

Language and Culture Archives

Bartholomew Collection of Unpublished Materials SIL International - Mexico Branch

© SIL International

NOTICE

This document is part of the archive of **unpublished** language data created by members of the Mexico Branch of SIL International. While it does not meet SIL standards for publication, it is shared "as is" under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/) to make the content available to the language community and to researchers.



SIL International claims copyright to the analysis and presentation of the data contained in this document, but not to the authorship of the original vernacular language content.

AVISO

Este documento forma parte del archivo de datos lingüísticos **inéditos** creados por miembros de la filial de SIL International en México. Aunque no cumple con las normas de publicación de SIL, se presenta aquí tal cual de acuerdo con la licencia "Creative Commons Atribución-NoComercial-CompartirIgual" (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/) para que esté accesible a la comunidad y a los investigadores.

Los derechos reservados por SIL International abarcan el análisis y la presentación de los datos incluidos en este documento, pero no abarcan los derechos de autor del contenido original en la lengua indígena.

THE OBJECT PRONOUN /na'3a'1/ with FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

The object pronoun ******* /ña'3a'1/ (orthographically written aska nahah) is also used as a substitute for any bouphonologically bound third person pronoun or noun phrase when the subject of a clause is any first or second person pronoun (either phonologically bound or free).

The first person phonologically for bound pronouns are;: -i 'first person singular subject' and

-eh 'first person plural (inclusive) subject'.

The first person phonologically free pronouns are: yūhu 'first person singular object or emphatic subject',

duhu 'first person plural (exclusive)', and

yooh 'first person plural (inclusive) object or emphatic subject!

The second person phonologically bound pronoun is: -unh 'second person singular subject'.

The second person phonologically free pronouns are: yohó (yóho) 'second person singular', and

dohó (dóho) 'second person plural'.

Examples of the pronouns with nahah 'third person object' ('him' will be used as a gloss for convenience), using the verb cani /ka3ni3/ & 'will hit':

cani ñaháí 'I will hit him', cani ñaháéh 'we all will hit him'. cani naháh yūhu 'I will hit him',
cani naháh dūhu 'only we will hit him'
cani naháh yóóh 'we all will hit him',
cani naháh yóóh 'you (singular) will hit him',
cani naháh yohó (yóho) 'you (singular) will hit him',
cani naháh dohó (dóho) 'you (plural) will hit him.

PRONOUNS OF CV'V COUPLET PATTERN

The first and second person phonologically free pronouns may be reduced to one syllable when following the predicate, when following the object pronoun <u>mahah</u>, when following the subject (as object), or when used as the possessor in a noun phrase.

yūhu may*be*reduced* 'I, me, my' may be reduced to yu (when can following a word ending in /V'l/ yūhu may be reduced to yū);

that dūhu 'we, us, our (exclusive)' may be reduced to du (when) can following a word ending in /V'l/ dūhu may be reduced to dū);

yohó (yóhó) 'you, your*(singular)' may be reduced to yo, yoh, yó, or yóh;

can dohó (dóho) 'you, your (*plural)' may be reduced to do, doh,

dó, dóh. (The use of the variants of yohó and dohó depends on idiolectic preferences.)

The honorific pronoun forms are swed by the speaker to refer to older and respected members of his own immediate or distant family (who are not siblings of or cousins), or parents-in-law. They also refer to his God-parents, the priests an higher members of the church hierarchy, and those who are considered deities or God-related -- God, Christ, saints (and their than images), and the cross.

p.2

(Honorific-Common Dichotomy in Third Person Pronouns, continued)

In speakin fo his older, female relatives he will say: sihf duuchi (sihih 'mother', chi 'she (honorific)';) 'She (honorific) 全部: 数字: 4: (honorific) is my grandmother. '; xixi dúúchí (xixi 'aunt') 'She (honorific) is my aunt.'; xixi dúúáh (ah 'she') 'She is my aunt.'; vélá tisoi (chisoi) dúúchí (vélá tiso (chiso) 'mother-inlaw'); 'She is my (respected) mother-in-law.'; vélá tisoi (chisoi) dúuáh 'She is my (not respected) mother-in-law.'; sihíh ñúhui duuchi (sihih muhu 'God-mother') 'She (honorific) is my Godmother.' (Note that only the chi form is used with 'mother', 'grandmother', and God-mother', but either chi 'she (honorific, respected)' or ah 'she' may be used with 'aunt' or 'mother-inlaw'.)

In contrast, the unrelated person will say: yuvá-únh dúúrá (unh 'your') 'He is your father.'; xīi-unh duura 'He is your grandfather.'; xito-unh dúúrá 'He is your uncle.'; véló tiso-unh (chiso-unh) duurá 'He is your father-in-law.'; yuvááh ñúhunh dúúrá 'He is your God-father.'; sihí-únh dúúáh 'She is your mother.'; xItaunh duuáh 'She is your grandmother.'; xixi-unh dúúáh 'She is your aunt.'; vélá tiso-unh (chiso-unh) dúúáh 'She is your mother-in-law.'; sihíh ñúhunh dúúáh 'She is your Godmother. '

Any person will speak of a priest (sūtu), God (Dyosí), or images of worship (santo or dyosi) using the honorificrespective forms: sūtu dúúá 'He is a priest.'; dyosí dúúá 'It is a god, saint (male), or image of a god or saint (male); sántó dúúá 'It is an image (male) .'; dyosí dúúchí 'It is a god, saint (male), or image of a god or saint (male); santo duuchi 'It is an image (female).'

(Honorific-Common Dichotomy in Third Person Pronouns, continued)

Respect is shown people, when addressing them, by adding vocative forms at the end of sentences (especially with greetings and farewells). These forms, however, are not used with persons with whom a person is very familiar, i.e. members of the same household, sharing the same compound, or living next door to each other. The familiar persons would be parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts by marriage, in the typical Mixtec family dwelling set-up. The vocative forms are:

táá a male peer

náá a female peer

tiih an older person or a peer (respective)

véló an older person (male)

vélá an older person (female)

xcuahah an older person (male)

xto (xito) an older person (male)

xii (xixi) an older person (female)

táá cuihe an older person (male)

náá cuihe an older person (female)

THIRD PERSON USES OF PRONOUNS WITH INHERENTLY SINGULAR AND INHERENTLY PLURAL VERBS

```
/nya3/ Plural feminine or human
/fa3/ Singular and plural masculine
/a'3/ Singular feminine
/ri'3/ Singular and plural animal (also lemons and grapefruits)
/nu'3/ Singular and plural wood (or pole-like)
/fa'3/ Plural fluid (that is aqueous)
/a3/ Singular and plural masculine honorific
/či3/ Singular and plural feminine honorific
/a3/ Singular and plural neuter
    /ni<sup>3</sup>-ki<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup>n<sup>y</sup>a<sup>3</sup>/ they left (/n<sup>y</sup>a<sup>3</sup>/ would refer only to women if the subject of the preceding sentence referred only to
                                                women. /nya3/would refer to both men and women if the
                                                 subject of the preceding sentence refferred to men and
    women.) t */ni^3-ke^3ta^3n^ya^3/ (Incompaibile because the number of the verb --
                                                which is singular - and the number of the pronoun do not
   agree.)
/ni3-ki3e3ra3/ they (men) left
/ni3-ke3ta3ra3/ he left
*/ni3-ki3e3a'3/ (Incompatibile because the verb is plural and
 the pronoun is singular.)

/ni3-ke3ta3a'3*// she left
/ni3-ki3e3ri'1/ animals left
/ni3-ke3ta3ri'1/ an animal left
/ni3-ke3ta3ri'1/ an animal left
/ni3-ke3ta3ri'1/ awood (boats, cars, airplanes, etc.) left
/ni3-ke3ta3nu'1/ awood left
/ni3-ke3ta3nu'1/ awood left
/ni3-ke3ta3ra'1/ water left (ran out)
*/ni3-ke3ta3ra'1/ (Incompatibile because the verb is prevalence.)

*/ni3-ke3ta3ra'1/ (Incompatibile because the verb is prevalence.)
the property of the property o
```

ni3-ki3e3 plural left ...

INHERENT NUMBER IN VERBS

There are three classes of stative and intransitive verb stems with regard to inherent number. Some stative and intransitive verb stems are inherently singular, others are inherently plural, and still others are inherently without number. For example: /lullul/ is amall, /kwalli'l/ are small, /kulnul/ is (or are) small deep; /kelta'l/ is leaving, /kile'l/ are leaving, /šilka'l/ is (or are) kwalking.

There are four classes of transitive werb stems with regard to inherent number. The transitibe verb stems are either (1) singular with regard to the object of the clause, (2) plural with regard to the object of the clause, (3) plural with regard to both the subject and the object of the clause, or (4) without inherent number. For example: /na'3i3/ to take (singular object), /na3-ci3i3/ to take (plural object), /ko'3ni3/ to put in *(plural subject, plural object), /na3ka3/ to take someone (no number).

(INHERENT NUMBER IN VERBS)

The inherent number of the verb stem will determine the number in the nouns or pronouns which are without number. (The nouns which are composite plural must occur with a plural verb stem. For example: /fiu³ti'l/ **and** sand*,/sa²vi'³/ rain**, /i²ty³/ grass occur with plural verb stems in Mixtec. Some speakers use the Nouns /tya²a³/ man and /fia'³a'¹/ woman only as singular, whereas some speakers use them also as plural. Some speakers use /te³-yi¹vi'³/ man only as plural, whereas some speakers use it also as singular. All speakers use /ne³- yi¹vi'³/ with a mixed crowd, but some speakers use it also for a group of women only.) For example: /lu¹lu¹ tya²a³/ the man is man is

Negative Forms of Verbs

The negative of a verb is always actualized as a vowel of the same quality as the # preceding vowel. There are two different tone patterns of the negative stems according to the tone-glottal stop class of the verb.

When either the potential or the continuative aspect is negativized, the negative morpheme is added to the stem: /sa3a3/ to do, /sa2a3a11/ not to do; /sala11/ not doing, /sa2a3a11/ not doing; /ta3va'3/ to take out, /ta3vala'3/ not to take out; /talva'3/ taking out, talk /ta3vala'3/ not taking out.

When the completive aspect is negativized the completive aspect marker may become /ni2i3/and the following syllable has high tone. (The negative ## form /ni2i3/ has not been written in materials to date, 14-IX-71.) Optionally the aspect marker becomes /ni²/ and the tone of the following syllable is low. The tone of the noncontiguous syllables is that of the continuative affirmative form. Following are examples, washe using the verbs /sta'3ni'1/ to take out, /tu3 su'lvil/ to become wounded, /ke3ta3/ to leave, and /ta3va'3/ to take out:

NEGATIVE

COMPLETIVE CONTINUATIVE /n23ta3***
/n13 ta3va'3/ /talva'3/
/n13 ke3ta3/ /kelta'3**1/

AFFIRMATIVE

COMPLETIVE COMPLETIVE OPTION /ni2i3/ OPTION /ni2/ $/\text{ni}^2\text{i}^3 \text{tal}_{\text{va}}$ $^3/_{\text{ni}^2 \text{ta}^3\text{va}^1\text{a}}$ /ni²i³ ketlta'l/ /ni² ke³ta'l/ /ni³ tu³ su'lvil/ /ni² i³ tul su'lvil/ /ni² tu³ su'lvil/

NEGATIVE COMPLE

AFFIRMATIVE

(Some

speakers

Leo Pankratz

PHONOLOGICALLY BOUND PRONOUNS AS SUBJECT

The pronouns used in these examples are: nya 'they',

ra 'he', ah 'she', rih 'animal', nuh 'wood', rah 'water',

a 'he (honorific)', a 'it', chi 'she (honorific)'.

The verbs used in these examples are: cuhun /ku'²u³/
'will go', quie /ki³e³/ 'will leave (inherently plural)',
queta /ke³ta³/ 'will leave (inherently singular)', na sāah
/na³-sa²a'³/ 'will get angry' or 'will get warm', yóó /yo¹o¹/
'existing in a location', quíéh /ki¹e'¹/ 'are leaving', quétáh
/ke¹ta'¹/ 'is leaving'.

- 1. cūhunnya 'they will go', cūhunra 'he will go', cūhunnh 'she will go', cūhunrih 'the animal will go', cūhunnuh 'the wood will go', cūhunrah 'the water will go', cūhunn 'he (honorific) will go' or 'it will go', cūhunchi 'she (honorific) will go*'.
- 2. quie-nya 'they will leave', quetara 'he will leave', quetaáh 'she will leave', quetaríh 'the animal will leave', queta-núh 'the wood will leave', quieráh 'the water will leave', queta 'he (honorific)* will leave' or 'it will leave', quetachi 'she (honorific) will leave'.
- 3. na sāa-nyá 'they will leave', na sāará 'he will get angry', na sāah 'she will get angry', na sāarih 'the animal will get angry', na sāa-nuh 'the wood will get warm', na sāarah 'the water will get warm', na sāaá 'he @honorific) will get angry' or 'it will get warm', na sāachí 'she (honorific) will get angry'.

4. yóó-nya 'they are (here)', yóóra 'he is (here)', yóóah 'she is (here)', yóórih 'the animal is (here)', yóó-nuh 'the wood is (here)', yóórah 'the water is & (here)', yóóa 'He (honorific) is (here)' or 'it is (heræ)', yóóchi 'she (honorific)' is (here)'.

5. quíé-nyá 'they are leaving', quétárá 'he is leaving', quétán 'she is leaving', quétárín 'the animal is leaving', quétá-nún 'the wood is leaving', quíérán 'the water is leaving', quétá 'he (honorific) is leaving' or 'it is leaving', quétáchí 'she (honorific) is leaving'.

(See section 11.2. chart 2. and rules #5 and #6 for tone sandhi rules.)

PRONOUN COMPATIBILITY CHART

Object Subject	-nya	-ra	-ah	-rih	-nuh	-rah	-a (masc.)	-chi	-a (neut.)
nya	IMP	1	IMP	2	3	4	5	6	7
-ra	8 EMP	IMP	IMP	9	10	11	12	13	14
-ah	1 5	16	IMP	17	18	19	20	21	22
-rih	23	24	25	IMP	26	27	28	29	30
-nuh	31	32	33	34	IMP	ND	35	36	37
-rah	38	ND	IMP	39	40	IMP	41	42	43
-a (masc.)44	45	IMP	46	47	48	IMP	49	50
-chi	51	52	IMP	53	54	55	56	IMP	57
-a (neut.)58	59	IMP	60	61	62	IMP	琴 多 63	IMP

PRONOUN COMPATIBILITY CHART

-i	-nya 1	-ra 2	-ah 3	-rih 4	-nu h 5	-rah 6	-a -d 7	ehi 8	-а 9
-eh	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
-unh	19	20	21	22	23	214	25	26	27
yūhu	-nya 28	-ra 29	-ah 30	-rih- 31	-nuh 32	-rah 33	-a 34	-chi 35	-a 36
dūhu	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
yohó	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54
dohó	55	56	5 7	58	59	60	61	62'	63
yóóh	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72
-nya	yūhu 73	d ū hu 74	yohó 75	dohó 76	yóóh 7 7				
-ra	78	79	80	81	82				
-ah	83	84	85	86	87				
-rih	88	89	90	91	92				
-nuh	93	94	95	96	9 7				
-rah	98	9 9	100	101	102				
a -a	103	104	105	106	107				
-chi	108	109	110	111	112				
-a	113	114	115	116	117				
-i	IMP	IMP	118	119	IMP				
-eh	IMP	IMP	120	121	IMP				
-unh	122	123	IMP	IMP	IMP				
yūhu	IMP	IMP	12 5 €	125	IMP				
dūhu	IMP	IMP	126	127	IMP				
yohó	128	129	IMP	IMP	IMP				
doh ó	1 <i>8</i> 0	131	IMP#	IMP	IMP				
yóóh	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP				

EXAMPLES OF THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS AS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

- 1. ni xininyara 'they saw him'
- 2. ni xininyarih 'they saw the animal'
- 3. ni xininyanuh 'they saw the wood'
- 4. ni xininyarah 'they saw the water'
- 5. ni xininya 'they saw him (honorific)'
- 6. ni xininyachi 'they saw her (honorific)'
- 7. ni xininya 'they saw it'
- 8. ni xinira-nya 'he saw them'
- 9. ni xinirarih 'they saw the animal'
- 10. ni xinira-nuh 'the# saw the wood'
- ll. ni xinirarah 'he saw the water'
- 12. ni xinira 'he saw him (honorific)'
- 13. ni xinirachi 'he saw her (honorific)'
- Il. ni xinira he saw it'
- 15. ni xinianyá 'she saw them'
- 16. ni xiniará 'she saw him'
- 17. ni xiniarih 'she saw the animal'
- 18. ni xinianuh 'she saw the wood'
- 19. ni xiniarah 'she saw the water'
- 20. ni xiniaa 'she saw him (honorific)'
- 21. ni xiniachi 'she saw her (honorific)'
- 22. ni xiniaa 'she saw it'
- 23. ni xiniri-nyá 'the animal saw them'
- 24. ni xiniri/rá 'the animal saw him'
- 25. ni xiniriah 'the animal saw her'

- 26. ni xinirinuh 'the animal saw the wood'
- 27. ni xinirirah 'the animal saw the water'
- 28. ni xiniria 'the animal saw him (honorific)'
- 29. ni xinirichi 'the animal saw her (honorific)'
- 30. ni xiniriá 'the animal saw it'
- 31. ni na chii-nunyá 'the wood took them'
- 32. ni nahinurá 'the wood took him'
- 33. ni nahinuah 'the wood took her'
- 34. ni nahinurih 'the wood took the animal'
- 35. ni nahinuah 'the wood took him (honorific)'
- 36. ni nahinuchi 'the wood took her(honorific)'
- 37. ni nahinuá 'the wood took it'
- 38. ni na chii ra-nyá 'the water took them'
- 39. ni nahirarih 'the water took the animals'
- 40. ni nahira-nuh 'the water took the wood'
- 41. ni nahi rará ' the water took him (honorific)'
- 42. ni nahirachi 'the water took her (honorific)'
- 43. ni nahi raa 'the water took it'
- 14. ni xinianya 'he (honorific) saw them'
- 45. ni xinijara 'he (honorific) saw him'
- 46. ni xiniarih 'he (honorific) saw the animal'
- 47. ni xinianuh 'he (honorific) saw the wood'
- 48. ni xiniarah 'he (honorific) saw the water'
- 49. ni xiniachi 'he (honorific) saw her (honorific)'

27-IX-71

- 50. ni xinia 'he (honorific) saw it'
- 51. ni xinichi nya 'she (honorific) saw them'
- 52. ni xinichira 'she (honorific) saw him'
- 53. ni xinichirih 'she (honorific) saw the animal'
- 54. ni xinichi-nuh 'she %(honorific) saw the wood'
- 55. ni xinichirah 'she (honorific) saw the water'
- 56. ni xinichia 'she(honorific) saw t him (honorific)'
- 57. ni xinichia 'she (honorific) saw it'
- 58. ni disoainya 'it carried them'
- 59. ni disoara 'it carried him'
- 60. ni disoarih 'it carried the animal'
- 61. ni disoma-nuh 'it carried the wood'
- 62. ni disdaa 'it carried him (honorific)'
- 63. ni discaried her (honorific)'

DIALOGUE-NARRATIVE DICHOTOMY OF PRONOUNS

The difference between the third person pronouns, and the first and second person pronouns is that the first and second person pronouns are used by speakers in feferring to themselves and to the persons to whom the conversation is directed, whereas the third person pronouns are # used by speakers in referring to persons to whom the converstion is not directed.

INCLUSIVE-EXCLUSIVE DICHOTOMM IN FIRST PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS

The exclusive pronoun, duhu, refers to the p speaker and some person(s) to whom the conversation is not derected, but it does not include the intended recipient of the conversation (or whoever may include himself as one of the intended hearers). The inclusive pronouns, -eh and yooh, include all hearers as well as the speaker, and may also include persons not present. Examples are using vihe 'house' and yuvaah 'father' are: **** ded vihe duhu 'our house not yours]'; viheéh 'our house [yours too]'; vihe yooh 'our (emphatic) house yours tooj'; yuvááh duhu 'our father not yours]'; yavááh 'our father yours too] '; yuvááh yóóh 'our father (emphatic) father [yours too]'.

Dichotomy of Pronouns into Subject and Object Classes

Some of the first and second person pronouns (also) have a dichotomy of Subject and Object forms. This might juxtapose two unbound (phonologically) pronoun forms, but very rarely. The Subject forms are all bound forms except under emphasis. When the subject is emphasized the form (word) is homophonous with the Object form.

Examples of the Subject or bound forms when not emphasized:

with

Cuhun 'to go', -unh 'you (sing.)' cuhunh 'you go!, 'or 'you will

we (incl.)' cuhuenh

go;' with -i 'I' cuhuin 'I will go;' with -eh 'let us 'go,' or

we will go.'

Examples of the Subject or free form when emphasized:

with the subject following the verb: cuhun 'to go' with yoho cuhun yuhu 'you (Sing.)' cuhun yoho 'you go! ; with yuhu 'I' cuhun 'I will go'; with yooh 'we (incl.)' cuhun yooh 'let us all go,' or 'we will all go.'

with the subject preceding the verb: cuhun 'to go' with yohó 'you (sing.)' yohó cuhun 'you go'; with yuhu 'I' yuhu cuhun 'I will go'; with yóóh 'we (incl.)' whe yóóh cuhun 'let us *** all go,' or 'we will all go.'

ADDITIONAL DATA ON TONE SANDHI

There is a type of tone sandhi (which was not described in the paper "Phonology and Morphotonemics of Ayutla Mixtec, IJAL, vol. 33, no. 4, October 1967, pp. 287-299.) which affects suffixes ending in glottal stop when they immediately follow the low-low tone forms of verb stems which are low-low in tone without glottal stop in the potential aspect and high-high in tone with glottal stop in the continuative aspect. Examples of these berbs are:

/ka3e3/ to leave, /kale'l/ leaving;
/ka3ka3/ to walk, /silka'l/ walking;
/sa3a3/ to do, /sala'l/ doing.

Followed by /ri'3/ animal:
/ki3e3ri'1/ the animals will leave,
/ka3ka3ri'1/ the animals will walk,
/sa3a3ri'1/ the animals will do.

this growthy a footrate in the land -

NEW CONSONANT PHONEME AND MORPHOTONEMICS

The phoneme /ny/ was not discovered to be in contrast to $/\tilde{n}/$ until the paper ---- was written.

The phonemes /ny/ and /ñ/ contrast only before /a/ as in /nya' 2 a 3 / early and / 3 a 3 /thing; /nya' 3 a 1 / evil and / 3 a' 1 / woman.

 $/\tilde{n}/$ occurs only preceding /a/ and /e/. For example: rich woman is either /nya3 vilka'l/ or /nye3 vilka'l/. That same proclitic also varies to /ne/ as in /ne3 vilkail/.

The first vowel of a couplet which has *### /ny/ as the first consonant and /'/ (glottal stop) as the second, may vary in some words from /a/ to /e/: /nya'2a3/ or /nye'2a3/ early. In some words the first syllable may vary from /nya/ to /ni/: /nya'3al/or/ni'3al/evil.