requires that the main sentence follow the subordinate sentence and that it be introduced by the coordinate conjunction tā 'and'.

tā kānduhu rī / tā kishāha kānū savi
when CON:be:lying it:AML and COM:begin CON:hit rain:god
When the animal was lying down, it began to rain.
tā shahnī nā īnka yūsū /
when com:kill they another deer

tā chinōō nā rī sata kwāyī
and com:place:on they it:AML back horse
When they had killed another deer, they placed it on the back of a horse (Sp. caballo).

(See also 7.101.)

The noun tāhān ‘companion’ can also function as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘when’. The sentences observe the same restrictions described above with tā ‘if’, except that tā ‘and’ does not obligatorily precede the main sentence.

tāhān kānī savi / yōō i īnī vēhē i
companion con:hit rain:god con:site:sg I insides house my
When it rains, I stay inside my house.

In the case of tāhān sakān ndihī ndatohōn rā nīi kwēntō /
companion recent:time com:finish com:tell he one story

tā tūkū īnka nā kōnī rā kāhan rā
and rep another il:INAN con:want he pot:speak he
When he had just now finished telling one story (Sp. cuento), he wanted to tell another also.

The interrogative adverb āmā ‘when?’ functions as a subordinate conjunction meaning ‘while’ when it introduces a subordinate time sentence. The main sentence is optionally introduced by tā ‘and’.

āmā shikā rā shaha sāhya rā /
while con:walk he foot child his

ndañōhō tīsūhū / sānā rā
com:get:lost goat domestic:animal his
While he was going around on behalf of his child, his goats got lost.

āmā kwahan rā yūku / tā ni shīhi yīvā rā
while con:go he mountain and com com:die father his
While he was going to the mountain, his father died.

Comparison of likeness is expressed by two conjunctions: tā ‘if’, used in this construction to mean ‘as’, which expresses equality, and ndatāhān or its shortened form ndatān, which means ‘somewhat like’. The subordinate sentence usually precedes the main sentence, which must begin with sāā
'thus'. The two sentences must have the same main verb, and often have the same aspect, usually continuative.

\[tá~ndóö~ñii~kù̄i~/sáá~ndóö~ná\]  
if \text{consit:pl} one animal thus \text{consit:pl} they  
As animals live, so they live.

\[tá~náhá~yì̄vā~râ~/sáá~náhá~râ\]  
if \text{con:appear} father his thus \text{con:appear} he  
As his father appears, so he appears.

\[tá~yò̄õ~ñii~ta~kwì̄ká~/sáá~yò̄õ~râ\]  
if \text{con:exist} one he rich thus \text{con:exist} he  
As a rich man is, so he is.

\[ndatáhàn~yò̄õ~tâkwì̄~vì̄shin~/sáá~yò̄õ~râ\]  
\text{somewhat:like} \text{con:exist} water cold thus \text{con:exist} he  
Somewhat like cold water, thus he is.

\[ndatàn~yò̄õ~ñii~talohò~sòhò~nì~/\]  
\text{somewhat:like} \text{con:exist} one boy deaf \text{INTS}  
sáá~yò̄õ~râ  
thus \text{con:exist} he  
Somewhat like a boy who refuses to listen, thus he is.

\[ndatàn~kìsâ~chìñò~yì̄vā~râ~/sáá~kìsâ~chìñò~râ\]  
\text{somewhat:like} \text{con:do} work father his thus \text{con:do} work he  
Somewhat like his father works, so he works.

It is also possible for the subordinate sentence to follow the main sentence, in which case the two parts of the sentence often contain different verbs, and \text{saá} ‘thus’ is omitted.

\[kÀ̄hàn~mìò~nâ~/ndatàn~kòñì~mìò~nâ\]  
\text{con:speak} \text{spec} they somewhat:like \text{con:want} \text{spec} they  
They speak as they themselves please.

Comparison of degree is expressed by a special use of the referent adjunct (see §1.1.4).

6.2.2 \textbf{Subordinate relations without conjunctions}. Result, cause, and purpose may be expressed by juxtaposing two or more sentences.

When result is expressed by juxtaposed sentences, the result sentence follows the main sentence.
vása  shíñi  sohó  ná  /  vása  vahá  kwáhnó  ná
NEG  con:see  ear  they  NEG  good  con:grow  they
They don't listen; they don't grow up well.

sává  ná  vashi  kwáhnó  ndíí  /
some  they  con:come  con:grow  clean

koó  kwehe  kihín  ná
NEG:con:exist  sickness  pot:get  they
some of them grow up in a clean manner; they don't get sick.

Cause sentences follow the main sentence. Often at least one of the sentences contains a negative.

vása  yihvi  i  noo  í  kán  /
NEG  con:be:afraid  I  face  its:AML  that

tahán  káshí  ri  yihí
not:yet  pot:eat  it:AML  me
I am not afraid of it; it hasn't yet bitten me.

on  kündeē  ka  i  shihíñ  å  /
NEG  pot:endure  add  I  with  gen

mátohón  mii  i  kíchíñó  ní  i
alone  spec  I  con:work  ints  I
I can't stand it anymore; I am working very hard all by myself.

shihín  kóní  ñá  ta  kán  /
NEG:con:want  pot:see  she  him  that

ni  sháhní  rá  kihva  ñá
com  kill  he  brother:FE  her
She hates him; he killed her brother.

nda  yóhó  nda  kíví  kísá  chiñó  rá  /
until  here  until  twisted  con:do  work  he

vása  kúchíñó  rá  tīn  rá  yata
NEG  con:be:able  he  pot:grab  he  plow
He was working in a haphazard fashion; he couldn't hold the plow.
koó / kuchíño sandáhá shaha ún /
NEG:CON:exist CON:be:able POT:repair foot your:SG

lükä ní shaha ún
twiglike INTS foot your:SG
There isn’t (anyone) who can fix your foot; it’s extremely twiglike
(i.e., thin and brittle).

ndákä i lóhó tūtä ndáha ta kán /
POT:deliver I little corn:drink hand his that

yívá ōhó i kūū rā
father blessed my CON:be he
I will take a little corn drink to him; he’s my godfather.

Purpose can be expressed by two juxtaposed sentences, which often have
coreferential subjects. The purpose sentence follows the main sentence and
must have its verb in potential aspect. It may also have the hortatory
marker ná (see §2.1.2).

kohon rā / kihín rā tīton
POT:go he POT:get he firewood
He will go in order to get firewood.

vashí rā viūn / ná chindēe ūahā rā
CON:come he now HORT POT:help KNO he
He’s coming now in order to help them.

kayā nā sihún / kāsā vahā nā vēhē
COM:gather they money POT:do good they house
They gathered money in order to build a house.

(See also 7.12, 7.25, 7.30, 7.34–35, 7.43, 7.54, 7.56, and 7.95.)

If the main sentence and the purpose sentence have coreferential ob-
jects, and ná ‘hortatory’ does not occur, a noun phrase at the boundary
between the two sentences can function as part of both.

ni tāshī ūa lóhó tūtä / kōhó rā
COM give she little corn:drink POT:drink he
She gave him a little corn drink to drink.

chindōr rā lóhó yitä / kashähän būrō
CON:scatter he little straw POT:graze donkey
He gives the donkey a little straw to eat.

(See also 7.35, 7.54, 7.56, 7.73, and 7.75.)
In 7.73 a shared noun phrase serves as the object of the first sentence and as the locative adjunct of the second one. In 7.78 a negative noun phrase in focus position serves as the object of both sentences. Occasionally a noun phrase that would be shared is left unexpressed, as seen in 7.47. A similar construction occurs in 7.72, except that the verb of the second sentence is in continuative aspect, rather than potential.

Sometimes two or more purpose sentences occur within a single sentence. In most examples, it appears that each purpose sentence is subordinate to the sentence that immediately precedes it.

\[
\begin{align*}
i & \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{kâni} \quad \text{ndōsō} \quad \text{ľa} \quad \text{tākwū} \quad / \quad \text{sīsō} \quad \text{rā} \quad / \\
& \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{flat:place} \quad \text{she} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{POT:boil} \quad \text{it:LIQ} \\
& \quad \text{chihiyo} \quad \text{lēsōn} \\
& \quad \text{POT:cook} \quad \text{rabbit}
\end{align*}
\]

She put the water on a flat place to boil in order to cook the rabbit.

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{chihi} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{rā} \quad / \quad \text{nā} \quad \text{tāshi} \quad \text{ľōho} \\
& \quad \text{CON:plant} \quad \text{INTS} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{HORT} \quad \text{POT:give} \quad \text{land} \\
& \quad \text{vihi} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{ndāha} \quad \text{rā} \quad / \quad \text{nā} \quad \text{kūkūu} \quad \text{rā} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{kwikā} \\
& \quad \text{much} \quad \text{INTS} \quad \text{hand} \quad \text{his} \quad \text{HORT} \quad \text{POT:be} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{rich}
\end{align*}
\]

He plants a lot in order that the land produce a lot for him in order that he will become a rich man.

(See also 7.90.)

See §6.2.1 for a description of purpose sentences using the complementizer ľa.

### 6.3 Direct Quotations

Direct quotations consist of three parts: a quotation, an introducer, and a closer. The quotation is obligatory, and consists of one or more sentences or fragments. The introducer and closer are optional, and each consists of a verb of speech and its subject, plus optional information, such as an addressee, expressed as an associative adjunct. Both an opener and a closer may be present, but if there is just one, it is usually the closer. The speech verb most commonly used in the closer is kâchi ‘to say’, usually in continuative aspect. In the opener, the most common speech verb is kāhan ‘to speak’, usually in completive aspect.
ni kahan ra / on kunahā i kohon i viūn / com speak he neg pot:have:time I pot:go I now
káchī rā shihin ŋâ
com:say he with her
He said, “I don’t have time to go now,” he said to her.
yūkīa ndōhō ūn / káchī ŋâ
what com:fare you:sg com:say she
“What’s the matter with you?” she said.
ndakwīn ri / kōnī kīvī i / sāā káchī ri
com:reply it:aml com:want pot:die I thus com:say it:aml
It replied, “I’m about to die,” it said.
káchī ŋâ kān shihin rā / nāhā / kūshū ūn
com:say she that with him imp:come pot:eat you:sg
She said to him, “Come and eat!”

There are no quotations with just a quotation introducer in chapter seven. Quotation closers are found in 7.5–7, 7.11–12, 7.15, 7.19, 7.46–50, 7.51–53, and various others. Quotations with neither introducer nor closer are found in 7.67–70. Quotations with both an introducer and a closer are found in 7.3–4, 7.16–17, 7.81–86, and various others.

6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

There is a set of sentential elements that occur in initial position in the sentence and link it to the preceding discourse context. Most of these are conjunctions or adverbs in their primary function. These elements precede the interrogative sentential marker (see §1.2.1). Note that the text in chapter seven has few discourse connectives.

The adverb sāā ‘thus’ or a combination of the conjunction tā ‘and’ followed by sāā links sequential events in the discourse; they mean ‘then’ and ‘and then’.

shikā ni kwahan rā / kindoō rā //
far ints com:go he com:si:pl he

and thus com:leave father his com:go he

ndūkū rā shaha sāhyā rā
pot:look:for he foot child his

He went very far; he was living there. And then his father left to go look for him.
nashāa ṛā vēhē ṛā // sāā ndatohōn rā shīhīn sāhya ṛā
com:arrive he house his thus com:tell he with child his
He arrived home. Then he spoke with his children.

viūn tāan viūn tāan kīsā chīnō nī ṛā //
now tomorrow now tomorrow con:do work INTS he

tā sāā kihīvi ṣālōhō skwelā / kāhvī ṛā
and thus com:enter girl school pot:study she
day after day he was working very hard. And then the girl entered
school (Sp. escuela) to study.

(See also 7.2–3, 7.30–33, 7.35–36, 7.38–39, 7.43–44, and 7.64–66.)

When the two words are used in reverse order, i.e., sāā tā, the combina-
tion means 'therefore'. Sometimes the coordinate conjunction tā precedes
this construction, with no apparent difference in meaning.

ni kikōō ti yoko kwali / ni kānī ṣāha rī //
com swarm:out it:AML hive small:PL com hit KN:O it:AML
sāā tā shinō ndīvahyl / kwahan rī
thus and com:run coyote con:go it:AML
The insects swarmed out and stung the coyote. Therefore, he ran
away.

shikā ṛā / kīsā chīnō ṛā //
con:walk he con:do work he

tā sāā tā kunāā nī ṛā
and thus and com:be:tired INTS he
He kept on working continuously. Therefore, he became very tired.

ni shahan ṛā shikā vahā // tā sāā tā ndañoḥō ṛā
com go he far good and thus and com:get:lost he
He went very far. Therefore, he got lost.

(See also 7.8–9, 7.17–18, 7.42–43, and 7.111–112.)

The conjunction tā 'and' sometimes occurs alone in sentence-initial posi-
tion, where it functions mainly to signal the sentence break. See 7.7, 7.10,
7.16, 7.20, 7.22, and various others.

The subordinate conjunctions ṇākān, ṇāxaan, and ṇākān kīa, all of which
mean 'with the result that', also occur in sentence-initial position with the
meaning 'therefore'.
vahā nī īnī ta xwán // chahvī rā noo ŋānī rā /
good INTS inside he John COM:pay he face brother:ME his
kēē rā vēhē kaa // yāhvī nī
POT:leave he house metal expensive INTS
chahvī rā / ŋā vahā nī kisā rā shīhn
COM:pay he i:INAN good INTS COM:do he with
ŋānī rā xaan // ŋākān kīa
brother:ME his that:same with:the:result:that CON:be:GEN
ndūshā kāsā rā ŋā vahā shīhn ta xwán vūīn
surely POT:do he i:INAN good with him John now
John (Sp. Juan) has a very good heart. He paid for his brother, so
that his brother could get out of jail. It was a very big amount that
he paid, a very big favor that he did for his brother. Therefore, his
brother will surely do favors for John now.

The adverb vūīn ‘now’ and the complex sentential markers tā vūīn ‘and
now’, nda vūīn ndēkā ‘now at last’, and nda vūīn ndēā ‘now at last’ occur
in sentence-initial position. They introduce sentences that suggest an action
or conclusion which is based on previous information in the discourse. (In
some sentences, it is not clear whether the temporal meaning of vūīn is in
focus, or if it is being used as a sentential marker.)

ndūkū ndi chūnō kāsā ndi / kāchī nā //
CON:look:for WE:EX work POT:do WE:EX CON:say they
vūīn yōhō kāsā chūnō ndō shīhn i /
now here POT:do work YOU:PL with me
kāchī rā
CON:say he
“We’re looking for work,” they said. “Now here you can work with
me,” he said.

koō ŋā / kūshū sīhī yō //
NEG:CON:exist i:INAN POT:eat mother OUT:IN
tā vūīn lōhō kūnūhī yō / nōhō yō /
and now little POT:hold WE:IN POT:GO:home WE:IN
kūshū ŋā
POT:eat she
There’s not anything for our mother to eat. And now let’s take a
little and go home so that she can eat.
(See also 7.2–5, 7.25–26, 7.33–34, 7.48–51, 7.69–70, 7.81–82, and 7.84–85.)

The idiom ndá tyémpó ‘in the meantime’ (literally ‘which time [Sp. tiempo]?’) occurs in sentence-initial position and serves to switch the focus of the action to a different participant or place.

\[
\textit{kwhan} \textit{ndihi} \textit{sindi} // \textit{ndá} \textit{tyémpó} \textit{nashāa} \textit{lésón}
\]
\[\text{CON:go all cow which time COM:arrive rabbit}\\ All the cattle were going. In the meantime the rabbit arrived.\]

(See also 7.41.)

The temporal adverb sôndihi ‘afterward’ and the complex sentential markers sôndihi xaan ‘after the aforementioned event’ and ndihi xaan tîn ‘also after the aforementioned’ also occur in sentence-initial position. They are set off by pause and usually signal the introduction of a new event or topic, as well as providing chronological cohesion to the discourse.

\[
yōō \ rā \ ínka \ ŋōō \ ovi \ yoo //
\]
\[\text{CON:sit} \text{so he another town two moon}\\ sôndihi \ xaan / \ ni \ shǎnĩ \ tūkũ \ rã\\ afterward that:same COM dream REP he\\ He stayed in another town for two months. Afterward, he dreamed again.\]

\[
\textit{ndihi} \textit{ kĩsā} \ kūtũ \ ndihi \ ndi \ kōrā //
\]
\[\text{COM:finish CON:do tight all WE:EX fence}\\ sôndihi / \ ni \ ūĩn \ ndi \ kūi\\ afterward COM grab WE:EX animal\\ kohon \ ri \ ūni \ kōrā \ shaā \ xaan\\ POT:go it:AML insides fence new that:same\\ We finished closing in the fence (Sp. corral). Afterward, we rounded up the animals to go inside it.\]

\[
ni \ shahan \ ndi \ ŋóyáhvî \ kāhnō //
\]
\[\text{COM go WE:EX market big:so}\\ ndihi \ xaan \ tîn / \ ni \ shahan \ ndi\\ COM:finish that:same also COM go WE:EX\\ noo \ shíkā \ trën\\ face COM:walk train\\ We went to a big market. Also after that, we went to the place where the train (Sp. trën) comes and goes.\]
The conjunction nī 'nor', followed by the negatives vāsā or on, occurs in sentence-initial position with the meaning 'not even'. It usually introduces a comment about an event in the discourse which is contrary to expectation. (See §6.1.1 for examples of nī as a coordinate conjunction.)

shikā mī rā // nī vāsā kūndāā rā sāhya rā
CON:walk SPEC he nor NEG CON:care:for he child his
He goes around by himself. He doesn't even care for his children.

(See also 7.62 and 7.64.)

When the subordinate conjunction tā 'if' is followed by yōō 'to exist (continuative)', it often means 'for example'.

vahā nā chūndēē yō nātāhān yō //
good HORT POT:help WE:IN neighbors OUT:IN

yōō nīi tā kōmī rā nā shōshī rā /
if CON:exist one man CON:have he IT:INAN CON:eat he

yōō nīi rā kōo nā shōshī rā / tā
and one he NEG:CON:exist IT:INAN CON:eat he and

yōō tā kōmī / lōhō noni
POT:give man he CON:have little corn

ndāha tā kōo nā shōshī
hand man NEG:CON:exist IT:INAN CON:eat

It would be good that we help our neighbors. For example, one man (may) have something to eat, and one man doesn't have anything to eat, and the man who has (should) give a little corn to the man who doesn't have anything to eat.

The complex sentential marker sāā kūū 'so (it) was', often preceded by the conjunction tā 'and', also occurs in sentence-initial position. It occurs at breaks in the discourse, and it serves to bridge chronological events by indicating an indefinite time lapse between events, or to slow the pace of the narrative.

koō ka sīhūn nīhī rā / ndāhvi nī rā //
NEG:CON:exist ADD money CON:hold he poor INTS he

sāā kūū / nakūhān rā shōshīn nīi tā kwīkā
thus CON:be COMM:meet he with one him rich

He didn't have any more money; he was very poor. So (it) was, (and then) he met a rich man.
He left and went to play, and got lost. And so (it) was, (and then) the next day dawned.

(See also 7.57–58, 7.62–65, 7.101–102, and 7.105–106.)
7

Text

7.1 vahā viūn / ná ndātōhōn i shīhīn ndō
good now hort pot:tell I with you:pl

nīî kwēntō
one story
Okay, now, let me tell you a story (Sp. cuento).

7.2 sāā ndōhō nīî taā shīnāhā /
thus com:fare one man long:ago

chīhi rā yīvā chīchi rā / tā ni kīshāhā
com:plant he plant ? his and com begin

ni ndūtā nā / tā shā nāhnō lōhō
com sprout it:inAN and near:time big:pl little

nā / tā sāā nahā ni shāshī lēsōn nā
it:inAN and thus continuing ints com:eat rabbit it:inAN
Thus fared a man long ago; he planted his bean plants, and they began to sprout, and already they were quite large, and then a rabbit (Sp. conejo) was eating them a long time.

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7.3 tā sāā káchī rā shihīn ŋāsihī rā /
and thus consay he with wife his
viūn yūkā kōō
now what pot:exist
And so he said to his wife, “Now what shall we do? (lit. What will there be?)

7.4 lēsōn nahā nī shāshī rī yīvā chichī yō /
rabbit continuing ints cons:eat it:aml plant ? out:in
káchī rā shihīn ŋāsihī rā
consay he with wife his
THE RABBIT has been eating our bean plants a long time,” he said to
his wife.

7.5 tā viūn án on vāhā mónō ŋīma nā kāsā vahā
and now int neg good doll wax hort pot:do good
ún / ta kohon ún / kānī ndīchī ún
“Now wouldn’t it be good for you to make a wax doll (Sp. mono),
and go to place (it) standing?

7.6 tā nā kāshāa rī / tā nā yīvī rī /
if hort pot:arrive it:aml if hort pot:be:afraid it:aml
on kāshī ka rī yīvā chichī yō /
neg pot:eat add it:aml plant ? out:in
káchī ŋāsihī rā shihīn rā
consay wife his with him
If the rabbit were to arrive, if it were to be frightened, it would not
eat our bean plants anymore,” said his wife to him.

7.7 tā / vāhā vā / káchī rā
and good lim consay he
“Okay, then,” he said.
7.8 kisháhá rā kísā vahā rā mónó ŋima / ta keē rā /
com:begin he com:do good he doll wax and com:leave he
ni shahan rā / kanī ndīchī rā ŋā noo
com go he com:hit pot:stand:sg he it:inan face
yīvā chichi rā / yīchī / noo kishī ti lēsōn /
plant ? his trail face com:come it:aml rabbit
shāshī ri yīvā chichi ra
com:eat it:aml plant ? his
He began making the wax doll, and then he left, and went and put
it standing in front of his bean plants, (along) the trail, where Mr.
Rabbit had come eating his bean plants.

7.9 sāā tā nandikō rā / kwan nōhō rā /
thus and com:return he dir com:go:home he
nashāā rā vēhē ra
com:arrive he house his
Therefore he returned home and arrived at his house.

7.10 tā ni tūvī īnka kivi / kishī rā /
and com dawn another day com:come he
kishī ra / kōtō rā yīvā chichi rā /
com:come he pot:look he plant ? his
tā sha kān ŋ̆indīchī
and near:time there com:stand:sg
ti lēsōn / kāhan ri shihīn mônō ŋima
it:aml rabbit com:speak it:aml with doll wax
When it dawned on another day, he came; he came to look at his
bean plants, and Mr. Rabbit was already there standing talking to
the wax doll.

7.11 yūkū kūū ūn / ŋ̆indīchī yīchī
what com:be you:sg com:stand:sg trail
"Who are you, standing in the trail?"

7.12 kūtāhā ūn / nā yāhā i /
pot:step:aside you:sg hort pot:pass I
kohon i / kāshī i yīvā chichi / kāchī ri
pot:go I pot:eat I plant ? com:say it:aml
Step aside and let me pass so that I can go eat bean plants," the
rabbit said.
7.13 vásā ndākwīn mónō ńima /
    NEG CON:reply doll wax
    tā siūn ŋündīchī ā
    and still CON:stand:SG GEN
The wax doll didn't reply, but just stood still.

7.14 án on shīūn ūn ndākwīn ūn
    INT NEG NEG:POT:want you:SG POT:reply you:SG
    "Don't you want to answer?"

7.15 tā kānū i yōhō takāhān kwāi /
    and POT:hit I you:SG ? short
    kāchī rī shīhūn mónō ńima
    CON:say it:AML with doll wax
    And I'll hit you in just a minute," it said to the wax doll.

7.16 tā kāchī rī sāā / vūūn kānū i yōhō /
    and CON:say it:AML thus now POT:hit I you:SG
    chī shīūn ūn ndākwīn ūn
    because NEG:CON:want you:SG POT:reply you:SG
    And it said thus, "Now I'm going to hit you because you don't want to
    answer.

7.17 án vāsā shīnū sohō ūn / kānvāhā /
    INT NEG CON:see ear you:SG AMAZEMENT
    kāchī rī shīhūn mónō ńima
    CON:say it:AML with doll wax
    Can't you hear (is that it)?" said the rabbit to the wax doll.

7.18 tā sāā tā / ni kānū rī ndāha rī sata mónō
    and thus and COM hit it:AML hand its:AML back doll
    ńima / tā ni tiūn ndāha rī
    wax and COM stick hand its:AML
    Therefore the rabbit hit with his hand on the back of the wax doll,
    and his hand stuck fast.
7.19 vahā / Chí yōō ūnka shaha í / good because con:exist:sg another foot my
yōō ndāha í / tá káchí con:exist:sg hand my if con:say
ūn / tá taā vahā kūū ún / insides you:sg if man good con:be you:sg
tá téé vahā ún / káchí rí if manly good you:sg con:say it:aml
"That's okay, because there's still my foot; there's my hand if that's what you want, if you're a real man, if you're really macho," the rabbit said.

7.20 tá vahā káchí rí / tükú ūnka ndāha rí ni and good con:say it:aml rep another hand its:aml com
kāní rí / ni kāní tükú rí ūnka shaha rí hit it:aml com hit rep it:aml another foot its:aml
And he completed talking; also he hit it with his other hand; he hit it again also with his feet.

7.21 vahā / Chí yōō ūnka siní í / káchí rí good because con:exist another head my con:say it:aml
"Okay, because there is also my head," he said.

7.22 tá kaní rí ūnka siní rí / and com:hit it:aml another head its:aml
tá ni tīiū ndīhí á and com stick all gen
And he hit it also with his head, and he stuck completely.

7.23 sāá kūū rí / tákandāá rí thus con:be it:aml con:hang:adheringly it:aml
Thus it was; it was hanging stuck.

7.24 ni tīīí vā com dawn lim
It had just dawned.
7.25 kishāa ńāshi mīi ta shihin yiivā chichi
com:arrive wife spec his with plant ?

xaan / ná kōtō ā tākāndaā ri
that:same hort pot:look gen con:hang:adheringly it:aml

The wife of the very owner of those same bean plants arrived to
look at him hanging stuck (there).

7.26 tā viiin vahā / chī yōhō kāū
and now good because you:sg con:be

ta kōmī nī mānā
he con:have ints vice

“So, now (it) is good because you are a man who has many vices
(Sp. maña).

7.27 yōhō kūū ta shāshī nī yiivā chichi
you:sg con:be he con:eat ints plant ?

yōhō / kāchī ā shihin mīi lēsōn xaan
this con:say gen with spec rabbit that:same

You are the man who has been eating these bean plants a lot,” she
said to that very rabbit.

7.28 nakihin ā ri / nihi ā /
com:take gen it:aml con:hold gen

kwan nōhō ā vēhē ā
dir con:go:home gen house gen

She took the rabbit, and holding (it), returned home.

7.29 nashāa ŋā vēhē ŋā / tā ni kānī ndōsō ā
com:arrive she house her and com hit flat:place gen

tākwīi / sisō rā / ŋā chihyō lēsōn
water pot:boil it:liq cmp pot:cook rabbit

She arrived at her house and put water on (a flat surface) to boil in
order to cook the rabbit.

7.30 tā ketā ŋā / kwa han ŋā /
and com:leave:sg she con:go she

kwan kihin ka ŋā tākwīi
dir pot:get add she water

Then she left, going to get more water.
7.31 tā sāā kishāa ńiī ndīvahyī noo yōō lésōn / and thus com:arrive one coyote face com:sit:sg rabbit
   tā ni ndākā tohōn ri lésōn xaan / ndā and com deliver word it:aml rabbit that:same which
   chūnō kōmī ún yōhō / kāchī ri work com:have you:sg here com:say it:aml
And then a coyote arrived where the rabbit was, and asked him, “What errand do you have here?” he said.

7.32 tā ndakwīn lésōn / kāhan ri / yōhō ndāa i and com:reply rabbit com:speak it:aml here com:guard i
   vēhē nā / kōtō kīhī ta kwihnā vēhē nā house their lest pot:enter he robbery house their
And the rabbit replied, saying, “here I guard the house lest a robber enter their house.

7.33 tā sāā táshī nā ńā shīshī i / and thus com:give they it:inaN com:eat i
   kāchī ri shīhin ndīvahyī com:say it:aml with coyote
And so they give (me) what I eat,” said the rabbit to the coyote.

7.34 tā viīn shīnī ŋōhō kohon i / kōtō i and now com:see com:contain pot:go i pot:look i
   sīhī i / chī ndēē ni ndōhō ńā / mother my because strong into com:fare she
   ŋakān ndūnī ni i shaha ńā so:that com:worry into com:foot her
“And now it is necessary that I go see my mother because she is very ill so that I’m very worried about her.10

10The word ndūnī is a fusion of ndīhi ‘to finish (continuative) and ini ‘insides'.
7.35 vahā kūnākāa ūn / nā kūndāa lōhō ūn
good pot:be:located you:sg hort pot:guard little you:sg

vēhē nā yōhō /
house their here

ta tāshi nā ēn / kūshū ūn
and pot:give they it:inan pot:eat you:sg
It would be good if you would please take my place in order to
guard their house here, and they'll give you things to eat.

7.36 tā sāā takāhān kwāī kīshāa i yōhō /
and thus ? short pot:arrive I here

kāchī rī
cons:say it:aml
And then in a little while, I'll come back here," said the rabbit.

7.37 vahā vā / kāchī ndīvahyī / ninō ēnī rī
good lim cons:say coyote up insides it:aml
"Okay," said the coyote, being in agreement.11

7.38 shikāndūhū rī / ndāā rī xaan
com:be:lying it:aml cons:guard it:aml that:same
It was lying down, guarding that (house).

7.39 tā sāā kīshāa ēn shūn vēhē xaan
and thus com:arrive she with house that:same
And then the woman of that same house arrived.

7.40 koō koa lēsōn
neg:cons:exist add rabbit
And the rabbit wasn't there anymore.

7.41 ndā tyēmpō kwahan rī
which time cons:go it:aml
in the meantime (Sp. tiempo) it had gone.

7.42 ndā ndīvahyī vā ni ndētā /
until coyote lim com leave:sg

nākāā ēnī lekā xaan
com:be:located insides straw:bag that:same
just the coyote came out, being inside that straw bag.

11This sentence contains a construction in which a locative adverb, ninō 'up', serves
as the nucleus of a stative verb phrase.
7.43 sāā tā ni kētā ŋā shihín yitón / kwahan ŋā / thus and COM leave:sg she with stick CON:go she
sūki ā ndivahyí xaan / tā ni kētā POTEAT GEN coyote that:same and COM leave:sg
rī / chikāā rī shaha / tā kwahan rī it:AML COM:put:in it:AML foot and CON:go it:AML
Therefore she came out with a stick and was going to beat that coyote, but she got out, and really hit the trail.

7.44 sāā ni shāa rī nda ŋinka yūku thus COM arrive it:AML until another mountain
Then the coyote went as far as another mountain.

7.45 kān nakitāhān rī shihín mī lēsón xaan there COM:meet it:AML with SPEC rabbit that:same
THERE it met with that very same rabbit.

7.46 ŋānī / ndāchūn sandáhvi ŋū yihī brother:me why COM:cheat you:sg me
"Brother, how you have tricked me!

7.47 kān vahā ni shishī i / káchī ŋū /
there good INTS CON:eat I CON:say you:sg

7.48 kōnī kāhnū nā yihī / nīkūū
CON:want POTEAT they me CF
They were about to kill me! (but they didn’t)

7.49 tā viūn kāshī i yóhó
and now POTEAT I you:sg
And now I’m going to eat you!

7.50 viūn ndāchūn shikā ŋū / sándáhvi ŋū yihī /
now why CON:walk you:sg CON:cheat you:sg me

káchī ndivahyí shihín rī CON:say coyote with it:AML
Now how you keep on cheating me!” said the coyote to the rabbit.
7.51 vūtn on kāshī ūn yihį
now NEG pot:eat you:sg me
"Now don't you eat me!"

7.52 yōhō ŋįndichį / tįndąą i kāva yōhō
here const:and:sg I const:hold:up I vault this
here I stand, holding up this vault (Sp. cava).

7.53 tā nā sānā i ŋā yōhō / tā takahän kwūį
if hort pot:let:go I it:inan this and short

ndīhį shąha ŋōyįvį / kāchį ti lęsōn
pot:finish foot world cons:say it:aml rabbit

shīhın ndī ahyį
with coyote

And if I were to let go of this thing, in a minute it would be all over
for the world," said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

7.54 nāhā / tįndąą ūn yōhō / ŋānį /
imp:come pot:hold:up you:sg this brother:me

tā nā kohon i / ndūką i ŋā / kūshū yō /
and hort pot:go I pot:look:for I it:inan pot:eat we:in

tā kīshāą i / kāchį ri shīhın ndīvahyį xaań
and pot:arrive I cons:say it:aml with coyote that:same
"Come, hold this up, Brother, and I'll go look for something for us
to eat, and then I'll return," said the rabbit to that coyote.

7.55 ān ndįshą ŋā kūń / ŋānį yō / kāchį ndīvahyį
int true it:inan cons:be brother:me out:in cons:say coyote
"Is that true, Brother?" said the coyote.¹²

7.56 takahän kwūį kohon i / ndūką i
? short pot:go I pot:look:for I

ŋā / kūshū yō / kāchį ri
it:inan pot:eat we:in cons:say it:aml
"For just a little while I'll go look for something for us to eat," the
rabbit said.

¹²The construction ndįshą ŋā kūń is difficult to analyze. The first two words have the structure of a stative sentence, but the equative verb kūń does not normally occur in stative sentences.
7.57 sha tükä xaan ni sândáhví ri ti nDIVAHYí / near:time rep there:same com cheat it:AML it:AML coyote  
īníDICHI ri / ōnáa ri yu xuán  
com:stand:SG it:AML com:hold:up it:AML rock that:same  
It happened again that it cheated Mr. Coyote, who was standing  
holding up that rock.¹³

7.58 sāá kū / tā kwahan vá ri /  
thus com:be and com:go lim it:AML  
koó ka ri / nī ndikó  
NEG:com:exist add it:AML nor com:return  
So (it) was, and the rabbit just kept going; it wasn't there anymore,  
nor (Sp. ni) did (it) return.

7.59 tā nDIVAHYí shīhí ni ri sokó  
and coyote com:die ints it:AML hunger  
But the coyote was very hungry.

7.60 mūkia kwahan ni ŋānī yó yóhō /  
where com:go ints brother:ME our:IN this  
 ta shīhí ni yó sokó  
and com:die ints we:IN hunger  
"Where has this brother of ours gone for so long, and we are dying  
of hunger?"

7.61 ndāchúñ vātā ni ŋānī yó  
why untruthful ints brother:ME our:IN  
How very untruthful our brother is!

7.62 nī vāsā kīshí ndākā rā ŋā / kūshū yó /  
nor neg pot:come pot:deliver he it:INAN pot:eat we:IN  
káči ti chēē / nDIVAHYí  
com:say it:AML big:MALE coyote  
He isn't even bringing something for us to eat," said the big old  
coyote.

¹³This sentence contains an idiom, sha tuku xaan, literally, 'already again there',  
which means 'it happened again that'.
7.63 sāā kūū / ni kīshāhā ni sāñā ti ndīvahyī
thus con:be com begin com let:go it:AML coyote
kāva / tā ni shīnō rī / kwahan rī
vault and com com:run it:AML com:go it:AML
Thus (it) was: Mr. Coyote began to let go of the vault, and he took
off running.

7.64 nī vāsā nī ndīvā ŋā
nor neg com:NEG fall it:INAN
The vault didn’t even cave in.

7.65 sāā kūū / kwahan rī / kwahan rī /
thus con:be com:go it:AML com:go it:AML
sāā kwahan rī
thus com:go it:AML
Thus (it) was: it was going and going and going like that.

7.66 sāā nakūtāhān tākū rī shīhūn lēsōn
thus com:meet rep it:AML with rabbit
And so it met the rabbit again.

7.67 án yōhō shīkā ūn / ŋānī
int here con:walk you:SG brother:ME
"Are you hanging out here, Brother?"

7.68 yōhō shīkā i / ŋānī
here con:walk I brother:ME
"I hang around here, Brother."

7.69 ndāchūn sandāhvī ni ūn yīhi / ŋānī
why com:cheat ints you:SG me brother:ME
"How you have constantly cheated me, Brother!

7.70 nda viūn ndēā kāshī i yōhō / ŋānī
until now precisely pot:eat I you:SG brother:ME
Now at last I’m going to eat you, Brother."

7.71 on kāshī ūn yīhi / chī yōhō kāndūhū i /
NEG pot:eat you:SG me because here con:be:lying I
sānāhā i nākwali yōhō vā
con:teach I children here lim
"Don’t eat me because here I lie teaching children just here.
7.72 yóhô kishāa nākwali / sānāhā i / here con:arrive children pot:teach I
tā yóhô tāshī nā / shīshī i / and here con:give they con:eat I
káchī ti lēsōn shīhūn ndīvahyī con:say it:aml rabbit with coyote
here the children come for me to teach, and here they give me (what) I eat,” said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

7.73 án tāshī ún lūgār xaan kūō i /
int pot:give you:sg place that:same pot:sit:sg I
káchī ti ndīvahyī shīhūn lēsōn
con:say it:aml coyote with rabbit
“Will you give (up) that place (Sp. lugar) for me to be in?” said Mr. Coyote to the rabbit.

7.74 vaihā vá / nānī / viūn yóhō kūō ún /
good lim brother:me now here pot:sit:sg you:sg
tā kishāa i
and pot:arrive I
“Okay, Brother, now you stay here, and I’ll be back.

7.75 tā sha kishāhā shūhī ún sokō / tā yóhō when near:time com:begin con:die you:sg hunger if here
kāshā nūnī ún kāshā
pot:poke here:and:there you:sg pot:poke
nūnī ún yūhon / tā kishāhā tāshī nā
here:and:there you:sg tree and pot:begin pot:give they
nā / kūshū ún / káchī lēsōn shīhūn ndīvahyī
it:inan pot:eat you:sg con:say rabbit with coyote
When you have already become very hungry, if here you keep on poking this wooden thing here and there, here and there, then they will begin to give you food,” said the rabbit to the coyote.

7.76 kishāhā ndīvahyī shīhī rī sokō nōkāhño com:begin coyote con:die it:aml hunger noon
The coyote began to be very hungry about noon.
He began poking and swatting, poking and swatting all over the tree.

It was not something to (signal them to) give it something to eat, but rather it was just a hive.

They stung him a lot, and the coyote ran, going and going thus for a long time.

The coyote went until he arrived at another mountain; he met the rabbit, and he said, "Are you hanging out here, Brother?"

Now at last I will eat you!
7.83 on kūkāhnō ka īnī i shaha ūn
NEG POT:be:big ADD insides I foot your:sg
I'll not forgive you anymore!

7.84 shā kwaha nī yīchi sandāhvī ūn yihi
near:time many INTS trail COM:cheat you:sg me
ALREADY you have tricked me VERY MANY TIMES.

7.85 nda viūn ndēā kāshī i yōhō
until now precisely POT:eat I you:sg
Now at last I'll eat you!

7.86 shā kwaha nī yīchi sandāhvī ūn yihi /
near:time many INTS trail COM:cheat you:sg me
kāchī ndīvahyī shīhīn lēsōn
CON:say coyote with rabbit
ALREADY you have tricked me VERY MANY TIMES,” said the coyote to
the rabbit.

7.87 tā sāā kuū / tā ni kahan tī lēsōn
and thus CON:be and COM speak it:AML rabbit
shīhīn rī / on kāshī ūn yihi / ūnī
with it:AML NEG POT:eat you:sg me brother:me
And thus (it) was, and Mr. Rabbit said to him, “Don’t eat me,
Brother!

7.88 yihi shīnī i mikīa chī kohyo /
I CON:know I where place POT:go:we:in
kūshū yo̱ takāhān kwūtī
POT:eat we:in ? short
I know where we can go eat in a little while.

7.89 viūn ndēē ni kōō vīko inka shīn ūn
now strong INTS POT:sit:sg fiesta another side its:INAN
TODAY there’s going to be a really big fiesta OVER on the other side
(of the mountain).

7.90 sha nī kahan nā shīhīn i / koh i / sākāhā i
near:time COM speak they with me POT:O I POT:play I
ALREADY they’ve told me to come and play (an instrument).

7.91 tā kohyo shīhīn i / tā kūshū yo̱
if POT:go:we:in with me and POT:eat we:in
If you go with me, then we’ll eat.
7.92 on káshí ún yíhi / káchí tí lésón
NEG POT:eat you:SG me CON:say it:AML rabbit

shíhíin ndívahyí
with coyote
Don't eat me,” said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

7.93 tā xaan ni kēē tí lésón / káchí rí
and there:.same COM leave it:AML rabbit CON:say it:AML

sāá / viūn kohyo / ŋānī
thus now POT:go:WE:IN brother:ME
And Mr. Rabbit left from there, saying thus: "Now let's go, Brother!

7.94 sha noo ni kíshí nā viūn
near:time face INTS POT:come they now
ALREADY VERY SOON they're going to come now.14

7.95 tā ná kohyo / kóndōo yó /
and HORT POT:go:WE:IN POT:Sit:PL WE:IN

chí yíchi kán yáhā ná / ná kíhín
because trail that CON:pass they HORT POT:get

ná yíhi / káchí tí lésón shíhíin ndívahyí
they me CON:say it:AML rabbit with coyote
So let's go stay (there) because on that trail they're passing by to get
me,” said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

7.96 ni shāa rí kán /
COM COM:arrive it:AML there

shikohōn rí tānō ton yoō
COM:hide it:AML among it:wod reed
They arrived there; they hid among some bamboo.

7.97 káchí rí sāá / yóhō kóndōo yó / ŋānī
CON:say it:AML thus here POT:Sit:PL WE:IN brother:ME
The rabbit said thus, "HERE we'll stay, Brother.

7.98 chí yóhō kiá sēhē tá yíchi
place this CON:be:GEN hidden if trail
THIS PLACE is the one which is hidden from the trail.

14This sentence contains an idiom, sha noo ni, which means 'very soon'.
7.99 ná kōndōō yó
tort pot:si:t:pl we:in

Let's stay!

7.100 tá kóni nā tākāa tashīn nā miī yó /
if con:want they pot:follow ? they spec us:in

tā kūhū yōhō vahā kōndōō yó
and weed this good pot:si:t:pl we:in

If they should want to attack us, then in these weeds we'll stay well
(hidden).

7.101 tá sha shinī sohō ún kāhndī ni /
when near:time com:see ear you:sg con:explode ints

dashī nā / tā kāmā ni ndikōōyō yó /
con:come they and fast ints pot:leave:pl we:in

káchî ti lēsón shīhīn ndīvahyī
cosay it:aml rabbit with coyote

When you have already heard the explosions as the people come,
then very quickly we'll leave," said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

7.102 sāa kūū / kán nákāā
thus con:be there con:be:located

dīvahyī tānō ton yoō
coyote among it:word reed

Thus (it) was; there was the coyote in place among the bamboo.

7.103 yōhō kūnākāā ún / ŋānī / nā kōō i
here pot:be:located you:sg brother:me hort pot:look i

án sha vashī nā /
int near:time con:come they

káchî ti lēsón shīhīn ndīvahyī
cosay it:aml rabbit with coyote

"Here you stay in place, Brother; let me go see if they're already
coming," said Mr. Rabbit to the coyote.

7.104 kwahan ri / kōō ri / tā ni kētā ri
con:go it:aml pot:look it:aml and com leave:sg it:aml

The rabbit went to look, and went out.
7.105 ni chikāā rī ŋōho / ni shīnō ndūū rī /
COM putin it:AML fire COM complete ? it:AML
ni chikāā rī ŋōho shaha ton yoō /
COM putin it:AML fire foot it:wod reed
tā māhnhō kān nākāā tī ndīvahyl
and in:middle:of that com:be:located it:AML coyote
He set fire; he put (it) all around; he put fire at the base of the
bamboo, and in the middle of that (bamboo) was Mr. Coyote.

7.106 sāā kūū / sha kishāhā kāhndī ni
thus com:be near:time com:begin com:explode INTS
Thus (it) was; already a lot of loud cracking noise had begun.

7.107 shīnī sohō ndīvahyī vāvāa sha vashī nā
com:see ear coyote maybe near:time com:come they
The coyote understands that maybe they’re already coming.

7.108 ān vahā nā ndētā yō / kohyo /
INT good HORT POT:leave:SG WE:IN POT:go:WE:IN
kāhan ndīvahyī
com:speak coyote
“Would(n’t) it be good for us to leave?” said the coyote.

7.109 āmā nīvī vashī / ton yoō vā ni chikāā ŋōho
NEG person com:come it:wod reed LIM COM putin fire
 tī lēsōn kishāhā shishi no
it:AML rabbit com:begin com:burn it:wod
(But) it wasn’t people coming; just the bamboo Mr. Rabbit had set on
fire had begun to burn.

7.110 tā ni kishāhā ni shīshī ŋōho
and com begin com burn fire
And the fire continued to burn.

7.111 nī vāsā nī kīvī kōnō ndīvahyī
NOR NEG NOR POT:be:possible POT:run coyote
It was absolutely not possible for the coyote to run.15

15This sentence contains an idiom, nī vāsā nī kīvī, which means ‘it was absolutely not possible’.
7.112 sāá tá ni shīshī ndīhī ndīvahyi
thus and com:burn all coyote
māhñō ton yoó xaan
in:middle:of it:word reed that:same
Therefore the coyote burned completely in the middle of that bamboo.

7.113 sāá káchī ūiī kwḗntō shini sohō i
thus com:say one story com:see ear I
Thus says a story I heard.

7.114 tá vūīn yóhō ndīhī ā tin
and now here com:finish gen also
And now here it is finished also.