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THE SYNTACTIC CORRELATES
OF ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE IN COPALA TRIQUE

Barbara E. Hollenbach

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0. Copala Trique, an Otomanguean language spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico, is typical of the stock in most respects. For example, it has VSO word order, noun-adjective order, a complex system of lexical and syntactic tone, and verb aspect indicated by prefixes and tone changes. There is, however, one salient feature of Copala Trique syntax that does not occur in any of the other Otomanguean languages I am acquainted with: a series of sentence-final particles that has approximately the same function as the intonation contours of English.¹ Both mark modal and affective information about the sentence

2 as a whole.²

In the first two sections of the paper, the syntax of Copala Trique is surveyed briefly, and a number of the most common particles are described. In the third section, each illocutionary act distinguished in the taxonomy developed by Bach and Harnish (1979:39-55) is correlated with the syntactic cues that indicate its literal and direct performance in Copala Trique. Such cues usually involve particles, but also sometimes involve the propositional content of sentences in ways parallel to those described by Searle for English (1969: 1979:20-27). The mapping between syntax and force is, of course, far from precise. The final section contains a folktale, with literal and free translation, illustrating the use of several particles in context.

1. Consider the following simple declarative sentence:

(1) nãã⁵ za⁴na¹ ya³ih⁵ a³²

wash woman clothing DECLARATIVE

The woman washes clothes.³

3

This sentence contains four elements: a verb, a noun expressing the subject, a noun expressing the object, and a particle. Each structural position is discussed in turn below.

The verb in sentence (1) is a simple verb stem, which serves as the continuative aspect. There are two other aspects: complete, marked by a prefix roughly of the form gV-; and potential, marked by a combination of the prefix and a tone change. The following sentences form a paradigmatic set with (1):

- (2) gi³ nãã⁵ v⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ a³²
 washed woman clothing DECLARATIVE

The woman washed clothes.

- (3) gi² nãh¹ v⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ a³²
 will-wash woman clothing DECLARATIVE

The woman will wash clothes.

These three aspect forms exhaust the inflectional possibilities for verbs. There are no modes other than declarative nor are there any nonfinite verb forms, compound tenses, or true auxiliary verbs.

There are, however, a number of adverbial elements closely associated with the verb that carry some of the functions that other verb forms carry in English. A few of these are illustrated in examples (4-6):

- (4) ah¹ gi³ nãã⁵ v⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ a³²
 already washed woman clothing DECLARATIVE

The woman already washed ~~the~~ clothes. or

The woman had washed ~~the~~ clothes.

- (5) ya²³ nãã⁵ v⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ a³²
 truly wash woman clothing DECLARATIVE

The woman really washes clothes.

- (6) ne³ nãã⁵ v⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ a³²
 not wash woman clothing DECLARATIVE

The woman does not wash clothes.

There is a special future negative adverb and an interchange of
 4 completive and potential aspects following negative adverbs.⁴
 Examples (7) and (8) form a paradigmatic set with (6):

(7) ne³ gi² nāh¹ v̄⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ a³²
 not will-wash woman clothing DECLARATIVE

The woman did not wash clothes.

(8) ze² gi³ nāā⁵ v̄⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ a³²
 not washed woman clothing DECLARATIVE

The woman will not wash clothes.

In sentence (1) both subject and object are expressed by simple nouns. Their function is signaled by order. While there is no system of case marking, direct objects are sometimes preceded by the preposition mā³ 'to' or 'body of', and indirect objects and other noun phrases are usually marked by prepositions that help to signal their case roles, as in examples (9) and (10):

(9) na³ ri³ v̄³ cii³ mā³ v̄⁴ na¹ a³²
 meet man to woman DECLARATIVE

The man meets the woman.

(10) da³ ʔaa³² v̄³ cii³ za³ ʔāh³² ra³ ʔa³ v̄⁴ na¹ a³²
 grab man money from woman DECLARATIVE

The man takes money from the woman.

Noun phrases can, of course, be expanded in various ways. They may also be realized as pronouns. An object pronoun is preceded by mā³, as seen in example (11).

(11) na³ ri³ zo³ mā³ no³ a³²
 meet he to her DECLARATIVE

He meets her.

Pronouns have no case distinctions. It is possible to interchange the two pronouns in sentence (11) to create a well-formed sentence meaning

"She meets him." Pronouns sometimes fuse to a preceding word; compare sentences (12) and (13):

(12) a³ ne³² ʔũh¹ a³²
 bathe I DECLARATIVE
 I bathe.

(13) a³ neh³² a³²
 bathe-1 DECLARATIVE
 I bathe.

The last element of sentence (1) is the particle a³², which cannot easily be given a true gloss. For particles and similar functional elements I use abstract labels showing grammatical meaning, written in uppercase letters to distinguish them from true glosses. The particle a³², which I have labeled DECLARATIVE, is the most common and least marked particle in the language. Many others are described in the following section. Every sentence that is not embedded in another one ends with one of these particles.⁵ Even a noun or noun phrase cited outside a sentence must be followed by a particle, as in (14):

(14) ya³ /ih⁵ a³²
 clothing DECLARATIVE
 clothing

If a noun is used by itself, it will be interpreted as a vocative.

2. The set of particles in Copala Trique is difficult to categorize because it is neither a small closed class like pronouns, nor an open class like nouns, but rather something in between. Perhaps the best com-

parison that can be made is with English prepositions, taken in the broadest sense. Some English prepositions are short and very common, such as for and in; others are a bit longer and less frequent, such as among and concerning; and still others contain more than one word and yet function as units, such as in spite of and with regard to. And so, while we intuitively know that the class of English prepositions is not infinite, it is nevertheless exceedingly difficult to compile an exhaustive list of them. Copala Trique particles, while functionally and semantically very different from prepositions, are like them in terms of category size. Some particles are short and common, others a bit longer and less so, and still others complex in their morphemic makeup and/or rare. It is therefore almost impossible to provide a complete list, and for this reason I make no attempt to be exhaustive in what follows.

For convenience I group particles into semantic classes. Interrogatives are treated first, followed by emphatics, negatives, and miscellaneous particles.

There are three main interrogative particles: naʔ⁴ 'yes-no question with neutral expectation as to answer', ʒaʔ² 'yes-no question with affirmative answer expected', and ga² 'content question'. The first two are the sole indicator of a question within the sentence. Compare sentences (15) and (16) with (2) above.

- (15) gi³ nãã⁵ ʒa⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ naʔ⁴
 washed woman clothing INTERROGATIVE
 Did the woman wash the clothes?

- (16) gi³ nã⁵ v̄ za⁴ na¹ ya³ / ih⁵ v̄ za²
 washed woman clothing INTERROGATIVE

The woman washed the clothes, didn't she?

The particle na⁴ has a suppletive variant, ni⁴, which occurs before a vocative and in certain indirect questions:

- (17) ga² ʔãh² zo¹ ni⁴ / be⁴ to²
 will-go you INTERROGATIVE / Beto
 Will you go, Beto?

- (18) ne³ ne³ ʔe³ zo³ a³ ze³² ga² ʔãh² v̄ snii³ ni⁴ /
 not know he whether will-go boy INTERROGATIVE /
 a³ ze³² ze² ga³ ʔãh³² v̄ snii³ ni⁴ / ne³ ne³ ʔe³
 whether not went boy INTERROGATIVE / not know
 zo³ a³²

he DECLARATIVE

He doesn't know whether or not the boy will go.

The particle v̄ za² is also used to request permission:

- (19) di² ko² ʔũh¹ v̄ za²
 will-play 1 INTERROGATIVE

It's all right for me to play with this, isn't it?

The two particles na⁴ and v̄ za² are used correlatively to form alternative questions: na⁴ occurs after the first disjunct (and all other nonfinal disjuncts), and v̄ za² occurs after the last disjunct:⁶

- (20) ge³ ne³ ʔe³ v̄ snii³ gwaa⁴ na⁴ / ge³ ne³ ʔe³ zo³
 saw boy John INTERROGATIVE / saw he
 be⁴ to⁴ v̄ za²

Beto INTERROGATIVE

Did the boy see John or Beto?

When the two particles are correlative, za² appears to lose its 'affirmative answer expected' meaning; in sentence (20) the speaker need have no expectation about which of the disjuncts is the correct answer. If he had an idea about the answer, however, he would state it as the final disjunct.

The third interrogative particle, ga², occurs together with a fronted interrogative word or phrase to form a content question:

- (21) me³ reh³² ga³ ʔāh³² ʔcii³ ga²
 which place went man INTERROGATIVE
 Where did the man go?

This particle is sometimes omitted at the end of an interrogative sentence that is embedded in a larger sentence, whereas the other two interrogative particles, which are the sole indicator of a question, cannot be omitted. In content questions, of course, the presence of an interrogative word or phrase makes the ga² somewhat redundant. The ga² can also be omitted before a vocative, but vocatives at the end of questions take a special interrogative form that ends in glottal stop, which further helps to signal interrogative force. Examples of interrogative vocatives are found in sentence (17) above and in sentences 4 and 9 of the text in section 4. Only two examples of an interrogative particle are found in the text: ga² in sentences 59 and 60.

The next group of particles I will discuss can be termed emphatics. They comprise a number of particles that differ subtly in meaning, in ways that depend largely on the conversational context. Learning to control their use has been one of the most difficult aspects of language learning for me.

The particle e⁴i³² is used in conversation to add emphasis to a statement and as an attention getter on vocatives:

- (22) ga³əh³² zo³ e⁴i³²
 went he EMPHATIC
 He really went.

- (23) di⁴nuh¹ e⁴i³²
 brother EMPHATIC
 Hey, brother!

This particle is rare in narrative, but sometimes occurs on the closing sentence of a story. While this may be a standardized way of ending a narrative, the meaning seems to be to get people to take the story seriously.

- (24) gũũ³ yo³ ga² naa⁴ tah³² nii³ e⁴i³²
 happened that when long-ago say they EMPHATIC
 That's what really happened a long time ago, they say.

The particle a⁴ is persuasive in tone. It is added to some statement that the speaker wishes to convince the addressee of, such as a promise or the answer to a yes-no question. When used with a sentence whose main verb is in potential aspect and whose subject is second person or first person plural inclusive, however, this particle creates an imperative with a moderate degree of politeness.⁷ (There is, remember, no special imperative form of the verb.)

- (25) ga³əh³² zo³ a⁴
 went he PERSUASION
 He really went.

(26) ga² ʔāh² ʔūh¹ a⁴
 will-go 1 EMPHATIC
 I'll really go.

(27) ʔca² zo¹ a⁴
 will-eat you EMPHATIC
 Eat!

Compare sentence (27) with (28), which has the simple declarative particle, a²:

(28) ʔca² zo¹ a²
 will-eat you DECLARATIVE
 You will eat.

Further examples of a⁴ are found in sentences 23, 27, and 37 of the text, all of which have verbs in potential aspect. Sentences 23 and 37 are imperatives, while sentence 27 is a response to a suggestion. The function of a⁴ here seems to be to persuade the addressee of the speaker's willingness to comply.

The complex particle nāh¹ a⁴ consists of a word nāh¹, used only in this particle cluster and the less common one nāh¹ e⁴_i³², which can perhaps be glossed 'indeed', plus the persuasion particle a⁴. The cluster functions as a general emphatic, both in narratives and in conversations.

(29) ga³ ʔāh³² zo³ nāh¹ a⁴
 went he INDEED PERSUASION
 He really went.

This particle cluster is found often in the text. In sentences 12, 14, 15, and 16 its function seems to be persuasion, and in sentences

30, 31, 43, 44, 65, 66, and twice in 72 its function seems to be simply emphasis.

The less common particle cluster $\underline{n\tilde{a}h^1 e^4 i^{32}}$ is a combination of $\underline{n\tilde{a}h^1}$ 'indeed' and the emphatic particle $\underline{e^4 i^{32}}$. It is used for emphasis and sometimes to close a narrative.

- (30) $da^2h^{23} wa^2a^{52} gwe^4 ndo^4 / ta^2h^{32} ni^3 n\tilde{a}h^1 e^4 i^{32}$
 thus is story / say they INDEED EMPHATIC
 That's how the story goes, they say.

The particle $\underline{a^2 d\tilde{o}h^2}$ expresses strong emphasis. It occurs both in narrative and in conversation, sometimes in answer to a yes-no question.

- (31) $ga^3 \text{ } ^2\tilde{a}h^{32} zo^3 a^2 d\tilde{o}h^2$
 went he EMPHASIS
 He really went.

This particle occurs in sentences 10, 11, 21, 22, 25, and 38 of the text. Sentence 12, which ends with $\underline{n\tilde{a}h^1 a^4}$, is a paraphrase of sentence 11, which ends with $\underline{a^2 d\tilde{o}h^2}$, showing that the two particles are close synonyms. (Repetition of an important point in a story by piling up paraphrases is an important feature of Copala Trique narrative style; such repetition is seen in sentences 11-16 of the text.)

The particle $\underline{\check{z}u^3 gw\tilde{a}h^{32}}$ expresses agreement:

- (32) $ga^2 \text{ } ^2\tilde{a}h^2 \text{ } ^1\check{u}h^1 \check{z}u^3 gw\tilde{a}h^{32}$
 will-go I EMPHATIC
 I'll really go!
- (33) $ga^3 \text{ } ^2\tilde{a}h^{32} zo^3 \check{z}u^3 gw\tilde{a}h^{32}$
 went he EMPHATIC
 He really went.

- (38) ze² gi³ nãã⁵ za⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ ma⁴
 not washed woman clothing NEGATIVE

The woman will not wash clothes.

The particle ma⁴ has a variant form, mã³², that occurs when the particle is not the final element of a sentence; mã³² is preceded by pause.

- (39) ne³ ga² ah² zo³ / mã³² be⁴ to³²
 not will-go he NEGATIVE Beto
 He didn't go, Beto.

The particle ma⁴ occurs in sentences 13, 50, 52, 62, and 75 of the text. Sentences 3 and 38 contain embedded negative sentences that do not have any particle.

When an interrogative sentence is negated, the same particle is used as in the positive form of the sentence:

- (40) ne³ nãã⁵ za⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ na⁴
 not wash woman clothing INTERROGATIVE
 Doesn't the woman wash the clothes?

- (41) ne³ nãã⁵ za⁴ na¹ ya³ /ih⁵ za²
 not wash woman clothing INTERROGATIVE
 The woman doesn't wash the clothes, does she?

- (42) me³ zii⁵ ne³ ga² ah² ngah³² ga²
 which person not will-go Putla INTERROGATIVE
 Who didn't go to Putla?

Two of the emphatic particles, e⁴i³² and a²dõh², have special negative forms which consist of mã³², the prefinal variant of ma⁴, plus the emphatic particle. The resulting forms have fused to single

words, m⁴ei³² and ma²dõh², in some idiolects.

(43) ne³ ga²ʔãh² zo³ me⁴i³²
 not will-go he NEGATIVE-EMPHATIC

He really didn't go.

(44) ne³ ga²ʔãh² zo³ ma²dõh²
 not went he NEGATIVE-EMPHATIC

He really didn't go.

The remaining emphatic particles do not combine with the negative mã³², but seem instead to be replaced by simple ma²⁴. Negative imperatives are usually formed this way and are thus homophonous with future indicatives.

(45) ze² ga³ʔãh³² zo¹ ma²⁴
 not went you NEGATIVE

Don't go! or You won't go.

Miscellaneous particles include a quotative, a politeness indicator, an insistence indicator, an annoyance indicator, a sarcasm indicator, and a request for corroboration indicator.

The quotative particle ra² has two uses, one in conversation and the other in narrative. If one participant in a conversation says something to a second, and a third participant does not believe that the second one is paying sufficient attention to it, the third participant will repeat the sentence (or a paraphrase of it) to speaker two, adding ra² at the end to make it clear that he is merely repeating.

(46) go²ʔo² zo¹ rme⁴dyo⁴ ra²
 will-drink you medicine QUOTATIVE

Drink the medicine, he says!

is used
 This particle with sentences in narrative folktales to indicate that the information in the sentence is not something the narrator made up, but rather an established belief of the culture.

(47) ne³eh³ me³ ya³ãh³² gwii²³ ra²

baby is god of-sun QUOTATIVE

It is said that the baby was the sun god.

This particle is not used, however, for reporting gossip or hearsay, nor for quoting speech. Both of these are handled by using the verb tah³² 'say' with the appropriate subject (and, optionally, the addressee) at the end of the quotation. There are many instances of this in the text; see, for example, sentences 2, 3, 4, and 5.

If the reported sentence is negative, the combined form ma⁴ra² is used:

(48) ze² go³o³² zo¹ ma⁴ra²

not drank you NEGATIVE-QUOTATIVE

Don't drink it, he says!

The politeness particle is ru⁴gwãh³²; it occurs with requests and means 'please':

(49) ra²kwih⁵ zo¹ãh³ ru⁴gwãh³²

will-help you to-me POLITENESS

Please help me!

The insistence particle is õh³²; it is ^{often} used on questions that are being repeated because they were not answered to the speaker's satisfaction the first time:

(50) me³ reh³² ga³ãh³² zo¹ õh³²

which place went you INSISTENCE

Come on; tell me where you went!

The annoyance particle is ni³a³; it is used to repeat information that the speaker feels the addressee should have paid better attention to the first time:

- (51) ngah³² ga³āh³² zo³ / tah³² ŋūh¹ kwā³ ni³a³
 Putla went he / say I just-now ANNOYANCE
 Didn't I just tell you that it was Putla he went to!

The sarcasm particle is a⁴zi⁴; it occurs on statements that are in some sense the opposite of what the speaker means, and thus specifically indicates one kind of nonliterality in addition to strong negative feeling:

- (52) gu²nah¹ u⁵ṣa⁴ gi⁵yah³ zoh³ a⁴zi⁴
 good very did you-plural SARCASM
 You really did very well, all right!

The corroboration-requested particle is ne⁴di², a fused form of ne³e⁴ di¹ 'you know', using the affectionate form of the second person singular pronoun.⁹ (This is the only particle I know of with a transparent etymology.) It occurs on statements which the speaker is inviting the addressee to agree with, much as English you know is used.

- (53) dah²³ waa³² zūū³² ne⁴di²
 thus is work CORROBORATION-REQUESTED
 That's how the work is, you know.

There are two other elements that occur at the end of a constituent, are followed by pause, and cannot easily be glossed: the topic marker ro³ and the conjunct marker do¹. These two elements do not,

however, occur sentence-final and therefore do not belong in the paradigmatic set of sentence-final particles.

(54) be⁴ to⁴ ro³ / ge³ ne³ e³ mā³ gwaa⁴ a³²

Beto TOPIC saw to John DECLARATIVE

As for Beto, he saw John.

(55) yu³ mi³ do¹ / yā³² do¹ / skah³² gwaa⁴ a³²

soap CONJUNCT / salt CONJUNCT / bought John DECLARATIVE

John bought soap and salt.

The particle ro³ occurs twice in sentence 25 of the text and once in sentence 31.

The set of sentence-final particles, though large and loosely structured, forms a paradigmatic set: at the end of each sentence a speaker must include one and only one of these particles. In the case of, for example, content interrogatives, the structure of the sentence forces the choice of the particle. In other cases, the mode he wishes to convey determines the choice, because in Copala Trique the choice of particle is the main syntactic marker of yes-no questions and imperatives. In still other cases, the particle used seems to be chosen freely by the speaker in accordance with his attitude toward the utterance.¹⁰ In section 3. the ways in which illocutionary force constrains the choice of particle and other syntactic features will be examined.

10

3. Bach and Harnish draw a major distinction between communicative and conventional illocutionary acts. The latter are counts-as rules that must be spoken by the right person under the right circumstances

to be effective (1979:108-119). They are essentially the same as Searle's declarations (1979:16-20) or Austin's verdictives (1962:

Conventional acts are not treated in this paper, largely because the Trique live in a peasant society, and almost all of its institutions have been forced on them by the dominant Mexican society. Nearly all conventional acts, therefore, are performed in Spanish, rather than in Trique.

Bach and Harnish divide communicative illocutionary acts into constatives, directives, commissives, and acknowledgments. Each is treated in turn.

4.1 Bach and Harnish define a constative as "the expression of a belief, together with the expression of an intention that the hearer form (or continue to hold) a like belief" (1979:42). They subdivide constatives into fifteen subtypes (not necessarily mutually exclusive), of which the most general is assertives. In that the vast majority of utterances are constatives, it is easier to describe the syntactic features that exclude constative force than to describe those that signal it. I will first describe assertives, both in terms of what signals assertive force and what excludes it, and then describe the other types in terms of how they differ from assertives.

Assertives are the most common illocutionary act, and are therefore the least marked. They may be signaled by a⁵², by most of the emphatic particles, by any of the negative particles, and by some of the miscellaneous particles. Particles that specifically exclude constative force of any kind are: all the interrogative particles,

the miscellaneous particles ru⁴gwāh³² (politeness), ōh³² (insistence), and perhaps ni³a³ (annoyance); and sometimes the emphatic particle a⁴. The particle a⁴ excludes constative force when it occurs in a sentence whose verb is in potential aspect and whose subject is first or second person. If the subject is first person singular or first person plural exclusive, the sentence is a commissive, and if the subject is first person plural inclusive or second person, the sentence (noninterrogative) is a directive. Other syntactic elements that rule out constative force include the presence of interrogative words and phrases, and the presence of certain standardized expressions that denote requests and acknowledgments, described below. The majority of sentences in the text are assertives, for example, sentence 1, the matrix sentence of 2, and both the embedded quotation and the matrix sentence of 3.

Predictives and retrodictives differ from assertives in being restricted as to time reference. Predictives refer to the future, and in Trique must appear with the verb in potential aspect; while retrodictives refer to the past, and must appear with the verb in completive or continuative aspect. Predictives cannot take the quotative particle ra². Two examples of predictives in the text are the second conjunct of sentence 31 and the embedded quotation in sentence 32. Some examples of retrodictives are sentences 18, 28, 29, and 30.

Descriptives and ascriptives (the difference between them is not clear to me from the definitions on page 42) seem to involve stative and equative sentences. Sentences 10-15 of the text are statives (some with the copula omitted), and the embedded quotation in sentence 16 is an equative sentence

Informatives and confirmatives are expressed in essentially the same way as simple assertives. Two examples of informatives in the text are sentence 10 and the embedded quotation in sentence 17. The embedded quotation in sentence 22 is a confirmative because it is based on information supplied by the groom. (It is, of course, also a lie!)

Concessives and assentives are sometimes indicated by introducing a sentence with some expression indicating the truth of the proposition put forward by the addressee:

(56) ya²³ uʃa⁴ a³ mi³² zo¹ ze³² waa³² rã³
 truly very speak you that there-is suffers
 be⁴ to⁴ a³²

Reto DECLARATIVE

You're right about Reto suffering.

Assentives are also expressed by the emphatic particle zu³ gwãh³², as in sentence (55) above. No examples of concessives or assentives are found in the text.

In a face-saving culture, retractives are rare, and there does not seem to be any particular syntactic form for making a retraction. In the text, when the narrator realized he had left out something (see footnote 14), he did not retract what he had said, but simply went on. If a speaker wishes to correct something within a sentence, however, there is a correction particle, naa³¹, that can be used to indicate that the speaker is going to correct something he has just said.

(57) ʒkah³² zo³ či² naa³¹ i²ko² gu⁴yãh¹ a³²
 bought he ten CORRECTION twenty candle DECLARATIVE
 He bought ten--no, twenty candles.

in that people seem to worry more about saving face themselves, than about helping other people to save face, dissentives and disputatives are frequent illocutionary acts in Copala Trique culture. Dissentives are likely to be prefaced by the strong negative, tah⁵² ma⁴, or to be expressed as a negative sentence with the particle ca⁴ or me⁴i⁵². While there are no examples of such overt dissentives in the text, the embedded quotation in sentence 17 seems to be an indirect dissentive: by repeating his assertion that he had been looking for the rabbit, the coyote is telling the rabbit that he is not convinced by the rabbit's claim (that there are many rabbits that look alike) that he has the wrong rabbit. Disputatives often begin with the conjunction cah² ne² 'but'; sentence 10 of the text, which begins with cah² ne², disputes the unstated claim that the coyote is looking for that particular rabbit because he is angry with him about the tricks he played in the past.

Responsives are likely to contain one of the emphatic particles, especially a⁴ or a²dõh²; see sentences (25) and (31) above. It is not clear to me whether responses to requests, as well as responses to questions, belong under responsives, or whether they are commissives. I tentatively treat them here as responsives. The embedded quotations in sentences 27, 35, and 39 of the text are positive responses to requests; no responses to questions occur in the text.

Suggestives and suppositives sometimes begin with šah³ 'maybe' (literally, 'it splits').

- (58) šah³ ne² di³ ga³ wi³ nii⁵ mã³ zo³ a³²
 maybe and killed they to him DECLARATIVE
 Perhaps they killed him.

There are no examples of suggestives or suppositives in the text.

4.2 According to Bach and Jarnish, directives both "express the speaker's attitude toward some prospective action by the hearer" and "express the speaker's intention . . . that his utterance . . . be taken as (a) reason for the hearer to act" (1979:47). Directives include requestives, questions, requirements, prohibitives, permissives, and advisories. Requirements, prohibitives, and permissives are distinguished from the others in that they involve authority on the part of the speaker over the addressee.¹¹

Of the six kinds of directives, questions are the most clearly distinguished. As in all other natural languages that I am acquainted with, Comala Trique questions are clearly distinguished from all other illocutionary acts, and content questions are sharply distinguished from yes-no questions, even though there is no a priori pragmatic reason for making such a distinction. Yes-no questions are always marked by the particle na?⁴ or ʒa?²; they have no other syntactic signals. Sentences (15), (16), and (17) above are examples of yes-no questions; there are no examples in the text. Content questions are marked by an initial interrogative word or phrase, and usually also by the particle ga². Sentence (21) above and ^(the embedded quotation in) sentences 59 ^(and 60) of the text are examples of content questions with ga², and ^(the embedded quotations in) sentences 4 and 9 are examples in which ga² has been omitted before a vocative. In both kinds of questions, a vocative has a special form ending in glottal stop; see sentence (17) above and the embedded quotations in sentences 4 and 9 of the text.

Requirements, positive requests, and positive advisories are not clearly distinguished from each other. All may be expressed by a sentence with the verb in potential aspect and second person or first person plural inclusive subject. The final particle is usually a⁴. For greater politeness in a trivial request, the quantifier doh²³ 'a little' may be used in the sentence:

- (59) ga²ce² zo¹ doh²³ yāā³² a⁴
 will-pass you a-little salt PERSUASION
 Please pass me (a little) salt!

In matters of greater significance, politeness is sometimes expressed by the particle ru⁴gwāh³², as in sentence (49) above, or by preposing a sentence that means 'do me a (little) favor':¹²

12

- (60) gi²yao⁵ zo¹ doh²³ ze⁴ndo³² / ne²ra²kwih⁵ zo¹
 will-do you a-little favor / and will-help you
 wih¹ zya⁴ndo⁴ be⁴so⁴ māh⁵ a⁴
 two hundred peso to-me PERSUASION
 Do me a favor, and lend me two hundred pesos!

Sentences with marks of politeness are probably best considered to be requests, rather than requirements. In the text there are three instances of inclusive requests: sentence 23, which ends with a⁴; the embedded quotation in sentence 24, which ends with zih³²; and the first conjunct of the embedded quotation in sentence 25, which has no particle because it is followed by a conjunction. There are also a number of examples of second person imperatives: five of the conjuncts of the embedded quotation in sentence 25, the first conjunct of sentence 31, the main clause of the embedded quotation in sentence 37, and two of

the conjuncts in the embedded quotation in sentence 38. Most of these requests have no particle because they are not sentence-final; but the request in sentence 37 ends in a⁴. (The emphatic particle a²dōh² at the end of the embedded quote in sentence 38 seems to go with the final clause of the quotation, which is a reason for making the requests.)

Prohibitives, negative requests, and negative advisories, like their positive counterparts, are not clearly distinguished from each other. All are expressed by using the future negative adverb ze² followed by a verb in completive aspect (which together carry the meaning 'negative potential'), a second person or inclusive subject, and a negative particle. Unless marked as a request by the presence of some signal such as 'do me a (little) favor', a negative request is homophonous with a future negative statement:

- (61) ze² ga³ ʔāh³² zo²1 ma²4
 not went you NEGATIVE
 Don't go! or You will not go.

There is one negative request in the text: one of the conjuncts in the embedded quotation in sentence 38, which has no particle because it is followed by a conjunction. Its force as an imperative, rather than as a declarative, is determined only by context.

The remaining class of directives, which is permissives, is characterized by the use of the verb form ga²wee²³ 'it will be possible' followed by a sentence with the verb in potential aspect and a second person or inclusive subject. Particles may be neutral or emphatic.

(62) ga²wee²⁵ zu²nāh² zo¹ ga²wee²⁵
 will-be-possible-it will-run you will-be-possible-it
 nāh¹ a⁴ / tah³² zno⁵o² ri³āā³¹ ya⁴na¹ a³²
 INDEED PERSUASION / say man face-of woman DECLARATIVE
 "Go ahead and run away!" the man said to the woman.

It is possible to list two alternatives in this way:

(63) ga²wee²⁵ gi²nāh² zo¹ ga²wee²⁵
 will-be-possible-it will-go you will-be-possible-it
 gi²nāh² zo¹ ga²wee²⁵ a⁴
 will-stay you will-be-possible-it PERSUASION
 You may go or stay.

Negatives are rare in permissives and such sentences are often rephrased as positives. There are no examples of permissives in the text.

3.3 Bach and Harnish define commissives as "acts of obligating oneself or of proposing to obligate oneself to do something specified in the propositional content" (1979:49-50). Commissives include promises and offers.

Promises and offers are not always distinguished from each other. Both are marked by having verbs in potential aspect and first person singular or first person plural exclusive subjects, and they usually take the persuasion particle a⁴. Promises are often further signaled by using the adverb ya²⁵ 'truly' (sometimes repeated or modified by an adverb meaning 'very' for emphasis).

(64) ya²⁵ ya²⁵ ga²nāh¹ a³yuh³ a⁴
 truly truly will-come-1 tomorrow PERSUASION
 I'll come tomorrow for sure!

Offers may be further signaled by the addition of a subordinate if-clause to the sentence, or by using a question to express them indirectly:

- (65) ga²nah¹ a³yuh⁵ ze³ze⁵² me³ ra⁴ zo¹a⁵²
 will-come-I tomorrow if are inside you DECLARATIVE
 I'll come tomorrow if you want me to.
- (66) ga²nah¹ ra⁴ zo¹na⁴
 will-come-I think you INTERROGATIVE
 Do you think I should come?

In the text there are two examples of promises or offers, both in sentence 25; no particles occur with these because they are followed by conjunctions.

Bach and Harnish mention several special cases of promises, including contracts and bets; the commissive-constative combinations oaths, guarantees, and surrenders; and the commissive-directive combination invitations. While contracts, oaths, and invitations, at least, are common acts in the culture, I know of no syntactic features that correlate with any of them. Bach and Harnish also mention two special cases of offers, volunteering and bids. Although bids are particularly common in the culture, as in haggling over prices in the market, again I know of no syntactic features that correlate with either of them.

3.4 According to Bach and Harnish, acknowledgments "express, non-
 functorily if not genuinely, certain feelings toward the hearer...
 appropriate to particular sorts of occasions" (1979:51). Acknowledg-

ments include apologies, condolences, congratulations, greetings, thanks, wishes, acceptances, and rejections. The last two are responses to other acknowledgments.

Two kinds of utterances which are common in Trique culture but which do not fit readily into the above scheme are leave-takings and scoldings. Leave-takings are appropriate to particular situations, but rarely involve even a perfunctory expression of feeling toward the addressee. In Comala Trique culture, ^{however,} a polite visitor must take proper leave of his host. Because of their role in filling social expectations, therefore, I have chosen to class leave-takings with greetings in this paper. Scoldings, on the other hand, involve the expression of strong (negative) feelings on the part of the speaker toward the addressee, but are not appropriate to any particular social situations. In that Bach and Harnish admit that wishes can be negative, in which case they are called curses (1979:54), I have chosen to consider scoldings to be negative congratulations in this paper. It would also be possible, ^{however,} to class leave-takings and scoldings as constatives. A similar problem arises when we consider the responses to a scolding. A positive response could be either an acceptance, which is a kind of acknowledgment, or an assentive, which is a kind of constative; and a negative response could be either a rejection (acknowledgment) or a dissentive (constative). Perhaps in most cases they are both acknowledgments and constatives.

Unlike constatives, directives, and commissives, which are marked mainly by particles, aspect, and person, and permit a great deal of freedom in the propositional content; acknowledgments tend to be sig-

naled by frozen, formulaic, expressions.

Apologies are not common because of the desire to save face. It is far more common for an offensive act to be ignored by the person who committed it than for him to issue an apology. The most common way of expressing an apology, however, is to use the expression ga²raa² zi³naa³² zo¹ 'be patient', alone with a particle, or followed by the complementizer ze³² waa³² and a sentence expressing the offense. Such a sentence must have a verb in completive or continuative aspect, and a first person subject.

- (67) ga²raa² zi³naa³² zo¹ ze³² waa³² ga³kaa³² dāā⁵
 will-? hunger-of you that there-is burned paper-of
 zo¹ gi³yaa⁵ ŋūh¹ a³²
 you did I DECLARATIVE

Be patient (with me) even though I burned your book!

There are no examples of apologies in the text.

Condolences are often expressed by using an expression meaning 'poor you!' or by one meaning 'I am sad that' followed by ^{(a complementizer and} a sentence expressing the sad event that occasioned the condolences:

- (68) ni²ke⁴ zo¹ a⁴
 poor you PERSUASION
 Poor you!
- (69) na³no⁴ ra⁴ ŋūh¹ ze³² waa³² ga³wi³ nii⁴
 tell inside I that there-is died mother-of
 zo¹ a³²
 you DECLARATIVE
 I'm sorry that your mother died.

There are no examples of condolences in the text.

Congratulations may be positive or negative. Positive congratulations are rare in Copala Trique culture because of envy. The role of envy is so strong that people who experience good fortune often try to hide it or make light of it rather than arouse envy. Congratulations are sometimes expressed, however, by using an expression meaning 'you did well' (or one meaning 'you fared well'), either alone with a particle or followed by a complementizer and a sentence.

(70) gu² nah¹ gi³ yaa⁵ zo¹ ze³² waa³² gu³ du³ weh⁵ zo¹
 good did you that there-is sold you
 skuh⁵ a³²
 cow DECLARATIVE

You did well to sell the cow.

Negative congratulations, or scoldings, are, on the other hand, fairly common. The insistence particle oh³² and the annoyance particle ni³ a³ often turn a sentence into a scolding; see sentences (50) and (51) above. The most common way to scold, however, is to ask questions, especially why questions--in other words, to use a standardized kind of indirect speech act. The following sentences are taken from recorded text material, each by a different speaker.

(71) dah¹ tah³² zo¹ na³ weh³² zo¹ skah² zo¹ zno⁵ o² /
 how say you are-unwilling you will-take you man /
 ne² me³ ze³ e⁴ gu³ ch³² ũ⁴ zo¹ ne³ ch³ ga² /
 and which base bore also you baby INTERROGATIVE /
 tah³² cii³ da² nih¹ a³ mii³² u³ sa⁴ yo³ a³²
 says man having-child speaks much that DECLARATIVE

'How can you say you don't want to get married, and why did you

have a baby then?" her father said, very upset.

(72) me³ se⁴ ne³ u³ no⁴ zo¹ a³ mii³² ni⁴

which base not hear you speak we-inclusive
ga² / tah³² za⁴ na¹ ri³ aa³² zno⁵ o² a³²

INTERROGATIVE / says woman face-of man DECLARATIVE

"Why don't you pay attention when I speak?" the woman said to the man.

(Note the nonliteral use of the inclusive pronoun in place of first singular to soften the statement a little bit, in a manner similar to the use of editorial we in English.) There are no instances of either positive congratulations or scoldings in the text in 4.

Greetings include both true greetings (conversation openers) and leave-takings. True greetings are not particularly common, but there are certain sentences that are standardized ways of opening conversations that also function as greetings. They differ in form according to the place of meeting. On the trail, the standard opener is:

(73) me³ reh³² ga³ ah³² zo¹ ga²

which place went you INTERROGATIVE

Where are you going?

When one person visits another one, the visitor may initiate the conversation by saying:

(74) me³ yaa⁵ zo¹ ga²

what do you INTERROGATIVE

What are you doing?

or, if the host is not in sight:

(75) ne⁴ zo¹ na⁴

sit you INTERROGATIVE

Are you home?

Sometimes the host speaks first; he is likely to say:

- (76) ga³na⁴ zo¹ a³²
 came you DECLARATIVE
 You came.

after which the guest is likely to answer:

- (77) ga³nah³ a⁴
 came-I PERSUASION

In the text, the coyote initiates a conversation in sentence 2 by saying, "Here you are," after which he launches immediately into his quarrel with the rabbit, without waiting for the rabbit to reply to his conversation opener. In the twenty years I have been in the Trique area, I have witnessed the emergence of new greeting patterns which consist of simply naming the time of day. This is almost certainly a response to the pressure of the Spanish greetings, buenos días, buenas tardes, and buenas noches. Typical greetings of this type include:

- (78) gūū³ sta¹ gwii³ a³²
 became high sun DECLARATIVE
 Good morning. (considerably later than sunrise)
- (79) di³nuu³² nāh¹ a⁴
 dusk INDEED PERSUASION
 Good evening. (shortly after sunset)

Leave-takings, unlike greetings, are socially required. A visitor leaves a house by saying:

- (80) ga²āh² nāh¹ a⁴
 will-go-I INDEED PERSUASION
 I'm going now.

On the trail, one of the speakers may say:

- (81) nāh²³ waa³² na²āh² nāh¹ a⁴
 thus is will-head-home-1 INDEED PERSUASION
 I'll be on my way home now.

The only example of a greeting or leave-taking in the text is the conversation opener in sentence 2.

There are two standardized expressions for expressing thanks:

- (82) ni²ke²³ ra⁴ zo¹ a³²
 poor inside you DECLARATIVE
 Thank you.
- (83) gūū³ ni²yah²³ ni⁴ a³²
 became blessed we-inclusive DECLARATIVE
 Thank you.

These expressions also occur with a complementizer and a sentence expressing the reason for the thanks:

- (84) gūū³ ni²yah²³ ni⁴ ze³² waa³² re³ke⁴
 became blessed we-inclusive that there-is gave
 zo¹ ya³ih⁵ māh³ a³²
 you clothing to-me DECLARATIVE
 Thank you for giving me clothing.

There are no examples of thanks in the text in 4.

Wishes include both positive and negative ones. Because of the role of envy in the culture, positive wishes, like congratulations, are rarely offered, and there is no standardized form for expressing them. Negative wishes, or curses, on the other hand, are fairly common. They are standardly expressed by stating the opposite of what the speaker

(Curses usually occur with the persuasion particle, a⁴.)

wants to happen, in other words, by using sarcasm, which is a kind of nonliterality. The sarcasm particle, a⁴zi⁴, is not, however, used in curses, but is reserved for other kinds of sarcasm; The following examples of curses are taken from recorded text material.

(85) gi^{2v}zi²na²h² u^{3v}sa⁴ da³ni⁵ zo¹ nu¹ ga³wii³²
 will-amount much child-of you complete went-out
 nu¹ ga³na³² a⁴
 complete went PERSUASION

May your children amount forever and ever! (= may they all die!)

(86) yah²³ dah²³ gi³yaa⁵ di¹ma³ / ne²ga^{2v}cih² da³ni⁵
 now thus did you to-me and will-grow child-of
 di¹nda²³da⁴ di¹a⁴ / tah³²zu²gwa²na⁴
 you even animal-of you PERSUASION / says grandmother-of-
 ga³na³² no³roh¹ zo³a³²
 us-inclusive Ga³na³² hear the-two he DECLARATIVE

"Because of what you did to me now, may your children grow, and even your animals!" our grandmother Ga³na³² said to the two of them. (= may they be small and sickly!)

There are no examples of either positive wishes or curses in the text in 4.

The form used for acceptances depends on the kind of acknowledgment being accepted. For thanks and leave-takings, the appropriate response is simply ee³² 'yes'. For some other types, for example greetings of the form 'you came', the appropriate response is to repeat the information back, for example:

(87) (speaker 1) ga³na² zo¹ a³²
came you DECLARATIVE

You came.

(speaker 2) ga³nah³ a²dõh²
came-I EMPHATIC

I really came!

The rejection of an acknowledgment is quite rare and would be considered extremely rude. There are no special syntactic elements that mark rejections, but silence in place of the expected acceptance is one way to communicate a rejection.

Free translation:

1. And so it (the rabbit) was sitting there, and the coyote came along again. 2. "Here you are, brother," he (the coyote) said. 3. "I looked hard for you, but there's no way to find you, brother," he said to the rabbit. 4. "Why were you looking for me, brother?" the rabbit said to him.

5. It happened that the rabbit said (the following). 6. And, "Someone is counting on me, brother," he said. 7. "Someone is counting on me, and there is a job

I am going to do now, brother," he said. 8. "Someone is counting on me, but it was you that we were really looking for, brother," he said. 9. "Why were you looking for me, brother?" the rabbit said to the coyote.

10. "But there really are a lot of us. 11. Our faces are **indeed** the same. 12. Our faces are indeed the same. 13. The faces of each one of us are not different. 14. The faces of us brothers are indeed the same. 15. **Our faces are indeed the same.** 16. The faces of us all are indeed just one face," he said to the coyote.

17. "I was looking very hard for you, brother," the coyote said to the rabbit.

18. It happened that the rabbit had another idea. 19. It happened that he said again. 20. And, "Someone is counting on me," he said. 21. "Someone is counting on me, and it happens that I am going to become a sponsor--I am going to become a sponsor, the groom really says," he said to the coyote. 22. "The groom is going to get married, and I am going to become a sponsor, a groom really says," the rabbit said to the coyote. 23. "Let's go!" 24. "Let's surely go!" the rabbit said to the coyote.

25. "Let's go, and you sit here, and beat the drum, and I'll give you a drum, and I'll give you a violin, and with your feet, beat the drum, and with your hands, play the violin, and do that while you're sitting here, and one of my companions is counting on me, and I'm going to become a sponsor, he really says," the rabbit said to the coyote.

26. The coyote believed it again. 27. "Okay," he said. 28. He took the violin. 29. He took the drum. 30. The rabbit sat him down in the middle of some bamboo indeed. 31. "Sit here, and right here there will be a fiesta today indeed.

32. Right here there will be a very big fiesta right away," the rabbit said to the coyote. 33. The rabbit sat the coyote in the middle of a big bamboo patch. 34. It was in the middle of a very big bamboo patch, and the bamboo was lying all around, and it was in the middle of the bamboo patch that the fiesta was going to take place, the rabbit said to the coyote. 35. "Okay," he said. 36. He was sitting and waiting. 37. "Then we set off the skyrockets, then beat the drum harder," the rabbit said again to the coyote. 38. "The skyrockets will come nearer and nearer as they explode; until the skyrockets keep approaching nearer and nearer, then

beat the drum harder, and don't be afraid, and beat the drum harder because we'll surely be coming there right away," the rabbit said to the coyote. 39. "Okay," he said. 40. He waited and waited for the skyrockets to explode. 41. It was quiet. 42. Pop, pop, pop! 43. It happened that the exploding began indeed. 44. It began to explode a lot indeed. 45. It exploded a lot--pop!; it kept on exploding a lot--pop! 46. It exploded and creaked--pop!; it exploded and creaked- pop!; it exploded a lot--pop! 47. The coyote beat the drum again even more as he was sitting there.

48. He beat the drum a lot as he was sitting in the bamboo patch.

49. Thus was he doing as he was sitting in the middle of the bamboo.

50. It happened that as he was sitting, he didn't realize what was happening. 51. He was beating the drum hard while he was sitting there. 52. After that he thought that skyrockets were exploding, but it wasn't skyrockets exploding. 53. It was just fire coming around the edge of the bamboo--pop! 54. It happened that the rabbit set fire also to the edge of the bamboo, and all around the edge of the bamboo the rabbit set fire to it also and went away. 55. And then the coyote was sitting in the middle of the bamboo beating the drum as he sat. 56. He beat the drum hard as he sat.

57. The bamboo kept on exploding and coming closer. 58. He beat the drum more. 59. "When will they arrive?" the coyote wonders as he is sitting there. 60. "When will they arrive?" the coyote wonders. 61. It exploded and exploded and exploded and exploded. 62. The coyote doesn't wonder if fire is coming from the edge of the bamboo there. 63. The coyote thinks that skyrockets are exploding as he sits there. 64. And so he was sitting there, and the fire came along. 65. He burned up indeed. 66. He burned up, and that's how he died indeed. 67. The coyote died in the middle of that bamboo patch.

68. He died as he was lying there.

69. It happened that the bamboo finished burning, and then the rabbit came back, and, "Wow, you're laughing a lot as you lie there, brother," the rabbit said to the coyote. 70. The burning fire had caused the coyote's mouth to be scorched. 71. As for the coyote's mouth, it was scorched as he was lying there. 72. And so, "The person lying there is already laughing indeed," the rabbit said again right now indeed.

73. That's what the rabbit did. 74. That's just how his story goes. 75. But it's not a new story. 76. It's an old story that has been around since long ago.

77. His story has been like that forever and ever. 78. The story that we tell to our companions is finished.

4. The following text is the final episode of a trickster series in which the rabbit always wins out over larger, carnivorous, animals. The series appears to have Old World origins, but is widely distributed throughout Mesoamerica at present. These stories are extremely popular among the Copala Trique, presumably because, as a downtrodden cultural minority, they identify with the rabbit, who triumphs over the oppressors in spite of his weakness and insignificance.

The sentences of the text are numbered and accompanied by a literal translation. Sentence-final particles ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ are underlined. A free translation of the text is given on facing pages.

1. wee⁴ dā³² ne³ zo³ / ne² gu⁴ ri¹ āh¹ ga³ ya² ūū⁴ a³² //

lo thus sits it-anteced / and came-out coyote also DECL(ative)

2. ni³ āh³ nuu³² zo¹ di⁴ nuh¹ / tah³² zo³ a³² //

here are-in you brother / says it-an DECL

3. na³ no³ ndo³ oh³² mā⁴ zo¹ / āh² ne² ne³ ze³² gi² ya⁴

looked-for much-I to you / but also not that-which will-da-we-incl(usive)

- na² ri¹ mā⁴ zo¹ di⁴ nuh¹ / tah³² zo³ ri³ āh³² du³ gu⁴ ya³² a³² //

will-find-we-incl to you brother / says it-an face-of rabbit DECL

4. me³ se⁴ na³ no⁴ zo¹ māh³ di⁴ nu¹ / tah³² du³ gu⁴ ya³² ri³ āh³² zo³ a³² //

which base looked-for you to-me brother / says rabbit face-of it-an DECL

5. da³² me³ ze³² tah³² du³ gu⁴ ya³² a³² //

thus is that says rabbit DECL

6. ne² / waa³² zii³ nu² kwah²³ ra⁴ māh³ di⁴ nuh¹ / tah³² zo³ a³² //

and / there-is he-who strong inside to-me brother / says it-an DECL

7. waa³² zii³ nu² kwah²³ ra⁴ māh³ / ne² waa³² zūū³²

there-is he-who strong inside to-me / and there-is responsibility

ga²o²ah² cwa¹no² di⁴nuh¹ / tah³² zo³ a³² //

will-go-1 right-now brother / says it-an DECL

8. waa³² zii⁵ nu²kwah²³ ra⁴ nãh⁵ / gah² ne² wee⁴ zo³1

there-is he-who strong inside to-me brother / but also lo you

na⁵no³ u³sa⁴ nuh⁵ di⁴nuh¹ / tah³² zo³ a³² //

looked-for much we-excl(usive) brother / says it-an DECL

9. me³ se⁴ na⁵no⁴ zo¹ nãh⁵ di⁴nuh¹ / tah³² du⁵gu⁴ya³² ri³ãã³²

which base looked-for you to-me brother / says rabbit face-of

zga³yãh³² a³² //

coyote DECL

10. gah² ne² ge²ce¹ u³sa⁴ nuh⁵ a²dõh² //

but also many very we-excl EMPH(atic)

11. gu²yãã² ri³ãã³² nuh⁵ a²dõh² //

same face-of us-excl EMPH

12. gu²yãã² ri³ãã³² nuh⁵ nãh¹ a⁴ //

same face-of us-excl INDEED PERS(uasion)

13. ne³ i²no²³ waa³² ri³ãã³² ʔo² ʔo² nuh⁵ ma⁴ //

not different are face-of one one us-excl NEG(ative)

14. gu²yãã² waa³² ri³ãã³² nih³ di²nuh¹ nuh⁵ nãh¹ a⁴ //

same are face-of the-pl(ural) having-brother we-excl INDEED PERS

15. gu²yãã² ri³ãã³² nuh⁵ nãh¹ a⁴ //

same face-of us-excl INDEED PERS

16. yo²ʔo² ri³ãã³² me³ ri³ãã³² da³rã³ nuh⁵ nãh¹ a⁴ / tah³² zo³

one face-of are face-of all us-excl INDEED PERS / says it-an

ri³ãã³² zga³yãh³² a³² //

face-of coyote DECL

in copy

17. nu²kwah²³ ndo³o⁵² na³no³oh⁵ mā⁴ zo¹ di⁴nuh¹ / tah⁵² ga³yāh⁵²
 strong much looked-for-1 to you brother / says coyote
 ri³āā⁵² zo³ a⁵² //
- face-of it-an DECL
18. dā⁵² me³ ze³² ga³wii³² ūū⁴ raa³¹ du³gu⁴ya⁵² yo³ ūū⁴ a⁵² //
- thus is that went-out again head-of rabbit that also DECL
19. dā⁵² me³ ze³² tah⁵² ūū⁴ zo³ a⁵² //
- thus is that says again it-an DECL
20. ne² / waa³² zii⁵ nu²kwah²³ ra⁴ mā³ a⁴ / tah⁵² zo³ a⁵² //
- and / there-is he-who strong inside to-me PERS / says it-an DECL
21. waa³² zii⁵ nu²kwah²³ ra⁴ mā³ ne² dā⁵² me³ ze³² ga²yāh²
 there-is he-who strong inside to-me / and thus is that will-go
 gūh³ ba³dri⁴no⁴ ga²yāh² gūh³ ba³dri⁴no⁴ / tah³² zii⁵
 will-become-1 sponsor will-go will-become-1 sponsor / says he-who
 tah³² a²dōh² / tah³² zo³ ri³āā⁵² ga³yāh⁵² a⁵² //
- says EMPH / says it-an face-of coyote DECL
22. na²ra²aa²³ zii⁵ na²ra²aa²³ / ne² ga²yāh² gūh³
 will-get-married he-who will-get-married / and will-go will-become-1
 ba³dri⁴no⁴ / tah³² o² zii⁵ tah³² a²dōh² / tah³² du³gu⁴ya⁵² ri³āā⁵² 1
 sponsor / says one he-who says EMPH / says rabbit face-of
 ga³yāh³² a⁵² //
- coyote DECL
23. ga²yāh² ni⁴ a⁴ //
- will-go we-incl PERS
24. ga²yāh² ni⁴ zih⁵² / tah³² du³gu⁴ya⁵² ri³āā⁵² ga³yāh³² a⁵² //
- will-go we-incl EMPH / says rabbit face-of coyote DECL

25. ga²ʔāh² ni² / ne² ga²ne⁴ zo²1 ni³āh⁵ / ne² ga²o²1 zo²1 ya⁵nuh²⁵ /
 will-go we-incl / and will-sit you here / and will-hit you drum /
 ne² re²keh² ya⁵nuh²⁵ mā⁴ zo²1 / ne² re²keh² ya⁵ʔāh⁵ mā⁴ zo²1 / ne²
 and will-give-I drum to you / and will-give-I **violin** to you / and
 da³koo⁵ zo²1 ro²3 / ga²o²1 zo²1 ya⁵nuh²⁵ / ne² ra³ʔa⁴ zo²5 ro²3 /
 foot-of you TOPIC / will-hit you drum / and hand-of you TOPIC /
 ga²o²1 zo²1 ya⁵ʔāh⁵ / ne² dah²⁵ gi²ʔya⁵ zo²1 ga²ne⁴ zo²1 reh³²
 will-hit you **violin** / and thus will-do you will-sit you place
 ni³āh⁵ / ne² nu²kwah²⁵ u³ʂa⁴ ra⁴ ʔo² du³wih³ māh³ / ne⁴ ga²ʔāh²
 here / and strong very inside one conj. non-of-me to-me / and will-go
 uh⁵ ʔu⁵ri⁴no⁴ / tah³² zo²5 a²dōh / tah³² ʔu⁴ya⁵ri³āh³²
 will-become-I sponsor / says he EMPH / says rabbit face-of
 ga³ʔyāh³² a³² //

coyote DECL

26. a³mā⁴ ra⁴ ūū⁴ ga³ʔyāh³² yo²5 a³² //

arrives inside again coyote that DECL

27. ga²ʔwee²⁵ a⁴ / tah³² ʔo²3 a³² //

will-be-possible-it PERS / says it-an DECL

28. gi⁵da⁵ʔaa³² ʔo²3 ya⁵ʔāh⁵ a³² //

grabbed it-an violin DECL

29. gi⁵da⁵ʔaa³² ʔo²3 ya⁵nuh²³ a³² //

grabbed it-an drum DECL

30. gu⁵ne²3 du⁵ru⁴ya⁵ mā⁵ ʔo²3 da⁴nuu² ri⁵aa³² nāh¹ a⁴ //

sat rabbit to it-an middle-of bamboo INDEED PERS

31. ni³āh⁵ ga²ne⁴ zo²1 / ne² ni³āh⁵ ro²3 / gūū²⁵ ʔa⁵ʔāh³² kwā²5

here will-sit you / and here TOPIC / will-come-to-be fiesta today

nāh¹ a⁴ //

UNDEED PERS

32. ni⁵āh⁵ gūū²⁵ v³āh³² no²koo²³ u³šā⁴ gwa²no² a³² / tah³² du⁵gu⁴ya³²

here will-come-to-be fiesta big very right-now DECL / says rabbit

ri³āā³² ga³yāh³² a³² //

face-of coyote DECL

33. gu⁵ne³ du⁵gu⁴ya³² mā³ ga³yāh³² da⁴nū² ri³āā³² no²koo²³ a³² //

sat rabbit to coyote middle-of bamboo abundant DECL

34. da⁴nū² ri³āā³² no²koo²³ ndo³o³² me³ / ne² ri³āā³² nah³ a⁴ni²kah¹ /

middle-of bamboo abundant very is / and bamboo lies turns /

ne² da⁴nū² ri³āā³² ne³ ga²nū³² v³āh³² / tah³² du⁵gu⁴ya³²

and middle-of bamboo is will-take-place fiesta / says rabbit

ri³āā³² ga³yāh³² a³² //

face-of coyote DECL

35. ga²wee²⁵ / tah³² zo³ a³² //

will-be-possible-it / says it-an DECL

36. ne⁵ zo³ na⁴wih¹ zo³ a³² //

sits it-an waits it-an DECL

37. a⁴za¹ ga⁵nū³¹ we⁴te⁴ yāh³ nuh⁵ / ne² doh⁵ a¹ ga²o¹

when-future exploded skyrocket cause we-excl / and more even will-hit

zo¹ ya⁵nuh²³ a⁴ / tah³² ūū⁴ du⁵gu⁴ya³² ri³āā³² ga³yāh³² yo³ a³² //

you drum PERS / says again rabbit face-of coyote that DECL

38. ni⁵čū³ ni³čū³ na³ we⁴te⁴ a³nū³¹ / ndaa²³ ni³čū³

approaches approaches comes skyrocket explodes / until approaches

ni⁵čū³ a³nū³¹ ni⁵čū³ a³nū³¹ we⁴te⁴ / ga²ne²doh³

approaches explodes approaches explodes skyrocket / when also more

- a¹ ga²o¹ zo¹ ya⁵nuh²⁵ / ne² ze² gu³zu³wi⁴ zo¹ / ne²
 even will-hit you drum / and future-not was-afraid you / and
 doh³ a¹ ga²o¹ zo¹ ya⁵nuh²⁵ e¹ze³² nuh⁵ ʔna³ yo³ gwa²no²
 more even will-hit you drum because we-excl come there right-now
 a²dōh² / tah³² du³gu⁴ya³² ri³āā³² ra³ʔyāh³² a³² //
- BYPH / says rabbit face-of coyote DECL
39. ga²wee³³ / tah³² zo³ a³² //
- will-be-possible-it / says it-an DECL
40. na⁴wih¹ ze³ na⁴wih¹ zo³ ga²nuu¹ we⁴te⁴ a³² //
- waited it-an waited it-an will-explode skyrocket DECL
41. dīh⁵ waa³² a³² //
- quiet is DECL
42. cāh³² / gāh³² / gāh³² //
- pop / pop / pop
43. wee⁴ dā³² ne² ūū³ ze²e¹ ga³nuu³¹ nāh¹ a⁴ //
- lo thus also becomes based exploded INDEED PERS
44. gūū³ ze²e¹ ga³nuu³¹ ndo³o³² nāh¹ a⁴ //
- became based exploded much INDEED PERS
45. ru⁴wa³² ga³nuu³¹ gāh³² / u³ṣa⁴ ga³nuu³¹ ga³nuu³¹ gāh³² //
- much exploded pop / much exploded exploded pop
46. a³nuu³¹ o⁴ṣoh¹ gāh³² / a³nuu³¹ o⁴ṣoh¹ gāh³² / a³nuu³¹ ndo³o³²
 explodes creaks pop / explodes creaks pop / explodes much
 gāh³² a³² //
- pop DECL
47. doh³ a¹ na³ga³o³ ga³ʔyāh³² yo³ ya⁵nuh²³ ne³ zo³ a³² //
- more even hit-again coyote that drum sits it-an DECL

48. a³o²̄³ ndo³o²̄³² v̄zo²̄³ ya⁵ nuh²⁵ ne⁵ v̄zo²̄³ re⁵ ke⁵ ri³ aa⁵² a⁵² //
 hits much it-an drum sits it-an belly-of bamboo DECL
49. dah²³ ʔyah³ v̄zo²̄³ ne³ v̄zo²̄³ da⁴ nuu² ri³ aa⁵² a⁵² //
 thus does it-an sits it-an middle-of bamboo DECL
50. dā⁵² me³ ze³² ne³ v̄zo²̄³ ne³ v̄zkah² v̄zo²̄³ ewe⁴ nda⁴ ma² //
 thus is that sits it-an not took it-an account NEG
51. a³o²̄³ ndo³o²̄³² v̄zo²̄³ ya⁵ nuh²⁵ ne⁵ v̄zo²̄³ a⁵² //
 hits much it-an drum sits it-an DECL
52. yo²̄³ ga² ne² we⁴ te⁴ a⁵ nuu³¹ ra⁴ v̄zo²̄³ / ʔah² ne² ne⁵
 that when also skyrocket explodes thinks it-an / but also not
 we² te⁴ a⁵ nuu³¹ ma² //
 skyrocket explodes NEG
53. do²̄¹ ya⁵ ʔā⁵² ʔna² a⁴ ni¹ kab¹ du³ wa³ ri³ aa⁵² ga⁵ a⁵² //
 just fire comes turns mouth-of bamboo top DECL
54. dā⁵² me³ ze³² ga³ o²̄³ ūū⁴ du³ gu⁴ ya³² yo²̄³ ya³ ʔā⁵² du³ wa³ ri³ aa⁵² /
 thus is that hit again rabbit that fire mouth-of bamboo /
 ne² a⁴ ni¹ kab¹ du³ wa³ ri³ aa⁵² ga³ o²̄³ ūū⁴ du³ gu⁴ ya³² ya³ ʔā⁵²
 and turns mouth-of bamboo hit again rabbit fire
 ga³ ʔā⁵² v̄zo²̄³ a⁵² //
 went it-an DECL
55. ga² ne² ne³ ga³ ʔyāh³² da⁴ nuu² ri³ aa⁵² a³ o²̄³ v̄zo²̄³ ya⁵ nuh²⁵ ne³
 when also sits coyote middle-of bamboo hits it-an drum sits
 v̄zo²̄³ a⁵² //
 it-an DECL
56. a³o²̄³ ndo³o²̄³² v̄zo²̄³ ya⁵ nuh²⁵ ne³ a⁵² //
 hits much it-an drum sits-it DECL

57. a³ nuu³¹ ri³ aa³² a³ nuu³¹ ri³ aa³² ʔnaʔ³ a³² //
 explodes bamboo explodes bamboo comes DECL
58. doh⁵ a⁵ oʔ³ ʋoʔ³ ya⁵ nuh²⁵ a³² //
 more hits it-an drum DECL
59. me⁵ o⁴ ra⁴ gi² zih² nih³ zoʔ³ ga² / ra⁴
 which hour will-arrive the-plural be INTERJ(ogative) / thinks
 ga⁵ ʔyāh³² ne³ ʋoʔ³ a³² //
 coyote sits it-an DECL
60. me⁵ o⁴ ra⁴ gi² zih² nih³ zoʔ³ ga² / ra⁴ ga⁵ ʔyāh³² a³² //
 which hour will-arrive the-plural be INTERJ. / thinks coyote DECL
61. a⁵ nuu³¹ a⁵ nuu³¹ a⁵ nuu³¹ a⁵ nuu³¹ yoʔ³ a³² //
 explodes explodes explodes explodes that DECL
62. ne³ ra⁴ ga⁵ ʔyāh³² ze³ ze³² ya⁵ ʔā³² ʔnaʔ⁵ reh³² du⁵ ʔwa³ ri³ aa³²
 not thinks coyote if fire comes place mouth-of bamboo
 yoʔ³ ma^{ʔ4} //
 that NEG
63. we⁴ te⁴ a³ nuu³¹ ra⁴ ga⁵ ʔyāh³² ne³ ʋoʔ³ a³² //
 skyrocket explodes thinks coyote sits it-an DECL
64. wee⁴ dā³² ne³ ʋoʔ³ / ne² gu⁴ ri² āh¹ ya⁵ ʔā³² a³² //
 lo thus sits it-an / and came-out fire DECL
65. ga³ kaa³² nu^{ʔ1} ʋoʔ³ nāh¹ a⁴ //
 burned completely it-an INDEED PERS
66. ga³ kaa³² nu^{ʔ1} ʋoʔ³ / ne² wee⁴ dah²⁵ ga³ wi^{ʔ3} ʋoʔ³ nāh¹ a⁴ //
 burned completely it-an / and lo thus died it-an INDEED PERS
67. ga³ wi^{ʔ3} ga³ ʔyāh³² yoʔ³ da⁴ nuu² ri³ aa³² yoʔ³ a³² //
 died coyote that middle-of bamboo that DECL

68. ga³ wi³ v³ zo³ nah³ v³ zo³ a³² //
 died it-an lies it-an DECL
69. dā³² me³ ze³² ga³ v⁴ ce⁴ ga³ kaa³² ri³ aa³² yo³ / ga² ne² na³ ũ⁴
 thus i: that passed burned bamboo that / when also comes again
 du³ gu⁴ ya³² yo³ / ne² / u⁴ ta³² / a³ nga³ u³ sa⁴ zo¹ naa³ zo¹
 rabbit that / and / wow / laugh much you lie you
 di⁴ nuh¹ / tah³² du³ u⁴ ya³² ri³ dā³² ga³ yāh³² yo³ a³² //
 brother / says rabbit face-of coyote that DECL
70. taa³ na³ / i³¹ du³ wa³ ga³ yāh³² yo³ ya³ a³² ga³ kaa³² a³² //
 is-on-top is-scorched mouth-of coyote that causes fire burned DECL
71. du³ wa³ ga³ yāh³² yo³ / ne² taa³ na³ / i³¹ du³ wa³ ga³ yāh³²
 mouth-of coyote that / and is-on-top is-scorched mouth-of coyote
 nah³ zo³ a³² //
 lies it-on DECL
72. wee⁴ dā³² ne² / ah¹ a³ nga³ zii³ nah³ yo³ nāh¹ a⁴ / tah³²
 lo thus and / already laughs he-who lies there INDEED PERS / says
 ũ⁴ du³ gu⁴ ya³² yo³ gwa² no² ũ⁴ nāh¹ a⁴ //
 again rabbit that right-now also INDEED PERS
73. dah²³ gi³ yāh³ du³ gu⁴ ya³² yo³ a³² //
 thus did rabbit that DECL
74. dah²³ waa³² i² nāh² ze³² gwe² ndo⁴ zo³ a³² //
 thus is just possessed story it-an DECL
75. lah² ne² ne³ gwe² ndo⁴ na² ka¹ me³ mē⁴ //
 but also not story new is NEG
76. gwe⁴ ndo⁴ nga²³ nah²³ a² zih² naa⁴ me³ yo³ a³² //
 story old lies since long-ago is that DECL

77. dab²⁵ wau³² ze³² gwe² ndo⁴ zo³ nu¹ ga³ wii³² nu¹

this is pos-essed story it-an completely went-out completely

ra³ na³ a⁴ //

came PERS

78. gi³ na³ wih³ gwe⁴ ndo⁴ na³ no⁴ ni⁴ ri³ aa³² du³ wi³ ni⁴ a³² //

finished story tell we-incl face-of co-companion-of us-incl DECL

⁵ There are some exceptions to this generalization. A sentence may end with a vocative, rather than a particle. Some particles precede vocatives, and others are optionally omitted before vocatives, and others, like a³², never precede vocatives. A sentence may also end with an onomatopoeic word, rather than a particle. The text in section 4. has examples of both kinds of exceptions. The embedded quotation in sentences 2, 6, and 17 end in a vocative, and sentences 42, 45, and 46 end in an onomatopoeic form.

⁶ It is of interest that in a language with virtually no intonation, the particle ci before the first disjunct has a relatively high pitch, and the particle te before the last disjunct has a relatively low pitch. This sequence is parallel to the intonation pattern found on alternative questions in English and many other languages.

⁷ First person plural inclusive forms include both first and second person referents. Because second person is included, I have chosen to consider inclusive forms together with second person forms as imperative.

⁸ The particle ma⁴ sometimes occurs in sentences that do not have the negative particles nc⁵ or ze². There are a few verbs, for example, tah³² 'there isn't', whose meaning is inherently negative, that cooccur with ma⁴.

⁹ It is also common to use the unfused forms, ne³o⁴ zo²l or ne³o²l di²l parenthetically within sentences, where it functions either as a request for corroboration, or as a hesitation marker when the speaker cannot think of what to say next.

¹⁰ If the theory of conversations were understood as well as the syntax of modes, it might prove to be the case that the choice of particle is always fairly tightly constrained, rather than freely chosen.

¹¹ It is not entirely clear to me why face and ~~earnish~~ should have chosen to posit separate illocutionary acts of requiring and to distinguish between prohibiting, but not ~~for~~ other positive-negative counterparts, such as positive and negative requests or permissives. Furthermore, positive-negative polarity does not seem relevant to most constative and commissive acts. Perhaps the desire to recognize the three-way distinction among requiring, permitting, and prohibiting was a factor in this decision.

¹² In my work on this paper I have examined seven folklore texts beside the one in section 4. Of the approximately forty requests or ~~of over 1,000 sentences~~ commands in this corpus, not one is phrased indirectly via a question. Searle's list of questions conventionally used to perform indirect directives (1979:36-39), if translated into Copala Trique, would fall totally flat as directives. They would be taken at face value as questions, or at best, be figured out inferentially.

¹³ Manuel Camilo Domínguez Santiago, a monolingual speaker of Copala Trique from San Miguel Copala, Putla, Oaxaca, Mexico, recorded this folktale on magnetic tape on 7 October 1972. At that time he was about twenty-eight years old and had had little or no schooling. The version that appears here was edited with the help of Juan López Merino and Pablo Domínguez Flores, bilingual speakers of Copala Trique from Salton, Juxtlahuaca, Oaxaca.

Because this folktale is the concluding episode of a series told in a single sitting, it lacks the usual introductory features of a full discourse, and the rabbit is referred to by a pronoun in the first sentence. These circumstances also explain the concluding sentences 73-78, which sum up, not just this episode, but the whole series.

¹⁴ At the end of sentence 4 the stage is set for the rabbit's speech about all rabbits looking alike that is found in sentences 9-16. The narrator apparently forgets where he is, however, and in sentences 5-8 he starts to tell the coyote how he needs his help for a wedding fiesta. At this point he realizes his mistake, gives the rabbit's speech, and resumes the wedding story at sentence 17.

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