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2

C. Henry Bradley
and
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Preface

The present volume constitutes the second installment of a set for which four volumes are projected. It contains syntactic sketches of two distinct Mixtec languages.

The first language included in this volume is Ayutla Mixtec, a member of the Southern Lowlands grouping, located in the extreme southwestern part of the Mixtec area in the state of Guerrero. It is one of the few Mixtec languages that have retained glottal stop in word-final position.

The second is Coatzospan Mixtec, a member of the Northern Highlands grouping of Mixtec languages. It is located at the extreme northeastern tip of the Mixtec area, virtually surrounded by speakers of Cuicatec (another Mixtecan language) and Mazatec (a language in the Popolocan family of Otomanguean). Coatzospan Mixtec shows a number of differences from the Highland Mixtec dialects that are geographically closest to it, and some of these differences may reflect influence from the neighboring languages.

These sketches follow the same outline and format as those in Volume 1 (Bradley and Hollenbach 1988).\textsuperscript{1} They present the structure of Mixtec with minimum attention to theory. Over half of the space in each sketch is devoted to examples, and, at the end, each sketch includes an indigenous version of the tar-baby story as a sample text in the language. Further background information about these sketches can be found in the Preface and Introduction to Volume 1.

BEH
February 1990

A Syntactic Sketch of Coatzospan Mixtec

Priscilla C. Small
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Introduction

0.1 Orientation

Coatzospan Mixtec is spoken by approximately 2,000 people living in the municipal center of San Juan Coatzospan, in the district of Teotitlán de Flores Magón, Oaxaca, Mexico. This group speaks the northernmost Mixtec dialect and forms a small linguistic island surrounded by Mazatecs and Cucatecs. The Mixtec dialect geographically closest to Coatzospan, that of Santa Ana Cuauhtémoc, is closely related linguistically (see Egland 1978:25–37) but is separated by a deep river gorge and a day’s journey on foot.

Within Coatzospan Mixtec the greatest degree of internal variation is found between men’s and women’s speech. It is expressed phonologically as palatalization of t and nd before front vowels in women’s speech and lexically in the use of different terms for some concepts, particularly in the choice of pronoun to refer to a young male and in greetings and leave-takings. Unless otherwise stated, examples in this sketch are cited in men’s speech. There is also slight dialectal variation between those living in San Juan and those living in outlying settlements, reflected mainly in the choice of motion/direction and position verbs. This study is based on the variety spoken in San Juan.

Up until 1978 Coatzospan could be reached only by mule or on foot. Now there is an unpaved road running through town, giving access by truck from Huautla de Jiménez and Teotitlán to the west and Jalapa de Díaz and Tuxtepec to the east. There has also been a notable increase in the level of education available in the local schools and in the degree of bilingualism with Spanish. In 1963 the town had only one schoolteacher, and he taught only first grade. There are now teachers for all six primary grades teaching both in San Juan and in outlying settlements under the
auspices of the National Indian Institute. A few of the teachers are local Mixtecs, but the language of the classroom is basically Spanish. Except in rare cases, however, Mixtec is still the language of the home and is used to carry on most business in the town hall.

There has been some intermarriage with Mazatecs from the surrounding area, and a few Mixtecs have learned Mazatec, mainly for the purpose of trade in the nearby Mazatec market towns. Although there are numerous loanwords from Spanish into Mixtec, which have undergone various degrees of assimilation, only one Mazatec loanword has been recorded to date.

The present study is based on data gathered by the author and her colleague, Janet Turner, during fieldwork in San Juan beginning in 1963. Most of the examples included here were provided in 1978 by José Pacheco Castro, who also wrote down the text in chapter 7 and then dictated it onto tape. At that time he was twenty-four years old. (This text has been published previously in Small [1979a].) Additional data were provided up through 1985 by Dolores Acosta de Campanela, who was at that time thirty-eight years old. Both language associates are natives of San Juan.

Research was aided considerably through the use of a concordance compiled by computer in 1972 at the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, supported by Grant R1032701 of the National Science Foundation.

0.2 Phonology

Coatzospan Mixtec has the following phonological units: voiceless stops and affricates $p$ (rare) $t$ is $c$, $k$ $k_w$, prenasalized stops and affricates $mb$ $nd$ $ndz$ $nj$ $ng$ $ngw$, voiceless fricatives $s$ $sh$, voiced fricatives $v$ $d$ $dy$, nasals $m$ $n$ $\tilde{n}$, lateral $l$, flap $r$, laryngeal $h$ (glottal stop), oral vowels $i$ $e$ $i$ $a$ $u$ $o$, nasalized vowels $in$ $en$ $in$ $an$ $un$. (In addition to these, voiceless fricatives $f$ $x$, voiced fricative $g$, and semivowels $y$ and $w$ have entered through Spanish loanwords.) There are three tone accents: high (written with acute accent), low (written with macron), and a rare high-low glide (written with circumflex). Unaccented syllables do not carry contrastive tone; they assimilate to the tone of the following syllable. Tone is not marked on such syllables in this sketch. Extensive tone sandhi, both progressive and regressive, is a feature of this variety of Mixtec; the tones written in this sketch show the result of the sandhi rules, not the underlying tones.

The shape of a stem varies according to its position in the phonological phrase. Full forms occur only in the nucleus of the phrase. In nonnuclear positions, stems are unstroked and undergo various reductions. In
prenuclear position, the first member of a geminate vowel cluster is lost and frequently there is fusion of unlike vowels. Glottal stops are also lost in this position, and this sometimes causes the loss of a syllable. In postnuclear position, words are reduced to one syllable, sometimes by regular, though complex, rules and sometimes arbitrarily.

The phonology of Coatzospan Mixtec, including special emphasis on the tone system, is described more fully in Pike and Small (1974).

0.3 Bibliography

Descriptions of Coatzospan Mixtec:


Other works cited in this study:


1

Basic Sentences

1.1 Statements

Verbs fall into three classes—content, equative, and stative—which serve to define sentence types. 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 either by an equative verb or without a verb. Stative sentences link a subject to a stative verb. Each of these sentence types may take a peripheral location or time element. They may also have any element within them fronted to indicate focus. In addition, each of these types may be used as a sentential complement within another sentence.

1.1.1 Impersonal sentences. The minimal form of an impersonal sentence consists of an impersonal verb with neither subject nor object. Such verbs are limited to a small set and usually express meteorological and related concepts.

katán
con:quake
'There is an earthquake.'

tůvĕ
pot:dawn
'It will dawn.'

tănĭ
com:landslide
'There was a landslide.'
kūneē
CON:become:dark
'It got dark.'

kashihi
CON:shine
'There is light.'

kakunjokō
CON:become:sultry
'It is getting sultry.'

kakatsīn
CON:cut
'It is thundering.'

(See also 7.44.)

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

kaka ū
POT:walk I
'I will walk.'

kidī-n
CON:sleep-you:sg
'You slept.'

vēnhšī tūn
INC:come she
'She is coming.'

kakiin davi
CON:fall rain
'Rain is falling.'

kaeku ihshá
CON:cry child
'A child is crying.'

(See also 7.43, 7.55, 7.82, 7.102, 7.106, 7.118, 7.121, 7.122, and various others.)
A pronoun subject referring to a child or an inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of the unspecified pronoun (see 5.4); this form is indicated in examples by θ.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kwēkū} & \quad \emptyset \\
\text{pōt:cry} & \quad \text{UN} \\
\text{‘It (child) will cry.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{idō} & \quad \emptyset \\
\text{com:boil} & \quad \text{UN} \\
\text{‘It (water) boiled.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.7, 7.24, 7.25, 7.55, 7.64, 7.102, and 7.106.)

With an arbitrary set of verbs a nonagentive personal pronoun subject is expressed by an object pronoun (see 5.4).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kakakín} & \quad \text{kó} \\
\text{com:hunger} & \quad \text{me} \\
\text{‘I am hungry.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kandoho} & \quad \text{i} \\
\text{com:suffer} & \quad \text{UN} \\
\text{‘It (child) is suffering.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kutúhve} & \quad \emptyset \\
\text{pōt:become:prepared} & \quad \text{you:sg} \\
\text{‘You will become educated.’}
\end{align*}
\]

1.1.3 Transitive sentences. The minimal form of a transitive sentence consists of a transitive verb, its subject, and its object. A pronoun object referring to a child is expressed by the unspecified pronoun i, and one referring to an inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of this pronoun (see 5.4).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kashihi} & \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{ndute} \\
\text{com:drink} & \quad \text{it:AML} \quad \text{water} \\
\text{‘It (animal) is drinking water.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kadikō xwaan} & \quad \text{tíun} \\
\text{com:sell} & \quad \text{John} \quad \text{charcoal} \\
\text{‘John (Sp. Juan) sells charcoal.’}
\end{align*}
\]
ñuí tún nuní
com:buy she corn
'She bought corn.'

ini u o
com:know I you:sg
'I know you.'

kaehshí ṭa
com:eat un tortilla
'It (child) eats tortillas.'

ëhní na i
com:hit he un
'He hit it (child).'

ñuí tún ṭ
com:buy she un
'She bought it (e.g., corn).'

(See also 7.5, 7.32, 7.51, 7.63, 7.66, and various others.)

As in the case of intransitive sentences, with an arbitrary set of verbs a nonagentive personal pronoun subject is expressed by an object pronoun.

ndio kó ndika
com:want me banana
'I want a banana.'

kūnāá ini ko nā
com:become:lost insides us:in him
'We forgot him.'

(See also 7.4, 7.40, 7.45, 7.46, 7.86, and 7.116.)

To express a reflexive direct object, the possessed noun kūnú ‘flesh’ or ‘body’ is used, followed by a possessor which is coreferential with the subject.

ëhní u kūnú ko
com:hit I body me
'I hit myself.'

(See also 7.103.)
1.1.4 Sentences with adjuncts. Both intransitive and transitive sentences may take the following adjuncts: locative, associative, instrument, and referent. The presence or absence of a particular adjunct in a sentence is largely determined by the verb. Adjuncts frequently are expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see 3.6) or by a prepositional phrase (see 4.3). The specific locative noun or preposition used depends on both the kind of adjunct and the specific verb. Adjuncts normally follow the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb.

The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location, depending on the meaning of the verb. (In this analysis, indirect object is classified as an animate source or destination, rather than as a separate adjunct.) This adjunct occurs mainly with verbs that express change of possession, change of location, placement, and position; with most of these it must occur unless it is understood from the context.

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct normally follows the object. With some of these verbs, no locative possessed noun or preposition signals the adjunct; in such cases, the adjunct occurs between subject and object when it is expressed as a poststressed pronoun.

\[ ndáhvi \ u \ dyuhum \ xwaan \]
\[ \text{com:pay I money John} \]
'I paid money to John.'

\[ shéhe \ nā \ tutú \ ihshá \]
\[ \text{com:give he paper child} \]
'He gave paper to a child.'

\[ shéhe \ nā \ i \ tutú \]
\[ \text{com:give he UN paper} \]
'He gave it (child) paper.'

Other verbs usually require the locative noun \textit{ndaha} 'hand' to signal a locative adjunct. With such verbs, however, it is also possible for a pronominal locative adjunct to precede the object, in which case \textit{ndaha} does not occur.

\[ tash \ nú \ u \ tutú \ ndaha \ tín \]
\[ \text{com:give face I paper hand her} \]
'I sent a letter to her.'
ikan nā dyuhun ndá uva nā  
com:beg he money hand father him  
'He asked his father for money.'

ikan tún ko dyuhún  
com:beg she me money  
'She asked me for money.'

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs) and intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct follows the subject. A wide variety of locative expressions occurs, from simple nouns or pronouns to complex phrases. The most frequently occurring locative possessed noun is nuu 'face'.

kañehe ná skwetla  
com:go he school  
'He goes to school (Sp. escuela).'</n

ñehē tún kuchaña  
com:go she Tehuacán  
'She went to Tehuacán.'

inu tún ko  
com:run she me  
'She ran away from me.'

ndequí koho nuu i  
com:be:on:sg dish face un  
'A dish is on top of it (e.g., table).'</n

kiihshi na nū vihi kó  
pot:come he face house me  
'He will come to my house.'

shēe tūtū ndaha tūn  
com:arrive paper hand her  
'A letter came to her.'

(See also 7.25, 7.64, 7.102, 7.103, 7.109, and 7.118.)

Generally the direction of movement is implied in the verb, as seen in the above examples, but with a few verbs it is ambiguous. In order to help
distinguish between source and destination, locative phrases commonly
terminate in a poststressed locative adverb a ‘here’ or kān ‘there’ (see 5.5);
however, these do not ordinarily occur with specific place names.

köhvi ti má vihi ā
com:enter it:aml under house here
‘It (animal) came inside.’

ndaq o niínú kān
pot:rep:go:up we:in above there
‘Let’s go up above.’

ñe nihi na ti nu uku kan
com:go with he it:aml face mountain there
‘He took it (animal) to the mountain.’

vēsə nihi na ti nú ndute kān
inc:come with he it:aml face water there
‘He is bringing it (animal) from the river.’

vēhši tún kuchaña
inc:come she Tehuacán
‘She is coming to Tehuacán.’ or ‘She has come from Tehuacán.’

(See also 7.27, 7.75, and 7.103.)

With transitive verbs that express placement, the locative adjunct usually
follows the object. In such sentences, the adjunct is signaled by a variety
of locative possessed nouns or prepositions, the choice of which is
governed by the verb.

shrdēkā tun koho nú mēsa
com:place:on:sg she dish face table
‘She put a dish on the table (Sp. mesa).’

tsūhun na dyuhún ini etun
com:put:in:pl he money insides box
‘He put money into a box.’

kashniihni u ti má étun
com:place:under:sg I it:aml under box
‘I am putting it (animal) underneath a box.’
shnihni na tutu ndaha kó
com:place:under:so he paper hand me
'He tucked paper into my hand.'

(See also 7.5, 7.28, and 7.105.)

In 7.101, however, a locative adjunct precedes a direct object, possibly because the verb nucleus contains nūū 'face' (see 2.1.1 and the description of the instrument adjunct below).

The associative adjunct is expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition nihē or nē 'with'. This adjunct has the function of adding an additional participant to some other element of the sentence, most commonly the subject. It normally follows subject, object, and locative adjuncts, but can also occur immediately following the element it expands.

kaika xwaán ni ihshá na
con:walk John with child him
'John is walking with his child.'

nēhe na kuchaña ni ihshá na
com:go he Tehuacán with child him
'He went to Tehuacán with his child.'

nēhe na ni ihshá ná kuchaña
com:go he with child him Tehuacán
'He went with his child to Tehuacán.'

kakahán tun ni tāhan tún
con:speak she with sister her
'She is talking with her sister.'

kakahán tun rkotúun ní tún
con:speak she Spanish with her
'She speaks Spanish with her.'

kahshi o ita ni ñā
pot:eat we:in tortilla with person
'Let's eat tortillas with them.'

kaehshi na ndusí ni shahá
con:eat he bean with chili
'He is eating beans with chilies.'

(See also 7.11, 7.34, 7.37, and 7.85.)
In 7.123, *nihi* is used to add an additional possessor within a noun phrase. Sometimes an associative adjunct could be considered an instrument, but in that there is a distinct way to express an instrument, as described below, I have chosen to consider adjuncts introduced by *nihi* ‘with’ to be associative.

\[ \text{kakahán tun ni téléfono} \]
\[ \text{con:speak she with telephone} \]
\[ \text{‘She is talking on (with) the telephone (Sp. teléfono).’} \]

\[ \text{nadíkí xwaan ni pilota} \]
\[ \text{com:rep:play John with ball} \]
\[ \text{‘John played with a ball (Sp. pelota).’} \]

\[ \text{kaeshí na ndívi ni íta na} \]
\[ \text{con:eat he egg with tortilla him} \]
\[ \text{‘He eats eggs with his tortillas.’} \]

The preposition *nihi* is optionally incorporated into the verb nucleus (see 2.1.1), in which case the rest of the associative adjunct directly follows the subject, even when an object is present. The following five pairs of sentences show these alternative constructions.

\[ \text{kakan nihi tun tahan tún} \]
\[ \text{con:speak with she sister her} \]
\[ \text{‘She is talking with her sister.’} \]

\[ \text{kakahán tun ni tāhan tún} \]
\[ \text{con:speak she with sister her} \]
\[ \text{‘She is talking with her sister.’} \]

\[ \text{kanarkí nihi ihšá ko pilota} \]
\[ \text{com:rep:play with child me ball} \]
\[ \text{‘My child is playing with a ball.’} \]

\[ \text{kanadíkí ihšá ko ni pilota} \]
\[ \text{com:rep:play child me with ball} \]
\[ \text{‘My child is playing with a ball.’} \]

\[ \text{kaesh nihi na shaha ndutsi} \]
\[ \text{con:eat with he chili bean} \]
\[ \text{‘He eats beans with chilies.’} \]
kaehši na ndutsí ní shāha
con:eat he bean with chili
‘He eats beans with chilies.’

kakan níhí tun ko
con:speak with she me
‘She is talking with me.’

kakahán tun ní kó
con:speak she with me
‘She is talking with me.’¹

kakan níhí tun tún rkótuun
con:speak with she her Spanish
‘She speaks Spanish with her.’

kakahán tun rkótuun ní tún
con:speak she Spanish with her
‘She speaks Spanish with her.’

(See also 7.36 and 7.42.)

Sometimes a verb plus incorporated níhí forms a complex nucleus with an idiomatic meaning.

ñe níhi na ihshá ná kuchaña
com:go with he child him Tehuacán
‘He took his child to Tehuacán.’

(See also 7.27.)

The instrument adjunct normally follows subject, object, and adjuncts other than referent. Instruments are always inanimate, and they are never signaled by a locative possessed noun or preposition in the adjunct itself.

¹The case of the pronouns in this example provides evidence for the analysis of níhí as a preposition rather than as a conjunction that creates additive noun phrases (see 3.8). If this sentence had an additive noun phrase as the subject, i.e., if it meant 'she and I speak', then the subject pronoun ú 'I' would occur rather than the object pronoun kó 'me' (see 5.4).
tádún tiná kó kamiuun
com:be:squashed dog me bus
'My dog was squashed by a bus (Sp. camión).'

kañehe tun kuchaña kamiuun
con:go she Tehuacán bus
'She goes to Tehuacán by bus.'

kakahán tun ni tāhan tun teléfono
con:speak she with sister her telephone
'She talks with her sister by telephone.'

ēhndé tun ndaha tun kāā
con:cut she hand her metal
'She cut her hand with a machete.'

It is possible, however, to incorporate the locative possessed noun núū 'face' into the verb nucleus to signal an anticipated instrument. The occurrence of núū is largely conditioned by the verb; some verbs require it, others permit it, and still others do not take it. When núū occurs, the instrument may either occur in its usual final position, or it may directly follow the subject, even when an object is present, as in the case of the associative and pronominal locative adjuncts. The first two sentences below show the two possible orders.

ēndé nuu tún ndaha tún kāā
con:cut face she hand her metal
'She cut her hand with a machete.'

ēndé nuu tun kāā ndāha tún
con:cut face she metal hand her
'She cut her hand with a machete.'

kaesh núū tún kutsara
con:eat face she spoon
'She eats with a spoon (Sp. cuchara).'

(See also 7.44 and 7.45.)

The referent adjunct, which expresses a wide range of relationships, such as benefactive, delegative, and general reference, follows subject, object, and other adjuncts. It is usually marked by the locative possessed noun inā
'thing', or by prepositions kwenda 'by' (Sp. cuenta 'account'), kwenda iña 'on behalf of', 'about', or 'in place of', or náá 'in place of'. With certain verbs, inanimate referents occur with no locative possessed noun or preposition.

kadiko na nuni iña uva na
convsell he corn thing father him
'He sells corn for his father.'

ñü na shaha iña dihi na
com:buy he chili thing mother him
'He bought chilies for his mother.'

kakahán ná iña vihi ndo
conv:speak he thing house you:pl
'He is talking about your house.'

kañehe na kwenda vite
conv:go he account week
'He goes by the week.'

ikán tún dyuhun kwenda iña uvá tun
com:beg she money account thing father her
'She asked for money on behalf of her father.'

kakahán ná náa uva na
conv:speak he in:place:of father him
'He is speaking in place of his father.'

shéhé tún dyuhún chohó tun
com:give she money herb her
'She gave money in exchange for her medicine.'

(See also 7.1, 7.35, 7.39, 7.41, and 7.123.)

With certain verbs, a human referent may be semantically ambiguous between two of these meanings, for example, between a benefactive and a general referent.
kakahán xwaan iña ení na
cons:speak John thing brother:ME him
‘John is speaking for his brother.’ or ‘John is talking about his brother.’

tsishehë tún kwenda iña xwaan
com:ask she account thing Juan
‘She asked on behalf of John.’ or ‘She asked concerning John.’

1.1.5 Equative sentences. Equative sentences occur both with an equative verb and without a verb. Sentences without a verb consist of a nominal complement followed by a subject; a pronoun subject referring to a child or inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of the unspecified pronoun (see 5.4). Such sentences are continuative in meaning.

dutú xwaan
priest John
‘John is a priest.’

xwaan na
John he
‘He is John.’

tahan kó tun
sister me she
‘She is my sister.’

ihshá ko ø
child me UN
‘It is my child.’

tiná i
dog it:AML
‘It is a dog.’

túun ø
charcoal UN
‘It is charcoal.’

To express other aspects, it is necessary to employ the equative verb kuví ‘to become’, or its repetitive form nduví ‘to turn into’. The normal sen-
tence order is verb—subject—nominal complement; however, if the nominal complement is a possessive noun phrase based on a kinship term (see 3.3), it often occurs between the verb and the subject. The first two sentences below show the two possible orders.

\[
\text{kuvi tún ihshá ko} \\
\text{pot:become she child me} \\
\text{‘She will become my child.’}
\]

\[
\text{kuvi ihshá ko tún} \\
\text{pot:become child me she} \\
\text{‘She will become my child.’}
\]

\[
\text{ndūvi na kità} \\
\text{com:rep:become he animal} \\
\text{‘He turned into an animal.’}
\]

(See also 7.7.)

There is one other equative verb, \textit{nani} ‘to be named’, which occurs only in the unmarked continuative aspect. The usual order in sentences with \textit{nani} is nominal complement—verb—subject; in other sentence types this order indicates object focus (see 1.1.8).

\[
\text{xwaan nani eni ko} \\
\text{John con:be:named brother:me me} \\
\text{‘My brother is named John.’}
\]

\[
\text{maría nani u} \\
\text{Mary con:be:named 1} \\
\text{‘My name is Mary (Sp. María).’}
\]

1.1.6 Stative sentences. The minimal form of a stative sentence consists of a stative verb followed by its subject; a pronoun subject that refers to a child or an inanimate object is expressed by the zero form of the unspecified pronoun (see 5.4). Such sentences are continuative in meaning.

\[
\text{váhà xwaan} \\
\text{good John} \\
\text{‘John is good.’}
\]
ata  ṃā
old  person
'They are old.'

kahnu  tūn
big:sg  she
'She is big.'

kwetsi  ū
small:pl  it:amL
'They (animals) are small.'

ihni  ndūte
hot  water
'The water is hot.'

vidē  θ
wet  un
'It (e.g., cloth) is wet.'

nduũu  θ
fat  un
'It (child) is fat.'

(See also 7.26, 7.42, and 7.98.)

Occasionally a stative verb is used as the predicate of an impersonal sentence (see 1.1.1), in which case no subject occurs.

née
dark
'It is dark.'

njokō
sultry
'It is sultry.'

Sometimes a stative verb and its subject are linked by a content verb in unmarked continuative aspect that expresses sensory perception or state of being.
váha ēhshi kūñū
   good con:eat meat
   'Meat tastes good.'

kini ito ti
   ugly con:look it:AML
   'It (animal) looks ugly.'

kidin tindahā ø
   sticky con:touch un
   'It (e.g., paper) feels sticky.'

shó òèhè ø
   putrid con:smell un
   'It smells awful.'

ndāhvī kaa na
   poor con:be:so he
   'He seems pitiful.'

váhā ó itsi
   good con:exist trail
   'The road is good.'

(See also 7.80.)

Stative sentences of the above types show no aspect inflection, even when they refer to times other than the present, as shown by the presence of a time peripheral element in the following examples.

váhā tún iku
   good she yesterday
   'She was okay yesterday.'

váhā ó itsi kidaa
   good con:exist trail then
   'The trail was good then.' or 'The trail will be good then.'

It is sometimes possible, however, to express completive or potential aspect by a fairly productive morphological process in which the prefix ku-, a reduced form of kuví 'to become', precedes a stative verb (see 5.1.1).
1.1.7 Peripheral elements. All sentence types may indicate time and location, although these are rare in equative and stative sentences. Peripheral location sets the scene of the entire sentence, and so it is distinct from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements may be adverbs, adverb phrases (see 4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see 3.6), prepositional phrases (see 4.3), or subordinate sentences (see 6.2.1). Peripheral elements normally follow subject, object, and adjuncts. When time and location cooccur, time follows location.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kihshi} & \quad \text{ña} & \quad \text{vevií} \\
\text{pot:come} & \quad \text{person} & \quad \text{today} \\
& \quad \text{‘They will come today.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ēhni} & \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{kó} & \quad \text{iku} \\
\text{com:hit} & \quad \text{he} & \quad \text{me} & \quad \text{yesterday} \\
& \quad \text{‘He hit me yesterday.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kadiko} & \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{nūun} & \quad \text{kūchaña} \\
\text{com:sell} & \quad \text{he} & \quad \text{charcoal} & \quad \text{Tehuacán} \\
& \quad \text{‘He sells charcoal in Tehuacán.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ńēhē} & \quad \text{ú} & \quad \text{skwela} & \quad \text{ńūkohsho} \\
\text{com:go} & \quad \text{I school} & \quad \text{Mexico:City} \\
& \quad \text{‘I went to school in Mexico City.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{shūhi} & \quad \text{ńaha} & \quad \text{itsi} & \quad \text{kan} & \quad \text{iku} \\
\text{com:die} & \quad \text{person} & \quad \text{trail} & \quad \text{there yesterday} \\
& \quad \text{‘Someone died on the trail yesterday.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kāhān} & \quad \text{ú} & \quad \text{ní} & \quad \text{ún} & \quad \text{teléfono} & \quad \text{útén} \\
\text{pot:speak} & \quad \text{I} & \quad \text{with her} & \quad \text{telephone} & \quad \text{tomorrow} \\
& \quad \text{‘I'll talk with her on the telephone tomorrow.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.1, 7.24, 7.47, 7.48, 7.107, 7.111, and 7.122.)

It is also possible for a peripheral element to precede an associative, instrument, or referent adjunct.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaehshi} & \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{ita} & \quad \text{nú} & \quad \text{mēsa} & \quad \text{ni} & \quad \text{ihshá} & \quad \text{na} \\
\text{con:eat} & \quad \text{he} & \quad \text{tortilla} & \quad \text{face} & \quad \text{table} & \quad \text{with} & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{him} \\
& \quad \text{‘He is eating tortillas at the table with his child.’}
\end{align*}
\]
nākate nuu tun nāhā vevū ndute ihni
COM:REP:WASH face she dish:PL today water hot
'She washed dishes today with hot water.'

nū na tsūhūn nū āhvī kan ūna dēhi na
COM:BUY he chicken face market there thing mother him
'He bought a chicken at the market for his mother.'

1.1.8 Focus permutations. In appropriate discourse contexts, any one element (subject, object, adjunct, or peripheral element) may be focused by fronting it to preverbal position. The fronted element is optionally followed by the prestressed pronoun ē ‘unspecified third person’ (see 5.4), which also functions as a complementizer (see 1.1.9) and as a relative pronoun (see 3.1.3). Whenever this word is used in a nonreferential way, it is glossed ‘complementizer’. If the subject is fronted, a poststressed pronoun copy occurs in the usual subject position.

ūnā shīhi ū
dog COM:DIE IT:AML
'A dog died.'

dāvi kakān phem
rain COM:FALL UN
'RAIN is falling.'

xwaan kadiko na tūun
John COM:SELL he charcoal
'JOHN Sells charcoal.'

maria kuvi tun ihshā ko
Mary COM:BECOME she child me
'MARY will become my child.'

shoho kaka o ūtēn
we COM:WALK we tomorrow
'WE will walk tomorrow.'

xwaan ē kākahan ū
John CMP COM:SPEAK he
'It is JOHN that is speaking.'

(See also 7.42.)
In stative and equative sentences that contain no content or equative verb, subject focus requires the complementizer é.

\[ xwaan \ é \ dütu \ na \]
John CMP priest he
'It is JOHN that is a priest.'

\[ eni \ ko \ é \ xwaan \ nani \ ná \]
brother:ME me CMP John con:be:named he
'It is MY BROTHER that is named John.'

\[ maria \ é \ kahnu \ tún \]
Mary CMP big:sg she
'It is MARY that is big.'

(See also 7.61 and 7.86.)

If the object is fronted, no pronoun copy occurs.

\[ tsūhun \ ūlī \ na \]
chicken com:buy he
'He bought A CHICKEN.'

\[ xwaan \ éhnī \ tún \]
John com:hit she
'She hit JOHN.'

\[ ndika \ kahshi \ ú \]
banana pot:eat I
'I'll eat A BANANA.'

\[ shohō \ ndio \ tún \]
us con:want her
'She wants US.'

\[ túūn \ é \ kadiko \ nā \]
charcoal CMP con:sell he
'It is CHARCOAL that he sells.'

(See also 7.78, 7.90, and 7.94.)
If an adjunct is fronted, any preposition or locative possessed noun associated with it is retained in its normal position, followed by the appropriate pronoun copy.

Locative:

\[ kuchañä ñehé u \]
Tehuacán com:go I
‘I went to TEHUACÁN.’

\[ maria shehé na dyuhún \]
Mary com:give he money
‘He gave money to MARY.’

\[ uvä túñ ikán tun dyuhun ndáha ña \]
father her com:beg she money hand person
‘She asked her FATHER for money.’

(See also 7.12, 7.13, 7.16, 7.29, 7.72, 7.74, 7.109, and various others.)

Associative:

\[ xwaan kähshi ú ni nā \]
John pot:eat I with him
‘I’ll eat with JOHN.’

\[ shuhů kakahán túñ nī kó \]
me com:speak she with me
‘She is talking with ME.’

Instrument:

\[ kwihí shihi ña \]
sickness com:die person
‘They died of an ILLNESS.’

\[ kāā éni ruu na ti \]
metal com:hit face he it:AML
‘He killed it (animal) WITH A MACHETE.’

(See also 7.40.)
Referent:

\[ xwa\'\alpha n \ kaka\'h\alpha n \ n\acute{a} \ naa \ na \]  
John conspeak he in:place:of him  
‘He is speaking in place of John.’

\[ maria \ 'e \ kaka\'han \ n\acute{a} \ i\acute{n}\acute{a} \ tun \]  
Mary cmp conspeak he thing her  
‘It is Mary that he is talking about.’

Peripheral elements are focused by fronting the entire element to preverbal position.

Time:

\[ vevi\acute{i} \ kah\acute{a}n \ u \ n\acute{e} \ tun \]  
today potspeak I with her  
‘I’ll talk with her now.’

(See also 7.51, 7.86, 7.92, 7.106, and 7.116.)

Location:

\[ n\acute{u} \ \acute{a}hvi \ k\acute{a}n \ \acute{n}\acute{u} \ na \ ts\acute{u}h\acute{\mu}n \]  
face market there com:buy he chicken  
‘He bought a chicken at the market.’

\[ itsi \ kucha\'\tilde{n}a \ 'e \ ini \ \acute{u} \ na \]  
trail Tehuac\'\~an cmp com:see I him  
‘It was on the road to Tehuac\'\~an that I saw him.’

(See also 7.99, 7.122, and 7.123.)

A stronger form of focus, which may be termed sentence topic, is indicated by postposing the conjunction ne ‘and’ to a preverbal focused element, with pause following. An appropriate pronoun copy of a focused noun phrase follows the verb in normal position.

\[ xwa\'\alpha n \ ne \ / \ kadiko \ na \ t\ddot{u}n \]  
John and consell he charcoal  
‘As for John, he sells charcoal.’
shuhú ne / maría narií u
I and Mary be:.named I
‘As for me, my name is Mary.’

tiñá ko ne / vide ti
dog me and wet it:AM.
‘As for my dog, it’s wet.’

ndivi ne / kaehshi tun ø
egg and cont:eat she UN
‘As for eggs, she eats them.’

mariá ne / shée tütú ndaha tun
Mary and com:arrive paper hand her
‘As for Mary, a letter came to her.’

vevi ne / kakidi na
today and cont:sleep he
‘Now, he’s sleeping.’

(See also 7.2, 7.10, 7.48, 7.107, and 7.115.)

Both sentence topic and ordinary focus can occur in the same sentence.

xwaán ne / túun kadiko ná
John and charcoal cont:sell he
‘As for John, he sells CHARCOAL.’

iku ne / kuchañá ñehé tun
yesterday and Tehuacán com:go she
‘Yesterday, she went to TEHUACÁN.’

(See also 7.34.)

1.1.9 Sentential complements. All of the basic sentence types, including those with one element in focus position, may occur as subject or object in another sentence. The order is the same as that of the basic sentence types.

Subject complements occur with intransitive verbs such as kwíñindúhú ‘to begin’, kuví ‘to finish’, and kuví ‘to be able’. The main verb and the complement verb normally agree in aspect, and the complement immediately follows the main verb, with no intervening complementizer.
Coatzospan Mixtec

kwínindúhu tāan
POT:begin POT:quake
'It will begin to quake.'

kainduhu kakān davi
CON:begin CON:fall rain
'It is beginning to rain.'

kūvi dé vāha na etun
CON:finish CON:do good he box
'He finished making a box.'

kuvi kahshi o ø
POT:be:able POT:eat WE:IN UN
'We will be permitted to eat it.'

Subject complements also occur in stative sentences that contain a stative verb or adverb and a reduced form of the content verb koo ‘to exist'. In such sentences the complementizer é sometimes occurs. Sentences with the complementizer differ in meaning from those without it, as seen in the following examples.

kwān ko kahan na
thus POT:exist POT:speak he
'He will speak thus.'

vāhā ó kakahan ná
good CON:exist CON:speak he
'He speaks well.' or 'His speaking is good.'

vāhā o é kihshi na
good CON:exist CMP CON:come he
'It is good that he came.'

(See also 7.6, 7.29, 7.33, 7.47, 7.56, 7.73, and 7.115.)

Object complements show varying degrees of restriction, depending on the nature of the main verb.
A phasal verb, such as kaninduhú ‘to begin’, requires that the complement sentence have a subject coreferential with that of the matrix sentence; whereas other verbs, such as ndio ‘to want’, may have noncoreferen-
tial subjects. If the subjects of the two verbs are not coreferential, the complement is introduced by the complementizer é.

\[
\begin{align*}
kaninduhū & \quad tūn \quad kahshī \quad tun \quad ita \\
& \text{pot:begin she pot:eat she tortilla} \\
& \text{‘She will begin to eat tortillas.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
eninduhu & \quad nā \quad kaika \quad na \\
& \text{com:begin he com:walk he} \\
& \text{‘He began walking.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
dnio & \quad tūn \quad kīhin \quad tun \\
& \text{com:want her pot:go she} \\
& \text{‘She wants to go.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
dnio & \quad ko \quad é \quad kīhin \quad tun \\
& \text{com:want me cmp pot:go she} \\
& \text{‘I wanted her to go.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Some main verbs impose aspect restrictions on the complement verb. A full study of these restrictions is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

Another type of verb that takes object complements has the function of reporting and includes verbs such as \textit{iní} ‘to know’, \textit{kāhān} ‘to speak’ or ‘to say’, and \textit{kwini} ‘to feel’ or ‘to think’. Object complements that follow such verbs are introduced by either \textit{é} or, more frequently, by the conjunction \textit{tsí} ‘because’ (see 6.2.1). There are no restrictions of person or aspect between the matrix sentence and the complement.

\[
\begin{align*}
iní & \quad u \quad é \quad maria \quad nani \quad tun \\
& \text{con:know I cmp Mary con:be:named she} \\
& \text{‘I know that she is named Mary.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
iní & \quad u \quad tsí \quad xwaan \quad kīhin \quad na \\
& \text{con:know I because John pot:go he} \\
& \text{‘I know that John will go.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kakahān & \quad na \quad tsí \quad kīhin \quad na \\
& \text{con:speak he because pot:go he} \\
& \text{‘He says that he will go.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.36, 7.40, 7.42, and 7.45.)
With the verb *kwiní*, the complement is normally fronted, followed by pause, with no complementizer. The verb *káhán* has a fronted complement when it occurs in the unmarked continuative aspect to express an opinion. With other verbs, the complement is not normally fronted.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{káhín } & \text{xwaan } / \text{kwini } \text{kó} \\
\text{POT:go } & \text{John } \text{CON:feel me} \\
\text{‘I think John will go.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{káhín } & \text{o } \text{ni } \text{ná } / \text{kahán } \text{u} \\
\text{POT:go } & \text{we:IN with him } \text{CON:speak I} \\
\text{‘I say, let’s go with him.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.86 and 7.116.)

Even though subject and object complements are the most frequent types, other kinds of complements occasionally occur because the addition of the complementizer *é* at the beginning of any basic sentence allows it to occur in any noun phrase position. In the following example a sentential complement occurs as the nominal complement of an equative sentence, and the subject contains a relative clause (see 3.1.3).

\[
\begin{align*}
e & \text{káhín } \text{u } \text{ni ná } \text{é } \text{ndio } \text{kó} \\
\text{CMP POT:go I with him UN CON.want me} \\
\text{‘What I want is to go with him.’}
\end{align*}
\]

1.2 Questions

There are three types of questions: *yes/no* questions, *wh* questions, and indirect questions.

1.2.1 *yes/no* questions. Any basic sentence may be turned into a *yes/no* question by placing the item that is being questioned in initial position and following it directly with the interrogative marker *ndu*.

\[
\begin{align*}
katáan & \text{ ndu} \\
\text{CON:quake } & \text{INT} \\
\text{‘Is there an earthquake?’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kakidi & \text{ ndu-n} \\
\text{CON:sleep } & \text{INT-YOURSG} \\
\text{‘Are you sleeping?’}
\end{align*}
\]
kōho ndu ti ndute
pot:drink int it:AML water
‘Will it (animal) drink water?’

xwaan ndu kadiko na tūun
John int cons:ell he charcoal
‘Does John sell charcoal?’

tūun ndu kadiko nā
charcoal int cons:ell he
‘Does he sell charcoal?’

dyuhun ndu shehe na xwaan
money int com:give he John
‘Did he give money to John?’

xwaan ndu shehe na dyuhun
John int com:give he money
‘Did John give money?’ or ‘Did he give money to John?’

kuchaña ndu ñehe ña
Tehuacán int com:go person
‘Did they go to TEHUACÁN?’

veviñ ndu kühin ña
today int pot:go person
‘Are they going TODAY?’

dūtu ndu xwaan
priest int John
‘Is John a PRIEST?’

ihshā ndu ña ø
child int person un
‘Is it THEIR CHILD?’

kāhnú ndu tūn
big:SG int she
‘Is she BIG?’
vāhā ndu ehshi ø
good INT con:eat UN
'Does it taste good?'

For questioning of elements within the verb phrase, see 2.1.2 and 2.1.3. For questioning of elements within the noun phrase, see 3.4.

1.2.2 wh questions. The subject, object, or nominal complement in any of the basic sentence types may be questioned by using an interrogative pronoun or interrogative noun phrase in focus position. The interrogative pronouns are shoó 'who?' and neé 'what?' or ne iňá 'what thing?'; they are used alone or in combination with a specifying noun or pronoun and are normally accompanied by the interrogative marker ndu (see 3.4). When a subject is questioned, an appropriate pronoun copy usually follows the verb.

Questioning subject:

shoó ndu éhri i tún
who INT con:hit UN her
'Who hit her?'

shoó ndu kadiko i tūn
sho INT con:sell UN charcoal
'Who sells charcoal?'

shō tahnu ndú kíhshi tún
who female INT con:come she
'Which girl came?'

neé ndu kohshō ø
what INT con:fall UN
'What fell?'

ne iňá ndu é vāhā ø
what thing INT UN good UN
'Which one is good?'

(See also 7.3.)
Questioning object:

\begin{align*}
\textit{shoó ndu éhni ūn} \\
\text{who INT com:hit she}
\end{align*}

'Whom did she hit?'

\begin{align*}
\textit{neé ndu kadikō xwaan} \\
\text{what INT con:sell John}
\end{align*}

'What does John sell?'

\begin{align*}
\textit{ne kū ndu ūū na} \\
\text{what animal INT com:buy he}
\end{align*}

'Which animal did he buy?'

\begin{align*}
\textit{ne iñā ndu tsiñu kade na} \\
\text{what thing INT work con:do he}
\end{align*}

'What kind of work does he do?'

Questioning nominal complement:

\begin{align*}
\textit{shoó ndu é xwaan i} \\
\text{who INT un John un}
\end{align*}

'Who is John?' or 'Which one is John?'

\begin{align*}
\textit{shō ūaha ndu ūa} \\
\text{who person INT person}
\end{align*}

'Who are they?'

\begin{align*}
\textit{neé ndu ndūni na} \\
\text{what INT com:rep:become he}
\end{align*}

'What did he turn into?'

\begin{align*}
\textit{ne kūi ndu kūi tsiñān} \\
\text{what animal INT animal that}
\end{align*}

'What kind of animal is that one?'

When an adjunct is questioned, any preposition or locative possessed noun associated with it is usually retained in its normal position, followed by the unspecified pronoun \textit{i}. This is similar to what happens when one element of a sentence is focused (see 1.1.8).
shó ndu kakahán tun ni i
who INT CON:speak she with UN
'To whom is she talking?'

shó naha ndu kakahán ņá iňa i
who boy INT CON:speak person thing UN
'Which fellow are they talking about?'

When a preposition or locative possessed noun that signals an adjunct is incorporated into the verb nucleus (see 1.1.4 and 2.1.1), however, there is no pronoun copy.

shó ndu kakan niňi tun
who INT CON:speak with she?
'To whom is she talking?'

neé ndu kandé nuu u kũňä
what INT POT:cut face I meat
'What shall I cut meat with?'

If no preposition or locative possessed noun is associated with an adjunct, no pronoun copy occurs.

né ndu ŋuu véhshi tün
what INT town INC:come she
'What town does she come from?'

né ndu tsĩũu kĩhši tün
what INT work COM:come she
'For what purpose did she come?'

A nonhuman locative adjunct, as well as peripheral location, may be questioned by using the interrogative adverb mihi 'where?', while peripheral time may be questioned by using the interrogative adverb amá 'when?', or an interrogative noun phrase containing né 'what?' plus a temporal noun (see 3.4).

mihi ndu kĩhin ndo
where INT POT:go you:PL
'Where are you going?'
mihi nDU kadiko na tüun
where INT consell he charcoal
'Where does he sell charcoal?'

amá nDU kihshi ña
when INT pot:come person
'When will they come?'

né ura ndû sheé tun
what hour INT com:arrive she
'What time (Sp. hora) did she arrive?'

(See also 7.69 and 7.114.)

Questions introduced by mihi ndû 'where?' are often used to express sarcasm. The second sentence in the above block of examples can also mean 'WHAT DO YOU MEAN he sells charcoal?' (see also 7.69).

The interrogative marker ndu may occur in various positions or be omitted without apparent change of meaning. Note the variations in the following set of examples.

né ndûvi kihshi tüun
what day pot:come she
'What day will she come?'

né nDU ndûvi kihshi tüun
what INT day pot:come she
'What day will she come?'

né ndûvi nDU kihshi tüun
what day INT pot:come she
'What day will she come?'

(See also 7.44.)

The interrogative adverb ndé 'how?' is used to question the nominal complement of nani 'to be named' and some stative predicates.

ndé nani ñó
how com:be:named you:sg
'What is your name?'
ndo ndu êhshi Ø
how INT CON taste UN
‘How does it taste?’

ndo ito tūn
how CON: look she
‘How does she look?’

ndo combines with koo ‘to exist’ or kwi, a reduced form of kuvi ‘to happen’, in order to question a referent of purpose or cause by asking why. With koo, the resulting structure is a stative sentence in which nدو functions as a stative verb, koo is an accompanying content verb, and the remainder of the sentence is a subject complement.

ndo koo ndu ê kihshi tūn
how POT: exist INT CMP POT: come she
‘Why is she coming?’ or ‘What is she coming for?’

(See also 7.46.)

With kwi, the resulting structure is an intransitive sentence, in which nدو questions manner in the verb phrase (see 2.1.2) and the rest of the sentence is a subject complement.

ndo kwi kihshi ndu tūn
how CON: happen COM: come INT she
‘Why did she come?’ or ‘How did she happen to come?’

(See also 7.10, 7.11, 7.15, 7.18, 7.59, 7.76, 7.112, and 7.113.)

1.2.3 Indirect questions. A yes/no question may occur as an object complement; the subordinate conjunction te ‘if’ serves as a complementizer, and the interrogative marker nدو does not occur.

ña ni kāhan ná te kihin ná
NEG CF COM: speak he if POT: go he
‘He didn’t say whether he would go (or not).’

ña iní u te tūn kadiko ná
NEG CON: know I if charcoal CON: sell he
‘I don’t know if he sells charcoal.’
A WH question may be used as a sentential complement; as in indirect YES/NO questions, ndu does not occur.

\[ \begin{align*}
i \text{ini} & \quad u \quad \text{sho kihsi} \quad i \\
\text{CON:know I who COM:come UN} \\
\text{‘I know who came.’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ñá} \quad \text{ini} & \quad u \quad \text{mí kwéhen tún} \\
\text{NEG CON:know I where INC:go she} \\
\text{‘I don’t know where she went.’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
kakahán & \quad \text{tun} \quad \text{ní} \quad \text{ko né ūra kihsi} \quad \text{tún} \\
\text{CON:speak she with me what hour POT:come she} \\
\text{‘She tells me what time she will come.’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
tsishehë & \quad \text{ū} \quad \text{ña sho é xwaan i} \\
\text{POT:ask I person who CMP John UN} \\
\text{‘I’ll ask them who John is.’}
\end{align*} \]

(See also 7.2, 7.4, 7.40, and 7.68.)

Indirect questions cannot be focused.

1.3 Commands

A basic sentence in potential aspect may be used as a command. If the subject excludes the second person, it requires the hortatory ná before the verb (see 2.1.2).

\[ \begin{align*}
kahshi-n & \quad \text{ita} \quad o \\
\text{POT:eat-you:SG tortilla you:SG} \\
\text{‘Eat your tortillas!’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
káhan & \quad \text{ndo} \quad \text{ní tún} \\
\text{POT:speak you:PL with her} \\
\text{‘Speak to her!’ or ‘Tell her!’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
káhin & \quad o \quad \text{kúchaña} \\
\text{POT:go we:IN Tehuacán} \\
\text{‘Let’s go to Tehuacán!’}
\end{align*} \]
na kwēhé u túň dyyūn
HORT POT:give I her money
‘Let me give her money!’

na vīī tun é ndio túń
HORT POT:do she CMP CON:want she
‘Let her do what she wants!’

(See also 7.39, 7.60, 7.63, 7.75, 7.79, 7.88, 7.90, 7.93, 7.94, 7.100, 7.119, and 7.120.)

A callous response to a threat is expressed using the hortatory nā along with the postverbal element mīī ‘alone’ (see 2.1.3 and 2.1.4).

na kuvī mīī ndō
HORT POT:die alone you:PL
‘Go ahead and die!’

na koko mīī ø
HORT POT:burn alone un
‘Let it go ahead and burn!’

A polite command is expressed using nā along with the deprecative kūdīī ‘merely’ (see 2.1.3 and 2.1.4).

na kīhsi kudīī ŋā
HORT POT:come merely person
‘May they please come!’

There are a few forms which are used exclusively as commands; they occur only with a second person subject.

nihî-n a
IMP:come-you:SG here
‘Come here!’

kamā-n
IMP:hurry-you:SG
‘Hurry up!’
tsīhñu    ndō
IMP:precede you:pl
‘You go ahead!’

ūhun-n    dyuhun o
IMP:take-you:sg money you:sg
‘Here’s your money (take it)!’

duhshēn-n
bothersome-you:sg
‘Shut up!’

In the verb ‘to go’, the potential form kīhīn is replaced by kwēhēn as the second person imperative form (see 5.1.2).

kwēhēn-n    ni    ūnā
IMP:go-you:sg with person
‘Go with them!’

kwēhēn    ndō    ma    vihi    kān
IMP:go you:pl under house there
‘Go inside!’

kwēn    dáha-n
IMP:go over-you:sg
‘Move over!’

Rarely, the verb may be omitted entirely.

kīhī    kān
outside there
‘Out!’ (spoken to an animal)

1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives normally occur at the end of a basic sentence or between the parts of a compound sentence, but they can be fronted for focus, or uttered in isolation. They usually consist of a kinship term, proper noun, or second person pronoun; the latter may be preceded by dī, a reduced form of the specifier dīvi, to show respect. Some nouns have special vocative forms or tone patterns (see 5.3.2).
kahûn ã di / ãvâh
pot:go I also father!
’T’m going too, Dad!’

kava tsi-n / lah / tsi kwáa
pot:retire lim:you:sg dear! because con:be:late
’Go to bed, dear, as it’s late!’

nââ / ndio kó ndika
mother! con:want me banana
’Mom, I want a banana!’

xwaân / mihi ndu kahûn-n
John! where int pot:go-you:sg
’John, where are you going?’

shôhón / nihi-n a
you:sg imp:come-you:sg here
’You, come here!’

koto ndo / di ndô
pot:look you:pl same you:pl
’Look, you!’

When a vocative is used for calling someone or gaining someone’s attention, it is frequently preceded by õ or õ né; these vocative phrases always occur initially in a sentence.

õ mària / nihi-n a
oh Mary! imp:come-you:sg here
’Hey, Mary, come here!’

õ né / mastrû / ndé ko vîi u ve
oh and teacher! how pot:exist pot:do I now
’Hey there, teacher (Sp. maestro), what shall I do now?’

Special vocative forms are used in calling animals; these are often repeated.

lûs / lûs
pup! pup!
’Here, puppy!’ (cf. lûsûn ‘puppy’)
vitsi / vitsi / vitsi
kitty! kitty! kitty!
‘Here, kitty!’ (cf. mishtun ‘cat’ [old Sp. mistón])

kuch / kuch
piggy! piggy!
‘Here, piggy!’ (cf. kutsin ‘pig’ [Sp. cochino])

Some animals are called by imitating their noises: turkeys, by using a voiced bilabial trill ending in a glottal stop, brrh; baby chicks, by using voiceless alveolar clicks, ts< ts< ; and hens, by using voiceless alveopalatal clicks, t< t< ; these sounds do not otherwise occur in the language.

1.5 Sentential Markers

Sentential markers include the interrogative marker ndu (see 1.2.1), which occurs noninitial in sentences, as well as sentence-initial markers, which express varying degrees of certainty on the part of the speaker, and sentence-final markers, which add emphasis to a statement or question.

Markers which occur sentence initial include vá ‘doubtfully’, vata tē ‘seemingly’, ā tē ‘probably’, and ņá tē ‘definitely not’. While vá is often used with Yes/No questions, the other three are used only with statements.

vá kōhō ndu ú Ø
doubtfully pot:drink INT I UN
‘Shall I really drink it?’

vá këhn davi
doubtfully pot:fall rain
‘It’s not likely to rain.’

vá kōhō ndu ú Ø
doubtfully pot:drink INT I UN
‘Shall I really drink it?’

vata tē ini û tun
as if con:know I her
‘It seems as if I know her.’

ā te shēe nā vevii
probably if pot:arrive he today
‘He will probably arrive today.’

ņá te kāhin u
NEG if pot:go I
‘I am definitely not going.’
ñá tē also occurs with nouns, quantifiers, and adverbs to form negative phrases (see 3.5, 4.1.7, and 4.2.5).

The words that occur in sentence-final position include the marker ní ‘therefore’, used with statements and commands, and the general adverb kwán ‘thus’, used with questions in the sense of ‘in light of the foregoing’.

kwéhen ña kūchañá ní
INC:go person Tehuacán therefore
‘And so they went to Tehuacán.’

kíhin ō ní
POT:go we:IN therefore.
‘So let’s go!’

ne tsīńu viń u kwán
what work POT:do I thus
‘So what work shall I do?’

(See also 7.79, 7.88, and 7.90.)
2

Verb Phrases

2.1 Content Verb Phrases

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

2.1.1 Verb nuclei. Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are usually idioms composed of a verb followed by a modifying word, which may be a noun, a content verb, a stative verb, an adverb, a preposition, or an indeterminate element. In some cases a complex nucleus may in turn be modified, resulting in a complex nucleus of three elements.

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 of each sentence outside the verb phrase are enclosed in parentheses.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kunu} & \quad \text{(tān)} \\
pot\text{:run} & \quad \text{(she)} \\
\text{‘(She) will run.’} \\
\text{diko} & \quad \text{(nā)} \\
pot\text{:sell} & \quad \text{(he)} \\
\text{‘(He) will sell.’} \\
\text{ini} & \quad \text{(u)} \\
\text{con\text{:know}} & \quad \text{(I)} \\
\text{‘(I) know.’}
\end{align*}
\]
kashihi (iti)
CON:drink (it:AML)
'(It) is drinking.'

kahndé (ə tütun)
POT:cut (we:IN firewood)
'(We) will cut (firewood).

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus a noun, which may be an incorporated object, instrument, or location.

Object:

kada tsiũu (na)
POT:do work (he)
'(He) will work.'

kani vihi (ʔa)
POT:set:up house (person)
'(They) will get married.'

tsi kwéti (na kó)
COM:put:PL sin (he me)
'(He) blamed (me).

(See also 7.30 and 7.34.)

Instrument:

titsi ndute (tuṉ)
COM:bathe water (she)
'(She) got baptized.'

kwíñ dyuhun (na ʔ)
POT:buy money (he UN)
'(He) will buy (it) with money.'

katíñ tsiũn (ú na)
CON:grab fingernail (I him)
'(I) am pinching (him).
Location:

\[ kōshō \text{ nuu (na)} \]  
com:fall face (he)  
'(He) fell in.'

\[ kakishi \text{ ini (ko kihín u)} \]  
con:come insides (me pot:go I)  
'(I) feel like (going).

(See also 7.100 and 7.101.)

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a content verb in the unmarked continuative aspect.

\[ she \text{ ndikín (nā kó)} \]  
com:arrive con:follow (he me)  
'(He) caught up with (me).'</n

\[ kidì \text{ ndítsí (u)} \]  
com:sleep con:be:standingsg (l)  
'(I) fell asleep on my feet.'

\[ kakan \text{ dána (tún)} \]  
con:speak con:be:confused (she)  
'(She) is hallucinating.'

\[ kaka \text{ ndei (Ø)} \]  
con:walk con:be:upside:down (UN)  
'(It [child]) is crawling.

(See also 7.120.)

A verb-plus-stative-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect plus either a basic stative verb or one derived from a noun (see 5.2).

\[ kada \text{ váha (na Ø)} \]  
pot:do good (he UN)  
'(He) will make (it)'.

kakan ndahvi (tun)
**com:**speak poor (she)
'(She) is praying.'

ēni ndahvi (na kō)
**com:**set:up poor (he me)
'(He) deceived (me).'</n

kade kwíhi (tun)
**com:**do sickly (she)
'(She) is languishing.' (cf. kwíhi 'sickness')

kade duhshen (nā)
**com:**do bothersome (he)
'(He) is being a nuisance.' (cf. duhshēn 'war')

(See also 7.5, 7.28, 7.92, 7.102, 7.113, and 7.114.)

A verb-plus-adverb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by an adverb; in the examples found to date, only temporal adverbs occur.

shí nūu (tūn)
**com:**die short:time (she)
'(She) fainted.'

ndē naha (θ)
**com:**be:against:sg long:time (UN)
'(It) is written down.'

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

kish níhi (ū θ)
**pot:**come with (I UN)
'(I) will bring (it).'</n

kashku ndée (na)
**com:**cry against (he)
'(He) is laughing.'

(See also 7.13, 7.27, and 7.90.)
A verb-plus-indeterminate-element nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a word that occurs only in one or a few frozen phrases. It is therefore not possible to assign the second element to a word class without access to historical or comparative data.

\[
\begin{align*}
kaka & \quad \text{chuhu} & \quad (\text{na}) \\
\text{con:} & \quad \text{speak} & \quad ? & \quad (\text{he}) \\
\text{‘(He) is shouting.’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{inū} & \quad \text{kava} & \quad (\text{viko}) \\
\text{com:} & \quad \text{arrive} & \quad ? & \quad (\text{fiesta}) \\
\text{‘(The fiesta) came to an end.’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

A complex nucleus may be modified by one of the aforementioned elements to form a three-element nucleus.

\[
\begin{align*}
kadē & \quad kwe & \quad \text{ini} & \quad (\text{ko}) \\
\text{con:} & \quad \text{do} & \quad \text{measurement} & \quad \text{insides} & \quad (\text{me}) \\
\text{‘(I) am thinking.’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kade & \quad \text{tsun} & \quad \text{nihi} & \quad (\text{ú} \ \text{Ø}) \\
\text{con:} & \quad \text{do} & \quad \text{work with} & \quad (\text{I UN}) \\
\text{‘(I) am using (it).’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kaka & \quad \text{chu} & \quad \text{ndāa} & \quad (\text{na}) \\
\text{con:} & \quad \text{speak} & \quad ? & \quad \text{straight} & \quad (\text{he}) \\
\text{‘(He) is screaming.’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kī & \quad \text{ndē} & \quad \text{shio} & \quad (\text{na}) \\
\text{com:} & \quad \text{go:out} & \quad \text{against} & \quad \text{away} & \quad (\text{he}) \\
\text{‘(He) got away.’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nakwiko} & \quad \text{tuvi} & \quad \text{lundzi} & \quad (\text{nā}) \\
\text{com:rep:pot:revolve} & \quad \text{con:} & \quad \text{sit:so} & \quad \text{top} & \quad (\text{he}) \\
\text{‘(He) somersaulted.’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.25 and 7.46.)

The complex nuclei that are not idioms result from the syntactic incorporation of locative possessed nouns and prepositions that signal adjuncts, as described in 1.1.4. These may occur with either a simple or a complex nucleus.
ënì nuu (na ti utun)
com:hit face (he it:AML stick)
'(He) hit (it) with (a stick).'</nì

kan ṇihi (ū tun)
pot:speak with (I her)
'(I) will talk to (her).'</nà

Èdé ( tới ko)
com:fight against (person us:IN)
'(They) fought over (us).'</nà

(See also 7.36, 7.42, 7.44, and 7.45.)

2.1.2 Preverbal elements. There are six orders of optional elements that precede the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the beginning of the verb phrase they are: motion auxiliary, nonmotion auxiliary, mode, negative, manner, and temporal. Most preverbal elements are proclitics. They are somewhat restricted in their cooccurrence with each other and with different aspects of the verb.

There are three motion auxiliaries, which are prestressed forms of the motion verbs kihshi 'to come', ndihshi 'to come back', and kihin 'to go'. Each occurs in a full range of aspect forms (see 5.1.2). These auxiliaries immediately precede a verb nucleus in potential aspect, and they express the notion of motion and direction with purpose. Because the aspect forms of these auxiliaries are irregular, all are listed in the following table, along with their meanings and the fuller forms to which they are related. (Because of the purpose component, it would be possible to expand the gloss of each auxiliary by adding 'in order to' at the end.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kish</td>
<td>'will come'</td>
<td>kihshi</td>
<td>pot:come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakish</td>
<td>'comes'</td>
<td>kakihshi</td>
<td>con:come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kish</td>
<td>'came (and has left)'</td>
<td>kihshi</td>
<td>com:come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vèsh</td>
<td>'has come (and is still here)'or 'is on the way here'</td>
<td>véhši</td>
<td>inc:come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndish</td>
<td>'will come back'</td>
<td>ndihshi</td>
<td>pot:rep:come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kandish</td>
<td>'comes back'</td>
<td>kandihshi</td>
<td>con:rep:come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndish</td>
<td>'came back'</td>
<td>ndihši</td>
<td>com:rep:come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**kāndīsh**  
'has come back' or **kāndīshī**  
'is on the way back here'

**kē** or **kī**  
'will go'  
**kāhīn**  
POT:go

**kaish** or **kai**  
'goes'  
**kāñehe**  
CON:go

**īsh** or **ī**  
'went (and has returned)'  
**āēhē**  
COM:go

**kū**  
'has gone (and has not returned)'  
**kwēhēn**  
INC:go

**kū**  
'go!'  
**kwēhēn**  
IMP:go

The following examples show these auxiliaries used in sentences.

**kish**  
**kahshī** (ʔa)  
POT:come POT:eat (person)  
'(They) will come to eat.'

**kīsh**  
**kahshī** (tun)  
COM:come POT:eat (she)  
'(She) came to eat.'

**vésh**  
**kōto** (út)  
INC:come POT:look (I)  
'(I) have come to watch.'

**ndīsh**  
**kihi** (na ʔo)  
COM:come:back POT:take (he UN)  
'(He) came back to get (it).'

**ki**  
**kwīn** (tun nuni)  
POT:go POT:buy (she corn)  
'(She) will go to buy (corn).'</n

**kaish**  
**dutē** (na)  
CON:go POT:swim (he)  
'(He) goes to swim.' or '(He) goes swimming.'
ish kóho (ū ndúte)
com:go pot:drink (it:aml water)
'(It) went to drink (water).'</n
ku kihí (na títun)
incc:go pot:take (he firewood)
'(He) has gone to get (firewood).'</n
kū koto (ndó ihshá)
imp:go pot:look (you:pl child)
'Go watch (the child)!'

(See also 7.52, 7.53, 7.60, 7.63, 7.68, 7.71, 7.107, and 7.108.)

Nonmotion auxiliary occurs in second preverbal position and is expressed by prestressed forms of the content verbs ini 'to know', ndio 'to want', and kuví 'to be able'. ini occurs only in unmarked continuative aspect and precedes only verbs in the same aspect. ndio and kuví can occur in any aspect, but ndio precedes only verbs in potential aspect, whereas kuví precedes verbs in any aspect and usually agrees in aspect with the verb it precedes.

ini ika (na)
con:know con:walk (he)
'(He) knows how to walk.' or '(He) is used to walking.'

ini éhshí (ū ø)
con:know cont:eat (i un)
'(I) am used to eating (it).'</n
njo kidí (ū)
con:want pot:sleep (i)
'(I) want to sleep.' or '(I) am sleepy.'</n
njō kwiín (na idú)
com:want pot:buy (he horse)
'(He) wanted to buy (a horse).'</n
kuvi vii (ū ø)
pot:be:able pot:do (i un)
'(I) will be able to do (it).'</n
\(kāvi\) dé \((na \ θ)\)
com:be:able com:do \((he \ UN)\)
'(He) was able to do (it).' or '(He) succeeded in doing (it).' or
'(He) won!'

\(kakuvi\) kaika \((tūn)\)
com:be:able con:walk \((she)\)
'(She) is able to walk.'

(See also 7.119.)

When a negative marker (see below) occurs, a verb preceded by \(kuv\i\) must be in potential aspect.

\(nā\ kakāvi\) kaka \((tūn)\)
NEG con:be:able pot:walk \((she)\)
'(She) is not able to walk.'

\(nā\ ni\ kūvi\) kāhin \((na)\)
NEG cf com:be:able pot:go \((he)\)
'(He) was not able to go.'

The full forms of these three verbs also occur as main verbs that take a sentential complement (see 1.1.9). \(ini\) and \(kuv\i\) show slightly different meanings when they are used as full verbs and as auxiliaries. In some cases it is difficult to determine whether \(kuv\i\) is functioning as a main verb or as an auxiliary.

Mode occurs in third preverbal position and is expressed by the contrafactual marker \(nī\) and the hortatory marker \(nā\). The contrafactual marker \(nī\) precedes a verb (nucleus, motion auxiliary, or nonmotion auxiliary) in completive or incompletive aspect in contrafactual conditions (see 6.2.1), or in sentences that contain a negative marker in the verb phrase (see below), either of the complex adverbs \(dōkō \ sā\ 'almost' and \(dīi\ sa\ 'nearly' in the preverbal manner position (see below), or a negated element in focus position (see 3.5 and 4.2.5).

\((te)\) ni \(nēhē\) \((u)\)
(cf) \(cf\ com:go\ I\)
'(If [only] I) had gone!'
na ni inu (nā)
NEG CF COM:run (he)
'(He) did not run.'

ná ni kátävi (tun)
NEG CF INC:Sit:SG (she)
'(She) did not stay.'

dōkō sá ni shēé (u)
almost only CF COM:Arrive (I)
'(I) had almost arrived.'

dii sa ni kōhshō (θ)
bit only CF COM:Fall (UN)
'(It) nearly fell.'

(shōshō) ni kāvi vii (i θ)
(nobody) CF COM:Be:able POT:do (UN UN)
'(Nobody) was able to do (it).'</n
(ná náha) ni ikā (ú)
(NEG long:time) CF COM:Walk (I)
'(I) did not walk (long).'</n
(ná te dive na) ni ehri (nā ko)
(NEG if same he) CF COM:Hit (he me)
'(It was not he who) hit (me).'</n

(See also 7.7, 7.9, 7.71, and 7.96.)

The hortatory marker nā directly precedes a verb in potential aspect and usually occurs as the first element in its phrase. The presence of nā in a main sentence makes it imperative, though not all imperative sentences contain it (see 1.3).

na kwūn (tūn θ)
HORT POT:Buy (she UN)
'Let (her) buy (it)'

na kīhin (nā)
HORT POT:Go (person)
'May (they) go!'
nā ki kihí (u ò)
HORT pot:go pot:take (I UN)
'Let (me) go get (it)!'

(See also 7.60, 7.63, 7.90, 7.94, and 7.100.)

Negative occurs in fourth position and is expressed by the markers ŋá 'not' (the prestressed form of ŋáhá 'no') and váta 'not yet'. Whereas váta occurs only with verbs in potential aspect, ŋá occurs with verbs in any aspect but must be followed by the contrafactual marker ní when occurring with verbs in completive or incomplete aspect.

ŋá kwúin (ú ò)
NEG pot:buy (I UN)
'(I) will not buy (it).'</ná kakádi (na)
NEG cons:sleep (he)
'(He) is not sleeping.'

ŋá ní kátuví (ná)
NEG CF incs:sg (he)
'(He) did not stay.'

váta shée (ŋá)
not:yet pot:arrive (person)
'(They) have not yet arrived.'

(See also 7.2, 7.7, 7.9, 7.36, 7.71, 7.82, 7.96, and 7.97.)

Preverbal manner occurs in fifth preverbal position. There is also a postverbal manner position described in 2.1.3 below. While most preverbal and postverbal elements comprise small, closed classes, the two manner positions are expressed by a large and diverse class of elements, which includes both open and closed classes. Some of these elements occur only in preverbal position, while others occur in either position. Manner adverbs that occur only preverbal include the intensifier dòò 'very' or 'much', dá 'only', and dòtò 'haphazardly'.

dòò éku (tíùn)
INTS com:CRY (she)
'(She) cried a lot.'
dōō ndio (kō θ)
INTS CONWANT (me UN)
'(I) want (it) very much.'

dā kakāhán (u)
only CONSPeak (I)
'(I) am only talking.'

dōtō kade (na θ)
haphazardly CONDO (he UN)
'(He) is doing (it) haphazardly.'

(See also 7.35, 7.40, 7.46, and 7.68.)

Three common complex adverbs that occur only in preverbal manner position are dōkō sā 'almost', which occurs with verbs in potential or completive aspect; dii sa 'nearly', which occurs only with verbs in completive aspect; and dii ka 'even more', which occurs with verbs in any aspect. dōkō and dii are sometimes repeated for emphasis.

dōko sā kwéku (na)
almost only POTcry (he)
'(He) is about to cry.'

dii sa ni shīhi (u)
bite only CF COMdie (I)
'(I) nearly died.'

dii ka kaeku (na)
bite more CONcry (he)
'(He) is crying even more.'

dōkō dokō sa ni kōhshō (na)
almost almost only CF COMfall (he)
'(He) ALMOST fell!

dī dī dī dii sa ni shīhi (nā)
bite bite bit bit only CF COMdie (he)
'(He) NEARLY died'

In addition to these specific items, which are restricted to preverbal position, preverbal manner also contains stative verbs, stative verb phrases,
adverbs, adverb phrases, and numerals and expanded numeral phrases (especially those based on the numeral uun ‘one’, which is used as an intensifier).

\[
\begin{align*}
våhå &\quad kidi \quad (na) \quad \text{good sleep (he)} \\
&\quad (\text{He}) \text{ will sleep well.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
dôô &\quad dushen \quad eku \quad (nå) \\
&\quad \text{bothersome com: cry (he)} \\
&\quad (\text{He}) \text{ whined a lot.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
un &\quad ndii \quad tsì \quad kohshó \quad (\emptyset) \\
&\quad \text{one strong lim com: fall (UN)} \\
&\quad (\text{It}) \text{ really fell hard.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
shìo &\quad kaito \quad (na) \\
&\quad \text{away com: look (he)} \\
&\quad (\text{He}) \text{ is looking away.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
dadìi &\quad éhshi \quad (ndì) \\
&\quad \text{same com: eat (we: ex)} \\
&\quad (\text{We}) \text{ ate together.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kàdìi &\quad kakåhàn \quad (tûn) \\
&\quad \text{merely com: speak (she)} \\
&\quad (\text{She}) \text{ is only talking.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
dôô &\quad kwû \quad kaika \quad (tûn) \\
&\quad \text{INTS slowly com: walk (she)} \\
&\quad (\text{She}) \text{ is walking very slowly.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.2, 7.14, 7.35, 7.38, 7.47, 7.65, 7.70, and 7.83.)

Temporal occurs in sixth preverbal position and is expressed by é ‘already’ or dà ve ‘just now’. Both occur with verbs in any aspect. Their meanings vary slightly with aspect, as seen in the translation of the examples below.

\[
\begin{align*}
e &\quad kihin \quad (ú) \\
&\quad \text{already fort: go (I)} \\
&\quad (\text{I}) \text{ am now about to go.}' \\
\end{align*}
\]
é ̀itsi  (ná)
already com:bathe (he)
'(He) already bathed.'

é kakádi  (na)
already com:sleep (he)
'(He) is already asleep.'

dá ve vēhshi  (tùn)
when now inc:come (she)
'(She) is just now coming.'

dá ve shihi  (ti)
when now com:die (it:aml)
'(It) just now died.'

Occasionally é occurs outside the verb phrase at the beginning of the sentence (see 7.54, 7.72, and 7.109).

Certain preverbal elements may be questioned by postposing the interrogative marker ndu to them (see 1.2.1); these include the negative markers ná 'not' and vátá 'not yet', the manner adverbs except for dá 'only', and the temporal marker dá ve 'just now'.

ná ndu kakáhan  (na)
NEG INT com:speak (he)
'Isn't (he) talking?'

ná ndu ni nēhe  (na)
NEG INT cf com:go (he)
'Didn't (he) go?'

vátá ndu káhshi  (tùn)
not:yet INT pot:eat (she)
'Hasn't (she) eaten yet?'

dóó ndu ndio  (o 0)
INTS INT com:want (you:sg un)
'Do (you) want (it) very much?'

dokó sa ndú kähin  (na)
almost only INT pot:go (he)
'Is (he) about to go?'
diï sa ndú ni shíï (tún)
bit only INT OF COM:die (she)
‘Did (she) nearly die?’

då vé ndu ñiï (na ø)
when now INT COM:buy (he UN)
‘Did (he) just now buy (it)?

Frequently preverbal manner is questioned by using a construction in which the interrogative adverb ndé ‘how?’ is followed by a full or reduced form of the verb koo ‘to exist’, which takes a sentence containing a content verb as its subject complement (see 1.1.9). The verb koo must be in potential aspect if the complement verb is potential; otherwise it is in unmarked continuative aspect. The interrogative marker ndu optionally follows ndé, as seen in the following pairs of sentences.

ndé ko kihin (o)
how POT:exist POT:go (we:IN)
‘How shall (we) go?’

ndé ndu ko kihin (o)
how INT POT:exist POT:go (we:IN)
‘How shall (we) go?’

ndé ñi shíï (ii)
how CON:exist COM:die (it:AML)
‘How did (it) die?’

ndé ndu ñi shíï (ii)
how INT CON:exist COM:die (it:AML)
‘How did (it) die?’

(See also 7.6, 7.29, 7.40, 7.56, 7.73, and 7.110.)

In a similar construction, ndé is followed by the verb kaa ‘to be (singular)’ in unmarked continuative aspect to question quantity, in which case interrogative ndu optionally follows either ndé or kaa.

ndé kaa ndâhvi (na)
how CON:be:SG COM:pay (he)
‘How much did (he) pay?’
ndé kaa ndu ndákvi (na)
how con:be:sg int com:pay (he)
‘How much did (he) pay?’

ndé ndu kaa ndákvi (na)
how int con:be:sg com:pay (he)
‘How much did (he) pay?’

2.1.3 Postverbal elements. There are eight orders of elements following the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the end of the verb phrase, they are: postverbal manner, personal involvement, verifier, additive, limiter, repetitive, emphatic, and deprecative.

Postverbal manner immediately follows the verb nucleus. It is distinguished from preverbal manner (see 2.1.2) and may cooccur with it. It is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers, which include several open classes, such as stative verbs, content verbs (rare), and adverbs. Verb and adverb phrases are, however, rare in postverbal manner position; expanded manner elements usually occur in the preverbal manner position. Most elements that occur in postverbal manner may also occur in preverbal manner; preverbal position adds a degree of focus or intensity to their meanings. The following sentences show postverbal manner.

kidi váhā (tún)
com:sleep good (she)
‘(She) slept well.’

kunu kandíhi (na)
pot:run con:hurry (he)
‘(He) will run quickly.’

kaika kwií (ñá)
con:walk slowly (person)
‘(They) are walking slowly.’

ishi kwêhen (Ø)
com:burn completely (un)
‘(It) burned up completely.’

kaito shio (na)
con:look away (he)
‘(He) is looking away.’

(See also 7.32, 7.71, and 7.104.)
Personal involvement occurs in second postverbal position; it includes three elements: *tahan* 'companion' (reciprocal), which occurs only with transitive verb nuclei; *dadi* 'same' or 'together' (co-involvement); and the specifier *mi:* 'alone' or 'self' (self-involvement).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*ūo} & \quad \text{*tahan} \quad (\text{ña}) \\
\text{com:look} & \quad \text{companion} \quad \text{(person)} \\
\text{‘(They) looked at each other.’} \\
\text{kashī} & \quad \text{dadi} \quad (\text{ō}) \\
\text{pot:eat} & \quad \text{same} \quad \text{(we:in)} \\
\text{‘(We) will eat together.’} \\
\text{kaika} & \quad \text{mi:*} \quad (\text{nā}) \\
\text{con:walk} & \quad \text{alone} \quad \text{(he)} \\
\text{‘(He) is walking by himself.’}
\end{align*}
\]

*mi:* also occurs within the noun phrase (see 3.1.2), where it serves as an emphatic. Some sentences containing *mi:* are ambiguous. For example, the above sentence can also mean ‘He himself is walking.’

Verifier occurs in third postverbal position and is expressed by *ndihshe* 'truly' or 'really'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kakidi} & \quad \text{ndihshe} \quad (\text{na}) \\
\text{con:sleep} & \quad \text{truly} \quad \text{(he)} \\
\text{‘(He) really is sleeping.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.41, 7.49, 7.53, 7.85, 7.91, 7.95, 7.101, 7.108, and 7.121.)

Additive occurs in fourth postverbal position and is expressed by *kā* 'more' or 'still' and *sā* 'only', 'so', or 'just a bit more'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kakidi} & \quad \text{kā} \quad (\text{na}) \\
\text{con:sleep} & \quad \text{more} \quad \text{(he)} \\
\text{‘(He) is still sleeping.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{īka} & \quad \text{sā} \quad (\text{tun}) \\
\text{com:walk} & \quad \text{only} \quad \text{(she)} \\
\text{‘(She) walked just a bit farther.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.41, 7.64, 7.66, 7.108, 7.109, and 7.121.)
Limiter occurs in fifth postverbal position and is expressed by *tsi* 'just'. Within a phonological phrase, *tsi* is normally reduced to *ts* before a vowel and to *sh* before a consonant.

\[
kakidi \quad tsi \quad (\emptyset)
\]
\[
\text{con:sleep LIM (UN)}
\]
\[
'(\text{It [child]} \text{]) is just sleeping.'
\]

\[
k\text{ihin} \quad ts \quad (\ddot{o})
\]
\[
\text{pot:go LIM (we:in)}
\]
\[
'\text{Let (us) just go.'}
\]

\[
i\text{nu} \quad sh \quad (\ddot{u})
\]
\[
\text{com:run LIM (it:aml)}
\]
\[
'(\text{It [animal]} \text{]) just ran.'
\]

(See also 7.41, 7.64, 7.66, and 7.121.)

Repetitive occurs in sixth postverbal position and is expressed by *tuku* 'other' or 'again'.

\[
k\text{idi} \quad t\text{uku} \quad (na)
\]
\[
\text{con:sleep REP (he)}
\]
\[
'(\text{He} \text{) slept again.}'
\]

(See also 7.8, 7.9, 7.23, 7.44, and 7.93.)

Sometimes, however, *tuku* occurs in postverbal manner, in which case it can serve as the nucleus of an adverb phrase, as seen in 7.23.

Emphatic occurs in seventh postverbal position and is expressed by *ku* 'indeed' or 'definitely'.

\[
sh\text{ahi} \quad ku \quad (\ddot{u})
\]
\[
\text{com:die EMPH (it:aml)}
\]
\[
'(\text{It [animal]} \text{]) did indeed die.'
\]

(See also 7.113.)

Deprecative occurs in eighth postverbal position and is expressed by *k\text{udi}i* 'merely'.
kakidi  kâdîi  (nâ)
com:sleep merely (he)
'(He) is merely sleeping.' or '(He) is sleeping a little bit.'

Note that kâdîi also occurs in preverbal manner position (see 2.1.2).

Any postverbal element except the emphatic ku may be questioned by
postposing the interrogative marker ndu to it (see 1.2.1). The interrogative
marker can itself be followed only by the emphatic ku or the deprecative
kâdîi.

kidî  vahá  ndu  (na)
com:sleep good int (he)
'Did (he) sleep well?'

kâshî  dadîi  ndu  (nâ)
pot:eat same int (person)
'Will (they) eat together?'

shi  ndîhshe  ndu  (nî)
com:die truly int (it:aml)
'Did (it [animal]) really die?'

kahshî  ka  ndû  (tun)
pot:eat more int (she)
'Will (she) eat more?' or 'Will (she) keep on eating?'

kâkidî  sh  ndû  (na)
com:sleep lim int (he)
'Is (he) just sleeping?'

kin  tûku  ndu  (na)
pot:go rep int (he)
'Will (he) go again?'

shihi  ndû  ku  (nâ)
com:die int emph (person)
'Did (they) indeed die?'

kidî  kâdîi  ndû  (na)
com:sleep merely int (he)
'Did (he) sleep a little bit?'
kidi \textit{ndú kudii} (ná)
comsleep \textit{int merely} (he)
'Did (he) sleep a little bit?'

(See also 7.85.)

2.1.4 Combinations of elements. All preverbal elements cooccur with all
other preverbal elements, except that temporal does not occur with
negative or mode. There are, however, many restrictions involving
specific items that express these elements. For example, certain manner
adverbs do not cooccur with negative or mode. Furthermore, a number
of preverbal elements and individual items occur only when they are
followed by a verb in certain aspects; these restrictions have been
described in 2.1.2 above.

\textit{njo ki káhshì} (ù)
\textit{con:want pot:go pot:eat} (I)
'(I) want to go eat.'

\textit{ná ki kihi} (u \ø)
\textit{hort pot:go pot:take} (I \textit{un})
'Let (me) go get (it)!'

\textit{ñá íni ekú} (tun)
\textit{neg con:know con:cry} (she)
'(She) is not a crybaby.'

\textit{ñá ni kish káhshí} (na)
\textit{neg cf con:come pot:eat} (he)
'(He) did not come to eat.'

\textit{vata kúvi kaká} (ø)
\textit{not:yet pot:be:able pot:walk} (un)
'(It) is not able to walk yet.'

\textit{dóó njo kihín} (u)
\textit{ints con:want pot:go} (I)
'(I) want very much to go.'

\textit{diú ka njo kihín} (na)
\textit{bit more con:want pot:go} (he)
'(He) wants to go even more.'
di'kañanienkun(νa)
bitmoreNEGCFcom:cry(he)
'(He) cried even less.'

dökösáñãnienkēhe(ü)
almostonlyNEGCFcom:go(I)
'(I) almost didn't go.'

edökosákidi(ü)
alreadyalmostonlypot:sleep(I)
'(I) am almost asleep already.'

(See also 7.7.)

There are no cooccurrence restrictions among postverbal elements, but ordinarily a verb phrase contains no more than three or four of them.

kakakwīts(ó)
pot:walkslowlylim(we:in)
'(We) will just walk slowly.'

kakidish tüku(na)
com:sleeplelimreph(he)
'(He) is just sleeping again.'

kidiváhanđihsheká(tun)
com:sleepegoodtrulymore(she)
'(She) really did continue to sleep well.'

īkatukaku kudii(ná)
com:walkrephemphmerely(he)
'(He) did indeed walk again just a bit.'

shikwehenđihshe shku(ü)
com:diecompletelytrulylimemph(it:aml)
'(It) really did indeed just die completely.'

kanı tahanđihshekásh(řa)
com:hitcompaniontrulymorelim(person)
'(They) really did just keep on hitting each other.'

(See also 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.41, 7.64, 7.66, 7.101, 7.108, and 7.121.)
There are likewise no cooccurrence restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements, with the exception that preverbal and postverbal manner rarely cooccur in the same verb phrase. The hortatory mode marker nā cooccurs with personal involvement mū to express indifference on the part of the speaker and with deprecative kūdiī to express a polite command (see 1.3).

\[ na \textit{kūvi} \textit{mū} \] (nā)
HORT POT:die alone (he)
'Let (him) die (for all I care)!

\[ na \textit{kāhshi} \textit{kūdiī} \] (nā)
HORT POT:come merely (person)
'May (they) please come!

\[ nā \textit{ni ika} \textit{miī} \textit{kā} \textit{tuku} \] (tūn)
NEG CF COM:walk alone more REP (she)
'(She) did not walk by herself any more.'

\[ nā \textit{ni eku} \textit{kwēhen} \textit{sh kū} \] (na)
NEG CF COM:cry completely LIM EMPH (he)
'(He) indeed just did not cry at all.'

\[ vātā \textit{kish} \textit{kāhshi} \textit{dadī} \textit{tsi kūdiī} \] (nā)
not:yet POT:come POT:eat same LIM merely (person)
'(They) have merely just not yet come to eat together.'

\[ e \textit{dōko sā shee ndīhshe sh} \] (tūn)
already almost only POT:arrive truly, LIM (she)
'(She) is now just really about to arrive.'

\[ dōō \textit{njo kaka miī sh tuku kūdiī} \] (u)
INTS CON:want POT:walk alone LIM REP merely (I)
'(I) want very much to just walk a bit by myself again.'

(See also 7.8, 7.9, 7.71, 7.85, and 7.96.)

2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on the equative verbs kūvi 'to become', nāduvi 'to turn into', narī 'to be named', or in some cases no verb at all. Equative verb phrases show no complex nuclei, although reduced forms of
the equative verbs *kuvi* and *nduvi* combine with stative verbs to form intransitive verbs (see 5.1.1).

Equative verbs rarely occur with preverbal and postverbal elements, but it is possible for *kuvi* and *nduvi* to occur with any of the preverbal and postverbal elements except additive.

With preverbal elements:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kish} & \quad \text{*kuvi} \quad (\text{na ihshá ko}) \\
\text{POT:come POT:become} & \quad (\text{he child me}) \\
\text{‘(He) will come to become (my child).’} \\
\text{njo} & \quad \text{*kuvi} \quad (\text{na ihshá ko}) \\
\text{CON:want POT:become} & \quad (\text{he child me}) \\
\text{‘(He) wants to become (my child).’} \\
\text{na} & \quad \text{*nduvi} \quad (\text{na tsídō}) \\
\text{HORT POT:REP:become} & \quad (\text{he rabbit}) \\
\text{‘May (he) turn into (a rabbit)!’} \\
\text{ña} & \quad \text{*nduvi} \quad (\text{nā tsídō}) \\
\text{NEG POT:REP:become} & \quad (\text{he rabbit}) \\
\text{‘(He) will not turn into (a rabbit).’} \\
\text{dotō} & \quad \text{*nduvi} \quad (\text{nā tsídō}) \\
\text{haphazardly COM:REP:become} & \quad (\text{he rabbit}) \\
\text{‘(He) haphazardly turned into (a rabbit).’} \\
\text{é} & \quad \text{*kūvi} \quad (\text{na ihshá ko}) \\
\text{already COM:become} & \quad (\text{he child me}) \\
\text{‘(He) has already become (my child).’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.7.)

With postverbal elements:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*kuvi} & \quad \text{kwehen} \quad (\text{na ihshá ko}) \\
\text{POT:become completely} & \quad (\text{he child me}) \\
\text{‘(He) will permanently become (my child).’}
\end{align*}
\]
ndūvi  
COM:REP:become same (person rabbit)  
'(They) together turned into (rabbits).'

ndūvi  
COM:REP:become truly (he rabbit)  
'(He) really did turn into (a rabbit).'

ndūvi  
COM:REP:become LIM (he rabbit)  
'(He) just turned into (a rabbit).'

ndūvi  
COM:REP:become REP (he rabbit)  
'(He) turned into (a rabbit) again.'

ndūvi  
COM:REP:become EMPH (he rabbit)  
'(He) did indeed turn into (a rabbit).'

ndūvi  
COM:REP:become merely (he rabbit)  
'(He) merely turned into (a rabbit).'

Equative verb phrases based on nani 'to be named' do not occur with preverbal elements, but it is possible for nani to occur with any postverbal element except manner or additive.

(pēlu) nani  
Peters  
COM:be:named same (he)  
'(They) are both named (Peter [Sp. Pedro]).'

(pēlu) nani ndihshe  
Peters  
COM:be:named truly (he)  
'(He) really is named (Peter).'

(pēlu) nani sh  
Peters  
COM:be:named LIM (he)  
'(He) is just named (Peter).'

(pēlu) nani tūku (na)
(Peter) con:be:named rep (he)
'(He) is again named (Peter).'

(pēlu) nani ku (ná)
(Peter) con:be:named emph (he)
'(He) is indeed named (Peter).'

(pēlu) nani kūdii (ná)
(Peter) con:be:named merely (he)
'(He) is merely named (Peter).'

It is also possible for the same postverbal elements that occur with nani to occur in an equative sentence when no verb is present, in which case they directly follow the nominal complement.'

(dutu) dadii (ña)
(priest) same (person)
'(They) are both (priests).'

(pēlu) ndihshe (na)
(Peter) truly (he)
'(He) really is (Peter).'

(tīná) tuku (θ)
(dog) rep (UN)
'(It) is again (a dog).'

(tīná) ku (θ)
(dog) emph (UN)
'(It) is indeed (a dog).'

(ihshá) kūdii (u)
(child) merely (I)
'(I) am merely (a child).'

(tīná) dadii ndihshe sh tuku ku kūdii (θ)
(dog) same truly lim rep emph merely (UN)
'(It) is indeed likewise merely again just (a dog).'
If, however, the nominal complement is expressed by a possessive noun phrase (see 3.3), the postverbal elements occur between the possessed item and its possessor.

\[(tahán) \quad ndihshe \quad (kó \quad tun)\]
\[(\text{companion}) \quad \text{truly} \quad (\text{me} \quad \text{she})\]
\[\text{‘(She) really is (my sister).’}\]

\[(tíná) \quad tsi \quad kudii \quad (ko \quad ø)\]
\[(\text{dog}) \quad \text{LIM} \quad \text{merely} \quad (\text{me} \quad \text{UN})\]
\[\text{‘(It) is only just (my dog).’}\]

### 2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases consist of a stative verb nucleus with optional preverbal and postverbal elements. Preverbal elements include all those described in 2.1.2 except motion and nonmotion auxiliary and mode, while postverbal elements include all those described in 2.1.3.

With preverbal elements:

\[\text{ṇ̃a} \quad \text{vāhā} \quad (ø)\]
\[\text{NEG} \quad \text{good} \quad (\text{UN})\]
\[\text{‘(It) is not good.’}\]

\[dōō \quad \text{kahnu} \quad (na)\]
\[\text{INTS} \quad \text{big:SG} \quad (\text{he})\]
\[\text{‘(He) is very big.’}\]

\[dii \quad ka \quad \text{kahnu} \quad (tún)\]
\[\text{bit} \quad \text{more} \quad \text{big:SG} \quad (\text{she})\]
\[\text{‘(She) is bigger.’}\]

\[é \quad \text{kāhnu} \quad (na)\]
\[\text{already} \quad \text{big:SG} \quad (\text{he})\]
\[\text{‘(He) is already big.’}\]

(See also 7.26, 7.42, 7.80, and 7.98.)
With postverbal elements:

\[ \text{vide kwēhén (u)} \]
\[ \text{wet completely (I)} \]
\[ '\text{(I) am soaking wet.}' \]

\[ \text{váhā n délshē (θ)} \]
\[ \text{good truly (UN)} \]
\[ '\text{(It) really is good.}' \]

\[ \text{kahnu kā (θ)} \]
\[ \text{big:SG more (UN)} \]
\[ '\text{(It) is bigger.' or '\text{(It) is still big.'} \]

\[ \text{vide sh tūku (θ)} \]
\[ \text{wet LIM REP (UN)} \]
\[ '\text{(It) is just wet again.'} \]

\[ \text{kahnu kudii (vīhi ŋa)} \]
\[ \text{big:SG merely (house person)} \]
\[ '\text{(Their house) is kind of big.'} \]

\[ \text{kahnu kā kudii (θ)} \]
\[ \text{big:SG more merely (UN)} \]
\[ '\text{(It) is only a bit bigger.'} \]

\[ \text{kahnu kwēhen n délshē sh ku (tínā kō)} \]
\[ \text{big:SG completely truly LIM EMPH (dog me)} \]
\[ '\text{(My dog) really is indeed just extremely big.'} \]

With both preverbal and postverbal elements:

\[ \text{é dīi ka kahnu n délshē sh ku (tínā kō)} \]
\[ \text{already bit more big:SG truly LIM EMPH (dog me)} \]
\[ '\text{(My dog) just really is indeed already bigger} \]

\[ \text{e tínə o)} \]
\[ \text{CMP dog you:SG)} \]
\[ '\text{(than your dog).}' \]
Manner in stative verb phrases can be questioned by using \textit{ndé kaa} 'how?' or 'how much?', optionally accompanied by the interrogative marker \textit{ndu}.

\[ ndé \ kaa \ \textit{vidé} \ (tún) \]
how con:be wet (she)
'How wet is (she)?'

\[ ndé \ kaa \ \textit{ndu} \ \textit{vii} \ (etun) \]
how con:be int heavy (box)
'How heavy is (the box)?' or 'How much does (the box) weigh?'

\subsection*{2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases}

Both content and stative verb nuclei may be repeated to indicate continuation of an action or intensification of a state. The aspect is usually continuative, but sometimes potential occurs. Repetitive verb phrases often occur as the first part of juxtaposed coordinate sentences (see 6.1.2). Repetitive stative verb phrases also sometimes express preverbal manner (see 2.1.2).

\[ \textit{ika} \ \textit{ika} \ (nā) \]
con:walk con:walk (he)
'(He) walked and walked.' or '(He) kept on walking.'

\[ \textit{kwishin} \ \textit{kwhishín} \ (Ø) \]
white white (UN)
'(It) is very white.'

Preverbal elements, when present, are usually repeated with the nucleus, while postverbal elements never are.

\[ \textit{da} \ \textit{kin} \ \textit{dá} \ \textit{kihin} \ \textit{ts} \ (o) \]
just pot:go just pot:go lim (we:IN)
'(We) will just keep on going.'

\[ \textit{vide} \ \textit{vide} \ \textit{tsi} \ (Ø) \]
wet wet lim (UN)
'(It) is just sopping wet.'
2.5 Additive Verb Phrases

Two content verb nuclei that are related in meaning and that agree in aspect may be juxtaposed to form additive verb phrases. They are relatively rare and appear to be frozen remnants of a formerly productive literary device. Like repetitive content verb phrases, they occur as simple sentences or as the first part of juxtaposed coordinate sentences (see 6.1.2).

ko kahshi (o)
POT:drink POT:eat (we:in)
'(We) will eat and drink.'

kashka inu (na)
CON:walk CON:run (he)
'(He) is scurrying.'

kūnu méhňu kūnu dava (ňa ko)
'(He [God]) will be with (us).'
3
Noun Phrases

3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{itā} & \quad \text{‘tortilla’} \\
\text{nūni} & \quad \text{‘corn’} \\
\text{ndute} & \quad \text{‘water’} \\
\text{tūhūn} & \quad \text{‘word’} \\
\text{ñaha} & \quad \text{‘person, they’}^1 \\
\text{kīī} & \quad \text{‘animal, it:AML’}
\end{align*}
\]

A complex nucleus is a lexical unit that comprises a noun or pronoun followed by a frozen modifier, which may be a noun, a numeral (rare), or a relative clause based on either a stative or a content verb.

Noun plus noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndute} & \quad \text{nūū} \\
\text{water} & \quad \text{face} \\
\text{‘tear’}
\end{align*}
\]

---

^1In Coatzospan Mixtec, third person pronouns are not a fixed set. Instead, many generic noun stems, in full or reduced form, serve as personal pronouns (see 5.4). The stems ñaha and kīī are in this category, and they are therefore given two glosses.
a ndútê
child water
‘godchild’

ishá dyuhun
child money
‘interest’

cho shiʔi
medicine rat
‘rat poison’

vi utun
house wood
‘jail’

tsi kutsin
nose pig
‘bat (Sp. cochino)’

shku davi
leaf rain
‘fern’

ko ndáhá
snake hand
‘centipede’

nda kāá
hand metal
‘key’

ta ŋūhū
tortilla fire
‘bread’

(See also 7.5.)
Noun plus numeral:

\textit{isha} \quad \textit{uví}

child \quad two

‘twin’

Noun plus relative clause:

\textit{ndute} \quad \textit{vetí}

water \quad cool

‘soda pop’

\textit{dyun} \quad \textit{kwětsí}

money \quad small:pl.

‘change’

\textit{ndika} \quad \textit{kwěhě}

banana \quad red

‘mamey (\textit{Calocarpum sapota})’

\textit{do} \quad \textit{shíhi}

word \quad cont:die

‘death’

\textit{ndo} \quad \textit{ihší}

adobe \quad com:burn

‘brick’

\textit{tsi} \quad \textit{kahru}

trail \quad big:sg

‘Huautla de Jiménez’

(See also 7.60.)

Sometimes the first or second constituent of a complex nucleus is itself complex.

\textit{sho} \quad \textit{ka} \quad \textit{iñũ}

vine \quad metal \quad thorn

‘barbed wire’
tánú kwetsí skwela
female small:pl school
‘schoolgirls (Sp. escuela)’

utsí ta ţúhú
powder tortilla fire
‘bread crumbs’

kóó rki uhshe
snake head seven
‘seven-headed snake’

ko tì ndíka
snake animal banana
‘intestinal roundworm’

vi é kaika
house cmp cont walk
‘train’

Proper names often follow a prestressed pronoun or a generic noun (in either a full or reduced form), creating a construction which is similar to a complex noun-noun nucleus, but which is not idiomatic in meaning.

ňa xwaan
person John
‘John (Sp. Juan)’

ná pêlu
boy Peter
‘Peter (Sp. Pedro)’

tá mɔria
girl Mary
‘Mary (Sp. María)’

shtá mastru
sir teacher
‘Teacher (Sp. maestro)’
Coatzospan Mixtec

\[mastru\] \[xwaan\]
teacher John
‘Teacher John’

\[\tilde{n}uu\] \[n\text{ùndúvē}\]
town Oaxaca
‘Oaxaca City’

\[\tilde{n}uu\] \[kanadaa\]
town Canada
‘Canada (Sp. Canadá)’

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

Quantifiers comprise both numerals and general quantifiers, and the specifiers \[mii\] ‘alone’ or ‘self’ and \[dīvī\] ‘same’.

With numerals:

\[uun\] \[doo\]
one cloth
‘one cloth’

\[kimī\] \[ñāhā\]
four person
‘four people’

\[\dot{u}hun\] \[\dot{u}tun\]
five wood
‘five trees’

(See also 7.90, 7.91, 7.94, and 7.95.)

With general quantifiers:

\[\dot{u}tīn\] \[kitī\]
many animal
‘many animals’

\[ndehvi\] \[ita\]
few tortilla
‘few tortillas’
With specifiers:

\[ m\ddot{u}\ddot{i} \text{ t}\ddot{u}\ddot{n} \]
alone she
'she herself'

\[ d\ddot{i}\ddot{\imath} \text{ t}\ddot{u}\ddot{n} \]
same she
'the same one (girl)'

(See also 7.37, 7.42, and 7.61.)

The reduced form of the numeral *uun* 'one' is often used simply as an indefinite article.

\[ u\ddot{n} \text{ d}\ddot{o}\ddot{o} \]
one cloth
'a cloth'

\[ u\ddot{n} \text{ ë\dha\ddot{h}} \]
one person
'a person' or 'someone'

(See also 7.5.)

The diminutive á (a reduced form of *ihshá* 'child') occurs immediately preceding the noun nucleus. It denotes either smallness, sympathy, or affection and is sometimes used in discourse to mark the underdog (see Small 1979:360).

\[ a \text{ t}\ddot{i}\ddot{n}\ddot{a} \]
dim dog
'puppy'

\[ a \text{ s}\ddot{h}\ddot{\uud} \ddot{u} \]
dim rock
'pebble'

\[ \acute{a} \text{ i}h\ddot{\imath}sh\ddot{a} \]
dim child
'little child'
á uvá
DIM father
‘daddy’

á xwaan
DIM John
‘Johnnie’

(See also 7.1, 7.29, and various others.)

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

There are two stressed deictics, sáhá ‘this’ and tsíkán ‘that’.

vi sáhá
house this
‘this house’

kwia sahá
year this
‘this year’

tīná tsikan
dog that
‘that dog’

nduvi tsikan
day that
‘that day’ or ‘in those days’

When the noun nucleus rather than the deictic is in focus, the poststressed forms sá ‘this’ and sán ‘that’ are used. They function somewhat like definite articles and usually imply previous mention of the noun. sán is also used to mark a thematic participant or prop in discourse (see Small 1979:360).

ihshá sa
child this
‘this child’ or ‘the child’

vihi sán
house that
‘that house’ or ‘the house’
(See also 7.2, 7.8, 7.12, 7.29, 7.60, 7.77, 7.101, 7.118, and various others.)

The limiter is tsi 'just', which also occurs in verb phrases (see 2.1.3).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{inhshá} & \quad \text{tsi} \\
\text{child} & \quad \text{LIM} \\
'\text{just a child}' & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndute} & \quad \text{tsi} \\
\text{water} & \quad \text{LIM} \\
'\text{just water}' & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.54.)

Relative clauses\(^2\) are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or prestressed pronouns, by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head, and in some cases by the presence of a relative pronoun. There are three words that function as relative pronouns: the complementizer è,\(^3\) the interrogative adverb mí 'where?', and the subordinate conjunction dā 'when'. mí is used only for inanimate locative adjuncts and location peripheral elements, and dā is used only for

\(^2\)The distinction made by many linguists between restrictive and nonrestrictive (appositive) relative clauses does not appear to be relevant for Coatzospan Mixtec. Most of the examples given below are translated as restrictive relatives. The translation seems to depend far more on the degree to which the head is already specified in the discourse context than on any formal features of the language. When, however, an appositional construction (see 3.7) is used instead of a relative clause, a nonrestrictive meaning is far more likely.

\(^3\)It is necessary to distinguish between the prestressed pronoun and relative pronoun uses of è. The prestressed pronoun can serve as a nucleus that refers to an unspecified or abstract entity to which no other prestressed pronoun properly applies. Because it is prestressed, it must be followed by something else in the same noun phrase, and most often it is followed by a relative clause. è in this use is never followed by è as a relative pronoun.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{è} & \quad \text{vāhā} \\
\text{UN} & \quad \text{good} \\
'\text{that which is good' or 'the good one}' & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{è} & \quad \text{kāhshi} \quad \text{o} \\
\text{UN} & \quad \text{POT:eat} \quad \text{we:IN} \\
'\text{what we eat' or 'food}' & \\
\end{align*}
\]
time peripheral elements; é is used in all other cases. It is required following a noun head in all relative clauses except those based on stative verbs but is optional following a pronoun head. It does not, however, occur when é 'it (unspecified)' serves as the nucleus. Only relative clauses based on stative verbs modify a proper noun.

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any element within them.

With subject as head:

\begin{align*}
\text{isha} & \quad \text{é} \quad \text{kākidi} \\
\text{child} & \quad \text{CMP} \quad \text{CONS: sleep} \\
& \text{the child that is sleeping}'
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{tānū} & \quad \text{e} \quad \text{kīshi} \quad \text{iku} \\
\text{female} & \quad \text{CMP} \quad \text{COM: come} \quad \text{yesterday} \\
& \text{the girl that came yesterday}'
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{tānū} & \quad \text{kīshi} \quad \text{iku} \\
\text{female} & \quad \text{COM: come} \quad \text{yesterday} \\
& \text{the girl that came yesterday}'
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{ñā} & \quad \text{kadiko} \quad \text{tūn} \\
\text{person} & \quad \text{CONS: sell} \quad \text{charcoal} \\
& \text{the person that sells charcoal} '
\end{align*}

In its use as a relative pronoun, on the other hand, é comes between a nucleus and a following relative clause. The nucleus may be any noun or prestressed pronoun except é, and is not limited to those that refer to unspecified or abstract concepts, thus showing that in such contexts é has no referential function and is purely a grammatical marker.

\begin{align*}
\text{ñā} & \quad \text{é} \quad \text{nanī} \quad \text{xwaan} \\
\text{person} & \quad \text{CMP} \quad \text{CONS: be named} \quad \text{John} \\
& \text{the person that is named John}'
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{tānū} & \quad \text{é} \quad \text{vāhā} \\
\text{female} & \quad \text{CMP} \quad \text{good} \\
& \text{the girl who is good}'
\end{align*}

If these two functions of é are not distinguished, then relative clauses with é following some other element could mistakenly be considered to be appositional constructions.
na ndáhvî kó dyuhûn
boy com:pay me money
'the boy that paid me money'

e kôhshô
un com:fall
'that which fell'

(See also 7.1, 7.44, and 7.47.)

With object as head:4

ndute é kâshihi iì
twater cmp con:drink it:aml
'the water that it (animal) is drinking'

kîiì é kahní ná tevâa
animal cmp pot:kill he morning
'the animal that he will kill tomorrow'

kîiì kahní na tevâa
animal pot:kill he morning
'the animal that he will kill tomorrow'

dyuhun e ndáhvî tûn xwaan
money cmp com:pay she john
'the money that she paid john'

Because nouns and third person personal pronouns do not distinguish case (see 5.4), the head of a relative clause which contains more than one third person animate referent frequently is ambiguous as to whether it is subject, object, or adjunct.

kîiì e éhni ña
animal cmp com:kill person
'the animal that killed them' or 'the animal that they killed'

na ini xwaan
boy com:see john
'the boy that saw john' or 'the boy that john saw'

na ndáhvî tûn dyuhûn
boy com:pay she/her money
'the boy that paid her money' or 'the boy that she paid money to'
é kakāhán tun nî kó
UNCHSpeak she with me
‘what she said to me’

(See also 7.60.)

tânu kâkan nihi mária
female CONSpeak with Mary
‘the girl that talked with Mary’ or ‘the girl that Mary talked with’

With adjunct as head:

na e ndâhvî û dyuhûn
boy CMP CONSpay I money
‘the boy that I paid money to’

na ndâhvî û dyuhûn
boy CONSpay I money
‘the boy that I paid money to’

ñuu mi ñehe o
town where CONSgo we:IN
‘the town where we went’

With peripheral element as head:

ñuu mi kadikô xwaan túun
town where CONSsell John charcoal
‘the town where John sells charcoal’

nduvi dâ shiht xwaan
day when CONSdie John
‘the day on which John died’

When a preposition or locative noun signals an adjunct, it retains its original position and the deleted noun phrase is represented by the unspecified pronoun i.

tânû tásh nûu na tutû ndaha i
female CONSgive face he paper hand UN
‘the girl he sent a letter to’
tánú kākahan mária ni i
female con:speak Mary with un
‘the girl that Mary talked with’

isha é ōehe ōá ni i kūchaña
child cmp com:go person with un Tehuacán
‘the child that they went with to Tehuacán’

na kakahan tún iña i
boy con:speak she thing un
‘the boy that she is talking about’ or ‘the boy that she is talking on behalf of’

If, however, the preposition or locative noun is incorporated into the verb nucleus (see 1.1.4 and 2.1.1), no pronoun copy occurs.

tánú kākan nihi u
female con:speak with I
‘the girl that I talked with’

kutsiu e éni nuu na tínã
knife cmp com:kill face he dog
‘the knife (Sp. cuchillo) that he killed a dog with’

Some relative clauses based on content verbs have acquired an idiomatic meaning and form complex noun nuclei (see 3.1.1).
Sentences with equative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject.

tánũ ë nani mária
female cmp con:be:named Mary
‘the girl that is named Mary’

tánu nani mária
female con:be:named Mary
‘the girl that is named Mary’

na é kūvi káda kó
boy cmp pot:become son:in:law me
‘the boy that is to become my son-in-law’
ñá ndúvi kíi
person com:rep:become animal
‘the person that turned into an animal’

An equative sentence without a verb may also become a relative clause based on the subject.

ñá é dùu
person cmp priest
‘the person that is a priest’

ñá dùu
person priest
‘the person that is a priest’

Ordinals are expressed by means of a relative clause using the equative verb kúvi ‘to become’ (frequently reduced in fast speech to kwí), which links the subject and the numeral.

na é kúvi ûni
boy cmp com:become three
‘the boy that is third’

na kwí ûni
boy com:become three
‘the boy that is third’

é kwí ûhshi
un com:become ten
‘the one that is tenth’

Sentences with stative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject.

vi é vahá
house cmp good
‘the house that is good’

vi vahá
house good
‘the good house’
tānū é kāhnu
female cmp big:sg
‘the girl that is big’

tānu kāhnu
female big:sg
‘the big girl’

xwán kahnu
John big:sg
‘big John’

e kwihshin
un white
‘the white one’

(See also 7.40, 7.60, and 7.101.)

3.1.4 Combinations of elements. Noun phrases may contain up to four nonnuclear elements, with certain cooccurrence restrictions. Quantifier cooccurs with any of the other elements except limiter. (Limiter may, however, occur within a quantifier phrase [see 4.1.3 and 4.1.4].) A relative clause based on a stative verb may cooccur with deictic or limiter, both of which follow the relative clause. Deictic and limiter may cooccur: limiter precedes the poststressed deictic but follows the stressed deictic. Diminutive has no apparent cooccurrence restrictions.

tínā kwishin sáhā
dog white this
‘this white dog’

isha luhndi tsi sá
child small:sg lim this
‘just this little child’

a tina tsikan tsi
dim dog that lim
‘just that puppy’

á vihi tsi sán
dim house lim that
‘just the little house’
Coatzospan Mixtec

un á isha é kākidì
one Dim child cmp consleep
‘a little child that is sleeping’

úvì á vi kwetsì sàn
two Dim house small:pl that
‘those two little tiny houses’

(See also 7.101.)

Occasionally a short relative clause based on a content verb may cooccur with a following deictic, as in 7.77 and 7.88.
Two relative clauses may occur in a single noun phrase if both are based on a stative verb.

ùnà kwìshìn kwetsì
dog white small:pl
‘little white dogs’

If either relative clause is expanded or is based on a content verb, an appositional construction is required (see 3.7).

3.2 Measurement Noun Phrases

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

úvi ëtun (nùni)
two box (corn)
‘two four-liter measures (of corn)’

ìñù méru (díùo)
six meter (cloth)
‘six meters (Sp. metro) (of cloth)’

ùun naha (ndihshen)
one pair (sandal)
‘one pair (of sandals)’
\[uun\ t\in\ kahnu\ (shuku)\]
one pinch big:so (leaf)
‘one handful (of leaves)’

\[\dot{uh}\dot{shi}\ vr\ddot{o}\dot{sa}\ nahnu\ (kaka)\]
ten bag big:pl (lime)
‘ten big bags (Sp. \textit{bolsa}) (of lime)’

3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a possessed noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to those considered capable of being 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 noun phrase. If it is expressed by a pronoun, the object set (see 5.4) is used.

With inherently possessed nouns:

\[nda\ i\dot{in}\dot{sh}\ddot{a}\]
hand child
‘the child’s hand’

\[\ddot{d}uts\ddot{i}n\ t\dot{in}\ddot{a}\]
nose dog
‘the dog’s nose’

\[\ddot{d}u\ddot{o}\ xwaan\]
uncle John
‘John’s uncle’

\[en\dot{i}\ na\]
brother:me him
‘his brother’

\[i\ddot{n}\ddot{a}\ k\ddot{o}\]
thing me
‘my thing’ or ‘mine’

(See also 7.2, 7.13, 7.14, 7.34, 7.40, 7.41, 7.72, 7.83, 7.102, 7.107, and various others.)
With optionally possessed nouns:

*inu xwaan*
cornfield John
'John's cornfield'

*tiná ko*
dog me
'my dog'

*ihshá ŋa*
child person
'their child'

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.5, 7.74, 7.96, and various others.)

There is a small class of nouns which cannot be followed directly by a possessor. These require the insertion of the inherently possessed noun *iná* 'thing' between the nucleus and its possessor, resulting in a type of appositional construction (see 3.7).

*nduvi iná tun*
day thing her
'her life'

*kwendu iná tsídó*
story thing rabbit
'story (Sp. *cuento*) about a rabbit' or 'rabbit story'

(See also 7.1 and 7.123.)

The possessed item occurs as the nucleus of its noun phrase. Quantifier, diminutive, and limiter optionally modify it.

*úvi eni ná*
two brother:ME him
'his two brothers' or 'two of his brothers'

*a tiná tsí kó*
DIM dog LIM me
'just my puppy'
An optionally possessed noun may be directly followed by a simple relative clause based on a stative verb.

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{kahnu} \quad \text{ña} \]
\[ \text{house big:sg person} \]
\[ \text{‘their big house’} \]

\[ \text{isha} \quad \text{luhndi} \quad \text{ko} \]
\[ \text{child small:sg me} \]
\[ \text{‘my little child’} \]

In a few common phrases an inherently possessed noun may also be directly followed by a simple relative clause based on a stative verb, as seen in 7.12 and 7.16. If the relative clause is expanded, however, or is based on a content verb, or usually if the noun is inherently possessed, it must follow the possessor and be introduced by a relative pronoun.

\[ \text{vihi} \quad \text{ña} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{dōo} \quad \text{kahnu} \]
\[ \text{house person cmp ints big:sg} \]
\[ \text{‘their house which is very big’ or ‘their very big house’} \]

\[ \text{ihshá} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{é} \quad \text{kaeku} \]
\[ \text{child me cmp con:cry} \]
\[ \text{‘my child that is crying’ or ‘my crying child’} \]

\[ \text{tahan} \quad \text{kó} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{luhndi} \]
\[ \text{sister me cmp small:sg} \]
\[ \text{‘my sister that is little’ or ‘my little sister’} \]

The possessed item may be modified by the poststressed deictics sá ‘this’ or sán ‘that’ or ‘the’, which occur following the possessor. If the possessor is a third person, the construction is ambiguous.

\[ \text{ihshá} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{sá} \]
\[ \text{child me this} \]
\[ \text{‘this child of mine’} \]

\[ \text{tíná} \quad \text{tun} \quad \text{sán} \]
\[ \text{dog her that} \]
\[ \text{‘that dog of hers’ or ‘that girl’s dog’} \]

(See also 7.12, 7.16, 7.19, 7.22, 7.35, and 7.74.)
In order for a stressed deictic to modify a possessed item, an appositional construction is required (see 3.7).

The possessor may itself be a possessive noun phrase.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ishá} & \quad \text{tahan} & \quad \text{shi} & \quad \text{nāná} & \quad \text{ko} \\
\text{child} & \quad \text{sister} & \quad \text{husband} & \quad \text{aunt} & \quad \text{me} \\
\text{‘my aunt’s husband’s sister’s child’}
\end{align*}
\]

### 3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are basic or possessive. Interrogative basic noun phrases are formed by combining one of the following interrogatives with a following noun phrase or pronoun: \(shó\) ‘who?’ or \(nē\) or \(ne\) \(iňá\) ‘what?’, ‘which?’, or ‘what kind of?’. The interrogative is always initial in its noun phrase, and an interrogative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence (see 1.1.8 and 1.2.2).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{shó} & \quad \text{ňaha} \\
\text{who} & \quad \text{person} \\
\text{‘which person?’ or ‘who?’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{shó} & \quad \text{dutu} \\
\text{who} & \quad \text{priest} \\
\text{‘which priest?’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nē} & \quad \text{choho} \\
\text{what} & \quad \text{herb} \\
\text{‘what medicine?’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nē} & \quad \text{ihshá} \\
\text{what} & \quad \text{child} \\
\text{‘what kind of child?’ (i.e., boy or girl)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ne} & \quad \text{iňá} & \quad \text{kíi} \\
\text{what} & \quad \text{thing} & \quad \text{animal} \\
\text{‘which animal?’ or ‘what kind of animal?’}
\end{align*}
\]

To question a quantity, the interrogative \(nđē\) ‘how?’ is used in a special construction that involves the verb \(kaa\) ‘to be (singular)’; see 1.2.2 and 2.1.2 for a discussion of similar constructions.
nde kaa dyuhún
how con:be:sg money
‘how much money?’

nde kaa vihi
how con:be:sg house
‘how many houses?’

The noun phrase is not normally expanded, but the interrogative may be expanded by postnuclear elements such as verifier, additive, limiter, repetitive, emphatic, and deprecative, all of which are described in 2.1.3.

ne iñá ka sh tuku kiti
what thing more lim rep animal
‘just what other kind of animal?’

nde kaa ndihshe ku kudii vihi
how con:be:sg truly emph merely house
‘really indeed merely how many houses?’

Certain frozen interrogative noun phrases introduced by neé ‘what?’ are used as interrogative adverbs.

nē ndūvi
what day
‘what day?’ or ‘when?’

nē ura
what hour
‘what time (Sp. hora)?’ or ‘when?’

nē tsiñu
what work
‘for what purpose?’ or ‘why?’

(See also 7.68.)

The interrogative marker ndu, used to form yes/no questions (see 1.2.1), optionally occurs in interrogative noun phrases following either the interrogative or the complete noun phrase, as seen in the following three pairs of examples. There does not appear to be any significant meaning difference associated with the presence of ndu.
né ndu choko
what INT herb
‘which medicine?’

nē choko ndu
what herb INT
‘which medicine?’

ne iňa ndu kiti
what thing INT animal
‘what kind of animal?’

ne iňa kiti ndu
what thing animal INT
‘what kind of animal?’

ndē kaa ndu dyuhun
how CON:be:SG INT money
‘how much money?’

ndē kaa dyuhun ndu
how CON:be:SG money INT
‘how much money?’

(See also 7.44.)

Interrogative possessive noun phrases consist of the interrogative shoó ‘who?’ or an interrogative basic noun phrase introduced by shoó or neé, plus a possessed noun, plus the unspecified pronoun i.

shó iňa i
who thing UN
‘whose thing?’

shó ňaha doo i
who person cloth UN
‘whose clothes?’

né kiti duhme i
what animal tail UN
‘which animal’s tail?’
As in interrogative basic noun phrases, *ndu* may optionally be inserted; it occurs following either the interrogative, the interrogative noun phrase, or the possessed item.

\[
\text{shō } \text{ndu } \text{nāha } \text{doo } \text{i}
\]
\[
\text{who } \text{INT} \text{ person } \text{cloth } \text{UN}
\]
‘whose clothes?’

\[
\text{shō } \text{nāha } \text{ndu } \text{doo } \text{i}
\]
\[
\text{who } \text{person } \text{INT} \text{ cloth } \text{UN}
\]
‘whose clothes?’

\[
\text{shō } \text{nāha } \text{doo } \text{ndu } \text{i}
\]
\[
\text{who } \text{person } \text{cloth } \text{INT} \text{ UN}
\]
‘whose clothes?’

### 3.5 Negative Noun Phrases

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the negative sentential marker *nā tē* to a noun phrase or pronoun. A negative noun phrase always occurs in focus position in its sentence. An equative sentence (see 1.1.5) is negated by using a negative noun phrase as the nominal complement. (Since equative verbs and unspecified third person subject pronouns are unexpressed, all negative noun phrases are therefore ambiguous with independent equative sentences.)

\[
\text{nā } \text{te } \text{ishā } \text{vahā}
\]
\[
\text{NEG} \text{ if child } \text{good}
\]
‘not a good child’

\[
\text{nā } \text{te } \text{ishā } \text{vahā } (\emptyset)
\]
\[
\text{NEG} \text{ if child } \text{good } (\text{UN})
\]
‘(It is) not a good child.’

\[
\text{nā } \text{te } \text{shūhū}
\]
\[
\text{NEG} \text{ if I}
\]
‘not I’

\[
\text{nā } \text{te } \text{shūhū } (\emptyset)
\]
\[
\text{NEG} \text{ if I } (\text{UN})
\]
‘(It is) not I.’
Coatzospan Mixtec

\( \text{ñá te ñá ko} \)
NEG if thing me

'not mine'

\( \text{ñá te ñá ko (Ø)} \)
NEG if thing me (UN)

'(It is) not mine.'

(See also 7.7.)

When a negative noun phrase is questioned, the interrogative \( n\text{du} \) optionally follows either the negative \( \text{ñá} \) or the entire noun phrase.

\( \text{ñá ndu te ishá vahá (Ø)} \)
NEG INT if child good (UN)

'(Is it) not a good child?'

\( \text{ñá te ishá vahá ndu (Ø)} \)
NEG if child good INT (UN)

'(Is it) not a good child?'

Interrogative words and phrases may be negated with \( \text{ñá tē} \) to form a construction that functions like a negative pronoun or adverb. These phrases are likewise limited to sentence-initial position.

\( \text{ñá tē shoó} \)
NEG if who

'no one' or 'nobody'

\( \text{ñá tē neé} \)
NEG if what

'nothing'

\( \text{ñá tē ne ñá} \)
NEG if what thing

'nothing'

\( \text{ñá te nē tsířu} \)
NEG if what work

'for no reason'
3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Adverbial noun phrases are basic or possessive. Adverbial basic noun phrases differ from ordinary basic noun phrases in two ways. First, the nucleus must be a locative or temporal noun; and second, the deictic may be expressed by a broader range of elements, which includes the post-stressed locative and temporal adverbs a ‘here’, kăn ‘there’, ve ‘now’, and (rarely) dà ‘then’, as well as the poststressed deictics sá ‘this’ and sán ‘that’. These phrases are used as locative adjuncts and as location or time peripheral elements.

itsi kahnu
trail bigsg
‘main road’

ndute ōhuu ā
water land here
‘ocean (here)’

nduvi ā
day here
‘by day’

e dūkăn kăn
un high there
‘sky (there)’ or ‘heaven (there)’

kwja ndaši ko kăn
year com:finish us:in there
‘last year’
\textit{kwia nákhi o kān}
\textit{year POT:REP:take we:IN there}
\textit{‘next year’}

\textit{vité ve}
\textit{week now}
\textit{‘a week from now’}

\textit{ñuuú kō sá}
\textit{town us:IN this}
\textit{‘our town’ or ‘our country’}

\textit{vi uuun sán}
\textit{house wood that}
\textit{‘the jail’}

(See also 7.1.)

Adverbal possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with an inherently possessed locative noun as nucleus. Many of these are body-part nouns used with extended meanings (see 5.3.2). Adverbal possessive noun phrases frequently terminate in a poststressed locative adverb or deictic and are used as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

\textit{nū shūú}
\textit{face rock}
\textit{‘on a rock’}

\textit{nda dutú}
\textit{hand priest}
\textit{‘to a priest’ or ‘before a priest’}

\textit{átā kō}
\textit{back me}
\textit{‘behind me’}

\textit{ata vihi tún a}
\textit{back house her here}
\textit{‘behind her house (here)’}
rkà úku kān
head mountain there
‘on top of the mountain (there)’

ini etùn san
insides box that
‘in the box’ or ‘inside of that box’

(See also 7.3, 7.28, 7.44, 7.72, 7.102, 7.109, 7.118, and 7.122.)

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.

tahan kó / maria
sister me Mary
‘my sister, Mary’

tíná / káti shihi íku
dog animal COM:die yesterday
‘the dog, the one that died yesterday’

(See also 7.1.)

It is common for the second noun phrase of an appositional construction to contain a third person prestressed pronoun (see 5.4) followed by a relative clause, which may optionally be introduced by the complementizer é (see 3.1.3).

xwaan / ŋa (é) dūtu
John person (CMP) priest
‘John, the one who is a priest’

dūtu / ŋa (é) naní xwaan
priest person (CMP) CON:be:named John
‘a priest who is named John’

Appositional noun phrases have several specific functions. One of these is to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified, which is the function filled by nonrestrictive relative clause in
English. Such appositional noun phrases often have a proper noun as the nucleus of the first part.

\[ xwaan \ / \ ŋa \ (é) \ kadiko \ tūun \]
John person (CMP) cont: sell charcoal
‘John, who sells charcoal’ or ‘John, the one who sells charcoal’

In some cases an appositional construction is the only way to include certain information in a noun phrase. For example, an appositional phrase is usually required in order to express two relative clauses with a single noun nucleus (see 3.1.3), or a stressed deictic with a possessed noun (see 3.3).

\[ duuu \ / \ ŋā \ e \ dōo \ vahā \]
priest person CMP int: good
‘a priest, who is very good’ or ‘a very good priest’

\[ xwaan \ / \ ŋā \ e \ dōo \ dūkūn \]
John boy CMP int: tall
‘John, who is very tall’

\[ vihi \ na \ / \ e \ dōo \ dūkūn \]
house him UN int: tall
‘his house, which is very tall’

\[ tahān \ kō \ / \ tanu \ lūhndī \]
sister me female small:sg
‘my sister, who is little’ or ‘my little sister’

\[ tīnā \ tun \ / \ kītē \ dōo \ diin \]
dog her animal int: fierce
‘her dog, which is very fierce’ or ‘her very fierce dog’

\[ dutu \ / \ ŋā \ sāhā \]
priest person this
‘this priest’

\[ maria \ / \ tanū \ sāhā \]
Mary female this
‘this Mary’
tīnā ko / kāti tsīkān
dog me animal that
‘that dog of mine’

Likewise, an appositional phrase is required in order to express a stressed deictic with a relative clause based on a content verb. The nucleus of the first phrase is repeated as nucleus of the second; either phrase may occur first.

tānū kīshi iku / tānū tsīkān
female com:come yesterday female that
‘the girl who came yesterday, that one’ or ‘that girl who came yesterday’

tānū tsīkan / tānū kīshi iku
female that female com:come yesterday
‘that girl, the one who came yesterday’ or ‘that girl who came yesterday’

An appositional phrase is also required in order to express two relative clauses with the same noun nucleus if one of the relative clauses is based on a content verb.

tānū lūhndī / tānū kaeku
female small:so female con:cry
‘the little girl who is crying’

Several successive phrases may be in apposition.

vihi na / vi kahnu na / vi vāhā /
house him house big:so him house good
‘his house, his big house, the good house,

vi kvīshīn / vi shuu
house white house rock
‘the white house, the stone house’ or ‘his nice big white stone house’

In order for a noun that cannot be possessed to occur with a possessor, it must be followed appositionally by a possessive noun phrase based on the inherently possessed noun ūnā ‘thing’ (see 3.3). The relation between
the two parts of such a construction is close knit, and there is no pause potential between them.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nåvù} & \ iñá & \ tun \\
\text{day} & \ \text{thing} & \ \text{her} \\
\text{‘her life’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k\textit{wendu} } & \ iñá & \ \text{tsìdò} \\
\text{story} & \ \text{thing} & \ \text{rabbit} \\
\text{‘story about a rabbit’} & \ \text{or} & \ \text{‘rabbit story’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{p\textit{redende} } & \ iñá & \ fùndà \\
\text{leader} & \ \text{thing} & \ \text{committee} \\
\text{‘leader (Sp. \textit{presidente}) of a committee (Sp. \textit{junta})’} & \ \text{or} & \ \text{‘committee chairman’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.1 and 7.123.)

3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are simple coordinate, coordinate with attraction, or disjunctive. In the simple coordinate noun phrase, a pause follows all noun phrases in a list, and the additive marker \( \text{ù} \) ‘also’ optionally precedes each pause.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nåmå} & \ / \ \text{t\textit{sunè}} & \ / \ \text{tùùn} \\
\text{soap} & \ \text{candle} & \ \text{charcoal} \\
\text{‘soap, candles, and charcoal’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nd\textit{kå} } & \ \text{ù} & \ \text{tùsin} & \ / \ \text{tìk\textit{wè} } & \ \text{ù} \\
\text{banana also avocado guava also} & \ \text{‘also bananas, avocados, and also guavas’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tsìdò } & \ \text{ù} & \ \text{r\textit{kùhù} } & \ \text{ù} & \ / \ / \ \text{s\textit{hisè} } & \ \text{ù} & \ / \ / \ \text{tìmåhå} & \ \text{ù} \\
\text{rabbit also deer also coati also raccoon also} & \ \text{‘also rabbits, deer, coatis, and raccoons’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{átå} & \ \text{ko} & \ / \ \text{dâkå} & \ \text{kö} & \ / \ / \ \text{ndåhå} & \ \text{kö} & \ / \ / \ \text{dåh\textit{Ììn} } & \ \text{ko } & \ \text{ù} \\
\text{back me head me hand me foot me also} & \ \text{‘my back, my head, my hands, and also my feet’}
\end{align*}
\]
It is also possible to link two noun phrases by using an associative adjunct (see 1.1.4).

Coordinate noun phrases exemplifying attraction consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases with no pause between them. The first noun phrase must contain an expanded numeral phrase (see 4.1.3) containing the general quantifier ndëhi ‘all’. This quantifier fuses with numerals from two to four (see 5.6). The second noun phrase must permit the interpretation that its referents are included in the referents of the first one.

\[
\text{nduvi nêi xwaan} \\
\text{all:two we:ex John} \\
\text{‘both John and I’}
\]

\[
\text{nduvi nà enti na} \\
\text{all:two he brother:me him} \\
\text{‘both he and his brother’}
\]

\[
\text{nduni ndó tun} \\
\text{all:three you:pl she} \\
\text{‘the three of you, including her’}
\]

Disjunctive noun phrases consist of two or three parts. Each part is preceded by either o ‘or’ (Sp.) or ndé ‘nor’, except that o is optional before the first part. The topic marker ne ‘and’ followed by pause optionally follows each part except the last.

\[
\text{o vi sâhâ o vi tsikân} \\
\text{or house this or house that} \\
\text{‘either this house or that house’}
\]

\[
\text{un shoö ne / o uni vite ne / o kimì kite} \\
\text{one moon and or three week and or four week} \\
\text{‘a month, or three or four weeks’}
\]

\[
\text{ndê lââ ne / ndé kôô ne / ndê kûs} \\
\text{nor bird and nor snake and nor animal} \\
\text{‘neither birds, nor snakes, nor animals’}
\]
3.9 Distributive Noun Phrases

Distributive noun phrases express the notion of ‘each’ or ‘every’. They are of two types: temporal and locative. In temporal phrases the noun nucleus is simply repeated.

\[ kwia \quad kwïä \]
year year
‘every year’ or ‘yearly’

In locative phrases, \( tân \), the prestressed form of \( tahän \) ‘companion’, precedes the nucleus, and the entire phrase is repeated.

\[ tân \quad vi \quad tân \quad vihi \]
companion house companion house
‘from house to house’

3.10 Partitive Noun Phrases

Partitive noun phrases have a structure and distribution similar to that of measurement noun phrases. They have a noun nucleus, which is either \( ñäha \) ‘person’ or \( ðikä \) ‘head’, preceded by a quantifier, and they are used to refer to one or more members of a determinate group of persons or animals.

\[ un \quad ñäha \quad (ðütu) \]
one person (priest)
‘one (of the priests)’

\[ úhun \quad ñäha \quad (tún) \]
five person (she)
‘five (of them [girls])’

\[ úshi \quad ñäha \quad (ña) \]
ten person (person)
‘ten (of them [people])’

\[ úshi \quad ðikä \quad (ii) \]
ten head (it:AML)
‘ten (of them [animals])’
3.11 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Indefinite noun phrases are of two kinds, both of which may be used alone or in combination with a following noun phrase. The first kind is formed by using an interrogative as nucleus, preceded by the subordinate conjunction dā ‘when’, in the sense of ‘even’, and frequently followed by kā ‘more’, the limiter tsi ‘just’, and sometimes the quantifier ndīhi ‘all’.

\[
\begin{align*}
da & \text{ shōō} \\
\text{when} & \text{ who} \\
\text{‘anyone’} & \\
\hline
da & \text{ shōō } \text{ ka} \\
\text{when} & \text{ who} \text{ more} \\
\text{‘whoever’} & \\
\hline
da & \text{ shōō } \text{ ka } (\text{ńaha}) \\
\text{when} & \text{ who} \text{ more } (\text{person}) \\
\text{‘whoever’} & \\
\hline
da & \text{ nēé } \text{ ka } \text{ tsi} \\
\text{when} & \text{ what} \text{ more } \text{ LIM} \\
\text{‘whatever’} & \\
\hline
da & \text{ nēé } \text{ ka } \text{ ndīhi} \\
\text{when} & \text{ what} \text{ more } \text{ all} \\
\text{‘whatever’} & \\
\hline
da & \text{ nēé } \text{ ka } (\text{nduvi}) \\
\text{when} & \text{ what} \text{ more } (\text{day}) \\
\text{‘whenever’ or ‘any (day)’} & \\
\hline
dā & \text{ mīhī } \text{ kā} \\
\text{when} & \text{ where} \text{ more} \\
\text{‘wherever’ or ‘anywhere’} & \\
\hline
dā & \text{ mīhī } \text{ kā } \text{ tsi } (\text{ńuú}) \\
\text{when} & \text{ where} \text{ more } \text{ LIM} \text{ (town)} \\
\text{‘wherever’ or ‘any (town)’} & \\
\hline
\end{align*}
\]

The second kind is formed by using an interrogative as nucleus, followed by ndīhi ‘all’, or by nā ndīhi.
shó  ndíhi (ñaña)
who  all  (person)
'who-all'

né  ndí  ndíhi (tsiñu)
what  all  all  (work)
'what-all (jobs)'
4
Other Phrases

4.1 Quantifier Phrases

4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases. In additive numeral phrases, simple numerals from one to ten, fifteen, and twenty are combined to form the numerals eleven to fourteen, sixteen to nineteenth, twenty-one to thirty, and thirty-five. In each case the larger numeral precedes the smaller one. The numeral ūsun ‘one’ has a suppletive allomorph ūn following ten.

ūshi ūn
ten one
‘eleven’

shēun uvī
fifteen two
‘seventeen’

oko ūhshī
twenty ten
‘thirty’

An additive numeral phrase containing three numerals is used to form the numerals from thirty-one to thirty-four and from thirty-six to thirty-nine.

oko ush ūnī
twenty ten three
‘thirty-three’
oko sheun kimi
twenty fifteen four
‘thirty-nine’

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. When the numeral for ‘twenty’ occurs as the nucleus of an attributive phrase, a suppletive allomorph, dikō, occurs; this must be preceded by a numeral between two and four.

kimi dikō
four twenty
‘eighty’

un syendu
one hundred
‘one hundred (Sp. ciento)’

ūhūn múl
five thousand
‘five thousand (Sp. mil)’

Attributive numeral phrases combined with additive numeral phrases are used to form all the remaining nonsimple numerals.

ūvi diko shēun un
two twenty fifteen one
‘fifty-six’

un syendu oko iňu
one hundred twenty six
‘one hundred twenty-six’

un múl āshe syendu uni diko una
one thousand seven hundred thirty two twenty eight
‘one thousand seven hundred sixty-eight’

ūn syendu kimi diko ushi ūn múl
nine hundred four twenty ten one thousand
‘nine hundred ninety-one thousand’
4.1.3 Expanded numeral phrases. A simple numeral or an additive or attributive numeral phrase may serve as the nucleus of expanded numeral phrases. These phrases also include one optional prenuclear element and six optional postnuclear elements.

The prenuclear element quantifies the numeral nucleus and is expressed by dá 'only', iē 'if' (here used in the sense of 'approximately'), or ndē (reduced form of ndēhi 'all').

\[
\begin{align*}
dá & \quad \text{úvi (kāti)} \\
& \quad \text{only two (animal)} \\
& \quad \text{‘only two (animals)’} \\
tē & \quad \text{ōko (vīhi)} \\
& \quad \text{if twenty (house)} \\
& \quad \text{‘about twenty (houses)’} \\
ndē & \quad \text{ūhun (tāha)} \\
& \quad \text{all five (person)} \\
& \quad \text{‘all five (persons)’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(ndē\) fuses with numerals two through four (see 5.6).

The six postnuclear elements are: fraction, additive, limiter, repetitive, emphatic, and deprecative. All of these except fraction also occur in content verb phrases (see 2.1.3).

Fraction occurs in first postnuclear position and is expressed only by ndē dáva 'and a half'; ndē is a reduced form of the verb ndēē ‘to be against (singular)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ùnī ndē} & \quad \text{dáva (itā)} \\
& \quad \text{three combine:against:so half (tortilla)} \\
& \quad \text{‘three and a half (tortillas)’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Additive occurs in second postnuclear position and is expressed by kā 'more' or 'still' and sā 'only a bit more'.

\[
\begin{align*}
kārnī & \quad \text{kā (ndika)} \\
& \quad \text{four more (banana)} \\
& \quad \text{‘four more (bananas)’} \\
\text{úvī} & \quad \text{sā (tisīnu)} \\
& \quad \text{two only (work)} \\
& \quad \text{‘only two more (jobs)’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.94 and 7.95.)
Limiter occurs in third postnuclear position and is expressed by *tsi* ‘just’.

\[ üni \ tsi \ (vīhi) \]
three \ LIM \ (house)
‘just three (houses)’

(See also 7.90.)

Repetitive occurs in fourth postnuclear position and is expressed by *tuku* ‘other’; it requires the presence of the additive in order to occur in a quantifier phrase.

\[ uun \ kā \ tuku \ (ihšá) \]
one more \ REP \ (child)
‘another (child)’

Emphatic occurs in fifth postnuclear position and is expressed by *ku* ‘indeed’ or ‘definitely’.

\[ ñu \ ku \ (īdu) \]
six \ EMPH \ (horse)
‘definitely six (horses)’

Deprecative occurs in sixth postnuclear position and is expressed by *kūdii* ‘merely’.

\[ uun \ kūdii \ (ndika) \]
one merely \ (banana)
‘merely one (banana)’

The deprecative can be fronted to focus position before the quantifier.

\[ kūdii \ kāri \ (īta) \]
merely four \ (tortilla)
‘merely four (tortillas)’

All of the prenuuclear and postnuclear elements may occur.

\[ ndi \ ñu \ ka \ sh \ ku \ (kīti) \]
all \ six \ more \ LIM \ EMPH \ (animal)
‘definitely just all six more (animals)’
te ūvi nde dáva ká tuku kudii (vihi)
if two con:be:against:sg half more rep merely (house)
‘merely about another two-and-a-half more (houses)’

If the noun nucleus that the expanded numeral phrase modifies is a
temporal or measurement noun (see 3.2), it directly follows the numeral
nucleus and may be followed by any of the above-mentioned postnuclear
elements, thus creating a discontinuous structure.

uni (kwia) nđe dáva
three (year) con:be:against:sg half
‘three-and-a-half (years)’

ũni (ndāvi) ká
three (day) more
‘three more (days)’

un (shoō) sa
one (moon) only
‘only one more (month)’

kāmī (mētṛu) ká
four (meter) more
‘four more (meters [Sp. metro])’

ën (kālu) tsi
nine (kilogram) lim
‘just nine (kilograms [Sp. kilo])’

un (shoō) ka tūku
one (moon) more rep
‘another (month)’

ūshi (nāhā) ku
ten (pair) emph
‘definitely ten (pairs)’

ūvi (ūra) kūdii
two (hour) merely
‘merely two (hours [Sp. hora])’
Note, however, that when an expanded numeral phrase occurs as the quantifier of a measurement noun phrase, postnuclear elements may follow the measurement noun, but not the higher noun.

\[ \text{úhún (litru) ndē dáva (ndute)} \]
five (liter) con:be:against:sg half (water)
‘five-and-a-half (liters [Sp. litro] of water)’

\[ \text{dava (etun) tsī (nuni)} \]
half (box) lim (corn)
‘just half (a four-liter measure of corn)’

When an expanded numeral phrase is questioned, the interrogative marker ndu occurs following the postnuclear elements. However, it optionally precedes or follows the deprecative kūdīi without apparent change of meaning, as seen by comparing the last two examples.

\[ \text{ūvi (shoō) ka ndu} \]
two (moon) more int
‘two more (months)?’

\[ \text{ūvi ka tuku ndu (ihshā)} \]
two more rep int (child)
‘two other (children)?’

\[ \text{ūun kūdīi ndu (īta)} \]
one merely int (tortilla)
‘merely one (tortilla)?’

\[ \text{ūun ndu kūdīi (īta)} \]
one int merely (tortilla)
‘merely one (tortilla)?’

4.1.4 General quantifier phrases. Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which is a nonnumeral quantifier, followed by any of the postnuclear elements which occur in expanded numeral phrases except for the fraction. No prenuclear elements occur.

\[ \text{ndēhvi tsi (īta)} \]
few lim (tortilla)
‘just a few (tortillas)’
In 7.37 the specifier dive serves as the nucleus of a general quantifier phrase.

4.1.5 Distributive numeral phrases. A repeated numeral or general quantifier, which is usually grammatically simple, constitutes a distributive numeral phrase. These phrases express the meaning ‘numeral by numeral’.

uni úni (iθhshá)
three three (child)
‘three-by-three (children)’

uvi úvi (kátì)
two two (animal)
‘two-by-two (animals)’

uvivi (káii)
two:two (animal)
‘two-by-two (animals)’

da va dava (Ø)
half half (un)
‘by halves’ or ‘in equal parts’

The numeral uun ‘one’, when repeated, must be preceded by a reduced form of the verb kuví ‘to become’ or shéé ‘to arrive’, or by the complementizer é.

kwi un kwi un (ii)
con:become one con:become one (it:aml)
‘one (animal) at a time’

shé un shé un (nā)
con:arrive one con:arrive one (person)
‘each (person)’


4.1.6 Alternative numeral phrases. Two or three numerals in ascending order combine to form alternative numeral phrases. The numerals are usually grammatically simple and indicate an approximate rather than specific number. They frequently are preceded by the conjunction te 'if' or 'when', which in this context means 'approximately', and sometimes they are separated by ô 'or' (Sp. o).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uvi} & \quad \text{ùni} \quad (ndíka) \\
\text{two} & \quad \text{three} \quad \text{(banana)} \\
          & \quad \text{two or three} \quad \text{(bananas)}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
te & \quad \text{uvi} \quad \text{uni} \quad \text{kìmi} \quad (kwiá) \\
\text{if} & \quad \text{two} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{four} \quad \text{(year)} \\
          & \quad \text{about two to four} \quad \text{(years)}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ùni} & \quad \text{o} \quad \text{kìmi} \quad (ihshá) \\
\text{three or four} & \quad \text{(child)} \\
          & \quad \text{three or four} \quad \text{(children)}'
\end{align*}
\]

4.1.7 Negative quantifier phrases. Negative quantifier phrases contain a numeral or general quantifier as nucleus, frequently preceded by pre-nuclear dá 'only' or 'just'. They are introduced by ŋá te 'definitely not' (see 1.5) and are used to express exaggeration. These phrases occur only in sentence-initial position.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋá} & \quad \text{te} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{ūhshì} \quad (vìhi) \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{if} \quad \text{only ten} \quad \text{(house)} \\
          & \quad \text{more than ten} \quad \text{(houses)}' \quad \text{(lit. 'definitely not just ten [houses]')}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋá} & \quad \text{te} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{dìì} \quad (ńahà) \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{if} \quad \text{only bit} \quad \text{(person)} \\
          & \quad \text{a whole lot of} \quad \text{(people)}' \quad \text{(lit. 'definitely not just a few [people]')}
\end{align*}
\]

This construction also occurs with the idiomatic expression un sùn 'a bit' as nucleus.
\[\tná \ te \ da \ un \ sín \ (davi)\]
\[\neg \text{if only one bit (rain)}\]
\[\text{‘a whole lot (of rain)’ (lit. ‘not just a bit [of rain]’)}\]

The quantifier nucleus is sometimes an interrogative expression (see 3.4).

\[\tná \ tè \ ndé \ kaa \ (kúi)\]
\[\neg \text{if how con:be (animal)}\]
\[\text{‘a lot of (animals)’ (lit. ‘not how many [animals]’)}\]

\[\tná \ dā \ né \ ndíhi \ (tsíñu)\]
\[\neg \text{only what all (work)}\]
\[\text{‘all sorts of (jobs)’ (lit. ‘not just what-all [work]’)}\]

(See also 7.84.)

For added emphasis, sometimes a quantifier nucleus is repeated.

\[\tná \ tè \ ndé \ ka \ ndé \ kaa \ (ñahaha)\]
\[\neg \text{if how con:be how con:be (person)}\]
\[\text{‘A WHOLE LOT (of people)’}\]

\[\tná \ te \ da \ dí \ da \ díi \ (tsídó)\]
\[\neg \text{if only bit only bit (rabbit)}\]
\[\text{‘A WHOLE LOT (of rabbits)’}\]

\[\tná \ te \ ún \ sín \ ún \ sín \ (davi)\]
\[\neg \text{if one bit one bit (rain)}\]
\[\text{‘A WHOLE LOT (of rain)’}\]

4.2 Adverb Phrases

4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases. Basic adverb phrases consist of a nucleus, which may be a locative, temporal, or general adverb, with optional prenuclear and postnuclear modifying elements that vary considerably depending upon the particular adverb they modify. The prenuclear element is commonly expressed by the intensifier döö ‘very’. The postnuclear elements comprise all of those found in verb phrases (see 2.1.3) except personal involvement. In addition, phrases with a locative adverb nucleus often terminate in a poststressed locative adverb or poststressed deictic, while phrases with a temporal adverb nucleus often terminate in
a poststressed temporal or locative adverb or deictic (see 3.1.3 and 5.5). This construction is similar to the adverbial noun phrase (see 3.6).

With locative adverbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dōō ikā} \\
\text{INTS far} \\
\text{‘very far’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
iha & \quad tsi \\
\text{here} & \quad \text{LIM} \\
\text{‘right here’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
nirū & \quad tsi \quad ā \\
\text{above} & \quad \text{LIM here} \\
\text{‘just up above here’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
nirū & \quad \text{kwehen} \quad tsi \quad kān \\
\text{above} & \quad \text{completely} \quad \text{LIM there} \\
\text{‘just way up above there’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ikan} & \quad tsi \quad \text{kūdī} \\
\text{there} & \quad \text{LIM merely} \\
\text{‘merely just there’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kāhī} & \quad tsi \quad \text{kūdī} \quad kān \\
\text{outside} & \quad \text{LIM merely there} \\
\text{‘merely just outside there’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{daha} & \quad kān \\
\text{over there} \\
\text{‘over there’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{daha} & \quad sān \\
\text{over that} \\
\text{‘over there’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.12, 7.13, 7.19, 7.34, 7.99, 7.102, 7.122, and various others.)
With temporal adverbs:

\[dōo \ kwáa\]
\[\text{INTS late}\]
‘very late (in the evening)’

\[iku \ tsi\]
yesterday \text{LIM}
‘just yesterday’

\[tēvāá \ duhva\]
early \text{thus}
‘quite early (in the morning)’

\[vevií \ duhva \ tsi \ a\]
today \text{thus \text{LIM here}}
‘right away’

\[kwaaá \ ve\]
late \text{now}
‘this afternoon’ or ‘this evening’

\[utén \ san\]
tomorrow \text{that}
‘the next day’

(See also 7.51, 7.86, 7.116, and various others.)

With general adverbs:

\[dōo \ kwīí\]
\[\text{INTS slowly}\]
‘very slowly’

\[dotō \ tsi\]
haphazardly \text{LIM}
‘just any old way’

\[kwīí \ kwehen \ tsi\]
slowly \text{completely \text{LIM}}
‘just extremely slowly’
dukwan kãdíí
thus merely
'merely thus'

In one idiomatic expression the adverb nucleus is followed by both a poststressed locative and a poststressed temporal adverb.

\[ vihí \ a \ ve \]
while here now
'right now' or 'in a little while'

(See also 7.48, 7.52, and various others.)

4.2.2 Appositional adverb phrases. Any two of the following structures may be juxtaposed to form appositional adverb phrases: adverbs (full forms), adverb phrases, adverbia! noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and subordinate clauses. This construction is fairly rare. Note, however, that the use of a poststressed locative or temporal adverb in the general adverb phrase is very frequent, and is appositional in meaning.

\[ uën / lune \]
tomorrow Monday
'tomorrow, Monday (Sp. Lunes)'

\[ iha / ŋushivi \]
here world
'here on earth'

\[ ikan / kãchaña \]
there Tehuacán
'there in Tehuacán'

\[ ikan / íni ukun kãn \]
there insides church there
'there in the church'

\[ ñisi kãn / ikãn mí shihi tí \]
trail there there where COM:DIE it:AML
'on the road, there where it died'

See also 7.1 which contains an appositional adverb phrase embedded in an appositional noun phrase.
Two adverb phrases sometimes occur appositionally in a kind of discontinuous structure that is used as a highlighting device in narrative discourse (see Small 1979:364). The first phrase occurs in focus position and is expressed by *ikan tsí* 'just there', used in the sense of 'right then and there'; the second phrase occurs in the usual position for locative adjuncts or location peripheral elements.

\[
\text{*ikan tsí (shihi ti) nù itsi kân*} \\
\text{there LIM (COM:die it:AML) face trail there} \\
\text{‘(It died) right there on the trail.’}
\]

(See also 7.102, 7.109, and 7.122.)

4.2.3 Alternative adverb phrases. Alternative adverb phrases are quite rare; they are formed by juxtaposing two related adverbs and indicate approximate time. (See 4.1.6 for a description of a similar construction based on numerals.)

\[
\text{utén ìdá} \\
\text{tomorrow day:after:tomorrow} \\
\text{‘tomorrow or the day after’ or ‘in the near future’}
\]

4.2.4 Distributive adverb phrases. In distributive adverb phrases the adverb is repeated to indicate ‘every’; the limiter *tsí* optionally follows the second one. (For a description of similar constructions based on nouns and numerals, see 3.9 and 4.1.5.)

\[
\text{tèvá teváa} \\
\text{early early} \\
\text{‘every morning’}
\]

\[
\text{utén útén} \\
\text{tomorrow tomorrow} \\
\text{‘every day’ or ‘daily’}
\]

\[
\text{shio shio tsí} \\
\text{away away LIM} \\
\text{‘just in every direction’}
\]

4.2.5 Negative adverb phrases. Negative adverb phrases are similar to negative quantifier phrases (see 4.1.7), except that they usually have an adverb or basic adverb phrase as nucleus. They express exaggeration by
means of irony and occur only in preverbal manner position in a sentence (see 2.1.2).

\[ \text{ñá te dā vévií (kaeku 0)} \]  
NEG if only today (con: cry un)  
'(It has been crying) a long time!' (lit. 'Not just today [is it crying].')

\[ \text{ñá te da ētsin tsi (tuvi 0)} \]  
NEG if only near lim (con: sit: sg un)  
'(It is) a long ways away!' (lit. '[It is] not simply nearby.')

Occasionally, these phrases have as their nucleus a noun phrase used adverbially.

\[ \text{ñá te da un sūn tsi (kaeku 0)} \]  
NEG if only one bit lim (con: cry un)  
'(It is crying) a whole lot!' (lit. 'Not just a little bit [is it crying].')

\[ \text{ñá tē do dīkā (uhvi 0)} \]  
NEG if word con: play (con: hurt un)  
'(It) really (hurts)!' (lit. 'Not in jest [does it hurt].')

In order for prenuclear dā 'only' to occur with do dīki, the main verb must intervene, thus creating a discontinuous structure; do dīki may optionally follow the subject of such a sentence.

\[ \text{ñá te da (uhvi) do dīkā (kūñū kō)} \]  
NEG if only (con: hurt) word con: play (body me)  
'(My body) really (hurts)!' (lit. 'Not simply in jest [does my body hurt].')

\[ \text{ñá te da (uhvi kūñū kō) do dīkī} \]  
NEG if only (con: hurt body me) word con: play  
'(My body) really (hurts)!' (lit. 'Not simply [does my body hurt] in jest.')

For added emphasis, sometimes the nucleus is repeated.

\[ \text{ñá te dā vévi vēvií (tuvi 0)} \]  
NEG if only today today (con: sit: sg un)  
'(It has been [here]) A LONG TIME!'
4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which may be a noun phrase, an adverb phrase, or another prepositional phrase. Rarely, the preposition is preceded by a quantifier. They are distinguished from adverbial possessive noun phrases which employ inherently possessed nouns, usually referring to body parts, which often have a relational function (see 3.6). The prepositions are nihī ‘with’; ndēé ‘against’, ‘as far as’, ‘from’, ‘since’, or ‘even’; nāā ‘in place of’; méhñū ‘in the middle of’; māā ‘under’; ninū ‘above’; shuvi ‘below’; and kwenda iñā ‘for’, ‘on behalf of’, ‘about’, or ‘in place of’ (Sp. cuenta).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ni} & \quad \text{enī} & \quad \text{nā} \\
\text{with brother:ME} & \quad \text{him} \\
\text{‘with his brother’} \\
\text{ndē} & \quad \text{kucháñā} \\
\text{against} & \quad \text{Tehuacán} \\
\text{‘as far as Tehuacán’} \\
\text{ndē} & \quad \text{kidáā} \\
\text{against} & \quad \text{then} \\
\text{‘since then’} \\
\text{nāā} & \quad \text{kō} \\
\text{in:place:of} & \quad \text{me} \\
\text{‘in place of me’} \\
\text{méhñū} & \quad \text{i} \\
\text{in:middle:of} & \quad \text{UN} \\
\text{‘in the middle of it’} \\
\text{méñū} & \quad \text{ndute kān} \\
\text{in:middle:of water} & \quad \text{there} \\
\text{‘in the middle of the water there’}
\end{align*}
\]
má étun
under box
'under a box'

má vihi
under house
'in the house' or 'indoors'

ninú vihi tún
above house her
'above her house'

shuvi ukán kán
below church there
'below the church there'

kwenda iñá ko
account thing me
'for me' or 'on my behalf'

(See also 7.5, 7.16, 7.22, 7.26, 7.41, 7.103, and 7.123.)

The conjunctions dá 'when' and dá ndé 'until' also function as prepositions meaning 'until'.

da kidáá
when then
'until then'

da nde kidáá
when against then
'until then'

da nde kwía vê
when against year now
'until a year from now'

(See also 7.106.)

Both dá ndé and ndé may be preceded by the quantifier phrase un tsi 'just one', which here functions as an intensifier.
un tsi da nde kwia ve
one LIM when against year now
‘as long as a year from now’

un tsi nde maa i kān
one LIM against under un there
‘all the way down there’

(See also 7.12, 7.16, 7.19, and 7.22.)
5
Parts of Speech

5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

5.1.1 Derivation. Content verbs are derived from other content verbs, from stative verbs, or from nouns by means of derivational prefixes, sometimes accompanied by tone changes.

The causative prefix *nā-* combines with content verbs in potential aspect, adding an agent. The low accent inherent in the prefix is usually realized on the following syllable.

\[
\begin{align*}
na-\text{kāhshi} & \quad \text{CAUS-POT:eat} \\
& \quad \text{‘to feed’ (cf. kāhshi ‘to eat’)} \\
na-\text{kōhshō} & \quad \text{CAUS-POT:fall} \\
& \quad \text{‘to drop’ (cf. kōhshō ‘to fall’)} \\
na-\text{kwēku} & \quad \text{CAUS-POT:cry} \\
& \quad \text{‘to play (an instrument)’ (cf. kwēku ‘to cry’)} \\
na-\text{tśihō} & \quad \text{CAUS-POT:be:cooked} \\
& \quad \text{‘to cook’ (cf. tśihō ‘to be cooked’)} \\
na-\text{ndōho} & \quad \text{CAUS-POT:suffer} \\
& \quad \text{‘to persecute’ (cf. ndōho ‘to suffer’)}
\end{align*}
\]
**na-ndōto**
CAUS-POT:wake:up
‘to wake (someone) up’ (cf. ndoto ‘to wake up’)

(See also 7.12, 7.13, 7.60, 7.91, and 7.95.)

The prefix *na-* also combines with stative verbs to create derived content verbs.

**na-ndīhi**
CAUS-fine
‘to grind up’ (cf. ndīhi ‘fine’)

**na-nēē**
CAUS-dark
‘to turn off (a light)’ (cf. nēē ‘dark’)

The repetitive prefix *na-* combines with content verbs in potential aspect to add the meaning of repeated or resumed action. Many verbs with it have acquired idiomatic meanings.

**na-shee**
REP-POT:arrive
‘to arrive back’

**na-nihi**
REP-POT:get
‘to find (something lost)’

**na-kīku**
REP-POT:sew
‘to mend’ (cf. kīkū ‘to sew’)

**na-kate**
REP-POT:dig
‘to wash (clothes)’

**na-kahan**
REP-POT:speak
‘to remember’

(See also 7.3, 7.12, 7.27, 7.28, 7.43, 7.52, 7.54, and 7.69.)
This prefix also combines with stative verbs to create derived content verbs.

\[ na-\text{\textbar}tsi \]
REP-dry
‘to get dry again’ (cf. \textbar{tsi} ‘dry’)

\[ na-i\text{\textbar}n\textbar{i} \]
REP-hot
‘to get hot again (weather)’

When \text{\textbar}na- is combined with some verbs with initial \text{k}, the derived form begins with \textbar{nd}, rather than the expected \text{\textbar}{nak}.

\[ nd\textbar{\textbar}hv\textbar{i} \]
REP:POT:enter
‘to re-enter’ (cf. \textbar{khv\textbar{i} ‘to enter’)

\[ nd\textbar{\textbar}{uvi} \]
REP:POT:become
‘to turn into’ (cf. \textbar{kuvi ‘to become’)

\[ nd\textbar{\textbar}{ava} \]
REP:POT:lie:down
‘to fall over’ (cf. \textbar{kava ‘to lie down’)

\[ nd\textbar{\textbar}{aa} \]
REP:POT:go:up
‘to go uphill’ (cf. \textbar{kaa ‘to go up [e.g., a ladder]’)

\[ nd\textbar{\textbar}{aa} \]
REP:CON:be
‘to be (PL)’ (cf. \textbar{kaa ‘to be [S\textbar{O}]’)

\[ nd\textbar{\textbar}{oto} \]
REP:POT:look
‘to wake up’ (cf. \textbar{koto ‘to look’)

Both the causative \text{\textbar}{n\textbar{-} and the repetitive \textbar}{na- may occur in the same verb; either one may precede.
na-nā-kahshi
CAUS-POT:REP-POT:eat
'to cause to resume eating'

na-na-kāhshi
REP-POT:CAUS-POT:eat
'to feed again'

Some verbs with initial nā, na, or n appear to be frozen forms with derivational prefixes for which the corresponding simple form has been lost.

nanduté
POT:untie
'to untie'

nadūvi
POT:whistle
'to whistle'

nadjiki
POT:play
'to play' (cf. ë diki 'plaything, toy')

nakwāha
POT:?n
'to read, to study, to teach'

naīhya
POT:yawn
'to yawn'

nēhshin
POT:sweep
'to sweep'

nēkin
POT:comb
'to comb'

Intransitive verbs are derived from stative verbs by adding the inceptive prefix ku-, a reduced form of kuvi 'to become', or its repetitive form ndu-,
a reduced form of *nduvi* 'to become', which indicates a return to an original state.

*ku-neé*

**POT:**become-dark

'to get dark'

*ku-ihnì*

**POT:**become-hot

'to get hot'

*ku-iā*

**POT:**become-sour

'to get sour'

*ku-diin*

**POT:**become-angry

'to get angry'

*ndu-váha*

**POT:**REP:become-good

'to get well' (cf. *váhā* 'good')

*ndu-ndìì*

**POT:**REP:become-smooth

'to get ironed' or 'to get tidied up'

In rare instances the prefix *ku-* is added to a noun to form an intransitive verb.

*ku-chohö*

**POT:**become-herb

'to be treated with medicine' (cf. *chöhō* 'herb')

*ku-viko*

**POT:**become-fiesta

'to be blessed'

A significant number of transitive verbs with initial *k* in the potential aspect have corresponding intransitive forms with *t* or *nd*. This seems to be a remnant of a formerly productive derivational process.
Transitive  Intransitive

kādin  ‘to squash’  tādin  ‘to be squashed’
kāhnū  ‘to break’  tāhnū  ‘to be broken’
kahndē or kenhndē  ‘to cut’  tehndē  ‘to be cut’
katsin  ‘to cut up, to tear up’  ndatsin  ‘to be cut up, to be torn up’

In a few cases, a form with initial nd that appears to be the intransitive counterpart of a transitive verb requires the inceptive prefix ku-. The nd-initial form occurs alone only as a stative verb.

Transitive  Intransitive  Stative

kāku  ku-ndēkū  ndēku
‘to sew’  ‘to be sewn’  ‘sewn’

kahvī  ku-ndēhvi  ndehvi
‘to count’  ‘to be counted’  ‘few’

Position verbs differ from other content verbs in that they occur only in unmarked continuative aspect and characteristically have separate forms for singular and plural subjects.

be in  be upon  be against  be underneath  be sitting  be standing  be hanging
SG  nuu  ndekū  nihni  tuvi  ndāisi  rkaa
PL  ūnuhu  odo  shihi  uve  ndoo  atā

These verbs combine with special derivational prefixes to express the act of assuming a position or of placing something in a position.
Intransitive verbs that express the act of assuming a position are derived from position verbs by means of the motion prefix \( i-, \)\(^1 \) which is realized as a high accent on verbs with initial vowel, \( \text{ñ}, \) or \( sh; \) these verbs likewise have separate forms for singular and plural subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>get in</td>
<td>( i-\text{núù} )</td>
<td>( ñúhù )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get upon</td>
<td>( i-\text{ndékà} )</td>
<td>( òdò )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get against</td>
<td>( i-\text{ndèè} )</td>
<td>( ùvé )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get underneath</td>
<td>( i-\text{nìhnì} )</td>
<td>( shìhnì )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit down</td>
<td>( i-\text{tuvì} )</td>
<td>( i-\text{ndòò} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand up</td>
<td>( i-\text{ndùtsì} )</td>
<td>( i-\text{ndáñì} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>( i-\text{rkáà} )</td>
<td>( átã )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive verbs of placement are derived from position verbs by means of the collocative prefix \( ts-, \) which is realized as \( sh- \) before a consonant. There are separate singular and plural forms, as in the verbs described above, but in these verbs it is the number of the object that is relevant, rather than the number of the subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>put in</td>
<td>( sh-\text{nàu} )</td>
<td>( ts-\text{uhun} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put upon</td>
<td>( sh-\text{ndèkà} )</td>
<td>( ts-\text{odò} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put against</td>
<td>( sh-\text{ndèè} )</td>
<td>( ts-\text{uvè} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put underneath</td>
<td>( sh-\text{nìhnì} )</td>
<td>( ts-\text{hi} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set down</td>
<td>( sh-\text{tuvi} )</td>
<td>( ts-\text{oo} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand up</td>
<td>( sh-\text{ndètsì} )</td>
<td>( sh-\text{ndáñì} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In one pair of verbs, the collocative prefix occurs only on the singular form.

---

\(^1\)The motion prefix is probably historically related to the motion auxiliaries described in 2.1.2, but shows a greater degree of fusion and semantic weakening.
5.1.2 Inflection. Most content verbs are inflected for three aspects: continuative, completive, and potential. The unmarked continuative aspect is the basic form of the verb; in regular verbs, the remaining aspect forms can be predicted from it.\(^2\) The form of the continuative aspect that occurs in most constructions, however, consists of this basic form preceded by the prefix \(ka-\) (or its optional plural form \(ndá-\)). Completive aspect is usually marked by a tone change, and potential aspect is sometimes marked by a prefix. For descriptive convenience, verbs that take these three aspects may be divided into six classes. The first two classes comprise regular verbs, while the remaining four classes are irregular in various ways, and contain only a few members each.

Verbs of Class I begin with a vowel, usually \(e\) or \(i\). The completive aspect is marked by a low accent on the first syllable, and the potential aspect is marked by a \(kw-\) or \(kV-\) prefix, which fuses with the stem-initial vowel in various predictable ways.\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cry</td>
<td>(ka-eku)</td>
<td>(èku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burn</td>
<td>(ka-ehmi)</td>
<td>(èhmi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit</td>
<td>(ka-ehni)</td>
<td>(èhní)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>(ka-ehndé)</td>
<td>(èhndé)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spill</td>
<td>(ka-eté)</td>
<td>(èté)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk</td>
<td>(ka-ika)</td>
<td>(ìka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>(ka-inu)</td>
<td>(ìnu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>(ka-itsi)</td>
<td>(ìtsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry</td>
<td>(ka-idó)</td>
<td>(ìdo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\)This form is, however, somewhat rare. It occurs following the nonmotion auxiliary \(ini\) (see 2.1.2), and certain verbs take it in other constructions (see 1.1.6, 1.1.9, 5.1.1, and 6.3).

\(^3\)There is evidence of vowel harmony in the formation of the potential prefix. Verbs with initial \(e\) add \(kw-\) if the second vowel of the couplet is \(u\), but replace \(e\) with \(ka-\) if the second vowel is \(i\), \(e\), or \(i\). Verbs with initial \(i\) add \(kw-\) if the second vowel is \(e\) or \(o\), but replace \(i\) with \(ku-\) if the second vowel is \(i\) or \(u\), and with \(ka-\) if the second vowel is \(a\).
Verbs of Class II begin with a consonant. They fall into two groups, depending on the tone of the penultimate syllable of the stem. If this syllable has no accent, the verb adds a low accent on the first syllable of the completive aspect form. If, however, the penultimate syllable of the stem has a low accent in the basic form, completive aspect is marked by adding a high accent at the beginning of the word. In a three-syllable stem, the high accent falls on the first syllable, and the low accent on the second syllable remains unchanged. If, however, the stem contains only two syllables, the high accent is added to the first syllable, which already has a low accent, giving a high-low pattern. In Class II verbs, the potential aspect form has no prefix, and it is thus homophonous with the unmarked continuative aspect form.

With no accent on the penultimate syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grind</td>
<td>ka-ndiko</td>
<td>ndiko</td>
<td>ndiko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tie</td>
<td>ka-kihni</td>
<td>kihni</td>
<td>kihni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get dark</td>
<td>ka-kunee</td>
<td>kunee</td>
<td>kunee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>ka-nakate</td>
<td>nakate</td>
<td>nakate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With a low accent on the penultimate syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fight</td>
<td>ka-naa</td>
<td>naa</td>
<td>naa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shave</td>
<td>ka-deté</td>
<td>dété</td>
<td>dété</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweep</td>
<td>ka-neshín</td>
<td>neshín</td>
<td>neshín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop</td>
<td>ka-nakohshó</td>
<td>nakohshó</td>
<td>nakohshó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of Class III, like those of Class I, begin with a vowel and take the prefix in the potential. They differ, however, in that completive aspect is marked by a high accent on the first syllable and a low accent on the second syllable. This tone pattern is also found in potential aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explode</td>
<td>ka-ite</td>
<td>iê</td>
<td>kwuë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bury</td>
<td>ka-ihshi</td>
<td>ihshi</td>
<td>kuhsí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs of Class IV are like those of Class II in that they begin with a consonant and take no prefix in the potential. They are like verbs of Class III, however, in that the completive and potential aspects are marked by a high accent on the first syllable and a low accent on the second syllable. In this verb class the completive and potential aspect forms are homophonous.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{CON} & \text{COM} & \text{POT} \\
\text{speak} & \text{ka-kahán} & \text{kāhān} & \text{kāhān} \\
\text{fall} & \text{ka-kohshō} & \text{kōhshō} & \text{kōhshō} \\
\text{sew} & \text{ka-kiku} & \text{kikū} & \text{kikū} \\
\text{cover} & \text{ka-dāhvī} & \text{dāhvī} & \text{dāhvī} \\
\end{array}
\]

Verbs of Class V begin with a consonant. Like verbs of Classes II and IV, they do not take the potential prefix, but they differ from these classes in that the basic tone pattern is retained in all three aspects. As in Class IV, the completive and potential aspect forms are homophonous.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{CON} & \text{COM} & \text{POT} \\
\text{push} & \text{ka-tihvī} & \text{tihvī} & \text{tihvī} \\
\text{put upon (PL)} & \text{ka-tsodō} & \text{tsodō} & \text{tsodō} \\
\text{put upon (SG)} & \text{ka-shndēkū} & \text{shndēkū} & \text{shndēkū} \\
\end{array}
\]

Verbs of Class VI all have potential aspect forms that show segmental differences from the other two aspects. The tone change that marks completive aspect may be like Class I, Class III, or neither.

With completive like Class I:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{CON} & \text{COM} & \text{POT} \\
\text{burn} & \text{ka-ihshi} & \text{ihshi} & \text{koko} \\
\text{drink} & \text{ka-shihi} & \text{shihi} & \text{koho} \\
\text{buy} & \text{ka-ńii} & \text{ńii} & \text{kwīn} \\
\end{array}
\]

---

4 Verbs with stem-initial palatals sh or ń are like verbs with initial vowels in that they take the kw- or kV- potential prefix; in such verbs the palatal consonant is deleted in potential aspect forms.
With completive like Class III:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>give, hit</td>
<td>ka-shéhe</td>
<td>shéhé</td>
<td>kwéhé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>ka-shíhi</td>
<td>shíhi</td>
<td>kúvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exist</td>
<td>ka-shio, ió</td>
<td>shió</td>
<td>koó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With completive like neither:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>ka-de</td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>kada, vii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motion verbs have, in addition to the three regular aspects, an incomplete aspect, which indicates an action that has been initiated and is still in effect. This aspect is marked by the prefix kú-, indicating motion in a given direction without return to the point of departure. The irregular forms vēhshí in the verb ‘to come’ and kwēhén, a fusion of kú- plus ŋēhē, in the verb ‘to go’ likewise express this aspect. The other three aspects of these verbs, which are all consonant-initial, are like Classes II, IV, or VI. These motion verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>INC</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>ka-kihshi</td>
<td>vēhshi</td>
<td>kíhshi</td>
<td>kíhshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come back</td>
<td>ka-ndihshi</td>
<td>kú-ndíhshi</td>
<td>ndíhshi</td>
<td>ndíhshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go uphill</td>
<td>ka-ndaa</td>
<td>kú-ndāa</td>
<td>ndāa</td>
<td>ndāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go downhill</td>
<td>ka-ndíi</td>
<td>kú-ndíi</td>
<td>ndíi</td>
<td>ndíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down</td>
<td>ka-kíi</td>
<td>kú-kíi</td>
<td>kíi</td>
<td>kíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go back</td>
<td>ka-nuhu</td>
<td>kú-nuhú</td>
<td>núhú</td>
<td>núhú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go up</td>
<td>ka-shee</td>
<td>kú-shée</td>
<td>shée</td>
<td>kaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>ka-řehe</td>
<td>kwēhén</td>
<td>ŋēhē</td>
<td>kíhín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5The unmarked continuative form ió ‘there is’ or ‘there are’ is difficult to classify. It resembles a position verb in meaning (see 5.1.1), although it has no separate form for a plural subject, and a position verb nuví ‘to be sitting’ substitutes for it in negative sentences.

6There are two potential forms of the verb ‘to do’: vii occurs independently, whereas kada occurs only as the first member of a complex verb nucleus (see examples in 2.1.1).

7For further discussion of aspectual problems in motion verbs in Mixtec, see Kuiper and Merrifield (1975) and Macaulay (1982 and 1985).
Verbs of assuming a position also have an incomplete form. Most of these verbs fall into suppletive pairs that correlate with the number of the subject. All of the singular verbs and some of the plural ones contain the motion prefix i-, while the remaining plural ones do not (see 5.1.1). Verbs in both groups show irregular patterns of prefixation and tone that do not fall into any of the six types described above.

The verbs that contain i- in their basic continuative form also have it in the completive form, where its tone is raised to high, but not in incomplete or potential. Continuative aspect is marked by the prefix ka-, incomplete aspect is marked by the prefix ká-, and potential aspect is marked by ku-. The continuative form usually has a high accent on the first syllable of the stem, and the other three aspects have a low accent on the first syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CON</th>
<th>INC</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>get in</td>
<td>ka-i-nůu</td>
<td>ká-nůu</td>
<td>i-nůu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit down</td>
<td>ka-i-tůvi</td>
<td>ká-tůvi</td>
<td>i-tůvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand up</td>
<td>ka-i-ndůtsi</td>
<td>ká-ndůtsi</td>
<td>i-ndůtsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get hung</td>
<td>ka-i-rkáa</td>
<td>ká-rkáa</td>
<td>i-rkáa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit down</td>
<td>ka-i-ndůo</td>
<td>ká-ndůo</td>
<td>i-ndůo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand up</td>
<td>ka-i-ndářů</td>
<td>ká-ndářů</td>
<td>i-ndářů</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs that do not contain i- have a ka- prefix on both the continuative and incomplete forms, and a fused kV- prefix on the potential. They have a high accent on the first syllable of the stem in the basic continuative aspect form, and this pattern is retained in the incomplete. Compleative aspect has a high-low tone pattern, and potential is characterized by the lack of any accent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CON</th>
<th>INC</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>get on</td>
<td>ka-ódo</td>
<td>ka-ódo</td>
<td>ódů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get against</td>
<td>ka-úve</td>
<td>ka-úve</td>
<td>úvě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get in</td>
<td>ka-ńúhu</td>
<td>ka-ńúhu</td>
<td>ńůhů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get underneath</td>
<td>ka-shihi</td>
<td>ka-shihi</td>
<td>shihi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most verbs the potential aspect form is used in commands. There are, however, two classes of special imperative forms. For second person imperatives, motion verbs of going (but not coming) use the segmental form
of the incompletive aspect, but replace its tones by a pattern that usually involves introducing a high accent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Incompletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>kwēhēn</td>
<td>kwēhēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go back</td>
<td>ku-nūhu</td>
<td>kū-nūhū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down</td>
<td>ku-kūi</td>
<td>kū-kūi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go downhill</td>
<td>ku-nādū</td>
<td>kū-nādū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go uphill</td>
<td>ku-nādāa</td>
<td>kū-nādāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go up</td>
<td>ku-shēe</td>
<td>kū-shēe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the subject of a command is some other person, however, the potential aspect form is used (see 1.3).

In addition, there are six special forms that are used exclusively as imperatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nihī</td>
<td>'come!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āhun</td>
<td>'take (this)!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamā</td>
<td>'hurry up!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḳihī</td>
<td>'hurry up!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḳishīu</td>
<td>'go ahead!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duhshēn</td>
<td>'shut up!'</td>
<td>(cf. duhshēn 'war')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The content verbs kaa 'to be (singular)', 'to be characterized by', or 'to appear' and its plural counterpart ndāa, which characteristically occur in stative sentences (see 1.1.6), occur only in unmarked continual aspect.

Of the three verbs that occur in equative sentences (see 1.1.5), nani 'to be named' occurs only in unmarked continual aspect, but kuvi 'to become' and its repetitive counterpart nduvi are regularly inflected for the three basic aspects; they belong to Class II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>become</td>
<td>ka-kuvi</td>
<td>kūvi</td>
<td>kuvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turn into</td>
<td>ka-nduvi</td>
<td>ndūvi</td>
<td>nduvi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

8The inherently plural verb ndāā is morphologically a fused form composed of the repetitive prefix na- followed by kaa (see 5.1.1). The use of the plural form is optional for many speakers.
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, usually by means of a change of accent. The meanings are frequently idiomatic.

Basic stative verbs:

váhā ‘good’
vidē ‘wet’
vī ‘heavy’
ihnī ‘hot’
nee ‘dark’
ndāhvī ‘poor’
kwīhshīn ‘white’

Derived stative verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áhnā</td>
<td>ahna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úhmē</td>
<td>uhme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tátsīn</td>
<td>tátsīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déhen</td>
<td>déhēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndōhshō</td>
<td>ndōhshō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwīhi</td>
<td>kwīhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūūn</td>
<td>tūūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atā</td>
<td>atā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūtsīn</td>
<td>dūtsīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūkūn</td>
<td>dūkūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duhshēn</td>
<td>duhshēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndūhu</td>
<td>ndūhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See also 7.101 and 7.105.)

Three stative verbs expressing size have distinct forms for singular and plural referents.
5.3 Nouns

5.3.1 Derivation. There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There is, however, extensive fusion of complex noun nuclei (see 3.1.1) into single words. Such fusions have resulted in a large number of plant names with initial t or ch, from fused utun ‘tree’, as well as a number of animal names with initial t, ts, s, sh, or kit, from fused káti ‘animal’. In many cases, the identity of the second part cannot be determined.

With fused ‘tree’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tdenű} & \quad \text{‘sweetgum’} \\
\text{cháá} & \quad \text{‘oak’} \\
\text{chuhshe} & \quad \text{‘pine’} \\
\text{chün} & \quad \text{‘bamboo’} \\
\text{cháhã} & \quad \text{‘chili plant’ (cf. shaha ‘chili’)}
\end{align*}
\]

With fused ‘animal’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tíná} & \quad \text{‘dog’} \\
\text{trítá} & \quad \text{‘woodpecker’} \\
\text{tduhmé} & \quad \text{‘scorpion’ (cf. dūhmē ‘tail’)} \\
\text{tsídó} & \quad \text{‘rabbit’} \\
\text{tsōo} & \quad \text{‘turtle’} \\
\text{tsíi} & \quad \text{‘snail’} \\
\text{smiĩi} & \quad \text{‘bumblebee’} \\
\text{skundi} & \quad \text{‘cricket, grasshopper’} \\
\text{shtée} & \quad \text{‘coyote’} \\
\text{shuũii} & \quad \text{‘rat, mouse’} \\
\text{shndohó} & \quad \text{‘spider’ (cf. ndōhó ‘adobe’)} \\
\text{kítume} & \quad \text{‘bee’ (cf. shùmē ‘wax’)}
\end{align*}
\]
kidihi ‘female animal’ (cf. dihi ‘mother’)
kichi ‘male animal’ (cf. shi ‘husband’)

Other compound nouns:

rkahu ‘deer’ (cf. idu ‘horse’, kahu ‘wild’)
rkadun ‘tostada’ (cf. ita ‘tortilla’, kadun ‘toasted’)
dih ‘beard’ (cf. idi ‘hair’, shu ‘mouth’)
dosh ‘disaster, miracle’ (cf. do ‘word’, ish ‘fearful’)

Since simple nuclei are characteristically disyllabic in Mixtec, it can be assumed that words of three or more syllables, as well as the majority of words with initial consonant clusters, are the result of fusion of complex nuclei, although it is frequently impossible, apart from historical and comparative study, to identify the individual morphemes.

tenimi ‘onion’ (cf. ite ‘grass’)
ngoñuh ‘orange’
ngand ‘sun’
rkotun ‘Spanish (language)’
rkwahnd ‘rainbow’
shndivi ‘star’
ñuk ‘firecracker’

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 five gender classes, according to the third person pronouns that can substitute for them (see 5.4): adult, masculine, feminine, animal/spherical, and unspecified. Adult nouns include deities as well as adult humans and do not distinguish masculine and feminine. There is some overlap between adult and masculine or feminine nouns, but the use of a specifically masculine or feminine noun or pronoun to refer to an adult is usually considered disrespectful. Animal/spherical nouns include round inanimate objects along with birds, fish, insects, and other animals. Unspecified nouns include small children along with nonround inanimate objects.
Adult nouns:
\[\begin{align*}
\text{ñaaha} & \quad \text{‘person, people’} \\
\text{dihî} & \quad \text{‘mother’} \\
\text{uvâ} & \quad \text{‘father’} \\
\text{dutu} & \quad \text{‘priest’} \\
\text{sandu} & \quad \text{‘saint (Sp. santo)’} \\
\text{ngândii} & \quad \text{‘sun’} \\
\text{shôô} & \quad \text{‘moon’} \\
\text{dâvî} & \quad \text{‘rain’}
\end{align*}\]

Masculine nouns:
\[\begin{align*}
\text{naha} & \quad \text{‘boy’} \\
\text{shii} & \quad \text{‘husband’} \\
\text{enî} & \quad \text{‘brother (of male)’} \\
\text{sndadun} & \quad \text{‘soldier (Sp. soldado)’}
\end{align*}\]

Feminine nouns:
\[\begin{align*}
\text{tâhnû} & \quad \text{‘female, girl’} \\
\text{dyôkô} & \quad \text{‘daughter’}
\end{align*}\]

Animal/spherical nouns:
\[\begin{align*}
\text{kîi} & \quad \text{‘animal, round object’} \\
\text{tsâkâ} & \quad \text{‘fish’} \\
\text{lûhûn} & \quad \text{‘roadrunner’} \\
\text{kôô} & \quad \text{‘snake’} \\
\text{tûsîn} & \quad \text{‘avocado’} \\
\text{ndêhâ} & \quad \text{‘peach’} \\
\text{kanika} & \quad \text{‘marble (Sp. canica)’}
\end{align*}\]

Unspecified nouns:
\[\begin{align*}
\text{vihi} & \quad \text{‘house’} \\
\text{kâá} & \quad \text{‘metal, machete, bell’} \\
\text{utun} & \quad \text{‘tree, wood’} \\
\text{shûû} & \quad \text{‘rock’}
\end{align*}\]
ndute      ‘water’
ndika      ‘banana’
kwîâ      ‘year’
tînâ      ‘thing’
îhshâ      ‘child’

Nouns may also be divided into those that can be possessed and those
that cannot. Nouns that cannot be possessed are those that refer to
topographical and meteorological phenomena, as well as certain Spanish
loans that refer to abstractions. These nouns cannot be followed directly
by a possessor but may occur in an appositional construction with tînâ
‘thing’ and a possessor (see 3.3 and 3.7).

shuku      ‘mountain’
shndîvi     ‘star’
nduvî      ‘day’
lei      ‘law (Sp. ley)’
kwendu    ‘story (Sp. cuento)’

Some nouns have more than one sense discrimination, some of which can
be possessed while others cannot.

tâtsîn       ‘wind’ (not possessible); ‘breath, voice’ (possessible)

Possessible nouns are either inherently or optionally possessed. Inherently
possessed nouns are usually kinship terms or body parts.

tahan      ‘companion, sister, brother (of female)’
shîî      ‘husband’
dîhî      ‘mother’
dîtsîn    ‘nose’
ndaha     ‘arm, hand, branch (of tree), page (of book)’
dîvî      ‘name’

(See also 7.2, 7.12, 7.16, 7.23, 7.34, 7.40, and various others.)
If such nouns are elicited without a specified possessor, they are usually given with a first person singular or inclusive poststressed pronoun (see 5.4) as possessor. All other nouns are optionally possessed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vihi} & \quad \text{‘house’} \\
\text{dahma} & \quad \text{‘skirt’} \\
\text{tsidó} & \quad \text{‘rabbit’} \\
\text{kwíá} & \quad \text{‘year’} \\
\text{ňuú} & \quad \text{‘town’} \\
\text{ihshá} & \quad \text{‘child’}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.28, and 7.96.)

Possessed nouns occur as the nucleus of possessive noun phrases; see 3.3 and 3.6 for examples of phrases containing these nouns.

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 special terms used exclusively as vocatives, special vocative forms of nouns, and special forms of proper nouns. Nouns have three vocative forms. In ordinary vocative forms, stress and length fall on the first syllable of a couplet, just as they do in nonvocative forms, but the accent patterns sometimes differ. In vocative forms used when calling from a distance, the final syllable is stressed and lengthened and carries a high-low accent. In emphatic vocative forms used to gain someone’s attention, $VV$ and $VhV$ sequences reduce to $V$, and stress shifts to the final syllable, which is checked by $h$.

Forms used only as vocatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Calling</th>
<th>Emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother!</td>
<td>ŋäá</td>
<td>ŋäá</td>
<td>ŋäh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dear!</td>
<td>lää</td>
<td>lää</td>
<td>läh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy! (ws)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>dünk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vocative forms of nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Calling</th>
<th>Emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father!</td>
<td>uvä</td>
<td>ūvä</td>
<td>ūväh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle!</td>
<td>dító</td>
<td>dító</td>
<td>dítóh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
child! \(\bar{\text{ihshá}}\) \(\bar{\text{ishá}}\) \(\bar{\text{isháh}}\)
baby! \(\bar{\text{pähá}}\) \(\bar{\text{pâå}}\) \(\bar{\text{päh}}\)
boy! \(\text{na kudiî} \) \(\text{na kudiî} \) \(\text{dih} \)
teacher! \(\text{mastru} \) \(\text{mastrâ} \) \(\text{mastruh} \)
(Sp. \text{maestro})

Proper nouns used as vocatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Calling</th>
<th>Emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter! \textit{pe}lu</td>
<td>\textit{pe}lù</td>
<td>\textit{pe}luh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sp. \textit{Pedro})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John! \textit{xwa}an</td>
<td>\textit{xwaâ}n</td>
<td>\textit{xwanh}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sp. \textit{Juan})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary! \textit{mar}ia</td>
<td>\textit{mar}iâ</td>
<td>\textit{mariah}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sp. \textit{María})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See 1.4 for examples of vocatives used with sentences.

Proper nouns include personal names and place names, many of which are compound nuclei. Most personal names are borrowed from Spanish; they often are replaced by nicknames of Mixtec origin, which are frequently names of animals.

Personal names:

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{pedru} or \textit{pe}lu 'Peter'
    \item \textit{maria} or \textit{lia} 'Mary'
    \item \textit{tsihvá} 'Pheasant'
    \item \textit{létoô} 'Inchworm'
\end{itemize}

Place names:

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{ňukóhshō} 'Mexico City'
    \item \textit{kuchaña} 'Tehuacán'
    \item \textit{núndûvé} 'City of Oaxaca'
    \item \textit{tenjohô} 'City of Puebla'
\end{itemize}

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 a few other nouns.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
  \text{kuchaña} & \text{‘Tehuacán’} \\
  \text{itsi} & \text{‘trail’} \\
  \text{útē} & \text{‘water hole, spring’} \\
  \text{ńuú} & \text{‘town’} \\
\end{array}
\]

The second group includes mainly names for body parts which are used in an extended sense; they are:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
  \text{núú} \\
  \text{face} \\
  \text{‘at, on, on top of, in front of’} \\
  \hline
  \text{áta} \\
  \text{back} \\
  \text{‘in back of, outside of, behind’} \\
  \hline
  \text{ini} \\
  \text{insides} \\
  \text{‘in, inside of’} \\
  \hline
  \text{ndaha} \\
  \text{hand} \\
  \text{‘in the presence of, to (a person)’} \\
  \hline
  \text{díká} \\
  \text{head} \\
  \text{‘at the top of’} \\
  \hline
  \text{elí} \\
  \text{bottom} \\
  \text{‘at the foot of, at the base of’} \\
  \hline
  \text{dírā} \\
  \text{side} \\
  \text{‘beside, at the edge of (town)’}
\end{array}
\]
shuhu
mouth
‘on the edge of, on the rim of’

ina
thing
‘for, about, of’

Temporal nouns include names for units of time and calendric units; some are complex nuclei.

Simple:

ura ‘hour, time (Sp. hora)’
nduvi ‘day’
vite ‘week’
sho ‘moon, month’
kwi ‘year’
vierne ‘Friday (Sp. Viernes)’

Complex:

sho mau
moon May
‘May (Sp. Mayo)’

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see 3.2).

naha ‘pair’
too ‘span’
thin ‘pinch’
sun ‘bit’
etun ‘box, maquila (four-liter measure used for corn)’
metru ‘meter (Sp. metro)’
litru ‘liter (Sp. litro)’
kilu ‘kilogram (Sp. kilo)’

Common nouns are all those not included in any of the above categories.
tíná  ‘dog’
díkwi  ‘milk’
chöhö  ‘herb, medicine’
túun  ‘charcoal’
utun  ‘tree, wood’

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:

díkwi  ‘milk’
ndute  ‘water’
túun  ‘charcoal’
whshen  ‘dough, paste’
utsi  ‘powder’

Count nouns:

itá  ‘tortilla’
erün  ‘box’
tutá  ‘paper’
ñaña  ‘person’
tsiňu  ‘work, job’

5.4 Pronouns

First and second person pronouns show a distinction between free and poststressed forms. Both kinds distinguish between singular and plural, and some of the poststressed pronouns also distinguish two case forms.

Free pronouns are used primarily when the pronoun is fronted for focus, as seen in 1.1.8. The free pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first ex</td>
<td>shuhú</td>
<td>ndíhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first in</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>shohö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>shōhon</td>
<td>ndōho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The noninclusive plural forms appear to be a fusion of *ndíhi* 'all' with the corresponding singular forms.

Poststressed pronouns have separate case forms for subject and object in first and second person singular and inclusive, but not in first person exclusive and second person plural. The poststressed pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SG</strong></td>
<td><strong>PL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first EX</td>
<td>̀u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first IN</td>
<td>̕-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>̀-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Object pronouns function as object, locative adjunct, possessor, or as subject of an arbitrary class of verbs, most of which involve sensory perception (see 1.1.2, 1.1.3, 1.1.4, and 3.3). Subject pronouns function as subject with most verbs.

The second person singular clitic pronoun -n has the effect of regressively nasalizing the entire verb to which it is attached (see Pike and Small [1973:124–25]).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kada} & \quad \text{vaha-n} \\
\text{pot:do} & \quad \text{good-you:sg} \\
\text{you will make'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kakidi} & \quad \text{ndu-n} \\
\text{con:sleep} & \quad \text{int-you:sg} \\
\text{are you sleeping?'}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 7.6, 7.10, 7.11, 7.15, 7.18, 7.21, 7.29, 7.38, and various others.)

In all sets of pronouns the singular/plural contrast carries overtones of a familiar/respect distinction. That is, a plural form often is used with a singular referent to show respect or social distance, as discussed in Small (1979:365–66). This is especially common with second person, as seen in 7.37, 7.59, 7.60, 7.76, and various others. In 7.39, the singular form of the verb occurs together with a plural pronoun used to show respect for a singular referent. The inclusive pronouns often are used in soliloquy (see 7.3, 7.4, 7.44, 7.48, 7.52, and 7.107).
Third person pronouns show a distinction among free forms, poststressed forms, and prestressed forms. These kinds all show distinctions in gender, rather than in number or case. The masculine pronoun has variant forms depending upon the sex of the speaker. The third person free pronouns are:

- adult (respect): ſa
- masculine (respect): shťa
- masculine (MS): na
- (WS): chënū
- feminine: tăńū
- animal/spherical: kįū

The third person clitic pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poststressed</th>
<th>Prestressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adult (respect)</td>
<td>ſa</td>
<td>ſa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masculine (respect)</td>
<td>shťa</td>
<td>shťa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masculine (MS)</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(WS)</td>
<td>chū</td>
<td>chënū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>tūň</td>
<td>tūń, tā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal/spherical</td>
<td>tį</td>
<td>kįū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>i, Ø</td>
<td>ė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the first three gender classes show no distinction between the two forms. Poststressed pronouns are used as subjects and objects of verbs, possessors of nouns, and objects of prepositions. Poststressed pronouns occur in focus position, however, only if preceded by a specifier (see 3.1.2). Prestressed pronouns, on the other hand, are used as nuclei of noun phrases when something else follows in the same noun phrase (see 3.1.3 and 3.7).

The choice of pronoun is determined partly by the gender class of its referent (see 5.3.2) and partly by the age, sex, and respect relationship of the speaker to the referent. The generic pronouns ſa and ſa are used to refer to adults, whether male or female; throughout this sketch they are glossed 'person'. The specific masculine and feminine pronouns, on the other hand, are used to refer to younger people. The pronouns shťa and shťa, which correspond somewhat to the Spanish title don, are used occasionally to refer to certain men who are well known and respected in the
community. The reduced form tā of the feminine prestressed pronoun is used only with personal names of girls and pets (see 3.1.1). The animal/spherical pronouns kāt and ik refer to round objects as well as to animals. The unspecified gender class has no specific free pronoun form. Its post-stressed form is either expressed by i or unexpressed, depending upon whether it functions as subject of verb, as object of verb, or as possessor of noun or object of preposition; and whether its referent is an inanimate object, a child, or an indefinite person. The following diagram illustrates its distribution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inanimate object</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite person</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these nine categories, seven occur in the text in chapter 7. Examples of the zero pronoun expressing inanimate subject are found in 7.7, 7.9, 7.20, 7.46, 7.64, 7.80, 7.98, 7.99, and 7.102; those expressing a child subject are found in 7.17, 7.24, 7.25, 7.41, 7.54, 7.66, 7.89, and 7.106; and those expressing an inanimate object are found in 7.5, 7.90, 7.91, 7.92, 7.93, 7.94, 7.95, 7.97, and 7.99. Examples of the i pronoun expressing an inanimate subject are found in 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4; those expressing a child object are found in 7.6, 7.52, 7.53, 7.54, and 7.107; those expressing an inanimate possessor are found in 7.16, 7.22, 7.92 and 7.103, and those expressing a child possessor are found in 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.23, 7.41, 7.44, 7.101, 7.102 and 7.103. A locative adjunct that is not signaled by a locative noun or preposition is treated like the object of a verb, as seen in 7.6.

There are three interrogative pronouns, one of which is complex.

Simple:

- shoó  ‘who?’
- neé   ‘what?’

---

9It is possible that the distribution pattern of the unspecified pronoun i/∅ reflects three distinct sources of this pronoun, all of which share a palatal component: ûnā ‘thing’, ilshā ‘child’, and shoó ‘who?’.
Complex:

\[ ne \quad \text{iňā} \]
what thing
'what?'

Interrogative pronouns occur alone in wh questions (see 1.2.2) or in combination with nouns or personal pronouns to form interrogative noun phrases (see 3.4).

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.

Locative adverbs comprise all locational words that are not nouns or prepositions; they occur mainly as locative adjuncts and locative peripheral elements.

\[ iha \; \text{or} \; a \; \text{‘here’} \]
\[ ikăn \; \text{or} \; kăn \; \text{‘there’} \]
\[ shio \; \text{‘elsewhere, away’} \]
\[ ikā \; \text{‘far’} \]
\[ etsin \; \text{‘near’} \]
\[ daha \; \text{‘ahead, over’} \]
\[ kíñí \; \text{‘outside’} \]

The poststressed forms a ‘here’ and kăn ‘there’ are frequently used to terminate adverbial noun phrases and basic adverb phrases (see 3.6 and 4.2.1).

Temporal adverbs are simple or complex; they comprise all temporal words and idioms that are not nouns. They occur as time peripheral elements.

Simple temporal adverbs:

\[ vevii \; \text{or} \; ve \; \text{‘today, now’} \]
\[ kidāā \; \text{or} \; dā \; \text{‘then’} \]
\[ ikăi \; \text{‘yesterday’} \]
\[ vetun \; \text{‘last night’} \]
\[ utēn \; \text{‘tomorrow’} \]
| tévāa   | 'tomorrow morning, early' |
| idā     | 'day after tomorrow'      |
| kwaa    | 'afternoon, evening'      |
| vihi    | 'a while'                 |
| naha    | 'a long time'             |
| dihna   | 'earlier, first'          |

**Complex temporal adverbs:**

| ni dukwān | whole thus 'while, meanwhile, in the meantime' |
| rko ndūvi | day 'afterwards, later on' |
| ngwen ndūvi | whole:completely day 'always, all the time' |
| kwēn niñu vētūn | completely night last:night 'all night long' |

**General adverbs** comprise all manner words that are not stative verbs. They are simple or complex.

**Simple general adverbs:**

| dukwān or kwān | 'thus, still' |
| duhva or va    | 'thus'        |
| kwūi           | 'slowly'      |
| tūi            | 'nicely'      |
| kini           | 'in an ugly manner' |
| dōtō           | 'haphazardly' |
| kwān           | 'thus'        |
| dadii          | 'same'        |
Complex general adverbs:

*dókó*  
almost  
only  
‘almost’

*dií*  
bit  
only  
‘nearly’

*dií*  
bit  
more  
‘even more’

Intensifying adverbs most commonly occur as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, and basic adverb phrases.

*dóó* or *óó*  
‘very’

*kwehén*  
‘completely’

The intensifier *dóó* precedes the nucleus, whereas *kwehén* may either precede or follow it.

Interrogative adverbs comprise all simple interrogatives that are not pronouns; they are:

*míhí* or *mí*  
‘where?’

*ama*  
‘when?’

*ndé*  
‘how?’

The first two occur singly, while *ndé* ‘how?’ occurs most frequently in combination with verbs of happening and existing (see 1.2.2, 2.1.2, 2.3, and 3.4). For a description of interrogative noun phrases that function as interrogative adverbs, see 3.4.

5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. They function as quantifiers in noun phrases (see chapter 3, especially 3.1.2, 3.2, and 3.10), as the nucleus in various quantifier phrases (see 4.1), and as ordinals in relative clauses (see 3.1.3).
Simple numerals include the numerals from one through ten, fifteen, and twenty, plus two Spanish loans for one hundred and one thousand. The numerals one and twenty each have suppletive allomorphs, which are used in combination with certain other numerals in additive and attributive numeral phrases (see 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). The simple numerals are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uun} & \quad \text{‘one’} \\
\text{iin} & \quad \text{‘one’ (only following ten)} \\
\text{uvi} & \quad \text{‘two’} \\
\text{unii} & \quad \text{‘three’} \\
\text{kami} & \quad \text{‘four’} \\
\text{uhun} & \quad \text{‘five’} \\
\text{iinu} & \quad \text{‘six’} \\
\text{uhshen} & \quad \text{‘seven’} \\
\text{unaa} & \quad \text{‘eight’} \\
\text{in} & \quad \text{‘nine’} \\
\text{uhshii} & \quad \text{‘ten’} \\
\text{sheshi} & \quad \text{‘fifteen’} \\
\text{okoo} & \quad \text{‘twenty’} \\
\text{diko} & \quad \text{‘twenty’ (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)} \\
\text{syen} & \quad \text{‘hundred (Sp. ciento)’} \\
\text{miil} & \quad \text{‘thousand (Sp. mil)’}
\end{align*}
\]

When the numerals for two, three, and four follow ráhi ‘all’ in expanded numeral phrases (see 4.1.3), they fuse with it.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndovi} & \quad \text{‘both’} \\
\text{nduni} & \quad \text{‘all three’} \\
\text{ngimi} & \quad \text{‘all four’}
\end{align*}
\]

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words; the most common ones are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kwesh} & \quad \text{‘much, many’} \\
\text{tui} & \quad \text{‘several’} \\
\text{ndehvi} & \quad \text{‘few’} \\
\text{ndahi} & \quad \text{‘all’}
\end{align*}
\]
niί ‘whole, complete’

dava ‘half, part of’

The quantifiers tuín ‘several’ and ndehvi ‘few’ are used only with count nouns.

5.7 Prepositions

There are seven simple prepositions and one complex preposition based on a Spanish loan. Even though none of them has a clear etymology, a few show resemblances to other parts of speech that may indicate a historical connection.

Simple:

nihi ‘with’

ndeé ‘against, as far as, from, since, even’
    (cf. ndee ‘to be against’)

máá ‘under’

náá ‘in place of’ (cf. naa ‘altar’)

méhñá ‘in the middle of’

nínú ‘above’

shuvi ‘below’ (cf. shuvi ‘palm mat’)

Complex:

kwenda iňá
account thing
‘for, on behalf of, about, in place of (Sp. cuenta)’

Prepositions occur only in prepositional phrases (see 4.3).
Other prepositional functions are carried by noun phrases containing body-part nouns used in an extended sense (see 3.6 and 5.3.2). Two conjunctions, dā ‘when’ and dā ndē ‘until’ (see 5.8) also function as prepositions.

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are coordinate or subordinate, and simple or complex.
Simple coordinate:

\( ne \) ‘and’
\( ə \) ‘or’
\( ndá \) ‘but’

Complex coordinate:

\( ndá \ tsi \)
\( \text{but} \ \text{LIM} \)
\( \text{‘but’} \)

\( ne \ dá \)
\( \text{and when} \)
\( \text{‘and then’} \)

Simple subordinate:

\( dá \) ‘when, then’
\( iē \) ‘if, when’
\( tsi \) ‘because, that’
\( vata \) ‘as’

Complex subordinate:

\( da \ é \)
\( \text{when} \ \text{CMP} \)
\( \text{‘since’} \)

\( dá \ ndē \)
\( \text{when against} \)
\( \text{‘until’} \)

\( da \ nē \)
\( \text{when whole} \)
\( \text{‘while’} \)

\( da \ yi \)
\( \text{when} \ ? \)
\( \text{‘so that’} \)
vata ko  é
as  pot:exist cmp
'in order that'

vata ō
as  cont:exist
'as'

vata dā
as  when
'whenever'

ndē  dā
against when
'ever since'

tē  dē
if  also
'if only'

kwān te
thus  if
'even if, even though'

Coordinate conjunctions are used to link two or more basic sentences; see 6.1.1 for examples. They also occur in sentence-initial position to link a sentence to the preceding discourse context; see 6.4 for examples. The conjunction ne 'and' also occurs at the end of a preverbal constituent of the sentence, where it serves to define the end of the fronted constituent. Such a constituent may be a noun phrase (see 1.1.8) or a subordinate sentence (see 6.2.1).

Subordinate conjunctions occur at the beginning of a basic sentence that is in a subordinate relation to another sentence; see 6.2.1 for examples.

The complementizer é, which is basically a pronoun (see 5.4), frequently functions like a conjunction to mean 'because' (see 6.2.1); it also occurs in complex conjunctions.

5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form part of sentences or phrases but are not included in the parts of speech already described. Markers are verbal, nominal, general, or sentential.
Verbal markers occur as preverbal elements in verb phrases (see chapter 2, especially 2.1.2); they are simple or complex.

Simple:

ñá  ‘not’
vátā  ‘not yet’
nā  ‘hortatory’
ñī  ‘contrafactual’
é  ‘already’

Complex:

dā ve
when now
‘just now’

Nominal markers occur in noun phrases (see chapter 3, especially 3.1.2 and 3.1.3); they are:

á  ‘diminutive’
divā  ‘same’
sāhā or sā  ‘this’ (cf. iha ‘here’)
tsikān or sān  ‘that’ (cf. ikān ‘there’)

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type; they are:

tsi  ‘just’
dā  ‘only’
sā  ‘only’
kā  ‘more, still’
ndihshe  ‘truly’
tuku  ‘other, again’
ku  ‘emphatic’
kūdīl  ‘merely’
mīl  ‘alone’
Sentential markers express the mood or truth value of a sentence (see 1.2.1 and 1.5); they are simple or complex.

Simple:

\[ ndu \] 'interrogative'
\[ vá \] 'doubtfully'
\[ ní \] 'therefore'
\[ kwáñ \] 'thus, so'
\[ ðì \] 'also'

Complex:

\[ vata ñë \]
as if
'apparently'

\[ á ñë \]
? if
'probably'

\[ ŋá ñë \]
NEG if
'definitely not'

5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words or fixed phrases used outside of sentences to express emotion, agreement, or disagreement; they are simple or complex.

Simple:

\[ ahan \] 'okay'
\[ xùun \] 'yes'
\[ ŋáhá \] 'no'
\[ mbá \] 'wow! (Sp. icaramba!)'
Complex:

ñåhå ñi san
NEG CF that
‘definitely not!’

ishi ko or ii ko
? us ? us
‘expression of fear’
6
Intersentential Relations

6.1 Coordinate Relations

Some combinations of sentences are connected by a conjunction, and some are not.

6.1.1 Coordinate relations with conjunctions. Coordinate sentences with conjunctions express coordination, antithesis, disjunction, and temporal sequence.

Coordination is expressed by the conjunction ne 'and', which is usually accompanied by a pause before and/or after it.

\[
\text{shéē tūn / ne ūnē u tūn}
\]
\[\text{com:arrive she and com:see I her 'She arrived, and I saw her.'}\]

\[
\text{shēē tūn ne / ūnē u tūn}
\]
\[\text{com:arrive she and com:see I her 'She arrived, and I saw her.'}\]

(See also 7.16, 7.19, 7.22, and 7.60.)

Sometimes two sentences that have a semantic relation such as sequence or result are joined by the conjunction ne 'and', rather than by some more specific coordinate or subordinate conjunction.

\[
\text{ñēhe na ūkohshō / ne ikān kānāa na}
\]
\[\text{com:go he Mexico:City and there com:become:lost he 'He went to Mexico City, and there he got lost.'}\]

(See also 7.2, 7.13, 7.17, 7.20, 7.23, and 7.43.)
When the relationship is not sequential, the final sentence often ends with the sentential marker di ‘also’.

\[ ñéhè \ tun \ núndûvé \ ne / ñéhè \ tun \ kuchañá \ di \ \]
\[ \text{com:go she Oaxaca and com:go she Tehuacán also} \]
\[ \text{‘She went to Oaxaca, and she also went to Tehuacán.’} \]

\[ kahshi \ o \ itá / ne \ koho \ o \ kāfeé \ di \ \]
\[ \text{pot:eat we:in tortilla and pot:drink we:in coffee also} \]
\[ \text{‘We’ll eat tortillas, and we’ll drink coffee (Sp. café), too.’} \]

Antithesis is expressed by ndá or, more commonly, ndá tsi ‘but’. Nonfinal sentences optionally end with ne ‘and’.

\[ kava \ o \ vē / ndá \ dīhna \ kahshi \ ō \ Ø \]
\[ \text{pot:lie:down we:in now but earlier pot:eat we:in un} \]
\[ \text{‘We’ll go to bed now, but first we’ll eat something.’} \]

\[ ñéhè \ ú \ ūnukohšó \ ne / \]
\[ \text{com:go I Mexico:City and} \]
\[ \text{‘I went to Mexico City,} \]

\[ ndá \ tsi \ ūn \ ni \ kunāa \ ú \]
\[ \text{but lim neg cf com:become:lost I} \]
\[ \text{but I didn’t get lost.’} \]

The conjunction ō ‘or’ expresses a disjunctive relation; it frequently introduces each sentence. Nonfinal sentences often end with ne ‘and’.

\[ kāhín \ ndá \ tun \ ūnukohšó \ / ō \ ūn \ kāhín \ tun \]
\[ \text{pot:go into she Mexico:City or neg pot:go she} \]
\[ \text{‘Will she go to Mexico City, or won’t she?’} \]

\[ ō \ kāhín \ tun \ ūnukohšó \ ne / ō \ kāhín \ tun \ núndûvé \]
\[ \text{or pot:go she Mexico:City and or pot:go she Oaxaca} \]
\[ \text{‘She will either go to Mexico City, or she will go to Oaxaca.’} \]

\[ ō \ shuhú \ kahán \ u \ ne / ō \ xwaan \ káhan \ ná \ ne / \]
\[ \text{or I pot:speak I and or John pot:speak he and} \]
\[ \text{‘Either I will speak, or John (Sp. Juan) will speak,} \]
Coatzospan Mixtec

\[ o \ pēlu \ kāhan \ nā \]
\[ or \ \text{Peter} \ \text{pot:speak he} \]
\[ or \ \text{PETER (Sp. Pedro) will speak}. \]

The second part of a disjunctive sentence may contain only the interjection ū̱hā 'no'.

\[ ù̱kīhīn \ tūn \ ne / ù̱n̥a \ kīhīn \ tūn \]
\[ or \ \text{pot:go she and or neg pot:go she} \]
\[ 'Either she will go, or she won’t go.' \]

\[ ù̱kīhīn \ tūn \ ne / ù̱n̥ahā \]
\[ or \ \text{pot:go she and or no} \]
\[ 'Either she will or will not go.' \]

Temporal sequence is expressed by the complex conjunction ne dā 'and then'; a pause either precedes the conjunction or follows the ne.

\[ ñīi \ na \ vi̱i / nē \ dā \ nā́diko \ nā \ φ \]
\[ \text{com:buy he house and when com:rep:sell he UN} \]
\[ 'He bought a house, and then he resold it.' \]

\[ kīhīn \ tūn \ nūndūvé \ ne / dā \ kīhīn \ tūn \ kūchaña \]
\[ \text{pot:go she Oaxaca and when pot:go she Tehuacán} \]
\[ 'She will go to Oaxaca, and then she will go to Tehuacán.' \]

(See also 7.5, 7.49, 7.52, and 7.101.)

6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions. Coordinate relations can also be expressed by simple juxtaposition or by repetition of part of a sentence.

Almost any coordinate relation can be expressed by simply juxtaposing two sentences without pause at the boundary, if the context is clear enough. Such sentences usually have coreferential subjects.

One of the most common relations expressed in this way is simultaneous action; one of the verbs usually expresses motion or position.

\[ kāltə \ na / kwehen \ nā \]
\[ \text{consing he inc:go he} \]
\[ 'He went along singing.' \]
Further examples of simultaneous action with coreferential subjects are found in 7.25, 7.30, 7.55, and 7.103. An example of such a sentence with different subjects is found in 7.29.

Sequential action can also be expressed using juxtaposition.

kūdii na / kūnuhu na
com:become:fierce he INC:go:back he
'He got mad and went home.'

(See also 7.27, 7.104, and 7.106.)

Restatement of a positive sentence by a negative one is often expressed by juxtaposition.

kūnuhu na / ŋá ni kātuvi na
INC:go:back he NEG CF INC:sit:SG he
'He went back; he didn't stay.'

(See also 7.82.)

Instrument may be expressed by a sentence containing a verb such as 'to use' preceding the sentence describing the action. (Instrument may also be expressed as an adjunct; see 1.1.4.)

kāa kade tsun nihi nā / kaendé nuu na ə utun
metal CON:do work with he CON:cut face he UN wood
'He is using a MACHETE to cut wood.' or 'He is cutting wood with a MACHETE.'

Repetition of part of the first sentence in the second one is sometimes used to simplify long sentences and slow down the information flow. The first sentence usually contains a motion verb, and the second one often contains an equivalent motion auxiliary, which expresses purpose in addition to motion (see 2.1.2).
kwéhen na kúčaña / kú kadá tsiñu na
incgo he Tehuacán incgo potido work he
'He has gone to Tehuacán to work.'

kakihši tun / kakish kwiin tun tuun ñha
come she come pot:buy she charcoal here
'She comes to buy charcoal here.'

(See also 7.53 and 7.108.)

Repetition is also used to express coordination of noun phrases. If the noun phrases function as subject, the verb is given once for each noun phrase and optionally following the last one. If the noun phrases function as something other than subject, the verb and its subject are given once for each noun phrase and optionally following the last one.

ndio nuni / ndio ndutsi / ndio nù
con:want corn con:want bean con:want salt
'Corn, beans, and salt are needed.'

ndio nuni / ndio ndutsi / ndio nù / ndio
con:want corn con:want bean con:want salt con:want
'Corn, beans, and salt are needed.'

nù tun nama / nù tun shuhve / nù tun nuni
com:buy she soap com:buy she thread com:buy she corn
'She bought soap, thread, and corn.'

nù tun nama / nù tun shuhve /
com:buy she soap com:buy she thread
'She bought soap and thread

nù tun nuni / nù tun
com:buy she corn com:buy she and corn.'

6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are for the most part expressed by conjunctions; a limited number are expressed by juxtaposition.
6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to express cause, condition, concession, purpose, temporal relations, and comparison. The subordinate sentence normally follows the main sentence, but most kinds may also precede the main sentence. When a subordinate sentence precedes, it usually ends with the conjunction ne ‘and’, which helps to separate the two parts of the construction.

Cause is usually expressed by the subordinate conjunctions tsi ‘because’ or da é ‘since’. Occasionally tsi occurs followed by da é. The subordinate sentence almost always follows the main sentence, but a sentence introduced by da é may precede.

řéhe ná kánjutsi / tsi kando na nuni
com:go he San:Miguel because con:want he corn
‘He went to San Miguel because he needed corn.’

ňa kwūn ǔ Ĭ / da é řa tuvī dyuhun
NEG POT:buy I UN when CMP NEG con:sit:SG money
‘I won’t buy it, since there isn’t any money.’

kīhín ǔ ni tun / tsi da é lūhndī kā tun
POT:go I with her because when cmp small:SG more she
‘I’ll go with her, since she’s still little.’

da é njo kuvī u ne / řa kīhín u
when CMP con:want POT:die I and NEG POT:go I
‘Since I’m sick, I won’t go.’

(See also 7.7.)

Cause can also be expressed by simply using the complementizer é.

ňa ni kāvī kīhín / tun é njo kuvī tun
NEG CF COM:be:able POT:go she CMP con:want POT:die she
‘She wasn’t able to go as she was sick.’

dōo dinī ko / é řa kīhín ŭ
INTS con:be:happy:inside me CMP NEG POT:go I
‘I am very happy that I am not going.’

(See also 7.14, 7.26, 7.40, 7.42, and 7.80.)
In some sentences, the relationship expressed by é is not strictly cause, but can perhaps be expressed best by English ‘in that’ (see 7.11 and 7.68).

A subordinate sentence introduced by isi ‘because’ often follows the interjection ŋáhá ‘no’, as seen in 7.61, 7.78, 7.81, and 7.86.

There are three types of condition: simple, wishful, and contrafactual. The first two types occur with verbs in potential or continuative aspect, while the third type occurs with verbs in completive aspect. The main sentence is usually, but not always, in potential aspect. A simple condition is expressed by té ‘if’ or ‘when’.

ihshá ŋá nihi na ŋuhu ŋá / té kuvi ŋá
child person pot:get he land person if pot:die person
‘THEIR SON will inherit their land if they die.’

ŋá kwín ú ø / té dóo ahvi i
NEG pot:buy I un if ints con:cost un
‘I won’t buy it if it is very expensive.’

té ndio ndo ø ne / kihn ø
if con:want you:pl un and pot:go we:un
‘If you want to, we’ll go.’

té ŋá kihn tun ne / ŋá kihn u di
if neg pot:go she and neg pot:go I also
‘If she won’t go, I won’t go either.’

(See also 7.119 and 7.120.)

A wishful condition is expressed by té di ‘if only’.

kwín ú ø / té di kadiko ná ø
pot:buy I un if also con:sell he un
‘I would buy it if only he were selling it.’

dóo dint ko / té di kihn u
ints happy me if also pot:go I
‘I would be very happy if I were going.’

(See also 7.39.)
To express a contrafactual condition, ti or ti diá must occur with the preverbal contrafactual marker (see 2.1.2), and the verb must be in completive aspect.

\[
\text{te ni ŋūi ū ŋūi ne / kūtāvī u } \emptyset \\
\text{if cf com:buy I skin and pot:get:covered I un} \\
\text{‘If I had bought a hat, I would wear it.’}
\]

\[
\text{tē diá ni ŋēhe u ne / e shēē ū ve} \\
\text{if also cf com:go I and already com:arrive I now} \\
\text{‘If only I had gone, I would have arrived by now.’}
\]

\[
\text{tē diá ŋa ni ŋēhe ŋa ne /} \\
\text{if also neg cf com:go person and} \\
\text{‘If only they hadn’t gone,} \\
\text{kwan tsi ̂ ō kandito ŋa} \\
\text{thus lim com:exist com:live person} \\
\text{they would still be alive.’}
\]

Concession is expressed by kwān te ‘even if’ or ‘even though’. If the subordinate sentence precedes the main sentence, the main sentence is usually introduced by ndá tsi ‘but’.

\[
\text{kwān ̂ ŋa \emptyset / kwān te dōo ahvī i} \\
\text{pot:buy I un thus if ints conc:cost un} \\
\text{‘I’ll buy it even if it’s very expensive.’ or ‘I’ll buy it even though it’s very expensive.’}
\]

\[
\text{ṅā nihi eni na ŋuHu na / kwān te kuvi na} \\
\text{neg pot:get brother:me him land him thus if pot:die he} \\
\text{‘His brother won’t inherit his land even if he dies.’}
\]

\[
\text{kwān té ŋa vá ēhshī ̂ ŋa / ndá tsi ēhshī u } \emptyset \\
\text{thus if neg good conc:eat un but lim conc:eat I un} \\
\text{‘Even though it didn’t taste good, yet I ate it.’}
\]

Purpose is most commonly expressed by vata ko é ‘in order that’, da tī ‘in order that’, or simply dā ‘then’; sometimes it is expressed by the complementizer é. The subordinate sentence is always in potential aspect.
kadē tsiñu na / vata ko é nihí ná dyuhun
Con:do work he as pot:exist cmp pot:get him money
'He is working in order to earn money.'

ñá kāhin-n / vata ko é ña kahrí
Neg pot:go-you:so as pot:exist cmp neg pot:kill
'Don't go lest he kill

na o
he you:so
you'

vata ko é kandihi shee ó ne /
as pot:exist cmp quickly pot:arrive we:in
and 'In order to arrive quickly,

kunú ó
pot:run we:in
let's run.'

kaeku tún / da ti nihí tun é ndío tún
Con:cry she when ? pot:get her cmp con:want her
'She cries in order to get what she wants.'

natsiñó u ndutsi / dá kāhshi ó Ø
pot:caus:cook I bean when pot:eat we:in un
'I will cook beans for us to eat.'

kada tsiñu ó / é nihí kó dyuhun
pot:do work we:in cmp pot:get us:in money
'We'll work to earn money.'

(See also 7.4, 7.35, 7.53, 7.75, and 7.107.)

A variety of temporal relations may be expressed by conjunctions. The
most common of these conjunctions is dā 'when'. It occurs mainly with
verbs in completive aspect.

ndōto ihsa / dā i te ñukáíi
com:wake:up child when com:explode firecracker
'The child woke up when the firecracker exploded.'
dâ ūhe ná ūkohshó ne / nduku na tsũnu
when com:go he Mexico:City and com:look:for he work
‘When he went to Mexico City, he looked for work.’

dâ dóo ihří né / kaish duté u
when intrs hot and con:go:pot:swim I
‘When it’s very hot out, I go swimming.’

(See also 7.1, 7.3, 7.6, 7.25, 7.26, 7.28, and various others.)

The conditional conjunction tē ‘if’ or ‘when’ is used sometimes to refer
to future events, implying a degree of uncertainty.

kahshi o ʘ / tē shee o
pot:eat we:in un if pot:arrive we:in
‘We’ll eat when we arrive.’

tē shihi ūn ne / ihšá ūn nũhi na
if com:die person and child person pot:get him
‘When they have died, their son will inherit

ńũhu ūn
land person
their land.’

Various complex conjunctions based on dâ also express temporal rela-
tions; these include vata dâ ‘whenever’, ndé dâ ‘since’, and dâ ndé ‘until’.

kaehši u ita / vata dâ kakakin kó
con:eat I tortilla as when con:be:hungry me
‘I eat tortillas whenever I am hungry.’

vata dâ kañehe ná ūkohshó ne / kakunáa na
as when com:go he Mexico:City and con:become:lost he
‘Whenever he goes to Mexico City, he gets lost.’

iní u tún / nde da kułũhndí tún
con:know I her against when com:become:small:so she
‘I have known her since she was little.’
Coatzospan Mixtec

When a subordinate sentence introduced by dā ndē ‘until’ or tē ‘when’ precedes, the main sentence is often introduced by dā or da kidāā ‘then’.

dā ndē kāvi tsiho ndutsi ne / when against pot:finish pot:cook bean and ‘When (until) the beans finish cooking,

dā kāhshi u φ then I’ll eat them.’

(See also 7.105.)

Simultaneous or included action is expressed by da nē or nē dukwān ‘while’ or ‘meanwhile’, which often introduce both sentences, the first of which is subordinate.

da nē kākwii na ne / when whole com:become:slow he and ‘While he delayed,

da nē inu ti when whole com:run it:aml meanwhile it ran away.’

nē dukwan kākidi tun ne / whole thus com:sleep she and ‘While she sleeps,
ni dukwan kada tsiñu ó
whole thus potro work we:in
in the meantime we'll work.'

The day of the month is expressed as an idiomatic subordinate sentence introduced by the complementizer ê; it either precedes or follows the main sentence without pause at the boundary.

ñéhê ú ñukohsho / é úvi ndóo o ãvriu
com:go I Mexico:City cmp two consit:pl we:in April
'I went to Mexico City on April (Sp. Abril) second.'

é ùni ndóo ë sho máu / násheé ù
cmp three consit:pl we:in moon May com:reparative I
'On the third of May (Sp. Mayo) I got back.'

Comparison of likeness is expressed by the conjunction vata 'as', optionally followed by the limiter tsi. The same verb usually occurs in both sentences. When the subordinate sentence precedes, the main sentence often begins with kwăn 'thus' and often ends with di 'also'. Comparison sentences are most commonly stative sentences (see 1.1.6).

kaa ø / vata kaa shuú
con:be:sg un as con:be:sg rock
'It is like a rock.'

vata ndáa ihsha / ndáa ña
as con:be:pl child con:be:pl person
'They are like children.'

vata tsi éhshi tsáká né / kwan éhshi ø di
as lim con:eat fish and thus con:eat un also
'It tastes just like fish.' (lit. 'Just as fish tastes, so it tastes also.')

(See also 7.5.)

When sentence types other than stative occur, however, it is usually necessary to recast the sentence as the subject complement of the verb koo 'to exist'.
kade na / vatā ő de uva nā
con:do he as con:exist con:do father him
'He behaves like his father does.'

vata tsī ó ita lāā né /
as lim con:exist con:sing bird and
'She sings just like a bird.' (lit. 'Just like a bird

kwān ó kaita tūn
thus con:exist con:sing she
sings, so she sings.')

(See also 7.119.)

Comparison of degree is expressed by the complementizer é, followed by the subject. No verb phrase occurs in the subordinate sentence, but it is always understood to contain the same verb as the main sentence. The main sentence must contain kā 'more' in the verb phrase.

kahnu kā tun / é shūhū
big:SG more she cmp I
'She is bigger than I am.'

dī kā kahnu tun / é tāhan tūn
bit more big:SG she cmp sister her
'She is even bigger than her sister.'

dī dī kā kandīhī inu na / é shohō
bit bit more quickly com:run he cmp we:IN
'He ran a lot faster than we did.'

dī kā kwehe kaehshi na / é enī nā
bit more much con:eat he cmp brother:ME him
'He eats even more than his brother does.'

dī kā ió iñā tun / é shūhū
bit more con:exist thing her cmp I
'She has even more than I have.'

dī kā ṇa vī ō / é sāhā
bit more neg heavy un cmp this
'It is not as heavy as this.' or 'It is lighter than this.'
6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions. Juxtaposition without pause at the boundary is sometimes used to express purpose, or rarely, cause. It also expresses the time of day.

In juxtaposed purpose sentences, the second part expresses the purpose of the first. Its verb must be in potential aspect, and the hortatory nā sometimes occurs.

\[\text{nāi tūn dōo} / \text{kada vāhā tūn dahma tūn}\]
\[\text{com:buy she cloth pot:do good she skirt her}\]
‘She bought cloth to make her skirt.’

\[\text{tāhshi-n} \emptyset / \text{na kōto ndeē u} \emptyset\]
\[\text{pot:give-you:sg un hort pot:look against I un}\]
‘Give it to me in order that I may examine it.’

(See also 7.100.)

In such sentences an object is often shared; in the following examples the solidus that marks the break between sentences is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

\[\text{tāhshi ndō tsiū} / \text{vīi u}\]
\[\text{pot:give you:pl work pot:do I}\]
‘Give me work to do.’

\[\text{kañii tūn ita} / \text{kāhshi ihhā tun}\]
\[\text{com:buy tūn ita} / \text{kāhshi ihhā tun}\]
‘She buys tortilla pot:eat child her’

‘She buys tortillas for her children to eat.’

A further example of this phenomenon is found in 7.91. In 7.90 and 7.94, a shared noun phrase occurs in focus position, rather than between the two parts. In 7.92, a similar construction occurs with an unexpressed object.

Juxtaposition also occasionally expresses cause, as seen in 7.83. Perhaps other subordinate relations can also be expressed in this way if the context is clear enough.

The time of day is expressed as an idiomatic subordinate sentence either preceding or following the main sentence without intervening pause.

\[\text{kaeku uni kwāa} / \text{ñeñē u}\]
\[\text{con:cy three late com:go I}\]
‘I went at three o’clock in the afternoon.’
kihshi nendo / kaeku uni

Potcome you:PL cons: cry three
‘Come at three o’clock!’

6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations consist of three parts: the quotation, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences or fragments. The introducer is optional, but the closer is obligatory except in dramatic dialogue where the speakers are clearly distinguished by tone of voice, speech style, or content. The introducer usually contains the verb káhán ‘to speak’ or ‘to say’ in continuative aspect; occasionally a more specific verb, such as tsishehé ‘to ask’, occurs. The closer nearly always contains the verb káhán in unmarked continuative aspect. Both introducer and closer contain an obligatory subject and an optional addressee. The addressee is expressed as an associative adjunct with káhán or as a locative adjunct with tsishehé (see 1.1.4).

kakahan tun / kihin ú dí / kahan tun
cons:speak she pot:go I also cons:speak she
‘She said, “I’m going too,” she said.’

koho-n ndute / kahan tun ní kó
pot:drink-you:sg water cons:speak she with me
‘“Drink some water!” she said to me.’

katsishehé ú na / míhi ndu kihin-n / kahán u
cons:ask I him where int pot:go-you:sg cons:speak I
‘I asked him, “Where are you going?” I said.’

(See also 7.6, 7.10, 7.11, 7.21, 7.29, 7.31, and various others.)

Sometimes both káhán and a more specific verb occur in a juxtaposed coordinate construction, as described in 6.1.2 above.

shóo ndu kakahan í / kahan tun / tsishehé tun
who int cons:speak un cons:speak she cons:ask she
‘“Who is speaking?” she said; she asked.’

Sometimes the verb phrase of the introducer is expanded to include a postverbal element (see 2.1.3).
kakaháŋ tūkā na / kāhāŋ o / kahän ná
CONS:speak REP he POT:go WE:IN CONS:speak he
‘He said again, “Let’s go!” he said.’

kakahán sh tun / shuhú dī / kahän tūn
CONS:speak LIM she I also CONS:speak she
‘She just said, “Me too,” she said.’

(See also 7.8, 7.15, 7.18, 7.67, and 7.93.)

Note that in 7.8 a postverbal element also appears in the closer, but this is rare. In all but one of the examples in chapter 7, kāhān is preceded by sā ‘so’. Its use here seems to indicate a peculiar speech style, as for instance, that of animals.

Soliloquy is similar to dialogue but is characterized by a lack of addressee and by the use of a first person plural inclusive pronoun.

kakaháŋ tūn / ndē ko vī o ve /
CONS:speak she how POT:exist POT:do WE:IN NOW
‘She said, “What shall I do now?”

kahkan tūn
CONS:speak she
she said.’

(See also 7.3, 7.4, 7.44, 7.48, 7.52, and 7.107.)

In future speech, the verb of the introducer is in potential aspect, and the closer is a subject complement construction (see 1.1.9) with the pre-stressed potential aspect form of the verb koo ‘to exist’ as its main verb.

kāhāŋ tūn / kwīn ū ø / ko kahkan tūn
POT:speak she POT:buy I UN POT:exist POT:speak she
‘She will say, “I’ll buy it,” she’ll say.’

Two quotations in chapter 7 span more than a single sentence; they are: 7.97–99 and 7.119–20.

6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

In sentence-initial position certain elements occur that serve to link the sentence to its preceding discourse context. These elements include con-
junctures, adverbs and short adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, and occasionally, a deictic or preposition.

Sentences within a discourse are most commonly introduced by the conjunction ne ‘and’, which serves to move the action or argument forward as well as to provide continuity within the discourse.

řěhē u nùndūvé sho máū // ne dōō kakāin davi
com:go I Oaxaca moon May and ints con:fall rain
'I went to Oaxaca in May. And it was raining a lot

ikān // ne ndavā ŭ itsu kān
there and com:slip I trail there
there. And I slipped on the road.'

(See also 7.1–2, 7.4–5, 7.5–6, 7.6–7, 7.7–8, 7.8–9, 7.9–10, 7.12–13, and various others.)

An unexpected circumstance or sequence of events is frequently introduced by ndá or ndá tsi ‘but’.

shēē ŭ nu vihi řā //
com:arrive I face house person
'I arrived at their house.

ndá tsi shōsho ndōō ŭ kān
but lim nobody con:site:pl un there
But there was nobody there.'

(See also 7.3–4, 7.36–37, 7.91–92, and 7.95–96.

The conjunction tsi ‘because’ or ‘for’ often introduces explanatory material.

kıhin o řūkohsho // tsi dōō njo kāhīn u
pot:go we:in Mexico:City because ints con:want pot:go I
'Let's go to Mexico City! For I really want to go.'

(See also 7.11–12, 7.15–16, 7.18–19, 7.39–40, 7.41–42, 7.69–70, and 7.97–98.)

Sometimes an adverb, adverb phrase, or prepositional phrase in focus position (see 1.1.8) has a discourse-linking function. Some of the adverbs
that occur in this position are complex, and certain locative forms are used with temporal meanings.

téni  ti  nú  ndute  kān  //
com:drown  it:AML  face  water  there
'It drowned in the water.

ikan  tsī  shīhi  ti  //
there  lim  com:die  it:AML
It died right (then and) there.

ikan  ndīhi  kwendu  iñā  tsidō
there  com:finish  story  thing  rabbit
there ends the story (Sp. cuento) about the rabbit.'

ndio  tūn  nuni  //
com:want  she  corn
'She needed corn.

dukwān  ē  ōehē  tun  kānjutsi
thus  cmp  com:go  she  San:Miguel
thus (it was) that she went to San Miguel.'

(See also 7.46–47, 7.47–48, 7.56–57, 7.73–74, 7.74–75, and
7.105–106.)

In the following example, the second sentence contains a prepositional phrase, and the other three contain simple or complex temporal adverbs.

dihna  kīhin  nā  kuchaña  //
earlier  pot:go  he  Tehuacán
'First he will go to Tehuacán.

da  kidāā  ne  /  kīhin  nā  nūndūvē  //
when  then  and  pot:go  he  Oaxaca
then  he  will  go  to  Oaxaca.

da  rko  ndūvī  kīhin  nā  ōukohsho  //
when  ?  day  pot:go  he  Mexico:City
afterwards  he  will  go  to  Mexico  City.
\textit{ni dukwan kundētu ú na} \\
whole thus \textit{pot:wait I him} \textit{MEANWHILE I will wait for him.}'

It is possible for a sentence to begin with both a conjunction and a focused adverb, adverb phrase, or prepositional phrase, as seen in 7.5, 7.10, 7.24, 7.29, 7.43, 7.46, 7.92, 7.102, 7.122, and 7.123.)

Sometimes the deictic \textit{tšikān} 'that' is used to express cause.

\begin{verbatim}
dōo vihšin vevi // 
INTS cold today 
'It's very cold out today.

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{tšikān ne/ ŋā kāhın u} 
that and \textit{neg pot:go I} 
\textit{therefore, I'm not going.}'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
dōo vihšin vevi // 
INTS cold today. 
'It's very cold out today.

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{tšikān ē ŋa kāhın ū} 
that \textit{cmp neg pot:go I} 
\textit{that's why I'm not going.}'
\end{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}

The preposition \textit{ndeē} 'against' sometimes occurs at the beginning of a negative sentence following another negative sentence, in which case it means 'nor'.

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{ŋā ni ŋēhē xwaan //} 
\textit{neg cf com:go John} 
'John didn't go.

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{nde ŋā ni ŋēhe ū dī} 
against \textit{neg cf com:go I also} 
Nor did I go.' or 'John didn't go. I didn't go either.'
\end{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}
7

Text

7.1 fallback i:na / here I tell one story thing rabbit
a tsido / 'now I'll tell a story (Sp. cuento) about a rabbit,

ndé o dé ti nduvi dihna /
how com:exist com:do it:aml day earlier
about what it did when it lived a long time ago,

da ika ti / un kwendo i:na a tsido /
when com:walk it:aml one story thing rabbit
a story about a rabbit

këti éshi itu
animal com:eat cornfield
that ate a cornfield.'

7.2  ne / tòhó itu san ne / ñá kañí tun
and owner cornfield that and neg com:see she
'as for the owner of the cornfield, she didn't know

shoó kaehshi i itu tun /
who com:eat un cornfield her
who was eating her cornfield,

ne dòó dutsí kwini tun
and ints angry com:feel her
and she was very angry.'
7.3 shoó ndu kaehshí i itú kō /
who int con:eat un cornfield us:in
‘Who has been eating our cornfield?’

sá kahan tún da násheé tun
so con:speak she when con:rep:arrive she
she said when she arrived back

nu vihi tún kān
face house her there
at her house.’

7.4 ndá tsi îo è vii ò
but lim con:exist un pot:do we:in
‘But there is something we can do

dá nili ko
when pot:get us:in
to find out

shoo é kaehshí i itú kō /
who cmp con:eat un cornfield us:in
who it is that has been eating our cornfield,”

sá kahan tún
so con:speak she
she said.’

7.5 ne / kidāa né / dē váha tún shume ūuñu /
and then and con:do good she wax wild:bee
‘So then, she formed beeswax

vata kaa un ūaha
as con:be:sg one person
to look like a person,

ne / dā i shūvi tún ø
and when con:go pot:col:sit:sg she un
and then she went and set it
7.6 ne dā sheè a tsídō sán ne /
and when com:arrive dim rabbit that and
'And when the rabbit arrived,
katsishehe ti i
CON:ask i:AML UN
it asked it,
ndé o de-n /
how CON:exist con:do-you:SG
"What are you doing
kwán o nuu-n iha /
thus CON:exist con:be:in:SG-you:SG here
in here like this?"
sá kahan ti
so CON:speak i:AML
it said.'

7.7 ne / ŋā ni kāhan Ø /
and NEG con:speak UN
'But it didn't answer

tsí ŋa te ŋaha ni kuvi Ø /
because NEG if person CF con:become UN
because it wasn’t a PERSON

tsí kūdii shúme kūvi Ø
because merely wax con:become UN
for it was only made of wax.'

7.8 ne / kakahan tūku a tsídō sán /
and con:speak rep dim rabbit that
'And the rabbit spoke again,
"buenos días" / sá kahan tuku ti
good days so cons:speak rep it:aml
"Good (Sp.) morning (Sp.)!" it said again.'

7.9 ne / ŋá ni kahan tuku ŋ
and neg cf cons:speak rep un
'But again it didn’t answer.'

7.10 ne / kidāā ne / kakahan ti/
and then and cons:speak it:aml
'So then, it said,

ndé kwi kakudiin ndu-n /
how cons:happen cons:become:fierce int-you:sg
"Why are you getting angry?"

sá kahan ti
so cons:speak it:aml
it said.'

7.11 ndé kwi ŋa te kakahan ndu-n /
how cons:happen neg if cons:speak int-you:sg
' “Why don’t you answer

e kakahán u ni ŋ / sá kahan ti
cmp cons:speak I with you:sg so cons:speak it:aml
when I speak to you?” it said.'

7.12 tsí tē ŋá ne /
because if neg and
"Because if not,
nakihshi ũ un nda kwaha kó sa /
pot:caus:come I one hand right me this
I’ll punch (you with) my right hand,

ne un tsí nde dáha kan
and one lim against over there
and I’ll leave you sitting
nashtūvĩ u o /
POT:REP:COL:Sit:SG I you:SG
WAY OVER THERE!"

sá kahan a tsídō sán
so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
said the rabbit.'

7.13 ne nákãhin ndĩhshe sá tsi Ø
and COM:CAUS:GO truly only LIM UN
'And it really did punch (it) just then

ã ndaha i / ne /
DIM hand UN and
(with) its paw, and

ikan tsi tin ndēe ã ndaha i
there LIM COM:grab against DIM hand UN
RIGHT THERE its paw stuck to it.'

7.14 ne dōō dutsi kwini a tsídō sán
and INTS angry CON:feel DIM rabbit that
'And the rabbit was very angry

e tin Ø ndaha ti
CMP COM:grab UN hand it:AML
that it grabbed its paw.'

7.15 ne / kakahán sa ti /
and CON:speak only it:AML
'And it just said,

ndē kwi katiin ndu-n ndaha kól
how COM:happen COM:grab INT-you:SG hand me
"Why are you grabbing my hand?"

sá kahan ti.
so CON:speak it:AML
it said.'
7.16 *tsi tē ŋā ne / nakāhši ū*
because if NEG and POT:CAUS:COME I
"Because if not, I'll kick (you with)

*un dīhin dātsin kō san/
one foot left me that
my left foot,

*ne / un tsi nde maa i kan*
and one LIM against under UN there
and I'll leave you

*nashnuu ū o /*
ALL THE WAY DOWN THERE!"

*sā kahan tī*
so CON:speak IT:AML
it said.'

7.17 *ne nākāhin ndīhshe sā tsi ū*
and COM:CAUS:GO truly only LIM UN
'And it really did kick (it with)

*dīhin dātsin i /
foot left UN
its left foot,

*ne ikan tsi tīn ndēe ūku dīhin tī*
and there LIM COM:GRAB against REP foot IT:AML
and RIGHT THERE its foot stuck again.'

7.18 *ne / kakahan ūku tī /*
and CON:speak REP IT:AML
'And again it said,

*ndē kwi katiīn ndu-n dīhīn kō /
how COM:HAPEP COM:GRAB INT:YOU:SG foot me
"Why are you grabbing my foot?"
7.19 tsí tē ñá ne /
because if NEG and
' "Because if not,

nakāhsí u díhin kwāha kó san /
POT:CAUS:COME I foot right me that
I'll kick (you with) my right foot,

ne un tsi nde dáha kan
and one LIM against over there
and I'll toss you

nakwitä u o / sá kahan tī
POT:CAUS:GO:DOWN I you:SG so CON:Speak it:AML
WAY OVER THERE!'" it said.'

7.20 ne / nákāhin ndíhshe sá tsi Ø
and COM:CAUS:GO truly only LIM UN
'And it really did kick (it) just then

díhin kwāha i /
foot right UN
(with) its right foot,

ne ikan tsí tin ndēe tūku Ø
and there LIM COM:GRAB against REP UN
and RIGHT THERE it stuck again.'

7.21 ne / kakahan tī / ndē kwi
and CON:Speak it:AML how CON:Happen
'And it said, "Why

katiin ndu-n díhin kó / sa kahan tī
CON:GRAB INT-YOU:SG foot me so CON:Speak it:AML
are you grabbing my foot?" it said.'
7.22 ti te ŋá ne /
because if NEG and
' "Because if not,

nakȟshi ú nda dátsin kó san /
POT:CAUS:COME I hand left me that
I'll hit (you with) my left hand,

ne un tsi nde maa i kan
and one LIM against under UN there
and I'll toss you

nakwítá u o / sá kahan ti
POT:CAUS:GO:DOWN I YOU:SG so CONSPEAK IT:AML
WAY DOWN THERE!" it said.'

7.23 ne / nákȟhin túku sá tsi Ø
and COM:CAUS:GO REP only LIM UN
'And it punched (it) again just then

nda dátsin i /
hand left UN
(with) its left paw,

ne ikan tsi tin ndée ndíhi ndaha i
and there LIM COM:GRAB against all hand UN
and all its paws stuck RIGHT THERE.'

7.24 ne ikan tsi tin ndée kanii Ø kidaa
and there LIM COM:GRAB against whole UN then
'And the whole thing stuck then RIGHT THERE.'

7.25 ne / kó da káka chu ndáa Ø
and ? only CONSPEAK ? straight UN
'And it was sitting there in the cornfield

tuvi Ø má itú kán /
CONSIT:SG UN under cornfield there
doing nothing but hollering
dá shee tánū tó itú san
when com:arrive female owner cornfield that
when the owner of the cornfield arrived.'

7.26 ne / dōo dinī tun / é tūvi ti
and ints happy her cmp consit:sg it:aml
'And she was delighted (to find) it sitting
má itú kăn / dá shee tun
under cornfield there when com:arrive she
there in the cornfield when she arrived.'

7.27 ne / nāku nihi tún ti /
and com:rep:become with she it:aml
'And she picked it up
kunū nihi tún ti nú vīhi tún kăn
inc:return with she it:aml face house her there
and took it home with her.'

7.28 ne / dā nāsheē tun
and when com:rep:arrive she
'And when she got back
nū vīhi tún kăn ne /
face house her there and
to her house,
shnu kuta tún ti ini akū kăn
com:col:be:ins:so tight she it:aml insides fence there
she locked it up in a cage.'

7.29 ne / ikān nuu ti /
and there com:be:ins:sg it:aml
'And it was in THERE
sheē a shtēe san ne / katsishehē θ /
com:arrive dim coyote that and com:ask un
when the coyote arrived, and it asked,
rdé o de-n /
how con:exist con:do-you:sg
"What are you doing

kwán o nuu-n iha /
thus con:exist con:be:in:sg-you:sg here
in here like this?"

sá kahan á shtéé san
so con:speak dim coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.30 iha nuu ü / kade tsiñu ü /
here con:be:in:sg I con:do work I
' "I'm in HERE working,"

sa kahan a tsídó sán
so con:speak dim rabbit that
said the rabbit.'

7.31 katsishéhé á shtéé san ti /
con:ask dim coyote that it:am
'The coyote asked it,

vähá ó kandáhwi ŋa o /
good con:exist con:pay person you:sg
"Do they pay you well?"

sá kahan á shtéé san
so con:speak dim coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.32 kandávi váha ŋā kó /
con:pay good person me
' "They pay me well,"

sá kahan á tsídó sán
so con:speak dim rabbit that
said the rabbit.'
7.33 ne / dōo vá o kaiut̪o ŋa kó dí /  
and ints good context exist con:look person me also  
‘And they also take very good care of me,’

sá kahan tī  
so con:speak it:AML
it said.’

7.34 daha kān dī ne / iha kakahan ŋa /  
over there also and here con:speak person  
‘Moreover,¹ now they say

ē kānī vihi ŋi nī dyōko ŋa /  
cmp pot:set:up house I with daughter person  
that I should marry their daughter,’

sá kahan a tśidō san  
so con:speak dim rabbit that  
said the rabbit.’

7.35 kūdī kā kakāhan ŋa /  
merely only con:speak it:AML
‘It was only saying (that)

da t̪u kuku̱  ŋima á shtëe san /  
when ? pot:go:down un heart dim coyote that  
in order that the coyote would agree (Sp. ánima)

nakunīu  ŋ  
pot:rep:get:in:SG un

to get in

kwenda ŋa tī  
account thing it:AML
in its place (Sp. cuenta).’

7.36 sá kahan tī t̪i ŋa shkündenl tī /  
so con:speak it:AML because neg con:like it:AML
‘It said that it didn’t want

¹The expression daha kān dī is an idiom meaning ‘moreover’.
é kani vi nihi ti dyóko ŋā
CMP pot:setup house with it:AML daughter person
to marry their daughter.’

7.37 ndá tē dī divi ka ku ndō /
but if also same more EMPH you:PL
‘If only (it were) YOU!’

sā kahan ti nī ā shté san
so CONS:speak it:AML with DIM coyote that
it said to the coyote.’

7.38 ndāa kahan-n /
straight CONS:speak-you:SG
‘Are you telling THE TRUTH?’

sā kahan ā shté san
so CONS:speak DIM coyote that
said the coyote.’

7.39 tē dī kaindēni ndo ne /
if also CONS:like you:PL and
‘If you’d like to,

nakunúu ndo
get in (here)

kwenda ińā ko /
account thing me
in my place,”

sā kahan a tsídō san
so CONS:speak DIM rabbit that
said the rabbit.’

7.40 tsi dōo kandīni i ndé koo
because INTS CONS:worry UN how POT:exist
‘For it was very worried about how
nakáku Ø / e téku i
POT:REP:be:born UN CMP COM:hear UN
it would escape, having heard

é kāhan tun é tāka ihni
CMP COM:speak she CMP poker hot
her say that she would

kāmi nuu tun eti i
POT:burn face she bottom UN
burn its bottom WITH A HOT POKER.'

7.41 ne / á shtéé san ne /
and DIM coyote that and
'As for the coyote,

kákii ndikshe sá tsi Ø nima i /
INC:go:down truly only LIM UN heart UN
it really did just then agree

nakunúu Ø
POT:REP:get:in:SG UN
to get in

kwenda iña ti
account thing it:AML
in place of it.'

7.42 tsi dóo diní i / é kāhan ti
because INTS happy UN CMP COM:speak it:AML
'For it was very happy that it said

é dívi Ø kani vi nihi Ø
CMP same UN POT:set:up house with UN
that IT should be the one to marry

dyóko ñá
daughter person
their daughter.'
7.43 ne ikān nakāku ti/
and there COM:REP:be:born it:AML
‘And there it escaped,

ne / kwēhen ti
and INC:go it:AML
and it took off.’

7.44 ne / dā kwāa ne / kakahan túku tún /
and when COM:become:late and COM:speak REP she
‘And when it got late, she said,

nē ndū ura kami núu o tāka ihni
what INT hour POT:burn face we:IN poker hot
“What time (Sp. hora) shall we burn

eti i é nuu
bottom UN CMP COM:be:in:SG
with a hot poker the bottom of that one

ini akū kān / kahan tún
insides fence there COM:speak she
that is in the cage?” she said.’

7.45 ne / da kūduhva á shťē san /
and only COM:become:thus DIM coyote that
‘And the coyote was astonished

da tēku i é kāhan tun
when COM:hear UN CMP COM:speak she
when it heard her say that she was going to

e kāni nuu tún tāka ihni eti i
CMP POT:burn face she poker hot bottom UN
burn its bottom with a hot poker.’

7.46 ne / kidāā ne / dōo dé kwe ini i /
and then and INTS COM:do measure insides UN
‘And so then, it thought very hard,
ndé koo ndu / é kwan koó Ø /
how POT:exist INT CMP thus POT:exist UN
"How can this be?"

sá kahan á shteé san
so CON:spk DIM coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.47 duhva ndū ó sa
thus INT CON:exist only
‘ "Is this why the fellow

un inu na inúu díhna /
one COM:run he COM:get:insG earlier
who was in (here) before ran (away)?"

sá kahan á shteé san
so CON:spk DIM coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.48 vihi a ve ne / tahvi o Ø vē /
while here now and POT:break we:IN UN now
‘ "In a little while now we will break it

dā ndii Ø /
when POT:REP:go:down we:IN
and get out,"

sá kahan á shteé san
so CON:spk DIM coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.49 ne / tahvi ndihshe ùi Ø/
and COM:break truly it:AML UN
‘And it really did break it,

né dā ndū ùi
and when COM:REP:go:down it:AML
and then it got out.'
7.50 ne dā ndīi ti ne /
and when COM:REP:go:down it:AML and
'And when it got out,

dōō dūsī kwīnī ti
INTS angry CON:feel it:AML
it was very angry.'

7.51 vevī tsi kāhshī ti a tsīdō sān
today LIM POT:eat it:AML DIM rabbit that
'It was going to eat that rabbit RIGHT AWAY.'

7.52 ne kakahān ti / vihi a ve ne /
and CON:speak it:AML while here now and
'And it said, "In a little while now

kā nandūku o i/
POT:go POT:REP:look:for we:IN UN
we'll go look for it,

ne dā kāhshī o i /
and when POT:eat we:IN UN
and then we'll eat it;"

sā kahan ā shtēé sān
so CON:speak DIM coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.53 ne / kwēhen ndīhshe ti /
and INC:go truly it:AML
'And it really did go

ku nandūku ti a tsīdō sān
INC:go POT:REP:look:for it:AML DIM rabbit that
look for the rabbit

dā kāhshī ti i
when POT:eat it:AML UN
to eat it.'
7.54 *ne / dā nánihi tì i ne /
and when COM:REP:get it:AML UN and
'And when it found it, it was already

é mastrá sa tsi kade 0
already teacher only LIM CON:do UN
just then acting as a teacher (Sp. maestro').

7.55 *nuu sá 0 / kanakwahá 0 /
CON:be:in:SG only UN CON:CAUS:learn UN
'It was inside teaching

dā shee tì
when COM:arrive it:AML
when it arrived.'

7.56 *ne / dā shee tì ne /
and when COM:arrive it:AML and
'And when it arrived,

kakahān tì / ndé o de-n /
CON:speak it:AML how CON:exist CON:do-you:SG
it said, "What are you doing

kwán o nuu-n iha /
thus CON:exist CON:be:in:SG-you:SG here
in here like this?"

sá kahan tì
so CON:speak it:AML
it said.'

7.57 *iha nuu ú a /
here CON:be:in:SG I here
' "Here I am in HERE,"

sá kahan a tsídō san
so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
said the rabbit.'
7.58 ne / kakahán á shtéé san/
and con:speak dim coyote that
‘And the coyote said,

vihi a ve ne /
while here now and
“In a little while now,

kahshi ú o ve / sá kahán ti
pot:eat I you:sg now so con:speak it:aml
I’m going to eat you!” it said.’

7.59 ne / a tsídó sán ne / kakahán ti /
and dim rabbit that and con:speak it:aml
‘And as for the rabbit, it said,

ndé kwi kahshi ndo ko /
how con:happen pot:eat you:pl me
“Why are you going to eat me?”

sá kahán a tsídó sán
so con:speak dim rabbit that
said the rabbit.’

7.60 te kākakin ndo ne /
if con:be:hungry you:pl and
‘If you’re hungry,

nakwaha ndo na kwetsí sán /
pot:caus:learn you:pl boy small:pl that
you teach the children,

ne ná ki kíhi u é kahshi ndo /
and hort pot:go pot:take I un pot:eat you:pl
and let me go get something for you to eat!”

sá kahán a tsídó sán
so con:speak dim rabbit that
said the rabbit.’
7.61  *ne / a shtēe san ne / kakahan ñi /
and DIM coyote that and CON:Speak it:AML
'And as for the coyote, it said,

ñāhā / tsi divē-n é kāhshi ú o /
no because same-you:SG CMP pot:eat I you:SG
"No, because you are the one I'm going to eat,"

sā kahan ñi
so CON:Speak it:AML
it said.'

7.62  *ñāhā / sā kahan a tsīdō sān
no so CON:Speak DIM rabbit that
' "No!" said the rabbit.'

7.63  *nākwañha nōd na kwēsi sān /
pot:CAUS:learn you:PL boy small:PL that
' "You teach the children,

nā kē kihí u é kāhshi nōd/
HORT pot:GO pot:take I UN pot:eat you:PL
let me go get something for you to eat!"

sā kahan ñi
so CON:Speak it:AML
it said.'

7.64  *ne / kūkūi sa tsi ʘ
and INC:GO:DOWN only DIM UN
'And the coyote just then

nima á shtēe san
heart DIM coyote that
agreed to it.'

7.65  *ndāa kahan-n /
sā kahan ñi
straight CON:Speak-you:SG so CON:Speak it:AML
' "Do you mean it?" it said.'
7.66 *ne / kíhi sá tsi á shteé san regla /
    and com:take only lim dim coyote that ruler
    ‘And the coyote just picked up a ruler (Sp. regla)

    kánakwaha  @ na kwetsí sán
    con:caus:learn un boy small:pl that
    and taught the children.’

7.67 *ne / kakahán sa @ “atención, niños” /
    and con:speak only un attention children
    ‘And it just said, “Attention (Sp.),

    sá kahan á shteé san
    so con:speak dim coyote that
    children (Sp. niños)!’ said the coyote.’

7.68 *ne dōtō kandétu ti
    and haphazardly con:wait it:aml
    ‘And it waited in vain (to find out)

    né ura nasheé a tsídō san /
    what hour pot:rep:arrive dim rabbit that
    what time the rabbit would get back

    é kū nakihi ti
    cmp inc:go pot:rep:take it:aml
    from going to get

    é kāhshi á shteé san
    un pot:eat dim coyote that
    something for the coyote to eat.’

7.69 *míhi ndu kū nakihi ti @
    where int inc:go pot:rep:take it:aml un
    ‘Where did it ever go get it?’

7.70 *tsi kudii inu kwehen ti
    because merely com:run completely it:aml
    ‘For it simply ran away.’
7.71 ne dā ña ni nashēe kwēhen ti
and when NEG CF COM:REP:arrive completely  it:AML
’sAnd when it didn’t arrive back at all,

ne / kwēhen á shtēe san /
and INC:go DIM coyote that
the coyote went

kū nandūku ti i
to look for it.’

7.72 ne / dā nānihī ti a tsidō sān
and when COM:REP:get it:AML DIM rabbit that
‘And when it found the rabbit,

ne / e dīkā tun mihnde tsī kan
and already head tree prickly:pear  LIM there
the rabbit was already perched

ndēku a tsidō sān
CON:be:ON:SG DIM rabbit that
ON TOP OF A PRICKLY PEAR.’

7.73 ne / dā shee á shtēe san ne /
and when COM:arrive DIM coyote that and
‘And when the coyote arrived,

kakahān ti / ndē o de-n /
CON:speak it:AML how CON:exist CON:do-you:SG
it said, “What are you doing,

kwān o ndēku-n a/
thus CON:exist CON:be:ON:SG-you:SG here
sitting up here like this?”

sā kakahān ti
so  CON:speak it:AML
it said.’
"I'm sitting up here eating the prickly pears,"

so speak rabbit that said the rabbit.'

while here now and 'So now, come down to the ground here; then I'll eat you!"

so speak coyote that said the coyote.'

'And the rabbit said, "Why are you going to eat me?"

so it it said.'

"Won't you eat what I'm eating?"
sá kahan a tsidó sán
so conspeak DIM rabbit that said the rabbit.'

7.78 ñáhá / tsí dívñ é káhshi ú o /
no because same-you:sg cmp pot:eat I you:sg
"No, because it's you that I'm going to eat!"
sá kahan á shtéé sán
so conspeak DIM coyote that said the coyote.'

7.79 ñáhá / kahshí ka ndò é kaehshi ú san ni /
no pot:eat more you:pl un con:eat I that therefore
"No, eat what I'm eating!"
sá kahan a tsidó sán
so conspeak DIM rabbit that said the rabbit.'

7.80 ñá diní ndò / e doó vá ehshí ø /
neg happy you:pl cmp ints good con:eat un
"Aren't you glad that it really tastes good?"
sá kahan a tsidó sán
so conspeak DIM rabbit that said the rabbit.'

7.81 ñáhá / tsí dívñ é káhshi ú o /
no because same-you:sg cmp pot:eat I you:sg
"No, because it's you that I'm going to eat!"
sá kahan á shtéé san
so conspeak DIM coyote that said the coyote.'

7.82 ne / kaehshi a tsidó sán /
and con:eat DIM rabbit that
'And the rabbit (went on) eating,
ñá káde tí kwenda
NEG CON:do it:AML account
not paying any attention.'

7.83 un tsi kükwehe shúhu tí/
one LIM COM:become:red mouth it:AML
'It's mouth got all red

kaékshi tí kité mihindé san
CON:eat it:AML fruit prickly:pear that
from eating the prickly pears.'

7.84 ne / kakahan tí/
and CON:speak it:AML
'And it said,

ñá té ndé kaa vá ēhshi é kaékshi ú/
NEG if how CON:be good CON:eat UN CON:eat I
'These things I'm eating taste REALLY GOOD,'

sá kahan a tsídó sán
so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
said the rabbit.'

7.85 ñá káshi ndíhshe ndú ndo Ø/
NEG POT:eat truly INT you:PL UN
'Won't you really eat any?'

sá kahan tí ní á shtéé san
so CON:speak it:AML with DIM coyote that
it said to the coyote.'

7.86 ñáhá / tsi divi-n
no because same-you:SG
'No, because it's YOU

é veví tsi kahshi ú o / kwiní ko /
CMP today LIM POT:eat 1 you:SG CON:feel me
that I'm going to eat RIGHT NOW, I think,'
sá kahan á shtéé san
so cons:speak dim coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.87 āhā / sá kahan a tsídō sán
no so cons:speak dim rabbit that
' "No!" said the rabbit.'

7.88 kahši ka ndo é kaēhši ū sa ni /
por:eat more you:pl un con:eat I this therefore
"Eat what I'm eating!"

sá kahan ti ni á shtéé san
so cons:speak it:aml with dim coyote that
it said to the coyote.'

7.89 ne / kūkūi Ø nima á shtéé san /
and inc:go:down un heart dim coyote that
'And the coyote agreed

éhši Ø Ø
com:eat un un
to eat it.'

7.90 uun tsi Ø nakihši-n /
one lim un pot:caus:come-you:sg
' "Toss me just one;

na kōto ndéé u Ø ni /
hort pot:look against I un therefore
let me try it then!"

sá kahan á shtéé san
so cons:speak dim coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.91 ne / nákōshó ndihshe ti uun Ø /
and com:caus:fall truly it:aml one un
'And it really did drop one
éhshi á shtée san
com:eat DIM coyote that
for the coyote to eat.'

7.92 ndá tsi dínhna de váha tī ůnu i /
but LIM earlier com:do good it:AML thorn UN
'But first it removed its spines;
da shēhé tī Ø /
when com:give it:AML UN
then it gave it
ehshí á shtée san
com:eat DIM coyote that
to the coyote to eat.'

7.93 ne / kakahan túku a tśídō san /
and com:speak REP DIM rabbit that
'And the rabbit said again,
kahshí kā ndo Ø / sā kahan tī
pot:eat more you:PL UN so com:speak it:AML
"Eat another one!" it said.'

7.94 uu:n să Ø nakwítá-n /
one only UN pot:CAUS:GO:down-you:SG
' "Toss down just one more

na kāshhi ū Ø / sā kahan á shtée san
HORT pot:eat I UN so com:speak DIM coyote that
for me to eat!" said the coyote.'

7.95 nákwítá ndihshe tī uu:n kā Ø
com:CAUS:GO:down truly it:AML one more UN
'It really did toss another one down.'

7.96 ndá tsi ŋa ni de váha kā tī ůnu i
but LIM NEG CF com:do good more it:AML thorn UN
'But it no longer removed its spines.'
7.97  ne / kakahan u /
and con:speak it:aml
'And it said,

ndá tsi ŋa níhi kahshi ndó/
but lim neg pot:get pot:eat you:pl
"But you won't get any of it to eat

te nakwúá u Ø
if pot:caus:go:down i un
if I toss it down.'

7.98  tsi sáha ne / un váha tsi itsi Ø
because this and one good lim ripe un
'Because this one, it's really ripe.'

7.99  te nako:shó u Ø ne/
if pot:caus:fall i un and
'If I drop it,

dikán tsi kunaa Ø /
same:there lim pot:become:lost un
it'll get spoiled right there,'

sá kahan u ní á shteé san
so con:speak it:aml with dim coyote that
it said to the coyote.'

7.100  ndáká ndo shuhu ndo /
pot:open you:pl mouth you:pl
'Open your mouth;

na nako:shó nuu u Ø /
hort pot:caus:fall face i un
let me drop it in!'

sá kahan u ní á shteé san
so con:speak it:aml with dim coyote that
it said to the coyote.'
7.101 ne / ndikà ndìikshe sà tsi ∅
and com:open tr̩ only lim un
"And it really did just na open"

shuhu i / ne dà nakwíta nuu u
mouth un and when com:caus:go:down face it:aml
its mouth, and then it tossed

shuhu i kitì ińu sán
mouth un fruit thorny that
that spiny fruit down into its mouth.'

7.102 ne / ikan tsì inú īahu ∅
and there lim com:get:in:sg tight un
"And it got stuck right there"

ini dukun i kan
insides neck un there
in its throat.'

7.103 ne / kó da kanatūvi ∅ kúnu i /
and ? only com:caus:roll un body un
"And it just went tumbling"

kwêhen ∅ màa i kâń
inc:go un under un there
down (the hill).'

7.104 ne / da nì núu nànehe ti /
and when whole com:come:down quickly it:aml
"And in the meantime, it quickly got down"

ińu u
com:run it:aml
(and) ran away.'

7.105 ne / dá ndè shee tsóko /
and when against pot:arrive ant
"And it wasn't until some ants arrived"
"dā nátavá ti kiti iñu san
take out it:fruit thorny that
that they removed the spiny fruit"

"dukun á shtée san
neck Dim coyote that
from the coyote's throat."

7.106 da kidáá nákaká / kwehen / when then com:rep:walk un inc:go un
"Then it finally escaped (and) took off."

7.107 ne kakahan tuku á shtée san /
and com:speak rep dim coyote that
"And the coyote again said,

nda vihi a ve ne /
but while here now and
"But in a little while now

ká nandúku o iña ko ve /
pot:go pot:rep:look:for we:in thing us:in now
we'll go look for our thing now;

dá kāhshi o i /
when pot:eat we:in un
then we'll eat it,"

sá kahan á shtée san
so com:speak dim coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.108 ne kwéhen ndíhshe sa á shtée san /
and inc:go truly only dim coyote that
"And the coyote really did then go

ku nandúku i á tšidó sán
inc:go pot:rep:look:for it:aml dim rabbit that
to look for the rabbit.'
7.109 ne / dā nānihi tī a tsidō sān ne /
and when COM:REP:get it:AML DIM rabbit that and
‘And when it found the rabbit,

é ikan tsī nuu sā 0
already there LIM CON:be:in:SG only UN
it was already RIGHT THERE

díi ndute kān
side water there
beside the river.’

7.110 ne / dā shee á shtēe san ne /
and when COM:arrive DIM coyote that and
‘And when the coyote arrived,
katsishehe tī / ndē o de-n /
CON:ask it:AML how CON:exist CON:do-you:SG
it asked, “What are you doing

kwān o nuu-n iha/
thus CON:exist CON:be:in:SG-you:SG here
here like this?”

sā kahan tī
so CON:speak it:AML
it said.’

7.111 ne / kakahan á shtēe san /
and CON:speak DIM coyote that
‘And the coyote said,
vīhi a ve ne / kahshi ū o ve /
while here now and POT:eat I you:SG now
“In a little while now I’m going to eat you!”

sā kahan tī
so CON:speak it:AML
it said.’
7.112 \( ndê \ kwi \quad káhshi \quad ndó \quad ko / \)
how CON:happen poteat you:pl me
"Why are you going to eat me?"

\( sá \ kahan \ a \quad tsídō \quad sán \)
so CON:speak dim rabbit that
said the rabbit.'

7.113 \( ndê \ kwi \quad éni \quad ndáhví \ ku-n \)
how CON:happen COM:set:up poor EMPH-you:sg
"Why did you indeed deceive me?"

\( kó \ kwan / \ sá \ kahan \ á \ shteé \ san \)
me thus so CON:speak dim coyote that
said the coyote.'

7.114 \( ne / \ kakahán \ a \quad tsídō \quad sán / \)
and CON:speak dim rabbit that
'And the rabbit said,

\( ama \ éni \quad ndáhví \ u \ ndo / \)
when COM:set:up poor I you:pl
"When did I ever deceive you?"

\( sá \ kahan \ a \quad tsídō \quad sán \)
so CON:speak dim rabbit that
said the rabbit.'

7.115 \( shú \ ne / \ ŋá \ ìni \ u / \)
I and NEG CON:know I
"Me, I don't know

\( kwán \ o \quad kahan \ ndó \ san / \)
thus CON:exist CON:speak you:pl that
what you're talking about,'

\( sá \ kahan \ a \quad tsídō \ sán \)
so CON:speak dim rabbit that
said the rabbit.'
7.116 vevi / tsí kahshí ú o /
today LIM POT:eat I you:SG
‘I’m going to eat you RIGHT NOW,

kwiní ko / sá kahan á shtée san
CON:feel me so CON:speak DIM coyote that
I think,” said the coyote.’

7.117 ñáhá / sá kahan a tsídó sán
no so CON:speak DIM rabbit that
‘“No!” said the rabbit.’

7.118 ne kwéhen tsí a tsídó san
and INC:go LIM DIM rabbit that
‘And the rabbit just went

iní ndute san
insides water that
into the water.’

7.119 ne / kakahan té /
and CON:speak it:AML
‘And it said,

tê njo kahshí ndó ko ne /
if CON:want POT:eat you:PL me and
“If you want to eat me,

kihshí ndó / vata ó véhshí ú san
POT:come you:PL as CON:exist INC:come I that
come after me (lit. as I have come).’

7.120 ne / tê she ndik¡n ndó ko ne /
and if POT:arrive CON:follow you:PL me and
‘And if you catch up with me,

da kahshí ndó ko /
when POT:eat you:PL me
then eat me!”
sá kahan a tsidō sán
so con:speak dim rabbit that
said the rabbit.'

7.121 ne / kwēhen ndīhshe sâ tsi á shtēē san
and inc:go truly only lim dim coyote that
'And the coyote really did just then go (in).'</n

7.122 ne / ikan tsi téni á shtēē san
and there lim com:drown dim coyote that
'And the coyote drowned right there

nú nduē kān
face water there
in the water.'

7.123 ne / ikān ndīhi kwendu
and there com:finish story
'And there ends the story

iīnā a tsidō nī ā shtēē
thing lim rabbit with dim coyote
about the rabbit and the coyote.'