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# **Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages**

**C. Henry Bradley  
and  
Barbara E. Hollenbach  
Editors**

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**A Syntactic Sketch of  
Ocatepec Mixtec**

*Ruth Mary Alexander*

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# Introduction

## 0.1 Orientation

Ocotepec Mixtec is spoken by approximately 8,000 people living in Santo Tomás Ocotepec, Santa Cruz Nundaco, and Santa María Cuquila, all in the district of Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca, Mexico. This sketch is based on the speech of Ocotepec, and the minor differences found in the speech of Nundaco and Cuquila are not included.

The majority of the people of Ocotepec know only enough Spanish to buy and sell in local markets, and children of Mixtec parents learn Mixtec as their first language. Some of the people are, however, fairly bilingual because they have left the area for a time to work in Mexico City or in seasonal agricultural work, or because they have attended the primary schools that have been in the area for the past few decades. Many of the younger people have a better command of Spanish than most of the older ones do. The situation in the other two towns appears to be similar.

This sketch is based on data supplied in 1978 by Tranquilino Avendaño Corts, a native of Ocotepec, as well as on data gathered by Cornelia Mak and me during fieldwork in Ocotepec beginning in 1953. The principal language associate during this time has been Ireneo Avendaño López, but Lucio Avendaño J., Salomón Reyes Avendaño, and others too numerous to mention have also been very helpful. The text in chapter 7 was written in 1978 by Tranquilino Avendaño Cortés, who was twenty-five years old at that time.

A concordance of texts recorded by a number of people in Ocotepec was compiled in 1966 on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, supported in part by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation. Extensive use of this concordance has been made in the preparation of this sketch.

## 0.2 Phonology

Ocotepec Mixtec has the following consonants: voiceless stops and affricate *p t ch k kw*, prenasalized stops and affricate *nd nj ng*, voiceless fricatives *s sh x*, voiced fricatives *v d y*, nasals *m n ñ*, liquid *l*, laryngeal *h* (glottal stop). A number of these (*p nj ng d m l*) are rare, with *d* occurring mainly in two common morphemes: *dē* 'and' and *de* 'he (respect)'. Spanish loanwords have introduced the following additional consonants: *mb f g r rr*. They have also introduced a number of new consonant clusters.

A number of morphophonemic changes take place following *n-* 'completive aspect', *n-* 'negative', and *n-* 'hortatory'. Voiceless stops and affricates are voiced, and the sequence is phonetically identical with prenasalized stops and affricates. *s* and *sh* are also voiced, and the *n-* is usually omitted, leaving only a voiced fricative [z] or [zh]. These three morphemes also fuse with a following *y* to yield a sequence that is phonetically identical to *nj*. In this sketch I write the underlying forms of all these bimorphemic sequences.

There are five oral vowels, *i e a o u*, and also five nasalized vowels, *in en an on un*.

There are three tones: high (written with acute accent), mid (written with macron), and low (unmarked). There are a number of sandhi rules in which underlying tones are replaced by other tones following certain morphemes. In this sketch the tones written in examples are the surface tones that result from the application of sandhi rules, not the underlying forms. Ocotepec Mixtec also has five monosyllabic tone glides, which have developed as a consequence of tone sandhi or of the deletion of a vowel. These tone glides are high-low, mid-high, low-high, low-mid, and low-high-low. They are written by adding a colon after the vowel, on which the second tone of the glide is marked, and another colon for the third. For example, *xít-ō:* 'we (inclusive) guard' has a mid-high glide, and *skā:kā* 'saved' has a low-high-low glide. Note that the colons do not represent length.

The phonology of Ocotepec Mixtec is described more fully in Mak (1958).

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Avendaño J., Lucio, and Ruth Mary Alexander. 1970. Stories of a Mixteco Town, *Tlalocan* 6:169-75.

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# 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 by means of an equative verb. Stative sentences link a subject to a stative verb; sometimes this linkage is provided by another verb. Each of these sentence types may take a peripheral element, such as location and/or time. 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 in 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.

*taān*

POT:quake

'There will be an earthquake.'

*tú.ū*

CON:dawn

'It is dawning.'

*ñīnī*

POT:get:late

'It will get late in the afternoon.'

**1.1.2 Intransitive sentences.** The minimal form of an intransitive sentence consists of an intransitive verb followed by its subject. A pronoun subject referring to something inanimate is often unexpressed.

*vaxī nā*  
 INC:come she  
 'She is coming.'

*káshin nu*  
 CON:sleep you:FAM  
 'You are sleeping.'

*ndávā sāa*  
 CON:jump bird  
 'The bird is flying.'

*káūn savi*  
 CON:come:down rain  
 'It is raining.'

*chū xīn*  
 CON:get:wet he:FAM  
 'He is getting wet.'

*chóho ndēyū*  
 CON:cook soup  
 'The soup is cooking.'

*chóho*  
 CON:cook  
 '(It) is cooking.'

(See also 7.7, 7.38, 7.39, 7.47, and various others.)

**1.1.3 Transitive sentences.** The minimal form of a transitive sentence consists of a transitive verb, its subject, and its object. A pronoun object referring to something inanimate is often unexpressed.

*xīhī chílū ndūtē*  
 CON:drink cat water  
 'The cat is drinking water.'

*xáhnū de nūūn*  
 CON:bend he:RES wood  
 'He is breaking the stick.'

*shí:kó nā nuni*  
 CON:sell she corn  
 'She is selling corn.'

*ndékā xīn stiki*  
 CON:lead he:FAM ox  
 'He is leading the ox.'

*sáhá sán ndūxa*  
 CON:do I:RES hominy  
 'I am making hominy.'

*xéhnde de ñūtūn*  
 CON:cut he:RES wood  
 'He is cutting down trees.'

*kí:kū ñā sāhmā*  
 CON:sew she cloth  
 'She is sewing cloth.'

*kí:kū ñā*  
 CON:sew she  
 'She is sewing (it).'

(See also 7.36, 7.38, and various others.)

Reflexive action is indicated by the occurrence of the specifier *māá* (see 3.1.2) preceding the object pronoun. The object pronoun must agree with the subject.

*xí:ni sán māá sán*  
 COM:see I:RES SPEC me:RES  
 'I saw myself.'<sup>1</sup>

*xa:hni de māá de*  
 COM:kill he:RES SPEC him:RES  
 'He killed himself.'

Some transitive sentences allow the omission of the object when the focus is on the action, as seen by comparing the following pairs of sentences.

*yáxi ñā*  
 CON:eat she  
 'She is eating.'

cf. *yáxi ñā staa*  
 CON:eat she tortilla  
 'She is eating tortillas.'

*xīhī de*  
 CON:drink he:RES  
 'He drinks.'

cf. *xīhī de ndīshi*  
 CON:drink he:RES pulque  
 'He drinks pulque.'

(See also 7.14 and 7.21.)

<sup>1</sup> Ocotepéc Mixtec pronouns do not distinguish grammatical function (see 5.4). It would therefore be more accurate to gloss them consistently by a single English form. I have, however, chosen to gloss them by the English form most appropriate in the context in order to enable the reader to understand the structure of the Mixtec examples more quickly.



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

The locative adjunct expresses source, destination, or location, depending on the meaning of the verb; it includes elements traditionally classified as indirect object. This adjunct is normally required with verbs that express change of possession, change of location, position, or placement.

With transitive verbs that express change of possession, the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, and it has an animate, usually human, referent. It is usually signaled by the locative noun *nuu* 'face'.

*xéhē de tūtu nuu ñā*  
 CON:give he:RES paper face her  
 'He gives her the paper.'

*shí:kó de nuni nuu māría*  
 CON:sell he:RES corn face Mary  
 'He sells the corn to Mary (Sp. *María*).'

*kéhēn de nuni nuu ñā*  
 CON:take he:RES corn face her  
 'He buys corn from her.'

*skáxi xwáan nuni kũĩ*  
 CON:feed John corn animal  
 'John (Sp. *Juan*) feeds corn to the animals.'

With intransitive verbs that express change of location (motion verbs), the locative adjunct expresses source or destination, depending on such factors as the meaning of the verb, the location of the speaker, and the location of the subject; but destination is more frequent. Locative adjuncts of this type usually have inanimate referents, and they are often expressed by adverbs or nouns unmarked by any locative noun or preposition, but may have the preposition *xonde* 'until', indicating that the source or goal is not in the immediate vicinity.

*vaxĩ ñā méxiko*  
 INC:come she Mexico:City  
 'She is coming from Mexico City (Sp. *México*).'  
 'She is coming to Mexico City.'

*vaxā nā xonde méxiko*  
 INC:come she until Mexico:City  
 'She is coming from as far as Mexico City.' or  
 'She is coming as far as to Mexico City.'

*xéhen de méxiko*  
 CON:go he:RES Mexico:City  
 'He goes to Mexico City.'

*xéhen de xonde méxiko*  
 CON:go he:RES until Mexico:City  
 'He goes as far as to Mexico City.'

(See also 7.45.)

With intransitive verbs that express position, the locative adjunct usually occurs and expresses location. Its referent is commonly either inanimate or part of an animate entity, and it is usually expressed by an adverbial noun phrase (see 3.6).

*nūhūn staa īni ndoho*  
 CON:be:in tortilla insides basket  
 'The tortillas are in the basket.'

*yíhí de vēhē kaā*  
 CON:be:in he:RES house metal  
 'He is in jail.'

*kánúú ti chixīn mésa*  
 CON:lie it:AML stomach table  
 'It is lying under the table (Sp. *mesa*).'

(See also 7.3, 7.22, 7.31, and 7.37.)

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

*kénēhēn nā staa īni ndoho*  
 CON:take:out she tortilla insides basket  
 'She is taking tortillas out of the basket.'

*chūhūn nā staa īni ndoho*  
 CON:put she tortilla insides basket  
 'She is putting tortillas in the basket.'

*chísō nā staa nuu mésa*  
 CON:put:on she tortilla face table  
 'She is putting the tortillas on the table.'

*kiün de ñütün ñā*  
 CON:come:down he:RES wood her  
 'He is hitting her with a stick.'  
 (lit. 'He is hitting the stick on her.')

*xéhnde de kaā ñütün*  
 CON:cut he:RES metal wood  
 'He is cutting down trees with an ax.'  
 (lit. 'He is cutting the ax on the trees.')

(See also 7.26 and 7.44.)

The benefactive adjunct must have an animate referent; it is marked by the locative nouns *xehé* 'foot' or *kwénda* 'account' (Sp. *cuenta*), or by the complex preposition *xa xéhe* 'for the sake of'. (The word *xa* is basically a prestressed unspecified third person pronoun [see 5.4], but it has a number of special functions. One of the most important is that it serves as a complementizer [see 1.1.9], and it is glossed 'complementizer' in this sketch whenever its function is nonpronominal.)

*shíko de nuni xehé tātá de*  
 CON:sell he:RES corn foot father his:RES  
 'He sells corn for the sake of his father.'

*xéēn ñā ndīkā kwénda nānā ñā*  
 CON:buy she banana account mother her  
 'She buys bananas for her mother.'

*káhan de xa xéhe xīn*  
 CON:speak he:RES CMP foot his:FAM  
 'He speaks on the child's behalf.'

*káhan de xehé xīn*  
 CON:speak he:RES foot his:FAM  
 'He speaks on the child's behalf.'

*xáhni xwáan kīī xa xéhe ñāni de*  
 CON:kill John animal CMP foot brother:ME his:RES  
 'John kills the animals for the sake of his brother.'

The associative adjunct is marked by the preposition *xīn* 'with'; it adds a second participant to some other element of the sentence, usually the subject. When the adjunct immediately follows the element it expands, the combination of the two is ambiguous with an additive noun phrase (see 3.8).

*káhan mǎria xín kuhu nā*  
 CON:speak Mary with sister:FE her  
 'Mary speaks to her sister.' *or*  
 'Mary and her sister speak.'

*skáxi xwáan kīī xín nāni de*  
 CON:feed John animal with brother:ME his:RES  
 'John feeds the animals with his brother.'

*kwahan xwáan xín táhán xín*  
 INC:go John with companion his:FAM  
 'John went with his companion.' *or*  
 'John and his companion went.'

*xítō teē kīī xín táhán de*  
 CON:guard man animal with companion his:RES  
 'The man takes care of the animals with his companions.'

*yáxi de staa xín sehē de*  
 CON:eat he:RES tortilla with child his:RES  
 'He eats with his child.'

*yáxi de staa xín kuñū*  
 CON:eat he:RES tortilla with meat  
 'He is eating tortillas with meat.' *or*  
 'He is eating tortillas and meat.'

*kēhēn nā tikūmī xín tināna*  
 POT:take she onion with tomato  
 'She will buy onions with tomatoes.' *or*  
 'She will buy onions and tomatoes.'

Further examples of the associative adjunct are found in 7.33 and 7.35; in these sentences, *xín* 'with' occurs with no object expressed.

Instrument adjuncts also use the preposition *xín* 'with', although occasionally it is deleted.

*xáhni xwáan stiki xín yūchi*  
 CON:kill John ox with knife  
 'John kills oxen with a knife.'

*xéhnde xwáan nūtūn xín kaā*  
 CON:cut John wood with metal  
 'John cuts down trees with an ax.'

The logical instrument is often expressed as a direct object, and the element translated as a direct object in English is expressed as a locative adjunct, as seen in some of the examples under locative adjunct above.

The referent adjunct is marked by locative nouns such as *nuu* 'face' or *siki* 'nape', or by the complex preposition *xa siki* 'because of'.

*xáhni xwáan kīī nuu ñāni de*  
 CON:kill John animal face brother:ME his:RES  
 'John kills the animal in place of his brother('s doing it).'

*káhan de siki ñāni de*  
 CON:speak he:RES nape brother:ME his:RES  
 'He is speaking about his brother.' or  
 'He is speaking against his brother.'

*n-kakū ti nuu tu:ndóhó*  
 COM-escape it:AML face trouble  
 'The animal escaped from trouble.'

*káhan ñā kwachī siki de*  
 CON:speak she sin nape his:RES  
 'She is accusing him.'

*kwahan de méxiko xa siki sehē de*  
 INC:go he:RES Mexico:City CMP nape child his:RES  
 'He went to Mexico City because of his child.'

Occasionally, two adjuncts occur in a single sentence. The only restriction noted is that benefactive and referent do not cooccur. The order of the adjuncts is free.

*sátīñú de xīn stiki de xa xēhe sehē de*  
 CON:work he:RES with ox his:RES CMP foot child his:RES  
 'He works with his oxen for the sake of his child.'

*kwahan de xīn ti yūkū*  
 INC:go he:RES with it:AML mountain  
 'He went with it to the mountain.'

*xéhnde xwáan ñūtūn xīn kaā xīn ñāni de*  
 CON:cut John wood with metal with brother:ME his:RES  
 'John and his brother cut down trees with an ax.'

*xéhnde xwáan ñūtūn xīn ñāni de xīn kaā*  
 CON:cut John wood with brother:ME his:RES with metal  
 'John and his brother cut down trees with an ax.'

*kwahan de méxiko xehe nāná de*  
 INC:go he:RES Mexico:City foot mother his:RES  
 'He went to Mexico City for his mother's sake.'

*kwahan de xehe nānā de méxiko*  
 INC:go he:RES foot mother his:RES Mexico:City  
 'He went to Mexico City for his mother's sake.'

**1.1.5 Equative sentences.** The minimal form of an equative sentence consists of a nominal complement, an equative verb, and its subject. These sentences occur in two different orders. The more common order is nominal complement—verb—subject, but the order verb—subject—nominal complement also occurs. The equative verbs are *kūū* 'to be', *ndūū* 'to be again', and *kūnānī* 'to be named'.

*māéstru kūū de*  
 teacher CON:be he:RES  
 'He is a teacher (Sp. *maestro*).'

*kūū de māéstru*  
 CON:be he:RES teacher  
 'He is a teacher.'

*tīna kūū ti*  
 dog CON:be it:AML  
 'It is a dog.'

*māéstru kūū teē űúkwán*  
 teacher CON:be man that  
 'That man is a teacher.'

*kūū teē űúkwán māéstru*  
 CON:be man that teacher  
 'That man is a teacher.'

*māéstru ndūū teē űúkwán*  
 teacher POT:be:again man that  
 'That man will be a teacher again.'

*ndūū teē űúkwán māéstru*  
 POT:be:again man that teacher  
 'That man will be a teacher again.'

*xwáan nání de*  
 John CON:be:named he:RES  
 'His name is John.'

*nání de xwáan*  
 CON:be:named he:RES John  
 'His name is John.'

(See also 7.24.)

An inanimate subject is usually unexpressed in an equative sentence, and an animate subject is also sometimes unexpressed.

*sāhmā kúū*  
cloth CON:be  
'(It) is cloth.'

*māéstru kúū*  
teacher CON:be  
'(He) is a teacher.'

**1.1.6 Stative sentences.** The minimal form of a stative sentence consists of a stative verb and its subject. All such sentences are continuative in meaning.

*káhnú ti*  
big:SG it:AML  
'It is big.'

*ñáhnú ñā*  
old she  
'She is old.'

*vīshé sāhmā*  
wet cloth  
'The cloth is wet.'

*lūlí xīn*  
little he:FAM  
'He is little.'

*káhnú stiki de*  
big:SG ox his:RES  
'His ox is big.'

(See also 7.34.)

An inanimate subject is usually unexpressed.

*vīshé*  
wet  
'(It) is wet.'

*vīī*  
pretty  
'(It) is pretty.'

To express an aspect other than continuative, the intransitive verb *kōō* 'to exist' is used to link the stative verb and the subject. The completive

aspect of *kōō* is *iyō*. It is also possible to use the continuative aspect of *kōō*, which is *iyó*.

*vahā kōō*            *ītu*  
good POT:exist    cornfield  
'The cornfield will be good.'

*sheen iyō*            *tāma*  
fierce COM:exist    famine  
'The famine was bad.'

*vahā iyó*            *sāhmā*  
good CON:exist    cloth  
'The cloth is good.'

(See also 7.10, 7.17, and 7.35.)

Stative sentences may also take one of the following verbs: *kūū* 'to be' and *ndūū* 'to be again', which may be used in any aspect; and *káá* 'to appear', which does not occur in the potential aspect. These verbs usually occur between the stative verb and the subject, but sometimes precede the stative verb.

*káhnú n-ku:ū*            *tí*  
big:SG COM-COM:be    it:AML  
'It got big.'

*káhnú kūū*            *tí*  
big:SG CON:be    it:AML  
'It is big.'

*káhnú kūū*            *tí*  
big:SG POT:be    it:AML  
'It will be big.'

*vahā káá*            *sāhmā*  
good CON:appear    cloth  
'The cloth looks good.'

*káhnú ndu:ū*            *tí*  
big:SG COM:be:again    it:AML  
'It got big again.'

*n-ku:ū*            *káhnú tí*  
COM-COM:be    big:SG    it:AML  
'It got big.'

(See also 7.22.)



Certain verbs of perception that are normally transitive have special intransitive sense discriminations in stative sentences.

*āsin*      *yáxi*  
delicious CON:eat  
'(It) tastes delicious.'

**1.1.7 Peripheral elements.** All basic sentence types optionally indicate location and time. Peripheral location describes the setting of an entire predication and so is distinguished from locative adjuncts, which complete the meaning of some verbs. Peripheral elements often occur at major transition points within the discourse. They may be adverbs, adverb phrases (see 4.2), adverbial noun phrases (see 3.6), prepositional phrases introduced by *xonde* 'until' (see 4.3), or subordinate sentences (see 6.2.1).

Location:

*n-taān*      *méxico*  
COM-quake Mexico:City  
'There was an earthquake in Mexico City.'

*sátíñú*      *de*      *ĩnu*  
CON:work he:RES cornfield  
'He is working in the cornfield.'

*n-ya:xi*      *de*      *staa*      *ñúkwán*  
COM-COM:eat he:RES tortilla there  
'He ate tortillas there.'

*kāndēñi*      *sán*      *yáhá*      *nī*  
POT:wait I:RES here LIM  
'I will wait right here.'

*kí:kū*      *ñā*      *ĩni*      *vēhē*  
CON:sew she insides house  
'She is sewing in the house.'

*sátíñú*      *de*      *xonde*      *méxico*  
CON:work he:RES until Mexico:City  
'He works as far away as Mexico City.'

Time:

*n-taān*      *ikū*  
COM-quake yesterday  
'There was an earthquake yesterday.'

*sátínú de mūtān*  
 CON:work he:RES now  
 'He is working now.'

*nēndā de shini kwíya*  
 POT:return he:RES head year  
 'He will return the end of the year.'

*ndoō de xonde inga kwiya*  
 POT:stay he:RES until another year  
 'He will stay until next year.'

(See also 7.25 and 7.46.)

If both location and time occur, location usually precedes time.

*sátínú de ītu mūtān*  
 CON:work he:RES cornfield now  
 'He is working in the cornfield today.'

**1.1.8 Focus permutations.** In appropriate discourse contexts, one element of the sentence may be focused by permuting it to pre-verb-phrase position. Throughout this sketch focused elements are indicated by capitalization in the free translation. When a noun subject is focused, a coreferential poststressed clitic pronoun (see 5.4) optionally follows the verb. If a clitic subject is to be focused, it must be preceded by the specifier or a quantifier phrase.

Subject focus:

*teē nūkwán kihin*  
 man that POT:go  
 'THAT MAN will go.'

*teē nūkwán kihin de*  
 man that POT:go he:RES  
 'THAT MAN will go.'

*ndóhó kishin*  
 you:FAM CON:sleep  
 'YOU are sleeping.'

*māá ti xihī ndūtē*  
 SPEC it:AML CON:drink water  
 'IT is drinking water.'

*māá ti xihī ti ndūtē*  
 SPEC it:AML CON:drink it:AML water  
 'IT is drinking water.'

## Object focus:

*ndūtē xīhī            tī*  
 water CON:drink it:AML  
 'It drinks WATER.'

*ndīkā xehē            ñā nuu de*  
 banana COM:give she face his:RES  
 'She gave him A BANANA.'

## Locative adjunct focus:

*nuu ñā xéhē            de            tūtu*  
 face her CON:give he:RES paper  
 'He gives the paper TO HER.'

*méxiko            xéhen            de*  
 Mexico:City CON:go he:RES  
 'He goes TO MEXICO CITY.'

*īni            ndoho ñúhún            staa*  
 insides basket CON:be:in tortilla  
 'The tortillas are IN THE BASKET.'

## Benefactive adjunct focus:

*xehē tātá            de            shí:kó            de            nuni*  
 foot father his:RES CON:sell he:RES corn  
 'He sells corn FOR THE SAKE OF HIS FATHER.'

*kwénda náná            ñā xéēn            ñā yāhā*  
 account mother her CON:buy she chili  
 'She buys chili FOR HER MOTHER.'

## Referent adjunct focus:

*siki            ñāni            de            káhan            de*  
 nape brother:ME his:RES CON:speak he:RES  
 'He is speaking ABOUT HIS BROTHER.' *or*  
 'He is speaking AGAINST HIS BROTHER.'

## Peripheral element focus:

*yáhá nī            kúndētū            sán*  
 here LIM POT:wait I:RES  
 'I will wait RIGHT HERE.'

*xehe mihnde xikā ti*  
 foot prickly:pear:cactus CON:walk it:AML  
 'It's walking AT THE FOOT OF THE PRICKLY PEAR CACTUS.'

*ikū kwahan de méxiko*  
 yesterday INC:go he:RES Mexico:City  
 'He went to Mexico City YESTERDAY.'

(See also 7.32.)

When either the instrument adjunct or the associative adjunct occurs in focus position, the preposition *xíin* 'with' is not fronted. It usually follows the subject, but in a transitive sentence it is optionally unexpressed.

*kaā xéhnde de xíin nūtūn*  
 metal CON:cut he:RES with wood  
 'He cuts down trees with AN AX.'

*kaā xéhnde de nūtūn*  
 metal CON:cut he:RES wood  
 'He cuts down trees with AN AX.'

*stiki sātīnú de xíin*  
 ox CON:work he:RES with  
 'He works with OXEN.'

*nāni de kwahan de xíin*  
 brother:ME his:RES INC:go he:RES with  
 'He went with HIS BROTHER.'

When a peripheral element is focused, a preposition or locative noun that signals it is fronted along with the rest of the phrase.

*xonde méxiko sātīnú de*  
 until Mexico:City CON:work he:RES  
 'He works AS FAR AWAY AS IN MEXICO CITY.'

A somewhat stronger form of focus can be expressed by using the conjunction *dē* 'and' or the sentential marker *chī* 'indeed' after the focused item. If the focused item has a human referent, a pronoun copy of it must appear in normal position, and a pronoun or adverb copy sometimes occurs for impersonal focused items also. A slight pause optionally precedes the *dē* or *chī*.

*steen dē kāxi de ndūxa*  
 tomorrow and POT:eat he:RES hominy  
 'He will eat hominy TOMORROW.'

*ikū chī n-ke:hēn nā kisī káhnú*  
 yesterday indeed COM-COM:take she cooking:pot big:SG  
 'She bought a big cooking pot YESTERDAY.'

*nāni de chī sátnú de mītān*  
 brother:ME his:RES indeed CON:work he:RES now  
 'HIS BROTHER is working now.'

*méxico chī sátnú de nūkwán*  
 Mexico:City indeed CON:work he:RES there  
 'He works IN MEXICO CITY.'

(See also 7.29 and 7.35.)

In equative sentences the subject may be focused, in which case the nominal complement must follow the verb, rather than precede it.

*teē nūkwán kúū māéstru*  
 man that CON:be teacher  
 'THAT MAN is a teacher.'

*māá de kúū prēsidente*  
 SPEC he:RES CON:be president  
 'HE is president (Sp. *presidente*).'

To focus the subject of a stative sentence, it is necessary to use *chī* 'indeed', as described above, and/or to recast the stative sentence as an equative sentence by adding the equative verb *kúū* 'to be' following the stative verb.

*sāhmā chī vahā*  
 cloth indeed good  
 'THE CLOTH is good.'

*sāhmā vahā kúū*  
 cloth good CON:be  
 '(It) is good CLOTH.'

*sāhmā chī vahā kúū*  
 cloth indeed good CON:be  
 '(It) is good CLOTH.'

**1.1.9 Sentential complements.** Basic sentences occur as subject complements, as object complements, and occasionally as complements functioning as adjuncts or nominal complements within other sentences. Object complements are most frequent.

There are two kinds of subject complements. The first kind serves as the subject of an intransitive sentence, and the second kind serves as the subject of a stative sentence.

The first kind of subject complement occurs only with a restricted set of intransitive verbs. They include *kixéhé* 'to begin', *ndihī* 'to end', *xinū* 'to end', *kūū* 'to be possible' (homophonous with *kūū* 'to be'), and *kánūú* 'to be necessary'. The subject complements optionally begin with the complementizer *xa*, except for those occurring with the verb *kūū* 'to be possible'. With *kixéhé* 'to begin' as the main verb, the complement verb may have the same or a different aspect.

*kixéhé taān ndāsí*  
 POT:begin POT:quake INTS  
 'A bad earthquake will begin.'

*kixéhé xa taān ndāsí*  
 POT:begin CMP POT:quake INTS  
 'A bad earthquake will begin.'

*n-kí:xéhé ndóhō de*  
 COM-COM:begin CON:suffer he:RES  
 'He began to suffer.'

With *ndihī* and *xinū*, each meaning 'to end', the complement verb must agree with the main verb in aspect.

*ndi:hī n-sa:tūnú de*  
 COM:end COM-COM:work he:RES  
 'He finished working.'

*ndihī xa kūnū nā shikin*  
 POT:end CMP POT:weave she tunic  
 'She will finish weaving the tunic.'

*xinū n-ka:hvī de tūtu*  
 COM:end COM-COM:read he:RES paper  
 'He finished reading the book.'

With *kūū* 'to be possible' and *kánūú* 'to be necessary', the complement verb must be in the potential aspect.

*kūū kāhvī de tūtu*  
 CON:be:possible POT:read he:RES paper  
 'He can read.'

*kánūú kihin de*  
 CON:be:necessary POT:go he:RES  
 'He must go.'

*kánūú xa kihin de*  
 CON:be:necessary CMP POT:go he:RES  
 'He must go.'

When an equative sentence serves as complement, the order is usually verb—subject—nominal complement.

*kūū*                      *ndūū*                      *de*                      *prēsídēnte*  
 POT:be:possible    POT:be:again    he:RES    president  
 'He will be able to be president again.'

The second kind of subject complement usually serves as the subject of a stative sentence. It is frequently introduced by the complementizer *xa* or, if a value judgment is involved, by the preverbal marker *ná* 'hortatory' (see 2.1.2).

*vahā xa*                      *kīxī*                      *de*                      *steen*  
 good CMP    POT:come    he:RES    tomorrow  
 'It's good that he will come tomorrow.'

*vixín*                      *kīxī*                      *de*  
 difficult    POT:come    he:RES  
 'It will be hard for him to come.'

*vahā ná*                      *kákín*                      *de*                      *ītu*                      *de*  
 good HORT    POT:plant    he:RES    cornfield    his:RES  
 'It's good that he should plant his cornfield.'

Object complements also fall into two kinds, conditioned by the relationship between the main verb and the complement sentence. In the first kind, the main verb brings some influence to bear on the complement sentence, and in the second kind, the main verb simply reports it.

The first kind of object complement usually shows restrictions of subject and/or aspect between the matrix and complement sentences, depending on the main verb. These verbs include *kūni* 'to want', *kētāhan* 'to like' (used only with *īni* 'insides' in the subject), *skwāhā* 'to study', *kūtuhá* 'to learn', *kūni* 'to know' when it means 'to know how to do something', *kīxéhé* 'to begin', and *sahá* 'to do'. The main verb *kūni* 'to want' restricts the complement sentence to potential or continuative aspect. If the subjects are coreferential, the complementizer is frequently omitted. If the subjects are noncoreferential, the complementizer must occur.

*kūni*                      *xīn*                      *kāhvī*                      *xīn*                      *tūtu*  
 CON:want    he:FAM    POT:read    he:FAM    paper  
 'He wants to read.'

*kūni*                      *xīn*                      *xa*                      *kāhvī*                      *xīn*                      *tūtu*  
 CON:want    he:FAM    CMP    POT:read    he:FAM    paper  
 'He wants to read.'

*kúni de sātínú de*  
 CON:want he:RES CON:work he:RES  
 'He wants to be working constantly.'

*kúni nā xa kihin de yahvī*  
 CON:want she CMP POT:go he:RES market  
 'She wants him to go to market.'

With the idiom *kētāhan īni* 'to like', any aspect occurs in the complement sentence. If the aspect is completive, the complementizer must be used, but with potential and continuative aspects, the complementizer is usually omitted if the subjects of the main sentence and the complement sentence are coreferential. If the subjects are noncoreferential, the complementizer must occur.

*xētāhan īni de kihin de yahvī*  
 CON:like insides his:RES POT:go he:RES market  
 'He likes to go to market.'

*xētāhan īni nā xa: xehen nā yahvī*  
 CON:like insides her CMP:COM COM:go she market  
 'She liked having gone to market.'

*xētāhan īni nā xa káhvī xān tūtu*  
 CON:like insides her CMP CON:read he:FAM paper  
 'She likes it that he reads.'

With the verbs *skwáha* 'to study' and *kūtuhá* 'to learn', the subjects of both the main sentence and the complement sentence are always coreferential. The complement sentence must be in potential aspect, and the complementizer is omitted. The same restrictions hold for the verb *kūni* 'to know' when it means 'to know how to do something'.

*ni skwa:hā de káhvī de tūtu*  
 COM COM:study he:RES POT:read he:RES paper  
 'He studied reading.'

*kūtuhá de sahá de kisi*  
 POT:learn he:RES POT:do he:RES cooking:pot  
 'He will learn to make cooking pots.'

*xīni de sātínú de ītu*  
 CON:know he:RES POT:work he:RES cornfield  
 'He knows how to work in the cornfield.'

With *kāxéhé* 'to begin', which also occurs with subject complements, the complement verb may have the same or a different aspect. The complementizer is usually omitted. The subjects are coreferential.



*n-ki:xéhé*      *ya*      *ni*      *ste:hen*      *ya*      *tuhún*      *ya*  
 COM-COM:begin    he:DEI    COM    COM:show    he:DEI    word    his:DEI  
 'He began to teach His word.'

*kāxéhé*      *tīna*      *kūnū*      *ti*  
 POT:begin    dog    POT:run    it:AML  
 'The dog will begin to run.'

The verb *sahá* 'to do', which is used to form syntactic causatives, takes a complementizer unless the complement is fronted, in which case the complementizer is omitted. The two sentences usually require noncoreferential subjects. The aspects normally agree.

*n-sahá*      *de*      *xa:*      *xehen*      *xīn*      *ndīnūu*  
 COM-do    he:RES    CMP:COM    COM:go    he:FAM    Tlaxiaco  
 'He made him go to Tlaxiaco.'

*xehen*      *xīn*      *ndīnūu* / *n-sahá*      *de*  
 COM:go    he:FAM    Tlaxiaco    COM-do    he:RES  
 'He made him go to Tlaxiaco.'

*sahá*      *ñā*      *xa*      *kāxi*      *xīn*      *ndīkā*  
 POT:do    she    CMP    POT:eat    he:FAM    banana  
 'She will make him eat a banana.'

*kāxi*      *xīn*      *ndīkā* / *sahá*      *ñā*  
 POT:eat    he:FAM    banana    POT:do    she  
 'She will make him eat a banana.'

*sáhá*      *ñā*      *xa*      *xīkā*      *xīn*      *skwéla*  
 CON:do    she    CMP    CON:walk    he:FAM    school  
 'She makes him go to school (Sp. *escuela*).'

*xīkā*      *xīn*      *skwéla* / *sáhá*      *ñā*  
 CON:walk    he:FAM    school    CON:do    she  
 'She makes him go to school.'

The second kind of object complement, which occurs with verbs that simply report, generally shows no restrictions on subject or aspect between the matrix sentence and the complement sentence. The complementizer usually occurs.

*ndéhé*      *sán*      *xa*      *váxī*      *de*  
 CON:see    I:RES    CMP    CON:come    he:RES  
 'I see that he is coming.'

*xīni*      *de*      *xa:*      *n-sa:tīñú*      *ndāsí*      *ñā*  
 CON:know    he:RES    CMP:COM    COM-COM:work    INTS    she  
 'He knows that she worked hard.'

*xíkūhūn ĭni nī xa kīxī de steen*  
 CON:be:in insides my:FAM CMP POT:come he:RES tomorrow  
 'I understand that he will come tomorrow.'

*xī:nī nā xa kihin de isá*  
 COM:know she CMP POT:go he:RES day:after:tomorrow  
 'She knew that he would go the day after tomorrow.'

*xīni xīn xa kīū de māēstru*  
 CON:know he:FAM CMP CON:be he:RES teacher  
 'He knows that he is a teacher.'

(See also 7.33.)

Adjunct complements may also occur. No restrictions as to subject or aspect have been noted to date. The complementizer must occur.

*káhan de siki xa shí:kó nā nuni*  
 CON:speak he:RES nape CMP CON:sell she corn  
 'He speaks against her selling corn.' *or*  
 'He speaks about her selling corn.'

With many main verbs, an entire complement or element containing a complement may be fronted for focus. The complementizer *xa* usually precedes the fronted complement, but never occurs if the main verb is *kūni* 'to want'.

*xa kākin de / vahā*  
 CMP POT:plant he:RES good  
 'It is good THAT HE PLANT.'

*xa vū íyó / xīni de*  
 CMP pretty CON:exist CON:know he:RES  
 'He knows THAT (IT) IS PRETTY.'

*siki xa shí:kó nā nuni / káhan de*  
 nape CMP CON:sell she corn CON:speak he:RES  
 'He speaks AGAINST HER SELLING CORN.' *or*  
 'He speaks ABOUT HER SELLING CORN.'

*xa vaxī de / ndéhé sán*  
 CMP INC:come he:RES CON:see I:RES  
 'I see THAT HE IS COMING.'

*vaxī de / ndéhé sán*  
 INC:come he:RES CON:see I:RES  
 'I see HE IS COMING.'

*kihìn de / kúni de*  
 POT:go he:RES CON:want he:RES  
 'He wants TO GO.'

With other main verbs, however, the complement cannot be fronted unless it is followed by the sentential marker *chī* 'indeed'. The complementizer frequently occurs.

*kāhvī de tūtu chī / kūū*  
 POT:read he:RES paper indeed CON:be:possible  
 'HE can READ.'

*xa kāhvī de tūtu chī / kūū*  
 CMP POT:read he:RES paper indeed CON:be:possible  
 'HE can READ.'

*xa: n-sa:ṭtūú de chī / ndi:hī*  
 CMP:COM COM-COM:work he:RES indeed COM:end  
 'HE finished WORKING.'

*xa sahá de kisi chī / kūtuhā de*  
 CMP POT:do he:RES cooking:pot indeed POT:learn he:RES  
 'He will learn TO MAKE COOKING POTS.'<sup>2</sup>

## 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 made into a YES/NO question by placing the interrogative sentential marker *á* at the beginning.

*á n-taān*  
 INT COM-quake  
 'Was there an earthquake?'

*á kishin nu*  
 INT CON:sleep you:FAM  
 'Are you sleeping?'

*á xihī ti ndūtē*  
 INT CON:drink it:AML water  
 'Is it drinking water?'

<sup>2</sup> Following the complementizer *xa*, the tone of the completive aspect marker *ni* is changed to high. Sometimes, however, *ní* fuses with *xa*; the segments of *ní* are deleted, and the high tone occurs at the end of the *xa:* instead.

*á māéstru kiiú de*  
 INT teacher CON:be he:RES  
 'Is he a teacher?'

*á kwiká de*  
 INT rich he:RES  
 'Is he rich?'

*á xehe tātá de shíkó de nuni*  
 INT foot father his:RES CON:sell he:RES corn  
 'Does he sell corn FOR THE SAKE OF HIS FATHER?'

The interrogative marker occurs with sentences containing the negative markers *ma* and *ndiúú* (see 2.1.2), as well as with positive sentences.

*á ma kixí de*  
 INT NEG POT:come he:RES  
 'Won't he come?'

*á ndiúú kixí de*  
 INT NEG CON:come he:RES  
 'Doesn't he come?'

(See also 7.6, 7.9, and 7.13.)

Even though *ndiúú* normally occurs only with verbs in continuative and completive aspects, in questions it also occurs with verbs in potential aspect. Note the difference in meaning between the following sentence and the ones immediately above.

*á ndiúú kixí de*  
 INT NEG POT:come he:RES  
 'He'll come, won't he?'

For a description of disjunctive questions, see 6.1.1.

**1.2.2 WH questions.** Any element of a sentence may be questioned by using an appropriate interrogative pronoun, adverb, or noun phrase (see 5.4, 5.5, and 3.4) in focus position. Subjects, objects, and nominal complements are usually questioned by using *naá* 'what?' or a phrase.

Questioning subject:

*naá chóho*  
 what CON:cook  
 'What is cooking?'

*na njivi kihin*  
 what person POT:go  
 'Who will go?'

*na ñāhān n-ka:nū shikin yáhá*  
 what woman COM-COM:weave tunic this  
 'Who wove this tunic?'

*na njivi káihu*  
 what person CON:be:sick  
 'Who is sick?'

*na teē kúū prēsidente mūtān*  
 what man CON:be president now  
 'Who is president now?'

## Questioning object:

*naá kí:kū ñā*  
 what CON:sew she  
 'What is she sewing?'

*naá káini xīn*  
 what CON:want he:FAM  
 'What does he want?'

*na njivi n-ka:nā de*  
 what person COM-COM:call he/him:RES  
 'Whom did he invite?' or 'Who invited him?'

*ní teē n-ka:nā ní*  
 where man COM-COM:call you:RES  
 'Which man did you invite?' or 'Which man invited you?'

## Questioning nominal complement:

*naá nání xīn*  
 what CON:be:named he:FAM  
 'What is his name?'

*naá kúū ñā*  
 what CON:be she  
 'What is she?'

*na teē kúū de*  
 what man CON:be he:RES  
 'Who is he?'

*na sehē kúū xān*  
 what child CON:be he:FAM  
 'Whose child is he?'

Questions using *naá* 'what?' are often cast in an equative structure with a nominal complement introduced by the prestressed pronoun *xa*, in which case the order is interrogative—equative verb—nominal complement.

*naá kúū xa chóho*  
 what CON:be UN CON:cook  
 'What is cooking?'

*naá kúū xa kí:kū ñā*  
 what CON:be UN CON:sew she  
 'What is she sewing?'

The sequence *naá kúū xa* is frequently fused to *nakwá* 'what?', which is sometimes again expanded to *nakwá kúū xa*.

*nakwá chóho*  
 what CON:cook  
 'What is cooking?'

*nakwá kúū xa chóho*  
 what CON:be UN CON:cook  
 'What is cooking?'

*nakwá kí:kū ñā*  
 what CON:sew she  
 'What is she sewing?'

*nakwá kúū xa kí:kū ñā*  
 what CON:be UN CON:sew she  
 'What is she sewing?'

It is also possible to question a personal subject or object by using *ní* 'where?' in an equative structure with *kúū xa*, but no fusion occurs.

*ní kúū xa vaxí*  
 where CON:be UN INC:come  
 'Who is coming?'

*ní kúū xa kí:kū sáhmā*  
 where CON:be UN CON:sew cloth  
 'Who is sewing cloth?'

*ní kúū xa: n-ka:nā de*  
 where CON:be UN:COM COM-COM:call he/him:RES  
 'Whom did he invite?' or 'Who invited him?'

The subject of a stative sentence can be questioned only by using an equative structure.

*naá kúū xa lūlí nakwá kúū xa lūlí*  
 what CON:be UN little what CON:be UN little  
 'What is little?' 'What is little?'

*na njivi kúū xa kwiká ní kúū xa kwiká*  
 what person CON:be UN rich where CON:be UN rich  
 'Who is rich?' 'Who is rich?'

Adjuncts are questioned by *ní* 'where?', by an equative structure containing *ní kúū nuu* 'where (is the place where)?', or by an interrogative noun phrase.

*ní kwahan de*  
 where INC:go he:RES  
 'Where did he go?'

*ní kúū nuu kikā nā sāhmā*  
 where CON:be face POT:sew she cloth  
 'Where will she sew the cloth?'

*ní nuu ndée nā*  
 where face CON:sit she  
 'Where does she live?'

*na nuu xehē de tūtu*  
 what face COM:give he:RES paper  
 'To whom did he give the paper?'

*na xehe shí:kó de nuni*  
 what foot CON:sell he:RES corn  
 'Why (for whose sake) does he sell corn?'

*na xiín káhan māría*  
 what with CON:speak Mary  
 'With whom is Mary speaking?'

Peripheral elements are questioned by *ní* 'where?', the equative structure *ní kúū nuu, nāmā* 'when?' (rare), or by a phrase.

*ní n-taān*  
 where COM-quake  
 'Where was the earthquake?'

*ní kũũ nuu shí:kó de tikwiti*  
 where CON:be face CON:sell he:RES potato  
 'Where does he sell potatoes?'

*ní nuu xíkā tí*  
 where face CON:walk it:AML  
 'Where is it walking?'

*na kwiya n-ku:ũ de prēsídente*  
 what year COM-COM:be he:RES president  
 'When was he president?'

*nāmā n-ku:ũ de prēsídente*  
 when COM-COM:be he:RES president  
 'When was he president?'

(See also 7.42.)

Subordinate cause and purpose sentences (see 6.2.1) may be questioned by using *nukũ* or *na kũũ*, both of which mean 'why?'

*nukũ sákwihná de ndātĩnú nāni de*  
 why CON:steal he:RES thing brother:ME his:RES  
 'Why does he steal his brother's things?'

*na kũũ ndũú ní xéhē vahā ĩtu de*  
 what CON:be NEG COM give good cornfield his:RES  
 'Why didn't his cornfield yield (a) good (crop)?'

Stative verbs are questioned by *nasā* 'how?' A nonstative verb, i.e., *kōō* 'to exist', *kũũ* 'to be', *ndũũ* 'to be again', or *káá* 'to appear', must occur in these questions.

*nasā íyó ĩtu*  
 how CON:exist cornfield  
 'What is the cornfield like?'

*nasā káá ndíkā*  
 how CON:appear banana  
 'How do the bananas appear?'

*nasā* is also sometimes used to question the nominal complement of *kũnāní* 'to be named'.

*nasā nání ní*  
 how CON:be:named you:RES  
 'What is your name?'



Content verbs are questioned by using *naá* 'what?' or *nakwá* 'what?' together with a dummy verb. If the subject is agentive, the verb used is *sahá* 'to do', and if it is not agentive, the verb is *ndóhō* 'to suffer'.

*naá sahá de*  
 what CON:do he:RES  
 'What is he doing?'

*nakwá ndóhō de*  
 what CON:suffer he:RES  
 'What is the matter with him?' or  
 'What is happening to him?'

(See also 7.3.)

**1.2.3 Indirect questions.** Both YES/NO questions and WH questions can occur as sentential complements in statements. In either case, the indirect question is indistinguishable in form from the corresponding direct question.

Indirect YES/NO questions:

*katuhún ní de á ne:ndā ñāni de*  
 POT:ask you:RES him:RES INT COM:return brother:ME his:RES  
 'Ask him if his brother has returned.'

*ndūú xíni sán á kihin de*  
 NEG CON:know I:RES INT POT:go he:RES  
 'I don't know if he will go.'

Indirect WH questions:

*xíni ñā naá ndóhō de*  
 CON:know she what CON:suffer he:RES  
 'She knows what is the matter with him.' or  
 'She knows what has happened to him.'

*yíhí nuu tūtu ní nuu kēhēn de nuni*  
 CON:be:in face paper where face CON:take he:RES corn  
 'The paper says where he buys corn.'

*katuhún ní de na xehe shí.kó de nuni*  
 POT:ask you:RES him:RES what foot CON:sell he:RES corn  
 'Ask him why (for whose sake) he is selling corn.'

Indirect YES/NO questions are somewhat rare and tend to be replaced by indirect disjunctive questions (see 6.1.1).

### 1.3 Commands

To form a second person familiar positive command, a basic sentence in potential aspect is used, except that the subject is usually unexpressed. When expressed, it adds emphasis or singles out the subject from a group.

*kikū sāhmā*  
 POT:sew cloth  
 'Sew cloth!'

*kikū ní sāhmā*  
 POT:sew you:FAM cloth  
 'Sew cloth!' or 'You will sew cloth.'

*kāxi staa*  
 POT:eat tortilla  
 'Eat!'

(See also 7.5 and 7.8.)

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

*kāxi ní staa*  
 POT:eat you:RES tortilla  
 'Eat!' or 'You will eat.'

*kusun ní*  
 POT:sleep you:RES  
 'Sleep!' or 'You will sleep.'

For a more polite command the hortatory *ná* (see 2.1.2) and a subject are used.

*ná káxi nu staa*  
 HORT POT:eat you:FAM tortilla  
 'Eat!'

*ná kusun ní*  
 HORT POT:sleep you:RES  
 'Sleep!'

Commands for first and third person take the hortatory marker *ná* and a subject.

*ná káx-o staa*  
 HORT POT:eat-we:IN tortilla  
 'Let's eat!'

*ná káhin sán*  
 HORT POT:go I:RES  
 'Permit me to go!'

*ná shí:kó de nuni nuu ñā*  
 HORT POT:sell he:RES corn face her  
 'Let him sell corn to her!'

*ná kíkū ñā sāhmā tēen*  
 HORT POT:sew she cloth tomorrow  
 'Let her sew the cloth tomorrow!'

*ná sātíñú xīn*  
 HORT POT:work he:FAM  
 'Let him work!'

A few verbs have special imperative forms (see 5.1.2), which occur instead of potential aspect in commands.

*kwáhán*  
 IMP:go  
 'Go!'

*nēhen ní*  
 IMP:come you:RES  
 'Come!'

*xīhūn ní*  
 IMP:take you:RES  
 'Take (it)!'

(See also 7.31.)

Negative commands are identical in form to negative statements with the verb in the potential aspect (see 2.1.2).

*ma káhin nu*  
 NEG POT:go you:FAM  
 'Don't go!' or 'You won't go.'

*ma sātíñú ní steen*  
 NEG POT:work you:RES tomorrow  
 'Don't work tomorrow!' or 'You won't work tomorrow.'

(See also 7.30.)

### 1.4 Vocatives

Vocatives occur most frequently as independent utterances or in final position, but they also occur in initial position, especially when trying to attract the attention of the person addressed, and they are sometimes found between the parts of complex sentences. Vocatives are set off from the rest of the sentence by pause. They include proper names, kinship or other terms used in direct address, mutual relation terms like *cofather*, and free forms of the second person pronouns.

*nēhen ní yáhá / shító*  
 IMP:come you:RES here uncle  
 ‘Come here, Uncle!’

*shító / nēhen ní yáhá*  
 uncle IMP:come you:RES here  
 ‘Uncle, come here!’

*kwáhán tavehé / tīna*  
 IMP:go patio dog  
 ‘Go outside, dog!’

*á íyó vahā ní / nāsúchí*  
 INT CON:exist good you:RES young:woman  
 ‘How are you, young woman?’

(See also 7.30 and 7.41.)

### 1.5 Sentential Markers

The interrogative marker *á* occurs at the beginning of any basic sentence and converts it into a YES/NO question; see 1.2.1 for examples.

The contrafactual sentential marker *níkū* occurs sentence finally and means the expected or desired activity did not take place.

*kīxī de níkū*  
 POT:come he:RES CF  
 ‘He was going to come (but didn’t).’

*shikó de nuni nuu nā níkū*  
 POT:sell he:RES corn face her CF  
 ‘He was going to sell corn to her (but didn’t).’

The verb *káchi* ‘to say’ and the sentential marker *chi* ‘hearsay’ occur sentence finally and function as disclaimers meaning that the speaker does not want to accept responsibility for the accuracy of the information in the sentence.

*uu vvéta n-sahá de chi*  
 two time COM-do he:RES HEARSAY  
 'He did it TWO TIMES (Sp. *vuelta*), they say.'

*ni nihin de kwaha shuhún / káchi*  
 COM receive he:RES many money CON:say  
 'He received a lot of money, (they) say.'

The sentential marker *dā* 'exactly' occurs sentence finally and expresses insistence.

*dē ndóhó ní nuu ndée tū nú dā*  
 and you:FAM where face CON:live REP you:FAM exactly  
 'And YOU, just where do you live?'

*dē mūtān dē tīvi nī ndóhó dā*  
 and now and POT:shoot I:FAM you:FAM exactly  
 'And NOW I'm certainly going to shoot you.'

The sentential markers *vī:* and *vá*, both meaning 'really!', occur sentence finally and function as emphaziers.

*yúhú ndīxā sán vī:*  
 CON:be:afraid truthful I:RES really  
 'I am really scared!'

*sehē māá nā kíú de vá*  
 child SPEC her CON:be he:RES really  
 'He really is her son.'

The sentential marker *vā* 'why!' occurs sentence initially and expresses mild surprise.

*vā sūú lēxō kíú / tú sāá / káchi ti*  
 why AFF rabbit CON:be if thus CON:say it:AML  
 'Why, (it) is A RABBIT (Sp. *conejo*), if (that's) the case, it says.'

The sentential marker *shán* 'really!' occurs sentence finally and expresses surprise at the information the sentence contains.

*á sāntyágu kíú nāni māá de shán*  
 INT Santiago CON:be brother:ME SPEC his:RES really  
 'Is Santiago really his brother?'

*kātā lūlí shán*  
 still little really  
 '(She)'s still little!'

The sentential marker *vái* 'how awful!' occurs sentence finally.

*dē naá ndóhō de xa sáhá súkwán vái*  
 and what CON:suffer he:RES CMP CON:do thus how:awful  
 'What's wrong with him that (he) does that, how awful!'

## 2 Verb Phrases

### 2.1 Content Verb Phrases

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

**2.1.1 Verb nuclei.** Both simple and complex verb nuclei occur; the latter are idioms composed of a content verb plus some other word, which may be a noun, a content verb, a stative verb, or an indeterminate element.

A simple nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect. In the examples given in this chapter, the part of each sentence not included in the verb phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

*xitā* (de)  
CON:sing (he:RES)  
'(He) sings.'

*kahan* (ñā)  
POT:speak (she)  
'(She) will speak.'

*ñi:nī*  
COM:get:late  
'(It) got late in the afternoon.'

A verb-plus-noun nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a noun.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some Mixtecan languages have incorporated the noun *ñi* 'insides' from the subject into the verb phrase to form a large class of verbs that express emotional states. In Ocototec Mixtec, however, even though *ñi* is used extensively to form such idioms, it has not been incorporated into the verb phrase, but remains part of the subject.

*kāchi tuhūn (de nuu nā)*  
 POT:say word (he:RES face her)  
 '(He) will tell (her).'

*kakan táhvi (de)*  
 POT:ask:for gift (he:RES)  
 '(He) will pray.'

*stáá tachi (nā)*  
 CON:pull wind (she)  
 '(She) is breathing.'

Reciprocal action is indicated by a verb followed by *táhán* 'companion'; this construction is somewhat productive. The first pair of sentences in the following group contrasts a reciprocal construction with a regular transitive sentence.

*kánī táhán (ndúu de)*  
 CON:hit companion (both he:RES)  
 '(They) are (both) hitting each other.'

cf. *kánī (de nā)*  
 CON:hit (he:RES her)  
 '(He) is hitting (her).'

*xáhni táhán (ndá de)*  
 CON:kill companion (PL he:RES)  
 '(They) are killing each other.'

A verb-plus-content-verb nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a content verb in the potential aspect form (except that the *kū-* prefix that helps to signal potential aspect in some verbs [see 5.1.2] is sometimes omitted in this construction). This combination is somewhat rare.

*kēndā kūnū (tī)*  
 POT:arrive POT:run (it:AML)  
 '(It) will come running up.'

*īnī ndēe (tuxī)*  
 CON:stand POT:sit (rifle)  
 '(The rifle) is standing on end.' (cf. *kūndēe* 'POT:sit')

(See also 7.35.)

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



With basic stative verbs:

*kahan ndahví (xān xīn de)*  
 POT:speak poor (he:FAM with him:RES)  
 '(He) will beg (him).'

*n-sahá lūlí (de māá de)*  
 COM-do little (he:RES SPEC him:RES)  
 '(He) humbled (himself).'

With derived stative verbs:

*kātā xéhé (ndá de)*  
 POT:sing on:foot (PL he:RES)  
 '(They) will dance.' (cf. *xehe* 'foot')

*ndée síhí (nā)*  
 CON:sit female (she)  
 '(She) is sitting the way women sit.' (cf. *síhí* 'mother')

A verb-plus-indeterminate-element nucleus consists of a verb inflected for aspect followed by a word that occurs only in idiomatic phrases. It is therefore not possible to assign the second element to a class without access to historical or comparative data.

*ndikó kó:ō (xān)*  
 POT:turn:again ? (he:FAM)  
 '(He) will turn back.'

*ndée neē (ti)*  
 CON:sit ? (it:AML)  
 '(It) is sitting.'

*káhan soó (ndá de)*  
 CON:speak ? (PL he:RES)  
 '(They) are complaining.'

**2.1.2 Preverbal elements.** There are five orders of elements preceding the verb nucleus. Listed from the nucleus out to the beginning of the verb phrase they are: directional, aspect, temporal, truth value, and hortatory.

There are eleven directionals, which are prestressed forms of three motion verbs: *kāxí* 'to come', *kíhūn* 'to go', and *kwee* 'to go to house (of speaker or addressee)'. Each occurs in a full range of aspect forms (see 5.1.2). These markers immediately precede a verb nucleus in potential aspect, and they express the notion of motion and direction. Because the aspect forms of these markers are irregular, all are listed in the following

table, along with their meanings and the fuller forms to which they are related.

Marker	Meaning	Full Form	Gloss
<i>kī</i>	'will come'	<i>kīxī</i>	POT:come
<i>kí</i>	'comes'	<i>kíxī</i>	CON:come
<i>n-kí:</i>	'came'	<i>n-kí:xī</i>	COM-COM:come
<i>va</i>	'is coming'	<i>vaxī</i>	INC:come
<i>ki</i>	'will go'	<i>kihín</i>	POT:go
<i>xé</i>	'goes'	<i>xéhen</i>	CON:go
<i>xe</i>	'went (and has returned)'	<i>xehen</i>	COM:go
<i>kwa</i>	'has gone (and has not returned)'	<i>kwahan</i>	INC:go
<i>kwe</i>	'will go to house'	<i>kwee</i>	POT:go:to:house
<i>xé</i>	'goes to house'	<i>xée</i>	CON:go:to:house
<i>xe</i>	'went to house'	<i>xee</i>	COM:go:to:house

The shortened forms of *xéhen* 'to go (continuative)' and *xée* 'to go to house (continuative)' are homophones, as are the shortened forms of *xehen* 'to go (completive)' and *xee* 'to go to house (completive)'. In each case, context usually determines which word is meant, and the former is more commonly used than the latter. The following examples show directionals used in sentences.

*n-kí:*                    *kēhēn*    (*de*    *kisí*            *nā*)  
COM-COM:come POT:take (he:RES cooking:pot her)  
'(He) came to get (her cooking pot).'

*va*                    *kehēn*    (*de*    *staa*)  
INC:come POT:take (he:RES tortilla)  
'(He) is coming to get (tortillas).'

*xé*                    *kehēn*    (*nā* *ndūtē* *ndaká* *kivi*)  
CON:go POT:take (she water each day)  
'(She) goes to get (water every day).'

*kwa*                    *kehēn*    (*de*    *nuni*)  
INC:go POT:take (he:RES corn)  
'(He) has gone to get (corn).'

*kwe*                      *kehēn*            (*sán*    *ndūchī*)  
 POT:go:to:house    POT:take    (I:RES bean)  
 '(I) will go to your house to get (beans).'

(See also 7.27.)

In addition to its directional meaning *kwa* has also developed the aspectual meaning 'is in the process of'. In sentences with agentive subjects, both meanings are possible; and in sentences without agentive subjects, only the aspectual meaning is possible.

*kwa*    *ñinī*  
 INC:go    POT:get:late  
 '(It)'s getting late in the afternoon.'

*kwa*    *kwāhnū*    (*xīn*)  
 INC:go    POT:grow    (he:FAM)  
 '(He) is growing.'

*kwa*    *ndūkú*            (*de*    *nuni*)  
 INC:go    POT:look:for    (he:RES corn)  
 '(He) has gone to look for (corn).' or  
 '(He) is in the process of looking for (corn).'

Aspect is expressed only by *ni* 'completive'. For most verbs, completive aspect is already signaled unambiguously by verbal morphology (see 5.1.2), and so the *ni* is redundant. It is optional in most sentences, but must be used following the negative marker *ndūú*.<sup>2</sup>

*ni*    *n-ya:xi*            (*de*    *ndūkā*)  
 COM    COM-COM:eat    (he:RES banana)  
 '(He) ate (bananas).'

*n-ya:xi*            (*de*    *ndūkā*)  
 COM-COM:eat    (he:RES banana)  
 '(He) ate (bananas).'

*ni*    *n-sahá*            (*de*    *yōhō*)  
 COM    COM-do    (he:RES rope)  
 '(He) made (rope).'

<sup>2</sup> The tone of *ni* is basically low, but it changes to high following any negative, the complementizer *xa*, or the locative noun *nūu* 'face' in its meaning 'place (where)'. Sometimes *ni* fuses with *xa* or *nūu*, both of which introduce embedded sentences (see 1.1.9 and 3.1.3). The segments of *ni* are lost, and the high tone appears as an upglide at the end of *xa:* or *nūú*.

*n-sahá* (*de yōhō*)  
 COM-do (he:RES rope)  
 '(He) made (rope).'

*ni n-kwa:ā*  
 COM COM-COM:get:late  
 '(It) got late at night.'

*n-kwa:ā*  
 COM-COM:get:late  
 '(It) got late at night.'

(See also 7.2, 7.3, 7.7, 7.11, 7.14, and various others.)

The temporal elements are *xā* 'already' and *kātā* 'immediately'.<sup>3</sup> *xā* occurs only with verbs in continuative or completive aspect; *kātā* occurs with any aspect, and, depending on the aspect, means 'about to', 'still', or 'just now'.

*xā yáxi* (*de ndīkā*)  
 already CON:eat (he:RES banana)  
 '(He) is already eating (a banana).'

*xā n-ya:xi* (*de ndīkā*)  
 already COM-COM:eat (he:RES banana)  
 '(He) already ate (a banana).'

*kātā kahan* (*de*)  
 immediately POT:speak (he:RES)  
 '(He) is about to speak.'

*kātā káhan* (*de*)  
 immediately CON:speak (he:RES)  
 '(He) is still talking.'

*kātā n-kahan* (*de*)  
 immediately COM:speak (he:RES)  
 '(He) just finished talking.'

The truth-value markers include five negatives, *ma*, *ndūú*, *nāá*, and *njōó*, all of which mean 'not', and *njáhá ká*, which means 'not yet'; they also include one affirmative, *sūú*.

The negative marker *ma* is used with verbs in potential aspect. Following it, the verb has the same tone changes as occur for continuative aspect (see 5.1.2). It sometimes occurs in the reduced form *n-*, which is attached

<sup>3</sup> *kātā* 'immediately' has a variant *úká*, which is used by some speakers.

to the verb; this causes certain morphophonemic changes, which are described in 0.2.

*ma kʰin* (x̄in)  
 NEG POT:go (he:FAM)  
 '(He) won't go.' or

*n-ki'hin* (x̄in)  
 NEG-POT:go (he:FAM)  
 '(He) won't go.'

(See also 7.6, 7.9, 7.16, 7.20, and 7.30.)

The negative markers *ndūú* and *ñāá* are used interchangeably with verbs in completive aspect with no difference in meaning. Both are also used with verbs in continuative aspect, but *ñāá* is somewhat rare. Following a negative, the tone of the completive aspect marker *ni* is changed to high. In addition, the first syllable of the verb has the same tone changes as occur for continuative aspect (see 5.1.2). If the following verb is completive, *ni* 'completive' is obligatory following *ndūú* but optional following *ñāá*.

*ndūú ní n-kúni* (ti kʰin ti)  
 NEG COM COM-want (it:AML POT:go it:AML)  
 '(It) did not want (to go).'

*ñāá n-kúni* (ti kʰin ti)  
 NEG COM-want (it:AML POT:go it:AML)  
 '(It) did not want (to go).'

*ñāá ní n-kúni* (ti kʰin ti)  
 NEG COM COM-want (it:AML POT:go it:AML)  
 '(It) did not want (to go).'

*ndūú kúni* (sán ndíkā)  
 NEG CON:want (I:RES banana)  
 '(I) do not want (a banana).'

*ñāá kúni* (sán ndíkā)  
 NEG CON:want (I:RES banana)  
 '(I) do not want (a banana).'

The negative *ndūú* is occasionally used with verbs in potential aspect in YES/NO questions, in which case it means that an affirmative answer is expected (see 1.2.1). This marker is probably historically related to the negative verb *ndūú* 'to not be (continuative)'.

The emphatic negative marker *njōó* is rare. It occurs only alone and in YES/NO questions in potential and continuative aspects.

(á) njōó kānī (de saán)  
 (INT) NEG:EMPH POT:hit (he:RES me:RES)  
 '(He) will hit (me), won't (he)?'

njōó  
 NEG:EMPH  
 'No!'

The negative marker *njáhā kā* 'not yet' occurs only with verbs in potential aspect.

*njáhā kā kahan (xīn)*  
 not:yet ? POT:speak (he:FAM)  
 '(He) does not talk yet.'

The affirmative marker *sūū* occurs with verbs in any aspect.

*sūū sātīnú (de)*  
 AFF POT:work (he:RES)  
 'Yes, (he) will work.'

*sūū sātīnú (de)*  
 AFF CON:work (he:RES)  
 'Yes, (he) is working.'

*sūū n-sa:tīnú (de)*  
 AFF COM-COM:work (he:RES)  
 'Yes, (he) worked.'

The hortatory marker *ná* occurs only with verbs in potential aspect, and it usually signals a command (see 1.3). Following it, a verb has the same tone changes as occur for continuative aspect (see 5.1.2). Hortatory *ná* is sometimes reduced to *n-*, which is attached to the verb; this causes certain morphophonemic changes, which are described in 0.2.

*ná káchi (de ūn kwéndu)*  
 HORT POT:say (he:RES one story)  
 'Have (him) tell (a story [Sp. *cuento*]!'

*n-káchi (de ūn kwéndu)*  
 HORT-POT:say (he:RES one story)  
 'Have (him) tell (a story)!'

*ná káx-(o ndūxa)*  
 HORT POT:eat-(we:IN hominy)  
 'Let('s) eat (hominy)!'

*n-káx-(o) ndūxa)*  
 HORT-POT:eat-(we:IN hominy)  
 'Let('s) eat (hominy)!'

**2.1.3 Postverbal elements.** There are five orders of postverbal elements: manner, near time, repetitive, limiter, and additive.

Manner is expressed by a large and diverse class of modifiers. Stative verbs, stative verb phrases (see 2.3), intensifying elements, general adverbs, and adverb phrases (see 4.2) are the most common elements in this position, but quantifiers and quantifier phrases (see 4.1) have also been found.

With stative verbs:

*kahan kwiká (de)*  
 CON:speak rich (he:RES)  
 '(He) talks as if he were rich.'

*n-kahan kaxí (de)*  
 COM:speak clear (he:RES)  
 '(He) spoke clearly.'

With intensifying elements:

*xínū ndāsí (tīna xīn)*  
 CON:run INTS (dog his:FAM)  
 '(His dog) runs a lot.'

*ndáhyu navahā (būrrū)*  
 CON:cry:out bad (donkey)  
 '(The donkey [Sp. *burro*]) brays a lot.'

With adverbs:

*xikā kwéé (de)*  
 CON:walk slowly (he:RES)  
 '(He) walks slowly.'

*xi:tū kahá (de)*  
 COM:plow in:vain (he:RES)  
 '(He) plowed in vain.'

With quantifiers:

*sátíñú kwaha (xīn)*  
 CON:work many (he:FAM)  
 '(He) is working a lot.'

*ni ndo:hō kwaha (de)*  
 COM COM:suffer many (he:RES)  
 '(He) suffered a lot.'

When a quantifier or an intensifying element occurs as manner with a transitive verb, the manner element refers to the direct object even though it occurs within the verb phrase.

*ni nihin kwaha (de tyāká)*  
 COM receive many (he:RES fish)  
 '(He) got a lot (of fish).'

Manner may occur in preverbal position to indicate focus. When it is expressed by a phrase, it usually occurs in that position.

*kwéé xíkā (de)*  
 slowly CON:walk (he:RES)  
 '(He) walks SLOWLY.'

*vahā xíni (de)*  
 good CON:know (he:RES)  
 '(He) knows WELL.'

*kwéé ndāsí xíkā (de)*  
 slowly INTS CON:walk (he:RES)  
 '(He) walks VERY SLOWLY.'

*kwaha ndāsí ndo:hō (de)*  
 many INTS COM:suffer (he:RES)  
 '(He) suffered VERY MUCH.'

(See also 7.4.)

A few adverbs expressing manner occur only in preverbal position.

*sāá n-sahá (de)*  
 thus COM-do (he:RES)  
 '(He) did thus.'

Manner is questioned by using *nasā* 'how?'

*nasā xíkā (de)*  
 how CON:walk (he:RES)  
 'How does (he) walk?'

*nasā kātā (ñā)*  
 how POT:sing (she)  
 'How will (she) sing?'



*nasā n-sa:ʔtīñú* (de)  
 how COM-COM:work (he:RES)  
 'How did (he) work?'

Following manner is the near-time marker *kí* 'soon' or 'recently'. A greater span of time seems to be indicated by *kí* than by the preverbal element *kātā* 'immediately' (see 2.1.2).

*nākūhni kī* (de *stiki de*)  
 POT:tie:again recently (he:RES ox his:RES)  
 '(He) will soon tie (his ox) up again.'

*n-ke:ndā kī* (de)  
 COM-COM:arrive recently (he:RES)  
 '(He) arrived recently.'

*xūtā kī* (de)  
 CON:sing recently (he:RES)  
 '(He) was recently singing.'

(See also 7.42 and 7.43.)

The repetitive *tūkū* 'again' occurs in third postverbal position. This is sometimes shortened to *tū*.

*n-sahá tūkū* (de)  
 COM-do REP (he:RES)  
 '(He) did (it) again.'

*kwahan tūkū* (de *ndīnūu*)  
 INC:go REP (he:RES Tlaxiaco)  
 '(He) has gone (to Tlaxiaco) again.'

*n-ya:xi tū* (de *kuñū*)  
 COM-COM:eat REP (he:RES meat)  
 '(He) ate (meat) again.'

(See also 7.11, 7.14, 7.18, 7.21, and 7.42.)

Repetitive *tūkū* may occur in preverbal position preceding aspect. When it does, it modifies the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb, indicating that the subject or object is different. The following pairs of sentences show this contrast.

*tūkū xe:ē* (*īnga ūta*)  
 REP COM:bloom (another flower)  
 '(Another flower) of a different kind bloomed.'

cf. *xe:ē tūkū (īnga īta)*  
 COM:bloom REP (another flower)  
 '(Another flower) like the ones before bloomed.'

*tūkū n-sahá (de mésa)*  
 REP COM-do (he:RES table)  
 '(He) made a different kind of (table [Sp. *mesa*]).'

cf. *n-sahá tūkū (de mésa)*  
 COM-do REP (he:RES table)  
 '(He) made the same kind of (table).'

Some speakers also accept sentences with *tūkū* either following the subject of an intransitive sentence or the object of a transitive sentence.

*xínū (njivi) tūkū*  
 CON:run (person) REP  
 '(People) are running again.'

*xí:sō (njivi īu) tūkū*  
 COM:carry (person cornfield) REP  
 '(People) carried (ears of corn) off again.'

The limiter *nī* 'just' occurs in fourth postverbal position.

*kwahan nī (ti)*  
 INC:go LIM (it:AML)  
 '(It) just went.'

*xítā nī (de)*  
 CON:sing LIM (he:RES)  
 '(He) is just singing.'

*kusun nī (xīn)*  
 POT:sleep LIM (he:FAM)  
 '(He) will just sleep.'

If the subject of the sentence is expressed by a poststressed clitic pronoun, *nī* often follows the pronoun, even though it modifies the verb.

*xítā (de) nī*  
 CON:sing (he:RES) LIM  
 '(He) is just singing.'

(When *nī* follows a fuller noun phrase, however, it is part of that phrase; see 3.1.3.)

The additive *ka* 'more' occurs in the last postverbal position.

*ni xa:ʔhnū ka (de)*  
 COM COM:grow ADD (he:RES)  
 '(He) got older.'

*ma káhan ka (njīvi)*  
 NEG POT:speak ADD (person)  
 '(People) won't talk anymore.'

The additive occasionally precedes the limiter.

*ma káhan ka nī (njīvi)*  
 NEG CON:speak ADD LIM (person)  
 '(People) just won't talk anymore.'

*ma káhan nī ka (njīvi)*  
 NEG CON:speak LIM ADD (person)  
 '(People) just won't talk anymore.'

The additive, like the limiter, may follow a poststressed pronoun subject and still be part of the verb phrase.

*ni xa:ʔhnū (de) ka*  
 COM COM:grow (he:RES) ADD  
 '(He) got older.'

**2.1.4 Combinations of elements.** There are two cooccurrence restrictions among preverbal elements: negative occurs with temporal only in questions, and hortatory does not occur with aspect, temporal, or negative.<sup>4</sup> All other combinations of preverbal elements are possible.

*(á) ndūú xā ni n-kí: sahá (de)*  
 (INT) NEG already COM COM-COM:come POT:do (he:RES)  
 'Hasn't (he) already come to do it(?)'

*ndūú ní n-kí kāxi (de)*  
 NEG COM COM-come POT:eat (he:RES)  
 '(He) didn't come to eat.'

*ná kí kāxi (de)*  
 HORT POT:come POT:eat (he:RES)  
 'Have (him) come to eat!'

Any postverbal element may cooccur with any other, but neither limiter nor additive immediately follows manner. (This is because manner can be expressed by stative verb phrases [see 2.3] and by adverb phrases [see

<sup>4</sup> Hortatory has arbitrarily been assigned to the fifth order of preverbal elements. Since it does not occur with aspect, temporal, or negative, it could be assigned to the second, third, or fourth order instead.

4.2], both of which also optionally contain the limiter and additive, and the limiter and additive are parsed as part of the phrase expressing manner in such cases.)

*kākā kwéé kí tūkū nī ka (de)*  
 POT:walk slowly recently REP LIM ADD (he:RES)  
 '(He) will soon just slowly walk farther again.'

*shí:kó kwaha tūkū (de)*  
 CON:sell many REP (he:RES)  
 '(He) is selling a lot again.'

*kātā kí ka (ñā)*  
 POT:sing recently ADD (she)  
 '(She) will soon sing more.'

There are no cooccurrence restrictions between preverbal and postverbal elements.

*ndūú ní n-sátīnú vahā tūkū (de)*  
 NEG COM COM-work good REP (he:RES)  
 '(He) didn't work well again.'

*kātā kwa sātīnú tūkū nī (de)*  
 immediately INC:go POT:work REP LIM (he:RES)  
 '(He) has just now gone to just work again.'

## 2.2 Equative Verb Phrases

Equative verb phrases are based on three equative verbs: *kūū* 'to be', *ndūū* 'to be again', and *kūnāní* 'to be named'. While none enter into the formation of complex nuclei, all occur with the preverbal and postverbal elements described, although preverbal directional is restricted to *kwa* with the meaning 'is in the process of' (see 2.1.2).

With preverbal elements:

*kwa kūū (de māéstru)*  
 INC:go POT:be (he:RES teacher)  
 '(He) is in the process of becoming (a teacher [Sp. *maestro*]).'

*ní ndu:ū (de māéstru)*  
 COM COM:be:again (he:RES teacher)  
 '(He) became (a teacher) again.'

*xā nání (xīn xwáan)*  
 already CON:be:named (he:FAM John)  
 '(He) is already named (John [Sp. *Juan*]).'

*ndüü nání (de xwáan)*  
 NEG CON:be:named (he:RES John)  
 '(His) name isn't (John).'

*ná kúü (de mǎéstru)*  
 HORT POT:be (he:RES teacher)  
 'Have (him) be (a teacher)!'

With postverbal elements:

*(mǎéstru) kúü nǎxin (de)*  
 (teacher) CON:be clear (he:RES)  
 '(He) is clearly (a teacher).'

*(mǎéstru) kúü kí (de)*  
 (teacher) CON:be recently (he:RES)  
 '(He) was recently (a teacher).'

*(xwáan) nání tūkū (de)*  
 (John) CON:be:named REP (he:RES)  
 '(His) name is (John) again.'

*(mǎéstru) kúü nī (de)*  
 (teacher) CON:be LIM (he:RES)  
 '(He) is just (a teacher).'

*(mǎéstru) kúü ka (de)*  
 (teacher) CON:be ADD (he:RES)  
 '(He) is still (a teacher).'

With both preverbal and postverbal elements:

*(mǎéstru) ni ndu:ú tūkū nī (de)*  
 (teacher) COM COM:be:again REP LIM (he:RES)  
 '(He) became just (a teacher) again.'

### 2.3 Stative Verb Phrases

Stative verb phrases are based on stative verbs, which are not inflected for aspect. These verbs occasionally form complex nuclei; an example containing two stative verbs is found in 7.34. They occur with only two preverbal elements, temporal and negative, and with all postverbal elements. The only negative marker that occurs, however, is *ndüü*, and manner is expressed mainly by intensifying elements.

*xā káhnú (ti)*  
 already big:SG (it:AML)  
 '(It) is already big.'

*kātā lūlí (ti)*  
 immediately little (it:AML)  
 '(It) is still little.'

*ndūú káhnú (ti)*  
 NEG big:SG (it:AML)  
 '(It) is not big.'

*káhnú ndāsí (ti)*  
 big:SG INTS (it:AML)  
 '(It) is very big.'

*lūlí kí (ti)*  
 little recently (it:AML)  
 '(It) was recently little.'

*káhnú tūkū (ti)*  
 big:SG REP (it:AML)  
 '(It) is big again.'

*lūlí nī (ti)*  
 little LIM (it:AML)  
 '(It) is just little.'

*lūlí ka (ti)*  
 little ADD (it:AML)  
 '(It) is littler.'

In 7.35 a stative verb phrase with a complex nucleus contains a prenuclear manner expressed by the general adverb *īnūú* 'same'.

Stative verb phrases occur alone in the predicate of stative sentences as seen in the above examples. They also occur in the predicate of stative sentences followed by a content verb like *káá* 'to appear'.

*ndūú vahā (káá sáhmā)*  
 NEG good (CON:appear cloth)  
 '(The cloth does) not (look) good.'

*kātā lūlí (káá ti)*  
 immediately little (CON:appear it:AML)  
 '(It) still (looks) little.'

*káhnú ka (káá ti)*  
 big:SG ADD (CON:appear it:AML)  
 '(It looks) bigger.'

*lūlí nī (káá tí)*  
 little LIM (CON:appear it:AML)  
 '(It) just (looks) little.'

Stative verb phrases also occur in the preverbal or postverbal manner position of content verb phrases (see 2.1.3). In this position, the only preverbal element which may occur is negative, expressed only by *ndūú*. Only three postverbal elements may occur: a limited manner, expressed only by intensifying elements; limiter; and additive. When negative occurs in a stative verb phrase, that phrase must precede the main verb in the sentence.

*ndūú vahā (xítā de)*  
 NEG good (CON:sing he:RES)  
 '(He does) not (sing) well.'

*(xítā) vahā ndāsí (de)*  
 (CON:sing) good INTS (he:RES)  
 '(He sings) very well.'

*(xítā) vahā nī (de)*  
 (CON:sing) good LIM (he:RES)  
 '(He) just (sings) well.'

*(xítā) vahā ka (de)*  
 (CON:sing) good ADD (he:RES)  
 '(He sings) better.'

## 2.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Both content and stative verbs may be repeated to indicate continued or intensified action. A content verb in any aspect may be repeated to indicate continued action. The preverbal elements aspect and hortatory optionally precede the first occurrence of the verb, and any postverbal element except manner optionally follows the second occurrence of the verb.

*xikā xikā (nā)*  
 CON:walk CON:walk (she)  
 '(She) keeps on walking.'

*ni xi:kā xi:kā (de)*  
 COM COM:walk COM:walk (he:RES)  
 '(He) kept on walking.'

*ná kátā kátā (xīn)*  
 HORT POT:sing POT:sing (he:FAM)  
 'Have (him) keep on singing!'

*kākā kākā kī (de)*  
 POT:walk POT:walk recently (he:RES)  
 '(He) will soon keep walking.'

*xīkā xīkā tūkū (ti)*  
 CON:walk CON:walk REP (it:AML)  
 '(It) keeps on walking again.'

*xīkā xīkā nī (xīn)*  
 CON:walk CON:walk LIM (he:FAM)  
 '(He) just keeps on walking.'

*xīkā xīkā ka (xīn)*  
 CON:walk CON:walk ADD (he:FAM)  
 '(He) still keeps on walking.' *or*  
 '(He) keeps on walking more.'

A stative verb in the predicate of a stative sentence or in the preverbal or postverbal manner position in content verb phrases may be repeated to indicate intensification. No preverbal elements occur, and of the postverbal elements, only limiter and additive occur.

*kwīká kwīká (de)*  
 rich rich (he:RES)  
 '(He) is very rich.'

*kwīká kwīká (de) nī*  
 rich rich (he:RES) LIM  
 '(He) is just very rich.'

*kwīká kwīká ka (de)*  
 rich rich ADD (he:RES)  
 '(He) is very much richer.'

*xīni vahā vahā (de)*  
 CON:know good good (he:RES)  
 '(He) knows very well.'

*vahā vahā nī xīni (de)*  
 good good LIM CON:know (he:RES)  
 '(He) just knows VERY WELL.'

*xīni vahā vahā ka (de)*  
 CON:know good good ADD (he:RES)  
 '(He) knows very much better.'

(See also 7.10 and 7.17.)



## 3 Noun Phrases

### 3.1 Basic Noun Phrases

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

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

<i>ndāhá</i>	'hand'
<i>tuhūn</i>	'word'
<i>nāná</i>	'mother'
<i>yutē</i>	'river'
<i>kītī</i>	'animal'
<i>saán</i>	'I:RES'
<i>de</i>	'he:RES'

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, or a stative verb. A stative verb in this position may be either a basic stative verb or a stative verb derived from a noun by means of a tone change (see 5.2).

Noun plus noun:

*yōhō ká.ā*  
rope metal  
'wire'

*sāhmā ūtūn*  
 cloth pocket  
 ‘tortilla cloth’

*vēhē tīnū*  
 house business  
 ‘town hall’

*tatan tyó:hó*  
 medicine flea  
 ‘flea powder’

Noun plus numeral:

*kaā uxa*  
 metal seven  
 ‘seven o’clock’

*vyérne kumi*  
 Friday four  
 ‘fourth Friday (Sp. *viernes*) (of Lent)’

Noun plus basic stative verb:

*ndūtē vīshi*  
 water sweet  
 ‘soda pop’

*ndūtē shéén*  
 water fierce  
 ‘white rum’

*teē kvíhná*  
 man thieving  
 ‘thief’

Noun plus derived stative verb:

*ndūtē nūi*  
 water salty  
 ‘salt water’ (cf. *nūi* ‘salt’)

*nūi yahá*  
 salt peppery  
 ‘salt mixed with ground chili’ (cf. *yāhā* ‘chili’)

**3.1.2 Prenominal elements.** There are two elements that precede the nucleus, specifier and quantifier; the specifier occurs next to the nucleus.

The specifier comprises the specifier *māá* and the plural marker *ndá* (which may be a shortened form of *ndaká* ‘each’), and its use is optional.

*māá vēhē*  
SPEC house  
‘the very house’

*māá māría*  
SPEC Mary  
‘Mary (Sp. *María*) herself’

*ndá de*  
PL he:RES  
‘they’

*ndá vétu*  
PL Robert  
‘people named Robert (Sp. *Beto*)’

(See also 7.39.)

The quantifier comprises numerals and general quantifiers.

Numerals:

*kumi teē*  
four man  
‘four men’

*uhun ñūtūn*  
five wood  
‘five trees’

*una de*  
eight he:RES  
‘eight of them’

*uu vétu*  
two Robert  
‘two Roberts’

(See also 7.7.)

General quantifiers:

*kwaha kīī*  
many animal  
‘many animals’

*kwaha ña*  
 many she  
 'many of them'

*kwaha māria*  
 many Mary  
 'many Marys'

*xāku staa*  
 few tortilla  
 'a few tortillas'

The numeral *ūn* 'one' is often used simply as an indefinite article, and the numeral *uu* 'two' sometimes means 'a few' or 'a couple'.

*ūn ndivi*  
 one egg  
 'an egg' or 'one egg'

*uu ndīshī*  
 two ear:of:corn  
 'a few ears of corn' or 'two ears of corn'

(See also 7.1, 7.2, 7.28, 7.32, and 7.33.)

The concept 'many' is sometimes expressed in the verb phrase even when it refers to a noun phrase (see 2.1.3).

**3.1.3 Postnominal elements.** Four elements follow the nucleus: relative clause, deictic, limiter, and additive.

Restrictive relative clauses are marked as such by their distribution following nouns or pronouns and by the absence of a noun phrase that is logically supplied by the head. There is otherwise no change in the order of constituents within relative clauses. The complementizer *xa* functions as a relative pronoun; it is obligatory when the verb of the relative clause is in the completive aspect. With verbs in the other two aspects, it is optional, with no difference in meaning. There are no nonrestrictive relative clauses; their function is filled by appositional noun phrases (see 3.7).

Sentences with content verbs may become relative clauses based on any noun phrase. A locative noun or preposition associated with the head noun is retained in its original position in the relative clause, except for the associative and instrument adjuncts. In these adjuncts, the preposition *xīn* 'with' follows the subject, except that in transitive sentences, it may be unexpressed.

With subject as head:

*teē xīnī*  
man CON:be:drunk  
'the man who is drunk'

*ñāhān xa ní n-kī:xī ikū*  
woman CMP COM COM-COM:come yesterday  
'the woman who came yesterday'

*teē xéhnde ñūtūn*  
man CON:cut wood  
'the man who cuts down trees'

*teē xa xéhnde ñūtūn*  
man CMP CON:cut wood  
'the man who cuts down trees'

With object as head:

*staa kāxi xīn*  
tortilla POT:eat he:FAM  
'the tortillas that he will eat'

*shuhún xa ní nihin xīn*  
money CMP COM receive he:FAM  
'the money he received'

With adjunct as head:

*suchí xa xéhē ñā staa nuu*  
child CMP CON:give she tortilla face  
'the child to whom she gives the tortillas'

*ñūu vāxī vétu*  
town INC:come Robert  
'the town from which Robert comes'

*suchí káhan de xehe*  
child CON:speak he:RES foot  
'the child on whose behalf he speaks'

*teē kwahan de xīn*  
man INC:go he:RES with  
'the man with whom he went'

*teē xa sātñú de xīn*  
man CMP CON:work he:RES with  
'the man with whom he works'

*yūchi xéhnde de kuñū*  
 knife CON:cut he:RES meat  
 'the knife with which he cuts meat'

*yūchi xéhnde de xín kuñū*  
 knife CON:cut he:RES with meat  
 'the knife with which he cuts meat'

*teē káhan de kwachī siki*  
 man CON:speak he:RES sin nape  
 'the man whom they are accusing'  
 (lit. 'the man they are speaking blame against')

With peripheral element as head:

*nūu xa shí:kó vétu ndikā*  
 town CMP CON:sell Robert banana  
 'the town where Robert sells bananas'

*kivi xa ní xihí vétu*  
 day CMP COM COM:die Robert  
 'the day Robert died'

A proper noun or a free personal pronoun may occur as the head of a relative clause.

*vétu xa kwáhan ikū*  
 Robert CMP INC:go yesterday  
 'the Robert who went yesterday'

*ndóhó xa kúū njivi sávi*  
 you:FAM CMP CON:be person rain  
 'you who are Mixtecs'

A poststressed clitic pronoun may occur as the head of a relative clause only if it follows a specifier and/or a quantifier.

*māá de xa kwáhan ikū*  
 SPEC he:RES CMP INC:go yesterday  
 'he who went yesterday'

*kwaha de xa ndóhō kwehe nūkwán*  
 many he:RES CMP CON:suffer sickness that  
 'many of those who have that sickness'

Equative sentences may become relative clauses based on the subject or a peripheral element.

*teē kúū shini*  
 man CON:be head  
 ‘the man who is town president’

*teē xa kúū shini*  
 man CMP CON:be head  
 ‘the man who is town president’

*suchí nání vétu*  
 child CON:be:named Robert  
 ‘the child who is named Robert’

*suchí xa nání vétu*  
 child CMP CON:be:named Robert  
 ‘the child who is named Robert’

*kwiya xa: n-ku:ū de māéstru*  
 year CMP:COM COM-COM:be he:RES teacher  
 ‘the year he was a teacher (Sp. *maestro*)’

Sentences with stative verbs may become relative clauses based on the subject. When this occurs, the complementizer *xa* is rarely used unless another verb is used together with the stative verb (see 1.1.6).

*vēhē lúli*  
 house little  
 ‘little house’

*vétu lúli*  
 Robert little  
 ‘little Robert’

*tīna kahnú*  
 dog big:SG  
 ‘big dog’

*sāhmā váhā*  
 cloth good  
 ‘good cloth’

*sāhmā xa váhā*  
 cloth CMP good  
 ‘good cloth’

*tīna xa: ndu:ū kahnú*  
 dog CMP:COM COM:be:again big:SG  
 ‘the dog that got big again’

*ĩtu xa kōō vahā*  
 cornfield CMP POT:exist good  
 'the cornfield that will be good'

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

*yōhō kání*  
 rope long:SG  
 'long rope'

*yōhō nání*  
 rope long:PL  
 'long ropes'

*kūī káhnú*  
 animal big:SG  
 'big animal'

*kūī náhnú*  
 animal big:PL  
 'big animals'

There are also sequences of a noun followed by a modifying noun that should probably be considered to be relative clauses with a deleted verb. The second noun often gives the material out of which the first is made, or the topic of the first noun.

*móno ñuma*  
 figure wax  
 'wax figure (Sp. *mono*)'

*tūtu kwéndu*  
 paper story  
 'book of stories (Sp. *cuento*)'

*kwéndu lēxō*  
 story rabbit  
 'rabbit (Sp. *conejo*) story'

These constructions are freely formed and are therefore not complex nuclei.

In relative clauses, but not in main sentences, numerals function like stative verbs to express ordinals. In this construction, the tone of the first syllable of the numeral changes to high; this construction is therefore different from the complex nuclei consisting of noun plus numeral described in 3.1.1 above.

*kivi úshi*  
 day ten  
 'the tenth day' (cf. *ushi* 'ten')

*teē úni*  
 man three  
 'the third man' (cf. *uni* 'three')



Deictic function is carried by three locative adverbs: *yáhá* 'here', *xiña* 'there (near addressee)', and *ñúkwán* 'there'. When they function as deictics, they are glossed 'this', 'that (near)', and 'that', respectively.

*sāhmā yáhá*  
cloth this  
'this cloth'

*tatan xiña*  
medicine that:near  
'that medicine (near addressee)'

*tīna ñúkwán*  
dog that  
'that dog'

*xwáan ñúkwán*  
John that  
'that John (Sp. *Juan*)'

The limiter *nī* 'just' follows the deictic.

*ndīkā nī*  
banana LIM  
'just a banana'

*sāhmā ñúkwán nī*  
cloth that LIM  
'just that cloth'

*māriá nī*  
Mary LIM  
'just Mary'

The additive *ka* 'more' follows the limiter.

*ndīkā ka*  
banana ADD  
'more bananas'

*īta nī ka*  
flower LIM ADD  
'just more flowers'

**3.1.4 Combinations of elements.** All possible combinations of these six elements occur.

*kumi māá teē*  
four SPEC man  
'four of only men'

*kumi māá sāhmā yáhá*  
 four SPEC cloth this  
 'four of these very cloths'

*kwaha ndá sāhmā xa ní n-kikū nā*  
 many PL cloth CMP COM COM-sew she  
 'many of the cloths she sewed'

*ndá sāhmā lúli nūkwán*  
 PL cloth little that  
 'those little cloths'

*ndá ndikā nī*  
 PL banana LIM  
 'just bananas'

*māá ndikā ka*  
 SPEC banana ADD  
 'only more bananas'

*uu ndá ndikā náhnú nūkwán nī ka*  
 two PL banana big:PL that LIM ADD  
 'just those two big bananas that are left'

Sometimes the additive follows the prenuclear plural marker.

*ndá ka tēē nūkwán*  
 PL ADD man that  
 'those other men'

Long relative clauses, including most of those based on content verbs, usually occur at the end of a noun phrase, rather than immediately following the noun. They therefore sometimes follow deictic, limiter, and additive, and when they follow any of these, the relative clause must begin with the relative pronoun *xa*.

*sāhmā nūkwán xa ní n-kikū nā*  
 cloth that CMP COM COM-sew she  
 'that cloth she sewed'

*tēē lúli nūkwán xa: xehen ndīnūu*  
 man little that CMP:COM COM:go Tlaxiaco  
 'that boy who went to Tlaxiaco'

*tēē nūkwán xa kúū māéstru*  
 man that CMP CON:be teacher  
 'that man who is a teacher'

More than one relative clause may occur in a single noun phrase. Relative clauses based on content verbs follow those based on stative verbs. Those based on stative verbs may occur in any order, although the preferred sequence seems to be color, state, and then size.

*sāhmā kwāhá téhndé lúlí*  
 cloth red torn little  
 'little torn red cloth'

*sāhmā kwāhá váhā lúlí xa ní n-kikū ñā xa*  
 cloth red good little CMP COM COM-sew she CMP  
 'the good little red cloth she sewed that'

*ñúhún sehē ñā*  
 CON:be:in child her  
 her child wears'

Under certain conditions in discourse, the nucleus of a noun phrase may be deleted, leaving a specifier, a numeral, and/or a deictic as the only manifestation of the phrase.

*ndá*  
 PL  
 'they'

*ñúkwán*  
 that  
 'that (one)'

*uni*  
 three  
 'three (things)'

*uni xiña*  
 three that:near  
 'those three (things) (near addressee)'

### 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, and in the following examples, the higher noun is enclosed in parentheses.

*ushi métru (sāhmā)*  
 ten meter (cloth)  
 'ten meters (Sp. *metro*) (of cloth)'

*īn nāxīn (ndūtē)*  
 one gourd:bowl (water)  
 'one gourd bowl (of water)'

Measurement noun phrases optionally include the limiter *nī*, the additive *ka*, and certain restricted kinds of relative clauses, but not a deictic.

*uni nāxīn nī (ndūtē)*  
 three gourd:bowl LIM (water)  
 'just three gourd bowls (of water)'

*uni nāxīn ka (ndūtē)*  
 three gourd:bowl ADD (water)  
 'three more gourd bowls (of water)'

*uni nāxīn līlī (ndūtē)*  
 three gourd:bowl little (water)  
 'three little gourd bowls (of water)'

Relative clauses in measurement noun phrases are limited to those based on a stative verb, as in the last example above, or to the fraction *yó savá* 'half', a shortened form of a relative clause containing the verb *yóso* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition', and the general quantifier *sāvā* 'some'. The fraction usually follows the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the measurement noun phrase is embedded, even though it logically belongs with the measurement noun phrase.

*uu kīlo (shehēn) yó savá*  
 two kilogram (lard) CON:be:on:top some  
 'two and a half kilograms (Sp. *kilo*) (of lard)'

### 3.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases have a noun as their nucleus followed by an obligatory possessor. A quantifier or specifier may precede the nucleus, and a limiter, additive, or relative clause based on a stative verb may follow it. Nuclei of possessive noun phrases are limited to nouns that can be possessed. The possessor is a full noun phrase with no special genitive marking.

With inherently possessed nouns:

*shīni tīxī*  
 head mouse  
 'the mouse's head'

*shīshi ní*  
 aunt your:RES  
 ‘your aunt’

*uu sehē nā*  
 two child her  
 ‘her two children’

*uu sehē lūlí tīna*  
 two child little dog  
 ‘the dog’s two little pups’

*uu sehē nī ka teē nūkwán*  
 two child LIM ADD man that  
 ‘that man’s only two children who are left’

(See also 7.9, 7.13, 7.14, 7.21, and various others.)

With optionally possessed nouns:

*shīní vétu*  
 hat Robert  
 ‘Robert’s hat’

*vēhē káhnú de*  
 house big:SG his:RES  
 ‘his big house’

*uu vēhē nī ka teē nūkwán*  
 two house LIM ADD man that  
 ‘that man’s only two houses that are left’

*uu vēhē vāhā de*  
 two house good his:RES  
 ‘his two good houses’

(See also 7.24.)

If the possessor is expressed by a poststressed clitic pronoun, a deictic or relative clause that modifies the nucleus sometimes follows the possessor.

*sehē de nūkwán*  
 child his:RES that  
 ‘that child of his’

*sehē de xa ní xehen*  
 child his:RES CMP COM COM:go  
 ‘his child who went’

*sehē lūlí de nūkwán xa ní xehen*  
 child little his:RES that CMP COM COM:go  
 'that little child of his who went'

A possessive noun phrase may occur as the possessor in another possessive noun phrase.

*ishī yúhú de*  
 hair mouth his:RES  
 'his beard'

*tīna sehē nāni teē nūkwán*  
 dog child brother:ME man that  
 'that man's brother's child's dog'

(See also 7.7 and 7.46.)

### 3.4 Interrogative Noun Phrases

Interrogative noun phrases are formed with the interrogatives *na* 'what?' and *ní* 'where?', which is used in this construction to mean 'which?' 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).

*na teē*  
 what man  
 'what man?'

*na sehē*  
 what child  
 'whose child?'

*ní teē*  
 where man  
 'which man?'

(See also 7.34.)

Many interrogative noun phrases have acquired idiomatic meanings; they have the function of single-word interrogative pronouns or adverbs. Some of the most common ones are:

*na njivi*  
 what person  
 'who?'

*na ūn*  
 what one  
 'who?' or 'what?'

*ní ūn*  
 where one  
 'which?'

*ní nuu*  
 where face  
 'where?'

*ní ichī*  
 where path  
 'which direction?'

*na óra*  
 what hour  
 'when? (Sp. *hora*)'

*na kivi*  
 what day  
 'when?'

*na xehe*  
 what foot  
 'why?'

*na siki*  
 what nape  
 'why?'

*na kwénda*  
 what account  
 'whose? (Sp. *cuenta*)'

A variant form of the phrase for 'where?' occurs in 7.42; it contains *na* preceding the *ní*.

### 3.5 Emphatic Noun Phrases

Emphatic noun phrases have two subtypes, negative and affirmative.

Negative noun phrases are formed by preposing the negative marker *nsuú* to a noun phrase; they occur mainly in focus position in the sentence. An equative sentence (see 1.1.5) is usually negated by using a negative noun phrase for the nominal complement, but negative noun phrases also occur in other sentence types. In the following sentences containing

negative noun phrases, the portion of the sentence outside the negative noun phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

*nsuí suchí váhā (n-sahá yáhá)*  
 NEG child good (COM-do this)  
 '(It was) NOT A GOOD CHILD (who did this).'

*nsuí sāhmā (n-ke:hēn ñā)*  
 NEG cloth (COM-COM:take she)  
 '(It was) NOT CLOTH (she bought).'

*nsuí yūchi vétu (kúū)*  
 NEG knife Robert (CON:be)  
 '([It] is) NOT ROBERT'S KNIFE.'

(See also 7.43.)

Negative noun phrases also occur in sentences expressing comparison of degree, in which case they often have the additive *ka* 'more' following *nsuí*; examples of this use are given in 6.2.2.

Affirmative noun phrases occur only in focus position; they are formed by preposing the affirmative marker *sūū* to a noun phrase. Such phrases function to confirm some fact asked or suggested by another speaker. (The marker *sūū* also occurs in verb phrases, where it has a similar function; see 2.1.2.)

*sūū shūto mǎá sán (kúū de)*  
 AFF uncle SPEC my:RES (CON:be he:RES)  
 'Yes, (he is) MY UNCLE.'

*sūū toho (n-ta:túni)*  
 AFF authority (COM-COM:command)  
 'Yes, (it was) THE AUTHORITY (who commanded [it]).'

(See also 7.24.)

### 3.6 Adverbial Noun Phrases

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

*īchī káhnú*  
 path big:SG  
 'big path'



*kivi kahnú*  
 day big:SG  
 'important day'

*ñūu lūlí ñúkwán*  
 town little that  
 'that little town'

*kwiya yáhá*  
 year this  
 'this year'

Adverbial possessive noun phrases consist of a possessive noun phrase with a locative noun as nucleus. Many of these are body-part nouns that are used with extended meanings (see 5.3.2). Adverbial possessive noun phrases are used in all noun-phrase positions, but they are especially common as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

*nuu ñāhān*  
 face woman  
 'in front of the woman' or 'to the woman'

*chixān mésa*  
 stomach table  
 'under the table (Sp. *mesa*)'

*īni vēhē*  
 insides house  
 'in the house'

*shini yūkū*  
 head mountain  
 'at the top of the mountain'

*shini yóo*  
 head moon  
 'at the end of the month'

*nuu úni kivi*  
 face three day  
 'within three days'

(See also 7.22, 7.26, 7.45, and various others.)

The nouns *īchī* 'path' and *kwénda* 'account', which do not refer to body parts and are not inherently possessed, also occur frequently in adverbial possessive noun phrases.

*īchī nūu*  
 path town  
 'toward town'

*kwénda sehē de*  
 account child his:RES  
 'for his child'

Adverbial possessive noun phrases differ from ordinary possessive noun phrases in that they do not permit the nucleus to have prenuclear or postnuclear elements, whereas the nucleus of an ordinary possessive noun phrase can take prenuclear quantifier or specifier and postnuclear limiter, additive, or relative clause based on a stative verb (see 3.3).

### 3.7 Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases consist of two or more coreferential noun phrases in the same structural position joined with no conjunction linking them. They occur in any noun-phrase position. One function of appositional noun phrases is to express additional information about a noun nucleus that is already identified, which is the function filled by nonrestrictive relative clauses in English.

*kuhu nā / māría*  
 sister:FE her Mary  
 'her sister, Mary'

*teē lūlí / sehē teē nūkwán*  
 man little child man that  
 'the boy, that man's child'

*vétu / teē xa: n-kí:xī ikū*  
 Robert man CMP:COM COM-COM:come yesterday  
 'Robert, the man who came yesterday'

*nūu / nuu ndée de*  
 town face CON:sit he:RES  
 'the town, the place where he lives'

*māá de / teē xa: xehen ndīnūu*  
 SPEC he:RES man CMP:COM COM:go Tlaxiaco  
 'he, the man who went to Tlaxiaco'

(See also 7.24, 7.34, and 7.41.)

A sentential complement introduced by the complementizer *xa* sometimes occurs in an appositional construction in place of a noun phrase, as seen in 7.1.

## 3.8 Additive Noun Phrases

Additive noun phrases are either coordinate or disjunctive. In the coordinate type, noun phrases are linked by the preposition *xíin* 'with', or less frequently by the coordinate conjunction *dē* 'and'; occasionally they may have no overt link. (Noun phrases may also be linked by repeating the verb, as described in 6.1.2.)

*māá de xíin nāni de xíin*  
 SPEC he:RES with brother:ME his:RES with  
 'he, his brother, and

*kwahā de*  
 sister:ME his:RES  
 his sister'

*uu nāni de dē ūn kwahā de*  
 two brother:ME his:RES and one sister:ME his:RES  
 'two of his brothers and one of his sisters'

*ūn nixan váhā / ūn shīnī váhā /*  
 one sandal good one hat good  
 'a good pair of sandals, a good hat,

*ūn sāhmā váhā*  
 one cloth good  
 (and) a good piece of clothing'

A sequence of two noun phrases linked by *xíin* 'with' is sometimes ambiguous between an additive noun phrase as subject or object and a simple noun phrase followed by an associative adjunct (see 1.1.4).

*(ni xehen) teē nūkwán xíin nāni de*  
 (COM COM:go) man that with brother:ME his:RES  
 'That man and his brother (went).' or  
 'That man (went) with his brother.'

*(n-ke:hēn nā) tikūmī xíin tināna*  
 (COM-COM:take she) onion with tomato  
 '(She bought) onions and tomatoes.' or  
 '(She bought) onions with tomatoes.'

Additive noun phrases with *xíin* show attraction when the first component noun phrase contains a plural quantifier and the second component noun phrase permits the interpretation that it is included in the first one. In such cases *xíin* should perhaps be translated 'including' rather than 'with'.

*ndíu de xíin ñāni de*  
 both he:RES with brother:ME his:RES  
 'both he and his brother'

*núni teē ñúkwán xíin ñāni de xíin*  
 all:three man that with brother:ME his:RES with  
 'all three, including that man, his brother, and

*kwahā de*  
 sister:ME his:RES  
 his sister'

*ndó-o xíin ní*  
 both-we:IN with you:RES  
 'both you and I'

To express a disjunctive relationship between two noun phrases, the YES/NO interrogative marker *á*, used here to mean 'or', occurs between the two or before each.

*tikwaá á ndikā*  
 orange INT banana  
 'either oranges or bananas'

*á tikwaá á ndikā*  
 INT orange INT banana  
 'either oranges or bananas'

To express a negative disjunction, the conjunction *nī* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*) is used before each part.<sup>1</sup> Only one such phrase may occur in a sentence, and the verb must also be negated.

*nī kwahā de nī ñāni de (ndíúú ní xéhen)*  
 nor sister:ME his:RES nor brother:ME his:RES (NEG COM go)  
 'NEITHER HIS SISTER NOR HIS BROTHER (went).'

### 3.9 Distributive Noun Phrases

Distributive noun phrases are formed by repeating a short noun phrase; they express the idea of 'each' or 'every'. Optionally, the word *tá* (a shortened form of *táhán* 'companion') precedes the whole phrase or each repetition of the nucleus.

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally the subordinate conjunction *xūnī* 'while' (see 6.2.1), which appears to be a native Mixtec word, is used instead of the Spanish loanword *nī* 'nor'. This occurs in additive noun phrases (3.8), negative quantifier phrases (4.1.8), and negative disjunctive sentences (6.1.1). This usage appears to have developed by a kind of folk etymology in which *nī* was equated with a reduced form of *xūnī*.

*vēhē vēhē*  
house house  
'every house'

*tá vēhē vēhē*  
companion house house  
'every house'

*tá vēhē tá vēhē*  
companion house companion house  
'every house'

The noun phrase may be expanded by the addition of a short relative clause or a possessor at the end. If *tá* does not occur, a relative clause may follow each part.

*vēhē lúli vēhē lúli*  
house little house little  
'every little house'

*tá vēhē tá vēhē lúli*  
companion house companion house little  
'every little house'

*vēhē vēhē de*  
house house his:RES  
'every house of his'

*tá vēhē tá vēhē de*  
companion house companion house his:RES  
'every house of his'

*vēhē vēhē ndá teē ñúkwán*  
house house PL man that  
'every house of those men'

*tá vēhē tá vēhē ndá teē ñúkwán*  
companion house companion house PL man that  
'every house of those men'

### 3.10 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Indefinite noun phrases are formed by preposing the interrogative pronoun *na* 'what?', optionally followed by the limiter *ñi*, to a noun phrase.

*na nī kivi*  
 what LIM day  
 'any day' or 'whenever'

*na kivi*  
 what day  
 'any day' or 'whenever'

*na nī njivi*  
 what LIM person  
 'anyone' or 'whoever'

(See also 7.40.)

### 3.11 Owner Noun Phrases

Owner noun phrases consist of a nucleus referring to a person, followed by the nominal marker *shí*, which seems to mean 'owning',<sup>2</sup> and a noun that labels the possession.

*teē shí nūhūn*  
 man owning land  
 'the man who owns the land'

*nāhān shí véhē*  
 woman owning house  
 'the woman who owns the house'

*teē shí nāsíhí*  
 man owning wife  
 'the man whose wife she is'

(See also 7.23.)

Note that this phrase type is used only for the owner of some contextually specified item. For example, *teē shí nūhūn* means 'the owner of the land (we've been talking about)', not 'the owner of land (in general)'.

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<sup>2</sup> *shí* may be related to the preposition *xūn* 'with', which has initial *sh* in some other Mixtec languages.

## 4 Other Phrases

### 4.1 Quantifier Phrases

**4.1.1 Additive numeral phrases.** In additive numeral phrases simple numerals from one to ten, fifteen, twenty, hundred, and thousand combine to form the numerals from eleven through fourteen, sixteen through nineteen, twenty-one through thirty, thirty-five, and certain combinations involving hundred and thousand. The larger numeral always occurs first.

*ushi t̄n*  
ten one  
'eleven'

*shahun uni*  
fifteen three  
'eighteen'

*oko ushi*  
twenty ten  
'thirty'

*oko shahun*  
twenty fifteen  
'thirty-five'

*syentu oko*  
hundred twenty  
'one hundred (Sp. *ciento*) twenty'

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

*oko shahun kumi*  
 twenty fifteen four  
 'thirty-nine'

*mūl syentu oko ushi uu*  
 thousand hundred twenty ten two  
 'one thousand (Sp. *mīl*) one hundred thirty-two'

**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 twenty occurs as the nucleus of an attributive numeral phrase, a suppletive allomorph, *shīkō*, occurs.

*kumi shīkō*  
 four twenty  
 'eighty'

*una syentu*  
 eight hundred  
 'eight hundred'

*uni mūl*  
 three thousand  
 'three thousand'

Attributive numeral phrases combine with additive numeral phrases to form all the remaining nonsimple numerals.

*uu shīkō shahun ūn*  
 two twenty fifteen one  
 'fifty-six'

*uu mūl uxa syentu uni shīkō ushi ūn*  
 two thousand seven hundred three twenty ten one  
 'two thousand seven hundred seventy-one'

**4.1.3 Aggregative numeral phrases.** A numeral and either of two numerical markers combine to form aggregative numeral phrases. *mānūhūn* (or its variant *mēnūhūn*) occurs only with the numeral one and means 'single'. *tāhan*, which is probably related to *tāhān* 'companion', usually occurs with numerals higher than one and means something like 'grouped'. These phrases occur as quantifiers in noun phrases and as nuclei in other numeral phrases. In the following examples, an entire noun phrase is given with the parts outside the numeral phrase enclosed in parentheses.



*ūn mātúhún (tīna)*  
 one single (dog)  
 'a single (dog)'

*uni táhan (de)*  
 three grouped (he:RES)  
 'three (of them)'

**4.1.4 Expanded numeral phrases.** A simple numeral or an additive, attributive, or aggregative numeral phrase may serve as the nucleus of expanded numeral phrases. These phrases include one optional pre-nuclear element and five optional post-nuclear elements.

The prenuclear element comprises several words that quantify the numeral nucleus. These include the subordinate conjunction *tá* 'when', used in this construction to mean 'approximately', the general quantifiers *ndīhī* 'all' and *ndaká* 'each', the specifier *māá*, the plural marker *ndá*, and the complex numerical marker *víhí ka* 'more than'.

*tá oko*  
 when twenty  
 'approximately twenty'

*ndīhī syéntu*  
 all hundred  
 'all hundred'

*māá uxa*  
 SPEC seven  
 'only seven'

*ndá uxa*  
 PL seven  
 'all groups of seven'

The general quantifier *ndīhī* 'all' fuses with all numerals except *ūn* 'one', *syéntu* 'hundred', and *mīl* 'thousand', as described in 5.6; an example is found in 7.35.

There are five postnuclear elements: the intensifying adverb *kwīti* 'exactly', the repetitive *tūkū*, the limiter *nī*, the additive *ka*, and the fraction *yó savá* 'half'. The first four of these occur in any combination in the above order.

*uu kwīti*  
 two exactly  
 'exactly two'

*uxa tūkū*  
seven REP  
'seven other'

*uhun nī*  
five LIM  
'only five'

*uhun ka*  
five ADD  
'five more'

*una kwīti tūkū*  
eight exactly REP  
'exactly eight other'

*ndīhūhun nī ka*  
all:five LIM ADD  
'only all five more'

The fraction *yó savá* 'half' is a shortened form of a relative clause containing the verb *yóso* 'to be on top', used in the sense of 'to be in addition', and the general quantifier *sāvā* 'some'. This element either immediately follows the nucleus of the expanded numeral phrase, or—more commonly—the nucleus of the noun phrase in which the numeral phrase occurs, in which case the quantifier phrase is discontinuous.

*ūn (ndīkā) yó savá*  
one (banana) CON:be:on:top some  
'one and a half (bananas)'

*ūn yó savá (ndīkā)*  
one CON:be:on:top some (banana)  
'one and a half (bananas)'

*uhun nī ka (ndīkā) yó savá*  
five LIM ADD (banana) CON:be:on:top some  
'only five and a half more (bananas)'

*uhun yó savá nī ka (ndīkā)*  
five CON:be:on:top some LIM ADD (banana)  
'only five and a half more (bananas)'

**4.1.5 General quantifier phrases.** Approximate quantities may be expressed by general quantifier phrases. These phrases consist of a nucleus, which is a nonnumeral quantifier, and four optional post-nuclear elements: manner (expressed only by intensifying elements), the repetitive *tūkū*, the limiter *nī*, and the additive *ka*. All four positions cooccur in the above order.

*kwaha ndāsi (nuni)*  
 many INTS (corn)  
 'very much (corn)'

*kwaha saká (staa)*  
 many evil (tortilla)  
 'very many (tortillas)'

*ndīhī kwīi (tēē)*  
 all exactly (man)  
 'every one (of the men)'

*īnga tūkū (kivi)*  
 another REP (day)  
 'another (day) also'

*ndīhī nī (teē)*  
 all LIM (man)  
 'just all (the men)'

*xāku ka (kīī)*  
 few ADD (animal)  
 'a few more (animals)'

*xāku kwīi nī ka (kuīū)*  
 few exactly LIM ADD (meat)  
 'just a very little bit more (meat)'

Sometimes two intensifying elements occur together.

*kwaha ndāsi kwīi tūkū nī ka (nuni)*  
 much INTS exactly REP LIM ADD (corn)  
 'just exactly very much more (corn) also'

**4.1.6 Distributive numeral phrases.** A repeated numeral with no prenuclear or postnuclear modifiers, or a repeated numeral to which a shortened form of *ndīhī* 'all' has been fused (see 5.6), constitutes a distributive numeral phrase. In these phrases, when 'all' is fused to the numeral, the tone of the first syllable of the numeral is changed to mid, whereas in the fused forms that occur in expanded numeral phrases, it is changed to high.

*īn īn*  
 one one  
 'each'

*uu uu*  
 two two  
 'each pair'

*kumi kumi*  
four four  
'each group of four'

*ndihūn ndihūn*  
all:one all:one  
'each'

*ndihūu ndihūu*  
all:two all:two  
'each pair'

*ndikūmi ndikūmi*  
all:four all:four  
'each group of four'

**4.1.7 Alternative numeral phrases.** Two numerals, with the second expressing a somewhat higher quantity, combine to form alternative numeral phrases. If the numerals are grammatically simple, they may be simply juxtaposed, or the YES/NO interrogative marker *á*, used here to mean 'or', may precede the second or both.

*uu uni (ndīshī)*  
two three (ear:of:corn)  
'a few (ears of corn)'

*kumi uhun (njīvi)*  
four five (person)  
'four or five (people)'

*una á ushi (kūī)*  
eight INT ten (animal)  
'eight or ten (animals)'

*á una á shahun (kivi)*  
INT eight INT fifteen (day)  
'one or two (weeks)'

If the numerals are not grammatically simple, the phrase is introduced by *tá* 'when', used here to mean 'approximately'.

*tá oko uhun | oko ushi (kūī)*  
when twenty five twenty ten (animal)  
'approximately twenty-five or thirty (animals)'

**4.1.8 Negative quantifier phrases.** The conjunction *nī* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*), used here in the sense of 'not even', combines with a numeral or general quantifier expressing a minimal amount to form negative quantifier phrases.

*nī ūn*  
 nor one  
 'not even one'

*nī xāku*  
 nor few  
 'not even a few'

Only one negative quantifier phrase may occur in a sentence, and the verb must also be negated.

(*ndūú ní n-kéhēn ñā*) *nī ūn* (*ndīkā*)  
 (NEG COM COM-take she) nor one (banana)  
 '(She didn't buy) even one (banana).'

*nī xāku* (*nuni ndūú ní ndó:ō*)  
 nor few (corn NEG COM stay)  
 'NOT EVEN A LITTLE (CORN was left).'

## 4.2 Adverb Phrases

**4.2.1 Basic adverb phrases.** A nucleus and three optional postnuclear elements combine to form basic adverb phrases. The nucleus is expressed by a locative, temporal, or general adverb; and the postnuclear elements are manner (expressed only by intensifying elements), limiter, and additive. Semantically, manner and additive collocate only with certain general adverbs.

With locative adverb:

*ñúkwán nī*  
 there LIM  
 'just there'

With temporal adverb:

*ikū nī*  
 yesterday LIM  
 'just yesterday'

With general adverbs:

*súkwán nī*  
 thus LIM  
 'just thus'

*kwéé nī*  
slowly LIM  
'just slowly'

*kwéé ndāsí nī ka*  
slowly INTS LIM ADD  
'just very much more slowly'

(See also 7.4.)

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

*ñúkwán / nuu sáttíñú de*  
there face CON:work he:RES  
'there, the place where he works'

*tēen / kivi úshi*  
tomorrow day ten  
'tomorrow, the tenth day'

*ñúkwán / ñni vēhē*  
there insides house  
'there, inside the house'

*yáhá nī / mahñú ndíuu vēhē*  
here LIM between both house  
'just here, between both houses'

*ñúkwán / xonde nunduvá*  
there until Oaxaca  
'there, as far as Oaxaca'

**4.2.3 Additive adverb phrases.** There are two ways to form additive adverb phrases. Two noncoreferential adverbs may be juxtaposed with no conjunction linking them, or they may be linked with *xíin* 'with'.

*yáhá ñúkwán*  
here there  
'here and there' or 'everywhere'

*ndíuu ñíuu*  
day night  
'all day and all night'

*ndíuu xíin ñíuu*  
day with night  
'all day and all night'

*mītān tēen*

now tomorrow

‘today and tomorrow’ or ‘in the near future’

*tēen īsá*

tomorrow day:after:tomorrow

‘tomorrow and the day after’ or ‘in the future’

**4.2.4 Alternative adverb phrases.** Two adverbs or adverb phrases linked by the YES/NO interrogative marker *á*, used here to mean ‘or’, constitute an alternative adverb phrase. The interrogative marker occurs between the two parts and optionally before the first.

*tēen á īsá*

tomorrow INT day:after:tomorrow

‘tomorrow or the day after’

*á tēen á īsá*

INT tomorrow INT day:after:tomorrow

‘tomorrow or the day after’

*yáhá á ñúkwán*

here INT there

‘here or there’

*á yáhá á ñúkwán*

INT here INT there

‘here or there’

**4.2.5 Repetitive adverb phrases.** The simple repetition of an adverb, which intensifies its meaning, constitutes a repetitive adverb phrase. The limiter *nī* may follow the second adverb or both, and the additive *ka* may follow the second adverb.

*kwéé kwéé*

slowly slowly

‘very slowly’

*kwéé kwéé nī*

slowly slowly LIM

‘just very slowly’

*kwéé nī kwéé nī*

slowly LIM slowly LIM

‘just very slowly’

*kwéé kwéé ka*

slowly slowly ADD

‘very much more slowly’

Repetitive adverb phrases occur only in content verb phrases. Those consisting of a repeated adverb phrase occur only in preverbal manner position.

(*xíkā*)            *kwéé kwéé nī*    (*de*)  
 (CON:walk) slowly slowly LIM (he:RES)  
 '(He) just (walks) very slowly.'

*kwéé nī kwéé nī*    (*xíkā de*)  
 slowly LIM slowly LIM (CON:walk he:RES)  
 '(He) just (walks) very slowly.'

(See also 7.25.)

### 4.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed by its object, which is expressed either by a noun phrase or by an adverb or adverb phrase. The set of prepositions is small because prepositional function is carried largely by locative nouns (see 5.3.2 and 3.6). It includes only *xíín* 'with', *xonde* 'until',<sup>1</sup> *mahnúú* 'between', *xa xéhe* 'for the sake of', and *xa síki* 'because of'. Prepositional phrases occur mainly as adjuncts and as peripheral elements.

*xíín ndá sehē de*  
 with PL child his:RES  
 'with his children'

*xonde mūtān*  
 until now  
 'until now' or 'from now on'

*xonde mūtān nī*  
 until now LIM  
 'just until today' or 'just from today on'

*mahnúú vēhē*  
 between house  
 'between the houses'

---

<sup>1</sup> The preposition *xonde* has a wider distribution than other prepositions. It can precede a subject noun phrase, for example, or serve as part of the object of another preposition. Perhaps it could be more accurately classified as a specifier (see 3.1.2).



*xa xéhe nāná nā*  
 CMP foot mother her  
 'for her mother's sake'

*xa síki kīī de*  
 CMP nape animal his:RES  
 'because of his animals'

The object of a preposition is sometimes unexpressed, if it can be supplied from the context, as seen in 7.33 and 7.35.

When two prepositional phrases with *xonde* 'until' are juxtaposed, they express the spatial or temporal scope of an action; the first instance of *xonde* is translated 'from', and the second one is translated 'to', 'until', or 'as far as'.

*xonde méxiko xonde njahá*  
 until Mexico:City until here  
 'from Mexico City (Sp. *México*) to here'

*xonde mūtān xonde kwiya xa kīī*  
 until now until year CMP POT:come  
 'from now until next year'

## 5 Parts of Speech

### 5.1 Content and Equative Verbs

**5.1.1 Derivation.** Content verbs are derived from other content verbs, stative verbs, and nouns by means of prefixes, sometimes accompanied by tone changes, and also by compounding.

The prefix *s-* or *sā-* ‘causative’ adds an agent; it combines with content and equative verbs in potential aspect in a highly productive derivational process. When this prefix is added, the stem undergoes the tone changes that are used to mark continuative aspect (see 5.1.2). Also, some verbs with initial *nd* change *nd* to *t* following the *s-* form of this prefix.

*s-kúnū*

CAUS-POT:run

‘to chase’ (cf. *kūnū* ‘POT:run’)

*s-kwáku*

CAUS-POT:laugh

‘to cause to laugh’ (cf. *kwáku* ‘POT:laugh’)

*s-kwákū*

CAUS-POT:cry

‘to cause to cry’ (cf. *kwákū* ‘POT:cry’)

*s-tí:ví*

CAUS-POT:be:spoiled

‘to spoil (something)’ (cf. *tí:ví* ‘POT:be:spoiled’)

*s-tíhī*

CAUS-POT:end

‘to finish’ (cf. *ndíhī* ‘POT:end’)

*s-kóhō*

CAUS-POT:drink)

‘to give a drink to’ (cf. *kóhō* ‘POT:drink’)*s-káxi*

CAUS-POT:eat

‘to feed’ (cf. *káxi* ‘POT:eat’)*s-kúnāní*

CAUS-POT:be:named

‘to name’ (cf. *kúnāní* ‘POT:be:named’)*sā-sáa*

POT:CAUS-POT:get:hot

‘to heat’ (cf. *sáa* ‘POT:get:hot’)*sā-chóho*

POT:CAUS-POT:cook

‘to cook (something)’ (cf. *chóho* ‘POT:cook’)

(See also 7.8 and 7.44.)

The prefix *sā-* also combines with stative verbs to form derived content verbs.

*sā-vahā*

POT:CAUS-good

‘to repair’

*sā-ñáhnú*

POT:CAUS-old

‘to honor’

*sā-tíñú*

POT:CAUS-business:related

‘to work’ (cf. *tíñú* ‘business’)

The prefix *nā-* ‘repetitive’ combines with content and equative verbs in potential aspect. This prefix adds the meaning of repeated or resumed action, though many verbs with it have acquired idiomatic meanings.

*nā-kikū*

POT:REP-POT:sew

‘to mend’

*nā-ndūkú*

POT:REP-POT:look:for

‘to look for (something lost)’

*nā-kētē*

POT:REP-POT:dig

'to wash (something)'

*nā-stáá*

POT:REP-POT:pull

'to sweep'

Sometimes the prefix is reduced to *n-*, and a stem-initial *k* is either lost or replaced by *d*.

*n-ēndā*

REP-POT:arrive

'to arrive back' (cf. *kēndā* 'POT:arrive')

*n-dīxī*

REP-POT:come

'to come again' (cf. *kīxī* 'POT:come')

*n-dūū*

REP-POT:be

'to be again' (cf. *kūū* 'POT:be')

(See also 7.36 and 7.38.)

Repetitive and causative prefixes can occur together in a word. The causative prefix occurs next to the stem.

*nā-s-kánaá*

POT:REP-CAUS-POT:fight

'to cause to fight again,  
to cause again to fight' (cf. *kánaá* 'POT:fight')

*nā-s-túú*

POT:REP-CAUS-POT:be:gathered

'to gather (something) again'

*nā-s-téku*

POT:REP-CAUS-POT:live

'to resurrect' (cf. *kūtēku* 'POT:live')

Compounds are formed by the fusion of a complex verb nucleus (see 2.1.1) into a single word. Often the first part of the compound, which was the main verb of the original construction, is reduced to a single syllable. The verb *kūū* 'to be' combines with stative verbs to form intransitive verbs.

*kū-káshí*

POT:be-lazy

'to be lazy'

*kū-xíká*

POT:be-far

'to be far'

*kū-vahā*

POT:be-good

'to be made'

*kū-kwíká*

POT:be-rich

'to be rich'

*kū-tūún*

POT:be-black

'to be black'

*kū-vitá*

POT:be-soft

'to be soft'

The verb *ndūū* 'to be again', combines with stative verbs, and occasionally with adverbs, to form intransitive verbs.

*ndū-nīxin*

POT:be:again-clear

'to become light'

*ndū-vahā*

POT:be:again-good

'to be healed'

*ndū-ndáhvi*

POT:be:again-poor

'to become poor again'

*ndū-ñātīn*

POT:be:again-near

'to be near again'

Various other verbs also enter into compounds; sometimes the original verb cannot be determined.

*stá-tachi*

POT:pull-wind

'to breathe' (cf. *stáá* 'to pull')

*kā-yihí*

POT:eat-raw

‘to bite’ (cf. *kāxi* ‘to eat’, *yihí* ‘raw’)*tā-tūni*

POT:take:out-brand

‘to command’ (cf. *tāvā* ‘to take out’, *tūni* ‘brand’)*tā-ndāhá*

POT:?-hand

‘to marry’

*kwē-ndūté*

POT:?-water

‘to be baptized’ (cf. *ndūtē* ‘water’)*kē-táhán*

POT:?-companion

‘to meet’

*kā-ndixā*

POT:?-truthful

‘to believe’ (cf. *ndixā* ‘truthful’)*tā-kwehé*

POT:?-sickly

‘to be wounded’ (cf. *kwehe* ‘sickness’)*kī-xéhé*

POT:?-by:foot

‘to begin’ (cf. *xehé* ‘foot’)*kā-ndēe*

POT:?-POT:sit

‘to take away’ (cf. *kūndēe* ‘to sit’)*xe-kavā*

POT:?-POT:lie:down

‘to lie down’ (cf. *kāvā* ‘to lie down’)*xī-kavā*

POT:?-POT:lie:down

‘to lie down’

*kē-ndoō*

POT:?-POT:remain

‘to remain’

(See also 7.37.)

Certain pairs of verbs that are transitive-intransitive counterparts differ in form only in their initial consonant and sometimes also in tone.

Transitive	Intransitive
<i>kēhnde</i> 'to tear'	<i>tehnde</i> 'to be torn'
<i>kāhnu</i> 'to bend'	<i>tahnu</i> 'to be bent'
<i>kashin</i> 'to crush'	<i>tashin</i> 'to be crushed'

Other transitivity pairs differ only in tone.

<i>tīn</i> 'to seize'	<i>tiin</i> 'to be stuck'
<i>sāmā</i> 'to change'	<i>samā</i> 'to be changed'
<i>tāhvi</i> 'to break'	<i>tahvi</i> 'to be broken'

Some transitivity pairs show both a change of stem-initial consonant and the potential marker *kū-* in the intransitive form.

<i>kūhni</i> 'to tie'	<i>kū-nūhni</i> 'to be tied'
<i>kāsi</i> 'to close'	<i>kū-ndāsi</i> 'to be closed'
<i>nā-kūnē</i> 'to open again'	<i>kū-nūne</i> 'to be opened'

One verb, *ndūú* 'to not be', is inherently negative.

**5.1.2 Inflection.** Content and equative verbs are inflected for three aspects: potential, continuative, and completive. These three aspects are similar to future, present, and past tenses, but cannot be equated with them, because, once a time frame has been established in the discourse context, all three aspects can occur to express time relative to that frame. For example, continuative aspect is often used for ongoing action in the past.

Potential aspect is the basic form of the verb. Continuative and completive aspects are best described by means of changes from the potential form.

There are two major inflectional classes of simple verbs. In the first class, aspect inflection is carried mainly by tone, and in the second class, there are segmental changes as well.

In Class I continuative aspect is marked by the following tone changes. A verb with a basic low mid or low high tone pattern and without a medial *h* followed by a vowel changes the tone of the first syllable to a glide from high to low. All other verbs change the tone of the first syllable to high. Completive aspect is marked by the completive prefix *n-* and by a tone glide on the first syllable of the verb from low to the basic tone of the verb. A basic low tone is unchanged. The completive prefix does not occur before a verb beginning with a nasal or a prenasalized stop. (See 0.2 for a brief description of segmental morphophonemic changes that involve this prefix.) The following table gives the tone changes (H is high, M is mid, and L is low; a space separates syllables; and a tone glide on a single syllable is indicated by a hyphen).

POT	CON	COM
M H	H H	L-M H
M M	H M	L-M M
M L	H L	L-M L
L H	H-L H	L H
L M	H-L M	L M
L L	H L	L L

The following verb forms illustrate the above tone changes.

	POT	CON	COM
look for	<i>ndúkú</i>	<i>ndúkú</i>	<i>ndu:ká</i>
weave	<i>kūnū</i>	<i>kúnū</i>	<i>n-ku:nū</i>
end	<i>ndīhī</i>	<i>ndīhī</i>	<i>ndi:hī</i>
say	<i>kāchi</i>	<i>káchi</i>	<i>n-ka:chi</i>
sell	<i>shikó</i>	<i>shí:kó</i>	<i>n-shikó</i>
do, make	<i>sahá</i>	<i>sáhá</i>	<i>n-sahá</i>
sew	<i>kikū</i>	<i>kí:kū</i>	<i>n-kikū</i>
pass	<i>yahā</i>	<i>yáhā</i>	<i>n-yahā</i>
rot	<i>tehyu</i>	<i>téhyu</i>	<i>n-tehyu</i>



speak	<i>kahan</i>	<i>káhan</i>	<i>n-kahan</i>
receive	<i>nihin</i>	<i>níhin</i>	<i>nihin</i>

Note that, for verbs which have a basic low tone in the first syllable and with which the completive prefix *n-* does not occur, the potential and completive forms are identical.

Potential aspect is marked on a few verbs by the prefix *kū-*.

	POT	CON	COM
listen	<i>kū-nīnī</i>	<i>nīnī</i>	<i>nīːnī</i>
be tied	<i>kū-nūhni</i>	<i>nūhni</i>	<i>nuːhni</i>

In Class II completive and continuative aspects show a segmental change from potential in addition to the above changes. Many verbs with stem-initial *k* in potential aspect substitute *x* for the initial consonant, and many of these also change the following vowel to *i* or *e* in continuative and completive aspects. The completive prefix does not occur before *x*.

	POT	CON	COM
run	<i>kūnū</i>	<i>xīnū</i>	<i>xīːnū</i>
go	<i>kihīn</i>	<i>xéhen</i>	<i>xehen</i>
sing	<i>kātā</i>	<i>xítā</i>	<i>xīːtā</i>
tie	<i>kūhni</i>	<i>xūhni</i>	<i>xuːhni</i>
guard	<i>kōtō</i>	<i>xítō</i>	<i>xīːtō</i>

Some verbs also show other segmental changes.

eat	<i>kāxi</i>	<i>yáxi</i>	<i>n-yaːxi</i>
sleep	<i>kusun</i>	<i>kíshin</i>	<i>n-kishin</i>
be in	<i>kūhūn</i>	<i>nūhūn</i>	<i>nūːhūn</i>

Derived verbs containing the *sā-* form of the causative prefix or the repetitive prefix *nā-* (or *n-*) belong to Class I.

	POT	CON	COM
heat	<i>sāsáa</i>	<i>sásáa</i>	<i>n-saːsáa</i>
repair	<i>sāvahā</i>	<i>sávahā</i>	<i>n-saːvahā</i>
mend	<i>nākikū</i>	<i>nákikū</i>	<i>naːkikū</i>

resurrect	<i>nāstéku</i>	<i>nástéku</i>	<i>naṽstéku</i>
come again	<i>ndīxī</i>	<i>ndíxī</i>	<i>ndiṽxī</i>

All verbs containing the *s-* form of the causative prefix also belong to Class I because they show no segmental changes. Verbs with this prefix, however, have an initial high tone in potential aspect, and the potential and continuative forms are identical. The completive prefix *n-* does not occur with these verbs. The following table gives the tone changes.

POT	CON	COM
H H	H H	L-H H
H M	H M	L-H M
H L	H L	L-H L
H-L H	H-L H	L-H-L H
H-L M	H-L M	L-H-L M

The following verb forms illustrate the above tone changes.

	POT	CON	COM
cause to swallow	<i>skókó</i>	<i>skókó</i>	<i>skoṽkó</i>
cause to cry	<i>skwákū</i>	<i>skwákū</i>	<i>skwaṽkū</i>
cause to laugh	<i>skwáku</i>	<i>skwáku</i>	<i>kwaṽku</i>
cause to spoil	<i>stí.ví</i>	<i>stí.ví</i>	<i>stíṽ.ví</i>
save	<i>ská:kū</i>	<i>ská:kū</i>	<i>skaṽ:kū</i>

In compound verbs, the changes for aspect occur on the first part of the compound.

	POT	CON	COM
be made	<i>kūvahā</i>	<i>kūvahā</i>	<i>n-kuṽvahā</i>
become light again	<i>ndūnīxin</i>	<i>ndūnīxin</i>	<i>nduṽnīxin</i>
bite	<i>kāyihí</i>	<i>yáyihí</i>	<i>n-yaṽyihí</i>
possess	<i>kūnēvahā</i>	<i>nēvahā</i>	<i>neṽvahā</i>
believe	<i>kāndíxā</i>	<i>kāndíxā</i>	<i>n-kaṽndíxā</i>

Two verbs do not fit any of the above patterns.

	POT	CON	COM
exist	<i>kōō</i>	<i>íyó</i>	<i>íyō</i>
stand	<i>kwīñī</i>	<i>íñī</i>	<i>íñī</i>

Two motion verbs, *kihín* 'to go' and *kīxī* 'to come', have an incomplete aspect form in addition to the other three.

	POT	CON	COM	INC
go	<i>kihín</i>	<i>xēhen</i>	<i>xehen</i>	<i>kwahan</i>
come	<i>kīxī</i>	<i>kīxī</i>	<i>nki:xī</i>	<i>vaxī</i>

The verbs *kihín* 'to go', *kīxī* 'to come', and *kēhēn* 'to take' have special imperative forms.

*kwáhán*  
IMP:go  
'go!' (cf. *kwahan* 'INC:go')

*nēhen*  
IMP:come  
'come!'

*xīhūn*  
IMP:take  
'take!'

The negative verb *ndūú* 'to not be' is defective in that it occurs only in continuative aspect.

## 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 by means of a tone change.

Basic stative verbs:

<i>vahā</i>	'good'
<i>vīi</i>	'pretty'
<i>lūlí</i>	'little'
<i>kwáhá</i>	'red'

## Derived stative verbs:

Stative Verb	Noun
<i>nūhūn</i> 'muddy'	<i>nūhūn</i> 'land'
<i>xéhé</i> 'on foot'	<i>xehe</i> 'foot'
<i>sávi</i> 'rainy'	<i>savi</i> 'rain'
<i>yáhá</i> 'peppery'	<i>yāhā</i> 'chili'
<i>síhí</i> 'female'	<i>sīhí</i> 'mother'

Two stative verbs have distinct forms for singular and plural referents. They are:

	SG	PL
big	<i>káhnú</i>	<i>náhnú</i>
long	<i>kání</i>	<i>nání</i>

The prefix *tí-*, denoting roundness, is used with some stative verbs.

<i>tí-lúú</i>	'spherical'
<i>tí-kuté</i>	'disk-shaped'
<i>tí-kóó</i>	'big around (of something long)'
<i>tí-kání</i>	'oval (round and long)' (cf. <i>kání</i> 'long:SG')

Five stative verbs function as intensifying elements; they occur in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, quantifier phrases, and adverb phrases (see 2.1.3, 2.3, 4.1.4, 4.1.5, and 4.2). These stative verbs are:

<i>sātúni</i>	'bad'
<i>navahā</i>	'bad'
<i>sáká</i>	'evil'
<i>nehén</i>	'bad'
<i>lóko</i>	'crazy (Sp. <i>loco</i> )'

### 5.3 Nouns

**5.3.1 Derivation.** There are no regular processes for deriving nouns from other parts of speech. There are, however, some prefixes derived from generic nouns, which, when prefixed to another element, create new nouns. This is especially common with animal, tree, and fruit names, and with abstract nouns.

Animal names are often derived by the prefixes *ti-* and *ndī-*, which come from *kūi* 'animal'. Both of these lose the vowel before *y*. The meaning of the stem often cannot be determined.

<i>ti-váhvu</i>	'coyote'
<i>ti-sūhma</i>	'scorpion' (cf. <i>suhma</i> 'tail')
<i>ti-kachí</i>	'sheep' (cf. <i>kachi</i> 'cotton')
<i>t-yaká</i>	'fish'
<i>t-yūkún</i>	'fly'
<i>t-yokō</i>	'buzzard'
<i>ndī-shúhú</i>	'goat' (cf. <i>ishí</i> 'hair', <i>yúhú</i> 'mouth')
<i>ndī-kāhā</i>	'lion'
<i>ndī-núñú</i>	'chameleon'
<i>nd-yōhō</i>	'hummingbird'

Tree names or wooden articles often have the derivational prefix *tu-*, from *nūtūn* 'tree'.

<i>tu-yuxá</i>	'pine tree'
<i>tu-ndihá</i>	'fruit tree' (cf. <i>ndiha</i> 'fruit')
<i>tu-ndokō</i>	'custard-apple tree ( <i>Annona</i> sp.)' (cf. <i>ndōkō</i> 'custard apple')
<i>tu-tí:chí</i>	'avocado tree' (cf. <i>tichí</i> 'avocado')
<i>tu-xī</i>	'rifle'

Some names of round articles, including fruit and vegetables, are formed by using the prefix *ti-*, which may be the same morpheme as *ti-* 'animal'.

<i>ti-kwaá</i>	'orange'
<i>ti-nāna</i>	'tomato'

<i>tī-kūmī</i>	‘onion’
<i>tī-kwiit</i>	‘potato’
<i>tī-kayī</i>	‘charcoal’

A few abstract nouns have been derived from verbs by the prefix *tuː-*, from *tuhūn* ‘word’.

<i>tuː-ndóhó</i>	‘trouble’ (cf. <i>ndōhō</i> ‘to suffer’)
<i>tuː-kānōo</i>	‘shame’ (cf. <i>kānōo</i> ‘to be ashamed’)

Nouns are also derived from content or stative verbs and adverbs by prefixing the prestressed pronoun *xa* ‘unspecified’.

<i>xa-víshi</i>	‘candy, fruit’ (cf. <i>víshi</i> ‘sweet’)
<i>xā-kwāa</i>	‘night’ (cf. <i>kwāa</i> ‘to get late at night’)
<i>xa-nēhen</i>	‘morning’ (cf. <i>nēhen</i> ‘early’)

Other prefixes that sometimes occur are: *ñu-* (from *ñūu* ‘town’), *ndē-* (from *ndūtē* ‘water’), *ndā-* (from *ndāhá* ‘hand’), and *nā-* (from *nāhān* ‘woman’); *ñu-* sometimes creates abstract nouns.

<i>ñu-tá:ān</i>	‘earthquake’ (cf. <i>taān</i> ‘to quake’)
<i>ñu-neé</i>	‘darkness’ (cf. <i>nēe</i> ‘dark’)
<i>ñu-mahná</i>	‘sleepiness’ (cf. <i>mahná</i> ‘sleepy’)
<i>ndē-yáhá</i>	‘chili sauce’ (cf. <i>yāhā</i> ‘chili’)
<i>ndē-ñūhūn</i>	‘muddy water’ (cf. <i>ñūhūn</i> ‘land’)
<i>ndē-hīhni</i>	‘hot water’ (cf. <i>ihni</i> ‘hot’)
<i>ndā-ñūtūn</i>	‘branch’ (cf. <i>ñūtūn</i> ‘tree’)
<i>ndā-tīñú</i>	‘thing’ (cf. <i>tīñú</i> ‘business’)
<i>nā-síhí</i>	‘wife’ (cf. <i>síhí</i> ‘mother’)

A few other prefixes occur in only one or two forms, and their source cannot at present be determined.

<i>ā-ndiví</i>	‘sky’
<i>ñā-yiví</i>	‘world’

<i>xe-tōho</i>	‘owner’ (cf. <i>toho</i> ‘town authority’)
<i>shú-nkwī</i>	‘fox’
<i>nkā-ndī</i>	‘sun’ (cf. <i>ndī</i> ‘to shine’)

**5.3.2 Classification.** Nouns fall into several cross-cutting classifications; they may be divided according to gender, possessibility, distribution, and countability.

Nouns fall into eight gender classes according to the third person poststressed pronouns (see 5.4) that can refer to them: masculine, feminine, general, animal, deity, wood, liquid, and inanimate (no pronoun). This classification is for the most part natural, but a few exceptions are given in the examples below. The general gender is usually used for people, but is also occasionally used for inanimate objects. A few nouns fall into two classes; for example, *sutu* ‘priest’ is classified by some people as deity and by others as masculine. Animals in folktales are sometimes classified as masculine or feminine.

Masculine nouns:

<i>teē</i>	‘man’
<i>shūto</i>	‘uncle’
<i>nāni</i>	‘brother (of male)’

Feminine nouns:

<i>nāhān</i>	‘woman’
<i>sīhí</i>	‘mother’
<i>shiku</i>	‘niece’

General nouns:

<i>suchí</i>	‘child’
<i>njivi</i>	‘person’

Animal nouns:

<i>kūī</i>	‘animal’
<i>tīna</i>	‘dog’
<i>tyuun</i>	‘star’

## Deity nouns:

<i>yaa</i>	'deity'
<i>savi</i>	'rain'
<i>nkāndū</i>	'sun'

## Wood nouns:

<i>nūtūn</i>	'tree, stick'
<i>tuxū</i>	'rifle'
<i>tutí:chí</i>	'avocado tree'

## Liquid noun:

<i>ndūtē</i>	'water'
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## Inanimate nouns:

<i>kisī</i>	'cooking pot'
<i>ndūchī</i>	'bean'
<i>yoo</i>	'moon, month'

Nouns may also be divided into those that cannot be possessed and those that can. Nouns that cannot be possessed often refer to topographical or meteorological phenomena, wild animals, or supernatural beings.

<i>yutē</i>	'river'
<i>viko</i>	'cloud'
<i>tiváhvū</i>	'coyote'

Nouns in the above category may have more than one sense discrimination, one of which may be possessible.

<i>tachi</i>	'wind, evil spirit'
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*tachi de*

wind his:RES

'his breath' or 'his voice'

Nouns that can be possessed are either inherently or optionally possessed. Nouns which are inherently possessed are usually kinship terms or body parts.



<i>shūto</i>	'uncle'
<i>yūvā</i>	'father'
<i>shitin</i>	'nose'
<i>ndāhá</i>	'hand'

Optionally possessed nouns include all others.

<i>nūhūn</i>	'land'
<i>yōhō</i>	'rope'
<i>nuni</i>	'corn'
<i>ītu</i>	'cornfield'
<i>vēhē</i>	'house'

The distribution classes of nouns include vocatives, proper nouns, locative nouns, temporal nouns, measurement nouns, and common nouns. Some nouns fall into more than one class.

Vocatives include personal names, kinship terms, other terms of social relation, and certain other nouns. Most words retain their basic tone patterns when they are used as vocatives, but occasionally a change occurs. These changes do not appear to be associated with any meaning difference.

Personal names:

<i>xwáan</i>	'John! (Sp. <i>Juan</i> )'
<i>sána</i>	'Susan! (Sp. <i>Susana</i> )'

Kinship terms:

<i>nāná</i>	'Mother!'
<i>nāni</i>	'Brother! (of male)'
<i>shúto</i>	'Uncle!' (cf. <i>shūto</i> 'uncle')

Other terms of social relation:

<i>tíhi</i>	'girl!' (same age or younger)
<i>līlu</i> or <i>lú</i>	'boy!' (same age or younger)
<i>nāsúchí</i>	'young woman!'
<i>tāsúchí</i>	'young man!'
<i>nāhnú</i>	'old person!' (term of respect)

Other vocatives:

<i>lúshu</i>	'dog!'
<i>chísa</i>	'ox!'

Proper nouns include personal and place names.

<i>vétu</i>	'Robert (Sp. <i>Beto</i> )'
<i>sána</i>	'Susan'
<i>nunduvá</i>	'city of Oaxaca'

Locative nouns occur as nuclei of adverbial noun phrases (see 3.6). They fall into two categories: those that occur in the basic subtype and those that occur in the possessive subtype. The first category includes place names, names of topographical features, and some other nouns.

<i>nunduvá</i>	'city of Oaxaca'
<i>yūkū</i>	'mountain'
<i>nūu</i>	'town'
<i>yutē</i>	'river'

The second category includes mainly certain body-part nouns that are used in an extended sense. The most common ones are:

<i>yata</i>	
back	
'behind'	
<i>chixān</i>	
stomach	
'under, inside of'	
<i>siki</i>	
nape	
'on top of, about, against'	
<i>xehe</i>	
foot	
'at the foot of, on behalf of'	
<i>nuu</i>	
face	
'in front of, toward, to'	

*shini*

head

'at the top of'

*yika*

chest

'beside, on the side of'

*yūhū*

mouth

'at the edge of'

*shuu*

buttocks

'at the bottom of'

*īni*

insides

'in'

*shūn*

side

'beside'

*īchī*

path

'toward'

*kwénda*

account

'for (Sp. *cuenta*)'

The locative noun *nuu* 'face' also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning 'place where' or 'time when'.

Temporal nouns are also divided into these two categories. The first category includes names for units of time and calendric units, which occur as nuclei of adverbial basic noun phrases.

*kivi*

'day'

*kwiya*

'year'

*lúnesi*'Monday (Sp. *lunes*)'

The second category includes only a few body-part nouns that are extended in a temporal sense; they are:

*shini*  
head  
'at the end of'

*xehe*  
foot  
'at the beginning of'

*nuu*  
face  
'within'

Measurement nouns express units of weight or measurement; they occur as the nucleus of measurement noun phrases (see 3.2).

<i>métru</i>	'meter (Sp. <i>metro</i> )'
<i>lítu</i>	'liter (Sp. <i>litro</i> )'
<i>ndāhá</i>	'width of a finger, hand'
<i>ndāha</i>	'fathom'
<i>kilo</i>	'kilogram (Sp. <i>kilo</i> )'

Common nouns are those not included in any of the above distribution classes.

<i>tīna</i>	'dog'
<i>īte</i>	'grass'
<i>tūtūn</i>	'firewood'

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:

<i>ndūtē</i>	'water'
<i>ñutín</i>	'sand'
<i>yūchī</i>	'powder'
<i>ndehyu</i>	'mud'

Count nouns:

<i>staa</i>	'tortilla'
<i>teē</i>	'man'

<i>kisī</i>	'cooking pot'
<i>tīna</i>	'dog'

Sometimes a single noun has two or more sense discriminations, some of which fall into the class of mass nouns, while the others fall into the class of count nouns.

<i>tachi</i>	'wind, breath' (mass); 'spirit, voice' (count)
<i>ñūtūn</i>	'wood' (mass); 'tree, stick, board' (count)

#### 5.4 Pronouns

Personal pronouns for first and second person show a distinction in respect versus familiar and in free versus postclitic forms. Respect forms are used when the addressee has a higher status than the speaker, or between equals in a formal situation. Familiar forms are used elsewhere. Except for the inclusive form, which is inherently non-singular, number is not relevant to the system. The remaining forms are used for both singular and plural referents, and if the speaker wishes to specify a plural referent, it is possible to use the plural marker *ndá* (see 3.1.2) preceding the pronoun. The free pronouns are:

	RES		FAM
first EX	<i>saán</i>		<i>ndūhu</i>
first IN		<i>yóhó</i>	
second	<i>nīhín</i>		<i>ndóhó</i>

The corresponding clitic pronouns are:

	RES		FAM
first EX	<i>sán</i>		<i>ni</i>
first IN		<i>ó</i>	
second	<i>ní</i>		<i>nú</i>

The tones of clitic pronouns, as given in the table, sometimes change. Following a word with a final low tone, the tone of the first person familiar clitic is mid, as seen in 7.13, and that of the second person familiar is low, as seen in 7.17.

The inclusive clitic fuses to the preceding word by replacing its final vowel. When it is fused to a word with a high mid tone pattern, the *ó* has

a glide from mid to high. When it replaces a vowel with a low tone, the tone of the inclusive pronoun is low. If the replaced vowel is nasalized, nasalization occurs on the fused pronoun.

*xín-ṓ*

CON:run-we:IN

'we run' (cf. *xínū* 'CON:run')

*vēh-ó*

house-our:IN

'our house' (cf. *vēhē* 'house')

*nān-ó*

mother-our:IN

'our mother' (cf. *nāná* 'mother')

*tat-on*

medicine-our:IN

'our medicine' (cf. *tatan* 'medicine')

When the pronoun fuses to words that have VV or VhV in the last two syllables, both vowels are often replaced by *o*.

*koh-on*

POT:go-we:IN

'let's go!' (cf. *kihín* 'POT:go')

The free pronouns show no distributional restrictions; they occur as subject, object of verb, object of preposition, and possessor of noun. In all positions except object of verb, however, they are emphatic. The clitic pronouns, on the other hand, occur commonly as subject, object of preposition, and possessor of noun, but only the second person respect form occurs alone as object of verb or in focus position. The remaining four clitic pronouns occur as object of verb or in focus position only when they are preceded by a specifier or by a quantifier phrase.

Personal pronouns for third person are all clitics; there are eight different gender classes of poststressed pronouns, and a single prestressed pronoun. The poststressed forms occur in focus position only when preceded by a specifier or by a quantifier phrase. Most of the poststressed pronouns are clearly reduced forms of nouns, and perhaps all will prove to be so. The poststressed pronouns are:

masculine	<i>de</i>	(cf. <i>teē</i> 'man')
feminine	<i>ñā</i>	(cf. <i>ñāhān</i> 'woman')
general	<i>xīn</i>	
animal	<i>tí</i>	(cf. <i>kīū</i> 'animal')

deity	<i>ya</i> (cf. <i>yaa</i> 'deity')
wood	<i>tu</i> (cf. <i>ñūtūn</i> 'tree')
liquid	<i>de</i> (cf. <i>ndūtē</i> 'water')

The general pronoun refers to people when the gender is not specified; it often refers to children. In the examples it is glossed 'he (familiar)', while the masculine pronoun is glossed 'he (respect)'. A child may also be referred to by the masculine or feminine pronoun. Inanimate objects other than wood or liquid do not have any specific pronoun that refers to them, and they are usually unexpressed. Under certain infrequent conditions in discourse structure, however, they are referred to by the use of the general pronoun. Even pronouns with a human referent are sometimes unexpressed when the referent is clear from the context, as seen in 7.33 and 7.35.

There is only one prestressed pronoun, *xa* 'unspecified', which also functions as a complementizer (see 1.1.9), as a relative pronoun (see 3.1.3), and sometimes as a conjunction meaning 'in order that' (see 6.2.1). In these functions it is glossed 'complementizer', rather than 'unspecified'.

The locative noun *nuu* 'face' also functions as a prestressed pronoun meaning 'place where' or 'time when'.

There are two interrogative pronouns.

<i>naá</i> or <i>na</i>	'what?'
<i>nakwá</i>	'what?' (cf. <i>naá</i> 'what?', <i>kúū</i> 'CON:be', <i>xa</i> 'unspecified third person')

*naá* occurs in sentence-initial position with interrogative meaning in 7.3, and it occurs in non-sentence-initial position with indefinite meaning in 7.4. This pronoun also occurs in interrogative noun phrases (see 3.4) and in indefinite noun phrases (see 3.10).

### 5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are locative, temporal, general, intensifying, or interrogative.

Locative adverbs include all locational words that are not nouns; they occur as locative adjuncts (see 1.1.4), as location peripheral elements (see 1.1.7), and as manner in the verb phrase (see 2.1.3).

<i>yáhá</i>	'here'
<i>xiña</i>	'there (near addressee)'

<i>ñúkwán</i>	‘there’
<i>ñātīn</i>	‘near’
<i>xíká</i>	‘far’

The first three locative adverbs listed have an additional function as deictics in noun phrases (see 3.1.3). In this function they are glossed ‘this’ and ‘that’, rather than ‘here’ and ‘there’. Examples of the locative-adverb use are seen in 7.3, 7.4, 7.31, and 7.32. (No examples of deictic function occur in the text in chapter 7.) It is also possible for locative adverbs functioning as deictics to occur with a deleted noun nucleus, in which case they appear to be functioning as demonstrative pronouns. The adverb *ñúkwán* ‘there’ frequently occurs in focus position followed by *dē* ‘and’. In this position it is usually extended from a locative meaning to a temporal one, as seen in 7.26 and 7.28.

There are also complex locative adverbs. They are composed of the locative noun *īchī* ‘path’, used with the extended meaning ‘toward’ or ‘in the area of’, followed by a locative adverb or by a locative noun that can be used as the nucleus of an adverbial possessive noun phrase (see 5.3.2). If the first consonant of the locative adverb is *y* or *ñ*, it is usually replaced by *ch*. In some of the complex adverbs the tones of the second word are changed, as described in Mak (1958).

<i>īchī ní:nū</i>	‘above’ (cf. <i>ninū</i> ‘above’)
<i>īchī véé</i>	‘below’
<i>īchī cháhá</i>	‘in this area’ (cf. <i>yáhá</i> ‘here’)
<i>īchī xiña</i>	‘in that area’ (cf. <i>xiña</i> ‘there:near’)
<i>īchī chúkwán</i>	‘in that area’ (cf. <i>ñúkwán</i> ‘there’)
<i>īchī síki</i>	‘above’ (cf. <i>siki</i> ‘nape’)
<i>īchī ñni</i>	‘inside’ (cf. <i>ñni</i> ‘insides’)
<i>īchī chíxīn</i>	‘below’ (cf. <i>chixīn</i> ‘stomach’)

Temporal adverbs include all temporal words that are not nouns; they occur as time peripheral elements (see 1.1.7).

<i>mūtān</i>	‘now, today’
<i>īkū</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>tēen</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>steen</i>	‘morning, tomorrow morning’



<i>isá</i>	'day after tomorrow'
<i>kūnī</i>	'last night'
<i>ñūú</i>	'nighttime'

There are also two complex temporal adverbs; they are:

<i>ichī cháta</i>	
path back	
'in the past' (cf. <i>yata</i> 'back')	
<i>ichī núu</i>	
path face	
'in the future' (cf. <i>nuu</i> 'face')	

General adverbs include manner words that are not stative verbs.

<i>sūhā</i>	'thus'
<i>súkwán</i>	'thus'
<i>sāá</i> or <i>sá</i>	'thus'
<i>kwéé</i>	'slowly'
<i>inūú</i>	'same'

General adverbs usually occur as manner in the verb phrase (see 2.1.3). The adverb *sá* 'thus', however, frequently occurs in focus position in the sentence followed by *dē* 'and'. In this position it is usually extended from a manner meaning to a temporal one, as seen in 7.22, 7.36, 7.37, 7.39, and 7.45. Sometimes *ñúkwán* 'there' and *sá* 'thus' occur together as a kind of doublet, as seen in 7.23.

Intensifying adverbs most commonly occur as manner in content verb phrases, stative verb phrases, quantifier phrases, and adverb phrases (see 2.1.3, 2.3, 4.1.4, 4.1.5, and 4.2). They are:

<i>ndāsí</i>	'very'
<i>kwīti</i>	'exactly'

See 5.2 for a description of stative verbs that also function as intensifying elements.

Interrogative adverbs are simple or complex. The simple ones are:

<i>ní</i>	'where?'
<i>nāmā</i>	'when?' (obsolescent)

<i>nasā</i>	‘how?’
<i>nukū</i>	‘why?’

The last three of these are probably compounds with the interrogative pronoun *na* ‘what?’ as the first part. The second part is probably *āmā* (an obsolete word for ‘when?’), *sāā* ‘thus’, and *kūū* ‘to be (continuative)’, respectively. The complex interrogative adverbs are:

<i>na sāā</i>	
what thus	
‘how many?’	(cf. <i>sāā</i> ‘thus’)
<i>na kūū</i>	
what CON:be	
‘why?’	

There are also a number of interrogative noun phrases (see 3.4) that function like interrogative adverbs, including some that mean ‘when?’.

## 5.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include both numerals and general quantifiers. These elements commonly occur as quantifiers in noun phrases (see chapter 3, especially 3.1.2) and as the nucleus in various quantifier phrases (see 4.1). They also occur occasionally as manner in verb phrases (see 2.1.3) and as ordinals in relative clauses (see 3.1.3). When no noun nucleus occurs, a quantifier sometimes appears to function as a noun.

The simple numerals are:

<i>īn</i>	‘one, a’
<i>uu</i>	‘two, a few’
<i>uni</i>	‘three’
<i>kumi</i>	‘four’
<i>uhun</i>	‘five’
<i>iñu</i>	‘six’
<i>uxa</i>	‘seven’
<i>una</i>	‘eight’
<i>iin</i>	‘nine’
<i>ushi</i>	‘ten’

<i>shahun</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>oko</i>	‘twenty’
<i>shīkō</i>	‘twenty’ (as the nucleus of attributive numeral phrases)
<i>syéntu</i>	‘hundred (Sp. <i>ciento</i> )’
<i>mīl</i>	‘thousand (Sp. <i>mil</i> )’

Other numerals are expressed by phrases, as described in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

Numerals have an ordinal form, in which the tone of the first syllable is replaced by high. This form occurs in relative clauses (see 3.1.3).

<i>úni</i>	‘third’
<i>úshi</i>	‘tenth’

Numerals combine with the general quantifier *ndīhī* ‘all’ in two different ways. In the simpler way, all numerals combine. The quantifier is reduced to *ndī* before a consonant-initial numeral, and *ndīh* before a vowel-initial one. The numeral shows no segmental changes, but the tone of its first syllable is replaced by mid.

<i>ndīhīn</i>	‘each one’
<i>ndīhūu</i>	‘each pair’
<i>ndīkūmi</i>	‘each group of four’

This construction occurs mainly in distributive numeral phrases (see 4.1.6).

The second way numerals combine with *ndīhī* ‘all’ appears to be older because it shows a greater degree of fusion. The numerals for one, hundred, and thousand do not enter into this construction. The quantifier is reduced to *nd* before *uu* ‘two’, to *n* before *uni* ‘three’, to *ndīh* before all other vowel-initial stems, and to *ndī* before consonant-initial stems. The numeral shows no segmental changes, but the tone of its first syllable is replaced by high.

<i>ndīu</i>	‘both’
<i>nūni</i>	‘all three’
<i>ndīkūmi</i>	‘all four’
<i>ndīhūhun</i>	‘all five’

This construction occurs only in expanded numeral phrases (see 4.1.4).

General quantifiers include a number of less precise quantifying words. They are simple or complex. The most common simple ones are:

<i>kwaha</i>	‘many’
<i>xāku</i>	‘few’
<i>sāvā</i>	‘some’
<i>kéhén</i>	‘several’
<i>ndīhī</i>	‘all’
<i>ndaká</i>	‘each’
<i>īnga</i>	‘another’ (cf. <i>ūn</i> ‘one’, <i>ka</i> ‘more’)

Two common complex general quantifiers are:

<i>ndaká nuu</i>	each face ‘each kind of’
<i>ndīhī nūu</i>	all face ‘all kinds of’ (cf. <i>nuu</i> ‘face’)

## 5.7 Prepositions

There are three simple prepositions and two complex prepositions.

Simple:

<i>xīn</i>	‘with’
<i>xonde</i>	‘until, to, as far as, from, from . . . on’
<i>mahnū</i>	‘between, among’

Complex:

<i>xa</i>	<i>xéhe</i>	CMP	foot	‘for the sake of’ (cf. <i>xéhe</i> ‘foot’)
<i>xa</i>	<i>siki</i>	CMP	nape	‘because of’ (cf. <i>siki</i> ‘nape’)

*xīn* also occurs in additive noun phrases and additive adverb phrases (see 3.8 and 4.2.3), and *xonde* also functions as a conjunction meaning ‘until’ or ‘since’ (see 6.2.1).

Many prepositional functions are carried by noun phrases containing body-part nouns used in an extended sense (see 3.6).

### 5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used mainly to link combinations of sentences in a coordinate or subordinate relationship (see 6.1.1 and 6.1.2). The coordinate conjunctions are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>dē</i>	‘and’
<i>sōchī</i>	‘but’
<i>sā</i>	‘but rather’
<i>nī</i>	‘nor (Sp. <i>ni</i> )’

Complex:

<i>dē chī</i>	
and indeed	
‘and indeed’	

*dē* ‘and’ also sometimes follows a focused element (see 1.1.8).

The subordinate conjunctions are also simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>chī</i>	‘because’
<i>nú</i>	‘if’
<i>víso</i>	‘although’
<i>tá</i>	‘when, as, approximately’
<i>xūnī</i>	‘while’
<i>tákwa?</i>	‘in order that’

Complex:

<i>siki xa</i>	
nape CMP	
‘because’	
<i>xehe xa</i>	
foot CMP	
‘because’	

*chī sā*  
 because but:rather  
 'because instead'

*tá* 'when' or 'as' also occurs in expanded numeral phrases to mean 'approximately' (see 4.1.4).

### 5.9 Markers

Markers include all words that form parts of sentences or phrases that are not included in the parts of speech already described. They are verbal, nominal, numerical, general, or sentential.

Verbal markers occur as preverbal and postverbal elements in verb phrases (see 2.1.2 and 2.1.3). There are eleven directionals, four negatives, and five other verbal markers. The directionals are:

<i>kī</i>	'will come'
<i>kí</i>	'comes'
<i>n-kí:</i>	'came'
<i>va</i>	'is coming'
<i>ki</i>	'will go'
<i>xé</i>	'goes'
<i>xe</i>	'went (and has returned)'
<i>kwa</i>	'has gone (and has not returned), is in the process of'
<i>kwe</i>	'will go to house (of speaker or addressee)'
<i>xé</i>	'goes to house (of speaker or addressee)'
<i>xe</i>	'went to house (of speaker or addressee)'

The negatives are simple or complex.

Simple:

<i>ma</i>	'not' (for potential aspect)
<i>ndūú</i>	'not' (for continuative and completive aspects)
<i>nāá</i>	'not' (for completive aspect)
<i>njóó</i>	'not' (emphatic, for potential and continuative aspects)

Complex:

*njáhā kā*  
not:yet ?  
'not yet'

The remaining verbal markers are:

*ni* 'completive aspect'  
*xā* 'already'  
*kātā* or *tākā* 'about to, still, just now'  
*ná* 'hortatory'  
*kí* 'recently, soon'

Nominal markers occur in emphatic and owner noun phrases (see 3.5 and 3.11); they are:

*nsuí* 'not'  
*shí* 'owning'

Numerical markers occur in aggregative and expanded numeral phrases (see 4.1.3 and 4.1.4); they are simple or complex.

Simple:

*mátúhún* or *métúhún* 'single' (cf. *tuhún* 'word')  
*táhan* 'grouped' (cf. *táhán* 'companion')

Complex:

*víhí ka*  
? ADD  
'more than'

General markers occur in more than one major phrase type; they are:

*māá* 'specifier'  
*tūkū* 'again, also, other'  
*nī* 'just'  
*ka* 'more'  
*sūū* 'affirmative'  
*ndá* 'plural'

There are two kinds of sentential markers. One kind affects the mood or truth value of a sentence, as described in 1.5. They occur in initial, second, or final position.

## Initial:

<i>á</i>	‘interrogative’
<i>vā</i>	‘why!’

## Second:

<i>chī</i>	‘indeed’
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## Final:

<i>níkū</i>	‘contrafactual’
<i>dā</i>	‘exactly’
<i>vá</i>	‘really!’
<i>vī:</i>	‘really!’
<i>shán</i>	‘really!’
<i>chi</i>	‘hearsay’
<i>vái</i>	‘how awful!’

The interrogative marker *á* also functions as a conjunction meaning ‘or’; see 3.8, 4.1.7, and 4.2.4.

The second kind of sentential marker relates a sentence to its discourse context, as described in 6.4 and 6.1.1. Some of the most common ones are:

*xa nūkwán*  
 CMP there  
 ‘therefore’

*siki nūkwán*  
 nape there  
 ‘therefore’

*nūkwán kúū xa*  
 there CON:be CMP  
 ‘that is why’

*xiña kúū xa*  
 there:near CON:be CMP  
 ‘that is why’



*sūū kúū xa*  
 AFF CON:be CMP  
 'that is how'

### 5.10 Interjections

Interjections are words used outside of sentences to express emotion. Interjections are systemic or extrasystemic; systemic interjections fit the phonological system of the language. Some common systemic interjections are:

<i>xāan</i>	'I'm listening to what you're saying'
<i>xāxāan</i>	'that's right!'
<i>áxán</i>	'response to greeting' (to older person)
<i>úun</i>	'response to greeting' (to person younger or same age)
<i>éxe</i>	'disapproval'
<i>xéi</i>	'disbelief'
<i>ávái</i>	'pain, sympathy'

Extrasystemic interjections do not fit the phonological system of the language. Some common extrasystemic interjections are:

<i>áyáyái</i>	'ouch!'
<i>átíti</i> or <i>áchíchi</i>	'ouch, it's hot!'
<i>xépāle</i>	'get out!, oops!'
<i>xāh</i> or <i>Mmh</i>	'disbelief'

Some extrasystemic interjections are used as calls. Some common ones are:

<i>brr</i> (high-pitched bilabial trill)	'to call chickens and turkeys'
<i>shí</i>	'to chase dogs out of the house'

In the present data, one interjection, *xāan*, which expresses a negative emotion, occurs only preceding a vocative, as seen in 7.41.

Two interjections, *xa kúū* and *MmMmm*, serve as hesitation markers. They occur sentence medially, usually with a pause preceding and follow-

ing, whenever the speaker stops to consider what to say next. The following sentences illustrate their use.

*ndūú xíni sán / sōchī / xa kúū / sānāa dē*  
 NEG CON:know I:RES but CMP CON:be maybe and  
 'I don't know, but, uh-hh, maybe

*māá de xíni*  
 SPEC he:RES CON:know  
 HE knows.'

*ndūú xíni sán / sōchī / MmMmm / sānāa dē*  
 NEG CON:know I:RES but HESITATION maybe and  
 'I don't know, but, uh-hh, maybe

*māá de xíni*  
 SPEC he:RES CON:know  
 HE knows.'

## 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, temporal sequence, repeated sequence, and result.

General coordination is expressed by *dē* 'and'.

*n-ya:xi de staa / dē xi:hī de ndūtē*  
COM-COM:eat he:RES tortilla and COM:drink he:RES water  
'He ate tortillas and drank water.'

*dē kwākū xīn / dē nākāyihí xīn nū*  
and POT:cry he:FAM and POT:bite:again he:FAM skin  
'And they will cry and bite

*yúhú xīn*  
mouth his:FAM  
their lips.'

(See also 7.4, 7.25, 7.35, and various others.)

Antithesis is expressed by the conjunctions *sōchī* 'but' and *sā* 'but rather'.

*xikan xīn / sōchī nāá nīhin xīn*  
NEG:ask:for he:FAM but NEG COM:receive he:FAM  
'He asked for it, but he didn't get it.'

*ndūú ka xītā de / sā sehē de xītā*  
NEG ADD CON:sing he:RES but:rather child his:RES CON:sing  
'He doesn't sing anymore, but HIS CHILD does.'

Disjunction is expressed by an extended use of the YES/NO interrogative marker *á* to mean 'or'. The use of *á* indicates two or more possibilities, all of which are stated, and *á* precedes each. Any of the sentences may omit some information that the speaker assumes is known by the hearer.

*dē á ndāa / á ñāá ndāa*  
and INT straight INT NEG straight  
'And either (it is) true or (it is) not true.'

*á kúni ní ndikā / á tikwaá / á māsána*  
INT CON:want you:RES banana INT orange INT apple  
'Either you want bananas, or oranges, or apples (Sp. *manzana*).'

In that the basic function of *á* is as an interrogative marker, a sentence can sometimes be translated either as a statement or as a question. For example, the second sentence in the previous group of examples could also be translated, 'Do you want bananas, or oranges, or apples?' Context helps to eliminate the ambiguity.

Negative disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *nī* 'nor' (Sp. *ni*). The conjunction precedes both parts of the disjunction, and a negative marker must occur in each verb phrase.

*nī ndiúú yáxi de staa / nī*  
nor NEG CON:eat he:RES tortilla nor  
'He neither eats tortillas, nor

*ndiúú xihī de ndūtē*  
NEG CON:drink he:RES water  
drinks water.'

Temporal sequence is normally expressed by the use of the conjunction *dē* 'and' alone, as in 7.7, 7.11, 7.21, 7.32, and 7.37; or by *dē* followed by a focused adverbial expression such as *ñúkwán dē* or *sá dē*, both of which mean 'and then' (see 5.5). Sometimes both occur in the same sentence.

*dē xehen tūkū de /*  
and COM:go REP he:RES  
'And he went on,

*dē ñúkwán dē ní nihin de ūn shúkwū*  
and there and COM receive he:RES one fox  
and then he got (shot) a fox.'

*dē ní skwa:hā de líbru / dē sá dē ní*  
and COM COM:study he:RES book and thus and COM  
'And he studied books (Sp. *libro*), and then

*n-ku:tuhā*                      *de*  
 COM-COM:be:educated    he:RES  
 he became educated.'

*xehen*    *de*            *ñūu* / *dē*    *ñúkwán* *dē*    *sá*    *dē*    *n-kahan*  
 COM:go    he:RES    town    and there    and thus    and    COM-speak  
 'He went to town, and then he talked

*de*            *xīn*    *ñāni*                      *de*  
 he:RES    with brother:ME    his:RES  
 to his brother.'

Repeated sequence is expressed by the subordinate conjunction *xūnī* 'while' preceding each part of the sequence. In the present data, the verbs are restricted to continuative aspect.

*xūnī*    *xīhi*            *de* /            *xūnī*    *nátēku*            *de*  
 while CON:die    he:RES    while CON:revive    he:RES  
 'He keeps fainting and reviving.'

Result is expressed by the coordinate conjunction *dē* 'and' followed by the complex sentential markers *xa ñúkwán* or *siki ñúkwán*, both of which mean 'therefore'.

*xehen*    *de*            *ndīnūu* / *dē*    *xa*    *ñúkwán*    *ñāá*  
 COM:go    he:RES    Tlaxiaco    and CMP    there    NEG  
 'He went to Tlaxiaco, and therefore he didn't

*n-kxī*            *de*            *yáhá*  
 COM-come    he:RES    here  
 come here.'

*n-ku:ūn*                      *vahā savi* / *de*    *siki*    *ñúkwán*  
 COM-COM:come:down    good rain    and nape there  
 'It rained well, and therefore the cornfield

*xehē*            *vahā itu*  
 COM:give    good cornfield  
 yielded (a) good (crop).'

**6.1.2 Coordinate relations without conjunctions.** It is possible to simply juxtapose two or more independent sentences, often with a slight pause at the seam.

This construction can be used to link sentences that are closely related in the mind of the speaker. These sentences have coreferential subjects and verbs that usually agree in aspect. (Incomplete aspect in motion verbs [see 5.1.2] is considered to agree with completive aspect in other verbs.) Sometimes the two sentences describe the same event; often one

is more specific than the other. This repetition serves to highlight an event.

*xi:nū de / kwahan de*  
COM:run he:RES INC:go he:RES  
'He went running.'

*xehen de / xe kohō de ndūtē*  
COM:go he:RES COM:go POT:drink he:RES water  
'He went to drink water.'

*n-ke:ē de / kwa kehēn de sēryu*  
COM-COM:leave he:RES INC:go POT:take he:RES match  
'He left; he went to get matches (Sp. *cerillo*).'

(See also 7.25.)

Sometimes the two juxtaposed sentences describe simultaneous events.

*xikā de / xitā de*  
CON:walk he:RES CON:sing he:RES  
'He is walking along singing.'

*kátúú de / kishin de*  
CON:lie he:RES CON:sleep he:RES  
'He is lying asleep.'

(See also 7.1 and 7.22.)

Sometimes the complementizer *xa* separates the two parts of such a sentence, as in 7.3.

Sometimes the two parts describe events that occur in close sequence.

*n-ke:hēn de īchī / kwahan de*  
COM-COM:take he:RES path INC:go he:RES  
'He took the road and went.'

*nī n-ti:īn de tī /*  
COM COM-COM:seize he:RES it:AML  
'He grabbed it

*n-chu:hūn de īni nūnū*  
COM-COM:put he:RES insides net:bag  
and put (it) in the net bag.'

*dē nī xehen nōhée / nī n-sahá de ūn árka /*  
and COM COM:go Noah COM COM-do he:RES one ark  
'And Noah (Sp. *Noé*) went; he made an ark (Sp. *arca*);

*ni n-chi:hī de ndaká nuu kīī*  
 COM COM-COM:put:in he:RES each face animal  
 he put in all kinds of animals.'

(See also 7.4, 7.31, and 7.45.)

A series of items that form a list may be expressed by juxtaposition. If the items in the list serve as the subject of the sentence, the verb is stated before each item in the series and optionally following the last item.<sup>1</sup>

*xitā teē / xitā ñāhān / xitā suchí / xitā*  
 CON:sing man CON:sing woman CON:sing child CON:sing  
 'Men, women, and children are singing.'

*xitā teē / xitā ñāhān / xitā suchí*  
 CON:sing man CON:sing woman CON:sing child  
 'Men, women, and children are singing.'

*īñí stiki de / īñí kwáyu de /*  
 CON:stand ox his:RES CON:stand horse his:RES  
 'He has cattle, horses (Sp. *caballo*),

*īñí būrrū de / īñí tikachí de /*  
 CON:stand donkey his:RES CON:stand sheep his:RES  
 donkeys (Sp. *burro*), sheep,

*īñí ndīshúhú de / īñí*  
 CON:stand goat his:RES CON:stand  
 and goats.'

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes noun phrases are linked by repeating a quantifier rather than a verb, and sometimes sentences are linked by repeating preverbal elements.

*kēh-ón īn nixan váhā / īn shīnī váhā /*  
 POT:take-we-IN one sandal good one hat good  
 'We will buy a good pair of sandals, a good hat,

*īn sāhmā váhā / īn soo váhā / īn*  
 one cloth good one peel good one  
 a good piece of clothing, and a good blanket.'

*ni xihī de / ni na:a de /*  
 COM COM:die he:RES COM COM:be:destroyed he:RES  
 'He died; he was destroyed;

*ni ndo:ñúhún de / ni*  
 COM COM:disappear he:RES COM  
 he disappeared.'

It is also possible to repeat an intransitive verb after a single item to highlight the sentence in discourse.

*vaxī*            *kārrētéra yáhá* / *vaxī*  
 INC:come highway here INC:come  
 'A highway (Sp. *carretera*) is coming here.'

*íyó*            *vēñuhūn xīn* / *íyó*  
 CON:exist church his:FAM CON:exist  
 'They have churches.'

If the items in the list serve as something other than the subject, the verb and subject are stated before each item and optionally following the last.

*kāxi*    *nu*            *kuñū* / *kāxi*    *nu*            *staa* /  
 POT:eat you:FAM meat POT:eat you:FAM tortilla  
 'You will eat meat and

*kāxi*    *nu*  
 POT:eat you:FAM  
 tortillas.'

*kāxi*    *nu*            *kuñū* / *kāxi*    *nu*            *staa*  
 POT:eat you:FAM meat POT:eat you:FAM tortilla  
 'You will eat meat and tortillas.'

*ná*    *kót-ō'í*            *kī-ó* /            *ná*  
 HORT POT:guard-we:IN animal-our:IN HORT  
 'Let's guard our animals

*kót-ō'í*            *vēh-ó* /            *ná*    *kót-ō'í*  
 POT:guard-we:IN house-our:IN HORT POT:guard-we:IN  
 and our houses.'

It is possible to repeat a verb and its subject after a single item to highlight the sentence.

*ná*    *kūhūn*    *īn-o*            *yaa náyóos* / *ná*  
 HORT POT:be:in insides-our:IN deity God HORT  
 'Let's remember God; let's

*káituhv-ó* /            *ná*  
 POT:be:educated-we:IN HORT  
 become educated!'



*kī tīn de ūn chuún / kī*  
 POT:come POT:seize he:RES one fowl POT:come  
 ‘He will come and steal a

*tīn de*  
 POT:seize he:RES  
 chicken.’

The sentential marker *dā* ‘exactly’ may occur at the end of one or more of the linked sentences.

*xítā teē dā / xítā nāhān dā / xítā*  
 CON:sing man exactly CON:sing woman exactly CON:sing  
 ‘Men, women, and

*suchí dā / xítā*  
 child exactly CON:sing  
 children are singing.’

*xítā teē / xítā nāhān dā / xítā suchí /*  
 CON:sing man CON:sing woman exactly CON:sing child  
 ‘Men, women, and children

*xítā*  
 CON:sing  
 are singing.’

There is also a highly restricted juxtaposed coordinate construction that involves a verb of existence and a shared noun phrase. The first sentence must contain either the verb *kōō* ‘to exist’ or the negative intransitive verb *ndūú* ‘to not be (continuative)’, and a noun phrase as subject. The second sentence may have any verb, and the shared noun phrase may express any element within it. In the following examples, the solidus that signals the break between the two parts is arbitrarily placed after the shared noun phrase.

*íyó ndīkā / xéhē nā nuu xīn*  
 CON:exist banana CON:give she face his:FAM  
 ‘There are bananas she is giving him.’

*ndūú na nūnū / kwahan de xīn*  
 NEG:CON:be what net:bag INC:go he:RES with  
 ‘There wasn’t any net bag he went with.’

(See also 7.4 and 7.40.)

## 6.2 Subordinate Relations

Subordinate relations are usually expressed using conjunctions, but purpose and comparison of degree may be expressed by simple juxtaposition.

**6.2.1 Subordinate relations with conjunctions.** Conjunctions are used to express cause, condition, concession, purpose, time, simultaneous action, and comparison of likeness. Subordinate sentences usually follow the main sentence.

Cause sentences are usually introduced by the conjunctions *chī*, *siki xa*, *xehe xa*, or *chī sá*; the first three mean 'because', and the fourth means 'because instead'. Occasionally a cause sentence is introduced simply by the complementizer *xa*.

*kāxi sán staa / chī kókōn sán*  
 POT:eat I:RES tortilla because CON:be:hungry I:RES  
 'I will eat because I am hungry.'

*kúsī īni de / siki xa: nihin*  
 CON:be:happy insides his:RES nape CMP:COM receive  
 'He is happy because he received

*de kwaha shuhún*  
 he:RES many money  
 a lot of money.'

*xehē de nuni nuu nā / xehe xa:*  
 COM:give he:RES corn face her foot CMP:COM  
 'He gave corn to her because

*n-sa: tīnú nā ītu de*  
 COM-COM:work she cornfield his:RES  
 she worked in his cornfield.'

*n-kwitá ndāsí xīn / xa: xehen xīn ndīnūu*  
 COM-get:tired INTS he:FAM CMP:COM COM:go he:FAM Tlaxiaco  
 'He got very tired because he went to Tlaxiaco.'

(See also 7.10, 7.17, 7.29, 7.35, and 7.40.)

A sentence with *siki xa* often has an adjunct complement reading, as well as a cause sentence reading; see 1.1.9. For example, the second sentence in the above group could also be glossed 'He is happy about receiving a lot of money.'

Simple condition sentences are introduced by the conjunction *tú* 'if', optionally preceded by *dē* 'and'. Hortatory *ná* sometimes follows *tú*.

*ndoō de / tú kũũn savi*  
 POT:remain he:RES if POT:come:down rain  
 'He will stay if it rains.'

*kihìn xĩn / dē tú súkwán ndákā ñā*  
 POT:go he:FAM and if thus CON:command she  
 'He will go if she orders him to.'

(See also 7.6, 7.9, 7.13, 7.16, and 7.20.)

Sometimes *tú sǎá* 'if so' substitutes for an entire conditional sentence.

*kihìn tũkũ nú / tú sǎá*  
 POT:go REP you:FAM if thus  
 'Go again if (that's) so.'

Contrafactual condition sentences often precede the main sentence; they occur only in completive aspect, and they are invariably marked by a tone change. The completive aspect marker *ni* changes its tone from low to high; and the first syllable of the verb changes its tone in the same way as for continuative aspect (see 5.1.2). The subordinate sentence may also be introduced by *tú* 'if', and it may end with the contrafactual sentential marker *nikũ*. The main sentence always has its verb in completive aspect, and it sometimes begins with *dē* 'and' and/or ends with *nikũ*. The following sentences illustrate some of the possible combinations.

*tú ní xĩhĩ de tatan / dē xā ni*  
 if COM COM:drink he:RES medicine and already COM  
 'If he had drunk the medicine, he would already

*ndu: vahā de nikũ*  
 COM:get:well he:RES CF  
 have gotten well.'

*tú ní xĩhĩ de tatan nikũ / dē xā ni*  
 if COM COM:drink he:RES medicine CF and already COM  
 'If he had drunk the medicine, he would already

*ndu: vahā de nikũ*  
 COM:get:well he:RES CF  
 have gotten well.'

*ní xĩhĩ de tatan / dē xā ni*  
 COM COM:drink he:RES medicine and already COM  
 '(If) he had drunk the medicine, he would already

*ndu:vahā de*  
 COM:get:well he:RES  
 have gotten well.'

*ní xīhī de tatan níkū / dē xā ni*  
 COM COM:drink he:RES medicine CF and already COM  
 '(If) he had drunk the medicine, he would already

*ndu:vahā de níkū*  
 COM:get:well he:RES CF  
 have gotten well.'

An unfulfilled wish is expressed by a contrafactual condition sentence used alone.

*tú ní n-kíxī de níkū*  
 if COM COM-come he:RES CF  
 'If only he had come!'

*tú ní n-kíxī de*  
 if COM COM-come he:RES  
 'If only he had come!'

*ní n-kíxī de níkū*  
 COM COM-come he:RES CF  
 '(If) only he had come!'

*ní n-kíxī de*  
 COM COM-come he:RES  
 '(If) only he had come!'

Concession sentences are introduced by the conjunction *víso* 'even though'.

*kihín de / víso ndūú*  
 POT:go he:RES even:though NEG  
 'He will go even though he doesn't

*kíni de kihín de*  
 CON:want he:RES POT:go he:RES  
 want to.'

*ndūú naá / n-kéhēn de / víso*  
 NEG:CON:be what COM-take he:RES even:though  
 'There wasn't anything that he bought even though

*xehen de yahvī*  
 COM:go he:RES market  
 he went to market.'

Purpose sentences are introduced by *tákwa:* 'in order that' or by an extended use of the complementizer *xa*. A potential verb is required in the subordinate sentence except in rare instances when instructions are being given. In these cases, continuative aspect is used. (Aspect and context distinguish purpose sentences with *xa* from the cause sentences described above, which usually have completive or continuative aspect.)

*kihìn nā yahvī / tákwa: kēhēn nā yāhā*  
 POT:go she market in:order:that POT:take she chili  
 'She will go to market to buy chili.'

*dē n-kánuhni tūna ndaká yika kōrráa /*  
 and HORT-POT:be:tied dog each chest pen  
 'And let the dogs be tied on every side of the pen (Sp. *corral*)'

*tákwa: sá dē sáhá ti kwídádo*  
 in:order:that thus and CON:do it:AML care  
 in order that then they will take care (Sp. *cuidado*) (of it).'

*n-kí:xī de / xa kahan de xīn ní*  
 COM-COM:come he:RES CMP POT:speak he:RES with you:RES  
 'He came to talk to you.'

Subordinate time sentences are introduced by *tá* 'when' or by the preposition *xonde* 'until', which also functions as a conjunction meaning 'until' or 'since'.

*ki nōhon de / tá xinu*  
 POT:go POT:return he:RES when POT:end  
 'He will return home when (it) is finished.'

*dē kútóo nīhín sehē ti / tá ndékā*  
 and CON:love hen child its:AML when CON:lead  
 'And a hen loves its chicks when it's taking care of

*nīkín ti*  
 newborn it:AML  
 tiny ones.'

*n-ya:x-o / xonde kánā ndē-o*  
 COM-COM:eat-we:IN until CON:call ?-we:IN  
 'We ate until we groaned.'

*n-ku:vātu īni nī /*  
 COM-COM:be:all:right insides my:FAM  
 'I've been all right

*xonde nihin nī ndóhó*  
 until COM:receive I:FAM you:FAM  
 since I caught you.'

Simultaneous action sentences are introduced by the conjunction *xūnī* 'while'.

*n-ki:xi nā / xūnī sátiñú de*  
 COM-COM:come she while CON:work he:RES  
 'She came while he was working.'

Comparison of likeness is introduced by the conjunction *tá* 'when', here used to mean 'as'.

*sáhá sehē de / tá sáhá de*  
 CON:do child his:RES when CON:do he:RES  
 'His child does as he does.'

*n-sahá nōhée / tá n-ka:chi yaa ndyóos*  
 COM-do Noah when COM-say deity God  
 'Noah did as God (Sp. *Dios*) told him to.'

All subordinate sentences except purpose may precede the main sentence. When a subordinate sentence precedes, an introductory word usually occurs at the beginning of the main sentence to mark the boundary between the two parts. This word is often either *dē* 'and' or *chī* 'indeed', but *sāá* 'thus' and *sōchī* 'but' occur with certain conjunctions.

*tú kūūn savi / dē ndoō de*  
 if POT:come:down rain and POT:remain he:RES  
 'If it rains, he will stay.'

*tá sáhá de / chī sáhá sehē de*  
 when CON:do he:RES indeed CON:do child his:RES  
 'As he does, his child does.'

*tá sáhá de / sáhá sehē de*  
 when CON:do he:RES CON:do child his:RES  
 'As he does, his child does.'

*tá sáhá de / sāá sáhá sehē de*  
 when CON:do he:RES thus CON:do child his:RES  
 'As he does, his child does.'

*xūnī sátiñú de / dē n-ki:xi nā*  
 while CON:work he:RES and COM-COM:come she  
 'While he was working, she came.'

*víso xehen de yahvī /*  
 even:though COM:go he:RES market  
 'Even though he went to market,

*dē ndūú naá / n-kéhēn de*  
 and NEG:CON:be what COM-take he:RES  
 there wasn't anything that he bought.'

*víso xehen de yahvī /*  
 even:though COM:go he:RES market  
 'Even though he went to market,

*sōchī ndūú naá / n-kéhēn de*  
 but NEG:CON:be what COM-take he:RES  
 there wasn't anything that he bought.'

**6.2.2 Subordinate relations without conjunctions.** Two subordinate relations, purpose and comparison of degree, may be expressed without a conjunction.

Purpose sentences follow the main sentence and must have their verb in potential aspect.

*kāxī de / kahan de xān ní*  
 POT:come he:RES POT:speak he:RES with you:RES  
 'He will come to talk to you.'

*kéhēn núú de stiki / sātñú de*  
 CON:take for:a:while he:RES ox POT:work he:RES  
 'He borrows oxen to work.'

*ná táxī ya īn sāluud / kūdēe no-ó*  
 HORT POT:give he:DEI one health POT:sit for:a:while-we:IN  
 'May He give us health (Sp. *salud*) so we'll live for a while.'

It is possible for a juxtaposed purpose sentence to contain a noun phrase that is shared by the two component sentences. In the present data, the shared noun phrase is the object of the main sentence and the subject or object of the purpose sentence.

*ni nihin de tīna / kōtō vēhē de*  
 COM receive he:RES dog POT:guard house his:RES  
 'He got a dog to guard his house.'

*xe:ēn de nuni / kāx-o*  
 COM:buy he:RES corn POT:eat-we:IN  
 'He bought corn for us to eat.'

In 7.33 a similar construction occurs, except that the expected shared noun phrase is unexpressed.

Comparison of degree is expressed by combining an affirmative sentence with a reduced negative sentence. The first sentence shows no formal restrictions, though it often contains the additive *ka* in the verb phrase. The second sentence contains only a negative noun phrase (see 3.5), but *ka* may follow the negative marker *nsūú*. No verb is expressed, but it is always understood to be the same as the verb of the first sentence.

*sátĩnú ka de / nsūú saán*  
 CON:work ADD he:RES NEG I:RES  
 ‘He works harder than I (do).’

*sátĩnú ka de / nsūú ka saán*  
 CON:work ADD he:RES NEG ADD I:RES  
 ‘He works harder than I (do).’

*sátĩnú de / nsūú ka saán*  
 CON:work he:RES NEG ADD I:RES  
 ‘He works harder than I (do).’

*sátĩnú de / nsūú saán*  
 CON:work he:RES NEG I:RES  
 ‘He works harder than I (do).’

*súkain ka de / nsūú ndóhó*  
 tall ADD he:RES NEG you:FAM  
 ‘He is taller than you (are).’

### 6.3 Direct Quotations

Quotations consist of three parts: the quotation itself, the quotation introducer, and the quotation closer. The quotation is obligatory and consists of one or more sentences (or fragments). The introducer and closer are optional, but at least one usually occurs. They contain a verb of thinking or speaking, usually the verb *kāchi* ‘to say’, and they usually contain a subject. Other information is sometimes included as well. For dramatic style, it is possible to omit both the quotation introducer and the quotation closer.

With simple introducers and/or closers or neither:

*dē n-kāchi de / kī ndūkú sán kuñū /*  
 and COM-COM:say he:RES POT:go POT:look:for I:RES meat  
 ‘And he said, “I will go look for meat”



*kāx-o*            *n-kā̄chi*            *de*  
 POT:eat-we:IN    COM-COM:say    he:RES  
 for us to eat," he said.'

*dē naá kúū*    *xa*    *má*    *kuú*                    *kōō*  
 and what CON:be    CMP    NEG    POT:be:possible    POT:exist  
 ' "And why can't there be

*uu táh-on /*            *káchi*            *de*  
 two grouped-we:IN    CON:say    he:RES  
 two of us?" he says.'

*dē ni*    *n-kahan*    *de /*    *ndūú n̄hin*            *nī*            *shiko*  
 and COM    COM-speak    he:RES    NEG    CON:receive    I:FAM    odor  
 'And he said, "I don't smell it." '

*mītān chī*    *kāxi*            *nī*            *ndóhó*  
 now    indeed    POT:eat    I:FAM    you:FAM  
 ' "NOW I will eat you." '

(See also 7.3–4, 7.5–6, 7.8–10, 7.12–13, 7.29, 7.30–35, and various others.)

With complex introducers and/or closers:

*dē xānī*            *īnī*    *de /*    *chī*            *yíchī*  
 and CON:set:up    insides    his:RES    because    CON:be:thirsty  
 'And he thinks because he is very thirsty,

*navahā*    *de /*    *á*    *ndūú*            *na /*    *kakan*  
 bad    he:RES    INT    NEG:CON:be    what    POT:ask:for  
 "Isn't there someone who will ask for this

*sehē síh-ó*                    *yáhá /*    *dē nih-on*                    *ndīshi /*  
 child female-our:IN    this    and    POT:receive-we:IN    pulque  
 daughter of ours so we will get pulque

*kōh-ó /*                    *káhan*            *de /*    *xānī*            *īnī*            *de*  
 POT:drink-we:IN    CON:speak    he:RES    CON:set:up    insides    his:RES  
 to drink?" he says, thinking.'

*dē káchi*            *de /*    *nākoō*                    *ndá ní /*  
 and CON:say    he:RES    POT:get:up:again    PL    you:RES  
 'And he said, "Get up

*chī*            *kūshín-ó /*                    *káchi*            *de /*  
 because    POT:eat:supper-we:IN    CON:say    he:RES  
 because we'll eat supper," he said,

*xī*                    *de*            *ndá ka*    *teē*    *ńúkwán*  
 CON:address he:RES PL ADD man that  
 addressing those other men.'

(See also 7.25.)

A direct quotation is sometimes introduced by the complementizer *xa*.

*dē káchi*    *tí*            *xa* / *n-kí:ǰ*                    *ūn teē*  
 and CON:say it:AML CMP COM-COM:come one man  
 'And it says that, "A man came

*nándūkú*                    *ní* /            *káchi*    *tí*  
 CON:look:for:again you:RES CON:say it:AML  
 looking for you," it says.'

(See also 7.24.)

#### 6.4 Relations Across Sentence Boundaries

One important way in which a sentence is related to its discourse context is by the use of certain linking expressions in sentence-initial position. These expressions comprise conjunctions, adverbs, and complex sentential markers.

The conjunctions are *dē* 'and', *chī* 'because', and *dē chī* 'and indeed'.

*dē ndaká bíblya chī*    *ndísō*            *ndihī nasá*  
 and each Bible indeed CON:carry all how  
 'And ALL BIBLES (Sp. *Biblia*) tell how

*ní*    *n-ku:ū*                    *xānāhán* // *dē káchi*    *xa*  
 COM COM-COM:be long:ago and CON:say CMP  
 (it) was long ago. And (it) says that

*ní*    *n-ku:ūn*                                    *savi uu shikō*    *ńúú*  
 COM COM-COM:come:down rain two twenty night  
 it rained forty nights

*dē uu shikō ndūú*  
 and two twenty day  
 and forty days.'

(See also 7.1–2, 7.2–3, 7.3–4, 7.6–7, 7.9–10, 7.10–11, and various others.)

*ndihī nǰivi*    *kúú*            *xa kúni*            *ya*            *xa*  
 all person CON:be UN CON:want he:DEI CMP  
 'ALL PEOPLE are the ones He wants

*má kihin xīn fyérnu // chī sūnī*  
 NEG POT:go he:FAM hell because also  
 not to go to hell (Sp. *infierno*). Because

*ndée tūū tachi / xa káni xīn*  
 CON:sit ? wind CMP CON:want he:FAM  
 the devil is also waiting; he wants

*áno n̄jivi*  
 soul person  
 people's souls (Sp. *ánima*).'

(See also 7.31–32.)

*chúhūn de māá de nuu nūhun //*  
 CON:put he:RES SPEC him:RES face fire  
 'He's putting himself into the fire.

*dē chī ndáhví ndās-ó vī: / lílu*  
 and indeed poor INTS-we:IN really boy  
 And we are very unfortunate indeed, boy!

The adverbs that commonly link sentences are *súkwán* 'thus', *sāá* or *sá* 'thus', and *núkwán* 'there'; *sá* and *núkwán*, like other focused elements (see 1.1.8), are often followed by *dē* 'and', and these expressions have acquired a temporal meaning (see 5.5).

*na kwehe ni ndo:hō de / ndūú xīn-o //*  
 what sickness COM COM:suffer he:RES NEG CON:know-we:IN  
 'We don't know WHAT SICKNESS HE HAD.

*súkwán kúndōh-ó tēen ísá*  
 thus POT:suffer-we:IN tomorrow day:after:tomorrow  
 THAT'S WHAT will happen to us sometime in the future.'

*uni vwélta n-ku:ū nūkwán // sāá káchi*  
 three time COM-COM:be that thus CON:say  
 'That happened three times (Sp. *vuelta*). THAT'S WHAT

*nāhān nūkwán / káchi ndá*  
 woman that CON:say PL  
 that woman says, they say.'

*dē káá de / nákoō de /*  
 and CON:lie:down he:RES CON:get:up:again he:RES  
 'And he kept lying down and getting up and

*yáxi de īn líli ka kuñū // nūkwán dē*  
 CON:eat he:RES one little ADD meat there and  
 eating a little more meat. Then

*xikavā de / dē n-kishin ndá de*  
 COM:lie:down he:RES and COM-COM:sleep PL he:RES  
 he lay down, and they slept.'

*dē káá ii teē ñúkwán // sá dē ni*  
 and CON:lie:down fragile man there thus and COM  
 'And the man was still lying there. Then

*xe nōhon tūkū ndá teē ñúkwán*  
 COM:go POT:return:home REP PL man that  
 those men returned home.'

(See also 7.21–22, 7.25–26, 7.27–28, 7.35–36, and various others.)

Sometimes two adverbs occur.

*dē xañu tū // ñúkwán dē sá dē syáa*  
 and COM:kick REP there and thus and POT:let:loose  
 'And (he) also kicked (him). Then, "Let

*ndūhu / lílu*  
 me:FAM boy  
 me go, boy!"'

(See also 7.22–23.)

Sometimes a sentence is introduced by a conjunction followed by a focused adverb.

*dē tāan ya xīn / kayu xīn nuu*  
 and POT:cast he:DEI him:FAM POT:burn he:FAM face  
 'Then He will cast them into the

*ñúhun xa kíú fyérmu // dē ñúkwán kwākū*  
 fire CMP CON:be hell and there POT:cry  
 fire that is hell and they will burn. THERE they will cry

*xīn / dē nākāyihí xīn ñī yúhú*  
 he:FAM and POT:bite:again he:FAM skin mouth  
 and bite their lips

*xīn / dē ndōhō xīn níí kání*  
 his:FAM and POT:suffer he:FAM entire long:SG  
 and suffer forever.'

*sūū lēxō kíú / tí sáá / káchi tí //*  
 AFF rabbit CON:be if thus CON:say it:AML  
 'If (that's) so, (it) must be THE RABBIT (Sp. *conejo*), it says.

*dē nūkwán dē ni xehen lēxō lúli / ni*  
 and there and COM COM:go rabbit little COM  
 And then the little rabbit went and

*ska:ti ti vyéhé shúinkwī*  
 COM:knock it:AML door fox  
 knocked at the fox's door.'

*sukun de nī xekīūū māsána nūkwán // dē sá dē*  
 neck his:RES LIM COM:stick apple that and thus and  
 'That apple stuck IN JUST HIS THROAT. Then

*n-ke:ndā ánxel*  
 COM-COM:arrive angel  
 the angel (Sp. *ángel*) arrived.'

The complex sentential markers that link sentences include *nūkwán kúū xa* 'that is why', *xīña kúū xa* 'that is why', *sūū kúū xa* 'that is how', and *siki nūkwán* 'therefore'; any of these may be preceded by a conjunction.

*dē ni xehen de / xe kāchi de*  
 and COM COM:go he:RES COM:go POT:say he:RES  
 'And he went and told the

*nuu páre térmu // dē*  
 face father eternal and  
 eternal (Sp. *eterno*) father (Sp. *padre*). And

*nūkwán kúū xa ní n-syáa páre*  
 there CON:be CMP COM COM-let:loose father  
 that's why the eternal

*térmu savi*  
 eternal rain  
 father sent the rain.'

*ndūū nī naá / nūhún kwaha shini nī //*  
 NEG:CON:be LIM what CON:be:in many head my:FAM  
 'There just isn't anything much in my head.

*xīña kúū xa xāku nī káhan nī yáhá*  
 there:near CON:be CMP few LIM CON:speak I:FAM here  
 That is why I'm ONLY saying A LITTLE here.'

*ndoho váhā sáhá de // siki nūkwán kēhēn ndá*  
 basket good CON:do he:RES nape there CON:take PL  
 'He makes GOOD BASKETS. Therefore people buy

*njivi nuu de*  
person face his:RES  
(them) from him.'

In 7.46 *sūū kūū xa* occurs in the second part of a coordinate sentence.

## 7 Text

- 7.1 *íyó            īn kwéndu / xa xíkó        núú        īn*  
 CON:exist one story    CMP CON:turn all:over one  
 ‘There is a story (Sp. *cuento*) that a rabbit  
*lēxō / yáxi        ti        ndūchī*  
 rabbit CON:eat it:AML bean  
 (Sp. *conejo*) was going around all over eating beans.’
- 7.2 *dē ni    xī:ni        ti        xa íńí        īn teē*  
 and COM COM:know it:AML CMP CON:stand one man  
 ‘And it saw that a man was standing (there).’
- 7.3 *dē ni    n-ka:chi        ti /*  
 and COM COM-COM:say it:AML  
 ‘And it said,  
*naá sáhá        nú /    xa íńí        nú        yáhá*  
 what CON:do you:FAM CMP CON:stand you:FAM here  
 “What are you doing standing here?”
- 7.4 *dē sūhā nī kǎxī        ni /    yáxi        nī /    dē*  
 and thus LIM CON:come I:FAM CON:eat I:FAM and  
 ‘And I have been coming and eating LIKE THIS, and  
*ndūú            na /    íńí            yáhá /    káchi        lēxō*  
 NEG:CON:be what CON:stand here    CON:say rabbit  
 there hasn’t been anyone standing here,” says the rabbit.’
- 7.5 *kahan        nu*  
 POT:speak you:FAM  
 ‘“Speak!”

- 7.6 *á ma káhan nu / dē tú kwahā ni*  
 INT NEG POT:speak you:FAM and if POT:give I:FAM  
 ‘Won’t you speak if I give

*ndóhó / káchi ti*  
 you:FAM CON:say it:AML  
 you (a blow)?” it says.’

- 7.7 *dē ni xehē ti ūn ládo ndāhá*  
 and COM COM:give it:AML one side hand  
 ‘And it hit (it) with one side (Sp. *lado*) of its

*kwáhá ti / dē ni n-tiŋ ndāhá ti*  
 right its:AML and COM COM-be:stuck hand its:AML  
 right hand, and its hand stuck.’

- 7.8 *syáa nu ndūhu*  
 POT:let:loose you:FAM me:FAM  
 ‘ “Let me go!”

- 7.9 *á ma syáa nu ndūhu / dē tú*  
 INT NEG POT:let:loose you:FAM me:FAM and if  
 ‘Won’t you let me go if

*ná kwáhā ni ndāhá sátin ni*  
 HORT POT:give I:FAM hand left my:FAM  
 I hit (you) with my left hand?’

- 7.10 *dē ndēé ndēé kōō ĩni nu /*  
 and strong strong POT:exist insides your:FAM  
 ‘And be very encouraged, because

*chī kūu nu / káchi lēxō*  
 because POT:die you:FAM CON:say rabbit  
 you will die,” says the rabbit.’ (speaking ironically)

- 7.11 *dē ni xehē ti ndāhá sátin ti /*  
 and COM COM:give it:AML hand left its:AML  
 ‘And it hit (it) with its left hand, and

*dē ni n-tiŋ tūkū*  
 and COM COM-be:stuck REP  
 (it) stuck also.’

- 7.12 *syáa nu ndūhu*  
 POT:let:loose you:FAM me:FAM  
 ‘ “Let me go!”



- 7.13 *á ndūú / dē tú kwañu nī xehe kwáhá*  
 INT NEG and if POT:kick I:FAM foot right  
 ‘Won’t (you) if I kick you with my  
*ni ndóhó / káchi ti*  
 my:FAM you:FAM CON:say it:AML  
 right foot?’ it says.<sup>1</sup>
- 7.14 *dē ni xañu ti / dē n-tiñ tūkū*  
 and COM COM:kick it:AML and COM-be:stuck REP  
 ‘And it kicked (it), and its foot  
*xehe ti*  
 foot its:AML  
 stuck also.’
- 7.15 *syáa nu ndūhu*  
 POT:let:loose you:FAM me:FAM  
 ‘“Let me go!”
- 7.16 *á ma syáa nu ndūhu / dē tú*  
 INT NEG POT:let:loose you:FAM me:FAM and if  
 ‘Won’t you let me go if  
*kwañu nī iñ xehe sátiñ ni*  
 POT:kick I:FAM one foot left my:FAM  
 I kick (you) with my left foot?’
- 7.17 *dē ndēé ndēé kōō iñi nu /*  
 and strong strong POT:exist insides your:FAM  
 ‘And be very encouraged,  
*chī kīu ndīxā nú / káchi lēxō*  
 because POT:die truthful you:FAM CON:say rabbit  
 because you will really die,” says the rabbit.’
- 7.18 *dē ni xañu ti / dē n-tiñ tūkū*  
 and COM COM:kick it:AML and COM-be:stuck REP  
 ‘And it kicked (it), and its foot  
*xehe ti*  
 foot its:AML  
 stuck also.’

<sup>1</sup> In this sentence, the main sentence is reduced to the interrogative marker and the negative; all the rest is supplied from context, in this case, the previous sentence.

- 7.19 *syáa nu ndūhu*  
 POT:let:loose you:FAM me:FAM  
 ‘“Let me go!”
- 7.20 *á ma syáa nu ndūhu / dē tí*  
 INT NEG POT:let:loose you:FAM me:FAM and if  
 ‘Won’t you let me go if  
*kāyihí ni ndóhó / káchi tí*  
 POT:bite I:FAM you:FAM CON:say it:AML  
 I bite you?” it says.’
- 7.21 *dē ni n-ya:yihí ti / dē n-tiin tūkū*  
 and COM COM-COM:bite it:AML and COM-be:stuck REP  
 ‘And it bit (it), and its mouth  
*yūhú ti*  
 mouth its:AML  
 stuck also.’
- 7.22 *sá dē n-ku:ū tīlúú ti / ndée ti*  
 thus and COM-COM:be spherical it:AML CON:sit it:AML  
 ‘Then it was like a ball on the  
*yika móno ñuma*  
 chest figure wax  
 side of the wax figure (Sp. *mono*).’
- 7.23 *ñúkwán sá dē n-ke:ndā māá teē shí ndātíúú*  
 there thus and COM-COM:arrive SPEC man owning thing  
 ‘Then the man who owned the thing arrived.’
- 7.24 *dē n-ka:chi de xa / shá sūú chāpáru /*  
 and COM-COM:say he:RES CMP ? AFF short:person  
 ‘And he said, “So the one that’s eating my beans is  
*ndóhó kúú xa yáxi ndūchí ni*  
 you:FAM CON:be UN CON:eat bean my:FAM  
 REALLY LITTLE (Sp. *chaparro*) YOU.’
- 7.25 *súkwán nī súkwán nī sáhá nú xonde mītān /*  
 thus LIM thus LIM CON:do you:FAM until now  
 ‘You have done THIS A LOT until now,  
*dē kūni nu / káchi de /*  
 and POT:know you:FAM CON:say he:RES  
 and you will see,” he says

- xī de ti*  
CON:address he:RES it:AML  
to it.'
- 7.26 *ñúkwán dē ni n-ti:īn de ti /*  
there and COM COM-COM:seize he:RES it:AML  
'Then he grabbed it
- n-chu:īhūn de īni nūnū*  
COM-COM:put he:RES insides net:bag  
and put (it) into a net bag.'
- 7.27 *dē n-ke:ē de / kwa kehēn*  
and COM-COM:leave he:RES INC:go POT:take  
'And he left; he went to get
- de sērīyu*  
he:RES match  
matches (Sp. *cerillo*).'
- 7.28 *ñúkwán dē n-ke:īndā ūn tiváhvu*  
there and COM-COM:arrive one coyote  
'Then a coyote arrived.'
- 7.29 *mītán dē kāxi nī ndóhó / chí*  
now and POT:eat I:FAM you:FAM because  
' "NOW I'll eat you, because
- kókōn ni / káchi tiváhvu*  
CON:be:hungry I:FAM CON:say coyote  
I am hungry," says the coyote.'
- 7.30 *dē ni n-ka:chi lēxō / shító / ma kaxi*  
and COM COM-COM:say rabbit uncle NEG POT:eat  
'And the rabbit says, "Uncle, don't eat
- ní saán*  
you:RES me:RES  
me!'
- 7.31 *nēhen ní / kūnēē ní yáhá*  
IMP:come you:RES POT:be:held:in you:RES here  
'Come and get in here!'
- 7.32 *chī yáhá xíkó nūū sán / dē ni*  
because here CON:turn all:over I:RES and COM  
'Because I was going around all over HERE, and

- n-ti:īn*                      *ūn teē saán*  
 COM-COM:seize one man me:RES  
 a man grabbed me.'
- 7.33 *dē káchi de xa íyó*                      *ūn sehē síhí*  
 and CON:say he:RES CMP CON:exist one child female  
 'And he says that he has a daughter,  
*de / dē tāxī de / kūndēe sá xīn /*  
 his:RES and POT:give he:RES POT:sit I:RES with  
 and he will give (her) to me to live with,  
*káchi de / xī de saán*  
 CON:say he:RES CON:address he:RES me:RES  
 he says to me.'
- 7.34 *dē súkún tókóo sehē de / dē na tūū*  
 and tall big:around child his:RES and what business  
 'And his child is tall and big around, and what good  
*saán / chāpáru*  
 I:RES short:person  
 am I, a short person?'<sup>2</sup>
- 7.35 *dē ní chī vahā íyó ní / kūndēe*  
 and you:RES indeed good CON:exist you:RES POT:sit  
 'And YOU, you are a good one to live  
*ní xīn / chī īnūú súkún tókóo*  
 you:RES with because same tall big:around  
 with (her), because you are both the same height and  
*ndíú ní / dē kītáhán kūndēe ní xīn /*  
 both you:RES and POT:meet POT:sit you:RES with  
 size around, and you will be suitable to live with  
*káchi lēxō*  
 CON:say rabbit  
 (her)," says the rabbit.'
- 7.36 *sá dē na:ndāxí tiváhvu yūhú nūnú*  
 thus and COM:untie:again coyote mouth net:bag  
 'Then the coyote untied the mouth of the net bag.'

<sup>2</sup> The construction containing *na tūū* 'what work?' followed directly by a subject noun phrase, with no verb, is an idiom that means, 'what good is . . . ?' Like its English counterpart, it is a rhetorical question that implies that the subject is no good.

- 7.37 *sá dē n-ke:ē lēxō / dē nukuhūn tiváhvū*  
 thus and COM-COM:leave rabbit and COM:get:in coyote  
 ‘Then the rabbit got out, and the coyote got  
*īni nūnū*  
 insides net:bag  
 into the net bag.’
- 7.38 *dē na:kāhni lēxō yūhú nūnú / dē*  
 and COM:retie rabbit mouth net:bag and  
 ‘And the rabbit retied the mouth of the net bag, and  
*kwahan ti*  
 INC:go it:AML  
 it went away.’
- 7.39 *sá dē n-ke:ndā māá teē*  
 thus and COM-COM:arrive SPEC man  
 ‘Then the very man arrived.’
- 7.40 *dē ndūú ka na lēxō / nūhūn īni*  
 and NEG:CON:be ADD what rabbit CON:be:in insides  
 ‘And there wasn’t any rabbit in the bag  
*nūnū / chī sā tiváhvū nūhūn*  
 net:bag because but:rather coyote CON:be:in  
 any longer, because THE COYOTE was in (it) instead.’
- 7.41 *dē n-ka:chi de / xāān / pīkaro / ndóhó*  
 and COM-COM:say he:RES ANNOYANCE rascal you:FAM  
 ‘And he said, “Why, you rascal (Sp. *pícaro*)!”
- 7.42 *na ní nuu xikā kí tū nú*  
 what where face CON:walk recently REP you:FAM  
 ‘Where were you walking just now?’
- 7.43 *dē nsuí ndóhó n-chu:hūn kí ni / dē*  
 and NEG you:FAM COM-COM:put recently I:FAM and  
 ‘YOU are NOT what I put in just before I  
*kwahan nī / káchī de*  
 INC:go I:FAM CON:say he:RES  
 went,” he says.’
- 7.44 *dē sta:han de nūhun /*  
 and COM:light he:RES fire  
 ‘And he lit a fire,

*dē ni skwi:kó de ti nuu nūhun*  
 and COM COM:throw he:RES it:AML face fire  
 and he threw it into the fire.'

7.45 *sá dē nda:vā ti /*  
 thus and COM:jump it:AML  
 'Then it jumped

*n-ke:ē ti nuu nūhun*  
 COM-COM:leave it:AML face fire  
 out of the fire.'

7.46 *dē n-kayu nuu ishí ti / dē sūū kúū xa*  
 and COM-burn face hair its:AML and AFF CON:be CMP  
 'And the surface of its hair burned, and that's how

*íyó nuu ishí ti xonde mītān*  
 CON:exist face hair its:AML until now  
 the surface of its hair is even now.'

7.47 *dē ndi:hī kwéendu*  
 and COM:end story  
 'And the story has ended.'