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The Basic Morpho-syntact of Yaltepec Chatino

by

Jeffrey Walter Rasch

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

The Basic Morpho-syntax of Yaitepec Chatino

by

Jeffrey Walter Rasch

Yaitepec Chatino is an Otomanguean language of the Zapotecan family, spoken in the highlands of southeastern Oaxaca, Mexico. It has been described in a small number of articles and in one full-length work, K. Pride's 1965 Chatino Syntax.

Among the interesting features of the language are its large inventory of tones, which distinguish between lexical items and also have morphological functions. Morphologically, Chatino features aspectual verbal prefixes and a few derivational patterns. Incorporation of nouns and prepositions and various compounding patterns play important roles in word-formation. The basic word order is VSO, but the alternative orders SVO and OVS are also frequent, and are found to have specific semantic and pragmatic motivations. Human objects are optionally marked by the preposition 7in 'to.' The presence or absence of 7in 'to' marking the possessor codes the contrast between alienable and inalienable possession. Recipients in events of transfer are also optionally marked by 7in, depending on the type of object transferred. There are a number of constructions that result in complex sentences, including relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and conjunction. Description and analysis of these and other aspects of the Chatino language is based on data gathered through elicitation and recordings of oral texts.
Acknowledgments

This work would have been impossible without the help of several individuals. I wish to thank my advisor, Philip Davis, for his invaluable advice and insights on numerous drafts, and the other members of my committee, James Copeland and Stephen Tyler, for their helpful comments. I also have a debt of gratitude to Ursula Keierleber, the Rice University Linguistics Department Coordinator for many years, and the guardian angel of the graduate students. Modesto Suárez Mauleón, Martín Suárez Martínez, and José Suárez Martínez, native speakers of Yaitepec Chatino, not only endured seemingly endless hours of repeating words and providing elicited translations and judgments about the meanings of utterances, but also composed vocabulary lists and example sentences, recorded texts, and translated various materials from Chatino into Spanish. Modesto Suárez and Felipa Martínez were my hosts for several visits to Yaitepec; they and their family accorded me the utmost hospitality. I am indebted to Terrence Kaufman and John Justeson, directors of the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Meso-America, for excellent advice, for encouragement, and for orientation in an approach that quickly resulted in much useful data. I also benefited from discussions with Troi Carleton, another Project linguist. Any remaining errors of fact and analysis are, of course, my own responsibility. This research was supported by NSF Dissertation Improvement Grant # BCS-9900925.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife, Petronila Tavares, for her unflagging support and for understanding and sharing the joys and frustrations I experienced while working on this project.
Dedicated to my parents, Walter and Betty Rasch.
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Introduction

The town of Yaitepec

Yaitepec Chatino (autodescription Cha7-tya) is a Zapotecan language spoken in the highlands of Oaxaca, Mexico. Yaitepec (Ke-mín), the town in which the dialect studied in this work is spoken, is located atop the mountains overlooking Puerto Escondido on the Pacific coast, and has a population of approximately 3,400. The total number of Chatinos is 42,016, according to the 1995 census. Yaitepec Chatino is part of the Western Highland branch, and is closely related to the dialects spoken in Panixtlahuaca and San Juan Quiahije.

Economic activities in Yaitepec include growing corn and coffee and raising cattle on a small scale. In addition, men work as laborers in near-by towns and cities such as Juquila, Puerto Escondido, and Oaxaca, and women sell hand-embroidered blouses and hand-woven handbags as well as locally produced food items in nearby towns.

The town of Juquila, which lies approximately one mile down a steep mountainside from Yaitepec, has a population of approximately 12,500, mainly Spanish-speaking Chatino descendants and mestizos from elsewhere in Mexico.

Greenberg (1981) includes a sketch of the political and economic history of the Chatino, who separated off from the Zapotes probably between 100 BC and 100 AD. They were later dominated by the Mixtecs beginning around 1044, and remained part of the empire of Tututepec until it was conquered by Spanish forces led by Pedro de Alvarado in 1522. According to Greenberg, the cult of the Virgin of Juquila, whose festival is still celebrated by a large pilgrimage in November and December and draws
thousands of pilgrims and an influx of tourist pesos to Juquila and the surrounding indigenous towns, had its beginning, around 1533, in a confrontation between Spanish and Indian religious ideology. The image of the Virgin was originally installed in Amialtepec, where it first appeared, and was later moved to Juquila by a Spanish priest. The location of the image of the Virgin in Juquila resulted in the town’s becoming a political and religious center in the region.

Community life in Yaithepec revolves around numerous annual festivals. The festival of Santiago, patron saint of Yaithepec, is described in the following terms:

Kichen re ka an kichen kawla, s7en nu ntkwa siti o Sintiyawo nu ka patron re. Ki7an 7a netten nty?an 7a7an 7in ni xa nyka t?a we ka-la nki?yu 7o ko7, ka?7n nu nyka t?a re. Nty7an nu ntykw?i7 ne7 7o ka ne7 kita, nu ntykw?i7 7o ka ne7 xa7 kichen, nu-ka-ti ne7 Kinya re, ne7 S7en re, ne7 Kicha7 re, ne7 Skwi re, ntyga ne7 wa nty7o tjiyu7, nty7an ne7, nty7an l?an ne7 patron re . . .

Nty7an ne7 ki7ya re, n?7ya ne7 ti-kinya7, n?7ya ne7 xkwla, n?7ya ne7 ja-xlya, nty7an ne7 ntyun ne7 tza7. Jnya ne7 sku 7in ne7, jnya ne7 cha7 ka kija kwyu7 7in ne7, kija s7en nty7in na 7in ne7 kija. Nty7an ne7 sa ka s?en tykw?i7 ne7 ka ki7ya ka-7yu re, s7en ka tu-ykwa7 re, s7en ka ki7ya tyko re, s7en ka ki7ya kine7 re, lo nkila ne7 s7en xkwla siti o sintiyawo re tyku kila kiti re. Kwa n?7ya ne7 ti-kinya7 kwa, ns?wa ne7 kwu, kwa ns?wa ne7 ja-xlya yema, kwa ns?wa ne7 xkwla, kwa ns?wa ne7, ?ya ne7 kwie nchu ne7. S7we ka tye ne7 . . .

This town is an old town, the place where our father Santiago is, who is patron here. Many people come to visit him when it is the festival of the 25th of the month, then they celebrate the festival here. People come who are called people from outside, who are called people from other towns, people from Ispantepec, people from Yolotepec, people from Amialtepec, people from Panxitlahuaca, people who come from far away, they come to visit the patron saint here . . .

People come to the hills here, they carry candles, they carry chocolate, they carry bread, they observe the day. They ask for livestock, that they will have horses, that they will have a place to keep their things. People go to the place called 'five hills,' where the spring is, where Cloud Hill is, where Crown Hill is, until they come to where our father Santiago appeared in the river of the seven gorges. There people bring candles, they put chickens, they put bread there, they put chocolate there, they bring fireworks to set off. The people are happy . . .

As this description suggests, religious practices in Yaithepec are closely related to local geography. Someone who was asked what was believed to happen to the soul of a person

---

1 Quoted from a discourse by Modesto Suárez.
who has died pointed in response to various hilltops by which the soul is believed to pass in its departing journey.

The social situation of Yaitepec Chatino.

The large majority of members of the Yaitepec community are bilingual, speaking Spanish with varying degrees of proficiency. Currently, individuals between the ages of ten and sixty tend to speak both languages fluently, while younger children and older adults may speak only Chatino or have limited ability in Spanish. Within many families, Chatino is the language of everyday interaction. In public places, both Chatino and Spanish are heard. People appear to be aware of social and political implications of the choice between Spanish and Chatino; the use of Chatino is a sign of ethnic solidarity, and some people apparently feel hesitant to speak Chatino with casual acquaintances, preferring not to associate themselves with the language in public. One father whom I met had selected one of his children to pursue advanced education, and part of the intended preparation was for the child to stop speaking Chatino. Chatino is, unfortunately, associated with the cultural and economic marginalization that is part of the experience of indigenous communities.

As a result of these factors, the future of Yaitepec Chatino is uncertain. The relatively small number of speakers and the dominance of Spanish could result in the disappearance of the language within a few generations; the language is unquestionably endangered. On the other hand, many speakers’ preference for Chatino in everyday use and identification of the language with their ethnic identity could keep the language alive indefinitely. It is hoped that the latter possibility will be realized and future generations will be able to experience the beauty of the Chatino language. One of my purposes for
engaging in the present work is to document something of the language before it has a chance to disappear.

**Previous research**

Almost all of the research to date on Chatino was carried out by SIL linguists, although the earliest article to my knowledge, a very brief sketch of the morpho-syntax, is by Boas (1913). Early works by the SIL linguists include Upson and Longacre’s (1965) ‘Proto-Chatino phonology’ and Upson’s (1968) ‘A preliminary structure of Chatino.’ Kitty and Leslie Pride, who are famous in Yaitepec for having native-like proficiency in the language, produced articles on Chatino tone (L. Pride (1963)) and the numeral system (K. Pride (1965)). K. Pride also authored by far the most thorough published work concerning the language, her 1965 Chatino Syntax. More recently, the Prides have produced works on other dialects of Chatino, such as their 1970 *Vocabulário Chatino de Tataltepec*. Carleton and Waksler (2000) represents on-going work in the dialect of Zenzontepec.

**The aims of this work**

It does not take long, after one begins an attempt to document and describe a language, to realize that the task can never be complete. Recognition and understanding of any one pattern invariably reveals the existence either of other patterns related to it elsewhere in the grammar, or of patterned exceptions and variations within the larger pattern. To quote Igor Mel’chuk, ‘Not only every language, but every lexeme of a language, is an entire world in itself.’

Encountering a language as a researcher is like engaging in a conversation. The researcher hears something, says (or writes) something in response, hears new words as a
result, responds to the new words, and so on. The metaphor is descriptive of an elicitation session, but also of the entire enterprise. Especially when the language being studied has few or no printed records, the phenomena that will be included in a limited study are not determined. The way the conversation will turn cannot be predicted in detail.

The goal of this work is to describe the major morphological and syntactic patterns of the language. Data were collected by means of elicitation of first word lists and then sentences, and by transcription and translation of recorded texts. I began studying Chatino when I worked for three seasons with the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Meso-America, headed by Terrence Kaufman and John Justeson. The project work included elicitation of various vocabulary lists, including a ‘long list’ of 5,000 items, whose design had taken into account the Meso-American cultural and physical environment. I also carried out a ‘root dictionary’ elicitation procedure, in which I first generated a list of all the permutations of phonemes determined by the general phonological structure of words in Chatino to form possible words, and then checked each item in the list with a consultant to see whether or not it was in fact a word in the language. Such a procedure could theoretically guarantee the listing of every word in the consultant’s vocabulary; however, limitations of attention and concentration must have resulted in numerous words’ going unidentified as such.

After my first season on the Project, I was invited by my consultant, Modesto Suárez, to stay with him and his family in Yaltepec for a few weeks and continue working on the language. In that and consecutive visits to Yaltepec, I worked with

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Modesto and with two of his sons, Martín and José, recording and transcribing texts and eliciting additional data.

The presentation of the data and analysis in this work take a functionalist approach, focusing on the meaning and use associated with forms. The information found in the following pages should enable someone to read Chatino texts with the help of a dictionary, and also to express meanings to a degree in Chatino.

I describe the morphology and syntax of Chatino as much as possible in their own terms. That means that I try to identify the consistent meaning in common to the various uses that a single morpheme or construction might have, and to identify the difference in meaning between two distinct forms whose meanings and uses may be very similar.

I try not to assume that the categories that are applicable to some other language, or to most languages, are applicable to Chatino. For example, there exists in Chatino a class of words that in one of their uses can be translated as ‘in,’ ‘under,’ ‘on top of,’ ‘in front of,’ ‘beside,’ etc. (see Chapter 2, Section 1.2.3), and it seems reasonable, from the perspective of a native speaker of English, to call such words ‘prepositions.’ The Chatino words, however, are clearly nouns. They are inalienably possessed, and they, along with a few other types of nouns, have the property of referring to places as well as to objects. It is because of the convergence of those two aspects of its meaning that a noun of this class is used to denote a place with respect to some other noun (its inalienable possessor) and that members of the class are translated into English by means of prepositions. However, to label such nouns ‘prepositions’ would, I feel, overstate the distinction between them and other nouns that denote places. Following Delancey (1997), I refer to the members of this class as relator nouns, a term appropriate to their function. The two
morphemes that I do describe as prepositions, *7in* ‘to’ and *7a* ‘with,’ have properties quite distinct from those of the relator nouns. I have attempted to understand the integration of each grammatical pattern I describe into the whole system of Chatino, rather than being satisfied to assign it a label based on a similarity to a typologically established pattern. Typological generalizations in the literature are referenced when they appear to clarify a pattern in Chatino.

I am sure I have not been completely successful in avoiding assumptions that are conditioned by exposure to my own native language, other languages, and other linguistic analyses, and that are not accurate with regard to Chatino. Some such assumptions are perhaps inevitable, but I have avoided them as much as possible.

Besides describing the morpho-syntactic patterns that I found most important and/or interesting in the language, I have also included a record of the data in a relatively unprocessed state, in the form of example sentences in the chapters and texts in the appendix. The included CD-ROM allows the user to hear many of the examples from the Phonology Chapter and to hear recordings of the texts. It is hoped that these materials will help to compensate for some of the limitations of this work, by potentially serving as a basis for further investigation by researchers who do not have the opportunity to gather original data.

**Overview of the chapters**

The phonemic inventory, allophony, and phonotactics of Chatino are described in Chapter 1, Phonology. One of the interesting phonological features of the language is its large inventory of tones. Each phonological word carries a single tone, either a level register tone or a rising or falling contour tone. Besides being lexically contrastive, tones
are conditioned by aspectual and person-marking morphology. Some allomorphs are realized only as tone. Chapter 1 also describes two other aspects of Chatino phonology, the reduced vowel, whose phonological status is discussed in some detail, and the widespread consonant co-occurrence constraints.

Three major word types are distinguished in the language: nouns, verbs, and adjectives/adverbs. Chapter 2, Word Classes and Morphology, discusses the formal and distributional characteristics of these types and their sub-types. There are only a few affixes in the language, which is predominantly isolating. Verbs are inflected for aspect. Causative prefixes derive transitive verb stems from intransitive roots. While lexical nouns are not inflected for person or number, there are two derivational patterns for nouns. Compounding patterns for the formation of nouns and verbs are also described in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 deals with simple sentences, or sentences that are composed of a single clause. Simple sentences are analyzed as consisting of a nucleus, which includes the event and one or two participants, and a periphery that includes other elements such as accompaniers, locatives, and time expressions. The roles of participants in clauses are indicated primarily by word order, although human objects are optionally marked by the preposition 7in ‘to.’

The basic word-order characteristics of the language are as follows. The most common word order is VSO. Any element can occur in sentence-initial position, but the ordering of the remaining elements in the sentence indicates that these alternative orders are best analyzed as the result of placing one element before the verb instead of in its usual position. The meaning of the sentence-initial position is discussed in Section 2 of
Chapter 3. Adjectives used attributively follow the nouns they modify, as do relative clauses and deictic determiners. Numbers and the determiner *mu* precede nouns. Nouns follow prepositions.

Also in Chapter 3, a narrative text is analyzed to discover the means by which a participant is tracked across clauses.

Chapter 4 turns to a description of complex sentences, or sentences containing more than one clause. Types of sentential complexity are arranged according to the degree of mutual distinctness that exists between the events of the component clauses. Constructions involving adjectives, relative clauses, complement clauses, peripheral subordinate clauses, conditionals, coordinate conjunctions, and juxtaposed clauses are described.
Chapter 1—Phonology

0. Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold—to describe the phonological patterns found in Chatino, and to introduce the orthography that will be used in this and subsequent chapters in such a way as to make it transparent to the reader. These two goals should be mutually reinforcing, as the orthographic choices should directly reflect the phonological analysis.

However, there are a few points at which this ideal is relaxed, primarily in order to accommodate Chatino speakers’ knowledge of Spanish orthography, and so to hopefully make the present work more accessible to them. Also, in order to make any future linguistic documentation by native speakers using the orthography proposed here easier to carry out with typewriters or limited word processors, digraphs are preferred to diacritics.

The main departures of the orthography from the IPA are as follows. There is a series of coronal consonants and a corresponding palatalized series; of the coronal series, \( t, n, l, r, s, \) and \( z \) represent essentially the values of the same IPA symbols, while \( tz \) represents \([ts]\). Most of the members of the corresponding palatal series are represented as digraphs consisting of the symbol for the coronal followed by \( y \): \( ty = [c], ny = [n], ly = [ly] \). Following Spanish orthographic conventions, however, \( x = [ʃ] \) and \( ch = [tʃ] \). In cases in which a coronal consonant has a palatalized variant and also occurs as part of a sequence preceding \( y \), the consonant-\( y \) sequence is written consonant-\( i-y \). For example, \( tìy = [ty] \).
There is a velar stop and a corresponding labialized velar: \( k = [k] \) and \( kw = [k^w] \). \([k^w]\) is slightly distinct from the sequence [kw]; the sequence is spelled \( kuw \). Finally, \( 7 = [?], j = [h], \) and \( d = [\delta] \).

Chatino has a complex system of tones that are realized on non-reduced vowels. The ten contrastive tones distinguish lexical items and also have grammatical functions. Aspectual prefixes result in various patterns of tone sandhi, and in some cases tone alone distinguishes Continuative and Habitual aspects for a given verb + subject combination, e.g.: \( kw7u^34 \) ‘he will point,’ \( l7u^34 \) ‘he is pointing,’ \( l7u^34 \) ‘he points,’ \( nkw7u^34 \) ‘he pointed.’ The 2\(^{nd}\) person singular enclitic pronoun is realized as tone, contrasting with the 3\(^{rd}\) person \( \emptyset \) pronoun, e.g.: \( yku^2 \) ‘you ate,’ \( yku^2 \) ‘she ate.’ The tone of the verb –\( ku \) ‘eat’ in the Completive aspect is 2, and the tone 32 realizes the 2\(^{nd}\) person singular clitic. The 1\(^{st}\) person singular enclitic pronoun is realized as \(-n + \) tone, and when the verb stem ends in \(-n\), only tone distinguishes the 1\(^{st}\), 2\(^{nd}\), and 3\(^{rd}\) person clitics, e.g.: \( nwj7in \) \( n^2 \) ‘I hit,’ \( nwj7in^32 \) ‘you hit,’ \( nwj7in^1 \) ‘she hit.’ Orthographically, the 1\(^{st}\) person singular pronoun is represented as \(-n\), followed by the superscript tone representation. When the vowel of the verb is already nasalized, the 1\(^{st}\) person singular \(-n\) is not actually pronounced; only the tone is contrastive. Such is the case for \( nwj7in \) \( n \) ‘I hit.’ Frequently, different verb + pronoun combinations are homophonous, e.g.: \( nw7ni \) \( n^1 \) ‘I did,’ \( nw7ni^1 \) ‘you did’ (\( nw7ni^1 \) \( n^2 \) ‘he did’).

Tone is thus very important in Chatino. However, analysis of the tone system is at present incomplete. In this chapter, indication of tone is based on largely impressionistic observation, which should not be considered reliable, pending the completion of work in
progress by native speakers categorizing words into tone classes. In other chapters, tone is marked only when especially relevant to the discussion.

The layout of this chapter is as follows. Section 1 lists the phonemic inventory briefly; Section 2 describes the structure of the phonological word; Section 3 treats each of the phonemes in more detail; Section 4 discusses tone; Section 5 investigates the status of the reduced vowel; and Section 6 presents the major phonotactic patterns of the language.

1. The phonemic inventory.

Yaitepec Chatino has five vowel phonemes, shown in Table 1:

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
i & u \\
e & o \\
a
\end{array}
\]

*Table 1: The vowels of Yaitepec Chatino*

The distribution of each of the vowel phonemes and its allophones is discussed in section 3.1. There also exists a schwa-like reduced vowel, \[^3\] , which harmonizes phonetically with the unreduced vowel in the following syllable. As discussed in section 5, the reduced \[^3\] is not considered a phoneme; thus, it does not appear in Table 1.

There are 31 consonants, shown in Table 2. Note the corresponding alveolar and alveo-palatal sequences, and the corresponding velars and labio-velars. Note also the presence of glottalized nasals and glides, \(7n\), \(7ny\), \(7w\), and \(7y\), in addition to the glottal stop, \(7\), itself:

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1 The reader is invited to listen to recordings of some of the examples using the CD-ROM version of this chapter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>interdental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>labio-velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>7w</td>
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<td>7y</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: The consonants of Yaitpec Chatino

The distribution of each of the consonant phonemes and its allophones is discussed in Section 3.2.

2. The phonological word template.

Some of the distributional patterns of phonemes in Yaitpec Chatino are most simply stated with reference to their position in the phonological word template of the language. For example, the distributions of tone and nasality features of vowels, and phonotactic restrictions on consonant sequences are closely related to the phonological word template.

Five different shapes of phonologically independent words are found in the lexicon:

(a) C V (7) (n)
‘person,’ tzun [tsuʔ] ‘warm,’ kaʔn [kʔn] ‘that (the mentioned).’

(b) n/nw. C V (7) (n)
When \( n \) or \( nw \) occur before a consonant, they are considered syllabic. A reduced vowel is always significantly shorter than an unreduced one, is voiceless between voiceless consonants, and occurs only in the position indicated in (e) and (f) in Table 3.
The presence or absence of \( n-/nw- \) at the beginning of a word has no consequences for the possible combinations of phonemes that follows. This fact allows the conflation of types (a) and (b), of (c) and (d), and of (e) and (f). Thus a more succinct categorization of phonological word types is:

(a) \((n/nw.)\ C\ V\ (7)\ (n)\)

(b) \((n/nw.)\ C\ C\ V\ (7)\ (n)\)

(c) \((n/nw.)\ C\ V_{\text{reduced}}\ .\ C\ V\ (7)\ (n)\)

Because the presence or absence of the reduced vowel in type (c) is predictable given the surrounding consonants, it is possible to further conflate the three types into a single representation:

\[(n/nw.)\ (C\ (V_{\text{reduced}}\ .))\ C\ V\ (7)\ (n)\]

Figure 1: The phonological word.

There are three important patterns that are not indicated in Figure 1. First, the combinations of consonants appearing in the two positions indicated by 'C' in Figure 1 that either require or exclude the occurrence of a reduced vowel are not specified; they are discussed in Section 5 below. Second, the co-occurrence of certain pairs of similar or identical consonants is constrained; these constraints are discussed in Section 6. Third, only one of either a glottalized consonant or a glottal stop can occur per word. If a glottal stop or glottalized consonant occurs before the undreduced vowel, then it must occur in the consonant position immediately preceding the unreduced vowel.

In Chatino, the phonotactic characteristics of the phonological word also specify all of the phonotactic characteristics of the syllable; that is, there are no syllable structure patterns that are not already given as part of the necessary description of the phonological
word. In particular, the type of any vowel (reduced or non-reduced) and co-occurrence constraints related to a series of consonants must be stated with reference to the phonological word as a whole, and not directly to the syllable (except when the syllable is a complete phonological word). These patterns are discussed in Sections 5 and 6 below. The designation of syllable boundaries in the phonological word schemata given above reflect purely phonetic phenomena, and are unnecessary for the phonological structural description of the word. The notion of 'the syllable' itself, while descriptive of phonetic rhythmic patterns, does not appear to be necessary for a phonological description of Chatino.

3. The distributions of phonemes and allophones.

3.1. Vowels.

3.1.1. Non-reduced vowels

Because every unreduced syllable in Chatino realizes one of the nine contrastive tones, true minimal pairs are difficult to find. There is no indication that tones interact phonologically with any of the vowel or consonant segments in the language, so near-minimal pairs are given below for contrasting segments although they generally differ with respect to tone as well as to the contrasting segments.

The following near-minimally contrastive words illustrate the contrasts between vowels: ka [ka] 'yesterday,' ke [k'e] 'head,' ki: [ki:] 'reed,' ko [ko] 'cloud,' ku [ku] 'P.eat,' ta7 [ta?] 'rope,' te7 [te?] 'cloth,' ti7 [ti?] 'one's thoughts or feelings,' to7 [to?] 'sound of bursting),' tu7 [tu?] 'just.' Some vowels undergo a quality change when they are nasalized:

/i/ → [i] or [ɪ]
/e/ → [e]
/u/ → [u]
/o/ → [ʊ]
/a/ → [a].

The correspondence of nasal to non-nasal vowel variants is shown when forms are followed by a 1st person singular subject or inalienable possessor, which causes nasalization of an otherwise non-nasalized root vowel of the verb or inalienably possessed noun: ta₂³ [ta] 'she will give,' ta n₂³ [tɔ] 'I will give,' ke₁²[kʃe] 'his head,' ke n₂³[kʃe] 'my head,' ntykwí7 [ŋe³kwíʔ] 'she is talking,' ntykwí7 n [ŋe³kwíʔ] 'I am talking,' y7o₂³ [ʔo] 'he drank,' y7o n [ʔʊ] 'I drank,' ku [ku] 'she will eat,' ku n₂³ [kʊ] 'I will eat.'

Because of the quality change /ol/ → [ʊ], /ol/ and /u/ do not contrast with each other in a nasal context.

Nasalization occurs whenever a vowel is followed immediately by –n or –7n in the same phonological word, or when a vowel is preceded immediately by n, ny, n7, or ny7 in the same phonological word. That is, vowels show anticipatory and perseverent assimilation to nasality within the phonological word, both of which are ‘blocked’ by all consonants except glottal stops and glides. In fast speech, a vowel is frequently nasalized when followed by another word with initial n- or 7n-.

Suprasegmental features associated with unreduced vowels include length², indicated by ‘:’, and tone, indicated by superscript 1 (high), 2 (mid), 3 (low-mid), and 4 (low).

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² The phonological status of vowel length is still under investigation. Neither this author nor the native speakers who provided data in this study were able to identify length contrasts consistently.
3.1.2. Reduced vowels.

Phonemically, there is only one reduced vowel. The reduced vowel /ɛ/ minimally contrasts with a schwa-like reduced vowel, but only in the contexts in which a reduced vowel can be predicted to occur. In other contexts, no reduced vowel occurs. The factors conditioning the presence or absence of a reduced vowel are discussed further in Section 5 below.

Because the presence or absence of a reduced vowel in any given environment is predictable, and because there is phonemically only a two-way contrast between reduced vowels, only one of the reduced vowels, /ɛ/, needs to be written.

I understand the distribution of the reduced vowels to be a result of a historical process in which unstressed vowels first gradually harmonized with the following environment. Comparison of other Chatino dialects to that spoken in Yaitepec shows that this harmonization progressed through the vowel inventory. In Yaitepec Chatino, the only unstressed vowel that did not harmonize with the following environment was /ɛ/. In subsequent stages of the process, reduced vowels that occurred in contexts in which their deletion would not result in a non-permissible consonant cluster disappeared completely, and the harmonizing reduced vowels became more central, approximating [ə].

Orthographically, I indicate a reduced /ɛ/ with the letter i. An unreduced /ɛ/ is also written i. No information is lost due to this convention, because in a single phonological word, only one vowel (the final one) is unreduced. Consequently, a reader knows that the first i in kiti7 'P. loosen' is reduced while the second is unreduced. When a morphological word contains more than one unreduced vowel, hyphens are used to separate the component phonological words; thus, in xi-tzen 'P. frighten,' both vowels are
unreduced. The schwa-like reduced vowel is not written. It is considered the default. It is likely that cognitively its status is no more than that of a transition between two consonants that are not pronounced as a true cluster in the language; the proposed orthographic representation reflects this analysis. The distribution of reduced vowels is indicated roughly in Table 3, and the factors conditioning the presence or absence of a reduced vowel are given in Sections 5 and 6 below.

Reduced vowels are rarely nasalized; this is related to the fact that the reduced vowel position, as shown in Table 3, is not followed by \(-n\) or \(-7n\) in the same word, and that the sequence \(n + \) consonant rarely permits an intervening reduced vowel. The only examples of nasal reduced vowels are in forms such as \(n7a\) ‘house,’ which varies freely between \([n\text{-}5]\) and \([n\text{-}\tilde{5}\text{-}5]\). Reduced vowels are not specified for tone.

Reduced vowels are voiced between voiced consonants, and generally voiceless when adjacent to a voiceless consonant. Between voiceless obstruents, for example, a reduced vowel is voiceless: \(kita7n\) [k\text{-}t\text{-}5\text{-}] ‘claw,’ \(kitzu7\) [k\text{-}tsu\text{-}] ‘lump,’ \(tkwi\) [t\text{-}k\text{-}w\text{-}i\] ‘difficult.’

The consonant sequences \(kw-n\) and \(kw-l\) also condition reduced vowels, which are voiceless because of the presence of voiceless \(kw-\): \(kwne7\) [k\text{-}w\text{-}n\text{-}e\text{-}] ‘young,’ \(kwla\) [k\text{-}w\text{-}l\text{-}a\] ‘P.be born.’

Most sequences of a velar or coronal obstruent followed by a glottal segment or by \(j\) also condition an intervening reduced vowel, which is voiceless: \(ki7an\) [k\text{-}i\text{-}5\text{-}] ‘much, many,’ \(k7wi\) [k\text{-}\tilde{w}\text{-}i\] ‘drunk’ \(kija\) [k\text{-}h\text{-}a\] ‘tortilla’ \(t7wa\) [t\text{-}\tilde{w}\text{-}a\] ‘mouth,’ \(t7yun\) [t\text{-}\tilde{y}\text{-}u\] ‘fifteen,’ \(tje7\) [t\text{-}he\text{-}?] ‘salt.’
The consonants $t$, $ty$, $k$, and $kw$ are voiced in some contexts following the nasals $n$- or $nw$-. When such a sequence is followed by a glottal stop or, for $k/kw$, by a sonorant, an intervening voiced reduced vowel is conditioned: *nt7an* [$n\theta^2?\theta$] ‘ear of corn,’ *nt7o* [$m\theta^2?\theta$] ‘C.go out,’ *nty7in* [$n\theta^3?\theta$] ‘H.live,’ *nk7wa* [$n\theta^3_wa$] ‘N.get cold,’ *nk7a* [$n\theta^3?\alpha$] ‘red,’ *nkwlo* [$n\theta^w\theta^3o$] ‘C.take out,’ *nkwyu7* [$n\theta^w^3yu?\alpha$] ‘spider,’ *nkina* [$n\theta^i^n\alpha3$] ‘N.cry.’

In a sequence $n/nw + t/ty/k/kw$, the $t/ty/k/kw$ is devoiced when it is followed by a voiceless consonant. The resulting sequence includes a voiceless reduced vowel: *ntki* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha$] ‘flexible,’ *ntkwa* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha$] ‘C.burn,’ *ntyku* [$n\theta^k\alpha3ku$] ‘N.eat,’ *ntykwi7* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha\alpha3$] ‘N.talk,’ *ntijo7* [$n\theta^t\alpha ho?\alpha$] ‘N.insert,’ *nkwti* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\theta$] ‘stone of a fruit,’ *nkityi* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha\alpha$] ‘N.dry,’ *nkita7* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha\alpha\alpha$] ‘N.warn,’ *nkwyti* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha3\alpha$] ‘C.dry,’ *nkwji* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha\alpha3$] ‘C.spend,’ *nkwyjalya* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha3\alpha\alpha$] ‘C.fart,’ *nkwsu7* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha\alpha3\alpha$] ‘C. become old.’

In slower pronunciation, the first obstruent is sometimes not devoiced, in which case the reduced vowel also remains voiced: *ntja* [$n\theta^t\alpha\alpha3\alpha$] – *ntja* [$n\theta^t\alpha\alpha3\alpha$] ‘lazy,’ *nkiten* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha\alpha$] – *nkiten* [$n\theta^k\alpha3\alpha\alpha$] ‘N.fall.’

A few color adjectives starting with $n$- plus a velar followed by a voiceless coronal obstruent do not show the expected devoicing of the velar, e.g.: *ngten* [$n\theta^g\alpha3\alpha$] ‘white,’ *ngta* [$n\theta^g\alpha3\alpha$] ‘black,’ *ngtzi* [$n\theta^g\alpha3\alpha3$] ‘yellow.’ This pattern is a peculiarity; a likely explanation is that the first syllables (presumably distinct morphemes at the earlier stage) underwent reduction at a stage later than that of such syllables in the major part of the vocabulary, and the obstruents in the sequence were therefore brought into adjacency after the obstruent-devoicing process had taken effect for other words. The velar in these
forms is spelled with g to indicate that it is voiced. Another exceptional form is ntyga [ŋj³ga] ‘all,’ in which both the coronal and velar obstruents are voiced. Again, the velar is spelled with g to indicate that it is voiced, and in the voiced context, the voicing of the coronal obstruent and of the reduced vowel is expected.

3.2. Consonants.

In the following paragraphs, I discuss the distribution of consonants, and present near-minimal pairs that illustrate the contrastiveness of pairs of phonemes. As with vowels, true minimal pairs showing contrasting consonants are difficult to find because every unreduced syllable has a tone feature. Most of the near-minimal pairs given below thus contrast in tone as well as in the contrasting consonants.

3.2.1. Bilabials

Bilabials play a very limited role in the formation of the Chatino lexicon. p and m in particular occur rarely except for borrowed forms. w is used more widely.

3.2.1.1. p

The phoneme /p/ occurs rarely in Chatino words that are not borrowings from Spanish. Examples include pa ‘papa,’ pa7, onomatopoeic for the sound of an object falling, pi ‘turkey,’ and ple ‘foolish.’ It occurs with significantly greater frequency in Spanish borrowings, such as pestola ‘pistol,’ lapi ‘pencil,’ and tiyempu ‘time.’

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for /p/ include the following:

/p/ ~ /m/ : pa ‘papa’ ~ ma ‘mama’
/p/ ~ /k/ : pa7, onomatopoeic for an object falling, ~ ka7 ‘leaf’
/p/ ~ /w/ : pa ‘papa’ ~ wa ‘already.’
3.2.1.2. m

The phoneme /m/ occurs rarely in Chatino words that are not Spanish borrowings, such as the onomatopoeic bom, which imitates the sound of a thud, ma ‘mama,’ ma7 ‘wrinkled,’ me7, a sound symbolic expression, used with children, meaning ‘that’s hot!’ and mimi, an expression used to entice children to sleep. Only about five non-borrowed forms are found in the lexical database with initial m-, as compared to over 60 words with initial n-. Spanish borrowings with m are numerous: firma ‘signature,’ ayma ‘soul,’ mela ‘brown sugar,’ kamyu ‘car.’ Phonetic [m] occurs quite frequently in native words but only in a specific morphological context, which is discussed below. In this context it is not considered to be the phoneme /m/, but instead to realize the cluster nw.

Minimal or near-minimal pairs for m include the following:

/m/ ~ /p/: ma ‘mama’ ~ pa ‘papa’
/m/ ~ /nl: me7 ‘that’s hot!’ ~ ne7 ‘person’
/m/ ~ /w/: ma ‘mama’ ~ wa ‘already.’

3.2.1.3. w

The phoneme /w/ has the following phonetic realizations:

[β] / #_____ V[-nasal], y
we ka ‘already’
wi-chi ‘cat’
wyu7 ‘spider’

[u] / #_____ 7, k
w7a ‘tamarind’
wke7 ‘ice’

[w] / elsewhere
wan ‘you (resp.)’
lvi ‘clean’
swe ‘chin’
twe ‘cut up into pieces (Potential aspect)’
/w/ occurs syllable finally in only one form thus far identified, waw, onomatopoeic for the sound of a dog’s bark.

Reflecting a constraint against sequences of rounded segments, /w/ is never phonetically realized immediately preceding o or u (except in borrowed forms such as Wo (Sp. Nabor) and wuru (Sp. burro)), and it is possible that in some words with the unreduced vowel o or u, a historical w has been neutralized to Ø.

The sequence nw- is pronounced [m]; this sequence is observed only in a specific morphological context, and is discussed further below. Minimal and near-minimal pairs for /w/ include the following:

/w/ ~ /m/ : wa ‘already’ ~ ma ‘mama’
/w/ ~ /kw/ : swi ‘P.choose’ ~ swki ‘smooth’
/w/ ~ /p/ : wi ‘(pronoun referring to a family member)’ ~ pi ‘turkey.’

3.2.1.4. nw

The bilabial nasal nw is pronounced either as [m] or as a rounded velar nasal, [ŋʷ], depending on the phonological context:

nw \rightarrow [ŋʷ] / k
nwkin [ŋʷgɪ] ‘C.burn’
nwkke7 [ŋʷk’eʔ] ‘C.roast’
nwkya7 [ŋʷgyaʔ] ‘C.be built’
\rightarrow [m] (elsewhere)
nw7ni [m²nɪ] ‘C.do’
nws7i [msʔi] ‘C.buy’
nwtyu [mdyu] ‘C.fall’

Morphologically, nw- occurs as a prefix marking the Completive aspect of a verb; it is a partially conditioned allomorph of nkʷ-, occurring primarily in contexts in which the presence of the k segment is disallowed by the phonotactic constraints of the language, i.e., preceding verb root allomorphs containing k, or any two consonants. It would be
possible to write all [m] sounds in Chatino as nkw. I have preferred to use m- before vowels, since almost all words with pre-vocalic [m] are borrowed, and even in the handful that might be native, the suggested etymological source of nkw- is not likely.

Using nkw- for [m] before consonants and m- before vowels reflects what I consider to be the source of the sound in the large majority of its occurrences. Writing the small number of pre-vocalic [m] sounds that occur in native words as m- also reflects the marginality of the sound in that context in the phonological system of Chatino.

3.2.2. Coronals

Coronals occur in two series, alveolars and their palatalized variants. Among the coronals, r alone lacks a palatalized variant.

3.2.2.1 Alveolar Coronals

3.2.2.1.1. t

The coronal t can occur as the single consonant in the onset to a word, or as the first or second consonant in a multiple-consonant onset (whether or not there is a reduced vowel separating the consonants):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta</th>
<th>‘shrimp’</th>
<th>tlo</th>
<th>‘face’</th>
<th>ntki</th>
<th>‘flexible’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te7</td>
<td>‘cloth’</td>
<td>tlya</td>
<td>‘early’</td>
<td>ntkwi</td>
<td>‘N.owe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>‘rope’</td>
<td>tne</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
<td>ntlas.</td>
<td>‘peach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to7</td>
<td>(sound of something bursting)</td>
<td>tmya</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td>ti-ntlyu</td>
<td>‘backwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu:n</td>
<td>‘knot’</td>
<td>tne</td>
<td>‘train’</td>
<td>ntwi</td>
<td>‘brilliant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t7a</td>
<td>‘festival’</td>
<td>t7we</td>
<td>‘N.make love’</td>
<td>nwt7in</td>
<td>‘C.be born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t7wa</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
<td>t7ya</td>
<td>‘pretty’</td>
<td>nwtjinn</td>
<td>‘C.pass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t7yun</td>
<td>‘fifteen’</td>
<td>t7jini</td>
<td>‘N.hit (with an object)’</td>
<td>nwt7jw</td>
<td>(not found)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tje7</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>‘lazy’</td>
<td>nwtjinn</td>
<td>(not found)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjyan</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>ntja</td>
<td>‘lazy’</td>
<td>nwtkin</td>
<td>‘C.burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tkun</td>
<td>‘P.cover’</td>
<td>ntjwi</td>
<td>‘N.hit’</td>
<td>nwtkwinn</td>
<td>‘C.fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tkwi</td>
<td>‘difficult’</td>
<td>ntjiya</td>
<td>‘N.play’</td>
<td>nwtl</td>
<td>(not found)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nwtly (not found)  nwsta  ‘C.break apart’  nkiti  ‘soft’
nwtm (not found)  kwten ~ jwten ‘nest’  nte  ‘here’
nwtny (not found)  nkwti  ‘stone of a  nnten$^{24}$  ‘people’
nwtr (not found)  fruit’  xten  ‘P.turn sth. over’
nwte  ‘C.puncture’  kti  ‘delicate’  nxi  ‘N.soften’
sti  ‘father’  kita7n  ‘claw’  ytu  ‘wicker’
nstun  ‘N. uproot’  nkiten  ‘N. fall’

As shown in the examples above, $t$ can occur in either of the two consonant positions of

Figure 1. However, two $t$’s cannot occur in the same phonological word.

Minimal or near minimal pairs for $t$:

$lt/ ~ ls/ : tu:7 [tu?] ‘cough’ ~ su7 [su?] ‘tuft on a bird’s head’

3.2.2.1.2. tt

The sound [d] occurs only between $n$ or nw and a sonorant segment. The

prefixation of $n$-$nw$- to a root beginning with $t$ results in a form pronounced with [d], as

in ta$^4$ [ta] ‘give (Potential aspect),’ nta [nẽ] ‘give (Continuative and Habitual aspects),’

nwta [nẽ] ‘give (Compleative aspect).’ However, the sound [t] also occurs following $n$

and nw, requiring that contrastive representations be assigned to the two sounds in that

collection: nta [ndẽ] ‘leg’ vs. ntna/n[ntẽ] ‘crooked.’ In order to give a consistent

representation to morphemes that participate in the [t] ~ [d] alternation, to recognize the

fact that [d] occurs only after $n$ and nw, and to represent the contrast between [d] and [t]
in that context, I spell [t] following n or nw as tt, and always spell [d] as t.\(^3\) Orthographic

\textit{tt} does not represent a sequence of two phonemes, but rather the phoneme /t/ that does not

assimilate the nasality of a preceding n- or nw-. The factors relating [c] ~ [j], [ts] ~ [dz],

[k] ~ [g], and [kw] ~ [gw] are the same as those relating [t] ~ [d]. In sum, voicing is not

used widely as a contrastive feature in Chatino.

The contrast between [t] and [d] following [n] or [m] requires a distinct phonemic

representation for /t/ and /tt/. However, it is likely that a historical explanation exists,

similar to that suggested for color terms such as \textit{ngten} ‘white,’ \textit{ngta} ‘black,’ and \textit{ngtzi}

‘yellow’ above. It is likely that the existence of [t] following [n] or [m] results from the

incomplete diffusion of the voicing process through the lexicon, possibly due to a late

loss of some segment between the nasal and the obstruent. For example, the Zenzontepec

Chatino cognate of Yaitepec Chatino \textit{ntten} ‘person’ is \textit{nyate7-e7}/; the loss of the

segments y and a between the initial n and the t may have occurred after the voicing

assimilation process affected other words.

Minimal or near-minimal pairs for /tt/:


/\textit{tt}/ does not contrast with /\textit{lt}/ because /\textit{lt}/ does not occur immediately following n- or nw-,

while /\textit{tt}/ occurs only in that environment.

\(^3\) Another solution to the representation of these distributions would be to write the consonant /\textit{jt}/ [h]

between the /n/ and the /\textit{lt}/ in words like \textit{nttan}, which would then be written as \textit{n\textit{jt}tan}. There is in fact a slight

nasal aspiration between the /\textit{nt}/ and the /\textit{lt}/ in \textit{nttan}: [n\textit{ht₅}]. However, there are no words beginning with \textit{jt}-
in the database, and I doubt that there is an /\textit{lt}/ phonemically present in \textit{nttan}. 
3.2.2.1.3. \( n \)

The phoneme /\( n \)/ occurs as the single consonant in the onset of a word, as the first or second consonant in a complex onset, and following the unreduced vowel of a phonological word with or without an intervening glottal stop. When /\( n \)/ occurs before another consonant in the onset of a word, it is syllabic. /\( n \)/ has the special property of being, along with the sequence /\( mw \)/, the only consonant that can occur before two other consonants in the onset of a word. Because a vowel immediately following /\( n \)/ is always nasalized (except in borrowings such as /norte/ [norte] ‘north’) and nasalization neutralizes the contrast between /\( o \)/ and /\( u \)/, /\( o \)/ is never written as immediately following /\( n \)/ except in such borrowings. It is possible that some of the [u] sounds written /\( u \)/ following /\( n \)/ were etymologically the phoneme /\( o \)/, that information is not recoverable. When a phonetic [\( u \)] is known for morphological reasons to be a allophone of /\( o \)/, as in /\( 70 n \)/ [\( ?\( \ddot{u} \)/] ‘with me,’ it is written /\( o \). /\( n \)/ never occurs immediately preceding a non-nasalized vowel, or separated from a non-nasalized vowel by only /\( l \)/, except in a variant pronunciation of a very few forms such as /\( kw\( n \)a\( l \)/ [\( kw\( n \)\( n \)]/ [\( kw\( n \)\( n \)\( n \)]/ [\( kw\( n \)\( n \)\( n \)] ‘snake.’

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{na} & \textit{thing} & \textit{yka nkan} & \textit{palm kernel} & \textit{nkwta} & \textit{seed} \\
\textit{ne7} & \textit{person} & \textit{tk} & \textit{black} & \textit{nkwti} & \textit{C.dry} \\
\textit{ni} & \textit{now} & \textit{nkta} & \textit{black’} & \textit{nkw7na} & \textit{C.coagulate} \\
\textit{nu} & \textit{that} & \textit{nkiten} & \textit{N.fall’} & \textit{nkwnya} & \textit{C.move’} \\
\textit{(relativeizer)} & \textit{n7a} & \textit{nkty} & \textit{N.dry’} & \textit{nkwlo} & \textit{C.take out’} \\
\textit{nk7a} & \textit{house’} & \textit{ntzi} & \textit{yellow’} & \textit{nkwyu} & \textit{C.turn’} \\
\textit{njka7n} & \textit{rope’} & \textit{nkizza} & \textit{N.warn’} & \textit{nkwsu} & \textit{C.become old’} \\
\textit{njka7n} & \textit{N.count’} & \textit{nkwen} & \textit{ripe’} & \textit{nkwxen} & \textit{C.roll’} \\
\textit{njy7a} & \textit{N.fart’} & \textit{nk7o} & \textit{C.paint’} & \textit{nkwtzu} & \textit{C.warm sth.’} \\
\textit{n7} & \textit{N.wash’} & \textit{nk7yu} & \textit{C.be laden with} & \textit{nkwyu} & \textit{C.wide sth.’} \\
\textit{nk7a} & \textit{red’} & \textit{fruit’} & \textit{n} & \textit{nkoyo} & \textit{C.wrinkled’} \\
\textit{nk7wa} & \textit{N.get cold’} & \textit{nk7i} & \textit{C.spend’} & \textit{ns7i} & \textit{N.buy’} \\
\textit{nk7ya} & \textit{H.go down’} & \textit{nk7ya} & \textit{C.fart’} & \textit{ns7na} & \textit{N.swing sth.’} \\
\textit{nk7ya} & \textit{C.perforate’} & \textit{ns7wi} & \textit{N.be’}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
ns7yu ‘N.cut’ ntl:a24 ‘peach’ nwt7ya ‘C.put down’
ns7i7 ti7 ‘courageous’ ntlja ‘H.empty’ nwtjtn ‘C.pass sth.’
nskan ‘ear’ ntylu ‘backwards’ nwtkin ‘C.burn sth.’
nskwa7 ‘corn’ ntwi ‘shining’ nwtkwa ‘C.sit’
nslan ‘N.break apart’ nty7o ‘H.go out’ nwtiyi ‘C.end’
nstyi ‘N.laugh’ nty7wi ‘H.be in a place’ nwtkun ‘C.close’
nsla ‘H.open’ ntyi ti7 ‘ambitious’ nwtwe ‘C.chop up’
nslya7 ‘N.accept’ ntyga ‘all’ nwtiyu ‘C.fall’
nsla ‘N.run’ ntyku ‘N.eat’ nwtykw en ‘C.for food to
nsnyi ‘N.receive’ ntykw7i ‘N.talk’ come back up the esophagus
nswe7n ‘N=scald sth.’ jin nxkan ‘ear’
nt7o ‘N.come out’ nxkwa ‘H.lie down’ nwty7o ‘C.be identical’
niti7o ‘N.drink’ nw7i-tykwa ‘C.make sit’ nwty7we ‘C.fall apart’
n7ia ‘N.hurt’ nw7ni ‘C.do’ nwna ‘C.look for’
n7ya ‘pretty’ nwj7i ‘C.strike or nwnyi ‘C.lie’
ni77y7i ‘N.be laden throw sth. on sth.’ nwlyu ‘C.go in circles’
with fruit’ nwj7i ‘C.wash sth.’ nwra ‘see you later’
nta ‘bean’ nwjki ‘C.lean’ 7ni ‘animal’
ntja ‘lazy’ nwjki ‘C.boil’ jnara ‘pear’
nj7i7o ‘N.put sth. into nwj7i4ta7 ‘C.forget’ kina ‘sandal’
sth.’ nwj7y7i ‘C.straighten’ kwnu7 ‘worm’
nj7wi ‘N.hurt’ nwj7i ‘garbage’ sne ‘toad’
nj7yu ‘N.perforate’ nwkk7i ‘C.burn’ tnu ‘big’
ntki ‘(a type of) nwkk7ye7 ‘C.roast sth.’ xnu7 ‘eight more’
nettle’ nwta ‘C.give’ t7na ‘poor’
nkwa47 ‘coarse’ nwt7o ‘C.go out’ tnu ‘big’
nkwa24 ‘N.sit’ nwt7w- (not found)

/n/ assimilates in place of articulation of a following velar: nkya [ŋγya] ‘N.go.’

In most cases, an epenthetic [t] appears between n and s: nskwa7 [ntsikwa?]

‘corn.’

Minimal or near-minimal pairs for /n/:

/n/ ~ /nt/: ne [nɛ] ‘H.sound’ ten [tɛ] ‘P.transport by car’
/n/ ~ /n/: knwa [knɔ] ‘glass’ kwla n [klu] ‘P.dance 1sg’
/n/ ~ /ni/: ni [ni] ‘now’ nyi [n̂i] ‘N.lie’
3.2.2.1.4. l

/n/ and /l/ are in nearly complementary distribution. With only one or two exceptions in each case, /n/ never occurs preceding a non-nasalized vowel, while /l/ does not precede nasalized vowels except for those that have become nasalized through the presence of the first person singular enclitic n: *kwne7 [kw³nēʔ] ‘young,’ *kwla [kw³la] ‘P. be born,’ (kwla n [kw³l3] ‘I will be born’), ni7 [nīʔ] ‘in,’ li [li] ‘straight.’ /l/ is found to precede the consonants /j/ and /w/ when they are immediately followed by a vowel, while /n/ is not: ljä ‘unoccupied,’ lwe ti ‘small.’ /n/ but not /l/ can precede the consonants /kl/ (nkten ‘white’), /kʷl/ (nkwen ‘ripe’), /j/ when it is followed by another consonant (njkun²4 ‘turtle’), /s/ (nskan ‘ear’), /ʃ/ (nti7-7a ‘soon’), /ty/ (ntywi ‘lightning’), /ts/ (ntzi²4 ‘(fruit sp.)’), and /ʃ/ (nswi7 ‘coaI’). /l/ never occurs at the end of a word. The only exceptions I have found to the complementary distribution of /l/ and /n/ are a) one or two words in which /n/ occurs immediately before a non-nasalized vowel, such as the variant pronunciation of *kwna [kw³na]~ [kw³nə] ‘snake’ mentioned above, and b) a few words in which /l/ occurs, in variant forms, preceding and separated by /ʔ/ from a nasalized vowel: *l7an ~ n7a ‘house,’ *l7an ~ n7a ‘weak.’

In light of the nearly complete complementary distribution of /l/ and /n/, it would be possible to consider them allophones of the same phoneme, [n] conditioned by a following nasalized vowel or by any of the consonants before which it occurs, and [l] conditioned by ‘elsewhere.’ This view would involve a restatement of the nasal assimilation generalization given above in the discussion of nasal vowels to the effect that all nasal assimilation is anticipatory, conditioned by a word final /n/ in all cases. The
phoneme with allomorphs [l] and [n] could be written /, and all nasalized vowels would be indicated as such, instead of being inferable based on a preceding n.  [n3] ‘thing’ would be written lan instead of na, as proposed here.

The main reason for not considering /l/ and /n/ to be allophones of the same phoneme in the synchronic system of the language is that when /l/ occurs immediately preceding the vowel of a verb root, it remains unchanged when the verb is inflected by the 1st person singular enclitic +n, which results in nasalization of the verb root vowel: nkila [ŋl1a] ‘she is singing,’ nkila n [ŋl13] ‘I am singing.’ This suggests that while the nasality of the vowel may have been the factor conditioning pre-vocalic [n] ~ [l] historically, it no longer conditions that alternation. A reasonable conclusion is that a process of assimilation of /l/ to [n] took place, conditioned by a following nasalized vowel, before the cliticization of the 1st person singular pronoun, so that while verb roots follow the pattern, 1st person inflected forms do not.

It should be noted that it would still be possible to account for the data in terms of anticipatory assimilation conditioned by a final /n/. Such an explanation would presumably involve a stipulation that the assimilation is blocked by a morpheme boundary for the [l] ~ [n] variation but is not blocked for vowel nasalization. The contrast between [n] before a vowel that is already nasal in the verb root and [l] before a nasal vowel that results from a 1st person singular clitic could be indicated orthographically as follows: nkila n [ŋl13] ‘I am arriving’ vs. nkilan n [ŋl1n3] ‘I am crying.’ However, it seems simpler in this case to posit nasal spreading from n both rightward and leftward. This would avoid the stipulation that different nasalization
processes exist and that they treat morpheme boundaries differently, and would, I believe, reflect the synchronic phonological situation more accurately. The following orthographic usages reflect this analysis: *nkila* [ŋg'la] ‘she is arriving,’ *nkila* n [ŋg'1̂3] ‘I am arriving,’ *nkina* [ŋg'n3] ‘he is crying,’ *nkina* n [ŋg'n3] ‘I am crying.’

The following list illustrates the distribution of /l/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>la</th>
<th>‘clear’</th>
<th>l7ya</th>
<th>‘tooth’</th>
<th>nwslu</th>
<th>‘hat’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>‘long (of clothing)’</td>
<td>lja7</td>
<td>‘asleep’</td>
<td>ple</td>
<td>‘foolish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>‘straight’</td>
<td>jlu7</td>
<td>‘cricket’</td>
<td>sla</td>
<td>‘sleepiness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo</td>
<td>‘surface’</td>
<td>kila</td>
<td>‘male’</td>
<td>tio</td>
<td>‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu</td>
<td>‘slimy’</td>
<td>kwl7</td>
<td>‘P.touch’</td>
<td>xla</td>
<td>‘P.undo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l7an</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>nkila</td>
<td>‘N.be born’</td>
<td>yla</td>
<td>‘C.sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l7o</td>
<td>‘corral’</td>
<td>ntl7</td>
<td>‘shadow’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An epenthetic [l] occurs in some idiolects between the morpheme *nt- ‘Continuative aspect’* and *j or 7*: *nt7a* [ndl'pa?] ‘chop (N.),’ *ntja7* [ndl'ha?] ‘sleep (N.).’ /l/ occurs syllable-finally in the borrowing *kolchun* ‘cushion’ (<Sp. colchón).

Minimal or near-minimal pairs for /l/:

/la/ ~ /n/ *nkilu* n [ŋg'l̂u] ‘N.grow 1sg’ *nkino* [ŋg'n̂u] ‘N.swell up’
/la/ ~ /t/ la [le] ‘long (of clothing)’ *re [re] ‘here/this’
/la/ ~ /n/ la [la] ‘church,’ *lya [l'a] ‘interior of a church’

3.2.2.1.5. r

/l/, pronounced [r], occurs mainly in borrowings, such as *7ornu* ‘oven,’ *wra*

‘time,’ and *wariya* ‘iron rod,’ and in onomatopoeic forms such as *chi7 chi7 chi7 chiri7.*

*ra-ka7n,* derived from Spanish *hora* ‘hour’ and Chatino *ka7n* ‘that,’ plays an important role as a discourse linker. The only native Chatino word so far identified beginning with /l/ is *re ‘here/this.’* /l/ occurs as the single consonant in the onset to a word, as the second consonant in a 2-consonant onset, or syllable-finally.
Minimal or near-minimal pairs for /t/:

/tl/ ~ /l/  re [re] ‘this/here,’  le [le] ‘long (in clothing)’
/tl/ ~ /l/  re [re] ‘this/here,’  te7 [teʔ] ‘cloth’
/tl/ ~ /n/  re [re] ‘this/here,’  ne [nɛ] ‘H.sound’

3.2.2.1.6. s

The phoneme /s/, pronounced [s], occurs as the single consonant in the onset to a word, or as the first or second consonant in a two-consonant onset. The consonants that can occur before /s/ are /kl/, /kʷl/, /nl/, /wl/, and /yl/:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sen</td>
<td>‘calm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siʔ</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soʔ</td>
<td>‘handful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su</td>
<td>‘beard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s7en</td>
<td>‘place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s7we</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s7yu</td>
<td>‘P.cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʔna</td>
<td>‘plate of food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sku</td>
<td>‘minnow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skwi</td>
<td>‘smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sla</td>
<td>‘sleepiness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slyʔ nkʔen</td>
<td>‘trousers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sne</td>
<td>‘toad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snyi</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steʔ</td>
<td>‘clothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swe</td>
<td>‘chin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syu</td>
<td>‘juicy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nsku</td>
<td>‘breadfruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nskwaʔ</td>
<td>‘corn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ksu</td>
<td>‘avocado (variant pronunciation)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwtn wnʔen</td>
<td>‘(type of animal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ysin</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimal or near-minimal pairs for /s/:

/sl/ ~ /x/ː  sti [sti] ‘father,’  xti ‘[sti] ‘P.soften’
/sl/ ~ /ʃl/ː  siʔ n [siʔ] ‘my side,’  chiʔn [tʃʔ] ‘a little’
/sl/ ~ /ʃl/ː  skwa [skʷa] ‘six,’  jkwa [hkʷə] ‘broom’

3.2.2.1.7. z

The phoneme /z/ occurs in a small number of words, some of which are possibly borrowed:  Nwzeʔ ‘Zapoteco,’  nzwaʔ ‘(a type of herb),’  nzwiʔ ‘coal,’  nzwin ‘guava,’  nwza tlo ‘dizzy,’  cha nzyuʔn ‘(kind of) shellfish,’ and nzin ‘(sound symbolic of something squirting).’  [z] occurs only in the context following /n/ or /nw/, but since [s] also frequently occurs in that context, and since the prefixation of n- or nw- to a root
beginning with s- does not condition voicing of the s-, it is preferable to consider /s/ and
/lz/ as distinct phonemes. I treat the apparently similar voicing patterns of s ~ z and t ~ tt
differently, because while t is usually voiced following n, and is regularly voiced
following morphemes with the shapes n- and nw-, s is usually voiceless following n and
is not voiced following morphemes with the shapes n- and nw-. Consequently, /lz/ occurs
in only a few lexical items.

Minimal or near-minimal pairs for /lz/:

/lz/ ~ /ls/: nzwi7 [ŋzwi?] ‘coal,’ nswi7 [ŋswi?] ‘N.extinguish’

3.2.2.1.8. tz

The phoneme /tz/ occurs as the lone consonant in a single-consonant onset and as
the first or second consonant in a complex onset:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tzan</th>
<th>‘day’</th>
<th>Tzyan</th>
<th>‘Temescaltepec’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tze:</td>
<td>‘(type of) beetle’</td>
<td>kitzu7</td>
<td>‘lump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw7yu tzi7n</td>
<td>‘(type of) flea’</td>
<td>kwtze7</td>
<td>‘pus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzun</td>
<td>‘warm’</td>
<td>kwchi nktzen</td>
<td>‘cougar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkwyu7 tzo:</td>
<td>‘tarantula’</td>
<td>ntzi</td>
<td>‘nanche (type of fruit)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwna tzkan</td>
<td>‘(type of) snake’</td>
<td>nwtzu7</td>
<td>‘mud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinya7 tzu</td>
<td>‘(type of) mouse’</td>
<td>ytzen</td>
<td>‘C.be frightened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzjo</td>
<td>‘quail’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimal or near-minimal pairs for /tz/:

/tz/ ~ /ls/: yrzi [ytzi] ‘type of snake,’ ysi [ysi] ‘sea turtle’
/tz/ ~ /ch/: tze [tze] ‘suddenly,’ che [tʃe] ‘friend’

3.2.2.1.9. dz

dz occurs in only one form in the database: ndza ke ‘N.become faint.’

---

4 In nwza tlo ‘dizzy,’ the initial nw- looks like a Completive aspect morpheme, but no form such as sa tlo
occurs with other aspectual inflections. Thus, nwza tlo appears to be a frozen form, no longer transparently
derived.
3.2.2.2. Palatal Coronals

The distributions of the palatal coronals largely parallel those of the alveolar coronals, except that the palatals occur in more restricted phonotactic contexts. For example, while \( t \) occurs before \( l \) and \( n \), \( ty \) does not occur in that context.

3.2.2.2.1. ty

The distribution of \( ty \) is illustrated in the following list:

- \( ty\_a \) ‘blisters’
- \( ty\_e7 \) ‘female (animal)’
- \( ty\_i \) ‘cover’
- \( kw\_t\_y\_j\_t\) ‘bad-smelling’
- \( ty\_u \) ‘brick’
- \( ty\_7\_a\_n \) ‘P. be at a place’
- \( ty\_7\_w\_i \) ‘P. place oneself somewhere’
- \( ty\_k\_a \) ‘healthy’
- \( ty\_k\_w\_a\_n \) ‘metal’
- \( ty\_j\_i\_n \) ‘Come in!’
- \( ty\_w\_i\_7 \) ‘P. go out’

- \( n\_t\_y\_u\_n \) ‘H. stand’
- \( n\_t\_y\_7\_i\_n \) ‘H. live’
- \( n\_t\_y\_7\_w\_a \) ‘H. be washed away’
- \( n\_t\_y\_ja7 \) ‘H. sleep’ (var.)
- \( n\_t\_y\_j\_w\_i\_7 \) ‘H. sell’
- \( n\_t\_y\_k\_u \) ‘N. eat’
- \( n\_t\_y\_k\_w\_i\_7 \) ‘N. talk’
- \( n\_t\_y\_g\_a \) ‘all’
- \( n\_t\_y\_w\_i \) ‘N. thunder’
- \( j\_w\_t\_y\_i \) ‘dry’
- \( k\_i\_c\_e7 \_s\_y\_a7 \) ‘bramble’
- \( x\_t\_y\_i\_7\_n \) ‘knee’

Minimal or near-minimal pairs for \( ty \) include the following:

\( ty \sim t : \) \( ty\_i\) [ci] ‘sheath’ ~ \( ti\) [ti] ‘still,’ \( n\_w\_t\_y\_a\) [\( m\_s\_c\_a\)] ‘C. put’ ~ \( n\_w\_s\_t\_a\) [\( m\_s\_t\_a\)] ‘C. break’

\( ty \sim tty : \) \( n\_t\_y\_a\) [\( n\_j\_a\)] ‘H. tear’ ~ \( n\_t\_y\_a\) [\( n\_c\_a\)] ‘H. bathe.’

3.2.2.2.2. tty

The difference between \( ty \) and \( tty \) parallels that between \( t \) and \( tt \): the sound [j] occurs only between \( n\)- or \( nw\)- and a voiced segment, and aspeotical prefixes with the shapes \( n\)- or \( nw\)- frequently condition the occurrence of [j] instead of [c] for roots with initial \( ty\)-: \( t\_y\_a\) [ca] ‘P. give back,’ \( n\_t\_y\_a\) [\( n\_j\_a\)] ‘N. give back.’ However, the sound [c] also occurs after \( n\)-, necessitating a distinct phonemic representation for the sounds [c] and [j].

I write the sound [c] when it follows \( n\)- or \( nw\)- as \( tty \), and always write [j] as \( ty \).
Minimal or near minimal pairs for *tty* include the following:

*tty ~ ty*: *nttya* [ŋca] ‘H.bathe’ ~ *ntya* [ŋja] ‘H.tear’
*tty ~ tt*: *nttyen* [ŋcē] ‘H.go in’ ~ *ntten* [ŋtē] ‘person.’

### 3.2.2.2.3. ny

The distribution of *ny* is illustrated in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ny</th>
<th>nkinya</th>
<th>‘N.move’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nya</td>
<td>‘H.make’</td>
<td>nkinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nye</td>
<td>‘P.confess’</td>
<td>nwnyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyi</td>
<td>‘true’</td>
<td>nwxnyi 7in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny7a</td>
<td>‘manner’</td>
<td>snye7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7nya</td>
<td>‘look!’</td>
<td>nsnyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jnyi</td>
<td>‘become straight’</td>
<td>nwsnyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwjnya</td>
<td>‘C.ask for’</td>
<td>tnya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwnya</td>
<td>‘fine (&lt;Sp. fino)’</td>
<td>xnyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinyi</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
<td>nxnyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the database, the only consonant that occurs after *ny* is 7.

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for *ny* include the following:

*ny ~ n*: *nkinya* [ŋgŋ̃] ‘N.move’ ~ *nkina* [ŋgŋ] ‘N.cry,’ *kwnyi* [kʷñi] ‘P.lie’ ~ *kwni* [kʷñ] ‘P.ask’
*ny ~ ly*: *nyi* [ŋ́i] ‘N.lie’ ~ *lyi7* [l̃i?] ‘parakeet.’

### 3.2.2.2.4. ly

The distribution of *ly* is illustrated in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ly</th>
<th>cha jwyle:</th>
<th>‘dove’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lya</td>
<td>‘in the church’</td>
<td>cha jwyle:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyi7</td>
<td>‘parrot’</td>
<td>Kilya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyo</td>
<td>‘knowledge’</td>
<td>nwlyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyu7-ti</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
<td>slya7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ly7e</td>
<td>‘P.lick’</td>
<td>tlya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jlyo-ti7</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
<td>nwslya7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njlyya7</td>
<td>‘N.flick one’s finger’</td>
<td>xlyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkwlyya</td>
<td>‘C.fart’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ly* is similar to *ny* in that the only consonant that follows it is 7.

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for *ly* include the following:
ly ~ ny: nslya7 n [nsli'5?] ‘I am permitting’ ~ nsnya7 n [nsni'5?] ‘I am tightening’

3.2.2.2.5. x

The distribution of x is illustrated in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>xa</th>
<th>‘when’</th>
<th>nwx7o</th>
<th>‘forest’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xen</td>
<td>‘wide’</td>
<td>nwxo</td>
<td>‘orange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi</td>
<td>‘candy’</td>
<td>nwxku:7n</td>
<td>‘C.be wound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo</td>
<td>‘foolish’</td>
<td>nwxla</td>
<td>‘C.undo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xu7</td>
<td>‘old person’</td>
<td>nwxlyu</td>
<td>‘C.turn sth. over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x7an</td>
<td>‘P.change’</td>
<td>nwxna7</td>
<td>‘C.wash another’s hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x7wa</td>
<td>‘P.replace’</td>
<td>nwxnyt</td>
<td>‘C.be stretched’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x7ya</td>
<td>‘P.call’</td>
<td>nwxta</td>
<td>‘C.bathe sb.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xja7</td>
<td>‘P.put to sleep’</td>
<td>nwxtyu</td>
<td>‘C.let fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xka</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
<td>nwxya7</td>
<td>‘C.be mixed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xkwa</td>
<td>‘P.lie down’</td>
<td>nwxya7</td>
<td>‘mestizo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xla</td>
<td>‘P.undo’</td>
<td>nx7an</td>
<td>‘H.become full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xlya7</td>
<td>‘P.accept’</td>
<td>nx7i</td>
<td>‘thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xma</td>
<td>‘gourd (&lt;Sp. jicama)’</td>
<td>nx7wa</td>
<td>‘N.replace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xna</td>
<td>‘P.run’</td>
<td>nx7ya</td>
<td>‘H.call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xnya7</td>
<td>‘P.tighten’</td>
<td>nxin</td>
<td>‘H.become late’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xtn</td>
<td>‘P.pick’</td>
<td>nxja7</td>
<td>‘N.put to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xtya</td>
<td>‘P.place’</td>
<td>jin nxkan</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xyu-ti7</td>
<td>‘quarrelsome’</td>
<td>nxxwan</td>
<td>‘N.twist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwxye</td>
<td>‘foolish’</td>
<td>nxla</td>
<td>‘H.undo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwxtyi</td>
<td>‘dry’</td>
<td>nxlyta</td>
<td>‘H.accept’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kxi7n</td>
<td>‘brush, weeds’</td>
<td>nxna</td>
<td>‘H.run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kye-nxi</td>
<td>‘Yaithepec’</td>
<td>nxnya7</td>
<td>‘H.tighten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinyi nwx7</td>
<td>‘(kind of) bird’</td>
<td>nxyi</td>
<td>‘H.seize’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkixen</td>
<td>‘N/H.roll’</td>
<td>nxtn</td>
<td>‘H.pick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu nxtya ki7ya</td>
<td>‘accuser’</td>
<td>nxtya</td>
<td>‘H.place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwx7a</td>
<td>‘adornment’</td>
<td>nxya7</td>
<td>‘N.mix’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for x include the following:

x ~ s : x7an [?’5] ‘bad’ ~ s7an [s?’5] ‘earthen bowl,’ xi7 [’ifi] ‘bird (sp.)’ ~ si7 [si?]

‘side,’ kwxa [kw’5a] ‘needle’ ~ kwsa [kw’5a] ‘grub’

3.2.2.2.6. zh

zh occurs in only one word in the database: *nwzhin* ‘mischievous’ / ‘monkey.’

3.2.2.2.7. ch

The distribution of ch is illustrated in the following list:

- cha7  ‘thing’
- chen ny7a  ‘ugly’
- chi7n  ‘a little bit’
- cho7  ‘friend (vocative, used between women)’
- chu7n  ‘back’
- chyja7  ‘Mexico City’
- chyu  ‘goat (<Sp. chivo)’

- kicha  ‘sickness’
- kwcha  ‘P.break sth.’
- ncha7  ‘N.soak’
- nwcha7  ‘C.soak’
- jwcha  ‘the day after tomorrow’

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for ch include the following:


- ch ~ tz: cha7 [tʃa?] ‘word’ ~ tzə7 [tsa?] ‘wet,’ kwchu [kʰtʃu] ‘P.fire’ ~ kwtzu [kʰtsu] ‘P.burst’

3.2.3. The palatal glide /y/

The phoneme *y* has the following allophones:


- [y] / elsewhere : yu7 ‘hummingbird,’ kya7 ‘foot.’

The distribution of *y* is illustrated in the following list. As mentioned above, sequences such as /u/-/y/ are written with iy (e.g., tiy-) in order to code the distinction between them
and palatalized coronals such as ty [c]. y does not occur before the vowel i or before palatalized consonants such as ty and ly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ya7</th>
<th>‘hand’</th>
<th>kyo</th>
<th>‘rain’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja-xlya yema ‘sesame seed bread’</td>
<td>nkyo7 ‘wrinkled’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sp. yema)</td>
<td>liya7 ‘outside’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo</td>
<td>‘C.grind’</td>
<td>kamyun ‘truck’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu</td>
<td>‘earth, ground’</td>
<td>paryentte ‘relative (&lt;Sp. pariente)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y7we</td>
<td>‘piece’</td>
<td>sye7n: ‘nose’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yjan</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
<td>jwsa ‘force (&lt;Sp. fuerza)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yjwe7n</td>
<td>‘seed pod’</td>
<td>kisya ‘heart’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yku</td>
<td>‘C.eat’</td>
<td>jinsya ‘business’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ykwa</td>
<td>‘atole’</td>
<td>tiye ‘chest’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yman</td>
<td>‘lemon (&lt;Sp. lima)’</td>
<td>nitya ‘N.be at’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yni</td>
<td>‘neck’</td>
<td>wya7 ‘mark’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ysin</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
<td>xya7 ‘again’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yta</td>
<td>‘C.plant’</td>
<td>nxya7 ‘N.shrink’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ytzl</td>
<td>‘(type of) snake’</td>
<td>ne7 nwxya7 ‘mestizo’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ywe7</td>
<td>‘curse’</td>
<td>nzyu7n ‘(type of) shellfish’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kita mwyu</td>
<td>‘(type of) edible herb’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for /y/ include the following:

\(y \sim w\): ya [ya] ‘C.go’ \~ wa [βa] ‘already,’ yka7 j7wa [ykaʔ jʔwa] ‘banana (sp.)’ \~ wka7 [wkaʔ] ‘ice,’ swe7 [sweʔ] ‘rub’ \~ sye7 [syeʔ] ‘famous’

3.2.4. Velars.

3.2.4.1. k

The phoneme /k/ has the following allophones:

\([k^\prime] \sim e : ke ‘head,’ ske7n ‘crooked’\)

\([k] \sim elsewhere : ko ‘cloud,’ ska ‘one’\)

The distribution of \(k\) is illustrated in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ka</th>
<th>‘nine’</th>
<th>kun</th>
<th>‘sweet potato’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ke:</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
<td>nk7an ‘N.be located’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki:7</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>ki7an ‘much, many’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko7</td>
<td>‘moon’</td>
<td>k7a</td>
<td>‘reddish, as of red earth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki7na</td>
<td>'plate'</td>
<td>kitzi</td>
<td>'P.become yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nki7ni</td>
<td>'N.do'</td>
<td>kxi7n</td>
<td>'bush, shrub'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k7wi</td>
<td>'drunk'</td>
<td>kya</td>
<td>'tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki7ya</td>
<td>'hill'</td>
<td>nkya</td>
<td>'N.go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kicha</td>
<td>'sickness'</td>
<td>jka7</td>
<td>'P.jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjin</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
<td>njka7</td>
<td>'N.jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kija</td>
<td>'tortilla'</td>
<td>yka</td>
<td>'wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kla</td>
<td>'P.be born'</td>
<td>nko:7</td>
<td>'foam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kila</td>
<td>'ravine'</td>
<td>nkyo7</td>
<td>'N.wrinkle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinu</td>
<td>'P.remain'</td>
<td>nskwa7 nwke7</td>
<td>'roasted corn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinyi</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
<td>ska7n</td>
<td>'mucus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kro7-kro7</td>
<td>'clip-clop'</td>
<td>tke7</td>
<td>'heat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisu</td>
<td>'net'</td>
<td>ntki</td>
<td>'flexible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisya</td>
<td>'heart'</td>
<td>ntyku</td>
<td>'N.eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kta</td>
<td>'throat'</td>
<td>wke7</td>
<td>'ice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kita</td>
<td>'dust'</td>
<td>jin nxkan</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kityi</td>
<td>'paper'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for /k/ include the following:


/k/ ~ /kk/: kityi nkkun [k’ci ŋkũ] ‘fly (sp.)’ ~ nkun [ŋgũ] ‘N.throw’

/k/ ~ /ɡ/ : ntyka [ŋt’ka] ‘N.be’ ~ ntyga [ŋt’ga] ‘all’

3.2.4.2. kw

The distribution of the phoneme /kw/ is illustrated in the following list:

| kwa    | 'there'         | kwtye7 | 'ant'         |
| kwe7   | 'crab'          | kwtsi  | 'yellow'      |
| kw     | 'new'           | kwxi:7 | 'blue'        |
| kw7o   | 'spouse'        | kwyα7  | 'fly'         |
| kw7yu  | 'flea'          | nkwen  | 'ripe'        |
| kwchi  | 'rabbit'        | nkwy7o | 'C.paint'     |
| kwji   | 'skunk'         | nkwy7yu | 'C.be laden with fruit' |
| kwjiyu7 yka | 'tree gum' | nkwycha | 'C.break sth.' |
| kwlo   | 'first'         | nkwyε | '(type of) herb' |
| kwnu7  | 'worm'          | nkwiyu | 'C.perforate' |
| kwnya7 | 'deer'          | nkwlα | 'strong’nkwlαa ‘mule' |
| kwrya7 | 'rich'          | nkwna7 | 'C.coagulate' |
| kwsen  | 'straw'         | nkwnya | 'C.move'     |
| kwten  | 'nest'          | nkwse7 | 'C.disinflate' |
nkwa  'seed'
nkwtyi  'C.dry up'
nkwtsi7  'C.bury'
nkwtxen  'C.roll'
nskwa7  'corn'
ntkwa  'N.sit'
ntykwen  'N/H.go up'
njkwa  'H.count'
nxkwan  'N.sew'
nwskwen  'C.make rise'
nwjikwan  'C.bless'
nwtkwi  'C.fly'
nwtykwa-tkwi  'C.meet'
nwtxwen  'C.answer'
jkwa  'P.count'
jykwi  'P.boil'
skwi  'smooth'
tkwi  'difficult'
tykwa-kwi7  'P.hiccup'
ykwa  'level'
xkwla  'school'
wkwi7  'always'

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for /kw/ include the following:

/kw/ ~ /k/: kwi7 [kʰiʔ] 'baby' ~ ki7 [kiʔ] 'fire,' skwa [skʰa] 'six' ~ ska [ska] 'one'
/kw/ ~ /kkw/: nkwa [ŋkʰa] 'C.be' ~ nkkwa [ŋkʰa] 'C.pass'

3.2.4.3.  kk and kkw

The relationship [g] and [gw] to /k/ and /kw/ is parallel to that of [d] and [j] to /t/
and /ty/.  [g] and [gw] occur only following /n/, but [k] and [kw] also occur in that
environment, so that [k] contrasts with [g] and [kw] with [gw] in a limited environment.

As an orthographic device to mark the distinction, I use kk for [k] and kkw for [kw] when
those sounds occur following n.

3.2.5. Glottals.

3.2.5.1.  7

The distribution of the phoneme 7 is illustrated in the following list:

7a  'very'
7eya7  'cry of exhilaration'
7in  'of. to'
7o  'with'
7un  'with me'
j7en  'tail'
jy7u  'embarassed'
k7in  'deep'
kw7o  'spouse'
ki7an  'much'
l7o  'corral'
ly7e  'gringo'
n7a  'house'
ny7an  'P.see'
s7en  ‘place’  nkw7e  ‘C.lick’
t7i  ‘painful’  nki7u  ‘H.begin to grow’
ti7a  ‘water’  ns7i  ‘N.buy’
ty7o  ‘P.go out’  nty7in  ‘H.live in a place’
x7an  ‘bad’  nx7o  ‘H.faint’
w7a  ‘tamarind’  nws7an  ‘full’
y7o  ‘C.drink’  nwx7en  ‘scorpion’
n7in  ‘N.be’  nwj7in  ‘C.hit’
n7to  ‘N.drink’  nwt7o  ‘C.come out’
nk7a  ‘green’  nwt7o  ‘C.be identical’

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for /l/ include the following:

/l/ ~ Ø:  7o [ʔo] ‘with’ ~ o [o] ‘1st person plural inclusive’
/l/ ~ /k/:  7o [ʔo] ‘with’ ~ ko: [ko:] ‘cloud,’ s7a [sʔa] ‘lover,’ ska [skə] ‘one’

3.2.5.2. 7y

The distribution of the phoneme 7y is illustrated in the following list:

7ya  ‘tooth’
ki7ya  ‘crime’
ti7yu  ‘thunder’
nti7ya  ‘H.descend’
nkw7yu  ‘C.be laden with fruit’
kw7ya  ‘P.lift’

ka-la-nki7yu  ‘twenty-five’
la s7yu  ‘turkey buzzard’
nws7yu  ‘C.cut’
x7ya  ‘P.shout’
w7yu  ‘three days ago’

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for /7y/ include the following:

/l7y/ ~ /l/  7ya [ʔya] ‘tooth’ ~ 7a [ʔa] ‘very,’ nti7yu [kʔyu] ‘P.be laden with fruit’ ~ ki7u [kʔu] ‘P.revive’

3.2.5.3. 7w

The distribution of the phoneme 7w is illustrated in the following list:

7wan  ‘you (pl.)’
7win  ‘you (sg.)’
j7wa  ‘banana’
lo jy7we  ‘skull’
nt7we  ‘N.have sex’
nty7wi  ‘H.be in’
s7we  ‘good’

ns7wi  ‘N.be in’
ns7we  ‘C.break apart’
t7wa  ‘mouth’
ty7wi  ‘P.get into’
x7we  ‘better’
nx7wa  ‘N/H.pay back’
nwx7wa  ‘C.pay back’
y7we 'piece'

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for /lwl/ include the following:

/lwl/ ~ /l/: s7we n [sʔwē] 'I am good' ~ s7en [sʔe] 'place'
/lwl/ ~ /lyl/: nk7ya [ŋgʔwa] 'C.hurt' ~ nki7ya [ŋgʔya] 'H.go down'
/lwl/ ~ /kwl/: s7wa [sʔwa] 'equal' ~ skwa [skwa] 'six'

3.2.5.3. 7n

The distribution of the phoneme 7n is illustrated in the following list:

- 7na 'of us, to us'
- 7ni 'H.do'
- kw7ni 'P.do'
- nki7ni 'N.do'
- nw7ni 'C.do'
- ki7ni 'P.hit'

- s7na 'scarce'
- ns7na 'N.swing'
- nws7na 'C.swing'
- t7na 'poor'

Minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs for /7n/ include the following:

/7nl/ ~ /nl/: s7ni [sʔnɪ] 'extremely' ~ s7i [sʔi] 'not'
/7nl/ ~ /nl/: 7ni [ʔnɪ] 'animal' ~ ni [nɪ] 'now'

3.2.5.4. j

The distribution of the phoneme j is illustrated in the following list:

- ja 'no'
- ji: 'gray'
- j7o 'mushroom'
- j7we 'half'
- jku7n 'P.knock'
- jkwa 'broom'
- jlu7 'cricket'
- jlya 'bow'
- jnya 'P.ask'

- jun 'thread'
- kjin 'skin'
- kwji 'skunk'
- tje7 'salt'
- xja7 'P.calm down'
- nwjka7 'C.leap'
- nwijn 'P.pass'
- nkijo 'squash'

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for /j/ include the following:

/j/ ~ Ø: jin [ʔɪ] 'music' ~ i7n [ʔ?] 'it (an animal)'
/j/ ~ /l/: ja [ha] ~ 7a [ʔa] 'very'
3.2.5.5. jy

The distribution of the phoneme /jy/ is illustrated in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jya</th>
<th>‘cane’</th>
<th>jywi</th>
<th>‘P.whistle’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jyu</td>
<td>‘mound of earth’</td>
<td>kjyja</td>
<td>‘P.joke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jy7an</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>kwjyu</td>
<td>‘P.perforate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jy7we</td>
<td>‘wing’</td>
<td>njyka7</td>
<td>‘H.leap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jyk1</td>
<td>‘P.incline’</td>
<td>ntyya</td>
<td>‘N.joke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jykwa</td>
<td>‘P.sweep’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for jy include the following:

/ljy/ ~ /ly/: jya [hya] ‘cane’ ~ ja [ha] ‘no’

3.2.5.6. jw

The phoneme /jw/ is pronounced [f] before consonants and [hw] elsewhere. Its
distribution is illustrated in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jwa-ki</th>
<th>‘P.drag’</th>
<th>jwse:</th>
<th>‘judge’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jwin</td>
<td>‘said’</td>
<td>jwtyi</td>
<td>‘machete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwi</td>
<td>‘C.be found’</td>
<td>jwxu</td>
<td>‘peso’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jw7nya</td>
<td>‘(type of) pine cone’</td>
<td>njw17</td>
<td>‘H.sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwle</td>
<td>‘cloth to wrap tortillas’</td>
<td>kjwi</td>
<td>‘P.kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwyla</td>
<td>‘tank’</td>
<td>yjwi</td>
<td>‘C.kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwnya</td>
<td>‘borrowed’</td>
<td>nkjwi</td>
<td>‘C.die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwri</td>
<td>‘fried’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for jw include the following:

/ljw/ ~ /lj/: jwin [hw1] ‘said’ ~ jin-kwnya7 [hik"n²?] ‘deerskin’
/ljw/ ~ /lw/: jwi [hw1] ‘C.be found’ ~ wi [ɔi] (discourse particle)
/ljw/ ~ /lj/: njw7a-ki [ŋtʰhwaki] ‘N.drag’ ~ njya [ŋtʰhya] ‘N.joke’
/ljw/ ~ /lw/: njwi [ywi] ‘C.kill’ ~ y7wi [yʔwi] ‘C.be located’
3.2.6. Reasons for positing the existence of palatalized coronals and labialized velars rather than sequences of segments.

As noted above, the large majority of words in Yaitepec Chatino fit one of the following schemata:

(a) \((n/nw) C V (7) (n)\)

(b) \((n/nw) C C V (7) (n)\)

(c) \((n/nw) C V_{\text{reduced}} C V (7) (n)\)

According to this analysis, discounting \(n / nw\), a maximum of two consonants occurs in the onset to a word. This situation is illustrated in schemata (b) and (c) above—it holds true whether or not the two consonants are separated by a reduced vowel. Illustrating these kinds of words, respectively, are: \(skwa [skwa] 'mole,'\) and \(tkwa [t^3kwa] 'two.'\)

In an alternative analysis of the structures of \(skwa\) and \(tkwa\), they could be seen as each having three consonants: \(s-k-w\) and \(t-k-w\). One of the reasons for analyzing the sound \([kw]\) in words such as \(skwa\) and \(tkwa\) as a single co-articulated consonant is that otherwise, it would be difficult to explain the distribution of the glides \(y\) and \(w\) as the third consonant in three-consonant clusters in the Chatino lexicon. For example, words beginning with \([kw-]\) and \([ky-]\) both occur, as in \(kwa [kwa] 'there,' kya [kya] 'tomorrow,'\) and words beginning with \([t^3kw-]\) and \([skw-]\) occur, as in \(tkwa [t^3kwa] 'two,' skwa [skwa] 'mole,'\) but \([t^3ky-]\) and \([sky-]\) are not found.\(^5\)

Similarly, with regard to coronals, the sounds \([ny]\) and \([ly]\) occur following other consonants in phonological word onsets, as in \(tnya [tny\ddot{s}] 'work,' slya7 [sla\ddot{y}a?] 'cotton,'\)
while [nw] and [lw] cannot occur in that environment. [lw] can occur at the beginning of a word, as in lwe [lwe] 'little.' The sound [nw] does not occur, for unknown reasons.

/ny/ and /ly/ are members of the series of palatalized coronals that includes /ty/ ([c]), /x [ʃ], etc. ty, x, and ch can each occur as the second consonant in a complex onset: cha styun [tʃa stu] '(type of) bird,' kityi [kʰci] 'paper,' kxi7n ~ kixi7n [kʃiʔ] ~ [kʃiʔ] 'field,' kichen [kʰʃiʔ] 'town.' The sounds [tw] and [sw] also occur as onsets, as in twe [twe] 'P.chop up' and swe [swe] 'chin,' but are never preceded by another consonant in the same onset. I therefore conclude that the sounds [tw] and [sw] realize sequences of consonants.

If sounds such as [kw], [ny], and [ly] were considered to realize sequences of phonemes, then a number of stipulations would be necessary in order to explain the distribution of glides as third segments in onsets. If, however, the palatalized coronals and the labialized velar are considered to correspond to their own phonemes, then the constraint that word onsets can consist of at most two consonants (discounting initial syllabic [n] or [m]) accounts precisely for the observed patterns.

Another reason for preferring the analysis suggested here is that palatalized consonants contrast phonetically, sometimes clearly and sometimes almost imperceptibly, with the sequence of the corresponding coronal followed by [y].\(^6\) The most perceptible

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\(^5\) Apparent exceptions such as ske7n [skʰʔ] 'crooked' result from the regular palatalization of /k/ before /l/.

\(^6\) Because orthographic y following t, l, and n is used to indicate palatalization of the coronal, a sequence of one of those sounds and y is written tiy-, liy- and niy-.
cases of a phonetic difference between a palatalized coronal and a coronal-glide sequence are *ty* [c] vs. *tiy* [ty], *x* [ʃ] vs. *sy* [sy], and *ch* [tʃ] vs. *tzy* [tsy]: *tya* [ca] ‘blisters,’ *tiya*: [hya]

‘intelligent,’ *xe7* [ʃe?] ‘flavor of lime water,’ *sye7* [syẹ?] ‘dandruff,’ *che7* [tʃe?] ‘rough (to the touch),’ *tsye7n* [tsye?] ‘(type of) seafood.’ Less perceptibly, a phonetic difference also exists between *ly-* and *liy-*: the former is pronounced with the blade of the tongue just behind the alveolar ridge and its glide effect is very short, while the latter is pronounced with the tip of the tongue on the alveolar ridge and its glide portion is more extended: in more narrow transcription, *lya* [l̃a] ‘in the church,’ *Liya* [lya] ‘Maria.’ No examples of [ny] as opposed to [n?] have been found.

Similarly, there is a slight phonetic difference between words with the phoneme /kw/ and those with the sequence /k/-/w/—the glide is noticeably shorter in the former than in the latter: *kwe7* [kwẹ?] ‘crab,’ *kuwe7* [kwẹ?] ‘pig.’

A number of morphemes are realized as palatalization of the first consonant of the root morphemes. Among these is the Potential aspect morpheme for certain verbs: *x7an* ‘P.become full’ (root: -s7an), *nye* ‘P.confess’ (root: -ne). Another is a morpheme deriving, from nouns referring to constructions, nouns denoting the interiors of the constructions: *la* ‘church’ -> *lya* ‘in the church,’ *n7a* ‘house’ -> *ny7a* ‘in the house.’ A third morpheme realized as palatalization derives, from adjectives and nouns, words meaning approximately ‘again’: *ska* ‘one,’ *xka* ‘another,’ *ta* ‘give,’ *tya* ‘give back.’ All of these morphemes reinforce the conclusion that *ly* and *ny* are palatalized variants of *l* and *n*, analogous to *ty, x, etc.*
Analogous considerations motivate the analysis of \(/\text{yl}/, \(/\text{wl}/, \(/\text{yl}/, \text{and } \(/\text{lw}/\) as single phonemes.

4. Tone

There are ten tonemes in Chatino. Tones distinguish between lexical items. On verbs, aspectual morphemes result in tone sandhi; for some verbs, certain aspectual contrasts are not realized by segmental morphology, and tone alone distinguishes between the alternations. Subject and possessor pronominal enclitics also trigger tone sandhi on the morphemes they follow. Because second person singular is not marked by segmental morphology, tone alone distinguishes between 2\textsuperscript{nd} person singular and the ∅ third person pronoun. If the morpheme to which the 1\textsuperscript{st} person singular \textit{n} is cliticized already has a nasal vowel, 1\textsuperscript{st} person singular \textit{n} is not pronounced, and tone alone marks the pronoun.

In this section, I list examples and minimal pairs for each of the contrastive tones.

The tone system of Chatino combines register and contour tones. There are four register tones, which are pronounced with a relatively level pitch, and are indicated by superscript 1 (high), 2 (mid), 3 (low-mid), and 4 (low). Tones 3 and 4 are pronounced with a slightly rising pitch. In addition to the four register tones, there are two rising contour tones, indicated by superscript 21 and 32, and three falling contours, 12, 23, and 34. Finally, certain verbs in the Continuative aspect and a few mono-morphemic lexical items realize a more sharply falling contour tone, which I indicate by superscript 24.

The following examples and minimal pairs for the tonemes of Chatino are based on a list produced by two native speakers who were asked to collect 750 single-root lexical items (which could have aspectual prefixes and/or person-marking clitics) and arrange them into groups whose members sounded identical when hummed. I consider
the classification carried out by the native speakers to be the most reliable basis currently available for carrying out further research on tone in Chatino, and for that reason I restrict the examples in the following section to their list even though true minimal pairs are not found there for all tone contrasts.

4.1. Examples and minimal pairs for tonemes.

4.1.1. The high register tone (1)

The following words realize tone 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ka¹</th>
<th>‘you are’</th>
<th>nkw7yu¹</th>
<th>‘wild strawberry’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitun¹</td>
<td>‘P.burst’</td>
<td>sna¹</td>
<td>‘sandal 2sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyo¹</td>
<td>‘P.grind’</td>
<td>i7a¹</td>
<td>‘sibling 2sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t7an¹</td>
<td>‘C.see 2sg’</td>
<td>mne¹</td>
<td>‘blood 2sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nki7n¹</td>
<td>‘N.do’</td>
<td>xka¹</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkila¹</td>
<td>‘N.be born’</td>
<td>yan¹</td>
<td>‘C.come 2sg’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimal pairs for tone 1 include the following:

1 ~ 12 : yan¹ ‘C.come 2sg’ ~ yan¹ 12 ‘poison’
1 ~ 2 : xka¹ ‘other’ ~ xka¹ ‘one’s load of wood’
1 ~ 21 : sna¹ ‘sandal 2sg’ ~ sna²¹ ‘three’
1 ~ 23 : i7a¹ ‘sibling 2sg’ ~ i7a²³ ‘daily’
1 ~ 3 : ka¹ ‘be 2sg’ ~ ka³ ‘yesterday’
1 ~ 32 : ka¹ ‘be 2sg’ ~ ka³ 12 ‘Catalina (a woman’s name)’
1 ~ 34 : nkila¹ ‘N.be born’ ~ nkila²³ ‘H.arrive’
1 ~ 4 : sta7n¹ (finger-) nail 2sg’ ~ sta7n²¹ ‘(finger-) nail 1sg’
1 ~ 24 : nkila¹ ‘N.be born’ ~ nkila²³ ‘N.arrive’

4.1.2. The mid register tone (2)

The mid register tone, 2, has a pitch slightly lower than that of tone 1. The respective pitch values are not absolute within the speaker’s voice range, but are relative to the pitches of other tones in the immediate context. The following words realize tone 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kwla²</th>
<th>‘fish’</th>
<th>nt7an²</th>
<th>‘corn husk’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nkwe²</td>
<td>‘epazote (a type of herb)’</td>
<td>ntl¹</td>
<td>‘scare-crow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\[ \text{snye}^2 \quad \text{‘(one’s) child’} \quad \text{ti}^2 \quad \text{‘thin’} \]
\[ \text{t7i}^2 \quad \text{‘sick’} \]

Minimal pairs for tone 2 include the following:

2 ~ 1: \text{kya}^2 \ ‘rain’ ~ \text{kyo}^1 \ ‘P.grind’
2 ~ 12: \text{l7an}^2 \ ‘house’ ~ \text{l7an}^{12} \ ‘C.see’
2 ~ 21: \text{tkwi}^2 \ ‘tall’ ~ \text{tkwi}^{21} \ ‘road’
2 ~ 23: \text{t7a}^2 \ ‘fiesta’ ~ \text{t7a}^{23} \ ‘daily’
2 ~ 3: \text{t7i}^2 \ ‘sick’ ~ \text{t7i}^4 \ ‘sick 2sg’
2 ~ 32: \text{kun}^2 \ ‘potato’ ~ \text{ku n}^{32} \ ‘P.eat 1sg’
2 ~ 34: \text{kila}^2 \ ‘cornfield’ ~ \text{kila}^{34} \ ‘P.arrive’
2 ~ 4: \text{ntan}^2 \ ‘leg’ ~ \text{ntan n}^4 \ ‘leg 1sg’
2 ~ 24: \text{jtj}^2 \ ‘cricket’ ~ \text{fja}^{24} \ ‘bow’ (near-minimal pair)

4.1.3. The low-mid register tone (3)

The low-mid register tone, 3, is pronounced with a slightly rising pitch that is lower than the pitch of tone 2. Although tone 3 rises slightly, it is more level than the tones classified as rising contour tones. The following words realize tone 3:

\[ \text{7in}^3 \quad \text{‘of/to 2sg’} \quad \text{ku}^3 \quad \text{‘dull’} \]
\[ \text{7yan}^3 \quad \text{‘look!’} \quad \text{kwchi}^3 \quad \text{‘lion’} \]
\[ \text{chu}^3 \quad \text{‘badger’} \quad \text{l7o}^3 \quad \text{‘fence’} \]
\[ \text{k7wi}^3 \quad \text{‘drunk’} \quad \text{ntan}^3 \quad \text{‘leg 2sg’} \]
\[ \text{kila}^3 \quad \text{‘P.dissolve’} \]

Minimal pairs for tone 3 include the following:

3 ~ 1: \text{sna n}^3 \ ‘sandal 1sg’ ~ \text{sna}^1 \ ‘sandal 2sg’
3 ~ 12: \text{ka}^3 \ ‘yesterday’ ~ \text{ka}^{12} \ ‘promise’
3 ~ 2: \text{ki7in}^3 \ ‘nail’ ~ \text{ki7in}^2 \ ‘deep’
3 ~ 21: \text{ku}^3 \ ‘dull’ ~ \text{ku}^{21} \ ‘flower bud’
3 ~ 23: \text{kwa}^3 \ ‘there’ ~ \text{kwa}^{23} \ ‘grave’
3 ~ 32: \text{7yan}^3 \ ‘look!’ ~ \text{7yan}^{32} \ ‘to/of 1sg’
3 ~ 34: \text{kila}^3 \ ‘P.melt’ ~ \text{kila}^{34} \ ‘P.arrive’
3 ~ 4: \text{ntan}^3 \ ‘leg 2sg’ ~ \text{ntan n}^4 \ ‘leg 1sg’
3 ~ 24: \text{nkina}^3 \ ‘N.cry’ ~ \text{nkila}^{24} \ ‘N.arrive’ (near minimal pair)
4.1.4. The low register tone (4)

The low register tone, 4, is pronounced with a slightly rising pitch, slightly lower than that of tone 3. Although tone 4 rises slightly, it is more level than the tones classified as contours. All of the words assigned to tone 4 by the native speakers carry the 1st person pronominal clitic. However, it is possible that some monomorphemic forms will later be found to have the same tone. The following words realize tone 4:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sta7n}^n & \quad \text{‘(finger-) nail 1sg’} \\
\text{t7a}^n & \quad \text{‘brother 1sg’} \\
\text{nte}^n & \quad \text{‘blood 1sg’}
\end{align*}
\]

Minimal pairs for tone 4 include the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
4 \sim 1 & : \text{tykan}^n \text{‘forehead 1sg’} \sim \text{tykan}^l \text{‘forehead 2sg’} \\
4 \sim 12 & : \text{nte}^n \text{‘blood 1sg’} \sim \text{nte}^{12} \text{‘blood’} \\
4 \sim 2 & : \text{tan}^n \text{‘greasy 1sg’} \sim \text{ta}^n \text{‘sweat 1sg’} \\
4 \sim 21 & : \text{sta7n}^n \text{‘(finger-) nail 1sg’} \sim \text{stan}^{21} \text{‘baby’s hammock’ (near minimal pair)} \\
4 \sim 23 & : \text{ntan}^n \text{‘leg 1sg’} \sim \text{nte}^{22} \text{‘here’ (near minimal pair)} \\
4 \sim 3 & : \text{ntan}^n \text{‘leg 1sg’} \sim \text{ntan}^3 \text{‘leg 2sg’} \\
4 \sim 32 & : \text{t7a}^n \text{‘brother 1sg’} \sim \text{k7a}^{21} \text{‘colored’ (near minimal pair)} \\
4 \sim 34 & : \text{t7a}^n \text{‘sibling 1sg’} \sim \text{t7a}^{34} \text{‘all’ (near minimal pair)} \\
4 \sim 24 & : \text{t7a}^n \text{‘sibling 1sg’} \sim \text{nkila}^{24} \text{‘N.arrive’ (near minimal pair)}
\end{align*}
\]

4.1.5. The mid-rising contour tone (21)

The mid-rising contour tone, 21, is pronounced with a pitch beginning slightly lower than that of tone 1 and rising sharply to a level somewhat higher than that of tone 1.

The following words realize tone 21:

\[
\begin{align*}
7\text{a}^{21} & \quad \text{‘very’} \\
7\text{in}^{21} & \quad \text{‘to/of’} \\
7\text{o}^{21} & \quad \text{‘with’} \\
7\text{o}^n^{21} & \quad \text{‘with 1sg’} \\
\text{jy7o}^{21} & \quad \text{‘dead person’} \\
\text{ka}^{21} & \quad \text{‘nine’} \\
\text{kw7en}^{21} & \quad \text{‘green fly’} \\
\text{skwa}^{21} & \quad \text{‘mole (sauce)’} \\
\text{skwi}^{21} & \quad \text{‘Panixtlahuaca’} \\
\text{sna}^{21} & \quad \text{‘three’}
\end{align*}
\]
Minimal pairs for tone 21 include the following:

21 ~ 1: \( ka^{21} \) ‘nine’ ~ \( ka^{1} \) ‘be 2sg’
21 ~ 12: \( yna^{21} \) ‘copal’ ~ \( yna^{12} \) ‘C. hear’
21 ~ 2: \( tkwin^{21} \) ‘road’ ~ \( tkwin^{2} \) ‘tall’
21 ~ 23: \( xtya^{21} \) ‘P. replace’ ~ \( xtya^{23} \) ‘sister-in-law’
21 ~ 3: \( sna^{21} \) ‘three’ ~ \( sna \, n^{3} \) ‘sandal 1sg’
21 ~ 32: \( ka^{21} \) ‘nine’ ~ \( a^{32} \) ‘Catalina (a woman’s name)’
21 ~ 34: \( skwi^{21} \) ‘Panixtlahuaca’ ~ \( skwi^{34} \) ‘smooth’
21 ~ 4: \( stan^{21} \) ‘baby’s hammock’ ~ \( sta7n \, n^{4} \) ‘(finger-) nail 1sg’ (near minimal pair)
21 ~ 24: \( nk7a^{21} \) ‘red’ ~ \( nkila^{24} \) ‘N. arrive’

4.1.6. The low-mid rising contour tone (32)

The low-mid rising contour tone, 32, is pronounced with a pitch that begins slightly lower than that of tone 2 and rises to a point above that of tone 2. The following words realize tone 32:

\[
\begin{align*}
7yan^{32} & \quad \text{‘to of 1sg’} & \quad kw7o \, n^{32} & \quad \text{‘P. take 1sg’} \\
k7a^{32} & \quad \text{‘colored’} & \quad kwla7 \, n^{32} & \quad \text{‘P. touch 1sg’} \\
kicbi^{32} & \quad \text{‘chick’} & \quad kwna7^{32} & \quad \text{‘bald’} \\
k \, n^{32} & \quad \text{‘P. eat 1sg’}
\end{align*}
\]

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for tone 32 include the following:

32 ~ 1: \( ka^{32} \) ‘Catalina (a woman’s name)’ ~ \( ka^{1} \) ‘be 2sg’
32 ~ 12: \( ku \, n^{32} \) ‘P. eat 1sg’ ~ \( kun^{12} \) ‘potato’
32 ~ 2: \( kicbi^{32} \) ‘tousled’ ~ \( kicbi^{2} \) ‘fuzzy’
32 ~ 21: \( kichit^{32} \) ‘chick’ ~ \( kichit^{21} \) ‘Amialtepec’ (near-minimal pair)
32 ~ 23: \( kwna7^{32} \) ‘bald’ ~ \( kwna^{23} \) ‘thief’ (near-minimal pair)
32 ~ 3: \( 7yan^{32} \) ‘to of 1sg’ ~ \( 7yan^{3} \) ‘look!’
32 ~ 34: \( ku \, n^{32} \) ‘P. eat 1sg’ ~ \( ku7n^{34} \) ‘wrinkled’
32 ~ 4: \( kwla7 \, n^{32} \) ‘P. touch 1sg’ ~ \( sta7n \, n^{4} \) ‘(finger-) nail 1sg’ (near-minimal pair)
32 ~ 24: \( jlya^{32} \) ‘fart’ ~ \( jlya^{24} \) ‘bow’

4.1.7. The high falling contour tone (12)

The pitch of the high falling contour tone, 12, begins at a point close to that of tone 1 and falls to approximately that of tone 2. The following words realize tone 12:
Minimal and near-minimal pairs for tone 12 include the following:

12 ~ 1 : ka\textsuperscript{12} ‘promise’ ~ ka\textsuperscript{1} ‘be.2sg’
12 ~ 2 : ki7ya\textsuperscript{12} ‘cornstalk’ ~ ki7ya\textsuperscript{2} ‘crime’
12 ~ 21 : ku7\textsuperscript{12} ‘dirty’ ~ ku7\textsuperscript{21} ‘flower bud’
12 ~ 23 : kwen\textsuperscript{12} ‘dew’ ~ kwen\textsuperscript{22} ‘bat’
12 ~ 3 : kwla\textsuperscript{12} ‘bamboo’ ~ kwla\textsuperscript{3} ‘dance’
12 ~ 32 : kun\textsuperscript{12} ‘potato’ ~ ku n\textsuperscript{22} ‘P.eat 1sg’
12 ~ 34 : nkila\textsuperscript{12} ‘C.arrive’ ~ nkila\textsuperscript{34} ‘H.arrive’
12 ~ 4 : sta7n\textsuperscript{12} ‘(finger-) nail’ ~ sta7n n\textsuperscript{2} ‘(finger-) nail 1sg’
12 ~ 24 : ns7wa\textsuperscript{12} ‘H.put’ ~ ns7wa\textsuperscript{24} ‘N.put’

4.1.8. The mid-falling contour tone (23)

The mid-falling contour tone, 23, occurs with a pitch that starts near to that of
tone 2 and falls to approximately that of tone 3. The following words realize tone 23:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{j70}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘saint’ \\
\textit{k7un}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘deaf/mute’ \\
\textit{ki7ya}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘hill’ \\
\textit{kiten}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘P.wash’ \\
\textit{kwen}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘bat’ \\
\textit{kwna}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘thief’ \\
\textit{kwte}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘firecracker’ \\
\textit{nte}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘here’ \\
\textit{nwsna}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘apple’ \\
\textit{sk\textsuperscript{23}} & ‘sugar’ \\
\textit{skun}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘arm’ \\
\textit{t7a}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘daily’ \\
\textit{tlyu}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘big’ \\
\textit{xkw}\textsuperscript{23} & ‘basker’
\end{tabular}

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for tone 23 include the following:

23 ~ 1 : t7a\textsuperscript{23} ‘daily’ ~ t7a\textsuperscript{1} ‘sibling 2sg’
23 ~ 12 : xkw\textsuperscript{23} ‘basket’ ~ xkw\textsuperscript{12} ‘young’
23 ~ 2 : sk\textsuperscript{23} ‘sugar’ ~ sk\textsuperscript{2} ‘one’
23 ~ 21 : kwi\textsuperscript{23} ‘baby’ ~ kwi\textsuperscript{21} ‘same’
23 ~ 3 : k\textsuperscript{23} ‘rabbit’ ~ k\textsuperscript{3} ‘lion’
23 ~ 32 : k7un\textsuperscript{23} ‘deaf/mute’ ~ k7o\textsuperscript{32} ‘colored’ (near minimal pair)
23 ~ 34 : t7a\textsuperscript{23} ‘daily’ ~ t7a\textsuperscript{34} ‘all’
23 ~ 4: \(nte^{23}\) ‘here’ ~ \(ntan\ n^4\) ‘leg 1sg’ (near minimal pair)
23 ~ 24: \(jlu^{23}\) ‘Carlos’ ~ \(jilya^{24}\) ‘bow’

4.1.9. The low-mid falling contour tone (34)

The low-mid falling contour tone, 34, is pronounced with a pitch that starts close to that of tone 3 and falls. Unlike tones 12 and 23, tone 34 does not arrive at a sustained ending pitch; instead, it continues falling until the vocalization terminates. The following words realize tone 34:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7o34</td>
<td>‘coyote’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>che734</td>
<td>‘sharp’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j7wa34</td>
<td>‘banana’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki7an34</td>
<td>‘much/many’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kila34</td>
<td>‘P.arrive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjwi34</td>
<td>‘P.kill’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku7n34</td>
<td>‘wrinkled’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwi34</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwta34</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktzi34</td>
<td>‘bone-colored’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwyu34</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l7a34</td>
<td>‘alive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkila34</td>
<td>‘C.take out’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkywen34</td>
<td>‘H.ascend’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skwi34</td>
<td>‘smooth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t7t34</td>
<td>‘poor’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t7wa34</td>
<td>‘cool’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xtya34</td>
<td>‘jealous’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for tone 34 include the following:

34 ~ 1: \(nkila^{34}\) ‘H.arrive’ ~ \(nkila^{1}\) ‘N.be born’
34 ~ 12: \(ns7wa^{34}\) ‘N.put’ ~ \(ns7wa^{12}\) ‘H.put’
34 ~ 2: \(ntla^{34}\) ‘peach’ ~ \(ntla^{2}\) ‘scarecrow’
34 ~ 21: \(skwi^{34}\) ‘smooth’ ~ \(skwi^{21}\) ‘Panixtlahuaca’
34 ~ 23: \(t7a^{34}\) ‘all’ ~ \(t7a^{23}\) ‘daily’
34 ~ 3: \(ti7ya^{34}\) ‘Cuhiuxtla’ ~ \(ti7ya^{3}\) ‘P.lower’
34 ~ 32: \(ku7n^{34}\) ‘wrinkled’ ~ \(ku\ n^{32}\) ‘P.eat 1sg’ (near minimal pair)
34 ~ 4: \(t7a^{34}\) ‘all’ ~ \(t7a\ n^{4}\) ‘sibling 1sg’
34 ~ 24: \(nkila^{34}\) ‘H.arrive’ ~ \(nkila^{24}\) ‘N.arrive’

4.1.10 The mid sharply falling contour tone (24)

The mid sharply falling contour tone, 24, is pronounced with a pitch that starts close to that of tone 2 and falls sharply. Like tone 34, and unlike tones 12 and 23, tone 24 does not arrive at a sustained ending pitch, but continues to fall until the vocalization
ceases. The large majority of words with tone 24 are verbs in the Continuative aspect. The following words realize tone 24:

* jlya\textsuperscript{24} ‘bow’  
* nkila\textsuperscript{24} ‘N.arrive’  
* ns7wa\textsuperscript{24} ‘N.put’

Minimal and near-minimal pairs for tone 24 include those in the following list. Because tone 24 is largely limited to verbs in the Continuative aspect, it occurs on only a few of the forms in the list composed by the native speakers. Thus only a few of the contrasts involving tone 24 are exemplified below, even though examples for all of the contrasts could readily be found in the language:

24 \sim 1: nkila\textsuperscript{24} ‘N.arrive’ \sim nkila\textsuperscript{l} ‘N.be born’  
24 \sim 12: nkila\textsuperscript{24} ‘N.arrive’ \sim nkila\textsuperscript{12} ‘C.arrive’  
24 \sim 2: (no examples found in the list)  
24 \sim 21: (no examples found in the list)  
24 \sim 23: (no examples found in the list)  
24 \sim 3: (no examples found in the list)  
24 \sim 32: jlya\textsuperscript{24} ‘bow’ \sim jlya\textsuperscript{32} ‘fart’  
24 \sim 34: nkila\textsuperscript{24} ‘N.arrive’ \sim nkila\textsuperscript{34} ‘H.arrive’  
24 \sim 4: (no examples found in the list)

5. The status of the reduced vowel

The reduced vowel has phonetic and phonological characteristics that make it quite different, both phonetically and phonemically, from unreduced vowels. In this section, I summarize the phonological patterns that relate to the quality of the reduced vowel, and to its presence or absence among a series of consonants at the beginning of a phonological word. Section 6 presents co-occurrence patterns relating to a word-initial sequence of consonants, and then offers some conclusions about the phonological status of the reduced vowel and of the phonological word in the sound system of Chatino.
Phonetically, the reduced vowel is noticeably shorter than the unreduced vowel. In one recording of \( t7a^2 \) ‘fiesta,’ the reduced \([\ddagger]\) has a duration of .062 seconds, while the unreduced \([a]\) lasts .158 seconds. In a recording of \( nkila^{12} \) ‘C.arrive,’ the reduced \([\ddagger]\) lasts .068 seconds, while the unreduced \([a]\) has a duration of .233 seconds.

When a reduced vowel occurs between voiceless segments, it is voiceless. When voiceless, it necessarily has no tone, and when it is voiced, it generally has the tone of the starting point of the tone contour of the following unreduced vowel. The quality of the reduced vowel is that of either a schwa-like transitional space that typically harmonizes somewhat with the vocalic quality of the following segments, or has the shape \([\ddagger]\).

For example, between \( t \) and \( k \) in the onset of a word, we find \([\ddagger]\) and sounds close to \([\ddagger]\): \( tke7 \) \([t\ddagger k\ddagger e?]\) ‘hot,’ \( tkwa \) \([t\ddagger k\ddagger w\ddagger a]\) ‘two,’ \( tkun \) \([t\ddagger k\ddagger u]\) ‘P.cover sth.,’ \( tkin \) \([t\ddagger k\ddagger i]\) ‘P.burn sth.,’ and \( tka \) \([t\ddagger k\ddagger a]\) ‘just now.’ Between \( k \) and \( t \) in the onset of a word, we find the same two-way variation, \( kita \) \([k\ddagger t\ddagger a]\) ‘dust,’ \( kiye \) \([k\ddagger y\ddagger e\ddagger]\) ‘pine tree,’ \( kitun \) \([k\ddagger t\ddagger u]\) ‘gun,’ \( kite7-ti7 \) \([k\ddagger t\ddagger e? \ddagger t\ddagger i?]\) ‘hungry,’ \( kii\ddagger \) \([k\ddagger i\ddagger i]\) ‘P.get soft,’ \( kta \) \([k\ddagger t\ddagger a]\) ‘P.bathe’ \( kti \) \([k\ddagger t\ddagger i]\) ‘delicate.’

Except for the contrast between \([\ddagger]\) and the \([\ddagger]\)-like sounds, the quality of the reduced vowel is predictable, when allowance is made for the small degree of free variation in whether it is closer to the quality of the unreduced vowel or whether it is closer to \([\ddagger]\), except for the contrast between \([\ddagger]\) and the \([\ddagger]\)-like sounds. That is, the phonological contrastiveness of the reduced vowel position is reduced, in reduced vowels, to a two-way contrast between \([\ddagger]\) and \([\ddagger]\).
A further limitation on the phonological contrastiveness of the reduced vowel position is related to the fact that the presence or absence of a reduced vowel within a series of consonants in the onset to a word is predictable. This is illustrated for two-consonant sequences in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st cons</th>
<th>t ty tz ch s x l/n ly/ny y w kw k 7 j</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>= = + + + + X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l/n</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ly/ny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>X X X X +X +X +X +X +X X + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>= = =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>+ + =</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: The two-consonant sequences of Yaitepec Chatino.

The vertical line down the left of the table gives the first consonant in a sequence, and the horizontal line across the bottom gives the second. The cells at the intersections of rows and columns headed by specific consonants contain indications of whether or not the sequence of consonants occurs, and if it does occur, whether or not the consonants are separated by a reduced vowel. ‘X’ marks the intersection between two consonants that are always separated by a reduced vowel of some kind, ‘+’ marks the intersection of two consonants that are never separated by an intervening reduced vowel, ‘+X’ marks the intersection of two consonants for which the presence or absence of a reduced vowel is in
free variation when they occur in sequence, and '=' marks the intersections of consonants, sequences of which would be indistinguishable from single phonemes whose existence is argued for by other evidence; for example, t-s would be indistinguishable from the phoneme /tz/, and 7-w would be indistinguishable from the phoneme /7w/. However such sequences are viewed, they do not occasion the occurrence of reduced vowels. The intersections of segments that are not found to occur in sequence are left empty. The empty cells forming a diagonal from the upper left to lower right of the table are at the intersections of consonants whose failure to co-occur is related to a constraint against the co-occurrence of consonants with identical or similar places of articulation, discussed further below.

As indicated above, excepting a handful of words, the only three-consonant onsets involve initial n / nw. These phonemes are never separated from a following consonant by a reduced vowel. Therefore, Table 4 effectively describes the distribution of reduced vowels in all types of words in Chatino.

Examples of words with consonant clusters in their onsets include the following:

| 7ni  | 'animal' | s7en  | 'place' | wka7  | 'twin'    |
| 7ya  | 'tooth'  | skwe  | 'egg'   | jwta  | 'cattle'  |
| tló  | 'face'   | xkwi  | 'basket'| wy7a  | 'spider'  |
| tue7 | 'evergreen (sp.)' | xty7n | 'knee' | y7a   | 'green'   |
| kya  | 'tomorrow' | jlyá24 | 'bow'  | yka   | 'wood'    |
| zjo  | 'quail'  | kjwi [kʰwi] | 'P.kill' | etc.  |           |

*Table 5: Words with consonant cluster onsets*

The class of words with reduced vowels is exemplified by the following list:

| 77a | tʰʔa | 'fiesta' | kisu/kṣu | 'avacado' | kwnu7 [kwʰnʊʔ] | 'worm' |
| 77a | tʰʔa | 'water'  | kta [kʰta] | 'P.bathe' | kw7a7 [kwʰriʔaʔ] | 'rich' |
| tkwi | tʰkwi | 'road'   | kita [kʰta] | 'powder' | kwta7 [kwʰtaʔ] | 'fox' |
| tjyan | tʰhỹ-cʰỹa | 'bone' | ry7i [cʰʔi] | 'smell' | kw7i7 [kwʰcʰʔiʔ] | 'frog' |
| k7un | kʰʔu | 'deaf'   | tyku [cʰku] | 'comb' | kwxe [kwʰʃe] | 'dwarf' |
ki7o [kʰʔo]  ‘lime’  kw7o [kwʰʔo]  ‘spouse’  kwyaʔ [kwʰyaʔ]  ‘mushroom’
kichan [kʰtʃaʔ]  ‘fur’  kwcha [kwʰtʃa]  ‘sun’  etc.
ki7a [kʰla]  ‘male’  kwjì [kwʰhi]  ‘skunk’

Table 6: Words with sequences of two consonants separated by a reduced vowel

Words with free variation in the presence or absence of a reduced vowel include kisu/ksu [kʰsu ~ ksu] ‘avocado,’ and l7an [lʔa ~ lʔaʔ] ‘house.’ No minimal pairs or other evidence has been found suggesting that the presence vs. the absence of either of the two reduced vowels is contrastive; the only contrastiveness involving the reduced vowels is in the selection of one as opposed to the other.


One of the most striking features of Chatino word structure is the existence of co-occurrence constraints on consonants. The constraints apply to the phonological word template shown in Figure 1, thus indicating a phonological domain that includes an unreduced vowel preceded by one or two consonants, which may be separated by a reduced vowel, and which may be preceded by n/nw.

The co-occurrence constraints are indicated in Table 4, with the unfilled intersections indicating non-occurring sequences of consonants. Many of the non-occurring sequences are pairs of consonants that share a place of articulation. Since most pairs of consonants that do not share a place of articulation do co-occur, I consider the shared place of articulation to be the reason non-occurring pairs do not co-occur.

Complex segments that are described in terms of two articulators or two place features, such as /kw/, /lʔn/, and /ty/, become involved in over-lapping co-occurrence constraints. For example, /kw/ fails to occur with other velars, such as /k/, and also with other
labialized segments, such as /7w/, while the affricate /ch/ fails to co-occur with the obstruent /t/ and also with the fricative /s/, although /t/ and /s/ do co-occur.

The occurrence of sequences such as s-n and t-l means that place of articulation alone is not enough to explain co-occurrence constraints in which it is involved as a motivating factor. In addition, two consonants must have similar degrees of constriction in order to have their co-occurrence constrained. With regard to coronals, for example, /t/ can co-occur with /l/ but not with /ty/ or /t/, while /s/ can co-occur with /t/ but not with /x/ or /ch/.

In the following paragraphs, I list pairs of non-co-occurring phonemes in groups according to their shared place feature.

Among velars, k-k, k-kw, kw-k, and kw-kw do not occur.

Among glottal fricatives, j-j, j-jw, jw-j, and jw-jv do not occur.

Practically no words have two consonants taken from the set 7, 7w, 7y, and 7n. If one of the glottal stops occurs in the onset to a word, a glottal stop cannot generally occur in the coda.\(^7\) It is not clear that the constraint against an onset and a coda glottal stop in the same word should be considered part of the general pattern of constraints being discussed here, because for the other consonants, the co-occurrence constraints can only be demonstrated as applying to the onset of the word.

Among coronal stops and affricates, t-t, t-ty, t-tz, t-ch, ty-t, ty-ty, ty-tz, ty-ch, tz-t, tz-ty, tz-tz, tz-ch, ch-t, ch-ty, ch-tz, and ch-ch do not occur.

Among coronal fricatives and affricates, s-s, s-x, s-tz, s-ch, x-s, x-x, x-tz, x-ch, tz-s, tz-x, tz-tz, tz-ch, ch-s, ch-x, ch-tz, and ch-ch do not occur.
Among coronal liquids and nasals, the pattern is complicated by the fact that since syllabic n can be the first in a 3-consonant series, it can occur either adjacent to another consonant in an onset series of a phonological word, or separated from a consonant by another consonant. l-n, l-ny, l-l, l-ly, l-r, ly-n, ly-ly, ly-r, r-n, r-ny, r-l, r-ly, and r-r do not occur as adjacent segments. However, n may co-occur with l, ly, n, or ny in an onset series if the two segments are separated by another consonant: ntl'a 'fast,' ntya7 'N.touch,' nkilu 'N.spill,' nkina 'N.cry,' nkinya 'N.move.' r occurs in very few forms, and in a consonant sequence only with w.

Among labialized segments, kw-kw, kw-7w, kw-jw, 7w-kw, 7w-7w, 7w-jw, jw-kw, jw-7w, and jw-jw do not occur. The consonants kw, 7w, and jw also fail to occur immediately preceding the vowels u or o.

Unlike labialized segments, most palatalized segments do co-occur with each other. Almost all palatalized segments that are found to precede a given non-palatalized segment also precede the palatalized variant of that segment (if it has one). x-t occurs (e.g., xta 'P.bathe') and so does x-ty (e.g., xtyi7n 'knee'), etc. The exception to this is y itself, which precedes only non-palatalized consonants, and does not precede the vowel i. y-ty, y-ny, y-ly, y-x, y-ch, y-7y, and y-jy do not occur.

As noted above, the consonant co-occurrence constraints described in these paragraphs apply only to forms that have just one non-reduced vowel. At least two of the consonant co-occurrence constraints that apply to forms with just one non-reduced vowel are found to not apply to forms with more than one non-reduced vowel.

7 7i7, a baby-talk word meaning 'animal,' and 7a7n 'huh-uh' are the only exceptions found so far.
The transitive-causative morpheme \textit{xi-}/\textit{s}/-\textit{x}-, best classed as a derivational morpheme because it occurs on only a subset of verb roots, is realized as \textit{s} or \textit{x} before single-consonant onset roots that do not begin with sibilants, as illustrated in the following examples: \textit{xj}a7 'P.make sleep' (root: \textit{ja7} 'sleep'), \textit{sta} 'P.break sth.' (root: \textit{ta} 'break, intr.). \textit{xi-}/\textit{s}/-\textit{x}- always occurs immediately before the verb root, following the aspectual prefix; \textit{xi-} does not occur as an independent word.

The allomorph \textit{xi-} is selected when the onset of the verb root either is composed of two consonants or contains a sibilant: \textit{xi-}\textit{t}7\textit{in} 'P.make sit,' \textit{xi-}\textit{t}\textit{zen} 'P.frighten sb.,' \textit{xi-}\textit{x}en 'P.make roll.' (There is one exception to this pattern, \textit{xi-}\textit{tu}n 'P.make stand.') It is likely that the allomorphs \textit{xi-}, \textit{x}-, and \textit{s}- are closely related, deriving from a single form historically.

The conditions that select the allomorph \textit{xi-} are clearly related to two of the characteristics of the phonological domain which has been defined above as consisting of a word with just one non-reduced vowel: that such a word will have at most two consonants in its onset (discounting initial \textit{n}/\textit{nw}), and that the occurrence of similar consonants, in this case two coronal fricatives, is constrained. \textit{xi-} is selected precisely when the selection of \textit{s}- or \textit{x}- would result in a word that would not follow those patterns.

Another morpheme whose use results in two non-reduced vowels in a word is the causative \textit{7i-}, as in \textit{7i-}\textit{k}7\textit{an} 'P.stick sth. on sth.,' and \textit{7i-t}\textit{yu}n 'P.stand sth. up.' Forms like \textit{7i-}\textit{k}7\textit{an} provide another example of a kind of word with two non-reduced vowels that do not follow the pattern of consonant co-occurrence constraints, this time by having two glottal stops in one word.
Words with the prefixes *xi-* and *7i-* consist of two phonological words, according to the schema in Figure 1, although they are unitary words grammatically (as *xi-* and *7i-* are prefixes).

The co-occurrence constraints detailed in the preceding paragraphs point to the existence of the phonological construct which I have referred to as the phonological word, *i.e.*, the construct schematized in Figure 1. It is within the phonological word that the consonant co-occurrence constraints are effective; grammatical words with more than one unreduced vowel, that is, consisting of more than one phonological word, are not under the same constraints.

The fact that two *n*'s, or an *n* and an *l*, cannot occur adjacent to each other, but can co-occur when separated by another consonant, suggests that the co-occurrence constraints are related to adjacency, somehow defined. It seems clear that the same general principle is involved in all of the co-occurrence constraints; that is, the reason that an intervening consonant is relevant to the patterns involving initial *n* but not to those involving the other consonants is simply that *n* and *nw* are the only consonants that can occur first in a three-consonant series (and thus be separated from some consonant within the same phonological word by an intervening consonant). The 'adjacency' which occasions the co-occurrence constraints is interrupted by a consonant or by a non-reduced vowel, but not by a reduced vowel, as the co-occurrence constraints are effective within the onset to a phonological word whether or not a reduced vowel occurs there. The presence of a reduced vowel as part of an onset sequence, besides being predictable, is irrelevant from the point of view of co-occurrence constraints.
Comparison of the reduced vowels in Yaitepec Chatino to those of related dialects indicates a historical reduction of what were once unstressed vowels realizing a greater number of contrasts. The vowel in the historically unstressed position appears to be in the process of disappearing altogether, and it is tempting to conclude that in the case of the reduced [ə] in Yaitepec Chatino, the vowel has ceased to exist as a phonemic presence and is now merely a transitional space between two consonants that are difficult to pronounce as a cluster. From that point of view, it is not surprising that the presence or absence of a reduced vowel is irrelevant to the co-occurrence constraint on a sequence of consonants in the onset to a phonological word. The outstanding problem with such an analysis is the remaining contrast between [ə] and [ɛ] in the reduced position. Further investigation may lead to a more conclusive characterization of the reduced vowel. The convention of writing a reduced [ɛ] and leaving a reduced [ə] unwritten omits no information about the pronunciation of the word, and reflects the conclusions about the status of the reduced vowel proposed here.

7. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the sound system of Chatino, and the orthographic system used in the rest of this work. The following chapter turns to a description of words, their structure, and the classes into which they can be categorized.
Chapter 2: Word classes and morphology

0. Introduction

Based on distributional, inflectional, and semantic properties, several classes of words can be distinguished in Chatino. In this chapter, I discuss the major characteristics of each word class, including its distribution and inflectional properties and the derivational patterns associated with its members. Section 1 deals with nouns, Section 2 with forms that modify nouns, Section 3 with verbs, and Section 4 with forms that modify verbs. Forms that apply to whole clauses are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

1. Nouns

Nouns can be divided into two classes, pronouns and lexical nouns. Section 1.1 discusses pronouns, while Section 1.2 turns to the treatment of lexical nouns. Section 1.3 deals with derivational morphology that occurs in the formation of nouns.

1.1. Pronouns

There are three types of personal pronouns: clitics, which occur following the word or phrase to which they are grammatically related, free forms corresponding to the clitics, and secondary pronouns, many of which also exist as lexical nouns, such as ne7 'person, she, he, they,' kwi7 'baby,' and ni 'respected person.' In addition, there is a class of demonstrative pronouns. The following sections illustrate each of these types in turn.
1.1.1. Clitic pronouns

The following table gives the forms of the clitic pronouns of Chatino:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>( n' + \text{tone contrast} )</td>
<td>( an/o ) (incl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>tone contrast (fam.)</td>
<td>( wan ) (resp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person human</td>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person animal</td>
<td>( i7n )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person inanimate</td>
<td>( an/o )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: The personal pronouns of Yaitepec Chatino*

The pronouns in Table 1 are enclitic; they follow their hosts, which may be verbs, adjectives, nouns, or prepositions:

1) \( yku \ n^2 \) ‘I ate,’ \( ki7yu \ n \) ‘I am a man,’ \( t7i \ n \) ‘I am sick’
2) \( t7a \ n^4 \) ‘my sibling,’ \( kya7^2 \ an^2 \) ‘our feet’
3) \( 7o \ n^2 \) ‘with me,’ \( 7in^3 \) ‘to/of you,’ \( 7in^2 \) ‘to/of him/her’

Although the pronominal clitics are phonologically dependent, they otherwise have a distribution largely similar to that of other nouns. A pronominal clitic can be conjoined with another noun, as in

4) \( nty-kall-ti7 \ n^4 \) \( tykwil7 \ n^4 \) \( 7o^2 \) \( 7o^2 \) \( t7a^2 \)

N-want 1sg P.talk 1sg with.2sg and brother.2sg
‘I want to talk with you and your brother.’

In example 4), the first 2nd person clitic, which is realized as the tone of \( 7o^2 \) ‘with you,’ is conjoined with \( t7a^2 \) ‘your brother.’ Pronominal clitics can also occur in emphatic constructions, as in

5) \( til-kwil7 \ n^4 \) \( nw-nya \ n^2 \) \( l7an' \) \( 7yan^4 \)

self 1sg C-build 1sg house of.1sg
‘I myself built my house.’

---

1 The enclitic \(-n\) is realized phonetically as nasality on the root vowel.
In example 5), the first 1st person clitic, realized as \(-n\) and tone 4, occurs as part of an emphatic reflexive construction. However, a clitic pronoun *by itself* cannot occur in the emphatic sentence-initial position, in part because it must follow a host to which it attaches. Clitic pronouns (even those with segmental realizations) are thus never found at the very beginning of an utterance, and also are never found to occur cliticized to conjunctions such as *lo* ‘and’ or *cha7* ‘because’: pronouns in those positions have the independent forms given in the following section. This means that in effect, clitic pronouns do not realize emphatic contrast (except when they are cliticized to an emphatic form such as *ti-kwi7* in example 5), and do not occur as pre-posed topics.

1.1.2. Independent pronouns

Corresponding to the pronominal clitics, there exists a set of independent pronouns. The independent pronouns can occur sentence-initially, where the clitics cannot occur (as the latter require hosts); independent pronouns can also constitute complete utterances.

Table 2 gives the forms of the independent pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg.informal</th>
<th>3sg/pl</th>
<th>1pl.incl</th>
<th>1pl.excl</th>
<th>2pl/2sg.formal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>na7</em></td>
<td><em>7win</em></td>
<td>(lexical noun + demonstrative)</td>
<td><em>na-re</em></td>
<td><em>wa-re</em></td>
<td><em>7wan</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: The free pronouns of Chatino*

The following example illustrates the use of an independent pronoun in sentence-initial position:

6) \( *na7\ n7a\ n\ toru\ kwa\ mu\ \emptyset* \\
1sg C.see 1sg bull there big 3

‘I see that the bull is big.’

In example 6), the pronoun *na7* ‘1sg’ occurs in sentence-initial position, while the co-occurring corresponding enclitic form follows the event, *mu* ‘big.’ The distribution of the pronominal clitics and that of the independent pronouns are not complementary:
either, but not both at once, can occur in the environments (given in section 1.1.1) in which a pronominal clitic can occur. There is an exception regarding the first person singular independent pronoun: \textit{na7} does not occur in the environments in which a clitic could occur; instead, the variation is between the first person clitic alone and the clitic plus the form \textit{a7n}. Thus, the sequence +\textit{n}, plus tone contrast on the verb root, plus \textit{a7n} corresponds to the other free pronouns in the positions in which pronominal clitics are also found. The distributional patterns of clitic and independent pronouns following events are illustrated in the following examples. The second person clitic is realized as tone 1 for the Complective aspect of \textit{–jwi} ‘kill’ (which has tone 12 when followed by the \(\emptyset\) 3\textsuperscript{rd} person clitic). Examples 7 a)-d) illustrate the possibilities for occurrence in the S position for 2\textsuperscript{nd} person free and clitic pronouns:\footnote{The semantic differences between these ordering variants are not yet fully understood. Native speakers translate examples with independent pronouns into Spanish sentences with overt pronouns, suggesting that contrastive emphasis may be involved. The semantic content of the sentence-initial position is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 2.}

7 a) \textit{y-}\textit{jwi}\textsuperscript{–} \textit{kwchi}\textsuperscript{23}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
C-kill-2sg rabbit  \\
\textquoteleft You killed a rabbit.\textquoteright
\end{tabular}

b) \textit{7win}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{y-}\textit{jwi}\textsuperscript{–} \textit{kwchi}\textsuperscript{23}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
2sg C-kill-2sg rabbit
\end{tabular}

c) \textit{y-}\textit{jwi}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{7win}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{kwchi}\textsuperscript{23}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
C-kill 2sg rabbit
\end{tabular}

d) \textit{*y-}\textit{jwi}\textsuperscript{–} \textit{7win}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{kwchi}\textsuperscript{23}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
C-kill-2sg 2sg rabbit
\end{tabular}

a), b), and c) are all accepted: in a), the clitic marks second person in the absence of a free pronoun, in b), a sentence-initial free pronoun co-occurs with the clitic, and in c), the
free pronoun in post-event position requires the absence of the clitic. Example d), in which the free pronoun in post-event position co-occurs with the clitic (realized by tone 1 on the verb), is judged incorrect. An analogous pattern is found for the second person plural:

8 a) y-jwi\textsuperscript{12} wan kwchi\textsuperscript{23}
   C-kill 2pl rabbit
   \textquoteleft You (pl.) killed a rabbit.'

8 b) 7wan\textsuperscript{2} y-jwi\textsuperscript{12} wan kwchi\textsuperscript{23}
   2pl C-kill 2pl rabbit

8 c) y-jwi\textsuperscript{12} 7wan\textsuperscript{2} kwchi\textsuperscript{23}
   C-kill 2pl rabbit

8 d) *y-jwi\textsuperscript{12} wan 7wan\textsuperscript{2} kwchi\textsuperscript{23}
   C-kill 2pl 2pl rabbit

Similarly, the clitic i7n 'animal' has been found to occur in several examples with a co-referential noun in sentence-initial position, but not with one in post-event position. For 3\textsuperscript{rd} person human referents, I assume that a Ø clitic occurs following the event when there is a co-referential sentence-initial noun, but not when a noun occurs in the post-event position.

1.1.3. Secondary pronouns

In addition to the free and clitic pronouns, there exists in Chatino a set of pronouns that have as referents human beings of a certain category. Some of the morphemes in this set also occur as lexical nouns; the set includes ne7 'person, she/he/they,' kw7 'baby,' yu 'man,' cho 'woman,' ni 'respected person,' and wi 'family member.' The following examples illustrate the uses of yu 'man' and ne7 'person' as pronouns and as lexical nouns:
9 a) Felipa 3 010

\[ \text{cha7 nk-jwi yu kwla sti n a7n} \]

because C-die man old father lsg lsg

‘... because the old man my father is dead.’

b) Juan Ceniza 002

\[ Xwa ji ka7n in xa nu nty-7o yu nky-a yu nky-a \]

Juan ash that DSC when REL H-come.out he H-go he H-go

\[ yu tra-wa-jo 7in yu \]

he work of he

‘This Ash Juan, when he went out to his work ...’

10 a) Martin’s example sentences 801

\[ ni7 y7o-ntten su ska ne7 nk-jwi ja 7wi-lyo ne7 7in Ø \]

in cemetery lying one person C-die no know person to 3

‘There is a corpse (lit: ‘a dead person’) in the cemetery and people don’t know who it is.’

b) Elias: El Terremoto 2 131

\[ ka7n y-an snadu nw-sta ne7 l7an re nw-sta \]

then C-come soldier C-break they house this C-break

\[ ne7 nw-tyi o \]

they C-end it

‘Then soldiers came and knocked the house down completely.’

In example 9 a), yu has the lexical meaning ‘man,’ while in 9 b), yu has a typically
pronominal use, as it is co-referential with an antecedent noun and occurs repeatedly even
though its referent is well-established in its role and in the discourse. The first instance
of ne7 in example 10 a) clearly has the lexical meaning of ‘person, human being,’ while
the second instance has a somewhat less lexical meaning similar to that of the vaguely
referential ‘they’ in English. In example 10 b), ne7 is clearly a pronoun, being co-
referential with its antecedent, snadu ‘soldier,’ and used in a context in which its referent
is well-established.

1.1.4. Demonstrative pronouns

There are three demonstrative pronouns in Chatino, re ‘this (one),’ kwa ‘that (one),’
and ka7n ‘the mentioned.’ The following examples illustrate their use:
11) Hurricane 055
\[ \text{nki-zen } n \ \text{ra-ka7n cha7 ty7o-t7in re 7yan cha7} \]
N-be.afraid 1sg then that P.fall.on this to.1sg that
\[ k-ja n \]
P-die 1sg
'I was afraid that this would fall on me and I would die.'

12) Elias: El Terremoto 2 110
\[ ja kw-tzen kya ra-ka7n s7ya na \]
no P-be.afraid.2sg P.go.2sg then because thing
\[ ja ki-nya 7a 7ni ma 7yan 7o kwa ra-ka7n \]
no P-have.earthquake more say mama of.1sg with that then
'Don’t be afraid to go, because it is not going to quake any more, said my mom to her then.'

13) Juan Ceniza 150
\[ nwxt jwin ka7n 7in yu ra-ka7n \]
pstt said the.mentioned to him then
'Psst,' said the aforementioned to him then.'

\textit{re} makes reference to a specific entity that is in the physical environment of the speech act. Given the complementary uses of \textit{re} and \textit{kwa} as deictic determiners, \textit{re} preceding a noun referring to an entity close to the speaker and \textit{kwa} used with an entity that is farther away (see section 2.6), one might expect \textit{kwa} to also function as a demonstrative pronoun referring to an entity somewhat distant from the speaker. However, in the text corpus, \textit{kwa} is used as a pronoun only to refer to an entity that has been mentioned recently in the discourse (as in example 12), or that is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable, and not to an entity that is in the physical environment but that has not been mentioned. Further investigation is required to determine whether \textit{kwa} also has a use corresponding to the function of \textit{re} as a demonstrative pronoun referring to an unmentioned entity in the physical environment.

\textit{kwa} and \textit{ka7n} have similar functions as demonstrative pronouns. One difference between the two forms is that \textit{ka7n} appears primarily in traditional narratives, while \textit{kwa}
features more prominently in personal narratives. Another difference is that *ka7n* is strictly limited to referring to entities that have actually been mentioned in recent discourse, while *kwa* refers to an entity that is identifiable, but may not have been mentioned. One consequence of this difference is that *kwa* can sensibly occur in a decontextualized utterance, such as the following, which was invented by a native speaker as an example to illustrate the meaning of *7a7n*:

14) Martin's example sentences 008

```
  7a7n  ja  s7a  n  7o  kwa  tze-7i
  no   no   P.go  1sg  with  that  that's.all
  'I am not going with him; that's all.'
```

In a survey of 1,000 decontextualized example sentences, *ka7n* is found to occur only when it refers to an entity already mentioned in the same utterance.

*re*, *kwa*, and *ka7n* also function as deictic determiners, as discussed in section 2.6, and *re* and *kwa* also function as locative expressions, as discussed in section 1.2.4.

1.2. Lexical nouns.

Lexical nouns in Chatino have no inflectional morphology; they are not inflected for number or case, although they may be marked by prepositions.

There are two major oppositions determining classes of lexical nouns: one between human and non-human nouns, and one between alienably possessed and inalienably possessed nouns. These oppositions overlap; a given noun might be human, inalienably possessed, both, or neither. There are also several sets of lexical nouns distinguished according to their distributions and grammatical functions. These include relator nouns and nouns referring to locations. The following sections illustrate the classes of lexical nouns.
1.2.1. Human vs. non-human nouns

Human nouns include names of people, such as Xwa ‘Juan,’ Liya ‘Maria,’ and Ka-jlu ‘Carlos,’ and common nouns referring to individual humans or types of humans, such as kw7an ‘woman,’ ki7yu ‘man,’ kw7i-kwne7 ‘child,’ ne7 ‘person,’ and n7ten ‘(the) people.’ Words referring to individual animals or to types of animals, such as kw7a ‘cow,’ cha-kwchi ‘rabbit,’ and kw7na-tnu ‘rattlesnake,’ may be treated similarly to human nouns. In traditional narratives, animals are often treated as having human characteristics, and pets are often spoken of as one would speak of a human being.

Nouns referring to animals are thus intermediate between those referring to humans and those referring to inanimates with regard to their grammatical characteristics.

One difference between human and inanimate nouns is that members of the former class are often marked by the preposition 7in ‘to’ when they occur in the ‘O’ position of a transitive clause, as in

15) Martin’s example sentences 100’s 034
w-7ya-nw7a ne7 7in Liya s7en nky-a tkwin S7we
C-kidnap person to Maria place N-go road Juquila
‘They kidnapped Maria on the road to Juquila.’

16) Martin’s example sentences 100’s 047
7za-ny7a Ø 7in sti Ø S7we
P.visit 3 to father 3 Juquila
‘S/he is going to his/her father in Juquila.’

Inanimate lexical nouns, such as yka ‘tree,’ l7an ‘house,’ ti7a ‘water,’ and ke ‘stone,’ are never marked by 7in ‘to’ in Yaitepec Chatino when they occur in the ‘O’ position, although pronouns in the ‘O’ position, whether referring to animate or inanimate entities, are always marked by 7in:

3 Carleton and Waksler (to appear) discusses the cognate ji7in in Zenzontepec Chatino; the Zenzontepec cognate, unlike that of Yaitepec, can occur with inanimates.
17) La Mujer que se Puso 064
   lo yu ki7yu ka7n nt-ju-a-ki Ø 7in i7n
   and man man that N-pull 3 to anim
   ‘And the boy was leading it (an animal).’

18) La Mujer que se Puso 091
   nku-l7an Ø 7in an ra-ka7n
   C.push 3 to it then
   ‘He pushed it then (a fence).’

For the nouns which may be marked by 7in in the ‘O’ position, such marking is optional.

The semantic contrasts corresponding to the presence or absence of 7in with a human ‘O’
are discussed in Chapter 3, Section 1.4.1.

Another difference between human and non-human nouns is that only the former
occur as possessors in alienable possession constructions. Alienable and inalienable
possession is discussed further in Section 1.2.2 below; simply, the inalienable possession
construction is used to express the relationship between a whole and its parts as well as
other close relationships such as kinship, while possession of other items, such as money
or a house, is expressed with the alienable construction. In general, inanimate nouns
occur as possessors only in the inalienable possession construction. This is not
surprising, since inanimate objects are generally not perceived as possessing things other
than their own parts. In certain contexts, however, such as in the following example, an
inanimate noun can be an alienable possessor:

19) La historia de Yaltepec B 090
   ti-kwi7 kostumbre 7in Ke-nxin re ka an
   same custom of Yaltepec here be it
   ‘It is the very custom of Yaltepec.’

As a complex, institutional entity,  Ke-nxin is capable of possessing things that are not
part of itself, in a way analogous to that in which humans possess things.
1.2.2. Alienable vs. inalienable possession

As mentioned in the preceding section, two possession constructions exist in Chatino, which may be termed alienable and inalienable possession. In inalienable possession, the possessor is juxtaposed to the possessed, as in

20) \( t7a \ n \)

sibling 1sg
‘My sibling.’

In alienable possession, the possessor follows the possessed and is marked by the preposition \( 7in \) ‘of,’ as in

21) \( kwta \ 7in \ Liya \)
cow of Maria
‘Maria’s cow.’

The opposition between alienable and inalienable possession creates two distinctions between classes of nouns. First, as noted in section 1.2.1., the possibility of occurrence in the position of possessor in an alienable possession construction corresponds with the class of human as opposed to inanimate nouns: humans, or animals treated like humans, can be alienable possessors, while inanimates generally cannot.

Second, the possibility of occurrence as the possessed item in an inalienable possession construction distinguishes the class of inalienably possessed nouns from that of alienably possessed nouns.

All native words for body parts and most words for bodily excretions fall into the inalienably possessed class, including: \( l7ya \) ‘tooth,’ \( chu7n \) ‘back,’ \( j7en \) ‘tail,’ \( jin \ nxkan \) ‘ear,’ \( jy7we \) ‘wing,’ \( kijin \) ‘skin,’ \( kilo \) ‘eye,’ \( kjo \) ‘stomach lining,’ \( kta \) ‘throat,’ \( kwjo7 \) ‘fat,’ \( kwna7 \) ‘meat,’ \( kwyi7 \) ‘goiter,’ \( li-ya7 \) ‘forearm,’ \( lu \) ‘liver,’ \( lya7 \) ‘bile,’ \( nkwa7 \) ‘uvula,’ \( ntan \) ‘leg,’ \( ntygan \) ‘penis,’ \( ny7an \) ‘body,’ \( rryun \) ‘kidney (< Sp. riñon),’ \( s7en \) ‘one’s excrement,’

Several nouns referring to ‘personal representations’ (Chappell and McGregor 1996) are inalienably possessed, such as njkw ‘drawing, photograph (of one),’ ntla7 ‘shadow,’ nxn ‘reflection, shadow,’ and ty7i ‘voice, odor.’

The majority of kinship terms also fall into this class: jy7an ‘mother,’ jy7an kwla ‘grandmother (lit. ‘old mother’),’ kw7o ‘spouse,’ kwlya ‘in-law,’ s7a ‘lover,’ sti ‘father,’ snye7 ‘child,’ t7a ‘relative, sibling.’ However, the terms pa ‘pa,’ ma ‘ma,’ na-xu7 ‘grandmother,’ and ta-xu7 ‘grandfather,’ which are often but not exclusively used as vocatives, are alienably possessed:

22) Elias: El Terremoto 2 053
7wi cha7 tiye wa 7in pa 7yan ra-ka7n
be thing chest 1pl.excl to Pa of.1sg then
‘We were worried about my dad then.’

23) Elias: El Terremoto 2 038
ka7n kwa wa n-tun na-xu7 7yan ra-ka7n 7o
then there already N-stand grandmother of.1sg then with
rujelya ra-ka7n
Rojelia then
‘Then there was my grandmother with my aunt Rojelia.’
In addition, kinship terms borrowed from Spanish, such as tiyu ‘uncle (<tío)’ and tiya ‘aunt (<tía)’ are alienably possessed, as illustrated in the following example

24) Martin’s example sentences 662
   nkwi-7o xni7 7in tiyu 7yan ska kwta7 lo jyan
   C.chase dog of uncle of.1sg one tlacuache on field
   ‘My uncle’s dog chased a fox in the field.’

Certain items that are neither kin nor, strictly speaking, part of some whole, are also inalienably possessed. Intuitively, the entities referred to by these nouns seem similar to those in the kinship and part-of-whole classes, as they refer to items such as clothing and other constant or intimate parts of the life of the possessor: kwten ‘nest,’ s7na ‘one’s plate of food,’ s7wa ‘load,’ sna ‘one’s sandal,’ ste7 ‘one’s clothing,’ styi7n ‘louse (on one’s body),’ sya7 ‘salary,’ tyi ‘home, sheath/cover of an object,’ x7na ‘master, owner,’ xka ‘one’s load of wood,’ xka7n ‘one’s shirt.’

Alienable versus inalienable possession is not simply a morphological feature of noun classes, but corresponds to a perceived difference between circumstances or types of possession. Thus, the noun kwten ‘nest’ can occur in both types of construction:

25) kwten  n
    nest  1sg
    ‘my nest’ (spoken by a bird)

26) kwten 7yan
    nest of.1sg
    ‘my nest’ (spoken by a child who has found a bird’s nest)

Most inalienably possessed nouns can occur without a possessor, if an appropriate context can be thought of. The noun njkwin ‘picture’ is inalienably possessed by the person or thing it represents, but as shown by the following example, njkwin can also occur without a possessor:
27) Martin’s example sentences 939

\[
\text{nu kw7an lwe-ti nya njkwin}
\]

DET woman small N.make picture

'The girls are drawing pictures.'

However, members of a sub-class of inalienably possessed nouns are always understood as possessed and are thus termed 'obligatorily possessed.' These nouns are derived from alienably possessed nouns by means of prefixation of s-, palatalized to x- before y, and reduction of a resulting 3-consonant cluster by the loss of the middle consonant, as in the following examples: \(ki7en\) ‘excrement’ => \(s7en\) ‘one’s excrement,’ \(ki7na\) ‘plate’ => \(s7na\) ‘one’s plate of food,’ \(nka7n\) ‘mucus’ => \(ska7n\) ‘one’s mucus,’ \(kina\) ‘sandal’ => \(sna\) ‘one’s sandal,’ \(te7\) ‘cloth, clothing’ => \(ste7\) ‘one’s clothing,’ \(kwtyi7n\) ‘louse’ => \(styi7n\) ‘one’s louse (on one’s body),’ \(yka\) ‘wood,’ \(xka\) ‘one’s load of wood,’ \(yka7n\) ‘shirt’ => \(xka7n\) ‘one’s shirt,’ \(ki7ya\) ‘crime’ => \(s7ya\) ‘one’s fault.’ Two nouns from the body part class also participate in this derivation: \(kita7n\) ‘fingernail (detached)’ or similar object, e.g., a guitar pick => \(sta7n\) ‘one’s nail,’ \(kiryin\) ‘feather, scar’ => \(styn\) ‘one’s (a bird’s) feather.’ Unlike other inalienably possessed nouns, those showing the possessed derivation are always understood to be possessed; even in isolation, \(s7na\), for example, is translated as ‘his/her plate of food’ as opposed to simply ‘plate of food.’ The alienably possessed members of these pairs may be possessed, in which case \(7in\) ‘of’ marks the possessor, as in

28) Martin’s example sentences 281

\[
\text{la tyku nt-jy7an Liya te7 7in } \emptyset
\]

to river N-wash Maria cloth of 3

‘Maria is washing her clothes in the river.’

which may be contrasted with
In example 28), the clothes are possessed by Maria in the sense that she has them temporarily, or that they are hers to wash, but they are not all her personal clothes. In example 29), the clothes mentioned are the personal possession of ne7 'people.'

With regard to possession, there are thus three classes of nouns: alienably possessed, inalienably possessed, and within the inalienably possessed class, an obligatorily possessed subclass.

1.2.3. Relator nouns

A subset of nouns referring to parts of a body or other object are additionally used to designate spatial location relative to the object (the possessor). Members of this subset are termed ‘relator nouns’ (Delancey 1997). The possession in both uses is expressed in the inalienable construction. The most common relator nouns are listed in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>‘Part’ meaning</th>
<th>‘Spatial location’ meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lo</td>
<td>surface</td>
<td>on top of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kya7</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>below, at the foot of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni7</td>
<td>lower abdomen, crotch</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si7</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>next to, beside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>bottom</td>
<td>underneath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t7wa</td>
<td>mouth, edge</td>
<td>at the edge of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chu7n</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>behind, after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>the in-between space, internal negative space</td>
<td>between (parts of an object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlo</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>in front of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: The most common relator nouns

The following examples illustrate the ‘spatial location’ use of members of this set:
30) Ruben 048

\[\text{lo ti jyan da chu7n primaria}\]
and what come QU back primary

‘And who will follow the primary students (lit.: who will come behind them)?’

31) El toro y el conejo 073

\[\text{tlo kwna-mu tiyu ki7yu re ni 7ni } \emptyset \text{ ra-ka7n}\]
face rattlesnake P.fall man this now say 3 then

‘Now this man will fall in front of the rattlesnake,’ he said then.’

32) El toro y el conejo 296

\[\text{y-ten nky-a } \emptyset \text{ ni7 nwx7o ra-ka7n}\]
C-enter C-go 3 in forest then

‘He went into a forest then.’

Unlike the prepositions of English, relator nouns in Chatino are used only to specify
locations of overtly expressed events, and do not specify directly the locations of
entities. That is, there is no construction parallel to ‘the stars in the sky’; Chatino
requires ‘the stars that are in the sky,’ as in the following example:

33) Martin’s example sentences 555

\[\text{ki7an kwi: n-tkwa ni7 kwan}\]
much star N-sit in high

‘There are many stars in the sky (lit.: many are the stars that sit in the sky).’

34) ? ki7an kwi: ni7 kwan

Like relator nouns, other nouns that refer to locations are related syntactically to events
rather than to entities. Therefore, I consider relator nouns in Chatino to belong to the
class of nouns referring to places, discussed further in section 1.2.4., as well as to the

\[\text{Elias: El Terremoto 2 126}\]
\[\text{xka tzan ka7n ra-ka7n we nw-tiyan sna-du ki7an cha7-nu}\]
other day then then already C-arrive soldier much because
\[\text{xten-ji l7an 7in ne7 ra-ka7n}\]
P.knock.down house of person then

‘Then the next day many soldiers came to help the people finish knocking down their houses.’

The conclusion is that ki7an is the event in example 33.

\[\text{4 In essence, Pride (1965) makes this observation when she classifies locatives as clause-level tagmemes}
but not as phrase-level tagmemes.}\]

\[\text{5 Another apparently plausible translation, ‘many stars are in the sky,’ is discounted because ki7an follows}
\text{nouns in contexts in which it is clear that ki7an is not the event, as in}\]
\[\text{Elias: El Terremoto 2 126}\]
\[\text{xka tzan ka7n ra-ka7n we nw-tiyan sna-du ki7an cha7-nu}\]
other day then then already C-arrive soldier much because
\[\text{xten-ji l7an 7in ne7 ra-ka7n}\]
P.knock.down house of person then

‘Then the next day many soldiers came to help the people finish knocking down their houses.’

The conclusion is that ki7an is the event in example 33.
class of nouns referring to body parts. The meanings of relator nouns differ from those of
other nouns referring to body parts, which are not used to specify the location of an event,
only in that the relator nouns can refer to locations as well as to objects. The location a
relator noun refers to may be conceptualized as a space adjacent to and extending away
from the specific body part that it also names. As nouns referring to locations, relator
nouns can function as unmarked locatives in the same way as any other nouns that name
locations (see Section 1.2.4. below). A relator noun enables another noun (its possessor),
which refers to an object rather than a place, to function as the basis for a location
reference.

Other grammatical morphemes deriving from inalienably possessed nouns, which
are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, include s7ya ‘because of,
through the fault of,’ as in

35) 1998-11-09 053
s7ya kwten ka7n-ch77 y-ja n
because mosquito so.not C-sleep 1sg
‘Because of the mosquitoes, that’s why I didn’t sleep.’

36) Martin’s example sentences 366
nt-gun-ke t7a nu k7wi
N-stone RECIP NOM drunk
‘The drunks are throwing stones at each other.’

and a morpheme that introduces a clause relativizing an instrument or an accompanier, as
in

37) Elicitation 1999-11-09 136
nw-tza wftyi t7a n-s7yu Xwa yka
C-break machete with.which H-cut Juan wood
‘The machete that Juan cut wood with broke.’
38) Elicitation 1999-11-09 142
nk-jwi xni7 ti7a nty7an Xwa ni7 kxi7n
C-die dog with.which H-walk Juan in field
‘The dog that Juan used to walk with died.’

Finally, the malefactive ‘O’-marker snya7 is homophonous with snya7 ‘female sexual organ,’ and native speakers indicate that the two meanings share a polysemous form.

The malefactive ‘O’-marking function is illustrated in the following example:

39) 7/8/98.a elicitation 021
nw-chu-ya7 Liya snya7 Xwa
C-slap Maria to Juan
‘Maria slapped Juan.’

It is interesting to note that in Chatino, no comparable grammatical morphemes are derived from alienably possessed nouns.

1.2.4. Other nouns referring to places

As noted in the previous section, a relator noun can be used to refer to the location of an event. Other nouns with the same function include names of towns, such as Ke-nxin ‘Yaltepec,’ S7we ‘Juquila,’ and Lo-nt7a ‘Oaxaca,’ as in

40) 1998-11-11 028
ntyga t7a y-a ø lo-nt7a na Liya n-kinu ø Ke-nxin
all family C-go 3 Oaxaca but Maria C-remain 3 Yaltepec
‘The whole family went to Oaxaca but Maria stayed in Yaltepec.’

Locatives can occur at the end of the clause, following the ‘S’ and ‘O’ positions, as in example 40), or in the utterance-initial position, as in the following example:

41) Martin’s example sentences 212
S7we liye 7a nt-jwi7 ne7 j7o
Juquila much very N-sell person saint
‘In Juquila they sell lots of (images of) saints.’

---

6 For example, with regard to example 39, native speakers explain that Maria slapped Juan’s female sexual organ, or, in other words, she slapped him.
Nouns besides relator nouns and proper names of places that are observed to function as unmarked locatives include the derived forms referring to interiors of enclosures described in section 1.3., such as \( y7an \) 'in the house' in the following example:

42) Hurricane 008

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ti-ji} & \quad \text{ny}7a & \quad \text{n-\(x7\)wa} & \quad \text{kwtu} & \quad \text{7in} & \quad \text{y7an} \\
\text{what} & \quad \text{manner N-keep.2sg} & \quad \text{chicken of.2sg} & \quad \text{inside.house} \\
\text{‘How did you keep your chickens inside the house?’}
\end{align*}
\]

The vast majority of Chatino nouns, however, cannot function by themselves as unmarked locatives. Relator nouns function to allow such nouns to be the basis of references to location, in addition to specifying the orientation of the locative field with relation to those entities (\textit{i.e.}, ‘in front of,’ ‘behind,’ \textit{etc.}). Nouns like \textit{jyan} ‘field’ and \textit{nw}7\textit{o} ‘forest,’ for example, do not occur as unmarked locatives, occurring instead as possessors of relator nouns when used to denote locations. It is interesting that native speakers occasionally give the translations \textit{ni7 nw}7\textit{o} ‘inside of forest’ for Spanish \textit{bosque} ‘forest’ and \textit{lo jyan} ‘on field’ for Spanish \textit{roza} ‘field,’ in alternation with the expected simple forms \textit{nw}7\textit{o} and \textit{jyan}. The referents of the Spanish and English words can be conceived of as places as well as objects, as evidenced in English, for example, by the unremarkable utterance ‘a forest is a place where there are lots of trees’; and since the Chatino nouns \textit{nw}7\textit{o} and \textit{jyan} refer to entities conceived of as objects but not as places, the relator noun is included as part of the translation when the native speaker focuses on the ‘place’ meaning of the Spanish prompt.

One of the nouns found to occur most frequently as an unmarked locative is \textit{s7en} ‘place’ itself. \textit{s7en} does not occur by itself as an unmarked locative, unless it is modified by \textit{sk}a ‘one,’ \textit{xka} ‘(an)other,’ or \textit{kwi7} ‘the same,’ as in
43) El conejo y el toro 260
   xka s7en y-a xka tzan ra-ka7n
other place C-go other day then
   'The next day he went to another place.'

or by a relative clause or an adjective, as in

44) Juan Ceniza 060
   nw-tyia yu s7en n-t7in rre
C-arrive man place N-live king
   'He arrived at the house of the king.'

45) Martin's example sentences 973
   nk-jwi ska nten cha7 nw-tyiu ne7 s7en kwan
C-die one person because C-fall person place high
   'A person died because he fell from a high place.'

The use of s7en followed by a relative clause is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. A number of exemplars of the construction s7en plus a relative clause or adjective appear to be fixed lexical phrases. Some of these are s7en nkita ti7a 'wave (lit. place where water breaks),' s7en nkjwi cha 'wound (wounded place),' s7en nkten 'entrance (place where (sb.) enters),' s7en nt7in 'home, house (place where (sb.) lives),' s7en ntykwa kwcha 'west (place where the sun sits),' s7en nxin 'east (? place),' and s7en xkwan 'the coast (warm place),' among others.

Three deictic forms, nte 'here,' re 'here,' and kwa 'there' function analogously to nouns referring to places, as illustrated in the following examples:

46) Hurricane 029
   nte n-tiya kwi 7yan
here N-be cross of.1sg
   'Here is my cross.' (an oath)

47) El conejo y el toro 304
   ti re 7yan jwin Ø
dangerous here of.1sg said 3
   'It is very dangerous here for me [i.e., this body part is vulnerable],’ he said.'
48) El conejo y el toro 035
   kwa  tza  jwin  Ø
   there  P.go.2sg  said  3
   ‘Go there,’ he said.’

*n*te and *re* differ in the variety of their functions: *nte* functions only as a locative
expression, while *re* also functions as a demonstrative pronoun and as a deictic
determiner. The overlap of the distribution of *nte* and *re* when they function as locative
expressions is only partial. Either form can occur following an event in a clause, and in
that position the two forms are in many cases interchangeable; compare the following
two examples:

49) El conejo y el toro 488
   para cha7  nu  kw-7ya  n  nu  kwchi  ky-a  n  la  nte
   to  so.that  NOM  P-carry  lsg  DET  rabbit  P-go  lsg  all.the.way here
   ‘. . . so that I could carry the rabbit and come here.’

50) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 047
   nw-tyi-sna  nky-a  n  a7n  la  re  ra-ka7n
   C-begin  C-go  lsg  lsg  all.the.way  here  then
   ‘I came here then.’

However, while *nte* can also occur in clause-initial position (see example 46)), *re* is never
found in clause-initial position. Further study is required to determine whether any
semantic contrast accompanies the distributional difference between the two forms.

Locative expressions are optionally preceded by either *la* or *ti*. The use of *la* before
a locative denotes distance, while *ti* complementarily denotes nearness, as in

51) Elias: El Terremoto 2 080
   cha7-nu  ti  re  ty7in  wa  s7en  n-t7in  wa  ra-ka7n
   because  just  here  P.live  lpl.excl  place  N-live  lpl.excl  then
   ‘. . . because we were living right here in our house then.’

52) Elias: El Terremoto 2 136
   nky-a  wa  ti  kwa  nky-a-yja7  wa  ra-ka7n
   C-go  lpl.excl  just  there  C-go.and.sleep  lpl.excl  then
   ‘We went just there to sleep then.’
53) Felipa 1 029
kwa nw-snyi-tkwa ne7 7in sti n a7n y-a, y-a ti
there C.detain person to father lsg lsg C-go C-go just
jy7o ra-ka7n
Teotepc then
‘There they detained my father; they took him over to Teotepc then.’

54) Felipa 2 015
ja-sta n-kila Ø la nte
until C-arrive 3 way here
‘... until he came all the way here.’

55) Martin’s example sentences 484
jyan kyo la kwa
come rain way there
‘The rain is coming way over there.’

56) Martin’s example sentences 281
la ryku ni-jy7an Liya te7 7in Ø
way river N-wash Maria cloth of 3
‘Maria is washing her clothes way down at the river.’

There are no prepositions that indicate direction of movement in Chatino; the concepts
encoded by prepositions like to, from, into, and out of, in English depend on the
semantics of the verb and on context and real-world knowledge. The interpretation of
unmarked locatives is discussed further in Chapter 3, section 4.1.

1.3. Nominal derivational morphology

Three types of derivational morphology relating to nouns are discussed in this
section, the possessive s- prefix (section 1.3.1), the interior y- prefix (section 1.3.2), and
lexical noun phrases.

1.3.1. The possessive s- prefix

The possessive s- prefix, which has been mentioned above, derives obligatorily and
in alienably possessed nouns from alienably possessed nouns, as in ste7 ‘one’s clothing,’
derived from *te7* 'cloth, clothing' and *xka* 'one's load of wood,' derived from *yka* 'wood.'

1.3.2. The interior *y*- prefix

A second nominal derivational morpheme appears as palatalization of the initial consonant of the nominal root or as prefixation of *y*, the derived form referring to the interior of the referent of the non-derived noun. Only a few nouns undergo this derivation; all refer to container-like structures: *la* 'church' → *lya* 'interior of a church,' *n7a* 'house' → *ny7a* 'interior of a house,' *l7o* 'fence' → *y7o* 'interior of a fence.' Nouns with the interior *y*- prefix can function as locatives.

1.3.3. Lexical noun phrases

There are two basic patterns deriving lexical noun phrases, noun + adjective and noun + noun. The noun + adjective type includes constructions comprised of verbal roots, *i.e.*, the participial adjectives discussed in section 2.5.2 below. The noun + noun type includes constructions resembling inalienable possession, as well as juxtaposed pairs of nouns that are not in a prototypical possessive relationship. Besides these two types, there exist several minor patterns of lexical noun phrases, some relating to specific semantic fields.

The constructions described in this section are termed 'lexical phrases' rather than 'compounds' only because in most cases there is no characteristic phonological difference between a lexicalized construction and a corresponding nonce formation. For example, *ti7a t7wa* 'soda' is formally indistinguishable from *ti7a t7wa* 'cold water.' The former is analyzed as a lexical noun phrase because of its idiomatic meaning. Although he was usually able to gloss the meanings of both parts of a lexical phrase, my native
speaker consultant made a distinction between lexical phrases and transparently compositional expressions, referring to the former as ‘composed words.’

In a few cases, lexical phrases show phonological reduction and might be considered noun compounds. For example, ja-xlYa ‘bread’ is heard more frequently than the also accepted kija xlYa ‘bread’ (kija ‘tortilla,’ xlYa ‘Castellano’). Related forms include ja-kitu7n ‘tamale’ (kitu7n ‘pot’) and ja-ku:7 ‘bean pancake’ (ku:7 ‘?’). ja meaning something like ‘tortilla’ occurs only in compounds; in isolation, only the form kija is used.

1.3.3.1. Noun + adjective phrases

The following contains a sample of the lexical phrases composed of a noun and an adjective found in the lexical database. Also included are phrases whose second member is an inflected verbal root that is considered to be a participle (see section 2.5.2 below):

ti7a ti7wa ‘soda (water cold)’
skwe nkten ‘eggwhite (egg white)’
s7en ti7i ‘wound (place painful)’
s7en kwan ‘a height (place high)’
ne7 kw7o ‘painter (person P.paint)’
na ntykwin ‘sieve (thing H.sift)’
kwiu7 tnu ‘chicken pox (pox big)’
kwnu7 tlyi ‘worm (species) (worm slimy)’
kwne7 x7an ‘devil (spirit evil)’
kwne7 kti ‘the sacrament (spirit delicate)’
kwjin tkwi ‘shoulder bag (bag long)’
kwi7in tnu ‘phantasm (wind big)’
kxi7n tlya7 ‘bitter herb (herb bitter)’
ko7 kwi ‘new moon (moon new)’
kinyi kwx7i ‘bluebird (bird blue)’
ki:7 ykwa ‘coals (fire level)’
ke che7 ‘pumice (stone rough)’
ka7 skwi ‘smooth side of a sheet of paper (leaf smooth)’
ka7 che7 ‘rough side of a sheet of paper (leaf rough)’
jya kwa ‘cane (species) (cane purple)’
jya nk7a ‘cane (species) (cane green)’
ja xlYa ‘bread (bread Castellano)’
j7wa tnu ‘plantain (banana big)’
j7wa lwe ‘banana (species) (banana small)’
7ni tlyi ‘slug (animal slimy)’
7ni x7an ‘wild animal (animal evil)’

1.3.3.2. Noun + noun phrases

The following list illustrates lexical phrases composed of two nouns. In most cases, the second noun is an inalienable possessor, the two nouns in a part-whole relation, as in yni ya7 ‘wrist (neck hand).’ In other cases, the second noun classifies or characterizes the first, as in ti7a kyo ‘rain water (water rain)’ and na kuwe7 ‘vulgarity (thing pig).’

yni ya7 ‘wrist (neck hand)’
yni kya7 ‘ankle (neck foot)’
tiyu sye7n ‘nostril (canal nose)’
tiyu skwe ‘urinary canal (canal sexual organ)’
tiyu nskan ‘inner ear (canal ear)’
ti x7en ‘intestine (cord bowels)’
ti kiche ‘twine (cord shrub)’
ti7a xe7 ‘urine (water bladder)’
ti7a kyo ‘rainwater (water rain)’
ti7a kilo ‘tear (water eye)’
ti7a jya ‘cane syrup (water cane)’
te7 kicha7 ‘blanket (cloth hair)’
slu7 yka ‘knot in wood (joint wood)’
slu7 ya7 ‘wrist joint (joint hand)’
slu7 skun ‘elbow (joint arm)’
slu7 kya7 ‘ankle joint (joint foot)’
si7 l7an ‘wall (side house)’
s7en kwi ‘obsidian (excrement star)’
ne7 kuwe7 ‘vulgar person (person pig)’
ne7 jsywa ‘authority (person force)’
ne7 chi7 xlva ‘mestizo (person Spanish language)’
ze7 chi7 mya ‘Chatino (person Chatino language)’
ze7 chi7 nzw7 ‘Zapoteco (person Zapotecan language)’
na kwi7 ‘merchandise (thing P.sell)’
n7a xkwla ‘school house (house school)’
n7a tykw ‘prison (house metal)’
n7a t ‘home (house home)’
n7a ti x7en ‘bowels (house cord excrement)’
n7a lo kya7 ‘market (house on square)’
n7a ki7 ‘kitchen (house fire)’
lo ya7 ‘finger (surface hand)’
lo tiye ‘belly (surface stomach)’
lo kya7 ‘toe (surface foot)’
kwyi tykwans ‘blacksmith (artisan metal)’
kwyi l7an ‘house builder (artisan house)’
kwyi ka7 ‘carpenter (artisan board)’
kwu7 ti7a ‘smallpox (pox water)’
kwyn s5ke ‘scrotum (bag sexual organ)’
kwyn kiche ‘gunny sack (bag hemp)’
kyo kw7in ‘hurricane (rain wind)’
kyo ke ‘hail (rain stone)’
kita yka ‘sawdust (powder wood)’
kita waku ‘tobacco (powder tobacco)’
kita trigu ‘wheat flour (powder wheat)’
kita ke ‘cement (powder stone)’
kita ja xlya ‘bread crumb (powder bread)’
kijin t7wa ‘lip (skin mouth)’
kijin kilo ‘eyelid (skin eye)’
jin s7en ‘abdomen (skin bowels)’
jin n5kan ‘ear (skin ear)’

1.3.3.3. Lexical phrases with unanalyzed first or second members

In numerous cases, neither the native speakers I consulted nor I were able to specify

the meaning of the second element in a lexical noun phrase, because it occurs only in the

phrase in question. The following list illustrates a few such examples:

s7en nxin ‘east (place?)’
s7en kwen ‘right side (place?)’
s7en ka ‘left side (place?)’
ti tyi ‘umbilical cord (cord?)’
ti jy7a ‘bean vine (cord?)’
ti7a ta ‘sweat (water?)’
ti7a sye:7 ‘saliva (water?)’
te7 nkwe ‘napkin (cloth?)’
ne7 pi ‘gringo (person?)’
ne7 kita ‘stranger, foreigner (person?)’
ne7 ka7 ‘twins (person?)’
n7a ysin ‘covering of branches (house?)’
kwna yan ‘poisonous snake (species) (snake?)’
kwna tyka7n ‘snake (species) (snake?)’
kwna itu ‘rattlesnake (snake?)’
kxi7n ykwa7 ‘herb (species) (herb?)’
kxi7n la ‘marijuana (herb?)’
kinyi nwxn: ‘bird (species) (bird?)’
"kinyi kwtyi7n ‘bird (species) (bird?)’

The forms cha, la, and tu occur in constructions that seem similar to lexical noun phrases. cha occurs with forms referring to small animals, birds, and insects, la occurs mainly with forms referring to large birds, while most forms composed with tu refer to holes or cavities. Pride 1966 refers to cha, la, and tu as classifiers. The following lists exemplify the use of these forms:

Expressions with cha:

cha kinyi ‘bird’
cha kun: ‘dove’
cha kwa ra ‘pelican’
cha kwchen ‘pheasant’
cha kwchi ‘rabbit’
cha kwriya7 ‘(beetle species)’
cha kwte ‘pigeon’
cha kwxa ‘dragonfly’
cha nchin ‘walking stick (insect)’
cha wa yka ‘gusano leñador (caterpillar species)’
cha yu7 ‘hummingbird’

Expressions with la:

la kw7e ‘rooster’
la kw7ya ‘eagle, hawk’
la kwstu7 ‘turkey’
la lya ‘opossum’

Expressions with tu:

tu ke ‘cave (ke ‘stone’)’
tu ki7 ‘brazier (ki7 ‘fire’)’
tu ku7 ‘point, end’
tu kwa ‘grave, sepulchre’
tu kwjin ‘pocket (kwjin ‘bag’)’
tu l7an ‘door (l7an ‘house’)’
tu ni ‘button’
tu nsken ‘ear (nskan ‘ear’)’
tu skun ‘armpit (skun ‘arm’)’
tu sye7n ‘nose (sye7n ‘nose’)’
tu s7en ‘anus (s7en ‘bowels’)’
tu ti 'ravine (ti 'cord')'
tu ty7i 'under-chin'
tu tyan 'palate'
tu tyu7 'navel'
tu xkwla 'teacher (xkwla 'school')'
tu yni 'throat (yni 'neck')'
tu yu 'hole, well (yu 'earth')'

2. Forms that modify nouns

Morphemes of a variety of types function to modify, or contribute information about, a noun with which they are connected. Members of some types, such as numbers, the determiner nu, and the object/possessive/dative marker 7in, precede the nouns they modify, while those of other types, such as adjectives, possessors, demonstratives, and relative clauses, follow the nouns they modify. In the following sections, I discuss the types of forms that modify nouns.

2.1. Numbers and other quantifiers

Numbers precede the nouns they quantify7, as shown in the following example:

57) Martimiano 1 007
   nw-t7o tkwa kantore ra-ka7n
   C-come.out two singer then
   'Two singers were selected then.'

The number system of Yaitepec Chatino uses a variety of strategies for combining morphemes representing numbers that are summed to derive larger numbers. The selection of a particular strategy in a given case is frequently unpredictable. The numbers 1-10 are monomorphemic:

1   ska
2   tkwa
3   sna
4   ja-kwa
5   ka-7yu

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7 An exception occurs in the expression tzan ka '(day nine) the ritual nine days of mourning.'
The numbers eleven through fourteen are composed of *ti* 'ten' followed by *xka* 'one more,' *tykwa* 'two more,' *xna* 'three more,' or *ykwa* 'four more':

11  *ti xka*
12  *ti tykwa*
13  *ti xna*
14  *ti ykwa*

The number fifteen, *ti7yun*, appears to be monomorphemic\(^8\), and the numbers sixteen through nineteen are compositionally analogous to numbers eleven through fourteen:

15  *ti7yun*
16  *ti7yun xka*
17  *ti7yun tykwa*
18  *ti7yun xna*
19  *ti7yun ykwa*

The number 'twenty,' *ka-la*, is not apparently analyzable. The numbers 21 through 24 are composed of *ka-la* followed by *ntkwa* 'N-sit/be' and the numerals one through four:

20  *ka-la*
21  *ka-la ntkwa ska*
22  *ka-la ntkwa tkwa*
23  *ka-la ntkwa sna*
24  *ka-la ntkwa ja-kwa*

---

\(^8\) However, it also bears a partial resemblance to *ti* 'ten' and to *ka-7yu* 'five.'
The number 25 lacks the form *ntkwa*, and the form denoting an added ‘five’ is

*nki7yu*. *ntkwa* returns in numbers 26 through 29:

25  *ka-la nki7yu*
26  *ka-la ntkwa skwa*
27  *ka-la ntkwa ka-ti*
28  *ka-la ntkwa snu7*
29  *ka-la ntkwa ka*

The number ‘thirty,’ *ka-la tyi*, combines *ka-la* ‘twenty’ and *tyi* ‘ten more.’

Numbers 31-34 use the form *ntkwa* ‘Nsit/be’ in the manner observed in numbers 21-24:

30  *ka-la tyi*
31  *ka-la tyi ntkwa ska*
32  *ka-la tyi ntkwa tkwa*
33  *ka-la tyi ntkwa sna*
34  *ka-la tyi ntkwa ja-kwa*

The number 35, *ka-la nti7yun*, is composed of *ka-la* ‘twenty’ plus the form
denoting an added ‘fifteen,’ *nti7yun*, while numbers 36-39 continue the pattern observed
for 31-34:

35  *ka-la nti7yun*
36  *ka-la tyi ntkwa skwa*
37  *ka-la tyi ntkwa ka-ti / kti*
38  *ka-la tyi ntkwa snu7*
39  *ka-la tyi ntkwa ka*

The number *t7wa* ‘forty’ appears in the numbers *t7wa ntkwa ska* ‘41’ through *t7wa
ntkwa ja-kwa* ‘44,’ while *t7wa nki7yu*, ‘45,’ uses *nki7yu* for the addition of five, and *t7wa
ntkwa skwa* ‘46’ through *t7wa ntkwa ka* ‘49’ are regular.

The number *t7wa tyi* ‘fifty’ is derived by addition of *tyi* ‘ten more’ to *t7wa* ‘forty.’
Addition of *skwa* ‘one’ through *ja-kwa* ‘four’ and of *skwa* ‘six’ through *ka* ‘nine’ to *t7wa
*tyi* uses the form *ntkwa*, following the same pattern observed for numbers 41-44 and 46-
49; the number t7wa nti7yun ‘55’ is derived by adding nti7yun ‘fifteen more’ to t7wa ‘forty.’

The number sna-yla ‘sixty’ is comprised of sna ‘three’ and yla, a form reminiscent of ka-la ‘twenty.’ Numbers sna-yla ntkwa ska ‘61’ through sna yla ntkwa ja-kwa ‘64’ and sna-yla ntkwa skwa ‘66’ through sna-yla ntkwa ka ‘69’ are regular, while sna-yla ns7wi ka-7yu ‘65’ uses the verb –s7wi ‘be at.’

The number sna-yla ns7wi ti ‘seventy’ combines sna-yla ‘sixty’ and ti ‘ten’ by means of the verb –s7wi. sna-yla ns7wi ti ntkwa ska ‘71’ through sna yla ns7wi ti ntkwa ja-kwa ‘74’ and sna-yla ns7wi ti ntkwa skwa ‘76’ through sna-yla ns7wi ti ntkwa ka ‘79’ are regular, while sna-yla ns7wi ti7yun ‘75’ combines sna-yla ‘sixty’ with ti7yun ‘fifteen’ by means of the verb –s7wi.

ja-wa-yla ‘eighty’ combines the forms ja-wa, reminiscent of ja-kwa ‘four’ and yla, the form related to ‘twenty’ that also occurs in sna-yla ‘sixty.’ ja-wa-yla ntkwa ska ‘81’ through ja-wa-yla ntkwa ja-kwa ‘84’ and ja-wa-yla ntkwa skwa ‘86’ through ja-wa-yla ntkwa ka ‘89’ are regular, using the verb -tkwa to indicate combination. ja-wa-yla ns7wi ka-7yu ‘85,’ however, uses the verb -s7wi rather than -tkwa.

ja-wa-yla ns7wi ti ‘ninety’ uses the verb ns7wi to express addition of ti ‘ten’ to ja-wa-yla ‘eighty.’ The forms ti xka ‘eleven,’ ti tykwa ‘twelve,’ ti xna ‘thirteen,’ ti jykwa ‘fourteen,’ ti7yun ‘fifteen,’ ti7yun xka ‘sixteen,’ ti7yun tykwa ‘seventeen,’ ti7yun xna ‘eighteen,’ and ti7yun jykwa ‘nineteen’ are added to ja-wa-yla ‘eighty’ in the same way to give numbers 91 through 99.

9 sna-yla ntkwa ka-7yu was not checked for acceptability.
The numbers ska sye-nttu ‘one hundred,’ tkwa sye-nttu ‘two hundred,’ etc. take the verb ns7wi plus any of the forms given in the previous paragraphs to form numbers in the hundreds, e.g., ska sye-nttu ns7wi ska ‘101.’

The forms ki7an ‘much, many,’ chi7n ‘a little, a few,’ ja ska ‘no/none,’ j7we ‘half,’ and ntyga ‘all’ are similar to numbers in that they refer to quantity. chi7n, ntyga, j7we and ja ska precede the nouns they modify, while ki7an usually follows the noun:

58) Juan Ceniza 219
n-7i1n yka ki7an nw-s7yu yu ra-ka7n
N-be wood much C-cut he then
‘There was a lot of wood that he had cut then.’

59) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 311
ta ja ky-a-7o chi7n ja-xlyta ti kwa 7yan a
or no P-take.2sg little bread just there of.lsg QU
‘Won’t you take a little bread to my place?’

60) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 397
ntyga na nw-so7 wa
all thing C-gather 1pl.excl
‘We gathered all the things.’

61) Juan Ceniza 179
cha7 j7we wra ti lo we ki-la tya
because half hour only and already P-arrive corn
‘Because in half an hour the corn will be here.’

62) El Toro y el conejo 218
ja ska na nki-7ni n 7in
no one thing N-do 1sg to.2sg
‘I am not doing anything to you.’

It is also possible for ki7an ‘much’ to precede the noun, in which case it appears to function as an event, as in the following example:

63) Juan Ceniza 229
ki7an 7a walo n-tiya 7in
much very worth N-be to.2sg
‘You are very worthy.’
I analyze the form of example 63) as giving it the literal meaning ‘your worth is very
great,’ with ki7an ‘much’ as the event denoting a characteristic of walo ntiya 7in ‘your
worth.’

In general, numbers can also function as events. In the following example, the
number tkwa ‘two’ has the meaning ‘be two in number’:

64) 1998-11-11 083
tkwa t7a n nu ki7yu
two brother/sister 1sg DET man
‘I have two brothers (lit. ‘my brothers are two in number’).’

2.2. The determiner nu

2.2.1. Discourse features of unmarked lexical nouns

Chatino does not mark the identifiable-unidentifiable semantic contrast that is
coded by the articles of English, nor does it give a morphological indication that a noun
refers to a class of entities or area of experience rather than an individual or a particular
entity. Consider the following examples:

65 a) Elicitation 1999-11-10 086
xi j7wa
sweet banana
‘The banana is sweet.’

b) El toro y el conejo 084
wa Ø-kita cha7-lyu jwin Ø
already P-break world said 3
‘The world is about to end, he said.’

c) El toro y el conejo 094
nw-tyi-sna nw-7i-tykwi Ø skâ7 si7 kilo 7in ra-ka7n
C-begin C-put 3 gourd side eye anim then
‘He put the gourd beside its (the snake’s) eye.’

66 a) Elicitation 1999-11-10 087
nw-kkwa-7ni n j7wa
C-sit-on 1sg banana
‘I sat on a banana.’
b) El toro y el conejo 004

*nw-tiya* s7en n-tun kwta
C-arrive place N-stand cattle
‘He arrived at a place were there was a cow.’

c) El toro y el conejo 077

*nw-tiya* s7en su nu kwna-mu tu-ke
C-arrive place lying DET rattlesnake cave
‘He arrived where the rattlesnake was lying in a cave.’

67 a) Elicitation 1999-11-10 088

*x* i7wa
sweet banana
‘Bananas are sweet / The banana is sweet.’

b) La historia de Yaitepec B 086

*s7en* ntyka t7a s7en ntyka jun-la
place H.be fiesta place H.be mayordomia
‘Where there is a festival, where there is mayordomia10.’

c) La historia de Yaitepec B 087

*s7en* nu nt7ya ne7 *ti-kinya7*
place REL H.carry person candle
‘Where people burn (lit.: carry) candles.’

Example 65 a) would be meaningful in a context in which the speaker has eaten half of a banana the other half of which is sitting on a table in view of the speaker and the hearer.

Because the speaker is referring specifically to the banana that he has tasted, and because the context allows the hearer to uniquely identify the banana being referred to, the English gloss uses the article ‘the’ preceding ‘banana.’ In example 65 b), the referent of the underlined noun is uniquely identifiable to the hearer because there is only one such entity in common experience. Example 65 c) occurs in the context of a traditional

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10 *jun-la* (Sp. *mayordomía*): A traditional Chatino ritual. For each of the major annual festivals, a different couple is chosen to carry out the ritual. The couple abstains from sexual relations for the thirteen days preceding the festival. On the day of the festival, they lead a parade through the town. Then they walk with a smaller group of attendants to a number of sacred locations in the hills surrounding Yaitepec and make offerings of bread, chocolate, and candles to the deities associated with the locations.
narrative in which only one gourd has been mentioned; the hearer can be expected to conclude that *ska7* refers to the single previously mentioned and therefore identifiable gourd. The contexts of the latter two examples thus require the definite article in the English glosses.

Example 66 a) could be uttered as an explanation for why there are bits of squashed banana on the seat of the speaker's pants. In eliciting the sentence, I asked the native speaker to assume that the event described took place at a remove from the speech event and that the hearer was not previously aware of the banana. Because under those circumstances the hearer would not be expected to be able to identify the banana, the use of the English article 'a' is appropriate in the gloss. In example 66 b), *kwta* 'cow' occurs as the first mention of the referent (other than in the title of the story). As the cow has not been previously identified, it is expected that the hearer will not know which cow is referred to, hence the use of 'a' in the gloss. Similarly, in example 66 c), the cave has not been previously mentioned and is not identifiable.

Example 67 a) could be uttered in the context of describing the flavor of bananas to someone who has never tasted one. Because the area of experience 'banana' rather than a particular banana is being referred to, the use of the plural noun 'bananas' or of the generic sense of 'the banana' is appropriate in the English gloss. Similarly, *jun-la* refers in example 67 b) to a general custom rather than a specific event. In example 67 c), the non-specific reference to 'candle' is glossed in English by using the plural without an article.

Because Chatino does not mark on nouns the semantic contrasts that are coded by the English articles or the English plural, the use of articles and the singular/plural
contrast in the English glosses indicates an interpretation of the context in which the noun is used, rather than its morphological characteristics. When a noun is unmarked, the hearer must determine for herself whether the entity is local in the physical environment or in the discourse and is therefore identifiable, or whether it is a non-specific or otherwise unidentifiable entity. Usually the context will provide enough information to facilitate that determination. The speaker also has the option of identifying the referent more explicitly by using spatial or discourse deictics (see section 2.6 below).

2.2.2. Nouns marked by *nu*

In both narratives and elicited examples, nouns that are relatively high on the animacy hierarchy described below are frequently encountered marked by the determiner *nu*. *nu* has been glossed as a definite article (Pride 1966) when it precedes a noun, but, as shown in the examples in section 2.2.1, the contrast between identifiability and non-identifiability of the referent, which corresponds to the alternation between the definite and indefinite article in English, is not consistently marked in Chatino. Although in some contexts the presence of *nu* is compatible with identifiability of a noun’s referent, the correspondence is not constant; there must be some other semantic considerations that motivate the use of *nu*.

The semantic contrast resulting from the presence vs. the absence of *nu* preceding a noun is a subtle one. In many of the cases in which *nu* is found preceding a noun in a text it can be omitted with no change in acceptability of the clause and no obvious change in meaning:

68) Elicitation 1999-11-10 007  
    y-a snye7 Liya  
    C-go child Maria  
    ‘Maria’s child left.’
69) Elicitation 1999-11-10 008
   y-a nu snye? Liya
   C-go DET child Maria
   ‘Maria’s child left.’

For some nouns, however, *nu must be present:

70) Elicitation 1999-11-10 045
   ska *nu tan
   one DET pilgrim
   ‘A pilgrim.’

71) Elicitation 1999-11-10 044
   * ska tan
   one pilgrim

while for others, the presence of *nu makes the expression unacceptable; *ki7yu ‘man’ can
be marked by *nu while *ntten ‘person’ cannot:

72) Elicitation 1999-11-09 027
   nw-tiyan ska *nu *ki7yu
   C-arrive one DET man
   ‘A man arrived.’

73) Elicitation 1999-11-09 029
   nw-tiyan ska ntten
   C-arrive one person
   ‘A person arrived.’

74) Elicitation 1999-11-09 030
   * nw-tiyan ska *nu ntten
   C-arrive one DET person

*nu also functions as a nominalizer (see below). Forms such as *tan ‘pilgrim,’ which
are always marked by *nu, are quite likely etymologically verbal or adjectival. Although
*tan occurs only as a noun, it may have lost a function as an adjective or verb; the
requirement that as a noun it be marked by *nu may be a remnant of the form’s
etymological morphology. In the following paragraphs, I focus on the morphemes that
are optionally marked by *nu*, and also suggest an explanation for why some nouns are never marked by *nu*.

The most striking condition relating to the use of *nu* preceding a noun is that in general, only nouns referring to kinds of human beings or other human-like entities are marked by *nu*. Placing *nu* before an inanimate noun usually results in an unacceptable utterance:

75) Elicitation 1999-11-09 044
   *y-lu ska yka-ke*
   C-grow one  potted.plant
   'A potted plant grew'

76) 2001-12-11 elicitaiton 066
   * nkwi-tyi  *nu___yka-ke  *nu  *n-tkwa si7 l7an-ki:7*
   C-dry  DET  potted.plant  REL  N-sit  side  kitchen
   'The potted plant that was sitting beside the kitchen dried up.'

In a certain context, it is possible for *nu* to appear before the noun *yka-ke* 'potted plant,' as in the following example:

77) 2001-12-11 elicitaiton 064
   *n-tkwa ska yka nk7a lo n-tkwa ska yka-ke*
   N-sit  one  tree  green  and  N-sit  one  potted.plant
   *si7 l7an lo nkwi-tyi  *nu___yka-ke  ka7n*
   side  house  and  C-dry  DET  potted.plant  that
   'There was a tree and a potted plant beside the house, and that potted plant dried up.'

According to the analysis of the meaning of *nu* given below, the acceptability of *nu* in example 77) is related to the setting up, in the first part of the utterance, of two distinct categories represented by *yka nk7a* 'tree' and *yka-ke* 'potted plant.' Because the two categories or types have already been evoked, the use of *nu* preceding a noun referring to a representative of one of those categories is acceptable.
However, an analogous context failed to produce an acceptable utterance with *nu* marking the noun *ke* 'rock.'

78) 2001-12-11 elicitation 070
    * n-t7in ska yka nte lo n-t7in ska ke lo w-7ya ne7
       N-be one tree here and N-be one rock and C-carry person
    nu__ ke ka7n
       DET rock that
    'There was a tree and a rock here and someone carried away the rock.'

The animate/inanimate distinction is not sharp; instead, it indicates a continuum with the outline

humans > animals in narratives > animals in the real world > plants > non-biological objects

*Figure 1: The animacy continuum favoring the use of nu*

*nu* is more successfully applied to nouns to the left of the continuum.

In a related use, in which it is glossed 'NOM (Nominalizer),' *nu* derives nominal expressions based on verbs, adjectives, or deictic forms, as in the following examples:

79) Elicitation 1999-11-10 033
    n-kita ___ nu___ nk7a
       C-break NOM red
    'The red one broke.'

80) Elicitation 1999-11-10 034
    ? n-kita nk7a
       C-break red
    'Red (?) broke.'

81) nty-ka-nt7 n __ nu___ re
       N-want 1sg  NOM this
    'I want this one.'

82) El toro y el conejo 015
    x7na wa-re ka nu___ nki-7ni-kwentta 7wa
       master 1pl.excl be NOM N-take.care.of to.1pl.excl
    'Our master is the one who takes care of us.'

*nu* also introduces relative clauses, as in
83) El conejo y el Toro 152

`ska7  lyu7-ti  nu n-ta  nwbare  7in  Ø  nw-7i-tykwi  Ø`

'Small gourd REL N-give compadre of 3 C-put 3

'The little gourd that his friend gave him, he put there.'

While the use of *nu* before a noun is related to the animate/inanimate continuum,
the use of *nu* as a nominalizer is equally possible in forming nominalizations referring to
animate and to inanimate entities. As a working hypothesis, one might assume that the
semantic contrast between the presence and absence of *nu* preceding a noun is reasonably
applied only to relatively animate entities, and that the semantic content of *nu* in that
context is compatible with the semantics of nominalization and relativization in general.

In the following paragraphs, I illustrate in more detail the contrast between the presence
and absence of *nu* preceding a noun. This necessitates temporarily excluding nouns that
are never marked by *nu* from the discussion; later I offer a hypothesis for why inanimate
and certain animate nouns are rarely or never marked by *nu*.

The following examples show an apparent correspondence between the presence of
*nunu* and identifiability of a noun.

84) El conejo y el Toro 003-5

`nu  cha-kwchi  nw-7ni-cha7  7in  toro`

'DET rabbit C-ask to bull

'The rabbit asked a bull,'

`che  toro  jwin,  ni-cha7  tnu  7a  da  wan  jwin  Ø`

'friend bull said why big very QU 2sg.rsp said 3

‘Friend bull, he said, why are you so big?’'

`ka7n  xkwen  nu  toro  7in  Ø  ra-ka7n`

'then answer DET bull to 3 then

‘Then the bull replied to him...’
In the first line, the bull has not been previously mentioned and is not identifiable, while in the third, he has been mentioned, and is identifiable. However, a few lines later, the following example occurs:

85) El conejo y el toro 028
   wa-re a jwin toru
   1pl.excl DSC said bull
   ‘We, said the bull . . .’

*toru* in example 85) refers to the same individual as the same noun in example 84), and the referent of the noun is unquestionably identifiable at the point at which the later reference is made, yet the noun *toru* is unmarked by *nu*. As already demonstrated in section 2.2.1 above, unmarked nouns often have identifiable referents. It thus appears that if *nu* is used to indicate that an entity is identifiable, it is only optional in that function.

Although in elicitation native speakers judge sentences differing only by the presence or absence of *nu* to have the same meaning, examination of texts reveals a consistent meaning associated with the use of the determiner. A noun marked by *nu* makes reference to an individual by means of the category or type, frequently a social category, to which the individual belongs. A noun unmarked by *nu* makes reference more directly, in a manner more similar to that of a proper noun. While a noun marked by *nu* evokes the concept of the type to which an individual belongs, a noun without *nu* more directly evokes that aspect of the essence of the individual that is named by the noun.

This distinction is evident in the few types of environments in which *nu* is consistently present or absent. As revealed by a survey of the text database, nouns that are likely to be marked by *nu* (such as those referring to types of humans), are always
marked by *nu* when they refer to groups as opposed to single individuals, as illustrated by the following examples:\(^{11}\):

86) 1998-11-11 007

\textit{nu} \textit{ki7yu} \textit{nty7an} \textit{wa-yka} \textit{na} \textit{nu} \textit{kw7an} \textit{in} \textit{7ni-kwintta}

DET man H.walk to.the.woods and DET woman DSC H.take.care.of

\textit{nu} \textit{lwe-ti}

NOM small

'The men go to get wood and the women take care of the children.'
(Mentioned while discussing daily activities in Yaitpec.)

87) 2001-12-11 elicitation 044

\textit{nty7an} \textit{nu} \textit{ki7yu} \textit{wa-yka}

H.walk DET man to.the.woods

'The men go to get wood.'

88) 2001-12-11 elicitation 045

\textit{nty7an} \textit{ki7yu} \textit{wa-yka}

H.walk man to.the.woods

In examples 86) and 87), the nouns *ki7yu* 'man' and *kw7an* 'woman' refer to groups, classes, or types, and hence are marked by *nu*. Example 88) was rejected as an equivalent utterance: *ki7yu* 'man' by itself cannot be used to refer to the class of individuals, the expected reference. In a closely related context, when an individual is referred to as a member of a category, the noun is marked by *nu*. This is evident in the following examples, in which *ki7yu* and *kw7an* refer to individuals concerning whom the relevant criterion is that they are members of the classes named by *kw7an* and *ki7yu*:

89) 2001-12-13 elicitation 005

\textit{jnya-ti7} \textit{n} \textit{nu} \textit{kw7an}

desirous 1sg DET woman

'I want (to have) a woman.'

90) 2001-12-13 elicitation 004

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\(^{11}\) The database was searched for all examples of *ki7yu* 'man' and *kw7an* 'woman.' The cases marked by *nu* and those unmarked by *nu* were divided into categories based on the apparent semantic contribution of *nu*. As a result of this procedure, most of the following examples feature *ki7yu* and/or *kw7an*. While further research is needed, the regularities observed with regard to these two nouns appear to apply to others as well.
jnya-ti7  n  nu  ki7yu
desirous  lsg  DET  man
'I want (to have) a man.'

Similarly, in the following example, the speaker asserts that the hearer is a member of a
social category:

91)  La Mujer que se Puso 117
7win  ka       nu  kw7an  in
2sg  be.2sg  DET  woman  DSC
'You are a woman.'

Example 91) comes from a traditional narrative. The two protagonists, a woman and a
donkey, have gotten lost in an unknown area, and the donkey worries about its fate
should they encounter strangers. It continues, 'What will happen to me if some men
come and take you away?'

A final construction that illustrates the connection between the use of nu and the
idea of the type of an individual is that illustrated in the following examples:

92)  Martin's example sentences 916
nu  kw7an  t7a  n  ka  nu  kwla  la  7wa-re
DET  woman  brother/sister  lsg  be  NOM  old  more  to.1pl.excl
'My sister is the oldest among us.'

93)  1998-11-11 080
n-tiya  tkwa  nu  ki7yu  t7a  n
N-be  two  DET  man  brother/sister  lsg
'I have two brothers.'

The underlined segments of the two examples are composed of two nouns, the second,
t7a  n  'my sibling,' having the social category of its referent specified by the first, kw7an
or ki7yu.

Chatino makes a distinction between an expression like that in example 91), which
categorizes the individual, and an expression that refers to a characteristic of the
individual. While *nu kw7an* in example 91) expresses the social category of the
individual, *ki7yu* in the following example emphasizes a characteristic of the individual:

94) Juan Ceniza 237

\[
\text{wa ni tza-nti7an ti7 n 7in cha7 ka ki7yu}
\]

already now P.believe nature lsg to.2sg that be.2sg man
‘From now on I will believe of you that you are a man.’

The issue in question in example 94) is not whether the hearer is a member of the class
named by *ki7yu*, but rather whether he has the characteristics ideologically associated
with the term. Since *ki7yu* does not refer to a category in this case, it is not marked by
*nu*.

*ki7yu* ‘man’ can also be used to refer to the (male) speaker or hearer, in which case
it is not marked by *nu*\(^{12}\):

95) El conejo y el toro 094

\[
tiyu \ ki7yu \ re \ tu-yni \ nu \ kwna-tnu \ jwin \ Ø
\]

P.fall man this throat DET rattlesnake said 3
‘This man (i.e., ‘I’) will fall into the throat of the rattlesnake,’ he said.’

96) El conejo y el toro 093

\[
\text{na ka 7in ki7yu ni nwpa jwin Ø}
\]

what be to man now friend said 3
‘What (matter) does the man (i.e., you) have now, friend,’ he said.’

A final context in which the nouns *ki7yu* and *kw7an* are not marked by *nu* is that in
which they are possessed, meaning 'spouse' or 'partner,' as in the following examples:

97) Martin's example sentences 384

\[
y-a \ Liya \ 7o \ ki7yu \ 7in \ Ø \ ni7 \ lya
\]

C-go Maria with man of 3 in in.church
‘Maria and her man went to church.’

98) Martin's example sentences 264

\[
n-tkwi \ tykw-an-jin \ nxkan \ kw7an \ 7in \ Xwa
\]

N-hang earring ear woman of Juan
‘Juan’s woman has an earring in her ear.’

\(^{12}\) It is not known whether or not *kw7an* can be used analogously.
The last two contexts in which ki7yu and kw7an are unmarked by nu are similar in that they refer directly to the individual, without appealing to the notion of the type to which the individual belongs. With regard to the following minimally contrastive pair, the native speaker commented that the first example is more appropriate if the hearer is assumed to know Maria but not her mother, while the second is appropriate if the hearer is assumed to know Maria's mother:

99) a) Elicitation 1999-11-09 005
   y-a nu jy7an Liya
   C-leave DET mother Maria
   'Maria's mother left.'

b) Elicitation 1999-11-09 006
   y-a jy7an Liya
   C-leave mother Maria
   'Maria's mother left.'

Example a) achieves reference to the individual by naming a category that is known to exist in relation to Maria, although the unique representative of that category is not known, while in example b) the speaker refers more directly to the individual herself, in terms of the relationship.

Figure 2 illustrates in graphic form the contrast between nouns marked and unmarked by nu.

Figure 2: The contrast between the presence and absence of the determiner nu with nouns. The ovals represent categories. The category is evoked by the use of nu; when nu is not used, the reference to the individual is more direct.
The use of *nu* with nouns is semantically related to its use in nominalization and relative constructions. Nominalizations and relative constructions make reference to entities in terms of events in which they are involved, while a noun preceded by *nu* makes reference in terms of a category. In both cases, the reference is less direct than that achieved by an unmarked noun. *Nu* is associated with something other than the referent itself, something which yet aids in the identification of the referent. Translations provided by native speakers sometimes give indications of the relatedness of *nu* in its various uses as when, for example, the phrases *nu kw7an* and *nu ki7yu* are translated as ‘the one who was the woman’ and ‘the one who was the man.’

Such alternative glosses may also provide a clue to why in many contexts the presence versus the absence of *nu* does not result in an obvious difference of meaning between two utterances. Such a context occurs in examples 84) and 85) above; it was observed that the noun referring to a single participant, the bull, is unmarked when it first appears, then is marked by *nu*, and shortly reappears unmarked. In many contexts, direct reference (using an unmarked noun) and reference mediated by the concept of a category (using a noun marked by *nu*) are equally effective. A native speaker who in translating a text gives the gloss ‘the man’ for *nu ki7yu* recognizes the semantic near-identity of ‘the man’ and the more complete ‘the one who was the man,’ and selects the former as stylistically more appropriate in the target language. In Chatino, in many contexts, both alternatives are equally appropriate.
A question alluded to at the beginning of this section remains unanswered: why do nouns towards the inanimate end of the animacy continuum, and also a few animate nouns such as *ntten* 'person' and *ne7* 'person' rarely or never occur marked by *nu*?

A possible explanation for the failure of inanimate nouns to be marked by *nu* relates to cultural conceptions of the inanimate world. The interactions between members of human societies result in the creation of social roles which in turn become part of the identities of the individuals who assume them. It makes sense to refer to an individual in terms of the social roles she assumes, as well as in terms of her attributes as an individual. Inanimate objects, by contrast, are more often known only experientially. While an inanimate object may have a role in human society, its role, unlike that of a human being, is frequently not dissociable from its physical attributes. It would make less sense to use a grammatical form that would distinguish two slightly different ways of referring to an inanimate object.

As mentioned above, marking by *nu* of the noun *ntten* 'person' is judged ungrammatical by native speakers. The same is usually true of the noun *ne7* 'person,' although the latter is marked by *nu* in the following example:

100) 2001-12-11 elicitation 051

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
y-a & ska & nu & ne7 & cha7-tya & ti & da-la \\
\end{array}
\]

C-go one DET person Chatino right.over Dallas

‘A Chatino person went over to Dallas.’

In example 100), the only one in the text database in which *ne7* is marked by *nu, ne7* is modified by *cha7-tya* 'Chatino.' As a result, its reference is more limited than it would be if *ne7* were unmodified; example 100) is similar to the other examples including nouns marked by *nu*, in that *ne7 cha7-tya* specifies a type of person. A possible explanation for the failure of *ntten* and *ne7* with their most general reference ‘person’ to occur
marked by *nu* is that the types named by those nouns are too general to contrast with those named by other nouns that participate in the alternation marked by the presence or absence of *nu*. As a consequence, in most imaginable contexts, *ne7* and *ntten* do not refer categories or types, but directly to the individual, and are therefore never found marked by *nu*.

2.3. Titles and appositives

Certain nouns referring to types or classes of human beings are frequently found preceding nouns referring to individuals. *ne7 kwla* ‘old person,’ *xu7* ‘old man,’ and *jy7o* ‘deceased person’ are members of this class. The following examples illustrate their use:

101) Felipa 2 004

```
cha7 n-ta ne7 kwla jy7an n a7n pero ja t7an n
```

word H-give person old mother 1sg 1sg but no C-see 1sg

‘So says the (respected) old woman my mother, but I didn’t see it.’

102) Felipa 2 045

```
y-a Ø mya 7in xu7 Wurtinu tmya tzan
```

C-go 3 work to old.man Fortino work day

‘He went to do day labor for (respected) old man Fortino.’

103) Felipa 2 046

```
y-a Ø tmya 7in jy7o SeRmu
```

C-go 3 work to deceased Ancelmo

‘He went to work for the deceased Ancelmo.’

104) Felipa 3 010

```
cha7 nkw-jwi yu kwla sti n a7n
```

because C-die man old father 1sg 1sg

‘Because the (respected) old man my father is dead.’

105) Felipa 1 006

```
io jweeka chu7n re 7in kla Poncho
```

on plantation back here of Mr. Poncho

‘On the plantation behind there of Mister Poncho.’

In the following example, the nouns *jy7o Wartolo* ‘the deceased Bartolo’ and *t7a wa* ‘our relative’ appear in a relation slightly different from that found between the pairs of nouns
in the previous examples. *jy7o Wartolo* names the individual, and *t7a wa* ‘our relative’ provides additional information about the individual:

106) Felipa 5 037

*ka7n jwin jy7o wartolo t7a wa 7in Ø ra-ka7n*

then said deceased Bartolo brother/sister 1pl.excl to 3 then
‘Then our deceased relative Bartolo said to him, . . .’

Since both expressions refer to the same individual, with similar degrees of specificity, I consider the construction in example 106) to exemplify a type of apposition.

2.4. *kwi7* ‘the very, the same, self’

The form *kwi7* meaning ‘very,’ ‘same,’ or ‘self,’ precedes the nouns it modifies. In the following example, the use of *kwi7* signifies that the referent of the following noun is the same as that of a previous mention:

107) El conejo y el toro 188

*kwi7 s7en n-t7in nwbare n-kila Ø xya7*

same place N-live compadre C-arrive 3 again
‘To the same place where the friend lived he went again.’

In a more frequent usage, *kwi7* lends a sense of emphatic contrast to the noun it precedes, implying that there is something surprising about the involvement of that particular participant:

108) El conejo y el toro 311

*ti kwi7 nu kw7na nki-tza7 la ka ti 7in Ø*

only same DET crocodile N.advise where be dangerous to 3
‘The crocodile himself told me where he is vulnerable.’

109) Felipa 2 019

*kwi7 snye7 kla Poncho nkwa-7o 7in Ø cha7-nu ja y-7wi Ø*

same child Mr. Poncho C.defend to 3 so.that no C-be 3
*y7an-tykwian*
in.prison
‘The very sons of Mr. Pancho defended him so that he would not go to jail.’
2.5. Adjectives

The preceding sections have discussed the forms that occur before nouns and modify them; in this and the following sections, the forms that follow and modify nouns are described. This section discusses adjectives, section 2.6 turns to demonstratives, and section 2.7 illustrates the patterning of possessors.

Members of the adjective class share many of the functions of verbs, and the adjective class could be viewed as a sub-class of the verbal class. The clearest distinction between adjectives and (other types of) verbs is that adjectives, unlike prototypical verbs, are not inflected for aspect. However, the meanings of adjectives when they function as events are similar to those of verbs in the Continuative Aspect, and certain verbs in the Continuative and Completive Aspects have nearly the same distribution that adjectives have (see section 2.5.2). Adjectives can also be distinguished from nouns, in that while any adjective can function as an event or in an attributive position with relation to a noun, only certain nouns can have those functions. Further, adjectives cannot occur with the typical functions of nouns, such as those of a possessor or of the S or O of a clause, without first being nominalized by nu 'NOM.'

2.5.1. The distribution and functions of adjectives

Adjectives can have one of the two general function of either following a noun and attributively referring to a characteristic of the referent of the noun, or occurring as the event of the utterance, in which case an assertion is made about the referent of the noun.

These two uses are illustrated by the following examples:

110) Hurricane 042

\[ n\text{-}tkwa \quad l7an \quad \text{s7we} \quad n\text{-}tkwa \quad l7an \quad losa \]

N-sit house good N-sit house concrete

‘There are good houses, there are houses of concrete.’
111) Juan, Cuero de Venado 067

s7we ste7 Ø ra-ka7n

good clothing 3 then

‘His clothing was good then.’

A wide variety of meanings are encoded by adjectives, including:

a. Size and shape: tmu ‘big,’ lwe ‘small,’ tkwin ‘long,’ ku7 ‘short,’ kwan ‘high, tall’
    ki7ya ‘low, short,’ xen ‘wide,’ k7in ‘deep,’ nwjtu ‘spherical,’ le ‘long (of
    clothing),’ nkwlu7 ‘round,’ skwi ‘round,’ etc.

b. Color: ngia ‘black,’ ngten ‘white,’ kwxi:7 ‘blue,’ nk7a7 ‘red,’ nk7a12 ‘green,’
    kti ‘yellow,’ ji ‘gray,’ k7a ‘reddish,’ kwa ‘purple,’ ye ‘orange,’ etc.

c. Value: s7we ‘good,’ x7an ‘bad,’ nyi ‘true,’ s7wa ‘equal, level,’ tkwi ‘easy,’ chen
    ‘ugly,’ jwnyu ‘fine,’ etc.

d. Age: kw ‘new,’ kwla ‘old,’ nwstu7 ‘old,’ kwun ‘old,’ tiji ‘new,’ etc.

e. Physical characteristic: cha ‘sharp,’ ku7 ‘dull,’ che7 ‘rough,’ jwtyi ‘dry,’ kitu
    ‘hollow,’ ku:7 ‘dirty,’ lwi ‘clean,’ ku7n ‘wrinkled,’ kw7a ‘adorned,’ kwstu7
    ‘rough,’ nwtsu7 ‘muddy,’ kwya7 ‘dirty,’ l7a ‘broken,’ tla ‘hard,’ etc.

f. Experiential characteristic: tyka7n ‘visible,’ kwen ‘loud,’ nwna ‘quiet,’ tnya
    ‘spicy,’ tiye7 ‘sour,’ xu7n ‘delicious,’ tiye7n ‘salty,’ xi ‘sweet,’ ntwi ‘bright,’ tla
    ‘dark,’ etc.

g. Human characteristic or emotion: ji ‘sweet in character,’ jnya-ti7 ‘eager,’ jwtye
    ‘foolish,’ jy7u-ti7 ‘ashamed,’ kicha ‘stuck up,’ kwriya7 ‘rich,’ kw7i ‘humble,’ la
    ‘fierce,’ nk7e-ti7 ‘hungry,’ nsi7-ti7 ‘angry,’ nti-ti7 ‘sober,’ ntiyu7 ‘crazy,’ ntja
    ‘lazy,’ ntku7n ‘rude,’ ntwye-ti7 ‘anxious, ple ‘stupid,’ s7we-ti7 ‘happy,’ sen
    ‘calm,’ xly ‘jealous,’ xo ‘crazy,’ xyu7 ‘troublesome,’ etc.

h. Human category: ’ nwze7 ‘Zapotecan,’ cha7-tnya ‘Chatino,’ kila ‘male,’ kwte7
    ‘female,’ etc.

i. Human physical appearance: kicha7n ‘hairy,’ kiche ‘uncombed,’ kti ‘delicate,’
    kwna7 ‘bald,’ nti7ya ‘pretty,’ chen ‘ugly,’ etc.

j. Human physical status: k7un ‘deaf,’ k7wi ‘drunk,’ kwuyi7n ‘blind,’ kwxi
    ‘incapacitated,’ l7an ‘weak,’ l7u ‘alive,’ t7i ‘sick, painful’ tnya7 ‘tired,’ etc.

k. Other: jkwa7 ‘serene,’ jwnya ‘borrowed,’ jwnyi7 ‘on credit,’ x7na ‘cheap,’
    kwne7 ‘tender,’ kwte7 ‘hidden,’ nkwen ‘ripe,’ y7a ‘green, unripe,’ etc.

Certain nouns, like adjectives, can follow and modify other nouns. This is true of a noun
referring to the substance or contents of an object, as in

112) El tunco y el ciego 019

kwa su ska ti kiche

there lying one rope hemp

‘There is a hemp rope.’
113) Juan Ceniza 057
\[NW-ni\ yu\ cha7\ nu\ 7ya\ yu\ ska\ xkwi\ 7a-xu\ nta7-kw1i\]
C-do man that NOM N.carry man one basket garlic onion then
‘Then he made it so that he came with a basket of garlic and onions then.’

and of a word referring to a locale that is in some sense the source of the object:

114) Felipa 5 013
\[n-t7an\ \O\ 7o\ snye7\ ne7\ s7we\]
N-walk 3 with child person Juquila
‘He was walking with a child of the person from Juquila.’

Some members of the adjective class can occur in sentence-initial position and with an adverbial function, as is the case with \(s7we\) ‘good, well’ and \(t7i\) ‘painful, painfully’ in the following examples:

115) Juan Ceniza 208
\[s7we\ nx7yu\ spada\ ka7n\ 7in\ yu\ ra-ka7n\]
good H.cut spade that of him then
‘His spade cut well then.’

116) Martin’s example sentences 679
\[t7i\ 7a\ y-jo7\ kwun-kna-nkta\ 7in\ Liya\]
painful very C-poke black.wasp to Maria
‘The black wasp stung Maria painfully.’

While there is no morphological distinction between adjectives and adverbs, some forms, such as \(sen\) ‘quietly, calmly’ and \(nwna\) ‘silently’ occur only with an adverbial function, while others, such as \(nk7a\) ‘red’ occur only with typical adjectival functions.

Adverbs are discussed further in section 4.2 below.

2.5.2. Participial adjectives

Verbal roots with Continuative and Completive aspect prefixes frequently resemble adjectives in their meanings and functions. Because both verbs and adjectives can function as events, and because most verbs can modify nouns without any morphology
indicating that they are relative clauses, the form of a noun + verb/adjective sequence is not sufficient to distinguish the second element as a verb or as a derived adjective. In the following example, *7ni nkjwi* is probably best translated as 'a dead animal,' but there is nothing in the form to rule out the translation 'an animal that died':

117) El toro y el conejo 248

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
7ni & nkjwi & wi & lo & meru & 7ni & nu & la & ka & ka7n & in & ra-ka7n
\end{array}
\]

animal C-die DSC and just animal REL fierce be that DSC then 'It is a dead animal, and it was a very wild animal.'

A criterion that appears to be of some use in distinguishing between verbs and adjectives is the interpretation of the intensifier enclitic *7a* 'very.' *7a* is cliticized directly following the verb or adjective, preceding any participants when the verb or adjective functions as the event. In the narrative text corpus, *7a* 'very' occurs approximately 150 times; the majority of occurrences involve one of two somewhat different senses\(^\text{13}\). One of these senses, in which a characteristic, quality, or state is stated more strongly by means of *7a*, occurs with adjectives or adverbs as in the following examples:

118) El conejo y el toro 305

\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
ti & 7a & re & 7yan & jwin & \emptyset
\end{array}
\]
dangerous very here to.1sg said 3 'Here it is very dangerous for me, he said.'

119) La historia de Yaitepec A 026

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
kitchen & mu & 7a & ka & an
\end{array}
\]
town big very be it 'It is a very big town.'

120) Martin's example sentences 350

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
ku:7 & 7a & lo-nwsa & s7en & n-tkwa & n
\end{array}
\]
dirty very table place N-sit 1sg 'The table where I am sitting is very dirty.'

\(^\text{13}\) Other related uses of *7a* are discussed in section 4.1 below.
121) El toro y el conejo 316
niti7ya 7a nty7i-jya
beautiful very H.play.2sg
‘You play very beautifully.’

and with verbal forms that have meanings similar to those coded by adjectives, as in the following:

122) Elias: El Terremoto 2 073
y-tzen 7a wa ra-ka7n
C-be.afraid very 1pl.excl then
‘We were very afraid then.’

123) Elias: El Terremoto 2 108
n-tzen 7a an 7ni Ø
N-fear very 1pl.incl say 3
‘We are very afraid,’ they said.’

124) Martin’s example sentences 657
nw-su7 7a sti-kwla Xwa lo ja nty-ka 7a tykw7i
C-grow.old very grandfather Juan and no N-be.able more P.talk
‘Juan’s grandfather is very old and can no longer speak.’

Words that have more prototypically verbal functions co-occur with 7a only in negative constructions, in which 7a is translated ‘any longer,’ as in the following examples:

125) El conejo y el toro 568
pu ja k-lu7a ni
well no P-grow any.longer.2sg now
‘Well, now you will no longer grow.’

126) Elias: El Terremoto 2 023
ja kw-tzen wan na ja ki-nya 7a ni
no P-be.afraid 2pl because no P-have.earthquake any.longer now
‘Don’t be afraid, because it is not going to quake any more.’

127) El toro y el conejo 202
wa ja n-kinu7a kwa 7na ni a
already no N-remain any.longer that to.1pl.incl now DSC
‘Now I don’t have that one trapped any longer.’

The fact that verbs like klu ‘P.grow,’ kinya ‘P.have earthquake,’ and nkinu

‘N.remain’ are not found in positive clauses accompanied by 7a in its intensifying sense
motivates a distinction between adjectives and adjective-like verbal forms on one hand and other types of verbs on the other. Forms denoting a quality, characteristic, or state have their meanings intensified by the addition of 7a, while forms denoting actions or processes co-occur with 7a only in the negative construction illustrated above.

The notion that verb roots in the Continuative and Completive aspects may be analyzed as functioning as adjectives is further supported by the fact that several forms that appear to be adjectives are similar to verbs in the Continuative or Completive aspectual prefixes, but their roots do not occur in verbs with other aspectual realizations. Examples include ntlə ‘cloudy,’ nti7ya ‘beautiful,’ nk7a ‘red,’ and ntja ‘lazy,’ which resemble verbs inflected for the Continuative aspect, and nkwlu7 ‘round’ and nwna ‘quiet,’ which resemble verbs inflected for the Completive aspect.

There are also cases of apparent adjectives that resemble aspect-inflected verbs with roots that do occur in verbs realized for other aspects, although the form used as an adjective is not identical to any of the inflected verb forms. Examples include ki7ya2 ‘low,’ which has the same root as the verb –7ya ‘go down,’ with the inflected forms ki7ya24 ‘P.go down,’ nki7ya1 ‘N.go down,’ nki7ya24 ‘H.go down,’ and nkw7ya12 ‘C.go down,’ and kwtyi2/jwtyi2 ‘dry,’ which has the same root as the verb –tyi ‘dry (intr.),’ with the inflected forms kityi2 ‘P.dry,’ nkityi1 ‘N.dry,’ nkityi2 ‘H.dry,’ and nkwytyi2 ‘C.dry.’

The co-occurrence of roots in the adjective and verb classes, as well as the existence of adjectives that resemble verbal forms based on roots that do not occur as part of verb inflections suggest that some adjectives include derivational morphology, in some
cases obscured when the root has ceased to be used as part of a verb. I term such
adjectives 'participial adjectives,' especially when related verbs do exist.

2.5.3. Forms that modify adjectives

Section 4.1 below lists a number of morphemes, termed 'event modifiers,' which
most frequently follow verbs functioning as events. The event-modifier 7a 'very,' which
is encliticized to both verbs and adjectives, is discussed in the previous section. la 'more'
and ti 'just, only,' which have been seen above (section 1.2.4) denoting distance and
nearness with relation to locatives, are two other members of the set of event modifiers
that frequently occur with adjectives:

128) El conejo y el toro 210
\[ ni\ s7en\ nu\ la\ ti\ nu\ s7en\ s7a\ n\ ni \]
\[ now\ place\ REL\ dangerous\ more\ only\ NOM\ place\ P.go\ 1sg\ now \]
\[ kompadre\ jwin\ \Ø\ 
compassion\ said\ 3\ 
'
'Now I am going to a place where it is even more dangerous, friend,' he said.'

129) Felipa 7 016
\[ s7en\ ykwa\ ti\ n-kila\ wa\ 7o\ \Ø\ ra-ka7n \]
\[ place\ flat\ just\ C-arrive\ 1pl.excl\ with\ 3\ then \]
'To a completely flat place we arrived with him then.'

130) Felipa 7 023
\[ ple\ ti\ wa\ ra-ka7n \]
\[ foolish\ only\ 1pl.excl\ then \]
'We were just foolish.'

la 'more' is used in the comparative/superlative construction, exemplified in example
128). If the standard of comparison is mentioned, it is marked by ke 'than':

131) 1998-11-11 033
\[ tkwin\ la\ Liya\ ke\ Xwa \]
\[ tall\ more\ Maria\ than\ Juan \]
'Maria is taller than Juan.'

\[14\ Borrowed from Spanish que, and showing the regular palatalization of k before e: [k'ë].\]
Placement of *nu* ‘NOM’ before the adjective and/or *ti* ‘just’ following the adjective can result in a superlative meaning, as in

132) Martin’s example sentences 609

\[
\text{Kwa} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{kwla} \quad \text{la} \quad 7\text{i}n \quad t7a \quad \varnothing
\]

Juan be NOM old more to brother/sister 3

‘Juan is the oldest of his siblings’

133) Martin’s example sentences 606

\[
migu \quad s7\text{we} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{ti} \quad 7\text{i}n \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{kula} \quad \text{tkwin} \quad \text{s7\text{we}}
\]

friend good more just of.2sg be Nicolas road Juquila

‘Your best friend is Nicolas Camino de Juquila’

134) 1998-11-11 044

\[
\text{Modestu} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{lyu7} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{ti}
\]

Modesto be NOM small more only

‘Modesto is the littlest.’

However, *nu* can also occur when the meaning is comparative rather than superlative, as in

135) La historia de Yaitepec A 031

\[
\text{kichen} \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{kwi} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{an}
\]

town NOM new more be it

‘They were newer towns.’

Comparison of examples 134) and 135) suggests that a comparative versus superlative interpretation depends at least partially on context. When a standard of comparison is mentioned in a superlative construction, it is marked by the preposition *7i*n ‘to,’ as illustrated in example 132) above.

2.6. Deictic determiners

The deictic determiners *re* ‘this,’ *kwa* ‘that,’ and *ka7n* ‘that (the mentioned)’ occur following lexical nouns, as in the following examples:

136) Hurricane 056

\[
nki\text{-}i\text{zen} \quad n \quad \text{cha7} \quad \text{ty7o}\text{-}t7\text{i}n \quad 17\text{an} \quad \text{re} \quad 7\text{yan} \quad \text{ra}\text{-}ka7\text{n}
\]

N-be.afraid 1sg that P.leave.trapped house this to.1sg then

‘I was afraid that the house would fall on me.’
137) Silvia: El Terremoto 1074
\(ja\) kw-la7 kityi-cha7-j7o \(kwa\) wili
no P-touch.2sg catechism that Wili
‘Leave that catechism alone, Wili.’

138) El conejo y el toro 121-122
\(l7an\) su nu kwna-tnu ra-ka7n
C.see lying DET rattlesnake then
‘He saw that there was a snake lying there then,
\(l7an\) ti ka su kwna-tnu ka7n ra-ka7n
C.see only be lying rattlesnake that then
‘and as soon as he saw that rattlesnake lying there, . . .’

The morphemes \(re\) ‘this’ and \(kwa\) ‘that’ identify a specific instance of the class of entities
named by the noun as being located close to the speaker in the case of \(re\) or farther from
the speaker in the case of \(kwa\). \(kwa\) can also occur with a noun referring to an entity that
is absent from the scene of the speech event, as in the following example, in which the
speaker refers to a rabbit that was recently mentioned but is not in the physical context of
the speech event:

139) El toro y el conejo 420
\(na\) \(yu\) sa ka nu_ cha-kwchi kwa i 7ni ka7n ra-ka7n
and man clever be DET rabbit that DSC say that then
‘That rabbit is very clever, said the turtle then’

The contexts in which \(kwa\) and \(ka7n\) are appropriate can thus be seen to overlap partially.

One difference between the two forms is that \(ka7n\) is limited to occurrence with nouns
referring to entities that have been mentioned, while \(kwa\) can be used with nouns
referring to items that have not been mentioned but are identifiable because they are in
the physical environment, as in example 137) above.
3. Verbs

This section describes morphology of verbs in Chatino. Section 3.1 describes aspectual morphology, Section 3.2 deals briefly with the marking of subjects of clauses, and Section 3.3 describes the derivational patterns found to occur in verbs, including noun incorporation and constructions with multiple verb roots. The forms that modify verbs are discussed in section 4.

3.1. Aspectual morphology.

Four aspectual distinctions are realized in verbs: Potential (P), Continuative (N), Habitual (H), and Completive (C)\(^{15}\); whenever a verb occurs, if it does not take its combination form (see section 3.3.4.1), it realizes one of the aspects. In the following paragraphs, I describe the form and meaning of each of the four aspectual morphemes.

In addition to segmental phonemes that occur at the beginnings of inflected verbs, aspectual morphology involves tone contrasts. Because the 1\(^{st}\) person singular and 2\(^{nd}\) person singular enclitic pronouns also include tone contrasts as part of their realization, the tone of a verb that is inflected for aspect and is also followed by one of those pronouns results from the co-presence of the two morphemes.

A given verb root selects an allomorph of each aspectual prefix from among several possibilities. This selection appears to be largely arbitrary, but is partially restricted by the phonological shape of the root. For example, no root beginning with a consonant cluster selects one of the consonantal allomorphs of the Potential Aspect, so if a root has a consonant cluster its Potential Aspect allomorph will be either palatalization of the initial consonant along with tone contrast, or else tone contrast alone.

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\(^{15}\) The labels for the aspectual morphemes are used for the sake of consistency with previous literature on Chatino and other Zapotecan languages, such as Pride and Pride (1997) and Butler (1980).
In numerous cases the location of the boundary between the aspect morpheme and the root is not obvious. For example, the inflected forms *sten*³⁴ ‘P.enter,’ *nkiten*³² ‘N.enter,’ *ntyen*³⁴ ‘H.enter,’ and *yten*³² ‘C.enter’ suggest the existence of a verb root –*ten* with aspectual prefixes *s*-, *nki*-, *n* + [palatalization], and *y*-. However, the assumed Potential Aspect allomorph *s*- occurs with only three verb roots in the database, giving in addition to *sten*³⁴ ‘P.enter’ *skin* ‘P.burn’ and *skwen*³⁴ ‘P.rise.’ There are many verbs for which there is no segmental component to the Potential Aspect allomorph, such as –*sta* ‘break,’ with the inflected forms *sta*³², *nsta*¹, *nsta*³², *nwsta*¹. This raises the possibility that the root of the verb meaning ‘enter’ is actually –*sten*. In that case, the Potential Aspect allomorph for –*sten* would have no segmental realization, and the initial *s*- of the root would be deleted before the Continuative, Habitual, and Completive Aspect prefixes. Given the segmental components of the Continuative and Completive Aspect allomorphs selected by the hypothetical root –*sten*, deletion of an initial *s*- in those aspects would make the resulting forms compatible with the general phonotactic constraints of Yaitepec Chatino, which disallow more than two consonants in the onset to a phonological word (unless the first consonant is a nasal). Similar considerations would motivate identification of the roots meaning ‘burn’ and ‘rise’ as –*kin* and –*kwen*, respectively. In the paragraphs that follow, I assume whenever possible that the minimal repeated segmental string in a set of aspectual realizations is the form of the verb root, e.g., I list the root of the verb meaning ‘enter’ as –*ten*, because *s* is not part of the forms inflected for the Continuative, Habitual, and Completive Aspects. Future research will probably reveal a more economical and/or historically motivated identification of the roots of some verbs.
3.1.1. The forms of the aspectual morphemes.

3.1.1.1. The form of the Potential Aspect

The Potential Aspect (P) has allomorphs of which the segmental phonemic realizations are \( k-, ki-, kw-, s-, ty-, tz-, x-, \theta-, \) and palatalization of the initial consonant of the root. The following table lists sets of inflected verbs illustrating the Potential Aspect allomorphs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Aspect allomorph</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Potential Aspect</th>
<th>Continuative Aspect</th>
<th>Habitual Aspect</th>
<th>Compleative Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( k- + \text{tone} )</td>
<td>-7u ‘grow’</td>
<td>k7u(^{23})</td>
<td>l7u(^{12})</td>
<td>nki7u(^{23})</td>
<td>y7u(^{12})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-wen ‘ripen’</td>
<td>kwen(^{21})</td>
<td>nwen(^{21})</td>
<td>ntywen(^{21})</td>
<td>nwen(^{12})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-o ‘grind’</td>
<td>ko(^{34})</td>
<td>ntiyo(^{12})</td>
<td>ntiyo(^{34})</td>
<td>yo(^{23})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ki- + \text{tone} )</td>
<td>-ira7 ‘warn’</td>
<td>kitz(^{34})</td>
<td>nkitza(^{712})</td>
<td>nitz(^{34})</td>
<td>yitz(^{712}) /nkitza(^{712})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-7ya ‘go down’</td>
<td>ki7ya(^{34})</td>
<td>niti7ya(^{1})</td>
<td>nki7ya(^{34}) /niti7ya(^{34})</td>
<td>nkw7ya(^{12})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ne ‘sound’</td>
<td>kine(^{34})</td>
<td>nkine(^{1})</td>
<td>ne(^{34})</td>
<td>yne(^{12})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( kw- + \text{tone} )</td>
<td>-7u ‘teach’</td>
<td>kw7u(^{34})</td>
<td>l7u(^{24})</td>
<td>l7u(^{34})</td>
<td>nkw7u(^{34})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-cha ‘break’</td>
<td>kwcha(^{32})</td>
<td>ncha(^{1})</td>
<td>ncha(^{32})</td>
<td>nwcha(^{1})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tzen ‘be afraid’</td>
<td>kwten(^{34})</td>
<td>nkitzen(^{2})</td>
<td>ntkzen(^{34})</td>
<td>ytkzen(^{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( s- + \text{tone} )</td>
<td>-ten ‘enter’</td>
<td>sten(^{34})</td>
<td>nkiten(^{2})</td>
<td>ntyen(^{34})</td>
<td>yten(^{32})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kin ‘burn’</td>
<td>skin(^{34})</td>
<td>ntkin(^{1})</td>
<td>ntkin(^{34})</td>
<td>nwkin(^{1})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kwen ‘go up’</td>
<td>skwen(^{34})</td>
<td>ntykwen(^{32})</td>
<td>ntykwen(^{34})</td>
<td>ykwen(^{32})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ty- + \text{tone} )</td>
<td>-7wa ‘be washed away’</td>
<td>ty7wa(^{32})</td>
<td>nty7wa(^{1})</td>
<td>nty7wa(^{32})</td>
<td>nky7wa(^{1})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kwi7 ‘talk’</td>
<td>tykwi7(^{2})</td>
<td>ntykwi7(^{1})</td>
<td>ntykwi7(^{32})</td>
<td>ykwi7(^{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-7un ‘fall apart’</td>
<td>ty7un(^{32})</td>
<td>nti7un(^{2})</td>
<td>nty7un(^{32})</td>
<td>nkw7un(^{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatalization of the first consonant + tone</td>
<td>-jki ‘lean over’</td>
<td>jki(^{32})</td>
<td>nki(^{1})</td>
<td>nki(^{32})</td>
<td>nwki(^{1})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-s(^{7})yu ‘cut’</td>
<td>x7yu(^{32})</td>
<td>ns(^{7})yu(^{1})</td>
<td>ns(^{7})yu(^{32})</td>
<td>nws(^{7})yu(^{32})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-t(^{1})an ‘walk’</td>
<td>ty(^{7})an(^{2})</td>
<td>nti(^{7})an(^{2})</td>
<td>nty(^{7})an(^{2})</td>
<td>nwt(^{7})an(^{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tone alone</td>
<td>-ki7na ‘swing’</td>
<td>ki7na(^{32})</td>
<td>nki7na(^{1})</td>
<td>nki7na(^{32})</td>
<td>nki7na(^{1})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-s(^{7})wa ‘put’</td>
<td>s(^{7})wa(^{2})</td>
<td>ns(^{7})wa(^{2})</td>
<td>ns(^{7})wa(^{34})</td>
<td>nws(^{7})wa(^{34})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tiya ‘arrive’</td>
<td>tiya(^{34})</td>
<td>ntiya(^{24})</td>
<td>ntiya(^{34})</td>
<td>nwtiya(^{32})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Potential Aspect allomorphs

There appear to be no patterns strong enough to allow someone learning Chatino to predict which Potential Aspect allomorph will be applied to a given verb root; the correct
selection must be memorized. However, the phonotactic patterns and consonant co-occurrence constraints described in Chapter 1 rule out certain combinations. The allomorphs with consonantal components, \(k-, ki-, kw-, s-,\) and \(ty-,\) occur only with roots that have single-consonant onsets (note that the digraphs \(tz, ch, ty, kw, 7w,\) etc. designate single consonants—see Chapter 1). Likewise, the combination of \(k-, ki-,\) or \(kw-\) with a root containing a velar stop, of \(kw-\) with a root containing a labial segment, and of \(ty-\) with a root containing a coronal stop, are all ruled out. Analogous observations are relevant to the selection of Continuative, Habitual, and Completive aspect allomorphs that contain consonants other than \(n\) or \(nw.\)

In addition to the Potential Aspect allomorphs given in Table 4, there are a few forms that occur with only single lexical items, suggesting analyses involving suppletion. For example, the verb —a ‘go’ has the inflected forms \(tza^{34} ‘P.go,’ nkya^{2} ‘N.go,’ nkya^{2} ‘H.go,’\) and \(ya^{12} ‘C.go.’\) \(tz-\) does not occur as the Potential Aspect prefix with any other verb.

3.1.1.2. The form of the Continuative Aspect

The Continuative Aspect (N) morpheme allomorphs are composed of tone contrasts and the following segmental components: \(l-, n-, nk-, nki-, nt-, nti-, ntl-, nty-,\) and \(\emptyset-.\) The following table lists sets of verbs illustrating the allomorphs of the Continuative Aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuative Aspect allomorph</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Continuative Aspect</th>
<th>Potential Aspect</th>
<th>Habitual Aspect</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(l- +) tone</td>
<td>-7u ‘grow’</td>
<td>17u^{12}</td>
<td>k7u</td>
<td>nki7u^{23}</td>
<td>y7u^{12}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-7e ‘lick’</td>
<td>17e^{24}</td>
<td>ly7e^{34}/</td>
<td>ly7e^{34}</td>
<td>nkw7e^{34}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-7a ‘chop’</td>
<td>17a^{24}/</td>
<td>kw7a^{34}</td>
<td>l7a^{34}</td>
<td>nkw7a^{34}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n- +) tone</td>
<td>-tzun ‘warm’</td>
<td>ntzun^{24}</td>
<td>kwtzun^{34}</td>
<td>ntzun^{34}</td>
<td>nkwtzun^{34}/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nk- + tone</td>
<td>-wen ‘ripen’</td>
<td>nkwen(^{21})</td>
<td>kwen(^{21})</td>
<td>ntywen(^{21})</td>
<td>nkwen(^{12})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7an ‘be located’</td>
<td>nk7an</td>
<td>ty7an(^2)</td>
<td>nti7an(^2)</td>
<td>nk7an(^2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nki- + tone</td>
<td>-la ‘be born’</td>
<td>nkila(^1)</td>
<td>kwila(^2)</td>
<td>ntl(^2)</td>
<td>nkwila(^1) / yla(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ten ‘be washed’</td>
<td>nkiten(^{12})</td>
<td>kiten(^{23})</td>
<td>nkt(^{23})</td>
<td>nkiten(^{23})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-se7 ‘deflate’</td>
<td>nkise(^{71})</td>
<td>kise(^{72})</td>
<td>nkise(^{72})</td>
<td>nkwise(^{72})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt- + tone</td>
<td>-jwi ‘kill’</td>
<td>ntiwi(^1)</td>
<td>kji(^{34})</td>
<td>ntiwi(^{34}) / ntiwi(^{34})</td>
<td>yjwi(^{12})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7wa ‘be washed away’</td>
<td>nt7wa(^1)</td>
<td>ty7wa(^{32}) / ly7wa(^{32})</td>
<td>nty7wa(^{32})</td>
<td>nk7wa(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lo ‘take out’</td>
<td>ntl0(^{34})</td>
<td>kwlo(^{34})</td>
<td>ntl0(^{34})</td>
<td>nkwlo(^{34})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nti- + tone</td>
<td>-jo7 ‘put in’</td>
<td>nti7o(^{34})</td>
<td>kjo(^{72})</td>
<td>nti70(^{34})</td>
<td>yj0(^{23})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7o ‘drink’</td>
<td>nti7o(^{12})</td>
<td>k7o(^{34})</td>
<td>nty7o(^{34})</td>
<td>y70(^{23})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o ‘grind’</td>
<td>ntv7o(^{12})</td>
<td>ko(^{34})</td>
<td>ntiyo(^{34})</td>
<td>yo(^{23})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntl- + tone</td>
<td>-ja7 ‘sleep’</td>
<td>ntl7a(^{34})</td>
<td>kja(^{74})</td>
<td>nti7a(^{34})</td>
<td>yja(^{72})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7a ‘blow’</td>
<td>ntl7a(^{12})</td>
<td>kw7a(^{34})</td>
<td>l7a(^{34})</td>
<td>nkw7a(^{32})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nty- + tone</td>
<td>-ka ‘be’</td>
<td>ntyka(^{12})</td>
<td>ka(^{34})</td>
<td>ntyka(^{34})</td>
<td>nkwka(^{23})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku ‘eat’</td>
<td>ntyku(^1)</td>
<td>ku(^2)</td>
<td>ntyku(^2)</td>
<td>yku(^2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwen ‘go up’</td>
<td>ntykwen(^{32})</td>
<td>skwen(^{34})</td>
<td>ntykwen(^{34})</td>
<td>ykwen(^{32})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tone alone</td>
<td>-na ‘look for’</td>
<td>n7a(^{12})</td>
<td>kw7a(^{34})</td>
<td>n7a(^{34})</td>
<td>nkw7a(^{32}) / w7a(^{32})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7ya ‘manage’</td>
<td>7ya(^{34})</td>
<td>kw7ya(^{34})</td>
<td>nti7ya(^{34})</td>
<td>nkw7ya(^{32}) / w7ya(^{32})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jnya ‘ask for’</td>
<td>jnya(^1)</td>
<td>jnya(^{32})</td>
<td>jnya(^{32})</td>
<td>nwynya(^{32})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Continuative Aspect allomorphs

3.1.1.3. The form of the Habitual Aspect

The Habitual Aspect morpheme has a number of allomorphs that are composed of tone contrasts and the segmental components l-, ly-, n-, nki-, n- + palatalization of the first consonant, nt-, nti-, nt- + palatalization of the first consonant, nty-, and Ø-. The following table lists sets of verbs illustrating the allomorphs of the Habitual Aspect.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitual Aspect allomorph</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Habitual Aspect</th>
<th>Potential Aspect</th>
<th>Continuative Aspect</th>
<th>Compleative Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l- + tone</td>
<td>7u 'show'</td>
<td>l7u³⁴</td>
<td>kw7u³⁴</td>
<td>l7u²⁴</td>
<td>nkw7u³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7a 'chop'</td>
<td>l7a³⁴</td>
<td>kw7a³⁴</td>
<td>l7a²⁴ / ntl7a³⁴</td>
<td>nk7a³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7a 'blow'</td>
<td>l7a³⁴</td>
<td>kw7a³⁴</td>
<td>ntl7a²³</td>
<td>nk7a³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ly- + tone</td>
<td>7e 'lick'</td>
<td>ly7e³⁴</td>
<td>ly7e²⁴ / kw7e³⁴</td>
<td>l7e²³ / kw7e³⁴</td>
<td>nk7e³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n- + tone</td>
<td>cha7 'soak'</td>
<td>ncha7³⁴</td>
<td>kwcha7³⁴</td>
<td>ncha7²³</td>
<td>nwkcha7²³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xu 'pinch'</td>
<td>nxu³³</td>
<td>kwxu³²</td>
<td>nxu²¹</td>
<td>nwux³²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s7na 'swing'</td>
<td>ns7na³²</td>
<td>s7na³²</td>
<td>ns7na²¹</td>
<td>nws7na³²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nki- + tone</td>
<td>ly 'get scratched'</td>
<td>nkilya³⁴</td>
<td>kilya³⁴</td>
<td>nkilya²³</td>
<td>nkwy³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tyi 'dry up'</td>
<td>nkityi²</td>
<td>kityi²</td>
<td>niktyi²</td>
<td>nkwt³²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7u 'grow'</td>
<td>nki7u³³</td>
<td>k7u³³</td>
<td>l7u²³</td>
<td>y7u³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n- [palatalization] + tone</td>
<td>tza 'break into pieces'</td>
<td>ncha²</td>
<td>kwtza²</td>
<td>nkita²</td>
<td>nwta³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>skwi 'twist'</td>
<td>nxkwi²</td>
<td>skw²³ / xkw³²</td>
<td>nskwi²</td>
<td>nwskw³²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7en 'marry'</td>
<td>nty7en³²</td>
<td>t7en³²</td>
<td>n7en²³</td>
<td>nwt³²</td>
<td>nwt7en³²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt- + tone</td>
<td>lo 'take out'</td>
<td>ntl³³</td>
<td>kwl³³</td>
<td>ntl³³</td>
<td>nkwl³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ke7 'roast'</td>
<td>nte³³⁴</td>
<td>ke³³⁴</td>
<td>nte³³³</td>
<td>nke³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-yu 'perforate'</td>
<td>ntjyu³²</td>
<td>kwjyu³³</td>
<td>njyu²³</td>
<td>nkwy³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nti- + tone</td>
<td>jo7 'insert'</td>
<td>ntljo³²</td>
<td>kjjo³²</td>
<td>ntljo³²</td>
<td>yjo³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ja7 'sleep'</td>
<td>ntlja³³⁴</td>
<td>kjja³³⁴</td>
<td>ntlja³³³</td>
<td>yja³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o 'grind'</td>
<td>ntljo³³³</td>
<td>tjo³³³</td>
<td>ntljo³³³</td>
<td>yo³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt- [palatalization] + tone</td>
<td>lu 'grow'</td>
<td>ntljul³³</td>
<td>kwl³³³</td>
<td>nkl³³</td>
<td>yl³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>la 'escape'</td>
<td>ntljul³³</td>
<td>lya³³</td>
<td>ntl³³³</td>
<td>nkwl³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nty-</td>
<td>-7o 'drink'</td>
<td>nty7o³³⁴</td>
<td>k7o³³⁴</td>
<td>n7o³³³</td>
<td>y7o³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ka 'be'</td>
<td>ntk³³³</td>
<td>tka³³³</td>
<td>ntk³³³</td>
<td>nk³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k7u 'put on'</td>
<td>ntk³³³</td>
<td>ku³³³</td>
<td>ntk³³³</td>
<td>ykt³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tone alone</td>
<td>-ne 'sound'</td>
<td>n³³</td>
<td>k³³</td>
<td>nk³³</td>
<td>y³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7ni 'do'</td>
<td>7ni³³</td>
<td>kw7ni³³</td>
<td>n7i³³</td>
<td>nwn³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na 'cry'</td>
<td>na³³</td>
<td>kw³³³</td>
<td>nk³³³</td>
<td>y³³³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Habitual Aspect allomorphs
3.1.1.4. The form of the Completive Aspect

The Completive Aspect allomorphs are composed of tone contrasts and the following segmental components: *n-, nk-, nkw-, nw-, and y-, as illustrated in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completive Aspect allomorph</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Potential Aspect</th>
<th>Continuative Aspect</th>
<th>Habitual Aspect</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*n- + tone</td>
<td>-ki7na 'swing'</td>
<td>ki7na&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nki7na&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nki7na&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nki7na&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ki7u 'revive'</td>
<td>ki7u&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nki7u&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nki7u&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nki7u&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kiti7 'loosen'</td>
<td>kiti7&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkiti7&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkiti7&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkiti7&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nk- + tone</td>
<td>-wen 'ripen'</td>
<td>kwen&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkwen&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ntywen&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkwen&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-7wa 'be washed away'</td>
<td>ty7wa&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;/ ly7wa&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>m7wa&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nty7wa&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nk7wa&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nkw- + tone</td>
<td>-nya 'move'</td>
<td>kinya&lt;sup&gt;14&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkyina&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkyina&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkwnya&lt;sup&gt;14&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-se7 'deflate'</td>
<td>kise7&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkise7&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkise7&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkwse7&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tyi 'dry'</td>
<td>kityi&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkityi&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkityi&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkwyi&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nw- + tone</td>
<td>-7ni 'do'</td>
<td>kw7ni&lt;sup&gt;34&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nki7ni&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>7ni&lt;sup&gt;34&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nw7ni&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nyi 'lie'</td>
<td>kwnyi&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nyi&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nyi&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nwnyi&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ta 'give'</td>
<td>ta&lt;sup&gt;43&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nta&lt;sup&gt;11&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nta&lt;sup&gt;43&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ntw&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*y- + tone</td>
<td>-7u 'grow'</td>
<td>k7u&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>l7u&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nki7u&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>y7u&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ta7 'chew'</td>
<td>kta7&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;/ kwa7&lt;sup&gt;34&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nkita7&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nty7a&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yta7&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ku 'eat'</td>
<td>ku&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ntyku&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ntyku&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yku&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 7: Completive Aspect allomorphs*

3.1.2. The uses of the aspectual morphemes

3.1.2.1. The use of the Potential Aspect

The Potential Aspect is used with verbs denoting events that have not yet occurred (from a certain perspective), hence the designation 'potential.' Events that are expected to occur are expressed in the Potential Aspect, as in

140) El toro y el conejo 414

*cha7-nu tza-7va cha-kwchi*

because P.go-carry.2sg rabbit

'Because you are going to go and bring the rabbit.'
The perspective from which an event has not yet occurred can itself be in the past, as in the following examples:

141) Felipa 5009

\[ ja \text{ kyan} \ 7a \ \Ø \text{ kichen re ka-tiye} \]
\[ \text{no P.arrive more 3 town here think} \]
\[ \text{‘Then he thought that he would not come to this town again.’} \]

142) El toro y el conejo 336

\[ lo \ \text{we n-tkwi njka7n s7en tiyu nu kwchi-nktzen} \]
\[ \text{and already N-hang rope place P.fall DET lion} \]
\[ \text{‘And the rope was already hanging (as a trap) where the lion would fall then.’} \]

Example 141) comes from a personal narrative relating past events. The verb kyan ‘P.come’ denotes an event that is not yet realized from the current narrative perspective.

Similarly, the verb tiyu ‘P.fall’ in example 142) refers to an event that has not yet occurred from the current perspective at that point in the narrative. Events that are hypothetical or that are considered possible are also expressed in the Potential Aspect, as in the following:

143) El toro y el conejo 306

\[ s7we \text{ nw7i-tykwi \ Ø njka7n s7en nu 7ya-ya7 tiya i7n} \]
\[ \text{good C.put 3 rope place REL probably P.arrive anim} \]
\[ ry7o-kwan \ i7n \]
\[ \text{P.jump anim} \]
\[ \text{‘He laid the rope exactly where the animal was likely to jump to.’} \]

144) Felipa 2033

\[ ni-ka \text{ kiwi ti-kwi7 sti \ Ø} \]
\[ \text{how P-kill very father 3} \]
\[ \text{‘Why would he kill his own father?’} \]

145) El toro y el conejo 398-399

\[ ka7n-nu \text{ si kw-7ni tiyu o 7in re nw-t7an-tiye Ntiyose} \]
\[ \text{then if P-do big 1pl.incl to this C-think God} \]
\[ ra-ka7n \text{ sa-kwa ya7 kw-7ni re 7o snye7 an} \]
\[ \text{then such measure P-do this with child 1pl.incl} \]
\[ \text{‘If I make him big,’ God thought, ‘how many things will he do to our children?’} \]
146) Hurricane 032

\[ la \; s7a \; n \; nt-7ya \; kyo \]

where P.go 1sg N-descend rain

'Wherever I (might) go it is raining.'

The use of the Potential Aspect to express events that are likely or expected to occur is analogous to its use in constructions referring to personal professions or tendencies, such as \[ ne7 \; kw7ni \; tnya \; ska \; tzan \] 'day laborer (person P.do work one day),' \[ ne7 \; kw7o \] 'painter (person P.paint),' \[ ne7 \; kwjya \] 'playful person (person P.play),' and \[ ne7 \; kwnyi \] 'liar (person P.lie).'. This use of the Potential Aspect is not limited to set expressions, as illustrated by the following narrative example, in which the form \[ kwnyi \] 'P.lie' has the function of a typical verb, being modified by the event modifier \[ 7a \] 'very' and occurring with a pronoun in the subject position:

147) Juan Ceniza 033

\[ 7a \; kw-nyi \; 7a \; 7win \; jwin \; \emptyset \; ra-ka7n \]

DSC P.lie very 2sg said 3 then

'Ah, you are a liar,' she said.'

In narrative texts, the use of the Potential Aspect is largely limited to events that are seen as foregrounded, in the main story-line of the narrative. Events that are viewed as on-going settings against the background of which more foregrounded events are described as taking place, by contrast, are expressed in the Continuative Aspect even when they are expected to occur in the future. In the following example, the verb \[ skwa \] 'lie' is inflected for the Continuative Aspect because it denotes an on-going situation, the background against which the event denoted by the verb \[ tiya \] 'arrive' occurs:

148) Juan Ceniza 123

\[ si \; na7 \; n-skwa \; n \; re \; tiya \; wra \; we \; snu7 \; kya \; i \]

if 1sg N-lie 1sg here P.arrive hour already eight tomorrow DSC

'If I am still lying here when 8:00 comes tomorrow...’
The Potential Aspect is also used for a variety of complement clause types, including desiderative, permissive, and purposive complements, as in the following examples:

149) El toro y el conejo 042

\[
\begin{align*}
7o & \quad n \quad a7n \quad nty-ka-ti7 \quad n \quad kw-lu \quad n \\
\text{also} & \quad 1sg \quad 1sg \quad \text{N-want} \quad 1sg \quad \text{P-grow} \quad 1sg \\
\text{‘I too want to grow’}
\end{align*}
\]

150) Felipa 2 008

\[
\begin{align*}
ka7n-\text{nu} & \quad we \quad n-kwa-\text{ti7} \quad ne7-wjsya \quad jy7o \quad kwa \quad s7wa \quad ne7 \quad 7in \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{already} \quad \text{C-want} \quad \text{authority} \quad \text{Teotepec there} \quad \text{P.put} \quad \text{person to} \\
\text{Ø y7an-tykw} & \quad \text{3} \quad \text{in.prison} \\
\text{‘Then the authorities of Teotepec wanted to put him in prison.’}
\end{align*}
\]

151) El tunco y el ciego 005

\[
\begin{align*}
ja & \quad ka \quad 7a \quad 7yan \quad kw-\text{7ni} \quad n \quad tnya \quad k-ja \quad na \quad ku \\
\text{no} & \quad \text{be.able} \quad \text{more} \quad \text{to.1sg} \quad \text{P-do} \quad 1sg \quad \text{work} \quad \text{P-be.found} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{P.eat} \\
\text{an} & \quad ka7n \\
1\text{pl.incl} & \quad \text{then} \\
\text{‘I cannot work to get food for us anymore.’}
\end{align*}
\]

152) Felipa 2 047

\[
\begin{align*}
y-a & \quad kw-\text{7na} \quad kila \quad 7in \quad ne7 \\
\text{C-go} & \quad \text{P-weed} \quad \text{cornfield of person} \\
\text{‘He, went to clean his field.’}
\end{align*}
\]

153) El tunco y el ciego 030

\[
\begin{align*}
n-ta & \quad kw-\text{7ya} \quad n \quad 7ni \quad \text{Ø ra-ka7n} \\
\text{N-give.2sg} & \quad \text{P-bring} \quad 1sg \quad \text{say} \quad 3 \quad \text{then} \\
\text{‘Let me carry it,’ he said then.’}
\end{align*}
\]

154) Felipa 7 007

\[
\begin{align*}
ta & \quad ti \quad chi7n \quad ti \quad ji \quad kila \quad an \quad ni \quad a \\
\text{or only little} & \quad \text{only lack} \quad \text{P.arrive} \quad 1\text{pl.incl now QU} \\
\text{‘Does it lack only a little for us to arrive (i.e., are we almost there)?’}
\end{align*}
\]

It is probably owing to the use of the Potential Aspect in these types of complements that native speakers give Potential Aspect forms as translations of infinitive verbs in Spanish. However, complement clauses with verbs in the Potential Aspect in Chatino are not
reduced the way infinitive clauses in English and Spanish are; Potential Aspect

complement clauses include overt participant marking analogous to that which would be
found in main clauses, as illustrated in examples 149) and 150) above.

The Potential Aspect is also used for imperatives, which may be commands,
instructions, or suggestions, as in the following examples:

155) El tunco y el ciego 106
   kwi7-ti 7i-tykwi  tu-nskan
   close  P.place.2sg  ear.2sg
   ‘Put your ear close.’

156) El toro y el conejo 146
   7an  Ø-ta  wan  ska  xlyu  7yan  jwin  Ø  ra-ka7n
   DSC  P.give  2sg.rsp  one  knife  to.1sg  said  3  then
   ‘Ah, lend me a knife,’ he said then.’

157) El tunco y el ciego 057
   ka7n  7ni  Ø  7o  t7a  Ø  ra-ka7n  k-ja7  tu7  o  re
   then  say  3  with  brother  3  then  P.sleep  just  1pl.incl  here
   ‘Then he said to his brother, ‘Let’s just sleep here.’’

For some verbs, either the Completive or the Continuative Aspect is used as an
alternative to the Potential in imperatives, and for those verbs the choice of aspectual
inflection corresponds to a contrast between a polite and a familiar imperative: the
Potential Aspect is polite while the Completive or Continuative is familiar.

3.1.2.2. The use of the Continuative Aspect

Verbs inflected with the Continuative Aspect are used to refer to activities and
states that are viewed as continuing, lasting, or enduring. A verb in the Continuative
Aspect is the means by which an activity or state occurring or in effect at the time of the
utterance is referred to. In the following examples, the verbs ntkwa and nkite7-ti7 refer to
states that are in effect at the time of utterance:
158) Elias: El Terremoto 2 037
\[ \text{nkyan wa ti re ti s7en n-tkwa l7an ka7} \]
C-come 1pl.excl just here just place N-sit house board
\[ \text{re ra-ka7n} \]
this then
‘We came to where the board house is then.’

159) El toro y el conejo 078
\[ \text{ja7 meru nki-te7-ti7 n ku n jwin nu kwna-tnu} \]
ah just N-be.hungry 1sg P.eat 1sg said DET rattlesnake
\[ \text{ra-ka7n} \]
then
‘Ah, just when I am hungry, said the rattlesnake.’

Similarly, in the following examples, the underlined verbs refer to activities that begin before the moment of utterance and continue afterwards:

160) El toro y el conejo 218
\[ \text{ja ska na nki-7ni n 7in} \]
no one thing N-do 1sg to.2sg
‘I am not doing anything to you.’

161) El toro y el conejo 279
\[ \text{cha7 liye 7a nki-lyu wan} \]
why much very N-turn 2sg.rsp
‘Why are you going back and forth so much?’

162) El toro y el conejo 315
\[ \text{ka7n n-turn n nt-7an-kw7ya n chi7n re} \]
then N-stand 1sg N-look.at 1sg little here
‘That’s why I am standing here watching a while.’

The Continuative Aspect is also used in reference to a past or future event when the event is viewed as continuing or enduring for a space of time, frequently as part of the setting within which some other event is described as taking place. The following examples illustrate the use of the Continuative Aspect as part of a reference to a past event:
163) Elias: El Terremoto 2 007

\[\text{ka7n ra-ka7n nu nki-nya nki-nya nki-nya}\]
\[\text{then then much N-move N-move N-move}\]
\[\text{s7en nw-tun n ra-ka7n}\]
\[\text{place C-stand 1sg then}\]

‘Then it quaked and quaked and quaked where I stood then.’

164) Elias: El Terremoto 2 043

\[\text{na ki7an niten n-tun ne7}\]
\[\text{and much person N-stand person}\]

‘There were a lot of people there then.’

165) Elias: El Terremoto 2 045

\[\text{nki-tzen wa cha7 ja ya7 kila ru-we 7in ra-ka7n}\]
\[\text{N-be.afraid 1pl.excl because no time P.arrive Ruben DSC then}\]

‘We were worried then because Ruben had not arrived then.’

The following example, repeated from example 148) above, shows that the Continuative Aspect can also be used with reference to an event that is expected to take place in the future, when the event is viewed as continuing for a while:

166) Juan Ceniza 123

\[\text{si na7 n-skwa n re tiva wra we snu7 kya i}\]
\[\text{if 1sg N-lie 1sg here P.arrive hour already eight tomorrow DSC}\]

‘If I am still lying here when 8:00 comes tomorrow...’

The Continuative Aspect form of some verbs is also used for familiar as opposed to polite imperatives:

167) El toro y el conejo 088

\[\text{n-ta chi7n s7en xna-y7wi n ti chi7n jwin}\]
\[\text{N-give.2sg little place P.hide 1sg only little said}\]
\[\text{ra-ka7n}\]

then

‘ ‘Give me a place to hide a while,’ he said.’

An imperative in the Continuative Aspect is more familiar or less polite than one in the Potential Aspect. Some verb roots use the Completive Aspect for familiar imperatives; since no roots have been found that use both the Completive Aspect and the Continuative Aspect for the familiar imperative, I conclude that the selection is lexically determined.
3.1.2.3. The use of the Completive Aspect

The use of the Completive Aspect with a verb communicates that the denoted event is viewed as punctual and completed. Verbs referring to the events in the story-line of a narrative are typically inflected with the Completive Aspect. In the following excerpt from a personal narrative, the verbs in the Completive Aspect are underlined.

168) Hurricane 016
    xa  y-ten-sna  kyo  i
    when  C-begin  rain  DSC
    'When the rain began,'

169) Hurricane 017
    y-ten  n  a7n  ra-ka7n
    C-be.afraid  1sg  1sg  then
    'I became afraid then,'

170) Hurricane 018
    komo  y-an  kyo  kw7in  tnu  in
    as  C-come  rain  wind  big  DSC
    'As there came a rain with strong winds.'

171) Hurricane 019
    la  kwa  n-tun  n  ra-ka7n
    way  there  N-stand  1sg  then
    'I was standing over there then.'

172) Hurricane 020
    nw-lyo  n  kwtn  7yan  cha7  t7na-ti7  n
    C.take  1sg  chicken  to.1sg  because  sorry  1sg
    'I took my chickens out because I felt sorry (for them).'</n
The verbs in the Completive Aspect trace the crucial sequence of events in that part of the narrative. The one verb in the Continuative Aspect, *ntun* ‘N.stand’ in example 171), refers to a contextual circumstance that is not part of the main sequence of events.

The Completive Aspect is used for familiar as opposed to polite imperatives, as in
173) La Mujer que se Puso 083

\[ nw-xyu \ ska \ tyku \ yka \ kwa \ 7in \ Ø \ ni \ jwin \ Ø \]
C-let.fall.2sg one comb wood there of 3 now said 3
‘Let a wooden comb fall there by him,’ he said then.’

174) La Mujer que se Puso 104

\[ nw7in-lya \ ti7a \ njkwăn \ kwa \ ni \ xnya7 \]
C.throw.2sg water holy that now ?
‘Throw the holy water at him now.’

3.1.2.4. The use of the Habitual Aspect

The Habitual Aspect marks verbs denoting events that are construed as having occurred or as presently continuing to occur in a habitual pattern, as illustrated in the following examples:

175) El toro y el conejo 016

\[ n-ta \ na \ nty-ku \ wa \]
H-give thing H-eat 1pl.excl
‘He gives us things to eat.’

176) El toro y el conejo 022

\[ s7ya \ na \ 7o \ wa-re \ Ø-7ni \ wa \ tnya \ 7o \ x7na \]
because thing also 1pl.excl H-do 1pl.excl work with master
wa
1pl.excl
‘It is because we also work with our master.’

3.2. Person marking on verbs

In most cases, when a verb is uttered, it is accompanied by a following noun or pronoun, which is said to experience or carry out the state or activity denoted by the verb. The forms taken by pronouns when they have that function are described in Section 1.1.1.

The tone with which the verb is realized depends on the person and number of the following nominal: for a given verb in a given aspect, it is possible for 1st person singular to have one tone, 2nd person singular another, and all other person/number combinations a third distinct tone (sometimes, however, the tones of two or all three of these categories
coincide). While the system of tonal realizations of morphemes in Chatino has not been finally worked out, the current state of the data does allow verbs to be divided into classes on the basis of tone patterns corresponding to person marking in a given aspect. For example, the verbs –7a 'chop,' –7e 'lick,' –7u 'show,' -jkwa 'count,' –kine 'spill,' and many others have tone 32 with the 1st person singular clitic, 32 with the 2nd person singular clitic, and 34 with the Ø 3rd person clitic, the other pronominal clitics, and lexical nouns in the Completive Aspect. A pattern of tones corresponding to the presence pronoun clitics in Chatino seems somewhat analogous to the vowel changes marking tense in English strong verbs. Further research is needed to inventory all of the tone patterns that mark person and aspect on verbs.

3.3. Derivational morphology of verbs.

The vocabulary of Chatino features a relatively small number of root morphemes. To date, less than 300 verbal roots have been identified; the number of verb words in the lexical database totals over 750. A large number of concepts are coded by means of verb words with more than one verbal root, and the language also features derivational patterns of causation, noun incorporation, and preposition incorporation. Section 3.3.1 describes causative morphology, section 3.3.2 deals with noun incorporation, section 3.3.3 turns to the incorporation of the preposition 7o ‘with,’ and section 3.3.4 discusses types of verbal expressions with two verbal roots.

3.3.1. Causative Morphology

There are two causative constructions, one involving a bound morpheme with the allomorphs s-, x-, and xi-, and the other involving the verb -7ni ‘make, do.’ The following examples illustrate the form and function of the two morphemes. For each
pair, the a) example contains the causative expression, while the b) example features the
related non-causative verb or adjective:

177 a)  7-1-98 examples for verbs 075
nw-xi-sna  kwtun  7in  ntnen
C-make.run  wasp  to  person
‘The wasps are making the people run.’

b)  7-1-98 examples for verbs 073
n-sna  kwyu  ni7  kxi7n
N-run  horse  in  bush
‘The horse is running in the brush.’

178 a)  Martin’s example sentences 040
y-jwi  Xwa  ska  kuwe7  lo  nw-7ni-cha  Ø  xlyu  7in  Ø
C-kill  Juan  one  pig  and  C-sharpen  3  knife  of  3
‘Juan killed a pig and sharpened his knife.’

b)  Martin’s example sentences 100’s 056
cha  7a  wxyi  7in  Nito
sharp  very  machete  of  Benito
‘Benito’s machete is very sharp.’

The causative morphemes are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, section 1.2.1.1.1.

3.3.2. Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation\(^{16}\) is pervasive in the Chatino lexicon. Nouns with the roles of
theme, patient, instrument, locative, and experiencer are incorporated. The structure of
the verbal expression is illustrated in the following figures:

\[\text{Aspect prefix} + \text{Verb root} + (2^{\text{nd}} \text{Verb root}) + (\text{incorporated morpheme})\]

\[\text{Figure 3: The structure of the verb}\]

\[\text{Verb} + (\text{event modifier}) + \text{Subject}\]

\[\text{Figure 4: The morphemes immediately following the verb}\]

The word order VOS does not occur as a general pattern in Chatino, so when a noun that
would be expected to occur in the O position of the clause appears between the verb root

\(^{16}\) I consider noun incorporation to be a type of compounding, following Mithun (1984).
and the S position, it is considered incorporated. Similarly, when a noun that is interpreted as an instrument occurs between the verb root and the S position, it is analyzed as incorporated. Syntactically, the compound functions like a single-root verb in that the aspect prefix occurs on the first element and the clitic pronoun or lexical noun follows the second. Frequently, the meaning of the compound is not predictable from the meaning of its components.

In the following examples, the incorporated noun refers to an entity that is metaphorically moved from one location to the other, as denoted by the verb root -ta ‘give,’ and hence is a theme. The compound glossed ‘help’ incorporates the noun ya7 ‘hand,’ while that glossed ‘worry’ incorporates kya7 ‘foot’:

179) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 162
cha7-nu nw-ta-ya7 ne7 n-kita re ra-ka7n in so.that C-help person C-break this then DSC ‘...so that they helped so that this would break down then (i.e., they helped to break this down).’

180) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 334
jan-7an ja ta-kya7 jwin ntiyun kwa 7in Ø no no P.worry.2sg said Antonio that to 3 ‘‘No, don’t worry,’ said Antonio to him.’

Similarly, in the compound j7in-j7o ‘wag one’s tail (beat-tail),’ the tail is moved:

181) Martin’s example sentences 206
xa n-kila Xwa j7in-j7en xni7 7in Ø 7o Ø when H-arrive Juan H.wag.tail dog of 3 with 3 ‘When Juan arrives his dog wags its tail at him.’

Other examples of theme incorporation include:

-jo7-ke ‘to gore (‘insert-head’)’
-jo7-ya7 ‘to insert one’s finger (in something)’
-lo-kichi7 ‘shell, husk (‘remove-shell’)’
-lo kijin ‘skin (‘remove-skin’)’
-s7wa-ke ‘involve oneself (‘put-head’)’
-s7wa-ki:7 ‘set on fire (‘put-fire’)’
-s7wa-kilo ‘scope out (‘put-eye’)’  
-s7wa-liya7 ‘pay (‘put-salary’)’  
-s7wa-njka7n ‘lasso (‘put-rope’)’  
-skwen-ya7 ‘raise one’s hand (against someone)’  

etc.

Examples of patient incorporation are somewhat rare. In the following example, the verb meaning ‘grind one’s teeth’ incorporates the noun l7ya ‘tooth’ with the verb ku ‘bite,’ and l7ya is a patient:

182) Martin’s example sentences 355  
tlya7-ti7 snye7 Xna ka7n-cha7 nty-ku-l7ya Ø  
feel.cold child Juana so N-chatter.teeth 3  
‘Joana’s child is cold, so her teeth are chattering.’

The reciprocal construction appears to involve incorporation of the noun t7a ‘companion,’ and in some reciprocal examples t7a has a patient role, as in

183) Martin’s example sentences 964  
y-jwi t7a ne7 presu ni7 y7an-tykwans nu n-kwa ni  
C-kill RECIP person prison in in.prison NOM C-pass now  
‘Prisoners killed each other in the prison the other day.’

There are several examples of incorporation of instruments in the database, as in the following example:

184) 7/8/98.a elicitation 020  
nw-chu-ya7 Liya tlo Xwa  
C-slap Maria face Juan  
‘Maria slapped Juan’s face.’

The verbal root chu means ‘make a smacking or explosive sound,’ and in this example ya7 ‘hand’ is an instrument. Other apparent examples of incorporated instruments include the verbs -la-t7wa ‘sing’ and -la-kya7 ‘dance,’ featuring the incorporated nouns t7wa ‘mouth’ and kya7 ‘foot.’ The root la does not occur in isolation, but appears to mean approximately ‘make music’ or ‘make rhythm’; the expression -la-yjwi ‘whistle’ supports this assumption, although the meaning of yjwi is not completely clear, as yjwi
does not occur in isolation. This leads to the conclusion that \textit{t7wa} and \textit{kya7} have the role of instrument in \textit{–la-t7wa} and \textit{–la-kya7}.

The collected vocabulary list includes a few examples of incorporated locatives. In the following example, the noun \textit{s7en} ‘place’ is incorporated with the verb root \textit{-tykwan} ‘gather’:

185) Juan Ceniza 085
\begin{verbatim}
  nw-tyi  ti  nw-tykwan-s7en  ne7  na  y-ku  ne7
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
  C-finish  only  C-put.away  person  thing  C-eat  person
\end{verbatim}
‘As soon as she finished putting away her food . . .’

The verb \textit{–s7wa-s7en} ‘pack up,’ combining \textit{–s7wa} ‘put’ and \textit{s7en} ‘place,’ is analogous to \textit{–tykwan-s7en}. The verb \textit{–t7o-lo} ‘emanate from’ combines the root \textit{–t7o} ‘come out’ and the relator noun \textit{lo} ‘surface,’ and could be glossed literally as ‘come out from the surface (of something),’ as in

186) Martin’s example sentences 534a
\begin{verbatim}
  n-t7o-lo  kwchen  kalu
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
  N-emanate.from  steam  soup
\end{verbatim}
‘Steam is rising from the soup.’

The final category of noun-incorporation to be discussed involves the morphemes \textit{tiye} ‘chest, stomach,’ and \textit{ti7}, which does not occur in isolation but for which native speakers suggest the translation ‘one’s nature.’ \textit{tiye} and \textit{ti7} occur in numerous expressions relating to cognition and emotion, as in the following examples:

187) El conejo y el Toro 070
\begin{verbatim}
  nw-t7an  tiye  nu  cha-kwchi  ra-ka7n
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
  C-walk  chest  DET  rabbit  then
\end{verbatim}
‘Then the rabbit thought.’

188) Ruben 080
\begin{verbatim}
  ti  tnya  kw7ni  da  xka  yjan  ka   tiye
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
  what  work  P.do  QU.2sg  other  year  be  stomach.2sg
\end{verbatim}
‘What will you do next year, do you think?’
189) El conejo y el toro 002
ntiya ska nu cha-kwchi nty-ka-ti7 Ø k-lu Ø
N-be one DET rabbit N-want 3 P-grow 3
'There was a rabbit that wanted to grow.'

190) Martin's example sentences 276
si nkite7-ti7 o ku o kija jykwí tiye
if N.be.hungry 1.pl.incl P.eat 1.pl.incl tortilla P.boil chest o
1.pl.incl
'If we are hungry our stomach growls.'

191) Martin's example sentences 290
jy7u-ti7 Liya cha7 ma Ø
embarassed Maria because pregnant 3
'Maria is embarassed because she is pregnant.'

The reasons for considering constructions with tiye and ti7 to involve incorporation
include their idiomatic meanings (e.g., -t7an tiye 'walk stomach' means 'think'), native
speakers' assertions that such constructions comprise single words, and the fact that
although tiye and ti7 occur in the S position with relation to the verb root, they cannot
occur sentence initially, a position in which other subjects can occur. For example,
related to the expression nkwa tiye 'valiant,' the following judgments were made:

192 a) nkwa tiye Xwa
   strong stomach Juan
   'Juan is valiant.'

b)  ? tiye Xwa nkwa

c) lo tiye Xwa nkwa
   surface stomach Juan strong
   'Juan's stomach is strong.'
   * 'Juan is valiant.'

d) Xwa nkwa tiye Ø
   Juan strong stomach 3
   'Juan is valiant.'
The a) example shows the most frequent SVO word order, with two possible analyses, one in which *nkwa* 

'strong' is the event and *tiye Xwa* 'Juan’s stomach' is the participant, and the other in which *nkwa tiye* 'valiant' is the event and *Xwa* is the participant.

Example b) shows that the phrase *tiye Xwa* does not have the usual subject property of being able to occur in sentence-initial position. Example c) shows that when the utterance is amended so that *lo tiye Xwa* as a participant is compatible with the event *nkwa* 'strong' (by addition of *lo* 'surface,' which refers to the part of the stomach that can sensibly be described as 'strong'), the expression still does not mean 'Juan is valiant.' Example d) shows that *Xwa* behaves as a normal subject in being able to occur in sentence-initial position.

There are a few other expressions that are syntactically parallel to the examples involving *tiye* and *ti7* discussed above. The following examples illustrate the patterning of *-ne-sye7n* 'snore (sound-nose)':'

193) a) Martin’s example sentences 812

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Xwa} & \text{ne} & \text{tu-sye7n} & \emptyset & \text{xa} & \text{nti-ja7} & \emptyset & \text{tla} & \text{lo} \\
\text{Juan} & \text{H.sound} & \text{nose} & 3 & \text{when} & \text{H.sleep} & 3 & \text{night} & \text{and} \\
\text{ntyga} & \emptyset & \text{ntyga} & \text{ntten} & \text{H.wake.up} & 3 & \text{all} & \text{person} \\
\text{Juan snores when he sleeps at night, and wakes everyone up.}'
\end{array}
\]

b) \[\text{ne} \quad \text{tu-sye7n} \quad \text{Xwa} \]

\[\text{H.sound} \quad \text{nose} \quad \text{Juan} \]

c) \[\text{* tu-sye7n} \quad \text{Xwa} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{xa} \quad \text{nti-ja7} \quad \emptyset \]

\[\text{nose} \quad \text{Juan} \quad \text{H.sound} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{N-sleep} \quad 3 \]

d) \[\text{* tu-sye7} \quad \text{Xwa} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{xa} \quad \text{nti-ja7} \quad \emptyset \]

\[\text{nose} \quad \text{Juan} \quad \text{H.sound} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{N-sleep} \quad 3 \]
Other expressions showing the same behavior include –7an-kw7in ‘get bloated (be.at-air),’ –ty7wi-sla ‘be tired (be.at-tiredness),’ and –7ya-siya7 ‘go down in price (go.down-price).’

3.3.3. 7o-incorporation

The preposition 7o ‘with’ occurs in combination with a variety of verb roots. In most cases the meaning of the resulting construction is predictable. When an intransitive verb root incorporates 7o, the resulting construction is transitive and the participant in the O position is usually understood as performing the event along with the participant in the S position, although with less volitionality. Such is the case with the verb –jin-7o ‘take past (pass-with),’ as in

194) Martin’s _7o_ examples 013

nkw-jin-7o  kanwyun  7in  ne7  kwla  t7wa  kichen
C-pass.with car to person old edge town
‘The car left the old lady off past the edge of town.’

When a transitive verb root incorporates 7o, the resulting construction remains transitive, and the participant in the O position is understood to be involved in the event along with some other, usually unmentioned, participant with the same semantic role. In addition, the participant in the O position is often understood to be inadvertently involved in the event. The following example illustrates these characteristics:

195) Martin’s _7o_ examples 017

nw-kkin-7o  Xwa kwta  7in  Ø  s7en  nw-kkin  Ø  jyan
C-burn.with Juan cattle of 3 place C-burn 3 field
‘Juan burned his cow when he burned the field.’

The form and semantics of 7o-incorporation are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, section 1.5.
3.3.4. Stems with two verbal roots

At least two types of stems composed of two verbal roots are found in the Chatino vocabulary. Section 3.3.4.1 describes stems including as their first member the roots –\(a\) 'go' or –\(an\) 'come,' and meaning 'go and ____' or 'come and ____'; and section 3.3.4.2 discusses stems whose second members come from the set of positional morphemes.

3.3.4.1. Stems beginning with –\(a\) 'go' and –\(an\) 'come'

Expressions communicating the concepts 'go / come and (do something)' are composed of the roots –\(a\) 'go' or –\(an\) 'come' plus an inflected form of a root denoting another performed activity. The following example illustrates one such stem, –\(a\)-7\(ya\) 'go and get':

196) Elias: El Terremoto 2 027

\[ \text{ky-}a\text{-}7\text{ya} \quad n \quad \text{liwru} \quad 7\text{yan} \]

P-go-get 1sg book of.1sg

'I am going to get my book.'

Constructions such as –\(a\)-7\(ya\) are syntactically parallel to single root verbs, taking a single aspectual prefix and being followed as a whole by a clitic pronoun or a lexical noun, as illustrated in example 196). The form of the second root in such a stem does not change according to the aspectual morpheme affixed to the first root; each root has a specific form which may be termed the 'combination form,' and which occurs as the second element in such constructions. The invariant combination form of a verb root typically resembles one or another of the forms of the same root inflected for aspect. The following example shows a construction analogous to that illustrated in example 196) but containing the verb -\(an\) 'come' along with the combination form so7 'gather':
197) Silvia: El Terremoto 1048

\[ nky-an-so7 \quad n \quad chi7n \quad na \quad 7yan \]
C-come.and.gather 1sg little thing of.1sg
‘I came to gather a few of my things.’

3.3.4.2. Positional complement constructions

Certain intransitive verbs referring to physical posture occur frequently as the second part of a multi-verb-root construction. As part of such constructions, these verbs are termed ‘positional complements.’ The following example illustrates the use of the expression \(-nya-tkwa\) ‘move sitting there (move-sit),’ which describes the motion of a building that has recently been in an earthquake, and is typical of this type of construction:

198) Elias: El Terremoto 2034

\[ ja \quad kya \quad wan \quad s7ya \quad na \quad nki-nya-tkwa \quad l7an-xkwla \quad kwa \]
no P.go 2pl because thing N-move.sitting classroom that
‘Don’t go there, because that classroom is moving (after an earthquake).’

The root \(-nya\) ‘move’ is intransitive, and the participant that performs the activity \(-nya\) also undergoes the state \(tkwa\) ‘sit.’ Analogous examples from the text database include the following, which feature \(-ten-tkwi\) ‘turn over and hang (turn.over-hang)’ and \(-t7o-t7in\) ‘come out and be there (come.out-be):’

199) Silvia: El Terremoto 1043

\[ nw-ten-tkwi \quad tanke \quad 7wa \quad ra-ka7n \]
C-turn.over.and.hang tank of.1pl.excl then
‘Our tank fell over (turned over and remained partially suspended on the hillside) then.’

200) Silvia: El Terremoto 1035

\[ nw-t7o-t7in \quad kw7an \quad tnu \quad re \quad ra-ka7n \]
C-come.out.and.be.at landslide big here then
‘A big landslide fell here then.’

The pattern of verbal derivation by means of positional complements appears to be somewhat productive. Native speakers judge arbitrary combinations of verb root +
positional complement as meaningful expressions depending on whether or not the construction appears to denote a realistic event.

It is also possible for a transitive verb root to occur in combination with a positional complement, as shown by the following example, which features –la7-tun ‘leave standing (leave-stand)’:

201) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 190

\[wye\ ti\ ti\ nkw-la7-tun\ ne7\ re\ ra-ka7n\]

pillar only still C-leave.standing person here then ‘Only the pillars they left standing then.’

In a clause containing –la7-tun, while the participant in the S position performs the activity –la7 ‘leave,’ it is the participant in the O position that experiences the state denoted by tun ‘stand.’ That pattern is repeated in the following examples, and in all other examples so far observed of a combination of a transitive verb root and a positional complement:

202) 1999-07-21 elicitation 052

\[nw-s7wa-tun\ Liya\ ti7a\ ni7\ kitu7n\]

C-put.and.leave.standing Maria water in pot ‘Maria put and left water (standing) in the pot.’

203) 1999-07-21 elicitation 057

\[nw-snyi-tkwi\ Xwa\ ste7\ Ø\ lo\ kwan\]

C-take.and.leave.hanging Juan clothing 3 on sun ‘Juan hung his clothes in the sun.’

The set of forms that function as positional complements includes tkwa ‘sit,’ tun ‘stand,’ tkwi ‘hang,’ skwa ‘lie,’ t7in ‘be,’ and y7wi ‘be.’ They are invariant in that function, like the combination forms of verbs described in section 3.3.4.1.

4. Forms that modify verbs.

This section discusses morphemes that directly modify verbs. Morphemes that seem to apply to the meaning of the whole utterance are discussed in Chapter 3. Section
4.1 describes the forms, termed ‘event modifiers,’ that occur between the verb word and any following nominal.

4.1. Event modifiers.

Members of the class of morphemes including ti ‘just, only,’ la ‘more,’ 7a ‘very, a lot,’ tzα ‘inadvertently,’ nwna ‘secretly,’ xa ‘openly, clearly,’ and tu7 ‘just (expressing decisiveness)’ can occur immediately following a verb word and preceding a lexical noun, or, in most cases, an enclitic pronoun. The exception is the 1st person pronoun, which occurs twice, following the event itself and also following the event modifier, as shown in example 204) below. The following examples illustrate the use of these forms. 

ti as an event modifier indicates that the event is conceived of as simple, pure, or uncomplicated, as in

204) El conejo y el toro 358

\[ ky-α \rightarrow \theta n \ ti \ n \ k\j n \ re \ 7in \ Ø \]

P-go.to.leave 1sg only 1sg skin this to 3

‘I will just leave this skin for him.’

205) El toro y el conejo 345

\[ syα7 \ y-ten \ ti \ yni \ Ø \ j\k a7n \ ra-\k a7n \]

at.once C-enter just neck 3 rope then

‘Then at once his neck just went into the rope.’

206) Felipa 7 023

\[ ple \ ti \ wa \ ra-\k a7n \]

foolish just 1pl.excl then

‘We were just foolish.’

The presence of la following an event means that the event surpasses some standard of comparison. The use of la with adjectives as a comparative morpheme, which is described in section 2.5.3, is compatible with its use with verbs, as in
207) Felipa 5 005
\[ wa \quad nw-tyka \quad la \quad kya7 \quad \emptyset \quad ra-ka7n \]
already C-heal more foot 3 then
'His foot had already healed more then.'

\( ti \) and \( la \) have various uses in addition to their function as event modifiers, one of which, related to locatives, is discussed in section 1.2.4.

\( 7a \) occurs only as an event modifier. When the event is coded by a verb, \( 7a \) occurs only in negative clauses, where it can communicate the idea of repetition, frequency, or extent of an activity or state, as in

208) Martin's example sentences 100's 060
\[ sen: \quad ntykwa \quad Xwa \quad ja \quad ntykwil7 \quad 7a \quad xa \quad nu \quad nti-\text{ti}7 \quad \emptyset \]
quiet H.sit Juan no H.talk a.lot when NOM sober 3
'Juan sits quietly and doesn't talk much when he is sober.'

Also in negative clauses involving a verb, \( 7a \) can signify continuation of an activity or state; as the clause is negative, \( 7a \) may be translated 'any longer' in this use, as in

209) Martin's example sentences 733
\[ n-t7wa \quad l7ya \quad Xwa \quad ja \quad y-a \quad 7a \quad \emptyset \quad tmya \]
N-hurt tooth Juan no C-go any.longer 3 work
'Juan's tooth hurts and he has no longer been going to work.'

When the event is coded by and adjective, \( 7a \) signifies intensity, as in the following example:

210) Martin's example sentences 100's 056
\[ cha \quad 7a \quad wxtyi \quad 7in \quad Nito \]
sharp very machete of Benito
'Benito's machete is very sharp.'

\( tza \), which occurs only as an event modifier, is used with events that are inadvertent, as in

211) Martin's _7o_ examples 005
\[ nw-snyi-7o \quad tza \quad Liya \quad pyun \quad 7in \quad jy7an-la \quad \emptyset \]
C-take.also accidentally Maria shawl of mother.in.law 3
'Maria accidentally also took her mother-in-law's shawl.'
tu7 is used to indicate the speaker’s firm intention to perform an event, or to elicit agreement from the listener in such an intention, as in the following examples:

212) Juan Ceniza 125
   lo si sti kw-lo-mya s7a n presu pwe s7a n tu7 n
   and if father 2sg order P.go 1sg prison well P.go 1sg just 1sg
   ‘And if your father orders that I be taken to prison, then I’ll just go.’

213) El tunco y el ciego 057
   k-ja7 tu7 o re
   P.sleep just 1pl.incl here
   ‘Let’s just sleep here.’

4.2. Adverbs

Words other than the event modifiers discussed in the previous section that provide additional information about the way an event is performed or experienced immediately precede the event and are termed ‘adverbs’ when they have that function. A number of forms, such as s7we ‘good, well,’ xen ‘wide,’ and t7i ‘painful, painfully,’ function both as adverbs and as adjectives (see section 2.5). The following examples illustrate the use of adverbs:

214) Juan Ceniza 096
   twee nw-tiya yu s7en lja7 ra-ka7n
   slowly C.arrive man place N.sleep then
   ‘Slowly he approached the place where she was sleeping.’

215) Juan Ceniza 089
   sen n-tkwa yu ra-ka7n
   quiet N.sit man then
   ‘He was sitting there quietly.’

216) Juan Ceniza 092
   ka7n-nu s7we l7an yu ra-ka7n
   then good C.see man then
   ‘Then, suddenly he saw.’
217) Juan Ceniza 208
   s7we  nx7yu  spada  ka7n  7in  yu  ra-ka7n
   good  H.cut  spade  that  of  him  then
   ‘His spade cut well then.’

218) Juan, Cuero de Venado 078
   s7we-wa  y-jwi7  ste7  Ø  ra-ka7n
   little.by.little  C-sell  clothing 3  then
   ‘Then Juan began to sell his clothes.’

219) El tunco y el ciego 107
   na  mwna  7a  x7ya  wa-re
   because  quiet  very  P.call  1pl.excl
   ‘... because we will shout quietly.’

As shown in the following examples, some of the event modifiers can also occur with
adverbs:

220) Felipa 6 029
   tyka  ti  tyka  ti  nky-an  stin  n  a7n  cha7
   slowly  only  slowly  only  C-come  father  1sg  1sg  because
   ti  t7i  kya7  Ø
   still  hurt  foot  3
   ‘My father came slowly, slowly, because his foot still hurt.’

221) Martin’s example sentences 212
   S7we  liye  7a  nt-jwi7  ne7  j7o
   Juquila  much  very  H-sell  person  saint
   ‘In Juquila they sell a lot of images of saints.’

5. Conclusion

This chapter has identified three major word classes, nouns, verbs, and
adjectives/adverbs, and described the inflectional and derivational morphology associated
with each. The members of other word classes, such as conjunctions, discourse markers,
and temporal expressions, are invariant in form and relate syntactically to whole clauses
instead of parts of clauses; these forms are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.
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The Basic Morpho-syntax of Yaitepec Chatino

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

VOLUME II

Houston, Texas

May, 2002
Chapter 3: The simple sentence

0. Introduction

At the nucleus of a simple sentence in Chatino are found an event and one or two participants, depending on the verb stem\textsuperscript{1}. Before and after the nucleus there may appear a variety of elements, such as adverbs, locatives, and prepositional phrases. In this chapter, the simple sentence is described in detail. The relations existing between the event and its participants are shown to be indicated by word order and by prepositional marking. An explanation is offered for the prevalence of VS(O) clauses in discourse, as well as for the occurrence of other orders. The use of word order to signal role, the distinction between the nucleus and the periphery of the clause, and the formal reflections of rhyme and topic are seen as the primary factors motivating the formal organization of the simple sentence.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 1 describes the simple sentence in its most frequently encountered form. The relationships between semantic roles and grammatical realizations of participants are described. Section 2 discusses alternative word orders and the meanings associated with them. Section 3 investigates the means by which participants are tracked between clauses in discourse. Section 4 turns to the coding of peripheral elements in clauses.

\textsuperscript{1} The terminology used here is that of Davis and Saunders (1989), and differs from the similar terminology of Foley and Van Valin (1984).
1. The nucleus and periphery of the simple sentence

1.1. The event—the center of the sentence

Morphological patterns exist that distinguish verbs from members of other grammatical categories in Chatino. Verbs characteristically carry aspectual inflection and verb roots may undergo derivations such as the transitive-causative *xi-/x-/s-*, discussed further below and in Chapter 2, which derives causative verbs from non-causatives. Every member of the verb class can have at least two different aspectual inflections. With few exceptions, a verb root must be inflected for aspect, except when it is the second root in a multi-root verb (see Chapter 2, Section 3.3.4). Members of other word classes are not inflected for aspect even when they function as the event of the proposition. The verb is underlined in each of the following examples, which illustrate the morphological characteristics just mentioned:

1) El toro y el conejo 060
   \( \text{s7a}\ n \)
   \( \text{P.go}\ lsg \)
   ‘I’ll go.’

2) El toro y el conejo 241
   \( \text{sy} \ a7 \ \text{n}\text{-\text{s\text{-ni}}}\ \text{ti} \ \emptyset \ \text{golpe} \ \text{ka7n}\ 7\text{in} \ \emptyset \ \text{ra-ka7n} \)
   at.once C-seize only 3 hammer that of 3 then
   ‘He seized his hammer at once then.’

3) El tunco y el ciego 060
   \( \text{ja}\ \text{s-la}\ \text{wa}\ 7\text{ni}\ \emptyset \)
   no P.TR-open 1pl.excl say 3
   ‘‘We won’t open it,’ he said.’

Verbs typically denote events, activities, or states, and, as examples 1)-3) illustrate, they usually occur near the beginning of the sentence, preceding the noun(s) that refer(s) to participant(s) of the proposition.
Besides verbs, all adjectives and some nouns can also occur sentence-initially, with functions similar to those of the verbs in examples 1)-3):

4) \textit{tnu} \textit{wa}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item big \ lpl.excl.
   \item 'We are big.'
   \end{itemize}

5) \textit{kw7an} \textit{n}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item woman \ lsg
   \item 'I am a woman.'
   \end{itemize}

6) Juan Ceniza 135
   \begin{itemize}
   \item \textit{ja} \textit{kja} \textit{xka} \textit{nu} \textit{ki7yu} \textit{la} \textit{sa-7an} \textit{ki7yu} \textit{n} \textit{a7n} \textit{jwin}
   \item no \ P.be.found \ other DET man more such man lsg lsg said
   \item \textit{yu} \textit{ra-ka7n}
   \item man then
   \item 'There is no one more of a man than I am, he said then.'
   \end{itemize}

Adjectives and nouns with this function are not inflected for aspect. Adjectives in such constructions refer to states or characteristics, while nouns function as identifications or characterizations. In the following paragraphs, the part of the proposition (whether grammatical verb, noun, or adjective) that denotes an event, activity, state, or identification will be referred to as the 'event.' The event, the participants involved in the event, and the relationships that the grammar encodes as existing between the event and the participants are all parts of the proposition.

1.2. The participant in the S position

In an event-initial sentence, the first one or two positions following the event signal the roles of the participants that fill them. It is the event that determines the specific semantic roles of the participants in those positions. The first two positions following the event will be referred to as the 'S' and 'O' positions, and the participants in those
positions as 'S's' or 'O's.' Where relevant, intransitive and transitive subjects can be distinguished by referring to the latter as 'A's.'

Event-initial word order is the most frequently encountered pattern. When the event occurs sentence-initially, it is always followed by a participant, which may take the form of a noun or pronoun, either immediately or separated only by one of a set of verbal enclitics or compounding elements, such as tu7 'just,' 7a 'very/a lot,' or tza:

'inadvertently.' If the nominal following the event is a pronoun, it usually comes from the following set:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>n[^1] + tone contrast</td>
<td>an/o (incl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>tone contrast (fam.)</td>
<td>wan (rsp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person tuman</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person animal</td>
<td>i7n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person inanimate</td>
<td>an/o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: The clitic personal pronouns of Yaitepec Chatino*

The use of these pronouns is illustrated by the following examples:

7 a) n7a n[^32] 7in[^1] Xwa[^32]

C. see 1sg to Juan

'I saw Juan.'

b) n7a[^1-] 7in[^2] Xwa[^32] a

C. see-2sg to Juan QU

'Did you see Juan?'

c) n7a[^12] Ø 7in[^1] Xwa[^32]

C. see 3 to Juan

'She/he/they saw Juan.'

d) n7a[^12] an 7in[^1] Xwa[^32]

C. see 1pl.incl to Juan

---

[^1]: Such forms are termed 'event-modifiers' (see Chapter 2, Section 4.1)—they modify only the event itself, and occupy the position closest to the event.
[^2]: One exception relates to the class of constructions in which the participant immediately following the verb is marked as a dative.
[^3]: The enclitic -n is realized phonetically as nasality on the root vowel.
‘We (inclusive) saw Juan.’

e) \textit{n7a}^{12} \textit{wa} \textit{7in}^{1} \textit{Xwa}^{32}
\text{C.see 1pl.excl to Juan}
‘We (exclusive) saw Juan.’

f) \textit{n7a}^{12} \textit{wan} \textit{7in}^{1} \textit{Xwa}^{32} \textit{a}
\text{C.see 2pl to Juan QU}
‘Did you (pl.) see Juan?’

The root of the verb -\textit{n7a} ‘see,’ in this somewhat unusual case, is unmarked by segmental morphology in the Completive aspect. 12, the unmarked tone of the root, indicates third person in the Completive aspect (ex. 7 c), while the tones 32 and 1 indicate first person singular and second person singular respectively (ex. 7 a-b). First person singular is also marked by nasalization of the vowel, written as an enclitic \textit{n}; since the vowel of \textit{n7a} is already nasal in the root, only the tone replacement is phonetically contrastive between 1\textsuperscript{st} singular and 3\textsuperscript{rd} person. Cliticization of the morphemes for 1pl.incl., 1pl.excl., and 2pl. does not involve tone replacement—the root occurs with the unmarked tone. It is frequent for a speaker to refer to him/herself using the first person plural inclusive pronoun instead of the first person singular.

There is also a set of secondary pronouns, forms that behave like lexical nouns in some contexts and function as pronouns in others. They are all 3\textsuperscript{rd} person and refer to classes of human beings. The set includes: \textit{ne7} ‘person,’ \textit{yu} ‘man,’ \textit{cho} ‘woman,’ \textit{ni} ‘respected person,’ and \textit{kwi7} ‘baby.’ Members of the set pattern differently in discourse: \textit{ne7} ‘person,’ discussed further in section 3.3.3 below, is never used to refer to the main character of a narrative, while \textit{yu} ‘man’ is used by some speakers with a frequency greater than that of 3\textsuperscript{rd} person \textit{Ø} when the referent is an adult male, and its use does not appear to have any correlation with whether or not the referent is the main character in a narrative.
Three deictic forms, *re* ‘this,’ *kwa* ‘that,’ and *ka7n* ‘the mentioned,’ are used as 3rd person pronouns.

Occurrence of a participant in the S position signals the role of the participant.

Consider the following examples:

8) 2000-01-17 elicitation 028  
   *nti-7o Liya ti7a*  
   N-drink Maria water  
   ‘Maria is drinking water.’

9) 2000-01-17 elicitation 029  
   *nti-7o ti7a Liya*  
   *N-drink water Maria*

10) *n7a Liya 7in Xwa*  
   C.see Maria to Juan  
   ‘Maria saw Juan.’

11) *n7a 7in Xwa Liya*  
   C.see to Juan Maria

12) *n7a xni7 kuwe7*  
   C.see dog pig  
   ‘The dog saw the pig.’  
   *‘The pig saw the dog.’

Occurrence of the event -7o ‘drink’ as the first item in the sentence requires that the first noun following it be interpreted as the participant that drinks. Consequently, example 9) is judged incorrect, because *ti7a* ‘water’ cannot be understood as the participant that drinks. Similarly, the noun in the first position following the sentence-initial stem -*n7a* ‘see’ refers to the participant that sees. Example 11) is judged incorrect because the participant which sees in a proposition featuring the event -*n7a* ‘see’ can not be marked by 7in, a preposition that often marks the participant in the second post-verbal position (as in example 10). For example 12), only the gloss reflecting the interpretation that the
participant following the event is the one that sees is accurate. Examples 8)-12) show that the order of participants following the event in an event-initial sentence is not free, and that position is a signal of role.

Orders other than VSO are possible and in fact frequent in discourse. Alternative orders involve the placement of some item other than the event in sentence-initial position (see section 2 below). When a pronoun occurs in a position other than following the event (or, in other constructions, a preposition or possessed noun), it must take its non-clitic, independent form. These forms are illustrated in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg.informal</th>
<th>3sg/pl</th>
<th>1pl.incl</th>
<th>1pl.excl</th>
<th>2pl/2sg.formal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na7</td>
<td>7win</td>
<td>(lexical noun + demonstrative)</td>
<td>na-re</td>
<td>wa-re</td>
<td>7wan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: The free pronouns of Chatino*

Note that the 1pl.incl. and 1pl.excl. forms are composed in part of the demonstrative re ‘here, this.’ The 3rd person forms that correspond most closely in function to the pronouns in Table 1 are such as na re ‘this thing,’ na kwa ‘that thing,’ ne7 re ‘this person/those people,’ ne7 kwa ‘that person/those people,’ 7ni re ‘this animal,’ and 7ni kwa ‘that animal.’

When a participant whose role would normally be marked by occurrence in the S position occurs sentence-initially, it is usually co-indexed by pronominal marking following the event. In each of the examples below, a free pronoun occurs first in the sentence, and the verb *nkwa7i* ‘chopped’ carries the corresponding clitic (which includes a tone change for the first and second persons singular):

13 a) nu^2 kwa^2 nkw-7a^13 Ø yka^3
    | NOM that C-chop 3 wood
    | ‘He (lit. ‘that one’) chopped the wood.’
b) \(7\text{wan}^2 \text{nkw-7a}^13 \text{wan}^2 \text{yka}^3\)
\begin{center}
2pl C-chop 2pl wood
\end{center}
‘You (pl) chopped the wood.’

c) \(n\text{a7}^3 \text{nkw-7a} \, n^32 \text{yka}^3\)
\begin{center}
1sg C-chop 1sg wood
\end{center}
‘I chopped the wood.’

d) \(7\text{win}^2 \text{nkw-7a-}^1 \text{yka}^3\)
\begin{center}
2sg C-chop-2sg wood
\end{center}
‘You chopped the wood.’
‘You, chop the wood!’

Comparison of these examples to example 7) above suggests that the clitic ‘pronouns’
might be better termed ‘agreement,’ in which case example 7) above would illustrate
‘pro-drop.’ However, there are several reasons, detailed in Chapter 2, section 1.1.1, for
describing the clitics as pronouns. One of these reasons is that the person-marking clitic
cannot co-occur with a free pronoun (or other noun) in the S position. This is seen most
clearly with regard to the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person. The unmarked tone of \(-j\text{wi} \text{‘kill’ in the Completive}
aspect is 12, as shown in the following example:

14) \(y-\text{jwi}^{12} \emptyset \text{kwchi}^{23}\)
\begin{center}
C-kill 3 rabbit
\end{center}
‘He/she/they killed a rabbit.’

The second person clitic is realized as tone 1 for the Completive aspect of \(-j\text{wi} \text{‘kill’}.

Examples 15) a-d illustrate the possibilities for marking by 2\textsuperscript{nd} person free and clitic
pronouns:

15 a) \(y-j\text{wi}-^1 \text{kwchi}^{23}\)
\begin{center}
C-kill-2sg rabbit
\end{center}
‘You killed a rabbit.’

b) \(7\text{win}^2 \, y-j\text{wi}-^1 \text{kwchi}^{23}\)
\begin{center}
2sg C-kill-2sg rabbit
\end{center}
c) \( y_{-jwi}^{12} \quad 7\text{win}^2 \quad kwch\text{i}^{23} \)
   C-kill  2sg  rabbit

d) \( ^{*}y_{-jwi}^{12} \quad 7\text{win}^2 \quad kwch\text{i}^{23} \)
   C-kill-2sg  2sg  rabbit

a), b), and c) are all accepted: in a), the clitic marks second person in the absence of a
free pronoun, in b), a sentence-initial free pronoun co-occurs with the clitic, and in c), the
free pronoun in the S position requires the absence of the clitic. Example d), in which the
free pronoun in the S position co-occurs with the clitic, is judged incorrect. An analogous
pattern is found for the second person plural:

16 a) \( y_{-jwi}^{12} \quad wan \quad kwch\text{i}^{23} \)
   C-kill  2pl  rabbit
   ‘You (pl) killed a rabbit.’

b) \( 7\text{wan}^2 \quad y_{-jwi}^{12} \quad wan \quad kwch\text{i}^{23} \)
   2pl  C-kill  2pl  rabbit

c) \( y_{-jwi}^{12} \quad 7\text{wan}^2 \quad kwch\text{i}^{23} \)
   C-kill  2pl  rabbit

d) \( ^{*}y_{-jwi}^{12} \quad wan \quad 7\text{wan}^2 \quad kwch\text{i}^{23} \)
   C-kill  2pl  2pl  rabbit

Similarly, the clitic \( i7n \) ‘animal’ co-occurs with a co-referential noun in sentence-initial
position, but not with one in the S position. For 3\(^{rd}\) person human referents, I assume that
a \( \emptyset \) clitic occurs following the event when there is a co-referential sentence-initial noun,
but not when a lexical noun or another pronoun occurs in the S position.

The data relating to the first person plural inclusive and the first person singular
pronouns follow slightly different patterns. In addition to the variation described above,
for the first person plural inclusive, it is also possible for the demonstrative \( re \) ‘this, here’
to follow the enclitic \( an \) / \( o \). Thus we find
17) El conejo y el toro 454
\[ \text{tyjiny7wi na-re sya sa-kwa ti ka an jwin } \emptyset \]
\[ \text{P.maintain.oneself lpl.incl although such only be lpl.incl said 3} \]
\[ \text{‘We can do okay even though we are just this size,’ he said.’} \]

and

18) El tunco y el ciego 008
\[ 7an \text{ ka } da \text{ an } \text{ re ni} \]
\[ \text{what be QU lpl.incl this now} \]
\[ \text{‘What will become of us now?’} \]

The pattern for first person singular is the most divergent. The free pronoun found in sentence-initial position, na7, never occurs in the post-verbal position\(^5\). Instead, a distinct clitic form, a7n, is used in that position:

19) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 047
\[ \text{nw-tyi-sna nkya n a7n la re ra-ka7n} \]
\[ \text{C-begin C.go 1sg 1sg way.over here then} \]
\[ \text{‘I came here then.’} \]

The 1\(^{st}\) person singular clitic \(n\) + tone replacement always co-occurs with a7n. I analyze the poly-morphemic form \(n + \text{tone replacement} + a7n\) as analogous to the other free pronouns in the S position.

Patterns precisely analogous with regard to the co-occurrence and non-co-occurrence of pronominal variants are found in the marking of possessors. In the following example, the free pronoun na7 ‘1sg.’ occurs in sentence-initial position, and the co-referential clitic n occurs on the inalienably possessed noun:

\(^5\) Native speakers repeatedly judged incorrect attempts to place na7 after a verb. However, the following example suggests that na7 can occur after at least one morpheme, 7o ‘with/and.’ This pattern requires further investigation.

1998-11-11 003
\[ \text{7win 7o n na7 wa nw-7ni an tnya sna wra} \]
\[ \text{2sg with 1sg 1sg already C-do lpl.incl work three hour} \]
\[ \text{‘You and I have already worked three hours.’} \]
20) Martin example sentences 100's 084
   na7 n-tkwa ska cha-kw7yu kilo n lo t7i o
   1sg N-sit one splinter eye 1sg and painful it
   'I have a splinter in my eye and it hurts.'

   It is also possible for an alienable possessor to occur sentence-initially and be co-
   referenced later by a clitic form. In the following example, 7yan is a contraction of 7in
   'to, of' plus the first person singular clitic:

21) Martin's example sentences 424
   na7 n-tiya ska ke-ktzi7 7yan
   1sg N-be one rock.fairy to.1sg
   'I have a rock fairy.'

   When a possessor occurs sentence-initially (the contexts in which that word order is
   found, which are not limited to those of topicalization, are discussed below in section 2),
   a co-referential clitic occurs following the noun (in inalienable possession) or possessive
   7in (in alienable possession). However, it is not possible for a clitic to co-occur with a
   free pronoun denoting the possessor following a noun.

   If the clitics were agreement markers rather than pronouns, one would expect them
   to co-occur with co-referential free pronouns or nouns, without regard to the position of
   the latter in the sentence. Instead, we find that free pronouns or nouns and the
   corresponding clitics are members of a single paradigm in the S position. As members of
   the same paradigm, they are assumed to have the same syntactic status in that context.
   For that reason, the clitics are considered pronominal.

   Given this analysis, the relation of a sentence-initial noun or pronoun to the
   following event has an uncertain syntactic status. When the sentence-initial participant
   figures in a topicalization construction, it may be considered extra-clausal, not directly in
   a grammatical relation to the event. Pre-posed topics are optionally marked by the clitic i
/in or by a short pause, iconically reflecting a separation from the remainder of the utterance. However, sentence-initial position is not exclusively a mark of topic—the content answering an information question also appears most commonly at the beginning of the sentence, and such content is harder to conceive of as extra-clausal. Section 2 includes an attempt to characterize more completely the meaning associated with the occurrence of a noun or pronoun in sentence-initial position. The discussion above illustrates a prominent feature of the simple sentence in Chatino: the consistent occurrence of a noun or pronoun in the position immediately following the event. In the following sections, I survey the semantic roles of participants in that position.

1.2.1. Semantic roles of the S participant

Participants with a variety of semantic roles occur in the S position of clauses. It is possible to identify classes of verbs such that the members of a class take S participants with similar semantic roles, e.g., the class of verbs that take agents, those that take patients, and those that take experiencers. In some cases, specific verbal morphology is found that corresponds to membership within a certain class. For example, verb stems with causative morphology have agents as S participants.

1.2.1.1. Agents.

Many events have as S participants entities that instigate and control the event. The participants following the underlined verbs in the following examples have those characteristics:

22) Martin example sentences 100's 006

\( n-x7wa \quad Liya \quad kafe \quad k-7o \quad snye7 \quad \emptyset \)

N-cool Maria coffee P-drink child 3
'Maria is cooling coffee for her children to drink.'
23) Felipa 4 038
   \textit{nw-s7i ne7 nskwa7}
   C-buy person corn
   ‘They bought corn.’

24) Martin example sentences 100’s 033
   \textit{kw-7va-nwana Xwa mnyi 7in sti-j7o}
   P-rob Juan money of priest
   ‘Juan will steal the priest’s money.’

25) Martin’s example sentences 060
   \textit{7ni-nyi Xwa yka kw-nya Ø nwsa}
   H.straighten Juan wood P-make 3 table
   ‘Juan straightens wood to make tables.’

In each of these examples, the participant that appears in the S position is actively and volitionally involved in the event. Events which have the characteristic of designating the semantic role of agent to the following participant can be further divided into classes on the basis of morphological characteristics.

\textit{1.2.1.1.1. Agents of causative events derived by s-/x-/xi-}

Members of a morphologically distinguished sub-class of verbs with agents as S participants include as part of their meaning the idea of a caused event. The participant following a verb performs an activity that causes another participant to undergo a change of state, or, less frequently, to perform an activity. Members of this class are derivationally related to non-causative verbs that are generally intransitive, taking non-agents in their S positions. In the most common derivational pattern, \textit{s-}, \textit{x-} or \textit{xi-} is prefixed to the non-causative stem to create the causative. For most roots, if the onset is a single consonant other than \textit{s}, \textit{x}, or \textit{tz}, then \textit{s-} or \textit{x-} is prefixed and no further modification occurs. \textit{xi-} is prefixed before \textit{s}, \textit{x}, or \textit{tz}. If the onset is a consonant cluster (roots occur with a maximum of two consonants in the onset), then there are three allomorphic
variations: either \( xi \)- is prefixed, or either \( s \)- or \( x \)- is prefixed while the cluster is
simplified by the deletion of the first consonant, or, in a few cases, by reducing the
sequence \( tiy \) [ty] to \( ty \) [c]. The phonological context does not fully determine the
selection of the allomorph, which is partially lexically conditioned. The following pairs
of sentences illustrate the contrasting forms and meanings related to this pattern. In each
pair, the first sentence illustrates the non-derived stem, while the second shows the
derived form:

a. single-consonant onset roots:

26 i) La Mujer que se Puso 174
\[
y-a \ y-a-7o \ 0 \ ti7a \ y-7o \ i7n \ ra-ka7n
\]
C-go C-take 3 water C-drink anim. then
'She went to take it (the animal) water to drink then.'

ii) 6-29-98 examples for verbs 015
\[
\text{nw-x7o} \quad \text{Xwa} \quad 7in \quad \text{nwbare} \quad 7in \quad 0
\]
C-make.drink Juan to friend of 3
'Juan got his friend drunk.'

27 i) La historia de Yaitepec B 057
\[
\text{nty-7o} \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ntyga} \quad \text{ntadu} \quad 7in \quad 0 \quad \text{sa-ny7a} \quad \text{nkw-sun} \quad 0
\]
H-come.out REL be all soldier of 3 as.if C-fight 3
'All his soldiers come out as if they were fighting.'

ii) 7-1-98 examples for verbs 129
\[
\text{n-xi-sun} \quad \text{Xwa} \quad 7in \quad \text{Liya}
\]
N-provoke Juan to Maria
'Juan is provoking Maria (to fight).'</n
b. cluster onset roots:

28 i) 6-30-98 examples for verbs 072
\[
\text{n-kilu} \quad \text{ti7a}
\]
N-spill water
'The water is spilling.'
ii) 6-30-98 examples for verbs 075
    n-slu  Xwa  ti7a
    N-throw  Juan  water
    ‘Juan is throwing the water (out of its container).’

29 i) 6-29-98 examples for verbs 033
    we  n-ty7wa  tun  ykwa  cha7  kw-7o  nu  lwe-ti
    already  N-cool  stand  atole  to  P-drink  NOM  small
    ‘The atole is already cooling for the children to drink.’

ii) Martin example sentences 100’s 006
    n-x7wa  Liya  kafe  k7o  snye7  Ø
    N-cool  Maria  coffee  P-drink  child  3
    ‘Maria is cooling coffee for her children.’

There are also a few other, much rarer morphemes that appear to have meanings
analogous to that of s-/x-/xi-, such as palatalization of the initial consonant and t-,
illustrated in the following examples:

30 i) 7/3/98 examples for verbs 015
    y-tzu  sna  kamyu
    C-explode  tire  car
    ‘The car tire burst.’

ii) 7/3/98 examples for verbs 016
    nw-chu  ne7  sna  kamyu
    C-explode  person  tire  car
    ‘She burst the car tire.’ (showing palatalization of root-initial tz to ch)

31 i) La historia de Yaitepec B 001
    lo  chun7-nt7en  ra-ka7n  nw-kin  an
    and  soon  then  C-burn  it
    ‘And soon afterwards it burned.’

ii) 7-2-98.a examples for verbs 045
    t7i  Ø  cha7  liye  nw-kin  Ø  kita
    hurt  3  because  much  C-burn  3  cigarette
    ‘He is sick because he smoked too much.’

The following table lists additional pairs of verb stems that are related by these
patterns:
The presence on a verb root of the transitive-causative morphology means that the participant in the S position is an agent that causes the event denoted by the verb root.

The role of the O participant of the derived stem is, for most roots, similar to that of the S participant of the non-derived stem—it undergoes the event denoted by the root. For example, the participants that occur as the S of non-derived verbs such as -ja7 'sleep,' -ne 'sound,' -ten 'fall,' and -7un 'come apart' have relations to their events essentially similar to those of the O's of the corresponding causative-transitive -xja7 'put to sleep,' -xne 'cause to sound,' -xten 'fell,' and -x7un 'take apart.'

When the S participant of the non-derived form has the agent-like property of volitionality with relation to the event, as with the roots -la7 'leave,' -ku 'eat,' -ku7 'dress
oneself/wear (clothing) -na7 'wash one's hands,' -7o 'drink,' -ne 'confess,' -sun 'fight,' -
t7an 'walk,' -t7en 'marry,' -t7in 'sit,' and -tun 'stand,' however, the semantic change
resulting from the causative derivation is greater—the S of the non-derived stem loses its
volitionality when it becomes the O of the derived stem. Certain of these roots are
already transitive in their non-derived stems, as illustrated in the following examples, in
which the verb and two participants are underlined:

32)  El conejo y el toro 129
    xkwe ni-cha7 ku 7yan jwin ra-ka7n
    friend why P.eat.2sg to.1sg said then
    ' 'Friend, why are you going to eat me,' he said then.'

33)  6-29-98 examples for verbs 012
    ntiya 7a ti7 ne7-kwla nti7o ne7 kwi s7en ntyka t7a
    N.be very nature ancient H.drink person tepache place H.pass fiesta
    'The old people like to drink tepache at fiestas.'

34)  1999-9-27 elicitation 135
    nye Tyu ki7ya nt7in 7in Ø
    P.confess Pedro sins N.be to 3
    'Pedro will confess his sins.'

35)  1999-9-27 elicitation 125
    ty7en Xwa 7in Liya
    P.marry Juan to Maria
    'Juan will marry Maria.'

By contrast, the verb -sun, although clearly taking an agent in the S position, cannot be
syntactically or semantically transitive; the other participant involved in the event must be
marked with the preposition 7o 'with':

36)  n-sun Liya 7o Xwa
    N-fight Maria with Juan
    'Maria is fighting with Juan.'
37) \( n\text{-sun} \quad Liya \quad 7\text{in} \quad Xwa \)
    \( \text{N-fight} \quad \text{Maria of Juan} \)
    ‘Juan’s Maria is fighting.’ (The preposition 7\text{in} is interpreted as marking a
    possessor rather than a patient.)
    * ‘Maria is fighting Juan.’

When transitive-causative \( s/-x/-xi\) is applied to these roots, the O (the erstwhile S) loses
its volitionality and becomes more patient-like.

For some of the roots that are transitive in the non-derived stem, the participant
corresponding to the O of the non-derived stem can be expressed in a clause featuring the
derived stem. In such cases, there are three participants with relations to the event, an
agent-causer, an executor that carries out the denoted event without initiating or
controlling it (syntactically an O), and an experiencer that is affected by the event
(unmarked, following the O). Nouns referring to participants with those relations to the
event are underlined in the following examples:

38) 1999-7-21 elicitation 083
    \( n\text{-xku} \quad Liya \quad 7\text{in} \quad Xwa \quad kija \)
    \( \text{N-feed} \quad \text{Maria to Juan tortilla} \)
    ‘Maria is feeding Juan tortillas.’

39) 1999-7-21 elicitation 082
    \( n\text{-x7o} \quad Tyu \quad 7\text{in} \quad Xwa \quad xka-lyu \)
    \( \text{N-make.\,drink} \quad \text{Pedro to Juan mescal} \)
    ‘Pedro is giving Juan mescal to drink.’

40) 1999-9-27 elicitation 137
    \( xne \quad sti-j7o \quad 7\text{in} \quad Tyu \quad ki7ya \quad n\text{-t7in} \quad 7\text{in} \quad \emptyset \)
    \( \text{P.\,make.confess priest to Pedro fault N\,-\,be to 3} \)
    ‘The priest will hear Pedro confess his sins.’

When the verb roots \( t7\text{en} \) ‘marry’ and \( \text{sun} \) ‘fight’ occur in the causative-transitive
derivation, an experiencer cannot be expressed in addition to the agent and the executor.
The following examples illustrate that for those verbs the experiencer cannot be expressed in the causative-transitive construction:

41) a) 1999-9-27 elicitation 127
   *xi-i7en sti-j7o 7in Xwa 7o Liya
   P.marry priest to Juan and Maria
   'The priest will marry Juan and Maria.'

   b) 1999-9-27 elicitation 128
   *xi-i7en sti-j7o 7in Xwa Liya
   'The priest will marry Juan to Maria.'

   c) 1999-9-27 elicitation 129
   *xi-i7en sti-j7o 7in Xwa 7in Liya

   a) 7-1-98 examples for verbs 129
   n-xi-sun Xwa 7in Liya
   N-provoke Juan to Maria
   'Juan is provoking Maria (to fight).'</n
   b) 1999-7-21 elicitation 088
   *nw-xi-sun Xwa 7in Liya Xna
   'Juan is provoking Maria to fight with Juana.'

   c) 1999-7-21 elicitation 090
   *nw-xi-sun Xwa 7in Liya 7in Xna

The a) examples illustrate that in the transitive derivations two participants can be expressed, while the b) and c) examples show that it is not possible to express the other participant that is presumably part of the narrated event. For the derived stem -xku ‘feed, give to eat,’ the possibility of expressing an experiencer in addition to the agent and the executor depends on the exact sense of the event: -xku can also mean 'provide food for,' as in the following example:

42) 6-30-98 examples for verbs 034
   n-xku Liya 7in tu-xkwla
   H-feed Maria to teacher
   'Maria feeds the teachers (i.e., provides food for them).’
However, with this meaning a third participant with the role of experiencer role cannot be expressed; example 38) cannot be understood to mean that Maria is providing tortillas for Juan, but only that she is feeding him; the most likely interpretation is that Juan is an infant and Maria is physically putting the tortillas into his mouth.

The possibility of expressing three participants with relation to the event in a causative construction appears to be a minor pattern, applying to only a few verb roots (only –ku ‘eat,’ –7o ‘drink,’ and –ne ‘confess’ have so far been found to participate in the pattern). It illustrates a variation in syntactic behavior found in stems with the s-/x-/xi-derivation. The consistent semantic content of the derivation is that of direct causation.

1.2.1.1.2. Agents of causative events derived by 7ni ‘make, do’

In a second pattern of transitivization, the verb root -7ni ‘make, do’ occurs as the first member of a compound, the second member of which is an intransitive root, usually an adjective. Example 25) above shows this pattern—the adjective nyi ‘straight’ is combined with the verb 7ni to derive 7ni-nyi ‘straighten.’ The following examples further illustrate this derivation:

43) Martin example sentences 100’s 090
nki-7ni-kwe7u Liya ska cha-kwete7n
N-raise Maria one carpenter.bird
‘Maria is raising a carpenter bird.’

44) Martin’s example sentences 034
7ni-y7we ti snye7 Xna kija
H.make.pieces only child Juana tortilla
‘Juana’s children break (their) tortillas all to pieces.’

45) Martin’s example sentences 035
7ni-xi kicha nu-lwe-ti ka-jwe 7in Ø
H.make.sweet too.much child coffee of 3
‘The children make their coffee too sweet.’
In example 43) the second member of the transitive compound is the verb *kw7u* (‘P-grow,’ in example 44) it is the noun *y7we* (‘piece,’ and example 45) it is the adjective *xi* (‘sweet.’) Compounding with *7ni* occurs with only a few non-adjective roots, but the derivation appears to be productive with adjectives. The following list gives other examples of roots that participate in the derivation:

| -7ni-cha     | ‘sharpen’ | cha   | ‘sharp’ |
| -7ni-jwtye   | ‘make a fool of’ | jwtye | ‘foolish’ |
| -7ni-kilu    | ‘fatten’ | kilu  | ‘P-grow’ |
| -7ni-ku7     | ‘make dirty’ | ku7   | ‘dirty’ |
| -7ni-l7an-ti7 | ‘weaken’ | l7an-ti7 | ‘weak’ |
| -7ni-nkten   | ‘whitewash’ | nkten | ‘white’ |
| -7ni-nkwlu7  | ‘make into a ball’ | nkwlu7 | ‘C-roll up’ |
| -7ni-nwsu    | ‘tame (v.)’ | nwsu  | ‘tame (adj.)’ |
| -7ni-s7wa    | ‘level (v.)’ | s7wa  | ‘level (adj.)’ |
| -7ni-skwi    | ‘plane (wood)’ | skwi  | ‘smooth’ |
| -7ni-t7i     | ‘injure’ | t7i   | ‘hurting, in pain’ |
| -7ni-tin     | ‘calm (v.)’ | tin   | ‘calm (adj.)’ |
| -7ni-tkwin   | ‘lengthen’ | tkwin | ‘long’ |
| -7ni-tlyu    | ‘enlarge’ | tlyu  | ‘large’ |
| -7ni-tnu     | ‘respect, honor’ | tnu   | ‘large’ |
| -7ni-tyka    | ‘cure’ | tyka  | ‘healthy’ |
| -7ni-x7an    | ‘fill’ | x7an  | ‘P.get full’ |
| -7ni-x7we    | ‘repair’ | s7we  | ‘good’ |
| -7ni-ykwa    | ‘level (v.)’ | ykwa  | ‘level (adj.)’ |

*Table 3: The causative 7ni construction.*

Forms with -7ni plus adjective, meaning approximately ‘to cause something to have the property named by the adjective,’ are considered to be compounds because they behave like single words, taking aspectual prefixes as single units and being followed as single units by nouns or pronouns in the S position. Although I have not noted any regular phonological indication that the complex form is a single word, the components are never
separated by any intervening forms⁶. For example, the event modifier la ‘more’ (see
Chapter 2, Section 4.1) occurs after the compound in the following example:

46) Martin’s example sentences 074

\text{7ni-lyu \ la \ ntten \ kichen \ S7we}
H.make.big more person town Juquila
‘The people are enlarging the town of Juquila.’

Finally, -7ni + Adj. forms frequently have somewhat idiosyncratic meanings, which also
suggests their classification as lexical units. I will refer to this pattern as the ‘causative -
7ni’ construction. In it, as in the derivation involving s-/x-/xi-, the relationship between
the derived and the non-derived stems is one of direct causation, although some of the
derived stems have meanings that diverge slightly from the simple causation of the event
denoted by the corresponding non-derived stem, e.g., -xna7 ‘wash another’s hands’ (not
precisely to make someone wash his or her hands), -x7o ‘get sb. drunk’ (in addition to
‘make somebody drink’), -7ni-\text{nkten} ‘whitewash’ (not merely ‘make something white’).

All such events involving direct causation have agents as S participants.

1.2.1.1.3. Agents of events that do not show causative morphology

In addition to the derived causative verbs described above, a number of transitive
and intransitive verbs without causative-transitive morphology occur with agent S
participants. The following examples illustrate intransitive verbs followed by nouns
referring to agents:

47) Martin’s example sentences 804

\text{nty7in \ nu \ kw7an \ ki7an \ ntiy-o \ \Ø \ s7en \ nty-ka \ t7a}
H.be \ DET \ woman \ much \ H-grind \ 3 \ place \ H-be \ fiesta
‘There are many women grinding at the fiesta.’

⁶ The palatalization of initial /s/ of the root s7we ‘good’ in -7ni-x7we ‘repair,’ repeated in -7ni-x7we-ti7 ‘be
friendly’ below, is a phonological indication of the compound status of those forms. However, such
palatalization occurs in only a few lexical items.
48) Martin’s example sentences 254
\[nkw-ji\] Xwa ntyga sya7 \[\emptyset\] y-7o \[\emptyset\]
C-spend Juan all salary 3 C-drink 3
‘Juan spent all his money drinking.’

49) El conejo y el toro 565
\[xkwe\] cha7-7 \[\text{msg}\] n
friend why-not P.run 1sg
‘Friend, why wouldn’t I flee?’

50) Martin example sentences 100’s 081
\[n-tkwa\] ska cha-kun \[n-s7ya\] \[\emptyset\] lo yka-ty7a
N-sit one dove N-call 3 on pipe.tree
‘There is a dove calling in the pipe tree.’

51) Juan Ceniza 081
\[n-tkwa\] yu \[nt-7an-kw7ya\] yu ra-ka7n
N-sit man N-watch man then
‘Juan was sitting and watching.’

52) El conejo y el toro 241
\[ty7i-jya\] an jwin nu kw7na 7in cha-kwchi
P.play 1pl.incl said DET crocodile to rabbit
‘Let’s play, said the crocodile to the rabbit.’

Transitive verbs without either of the morphological causative patterns discussed above,
but which nonetheless take agents in the S position, include the verb -7ni ‘make, do’
itself. -7ni is used in the periphrastic causative construction, where the complement of -
7ni is a clause denoting the caused event, as in the following examples:

53) 1999-09-18 elicitation 033
\[nw-7ni\] Tyu cha7 nw-kkin yka
C-do Pedro that C-burn wood
‘Pedro made the wood burn.’

54) 2000-01-16 elicitation 007
Xwa \[nw-7ni\] \[\emptyset\] cha7 nw-sla n tu-l7an
Juan C-do 3 that C-open 1sg door
‘Juan made me open the door.’
In contrast to the causative $s-/x-/xi$- and the causative $7ni$ constructions, the periphrastic causative construction denotes a somewhat indirectly caused event. Example 53)

contrasts with the following example, in which the verb denotes a more direct causation:

55) 1999-09-18 elicitation 031

Tyu nw-tkin $\emptyset$ yka
Pedro C-burn 3 wood
‘Pedro burned the wood.’

The stem $-sla$ ‘open (tr.),’ itself derived by the $s-/x-/xi$- causative/transitive prefix, cannot undergo either of the causative derivations discussed in Sections 1.2.1.1.1 and 1.2.1.1.2, perhaps because the event to which it refers cannot be caused directly. Consequently, the periphrastic causative is the only means of causation available for $-sla$.

$-7ni$ can also occur in constructions with certain adjectives describing states and nouns denoting characterizations, such that part of the meaning of the $-7ni$ + adjective/noun construction is that the participant in the subject position is voluntarily or actively involved in the state denoted by the adjective or noun. In the following example, the adjective $la$ ‘fierce’ appears in the derivation $-7ni-la$ ‘be fierce (volitionally), i.e., be harsh’:

56) Ruben 102

ja kw-$7ni-la$ $7in nu$ $lwe-ti$ a
no P-be.harsh.2sg to NOM small QU
‘You won’t be harsh on the children?’

Analogous examples include the following:

57) Martin’s example sentences 088

$7ni-xlya$ Liya $7in Xwa$ $7o$ $Xna$
H.be:jealous Maria to Juan and Juana
‘Maria is being jealous of Juan and Juana.’ ($xlya$ ‘jealous’).
58) Martin’s example sentences 075
n-s7wi snye7 Liya y7an-tykwăn lo 7ni-t7na 7in snye7 7n
N-be child Maria in.prison and H.miss 3 to child 3
‘Maria’s son is in prison and she misses him a lot.’ (t7na ‘hurting’)

59) Martin’s example sentences 087
nki-7ni-x7we-ti7 xni7 7o Liya
N-be.friendly dog with Maria
‘The dog is being friendly to Maria.’ (s7we-ti7 ‘happy’)

60) 1999-02-10 elicitation 035
nw-7ni-ke Xwa l7an-tyi sti 7n
C-act.as.head Juan home father 3
‘Juan acted as head of his father’s home.’ (ke ‘head’)

This construction is termed the ‘volitional -7ni’ construction. When the sentences above
are compared with sentences in which the same adjectives occur without -7ni, the
semantic contribution of -7ni becomes clearer. Consider the following examples:

61) Martin’s example sentences 286
liye 7a la jy7an-l7an Lisiya
much very fierce stepmother Alicia
‘Alicia’s stepmother is very strict.’

62) Martin’s example sentences 739
la xni7 n-tun tkwin nky-a S7we y-ku i7n 7in Ka-jlu
fierce dog N-stand road N-go Juquila C-bite anim to Carlos
xa y-a wa 7o 7n S7we
when C-go 1pl.excl with 3 Juquila
‘The dog on the road to Juquila is fierce; it bit Carlos when we went with him to
Juquila.’

63) El conejo y el toro 334
ja7 s7we-ti7 nu kwchi
ah happy DET rabbit
‘Ah, the rabbit was happy.’

64) 2000-01-19 elicitation 002
s7we-ti7 kila cha7 ki-7ya kyo
happy cornfield that P-go.down rain
‘It is good for the corn for it to rain.’
El conejo y el toro 512

$t\overline{7}na$ 7a n ni
hurt very 1sg now
‘Poor me!’

The state or characteristic that is predicated by means of the adjective *la* ‘fierce’ by itself is not understood as under the volitional control of the entity—a person may be stern or an animal fierce by nature. By contrast, the attitude denoted by *-7ni-la* ‘be harsh’ is volitional; therefore, it makes sense to ask a person whether or not he intends to be harsh. The semantic difference between *s7we-ti7* and *-7ni-s7we-ti7* parallels that between *la* and *-7ni-la*: *s7we-ti7* ‘happy’ denotes a state brought on by external circumstances, while *-7ni-s7we-ti7* ‘be friendly’ evokes the idea of an active, volitional happiness directed at another participant. *$t\overline{7}na$* ‘hurt’ in example 65) expresses the speaker’s evaluation of his situation as pitiable. In example 58), *-7ni-t$7na$* denotes an emotion. The difference between the presence and the absence of *-7ni* in this case does not correlate precisely with volitionality, as the participant in subject position presumably exercises no volition in either situation. However, the difference roughly parallels the contrast between non-volitional and volitional states: when the situation is appropriate to the use of $t\overline{7}na$, the participant is in no way responsible for the state—the use of $t\overline{7}na$ reports an evaluation of the participant’s situation in light of certain uncontrollable circumstances. The emotion denoted by *-7ni-t$7na$*, by contrast, originates with the participant, and the participant may therefore be seen as partly responsible.

The two types of compounds formed by *-7ni + adjective* are thus distinct in meaning despite their formal similarity. In the causative *-7ni* construction, discussed above, the adjective part of the compound relates to the participant in the O position,
while in the volitional -7ni construction the adjective or noun part of the compound relates to the participant in S position. The common feature relating the three grammatical uses of -7ni, i.e., in the compound causative, the periphrastic causative, and the volitional state constructions, is that the S participant in each type is actively and volitionally involved in the event. This feature is directly reflected by the gloss ‘do/make’ given to the lexical occurrence of -7ni.

Other verbs that have agent S participants, but which do not show any special morphology (such as the causative derivations described above) include those in the following list, which includes agentive actions and activities, both transitive and intransitive, agentive states, events of agentive motion or change of position, events of communication, and semantically causative events:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions/activities</th>
<th>Motion/change of position</th>
<th>Caused changes of state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-7a ‘chop’</td>
<td>-7ya ‘go down’</td>
<td>-nyi ‘lie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7e ‘lick’</td>
<td>-a ‘go’</td>
<td>-s7ya ‘call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7u ‘teach’</td>
<td>-la ‘escape’</td>
<td>-styi ‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7ya ‘carry’</td>
<td>-jki ‘bend over’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jkwə ‘sweep’</td>
<td>-sna ‘run’</td>
<td>-7i ‘toast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jwi ‘hit’</td>
<td>-t7an ‘walk’</td>
<td>-ja ‘empty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta ‘plant’</td>
<td>-tyi-tun ‘stand up’</td>
<td>-ke7 ‘roast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na ‘search for’</td>
<td>-tyi-tkwə ‘sit down’</td>
<td>-lo ‘take out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta ‘bathe oneself’</td>
<td>-tyi-skwa ‘lie down’</td>
<td>-ni ‘clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>States</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-twe ‘cut up into pieces’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tkwa ‘sit’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tun ‘stand’</td>
<td>-jya ‘joke’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-skwa ‘lie’</td>
<td>-kwi7 ‘talk’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1.2. Non-agent S participants.

A second group of verbs have non-agent S participants. These verbs may be divided into several classes.
1.2.1.1. Stative events

One class of verbs that take non-agents includes those denoting states or conditions, such as the underlined forms in the following examples:

66) Martin’s example sentences 874
   
   n̕i-a-ti7 Xwa kw-7ni Ø mya
   N-lazy Juan P-do 3 work
   ‘Juan is lazy about working.’

67) Felipa 6 029
   
   tyka-ti tyka-ti nky-an sti n a7n cha7
   be.a.little.more be.a.little.more C.come father lsg lsg because
   ti ʔ7i kya7 Ø
   still hurt foot 3
   ‘My father went slowly because his foot still hurt.’

68) Juan Ceniza 096
   
   t̕we nw-tiya yu s7en l̕a7 Ø ra-ka7n
   slowly C.arrive man place N-sleep 3 then
   ‘Slowly he approached the place where she was sleeping.’

There are a number of morphologically or distributionally distinguished classes of stative verbs.

1.2.1.2.1. Body postures, existence/location, and ‘have’ possession

Verbs referring to positions or body postures comprise a sub-class of stative verbs, as they are often used to express the existence or the location of an entity, and also occur as positional complements in construction with other verb roots (see chapter 2 section 3.3.4.2). The following examples illustrate the use of these verbs to express existence:

69) Martin example sentences 100’s 082
   
   nte n-skwa kwten ska cha-kun ji:
   here N-lie nest one dove gray
   ‘Here there is a nest of a gray dove.’
70) Hurricane 042
*n-tkwa l7an s7we n-tkwa l7an losa*
N-sit house good N-sit house concrete
‘There are good houses, there are houses of concrete.’

71) La Mujer que se Puso 076
*kan7-nu nw-tiya Ø s7en n-tkwi xka l7o*
then C-arrive 3 place N-hang other fence
‘And then they arrived at a place where there was another fence.’

Other verb roots exhibiting the same behavior include -tun ‘stand,’ -l7in ‘be/live,’ -s7wi
‘be in,’ -7an ‘be put,’ and -tiya ‘be.’ -tiya ‘be’ is the most schematic verb of the class; the
others have more specific meanings.

The same verbs are also used to express the location of an entity:

72) El conejo y el toro 507
*la n-tiya mwbare*
where N-be companion
‘Where are (my) companions?’

73) Eli*as: El Terremoto 2 007
*ka7n ra-ka7n nu nki-nya nki-nya*
then then much N-have.earthquake N-have.earthquake
*nki-nya s7en nw-tun n ra-ka7n*
N-have.earthquake place C-stand 1sg then
‘Then it shook a lot where I was (standing).’

74) Martin’s example sentences 865
*we n-tkwi nta kwne7 lo jy7a n-tkwa Ø lo jyan*
already N-hang bean young on bean.plant N-sit 3 on field
‘The bean plant (sitting) in the field already has bean pods.’

75) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 256
*kwi7 7a n-tkwa l7an-xkwla n-kita 7in an*
same very N-sit school.house C-break to it
‘The damaged schoolhouse is (sitting) right next to it.’

The existential and the locative uses of these verbs are formally similar, but there are
clear differences in meaning given the contexts in which the examples occur. In the
existential constructions (ex. 69)-71), the participant whose existence is expressed is
assumed to be previously unknown to the hearer, while in the locative constructions (ex 72)-75)), the participant whose location is expressed is assumed to be identifiable by the hearer. This difference surfaces in the English translations in the choice between the definite and indefinite article with common nouns. Since Chaiino does not necessarily mark the distinction identifiable/non-identifiable on participants, some of the examples above are in fact ambiguous between an existential and a locative reading when taken out of context. Example 75), for example, could also be translated, 'There is a damaged school house/some damaged school houses right next to it.' Examples 72) and 73) are unambiguous, the first because the noun nwbare 'companions' is understood to refer to a specific group, i.e., 'my companions,' and the second because the referent of the pronoun n 'I' is inherently identifiable. Examples 70) and 71) are unambiguously existential in meaning, the first because no location is expressed in it, and the second because the form xka 'another' indicates that the noun l7o 'fence' is not identifiable.

Constructions communicating possession that can be translated into English by means of the verb 'have' are analogous to existential and locational constructions, as illustrated in the following example:

76) Martin's example sentences 660

\[ n-tun \ ki7an \ ke \ kwta \ 7in \ ne7 \ ntti7n \]

N-stand much head cattle of/to person Río.Grande

'The people of Río Grande have many heads of cattle. (lit.: There are many heads of cattle of/to the people of Río Grande.)'

I will refer to the construction shown in example 76) as the 'have' construction. The gloss of 7in 'of/to' in example 76) reflects the fact that the notions of possession and dative relationship are grammatically very similar (see Section 1.4.4.1 below for a discussion of one difference between the two constructions). The preposition 7in signals
both relationships when the preceding noun is alienable; when it is inalienable, the
possessor or dative noun follows immediately and the pronouns take the clitic form:

77) Martin’s example sentences 819
   ja n-tiya  ni-ke  sti  Xwa
no N-be surname father Juan
‘Juan’s father doesn’t have a surname.’

78) 1998-11-10 030
   n-tiya  sna  snye7  n
N-be three child 1sg
‘I have three children.’

The marking of the possessor or dative participant in this construction is the same as that
of the possessor in attributive possession, illustrated in the following examples, in which
the possessor is underlined:

79) Elias: El Terremoto 2 030
   ka7n  y-ten n  nky-a  7ya  n  liwru  7in  7iwa  ra-ka7n
then C-enter 1sg C-go N.carry 1sg book of Ivan then
‘Then I went in to get Ivan’s book.’

80) Martin example sentences 100’s 012
   nk-7wa  l7ya  Letu  lo  y-7wi  kin  tlo:  Ø
C.hurt tooth Modestito and C-be swelling face 3
‘Modestito’s tooth hurt and his face swelled up.’

7iwa, the possessor of the alienable noun liwru ‘book,’ is marked by 7in ‘to/of,’ while
Letu, the possessor of inalienably possessed l7ya ‘tooth,’ is unmarked. The examples
above show that the possessor in the ‘have’ construction is marked the same way as that
in attributed possession. The same marking alternation occurs with the recipient in an
event of transfer, as shown by the following examples:

81) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 111
   kwa  nw-s7i  wa  ste7  Ø
there C-buy 1pl.excl clothing 3
‘There we bought her clothes,’
82) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 112
   nw-s7i   wa   tykwan   7in   Ø
   C-buy   lpl.excl   earring   of   3
   ‘we bought her earrings,…’

The context of these examples makes it clear that the clothing and the earrings are bought
as gifts for the girl: the Ø 3rd person is a recipient. When the noun referring to the
transferred object is inalienable, as is ste7 ‘clothing,’ the recipient is unmarked. When
the noun is alienable, as is tykwan ‘earring,’ the recipient is marked by 7in ‘of/to.’ In the
grammatical expression of an event of transfer, as in possession, a dative participant is
marked identically to a possessor.

The same verbal roots that are used to express existence and location and that
appear in the ‘have’ construction occur as positional complements in forms such as: -la7-
skwa ‘to leave sth. lying there,’ -lo- tkwi ‘to take sth. out so that it hangs there, i.e., to
show,’ and -snyi- tkwa ‘to seize sth. so that it sits there, i.e., to arrest, detain.’

i.2.1.2.1.2. Adjectives

Adjectives may also function as stative events, as in the following examples:

83) El conejo y el toro 007
   inu   wa-re
   big   lpl.excl
   ‘We are big.’

84) El conejo y el toro 058
   na7 luy7   7a   n
   1sg small   very 1sg
   ‘I am very small.’

85) El conejo y el toro 512
   i7na   7a   n   ni
   poor   very 1sg   now
   ‘Poor me, now.’
86) El toro y el conejo 318

s7we 7a loga s7en n-s7wi
good very place place N-be.2sg
‘How good the place is where you live.’

1.2.1.2.1.3. Numbers

Numbers functioning as events are also stative:

87) Martimiano 1 022

ti7yun-xka ti nu nkinu
sixteen only NOM N.remain
‘Those who remained were sixteen.’

88) Martimiano 1 140

ska ti nu y-la ska lo kwi kwa ra-ka7n
one only NOM C-sing one on instrument there then
‘Only one person played each instrument then (lit.: ‘only one was the one who played on one instrument’).’

89) 1998-11-11 081

tkwa nu ki7yu t7a n
two DET man brother/sister 1sg
‘I have two brothers (lit.: ‘my brothers are two’).’

1.2.1.2.2. Change-of-state events

As discussed above, verbs referring to states frequently take non-agent participants in the S position. A second set of verbs that often have non-agent S participants are those referring to changes of state. This section examines change-of-state verbs, which can be divided into groups on the basis of morphological considerations.

Constructions referring to the inception of a state denoted by an adjective are derived from adjectives by means of the verbs –ka ‘be, become,’ used for changes of state in general, and –kinu ‘stay, remain,’ for permanent changes of state with regard to a subgroup of events:
90) Martin example sentences 100’s 059
xa: nty-ka-k7wi Xwa: liye 7a snya 7ni Ø
when H-get.drunk Juan much very disgusting H.do 3
‘When Juan gets drunk he behaves very disgustingly.’ (k7wi ‘drunk’)

91) Juan, Cuero de Venado 056
nu-ka-ti ka7n-nu wa nkwa-kwriya7 Xwa ka7n
DSC then already C.get.rich Juan that
‘Then that Juan was already rich (i.e., had already gotten rich).’ (kwriya7 ‘rich’)

92) Felipa 2 028
lo cha-kwa-ti ke xlyu ka7n nkwa-tyka7n an
and a little more handle knife the mentioned C.become.visible it
‘And a little bit of the handle of the knife became visible.’ (tyka7n ‘visible’)

93) Martin’s example sentences 920
nk-jwi sti Xwa 7o jy7an Ø lo n-kinu-t7i Ø
C-die father Juan with mother 3 and C-become.poor 3
‘Juan’s father and mother died and he became an orphan (i.e., became poor (t7i)
permanently).’

94) Martin’s example sentences 691
nkawa Xwa ska kwa lo n-kinu-kwtyi7n ska l7a kilo Ø
C.sit Juan one cattle and C-become.blind one side eye 3
‘Juan rode a bull and became blind in one eye.’ (kwtyi7n ‘blind’)

Such derived constructions referring to inceptive events are written as compounds (with a
hyphen) because they are treated morphologically as single words. No forms ever occur
between the elements of such compounds. Change-of-state verbs derived from adjectives
by means of –ka and –kinu appear to consistently take non-agent participants in the S
position.

Verbs referring to changes in position or body posture are derived from stative
roots by the prefixation of tyi-. In the following examples, the S participants have the
agent-like qualities of volitionality and activity:
95) Elias: El Terremoto 2 103
nkw-7ya tla ra-ka7n, ka7n nw-ryi-skwa wa y-ja7 wa
C-descend night then then C-lie.down 1pl.excl C-sleep 1pl.excl
ra-ka7n
then
'It was already night, and we lay down to sleep then.'

96) Felipa 6 036
nw-ryi-tkwa ne7 kwyu 7in ne7 nw-t7o ne7 nkyan
C-sit.down person horse of person C-come.out person C-come
ne7
person
'He mounted his horse and came.'

97) -tyi-tun 'stand up'

The stems beginning with ryi- in examples 95)-97) have human, agent S’s. Several other
verb stems denoting changes of state, and generally occurring with non-human, non-agent
S’s, begin with ty-; for some but not all, related forms that do not begin with ty- have
been found. It is possible that ty- is related to the prefix tyi-:

-ty7wa ‘get cold’ t7wa ‘cold’
-ty7we ‘break into pieces’ y7we ‘piece’
-tyka ‘heal’
-tykun ‘close’ tkun ‘close (agentive)’
-tykwa ‘close (of a wound)’
-tykwa7 ‘become degrained’
-tykwon ‘become sewn’
-tykwan ‘become de-feathered’
-tykwan ‘become twisted into a spiral’
-tywe7n ‘get scalded’

A similar number of verbs beginning with ty- refer to states resulting from events, and
some stems, such as -tykun and -tykwa, both glossed ‘close’ or ‘be closed,’ are members
of both groups:

-tywi ‘be clean’ lwì ‘clean’
-tyka7n ‘be tied’ njka7n ‘rope’
-tykwan ‘be thrown’
-tykwon ‘be sifted’
-tykun 'be closed'
-tykwa 'be closed'
-tywi7 'have gone out (of a fire)'

A consistent semantic contrast between the two classes of verbs, stative verbs and
change-of-state verbs, can be observed when the verbs occur in the Continuative or the
Compleitive aspects. A change-of-state verb in the Continuative aspect refers to an event
in which an entity is entering into a state, as in the following examples:

98) 7-2-98. a examples for verbs 064
   n-tý7we  nya  n-tki  ty7i7
   N-break.apart comal N-be fireplace
   'The comal (tortilla heater) over the fireplace is falling apart.'

99) 7-1-98 examples for verbs 063
   n-týkwa7  tý7i7  tya  ni7  kwjin
   N-become.degrained be.at corn in bag
   'The corn is getting degrained in the bag.'

100) 7-1-98 examples for verbs 061
    n-týkwang  kw7tu
    N-become.defeathered chicken
    'The chicken is losing its feathers.'

A stative verb in the Continuative aspect refers to an on-going state. When the state is
one that typically results from an event, the verb is often translated by means of a
perfective form referring to the event, as in examples 101) and 102) below:

101) 7-1-98 examples for verbs 138
    n-týwi  ke-l7ang  nkwy7a  kyo
    N-be.clean roof C-fall rain
    'The roof got clean because it rained.'

102) 7-1-98 examples for verbs 142
    n-týwi7  ki7
    N-have.gone.out fire
    'The fire has gone out.'
103) Martin example sentences 100's 016

\[ n\text{-}ty\text{k}un \quad l7\text{an} \quad 7i\text{n} \quad Li\text{ya} \]
N-be.closed   house of   Maria
'Maria's house is closed.'

With regard to the verbs that belong to both the stative and the change-of-state classes, the meaning of the verb in the Continuative aspect is ambiguous. Thus, corresponding to example 103) above, the following also occurs:

104) 7-2-98.a examples for verbs 047

\[ n\text{-}ty\text{k}un \quad tu\text{-}l7\text{an} \]
N-close   door
'The door is closing.'

Consistent with the contrasting readings of stative and change-of-state verbs in the Continuative aspect, a meaning contrast also occurs in the Completive aspect. When a change-of-state verb occurs in the Completive aspect, it is possible to infer that the associated state is still in effect:

105) Elias: El Terremoto 2 095

\[ 7a\text{n-}d\text{a-i} \quad ra\text{-}k\text{a}7n \quad nw\text{-}ty\text{k}a \quad s7\text{we} \quad ka \quad ti\text{ye} \quad wa \quad ra\text{-}k\text{a}7n \]
uhhuh   then   C-become good   be chest   lpl.excl   then
'Yes, we had become happy then.'

In this example, the state resulting from the change-of-state denoted by \(-ty\text{k}a\quad s7\text{we} \quad ka\text{ tiye} 'become happy' \) is still in effect from the current narrative point of view, that is, \(wa \text{ 'we' are still happy. By contrast, when a stative verb occurs in the Completive aspect, the implication is that the state is no longer in effect:

106) La historia de Yaitepec A 101

\[ 7o \quad ki: \quad ti \quad 7o \quad y\text{k}a \quad 7o \quad ta7 \quad ti \quad nw\text{-}ty\text{k}a7n\quad an \]
with grass   only with wood   with yagua only   C-be.tied it
'With grass, with wood, with yagua it was tied.'
This example comments on a characteristic of a building, not on the event of its construction. As the building is no longer in existence, its state is ‘completed,’ hence the use of the Completive aspect.

There exist a number of intransitive verbs beginning with the reduced syllable ki-, that have corresponding transitive variants beginning with s- or x-, such as kilyu ‘turn, circle,’ xlyu ‘turn (sth.) over,’ kina7 ‘wither,’ xna7 ‘wither (sth.),’ kita ‘break,’ sta ‘break (sth.),’ etc. The intransitive variants refer to activities, states, and changes of state, and generally take non-agents as S participants. Above, it was suggested that the simplest way to describe the morphology relating the transitive/intransitive pairs is to assume that prefixation of s- or x- to a stem beginning with the reduced syllable ki- involves the deletion of ki-, resulting in a phonotactically acceptable sequence of two consonants preceding the unreduced vowel of the stem. However, it also seems somewhat likely that, etymologically at least, ki- was a prefix with a function similar or identical to that of ty-.

This impression is strengthened by the fact that the environments of ty- and ki- are partially disjoint—ty- does not precede t or any palatalized segment, and ki- does not precede k or any labialized segment, which is compatible with the possibility that ty- and ki- were phonologically conditioned allomorphs at an earlier stage. Although there is no clearly prefixal form ki- analogous to tyi- extant in the language, there are suggestive pairs of words such as ki7u ‘revive,’ l7u ‘alive,’ kila ‘open (v.),’ la ‘open (adj.),’ kiti ‘soften,’ ti ‘delicate,’ kityi ‘dry (v.),’ and jwtyi ‘dry (adj.).’

1.2.1.2.3. Events of perception and cognition.

A third class of events whose S participants are generally not agents includes those of perception, such as -n7a ‘see,’ -na ‘hear,’ and -jkw7n ‘smell’; cognition, such as
-jlyo-ti7 'know,' -7wi-lyo 'recognize,' –a-ntt7an-ti7 'believe,' and -t7an tiye 'think'; and mental or emotional state, such as –ka-ti7 'want,' –ka tiye 'want,' s7we-ti7 'be happy,' and tmu tiye 'be) courageous.' Most predicates referring to cognition or to mental or emotional states are derived by means of tiye 'chest' or -ti7, which does not occur in isolation, but for which native speakers suggest the gloss 'one's) nature,' along with a verb or adjective. The entity of whom a cognitive state or activity or an emotional state is predicated is thus the inalienable possessor of a faculty said to be affected or to be in a certain state or activity (see Chapter 2, Section 3.3.2 for further discussion of these forms).

1.2.1.2.4. Translateral motion verbs.

The set of events involving translateral motion, prototypical members of which include -a 'go' and -yan 'come,' may have agentive or non-agentive participants in the S position. A locative functioning as a reference for the translateral motion is not marked by a preposition meaning 'to' or 'from'; whether it is a source or a goal is specified as part of the meaning of the event or can be deduced from the meaning of the event, that of the locative, and the context. To function as a locative in a clause, a referent must have a locative component to its interpretation; it must be construable as delineating a physical space. The verbs -a 'go,' -yan 'come,' and -ten 'enter' designate an accompanying locative as a goal:

107) Elias: El Terremoto 2 079

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yan} & \quad \text{wa} & \quad \text{tu-la} & \quad t7a & \quad \text{wa} & \quad \text{ra-ka7n} \\
\text{C. come} & \quad \text{lpl.excl} & \quad \text{church} & \quad \text{all} & \quad \text{lpl.excl} & \quad \text{then} \\
\text{‘We all came to the church.’}
\end{align*}
\]
108) Felipa 1 032
7o v-a Ø pri-su
and C-go 3 prison
‘He also went to prison.’

109) El toro y el conejo 345
sya7 v-ten ti yni Ø jka7n ra-ka7n
one.time C-enter only neck 3 rope then
‘Then the his neck went into the rope.’

while the use of -t7o ‘come out / exit’ usually results in the interpretation of an
accompanying locative as a source:

110) Felipa 2 037
nw-t7o Ø lo iwinka kwa
C-come.out 3 on plantation there
‘He left the plantation there.’

However, it is also possible for a locative accompanying –t7o to be interpreted as a goal,
as in the following example:

111) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 016
nkwa-ti7 n cha7 ty7o n liya7 ra-ka7n
C.want lsg that P.go lsg outside then
‘I wanted to go outside then.’

The meaning of the locative liya7 ‘outside’ entails that it be interpreted as a goal with
regard to the event –t7o ‘exit.’

Relator nouns with preposition-like functions such as lo ‘on’ and ni7 ‘in’ do not
have direction of path as part of their meanings. Instead, they refer to a physical part or
aspect of an entity, lo to the surface and ni7 to the interior (see Chapter 2, Section 1.2.3
for more discussion of relator nouns). By referring to a physical-space aspect of a
referent, relator nouns improve its ability to function as a locative in a clause. As shown
in the following examples, lo can specify the surface of an entity with equal facility as a
source or as a goal:
112) Martin’s example sentences 381
nw-tiyu Xwa lo ki7yan
C-fall Juan on bed
‘Juan fell out of the bed.’

113) Martin’s example sentences 460
nw-tiyu Xwa lo kila
C-fall Juan on ravine
‘Juan fell into the ravine.’

The interpretation of lo ki7yan as a source and lo kila as a goal depends on an experience-based judgment of the most likely relation of each to the event -tiyu ‘fall.’

In order to mention a source locative with a translateral motion event whose use normally means that a following unmarked locative is to be interpreted as a goal, another clause is added to the first:

114) Martín’s example sentences 831
nk-te7-ti7 Xwa ku kija xa n-kila Ø y-a Ø mya
N-be.hungry Juan P.eat tortilla when C-arrive 3 C-go 3 work
‘Juan is hungry having just gotten back from work.’

The relevant part of the example is nkila Ø ya Ø mya ‘he got back from work.’ -kila ‘arrive,’ like -yan ‘come’ and -a ‘go’ takes a goal as a following unmarked locative.

Since no locative is mentioned following nkila and none is recoverable from the linguistic context (the example occurring in a relatively isolated context), the deictic center, which is the default for verbs like -kila ‘arrive’ and -yan ‘come,’ is the goal. In the added clause, ya mya, mya is the goal of an earlier event ya ‘C-go,’ and is then understood as the source location of -kila ‘arrive.’

In the preceding sections, we have observed S participants with a variety of semantic roles. A distinction was drawn between agent and non-agent S participants.

Several classes of verbs were distinguished, among them causative, stative,
change-of-state, perception, cognition, and mental state verbs, and specific morphology
has been described as associated with several of these classes. In the following section, I
turn to the formal and semantic characterization of the O participant of a clause in which
there is more than one participant in the nucleus.

1.3. The participant in the O position

A subset of events generally occur together with two nouns. –sla ‘open’ is a
member of this class; it is generally followed by two nouns, as in the following example:

115) El conejo y el toro 412

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{nw-sla} & \text{nu} & \text{kwchi-kwtzen} & \text{t7wa} & \emptyset & \text{ku} & \emptyset & 7\text{in} & \emptyset \\
\text{C-open} & \text{DET} & \text{lion} & \text{mouth} & 3 & \text{P.eat} & 3 & \text{to} & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The lion opened its mouth to eat him.’

The O, the participant exemplified by t7wa ∅ in example 115), can be omitted under
certain conditions, as for example when it is readily retrievable due to the context. In the
following excerpt, the noun l7an ‘house’ follows the S participant wan ‘2pl,’ in the
question but is omitted in the answer:

116) El tunic y el ciego 059

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{nw-sla} & \text{wan} & \text{l7an} & \text{kwa} \\
\text{C-open} & \text{2pl} & \text{house} & \text{there} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Open that door, ’ he said.’

117) El tunic y el ciego 060

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ja} & \text{slo} & \text{wa} & \text{7ni} & \emptyset \\
\text{no} & \text{P.open} & \text{1pl.excl} & \text{say} & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

‘We aren’t going to open it,’ he said.’

1.3.1. Marking of the O participant.

1.3.1.1. Prepositional marking

Inanimate non-pronominal participants in the O position are unmarked, while
humans and animals construed as human-like are usually marked by the preposition 7in
‘to.’ In example 116), the inanimate O participant is unmarked; its role is indicated only by its position in the sentence. In examples 118)-119) the human O participants are marked by 7in:

118) 1998-11-10 075

$nw$-$jkwa7n$ $Liya$ $7o$ $Tyu$ $7in$ $Xwa$

C hit Maria with Pedro to Juan

‘Maria and Pedro hit Juan.’

119) La historia de Yatepec A 047

$y$-$jwi$ $o$ $7in$ $ntyga$ $ntten$

C kill it to all person

‘It killed everyone.’

The following example occurs in a narrative in which the crocodile is a human-like character, and $kw7na$ ‘crocodile’ is marked by 7in:

120) El toro y el conejo 245

$yjwi$ $Ø$ $7in$ $nu$ $kw7na$ $ra$-$ka7n$

C kill 3 to DET crocodile then

‘He killed the crocodile then.’

There are contexts, discussed below, in which a non-pronominal human O participant is not marked by 7in. Pronominal O participants, on the other hand, whether human, animal, or inanimate, are always marked, either by 7in or by the malefactive O marker, $snya7$ (used when an action is intentionally harmful to the O participant):

121) El tunco y el ciego 044

$7ya$ $nu$ $kwryi7n$ $ka7n$ $7in$ $an$ $n$-$kya$ $ra$-$ka7n$

carry NOM blind that to it C go then

‘And the blind one went carrying it then.’

122) La historia de Yatepec A 070

$ja$-$tkwin$ $a$ $nw$-$7ni$-$kwentta$ $7in$ $an$

no one DSC C care for to it

‘No one took care of them (some buildings).’
123) La Mujer que se Puso 064

\[
\text{lo yu ki7yu ka7n nt-jwa-ki 7in i7n}
\]

and DET man that N-pull to anim

‘And the boy was leading it (an animal).’

124) Felipa 2008

\[
nkwa-ti7 ne7-wjysya jy7o kwa s7wa ne7 7in @ y7an-tykwan
\]

C.want authority Teotepec there P.put person to 3 in.prison

‘Then the authorities of Teotepec wanted to put him in prison.’

125) El conejo y el toro 228

\[
pwes ku n smya7 ni
\]

well P.eat 1sg to.2sg now

‘Well, I will eat you now’ (said the crocodile to the rabbit).

Some of the sequences 7in + 1st or 2nd person pronoun are realized as contractions:

126) El tunco y el ciego 009

\[
ni kw-7ya 7yan
\]

now P-carry.2sg to.1sg

‘You will carry me.’

The following table illustrates the forms taken by all of the combinations of 7in + pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} person</td>
<td>7yan</td>
<td>7na (incl.) 7wa (excl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} person</td>
<td>7in (fam.)</td>
<td>7wan (rsp.) 7wan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} person human</td>
<td>7in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} person animal</td>
<td>7in i7n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} person inanimate</td>
<td>7in an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Table 4: Forms taken by pronouns when marked by 7in ‘to’}

From the point of view of conventional grammatical categories, the preposition 7in has four functions. It marks

a) some O participants in transitive clauses,

b) recipients, beneficiaries, and other dative-like relationships, and

c) alienable possessors.

The meaning of 7in is investigated in more detail in Section 1.4.
1.3.1.2. Word order

In the most frequent word order, the event occurs first, followed by the S participant and then, in transitive clauses, by the O participant. The O participant may also precede the event. If it follows the event, however, it must precede any other items (other than the S participant), such as recipients, beneficiaries, comitatives, instruments, locatives, or time expressions. Its greater degree of involvement in the event is iconically reflected by the requirement that it occur closer to the event.

The following examples show that the O involved in the event s7yu ‘cut’ must precede a location (tlo Xwa ‘in front of Juan’) and an instrument (tykwan-yka ‘axe’). The instrument and the location can occur in either order with respect to each other:

127  a) n-tun xu7 n-s7yu Ø yka tlo Xwa 7o tykwan-yka
    N-stand old.man N-cut 3 wood front Juan with axe
    ‘The old man is cutting wood in front of Juan with an axe.’

b) ntun xu7 ns7yu Ø yka 7o tykwan-yka tlo Xwa

c) *ntun xu7 ns7yu Ø tlo Xwa yka

d) *ntun xu7 ns7yu 7o tykwan-yka yka

Like human O participants, beneficiaries are marked by 7in ‘to,’ with the consequence that when a human O participant and a beneficiary are both present in the same clause, they are formally distinguished only by linear order:

128) 1999-9-18 elicitation 014
    y-jwi Liya 7in Tyu 7in Xwa
    C-hit Maria to Pedro to Juan
    ‘Maria hit Pedro for Juan.’
    ‘Maria hit Pedro and Juan.’
    * ‘Maria hit Juan for Pedro.’
The O must precede the beneficiary. A similar effect is apparent when an O participant unmarked by 7in and an unmarked locative occur in the same clause. The formal distinction between the two participants in that case is that the O participant must precede the locative:

129) 1999-9-27 elicitation 073

nw-jkwa7n  Liya  tlo  Tuu  chu7n  Xwa
C-hit  Maria  face  Pedro  back  Juan
‘Maria hit Pedro in the face (lit. hit Pedro’s face) behind Juan.’

130) 1999-9-27 elicitation 074

nw-jkwa7n  Liya  chu7n  Xwa  tlo  Tuu
C-hit  Maria  back  Juan  face  Pedro
‘Maria hit Juan in the back (lit. hit Juan’s back) in front of Pedro.’

In an event of giving, the entity that is transferred is the one that is realized as the O participant. When one person is given to another, the noun referring to the person who is given is unmarked (unless it is a pronoun) and follows the S participant, while the noun referring to the recipient is marked by 7in and follows the O participant:

131) 1999-9-27 elicitation 075

nw-ta  Xwa  snye7  Ø  7in  Tuu
C-give  Juan  child  3  to  Pedro
‘Juan gave his child to Pedro.’

132) 1999-9-27 elicitation 076

*nwta  Xwa  7in  snye7  7in  Tuu

In this pattern, there is no variation analogous to the ‘dative shift’ in English—the noun referring to the recipient never occurs before the noun referring to the transferred entity in an event of giving:

133) 1999-9-27 elicitation 077

---

7 tlo ‘face,’ chu7n ‘back,’ and many other nouns that refer to body parts in some contexts refer to spaces defined with reference to some part of an object in others. In the latter usage they are completely analogous to other nouns that name places and can occur as unmarked locatives in the periphery of an utterance (see Chapter 2, Sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4).
nw-ta Liya kija 7in Xwa
C-give Maria tortilla to Juan
'Maria gave Juan a tortilla.'

134) 1999-9-27 elicitation 078
*nwta Liya 7in Xwa kija

135) 1999-9-27 elicitation 079
*nwta Liya Xwa kija

Pronominal references to the entity that is given, like other pronominal O participants, are
invariably marked by 7in 'to':

136) Martimiano 1 068
nw-ta Ø 7yan 7in ne7
C-give 3 to.1sg to person
'He gave me to the people.'

In the preceding paragraphs, the formal characteristics of the O participant have been
shown to be: occurrence in the position following the S participant, obligatory marking
by 7in for pronouns, and marking by 7in in most cases for humans.

1.3.2. Semantic roles of O participants.

O participants in transitive clauses exhibit a variety of degrees and types of
involvement in the event. In this section, I distinguish a number of these, and in section
1.3.2.8, I suggest a characterization of the general semantic content of the O position.

1.3.2.1. Patient O participants.

For many events, the O participant has the role of patient--it is affected by the event.
The S participant is the 'doer,' and the O participant is the 'done-to.' This class, which
largely corresponds to the class of events with causative meanings and agent S
participants discussed above, includes xten-ji 'knock down completely,' sta 'break,' jwi
‘kill,’ 7ni-jwtye ‘make a fool of,’ and lo-kijin ‘skin,’ illustrated in the following examples.

In the examples, the event and the O participant are underlined:

137) Elias: El Terremoto 2 126
nw-tiyan sna-du ki7an cha7 nu xten-ji 3
C-arrive soldier many because NOM P.knock.down.completely
l7an 7in ne7 ra-ka7n
house of person then
‘Many soldiers came to knock down the people’s houses.’

138) Elias: El Terremoto 2 131
ka7n y-an snadu nw-sta ne7 l7an re nw-sta
then C-come soldier C-break person house this C-break
ne7 nw-tyi o
person C-finish it
‘Then soldiers came and broke this house down completely.’

139) Elias: El Terremoto 2 150
lyo o ti-ki7 re cha7-nu ja kijwi o 7in nu lwe-ti
P.take.out 1pl.incl cable this so no P.kill it to NOM small
‘I am going to take away these electric cables so that they don’t kill the children.’

140) El toro y el conejo 220
xkwe ja kw-7ni-jwtye 7a 7yan ni
friend no P-make.a.fool more.2sg to.1sg now
‘Friend, you won’t make a fool of me again.’

141) El toro y el conejo 246
nw-tyi-sna 3 nw-7i-lo-kijin 3 7in ka7n ra-ka7n
C-begin 3 C-skin 3 to the.mentioned then
‘Then he (the rabbit) began to skin him (the crocodile).’

1.3.2.2. Location of contact O participants.

The O participants of another set of events differ from prototypical patients in that
they are not said to change as a result of the event. The O participants of events such as
snyi ‘seize,’ 7ni ‘hit (unintentionally),’ j7in ‘hit (with another object),’ jwi ‘hit,’ jkwa7n

---

8 In this example, the speaker refers to himself (a singular referent) using the 1st person plural inclusive
pronoun rather than the 1st person singular.
'hit,' 7an 'hit,' ku-l7an ‘push,’ jwa-ki ‘pull,’ and la7 ‘touch’ undergo contact, generally

with the S participant⁹, without necessarily being changed:

142) 6-29-98 examples for verbs 080

\[
\begin{align*}
nw-7ni & \quad ke & skun & \quad nu & \quad lyu7-ti \\
C.\text{hit} & \quad \text{rock} & \quad \text{arm} & \quad \text{NOM} & \quad \text{small}
\end{align*}
\]

'A rock struck the child on the arm (lit. struck the child’s arm).'

143) Martin’s example sentences 205

\[
\begin{align*}
nt-j7in & \quad tu-xkwla & \quad 7in & \quad nu & \quad lwe-ti & \quad xa & \quad 7ni-xyu-ti7 & \quad t7a & \quad \emptyset \\
H.\text{hit} & \quad \text{teacher} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{NOM} & \quad \text{small} & \quad \text{when} & \quad \text{H.fight} & \quad \text{RECIPI} & \quad 3
\end{align*}
\]

'The teachers beat the students when they fight with each other.'

144) Martin’s example sentences 305

\[
\begin{align*}
nkwa-tza & \quad 7in & \quad Xwa & \quad y-jwi & \quad \emptyset & \quad snye7 & \quad \emptyset \\
C.\text{be.mistake to} & \quad \text{Juan} & \quad \text{C-hit} & \quad 3 & \quad \text{child} & \quad 3
\end{align*}
\]

'Juan was wrong in beating his child.'

145) 1998-11-09 007

\[
\begin{align*}
n-jkw7n & \quad Xwa & \quad 7in & \quad nu & \quad lyu7-ti \\
C.\text{hit} & \quad \text{Juan} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{NOM} & \quad \text{small}
\end{align*}
\]

'Juan hit the child.'

146) 6-30-98 examples for verbs 036

\[
\begin{align*}
n-kun & \quad ne7 & \quad 7in & \quad ne7-kw7a & \quad lo & \quad ja & \quad nkwo-7an & \quad \text{an} & \quad 7in & \quad ne7 \\
C.\text{shoot person to} & \quad \text{thief} & \quad \text{and no} & \quad C.\text{hit it to} & \quad \text{person}
\end{align*}
\]

'He shot at the thief but it did not hit him.'

147) El tunco y el ciego 062

\[
\begin{align*}
nu & \quad n-kw-l7an & \quad kw7a & \quad ka-ti & \quad ke & \quad ka7n & \quad tu-l7an & \quad 7in & \quad \emptyset & \quad ra-ka7n \\
\text{very N-push} & \quad \text{snake seven head} & \quad \text{the.mentioned door to} & \quad 3 & \quad \text{then}
\end{align*}
\]

'The seven-headed snake pushed the door hard then.'

148) La Mujer que se Puso 064

\[
\begin{align*}
lo & \quad yu & \quad ki7yu & \quad ka7n & \quad nt-jwa-ki & \quad \emptyset & \quad 7in & \quad i7n \\
\text{and man man that N-pull 3 to anim}
\end{align*}
\]

'And the boy was leading it.'

149) Martin’s example sentences 099

\[
\begin{align*}
7o & \quad ya7 & \quad \emptyset & \quad nu & \quad lyu7-ti & \quad y-la7 & \quad \emptyset & \quad ki7en \\
\text{with hand 3 NOM small C-touch 3 excrement}
\end{align*}
\]

⁹ This is not the case with j7in ‘hit (with another object),’ in which the contact does not directly involve the S participant. Note below that the second participant of j7in can also be a theme, or the item that is moved into contact with another.
‘With his hand, the child touched the excrement.’

The participants occurring in the O position following the event and described as
‘locations of contact’ have functions and characteristics that are distinct from those of
peripheral locatives, despite the fact that location seems to be part of their involvement in
the event. Many of the O participants in the above examples could not function as
peripheral locatives, because they refer to objects but not to places. In addition, they
have something in common semantically with other types of O participants. The
semantic content common to O participants is described further below.

1.3.2.3. Theme O participants.

For a third set of events, the O participant is moved from one location to another
and is therefore classified as a theme (following, for example, Foley and Van Valin
(1984)). This set includes prototypical events of transfer, such as -ta ‘give,’ -jwi7 ‘sell,’
and -s7i ‘buy,’ in addition to other events such as -lo ‘take out’ and -strya ‘put.’

Frequently, an entity that functions in some way as a reference point for the event of
transfer is mentioned; whether it is a recipient or a source, it is marked by 7in ‘to, of’ if
the resulting possession (in the case of a recipient) or the former possession (in the case
of a source) is alienable. If the possession is inalienable, then the entity that functions as
the reference point is unmarked. The following examples illustrate the involvement of
the O participant as a theme in an event:

150) 1998-11-09 037
    y-jwi7  n  nskwa7 7in  Liya
    C-sell  lsg  corn  to  Maria
    ‘I sold corn to Maria.’
151) Felipa 2 061
\[ nt-ji \ O \ na \ nty-ku \ wa \]
N-send 3 thing N-eat 1pl.excl
‘He sent things for us to eat.’

152) Hurricane 021
\[ nw-stya \ n \ kwtu \ 7yan \ nte \]
C-put 1sg chicken of.1sg here
‘I put my chickens here.’

153) Elias: El Terremoto 2 151
\[ ka7n \ nw-lyo \ pa \ 7yan \ ti-ki7 \ ra-ka7n \]
then C-take.out Pa of.1sg cable then
‘Then my father took away the cables.’

The event \( j7in \) ‘hit’ was observed above to take a location of contact as an O participant.

More precisely, \( j7in \) means ‘to hit (something) with another object,’ and, as the following examples illustrate, the object which is used in striking (classified as a theme) can also occur as the O participant. In that case, the location of contact follows the O participant:

154) El conejo y el toro 300
\[ ja \ nw-j7in \ O \ 7in \ an \ kya7 \ nskan \ n \ jwin \ O \]
no C-hit 3 to it foot ear 1sg said 3
‘He didn’t hit it below my ear, he said.’

In this example, \( kya7 \) ‘foot’ specifies the base of the ear. A participant following the O participant of \( j7in \) ‘hit’ must have a locative component to its meaning. Relator nouns such as \( kya7 \) have locative semantics, which are consistent with their preposition-like uses. The native speaker judgment illustrated in the following example suggests that \( yka \) ‘tree’ does not function well as a location of contact with regard to the occurrence \( j7in \ tu-xkwla \) ti ‘the teacher will hit the rope (against . . .).’ The more limited formulation \( si7 \ yka \) ‘the side of the tree’ is successful:
155) a) 6-29-98 examples for verbs 086
   j7in  tu-xkwla  ti  si7  yka
   P-hit  teacher  rope  side  tree
   'The teacher will hit the rope against (the side of) the tree.'

b) 6-29-98 examples for verbs 087
   *j7in  tu-xkwla  ti  yka
   P-hit  teacher  rope  tree

The word *yka 'tree' occurs 62 times in the text database but never by itself as a peripheral
locative—*lo yka 'the surface of the tree,' ni7 yka 'the interior of the tree,' si7 yka 'the side
of the tree,' and sun yka 'the bottom of the tree,' occur with that function. However,
nothing prevents yka from occurring as a location of contact when it is the O participant:

156) 6-29-98 examples for verbs 085
   j7in  tu-xkwla  yka
   P-hit  teacher  tree
   'The teacher will hit the tree (with something).'</n
The contrast in acceptability between examples 156) and 155 b) underscores the
difference between O participants and peripheral locatives mentioned above in section
1.3.2.2.

1.3.2.4. Objects of perception and cognition

In events involving sensation or a mental state or activity, the object of sensation,
thought, or emotion is expressed as an O participant, as illustrated below:

157) El toro y el conejo 307
    s7we  we  l7an  i7n  7in  Ø  ra-ka7n
    good  already  C-see  anim  to  3  then
    'Then it (the lion) saw him (the rabbit).'</n
158) Martin's example sentences 277

---

10 We could also include 7in yka as in:
1999-09-18 elicitation 115
n-s7wi  l7o  7in  yka
N-be  fence  to  tree
'There is a fence around the tree.'
Liya  n-jkwi7n  Ø ska ke xlya xi:
Maria N-smell 3 one flower Spanish sweet
‘Maria is smelling a rose.’

159) Martin’s example sentences 781
ma nty-ka-ti7  Ø 7in sne7  Ø lo n-ta na nty-ku sne7 Ø
mama N-want 3 to child 3 and H-give thing H-eat child 3
‘The mother loves and feeds her children.’

160) Felipa 6 033
s7we 7win wa iIyo-ti7 tkwin jwin ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
good 2sg already know.2sg road said person to 3 then
‘It is good that you already know the road,’ he said to him then.

161) Martin’s example sentences 056
7ni la ka kwna-tmu ka7n-cha7 n-tzen nten 7in Ø
animal fierce be rattlesnake that’s why H-fear person to 3
‘The rattlesnake is a dangerous animal, that’s why people are afraid of it.’

There are also constructions in which a perceived entity appears as the S participant of an
intransitive event and the perceiving entity follows, marked by 7in:

162) Juan Ceniza 020
wa ja ka tyka7n 7a ji ka7n 7in Ø
already no be visible more ash the.mentioned to 3
‘He would no longer be able to see the ashes.’

163) El conejo y el toro 434
jwi ti ka kjin kwchi-kwtzen ka7n 7in Ø
C.be.found only be skin lion the.mentioned to 3
‘He had found the lion’s skin.’

In Chapter 2, section 3.3.2, questions were raised about constructions referring to
perception or cognition events in which a perceptive or cognitive faculty is said to be in a
certain state or activity, specifically, whether in such constructions the
perceptive/cognitive faculty or the inalienable possessor of the faculty is to be designated
the S participant. The following example shows that if the stative verb + faculty
sequence is regarded as the event, then the object of perception or cognition occurs in the
expected position, *i.e.*, following the inalienable possessor. This strengthens the case for viewing the inalienable possessor as the S participant of a morphologically complex event:

164) Felipa 5 024

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
xnu7 & tzan & jyan & n & xi-ya7 & si\ ka\ tive & kya \\
eight & day & come & 1sg & again & if & be & chest.2sg & P.go.2sg
\end{array}
\]

‘In eight days I will come again if you want to go.’

165) Elias: El Terremoto 2 092

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
ja & 7wi & 7a & cha7 & tive & wa & 7in & pa & 7yan & ra-ka7n \\
nob e & more & thing & chest & 1pl.excl & to & Pa & of & 1sg & then
\end{array}
\]

‘We were no longer worried about my dad then.’

1.3.2.5. *O participants that are brought into being by the event*

For a further set of events, including -7ni ‘make, do,’ -nya ‘construct,’ the O participant is created or brought into being as a result of the event:

166) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 196

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
w-nya & ne7 & l7an & ka7n & ra-ka7n \\
C-make & person & house & that & then
\end{array}
\]

‘They built the house then.’

167) Juan Ceniza 225

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
lo & na7 & kw-7ni & n & t7a & k-ja-kw7o \\
and & 1sg & P-do & 1sg & fiesta & P-marry.2sg
\end{array}
\]

‘I will provide your wedding festivities.’

1.3.2.6. *Speech events.*

For the majority of verbs referring to speech events, the O participant refers to the content of the speech. In this section, I consider the relations between the events –

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
jwin/ne7 & ‘say,’ & -7ni & ‘say,’ & -tza7 & ‘tell, advise,’ & -kwi7 & ‘talk, tell,’ & -jnya & ‘ask,’ & -7ni-cha7
\end{array}
\]

‘ask,’ and -ni ‘ask,’ and their participants.
*jwin / ne7 'say'*\(^{11}\) is the verb most frequently employed to report speech. It follows directly quoted material, while it precedes indirectly quoted material. As a result, indirectly quoted material has a closer resemblance syntactically to other O participants than does directly quoted material. It is not clear that directly quoted material is in fact a participant in relation to the event *jwin/ne7*; it may be more reasonable to consider *jwin/ne7* a quotation marker rather than an event in such constructions\(^{12}\):

168) Elias: El Terremoto 2 086  

\[ na \quad jwin \quad ne7 \quad cha7 \quad nk-jwi \quad ntten \quad ra-ka7n \]

and said person that C-die person then

‘They said that someone had died then.’

169) El toro y el conejo 025  

\[ xkwe \quad 7o \quad n \quad na7 \quad nty-ka-ti7 \quad n \quad kw-lu \quad n \quad wi \quad jwin \quad \emptyset \]

friend also 1sg 1sg H-want 1sg P-grow 1sg DSC said 3

‘Friend, I too want to grow big,’ he said.’

With *jwin/ne7*, the recipient of the speech is marked by the preposition *7in* ‘to’:

170) El conejo y el toro 312  

\[ wenu \quad ka7n \quad jwin \quad \emptyset \quad 7in \quad nu \quad kw7na \quad ra-ka7n \]

okay then said 3 to DET crocodile then

‘Fine, then,’ he said to the crocodile.’

171) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 387  

\[ s7we \quad liye \quad ne7 \quad n \quad 7in \quad \emptyset \quad ra-ka7n \]

good much say 1sg to 3 then

‘Fine,’ I said to him then.’

---

\(^{11}\) *ne7* and *jwin* are suppletive, *ne7* occurring with first person singular and *jwin* elsewhere. Both are found in two forms: one is unmarked and occurs in Completive aspect contexts, while the other, *jywin / kwne7*, occurs in Potential aspect contexts.

\(^{12}\) In the following example, the material preceding *--jwin* is not quoted; however, it indicates the character of the content of the speech rather than the speaker’s manner:

El conejo y el toro 444  

\[ nkkwam-7an \quad ti \quad jywin \quad la \quad \emptyset \quad 7yan \quad ra-ka7n \]

thus still P-say more 3 to.1sg then

‘that's just what he will say then’
The verb 7ni ‘say’ is similar to jwin/ne7 in its function of indicating direct quotations.

With 7ni, the recipient of speech is marked by 7o ‘with’:

172) Elias: El Terremoto 2 022

\[ ka7n \ wa \ ntiy-an \ man \ 7yan \ ra-ka7n \ 7ni \ \emptyset \ 7o \ wa \]
then already N-arrive mama of.1sg then say 3 with 1pl.excl
\[ ra-ka7n \]
then
‘ ‘My mother is coming,’ she said to us.’

The verb tza7 ‘warn, inform’ can take as its O participant either the content or the recipient of the speech. When both occur, the recipient of speech precedes the content:

173) El conejo y el toro 311

\[ ti-kwi7 \ nu \ kw7na \ nki-tza7 \ \emptyset \ la \ ka \ ti \ 7in \ \emptyset \]
same DET crocodile C-advise 3 where be vulnerable to 3
‘The same crocodile told (me) where he is vulnerable.’

174) El tunco y el ciego 036

\[ cha7-nu \ kwtyi7n \ \emptyset \ lo \ nu \ ku7 \ ka7n \ n-tza7 \ \emptyset \ 7in \ \emptyset \]
because blind 3 and NOM one.legged that H-inform 3 to 3
\[ ra-ka7n \]
then
‘Because he was blind, and the lame one was showing him (the way).’

175) 6-30-98 examples for verbs 082

\[ nki-tza7 \ ne7 \ 7in \ Xwa \ cha7 \ jwi-kw7o \ t7a-ntykwi7 \ \emptyset \]
C-inform person to Juan that C.marry boy/girlfriend 3
‘They informed Juan that his girlfriend had gotten married.’

kwi7 ‘talk, say’ shows the greatest diversity among speech events with regard to its O participant. It can be used in a way similar to 7ni, marking direct reported speech, in which case the recipient is marked by 7o if it is expressed:

176) Felipa 3 003

\[ n-s7wi \ ntya \ kwa \ nty-kwi7 \ \emptyset \ 7o \ t7a-nt7in \ \emptyset \]
N-be work there N-talk 3 with spouse 3
‘ ‘There is work there,’ he said to his wife.’
A similar construction is used to express an event of naming:

177) Martin’s example sentences 423
    ke-ki: nty-kwi7 ne7 7o ke-gawyola
    grass.flower H-talk person with gaviola
    ‘They call gaviolas ‘grass-flowers’/Gaviolas are called ‘grass flowers’.’

In this construction, the entity marked by 7o is not the recipient of speech, but is associated with the event in a different way. Example 177) could be glossed ‘They say ‘grass flowers’ with regard to gaviolas.’ The O participant of kwi7 can also be realized by a noun such as 7istorya ‘story,’ kwinttu ‘story,’ or cha7 ‘thing,’ which refer to conventional types or characterizations of speech:

178) La historia de Yaitpec A 001
    bwenu nte tykwi7 n ska 7istorya 7in ke-nxin
    well here P.talk 1sg one history of Yaitpec
    ‘Okay, now I will tell you a story of the town of Yaitpec.’

Similarly, the O participant can refer to a language:

179) Martin’s example sentences 818
    n-tkwa ska sun radiyo nty-kwi7 ne7 cha7-inya
    N-sit one station radio H-talk person Chatino
    nti7n-xytu
    Jamiltepec
    ‘There is a radio station in which they speak Chatino in Jamiltepec.’

An additional variation involves the use of kwi7 ‘talk’ in intransitive constructions such as the following:

180) Juan Ceniza 107
    na ja nty-ka 7a ti ty-kwi7 Ø cha7 ntyka7n t7wa Ø
    and no N-be.able more only P-talk 3 because N.be.tied mouth 3
    ‘And she couldn’t talk because her mouth was gagged.’
A recipient may be mentioned, marked by 7o:

181) Juan Ceniza 106

\[nty-ka-\text{ti7} \ 0 \ cha7 \ ty-\text{kw17} \ 0 \ 7o \ yu \ ra-ka7n \ in\]
N-want 3 that P-talk 3 with man then DSC

'She wanted to talk with him then.'

Some of the constructions just mentioned can include an additional participant marked by 7in, indicating that the participant is being talked about, usually with an adverse effect, as when she or he is the subject of gossip:

182) Juan Ceniza 232

\[ka7n-\text{cha7} \ nty-\text{kw17} \ ne7 \ ki7an \ cha7 \ nty-\text{kw17} \ ne7 \ 7in\]
that's why H-talk person much thing H-talk person to.2sg

'That's why they say many things against you.'

183) 7/3/98 examples for verbs 014

\[nty-\text{kw17} \ ne7 \ 7in \ \text{Xwa} \ ka7n-\text{cha7} \ n-tzijin \ 0\]
N-talk person to Juan so N-sneeze 3

'They (i.e., someone) are talking about Juan; that's why he is sneezing.'

The O participants of the verbs jnya and ni, both glossed as 'ask,' have contrasting semantic roles. The O participant of jnya refers to that which is requested, while that of ni refers to the person who is asked for something:

184) Hurricane 041

\[ja \ la \ y-7a \ n \ nw-jnya \ n \ lj\text{an-tyi} \ n\text{tten}\]
no where C-go 1sg C-ask 1sg home person

'I didn't go to ask for someone's home.'

185) La historia de Yaltepec B 031

\[jnya \ ne7 \ cha7 \ ka \ k-ja \ kwyu \ 7in \ ne7\]
H.ask person that be.able P-be.found horse of person

'They ask that they will be able to have horses.'

186) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 161

\[y-\text{a} \ ni \ 0 \ n\text{tten} \ ki7an \ y-an \ 0 \ re \ ra-ka7n\]
C-go ask 3 person much C-come 3 here then

'He went to ask many people to come here then.'

---

13 Cp. burning ears in English.
187) 7-1-98 examples for verbs 022

\[ ni \quad \emptyset \quad 7in \quad kw7an \quad 7in \quad \emptyset \quad cha7 \quad tza \quad y-ku \quad \emptyset \quad 7o \quad \emptyset \]

N-ask 3 to woman of 3 that P.go C-eat 3 with 3

‘He is asking his woman to go out to eat with him.’

7ni-cha7 ‘ask for, inquire after’ is similar to jnya in that the O participant refers to the
entity that is requested:

188) Elias: El Terremoto 2 014

\[ ka7n \quad y-ten \quad n \quad ni7 \quad y7an-xkwla \quad 7in \quad 7iwa \quad nw-7ni-cha7 \quad n \]

then C-enter lsg in in.school of Ivan C-ask lsg

\[ 7in \quad \emptyset \quad 7in \quad tu-xkwla \quad 7in \quad \emptyset \quad ra-ka7n \]

to 3 to teacher of 3 then

‘Then I went into Ivan’s classroom, and inquired after him to his teacher then.’

1.3.2.7. Other types of O participants.

There are many events whose O participants do not clearly fall into any of the
categories listed in the preceding sections. In the following two examples, the O
participant is the object of the S’s attention, but is not clearly affected in any way:

189) El toro y el conejo 015

\[ x7na \quad wa-re \quad ka \quad nu \quad nki-7ni-kwentta \quad 7wa \]

master 1pl.excl be NOM N-take.care.of to.1pl.excl

‘It is our master who takes care of us.’

190) Felipa 2 019

\[ kwi7 \quad snye7 \quad kla \quad poncho \quad nkwa-7o \quad 7in \quad \emptyset \quad cha7-nu \quad ja \quad y-7wi \]

same child Mr. Pancho C-defend to 3 because no C-be

\[ \emptyset \quad y7an-tykwlan \]

3 in.prison

‘The very sons of Mr. Pancho defended him so that he would not go to jail.’

In propositions involving the verb –7u ‘show,’ the O likewise does not clearly fit into any
of the categories listed above:
191) El tunco y el ciego 012

ska ra-ka7n l7u Ø tkwin nkv-a Ø ra-ka7n cha7 tyka7n
one then N.show 3 road N-go 3 then because have.sight
kilo Ø
eye 3

'And one went indicating the road where they were going because he could see.'

192) El tunco y el ciego 071

nkv-7u wan chi7n su wan 7yan 7an-an 7ni Ø
C-show.2sg 2pl little beard 2pl to.1sg to.see say 3

'Show me your beard,' he said.'

Perhaps the O in examples 191) and 192) undergoes a metaphorical change of state or of location, as it becomes observable. The event –sna 'run' can be accompanied by a participant in the O-position, as in

193) El toro y el conejo 310

lo7 nw-sna Ø 7in i7n
and.not C-flee 3 to anim

'And he didn’t flee from it (the lion).'

The O in example 193) is the source in a motion event. Although usually intransitive, the verbs –a ‘go’ and -t7an ‘walk’ can take the noun mya ‘work’ or a referentially similar noun in the O position, as in the following examples:

194) El toro y el conejo 046

pero tza an sna ke7 tza an 7o
but P.go 1pl.incl three task P.go 1pl.incl with.2sg

'But we will go three tasks, we will go with you (i.e., I will give you three tasks)\textsuperscript{14}, he said.'

195) Felipa 1 007

kwa nkv-7an sti n a7n nw-t7an Ø mya tza 7in ne7
there C-be.put father 1sg 1sg C-walk 3 work day to person

'There my father did day-labor for them.'

\textsuperscript{14} In the use of 7o ‘with’ in Chatino, the referents of the nominals related by 7o are not disjoint (in this respect, 7o is different from English ‘with’). In this example only two individuals are involved, even though the first nominal is plural.
Numerous O participants with types of involvements in events other than those found for the categories discussed in sections 1.3.2.1 through 1.3.2.6 could be added to this list.

1.3.2.8. The general semantic contents of the S and O positions.

Although it does not seem possible to arrive at a finite list of types/degrees of involvements of O participants in events in Chatino, it is possible to characterize the general meanings of the S and O positions. The following table lists some of the major kinds of relationships between events and the one or two following participants, as discussed in the preceding paragraphs—it is intended as illustrative, not thorough:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>Experiencing entity</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Location of contact</th>
<th>Perceived object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive agentive, e.g., <em>sna</em> 'run'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static, e.g., <em>hwe</em> 'small,' <em>s7we</em> 'good'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static, e.g., <em>i7i</em> 'be in pain'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static, e.g., <em>lkwa</em> 'sit'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of state, e.g., <em>kita</em> 'break'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translateral motion, e.g., <em>a</em> 'go'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causing a change of state, e.g., <em>sta</em> 'break'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causing motion, e.g., <em>s7wa</em> 'put'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Contact, e.g., <em>f7in</em> 'hit'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception, e.g., <em>n7a</em> 'see'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Correlations between roles and positions in the clause

The role of the S participant is determined by the verb itself. In effect, expression of an event entails a particular perspective on that event, a perspective that is centered in the participant found in the S position. There is no clear passive construction in Chatino;
instead, the existence of pairs of verb stems the members of which specify different roles with regard to related events allows a speaker to select different perspectives with regard to some events. The event and the S participant constitute the minimal inclusion necessary for the expression of most events. They also form a kind of atomic conception of a narrated event; other elements of the utterance are added to this atomic conception.

The O participant incorporates the most immediate context in which the event occurs. Seen in this light, the formal similarity between an O participant and a locative (both locatives and non-human O participants are unmarked) can be made sense of. With events of the ‘contact’ class, such as *j7in* ‘hit’ and *la7* ‘touch,’ the semantic similarity between O participants and locatives is most evident, but even with events of other classes, which have patients or themes as O participants, the analogy can be discerned. For the event *sta* ‘break (tr.),’ the S participant performs the action denoted by the event, while the O participant is the most immediate locus of the performance of the action, hence, the object that gets broken. Recipients and peripheral locatives occur within further extensions of the context. The order of sentential elements following the event iconically reflects the widening context in which the event is seen to occur:

\[
\text{event} \rightarrow \text{S} \rightarrow \text{O} \rightarrow \text{recipient} \rightarrow \text{locative/instrumental/comitative/time/etc.} \rightarrow \text{WIDENING CONTEXT} \rightarrow
\]

*Figure 1: The correlation between word order and contextual proximity.*

The description of the simple sentence in Figure 1 accommodates the patterns observed in sections 1.2 – 1.3.2.6, and also the apparently exceptional examples in

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15 Exceptions to this include observations about the weather, such as *tly*a7 ‘it is cold,’ comprised of an event with no participants.
1.3.2.7. The O participant of 7ni-kwentta ‘take care of’ has a role that might be
classifiable as a metaphorical extension based on the pattern found for one of the larger
classes discussed in sections 1.2 – 1.3.2.6, but it is clearly compatible with the more
general schema suggested in Figure 1. The first participant is engaged in the activity of
care-taking, while the O participant refers to the next entity most immediately caught up
in that activity. Similarly, the constructions involving the normally intransitive verbs a
‘go’ and t7an ‘walk’ (Conejo 046-Felipa 2 045) are unremarkable given Figure 1. The
nouns which occur as O participants, ke7 ‘task’ and tmya ‘work,’ refer to activities that are
in the immediate context of the events a and t7an.

There is a qualitative difference between O participants and peripheral locatives.
As noted above, only nouns with inherent locational meanings, that is, nouns that can be
interpreted as referring to places, occur as unmarked locatives, while nouns referring to
other kinds of objects can occur as O participants. Also as illustrated above, peripheral
elements such as instruments cannot precede O participants, while they can precede
peripheral locatives. The special status accorded to the O participant results from the fact
that certain events conceptually require the presence of two participants. For these
events, the O participant is necessary, as contrasted with a peripheral locative, which is
not a necessary part of the conceptualization. The patterned distinction between the one
or two necessary participants and the optional elements produces one of the
organizational principles of the simple sentence in Chatino, the distinction between the
nucleus and the periphery of the sentence.

In section 1.5 below, I discuss a transitivizing derivation that involves the affixation
of 7o ‘with/and’ to the verb stem, and whose use is closely related to the distinction
between nucleus and periphery. First, I turn to a further discussion of the preposition 7in, ‘to/of.’

1.4. The three related functions of 7in ‘to, of.’

As noted above, the preposition 7in has three functions that might be considered distinct. It marks: a) pronominal and human or human-like O participants, b) recipients, beneficiaries, and other dative-like roles, and c) alienable possessors.

1.4.1. The use of 7in to mark O participants.

The following examples illustrate the use of 7in to mark O participants:

197 a) El conejo y el toro 412

\[\text{nw-sla} \ \text{nu} \ \text{kwchi-kwten} \ \text{t7wa} \ \emptyset \ \text{ku} \ \emptyset \ \text{7in} \ \emptyset\]

C-open DET lion mouth 3 P.eat 3 to 3

‘The lion opened its mouth to eat him.’

b) El tunco y el ciego 048

\[\text{y-ja7} \ \text{7wi} \ \text{tne} \ \text{s7en} \ \text{nty-ku} \ \text{kwna} \ \text{ka-ti} \ \text{ke} \ \text{7in} \ \text{ntten}\]

C-sleep be blood place H-eat snake seven head to person

‘They slept where there was blood because the snake with seven heads was eating people.’

c) Felipa 6 039

\[\text{kwa} \ \text{si} \ \text{y-ku} \ \text{wa} \ \text{skaka kija}\]

there yes C-eat 1pl.excl one tortilla

‘There we ate a tortilla.’

In example 197 a), the O participant is a pronoun and therefore must be marked by 7in.

In general, a human O participant is also marked by 7in, as it is in example 197 b). The O participant in 197 c), an inanimate object, cannot be marked by 7in.

1.4.2. The use of 7in to mark dative participants.

Beneficiaries and recipients of alienably possessed items are also marked by 7in.

Beneficiaries are underlined in the following examples:
198) Felipa 4 033
\(na7\) \(n\-s\-ny\-i\) \(n\) \(s\-ka\) \(k\-i\-su\) \(c\-ha7\) \(y\-a-su7\) \(n\) \(k\-e\) \(n\-k\-w\-lu7\) \(t\-i\) \(7\-i\-n\)
1sg C-get 1sg one net so.that collect 1sg rock round only to
\(s\-t\-i\) \(n\) \(a\-7\-n\)
father 1sg 1sg
‘I got a net and collected round stones for my father.’
(or: ‘I got a net and collected my father’s round stones.’)

199) 1999-09-18 elicitation 010
\(n\-w\-s\-7\-y\-u\) \(L\-i\-ya\) \(y\-k\-a\) \(7\-i\-n\) \(X\-w\-a\)
C-cut Maria wood to Juan
‘Maria cut wood for Juan.’
(or: ‘Maria cut Juan’s wood.’)

200) El conejo y el toro 255
\(j\-a\) \(n\-k\-j\-w\-i\) \(\emptyset\) \(7\-v\-a\-n\) \(n\)
no C-die 3 to.1sg now
‘I didn’t (manage to) kill him (lit: he didn’t die for me).’

201) Elias: El Terremoto 2 029
\(n\-t\-i\-7\-a\) \(k\-y\-a\-7\-y\-a\) \(n\) \(a\-7\-n\) \(7\-i\-n\) \(7\-i\) \(n\) \(7\-o\) \(\emptyset\) \(r\-a\-k\-a7\-n\)
soon P.go.and.get 1sg 1sg to.2sg say 1sg with 3 then
‘Soon I will get it for you,’ I said to him then.’

202) Martin’s example sentences 081
\(7\-n\-i\) \(g\-u\-w\-y\-e\-r\-n\-u\) \(w\-j\-a\-w\-o\) \(7\-i\-n\) \(n\-e\-7\-\-t\-i\)
H.do government favor to poor
‘The government does favors for the poor.’

while the following illustrate recipients:

203) Martin’s example sentences 363
\(n\-w\-t\-a\) \(X\-n\-a\) \(s\-k\-a\) \(s\-n\-i\-7\) \(k\-i\-x\-u\) \(7\-i\-n\) \(L\-i\-ya\)
C-give Juana one round cheese to Maria
‘Juana gave a (round block of) cheese to Maria.’

204) Martin’s example sentences 280
\(n\-w\-t\-a\) \(X\-w\-a\) \(s\-k\-a\) \(s\-t\-e7\) \(j\-y\-7\-a7\-a\) \(\emptyset\)
C-give Juan one clothing mother 3
‘Juan gave a dress to his mother.’

\(L\-i\-ya\) must be marked by \(7\-i\-n\) because \(k\-i\-x\-u\) ‘cheese’ is an alienably possessed noun.

Because \(s\-t\-e7\) ‘clothing’ is inalienably possessed, the recipient \(j\-y\-7\-a\-n\) ‘his mother’ is
unmarked. When a beneficiary and a recipient are both present in an utterance, the recipient is placed first:

205) 1999-09-18 elicitation 017
    nw-ta Liya yka 7in Xwa 7in Tyu
    C-give Maria wood to Juan to Pedro
    ‘Maria gave the wood to Juan for Pedro.’

This ordering requirement reflects the fact that the recipient of an act of giving is more central to the event than is the beneficiary: the beneficiary role relates the participant to the entire preceding content, including, in this case, the recipient.

In the examples above, the participant with the role of beneficiary is the one for which an event is performed or experienced, or that benefits from the event. There also exists a range of other semantic relationships between the event and an entity marked by 7in, which may be subsumed under the category of ‘dative.’ In the following examples, the content preceding 7in is true with regard to or from the point of view of the entity marked by 7in:

206) El conejo y el toro 304
    ti re 7yan jwin Ø
    vulnerable here to.1sg said 3
    ‘This part is vulnerable for me,’ he said.’

207) La historia de Yaitpec A 102
    la tnu 7a ka an 7in ne7 ra-ka7n
    church big very be it to person then
    ‘For them, it was a very big church.’

208) Martin’s example sentences 071
    nu kw7an xa7 kwa 7ni sun-sna Ø tkwi 7in Ø
    DET woman fancy there H.do high.heels 3 difficult to 3
    ‘The fancy woman’s high-heeled shoes are difficult for her.’
209) Martin’s example sentences 223

\[ nki-ja \quad kwa \quad nu \quad nw-na \quad \emptyset \quad 7in \quad xu7 \]
N-be.found cattle REL C-look.for 3 to old.man
‘The cow that the old man was looking for was found (to him).’

7in also marks entities as final recipients or as targeted loci in events other than prototypical transfer events such as ta ‘give’:

210) Martimiano 1 022

\[ ja \quad jwi \quad tnyi \quad k-ja \quad kwi \quad 7in \quad \emptyset \]
no C.be.found money P-be.found instrument to 3
‘There was not enough money to acquire instruments for them.’

211) 1999-09-18 elicitation 008

\[ Liya \quad nw-ke7 \quad \emptyset \quad sop\_7in \_Xwa \]
Maria C-cook 3 soup to Juan
‘Maria cooked soup for Juan.’
or, ‘Maria cooked Juan’s soup.’

212) Martin’s example sentences 247

\[ n-tkw\_ Xwa \quad ja-way-la \_ mi: \quad 7yan \]
N-owe Juan eighty thousand to.1sg
‘Juan owes me eighty pesos.’

In these examples, the participant marked by 7in not only benefits from the event, but also receives something. In this category of final recipients I include recipients of speech events:

213) 2000-01-17 elicitation 002

\[ nw-7ni-cha7\_ Xwa \quad tkwa \_ wxu \_ 7in \_ Liya \]
C-ask Juan two peso to Maria
‘Juan asked Maria for two pesos.’
or, ‘Juan asked for Maria’s two pesos.’

214) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 090

\[ ta7 \quad l7an \quad nu \quad lwe-ti \quad 7yan \quad a \quad jwin \quad 7in \quad ne7 \quad ra-ka7n \]
or.not C.see.2sg NOM small of.1sg QU said to person then
‘‘Did you happen to see my children?’ he asked him.’

The entity that suffers from a disease, as in the following examples, is also included in this category:
215) Martin’s example sentences 005
\[ nkw-7an \ \textit{kicha-kwje} \ 7in \ Xwa \]
\[ \text{C-be.put} \ \textit{sarne} \ \to \ \text{Juan} \]
‘Juan got \textit{sarne} (a skin ailment).’

216) Martin’s example sentences 516
\[ n-s7wi \ \textit{kw7yu} \ 7in \ xni7 \]
\[ \text{N-be} \ \text{flea} \ \to \ \text{dog} \]
‘The dog has fleas.’

It is also possible for the participant in the S position to be marked by 7in. The examples below could be analyzed as showing the deletion of the usual S participant, leaving in that position the participant marked by 7in. Observe the following examples:

217) Martin’s example sentences 310
\[ \textit{ka} \ 7in \ \textit{Liya} \ \textit{kw-7ni} \ \textit{skwa} \]
\[ \text{be.able} \ \text{to} \ \text{Maria} \ \text{P-make} \ \text{mole} \]
‘Maria can make mole.’

218) Martin’s example sentences 305
\[ nkwa-tza \ 7in \ Xwa \ y-jwi \ \emptyset \ \textit{snye7} \ \emptyset \]
\[ \text{C.be.mistake} \ \to \ \text{Juan} \ \text{C.hit} 3 \ \text{child} 3 \]
‘Juan was wrong in hitting his child.’

219) Martin’s example sentences 550
\[ nw-tykwen \ 7in \ Xwa \ nty-ku \ \emptyset \ \textit{kija} \]
\[ \text{C-rise} \ \to \ \text{Juan} \ \text{N-eat} 3 \ \text{tortilla} \]
‘The food rose in Juan’s throat when he was eating.\textsuperscript{16}’

220) Martin’s example sentences 226
\[ \textit{ka} \ \textit{nkw-ja} \ 7in \ Chaya \]
\[ \text{yesterday} \ \text{C-empty} \ \to \ \text{Chaya} \]
‘Yesterday Chaya had diarrhea.’

The first two examples involve the event \textit{ka} ‘be,’ first in an expression that conveys the meaning of ability, and second, with the event-modifier \textit{tza} ‘erroneously, unintentionally,’ conveying the meaning ‘do amiss.’ If the morpheme \textit{ka} is taken as having its basic meaning ‘be’ in these constructions, then the meanings of the whole constructions might

\textsuperscript{16} The expression \textit{ku kija}, literally ‘eat tortillas,’ also has the more general meaning ‘eat (food).’
be analyzed as ‘(it) is to Maria to make mole’ and ‘(it) was wrong to Juan, he hit his child.’ There is no pronoun corresponding to ‘it’ in the English glosses; the preposition 7in indicates that the participant it marks does not have the relation to the event normally coded by the S position, but instead has the dative relation of a targeted locus. A similar analysis can be applied to the other two examples as well.

1.4.3. The use of 7in to mark alienable possessors.

In Chapter 2, Section 1.2.2 it is shown that with regard to possession there are two classes of nouns in Chatino. When the members of one class, termed ‘alienable,’ are possessed, the possessor is marked by 7in ‘to, of.’ For the other class, of ‘inalienable’ nouns, possession is indicated by juxtaposition. This pattern is illustrated by the following examples, which feature the alienable noun ki7na ‘plate’ and the inalienable noun ste7 ‘(one’s) clothing’:

221) Juan Ceniza 084

nw-tyi ti nw-jy7an ne7 ki7na 7in ne7
C-finish only C-wash person plate of person
‘She finished washing her dishes.’

222) Felipa 4 035

nt-jy7an Ø ste7 ne7
N-wash 3 clothing person
‘She would wash their clothes.’

1.4.4. The consistent meaning of 7in in its various uses.

1.4.4.1. The similarities between possessors, recipients, and dative-marked participants.

The analogous marking between recipients and possessors points to the existence of a semantic commonality between the two grammatical categories. The relevant formal similarity between them is that while both a recipient and a possessor of an alienably possessed noun are marked by 7in, the recipient of an inalienably possessed noun, like a
possessor, is unmarked, as shown in the following examples (repeated from examples 81)-82) above):

223) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 111
   kwa   nw-s7i   wa  ste7   Ø
   there  C-buy  1pl.excl  clothing  3
   'There we bought her clothes (i.e., we bought clothes for her),'

224) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 112
   nw-s7i   wa  tykwan  7in   Ø
   C-buy  1pl.excl  earring of  3
   'we bought her earrings, . . .'

The experiential basis for the identity of marking is perhaps that the recipient of an item becomes its possessor. However, there are reasons to consider datives as grammatically distinct from possessors. We will consider one of these, the contrasting patterns observed with relation to attributive possession, in which possession is mentioned, as in nwbare 7in 'his friend,' versus constructions analogous in meaning to those involving the verb have in English, in which possession is asserted, as in ntiya nwbare 7in 'she has a friend.'

Starting with attributive possession, inanimate entities can, in general, possess objects only in the inalienable construction. This is not surprising, given the real-world knowledge that inanimate entities (as opposed to human beings, who possess money, houses, etc.) 'possess' only parts of themselves, and perhaps certain other items that are intimately related to them and therefore inalienable in possession. Thus we find ke l7an 'roof (head of the house)' and kya7 nskan 'base of the ear (foot of the ear).'

It was pointed out above that constructions such as
225) Martin's example sentences 792
\[ n\text{-}tun \quad ska \quad ta \quad na\text{-}nkwlyu \quad 7in \quad Xwa \quad 7o \quad t7a \quad \emptyset \]
N-stand one pair ox of/to Juan and brother/sister 3
'T Juan and his brothers have a pair of oxen.'

226) Martin's example sentences 921
\[ ntyga \quad kwta \quad 7in \quad Xwa \quad nk\text{-}7wa \quad \emptyset \quad xa \quad nk\text{-}7ya \quad kyo \]
all cattle of Juan C-wash.away 3 when C-descend rain
\[ kw7in \quad tnu \]
wind big
'All of Juan's cows were washed away in the hurricane.'

apparently share the same grammar in the underlined segments, so that \textit{ntun ska ta na-nkwlyu 7in Xwa 7o t7a} could be glossed as 'Juan and his brothers' pair of oxen exist (lit. 'stand').' However, an alternative analysis would have the gloss as 'A pair of oxen exist to Juan and his brothers,' \textit{i.e., Xwa 7o t7a} 'Juan and his brothers' would be considered a dative, marked by \textit{7in} 'to.' Depending on the class of the noun said to exist in someone's possession, the dative participant may also be unmarked:

227 a) \[ t7a \quad n \]
sibling 1sg
'my sibling'

228 b) \[ n\text{-}tiya \quad t7a \quad n \]
N-be sibling 1sg
'I have a sibling.'

The following examples involving an inanimate noun with roles analogous to those of \textit{Xwa 7o t7a} and \textit{Xwa in examples 225) and 226) above support the second analysis. In the first, existence is asserted using a construction analogous to example 225) above:

229) 1999-09-18 elicitation 115
\[ n\text{-}s7wi \quad t7o \quad 7in \quad yka \]
N-be fence to tree
'There is a fence to (\textit{i.e., around}) the trees.'
If yka ‘tree’ is unmarked by 7in, then a different meaning results:

230) 1999-09-18 elicitation 116
    n-s7wi  l7o   yka
    N-be    fence  tree
   ‘There is a fence of trees.’

In example 230), juxtaposition results in a meaning like that of a compound noun: l7o yka ≡ ‘tree-fence.’ Trees do not inalienably possess a surrounding fence, so the second noun is interpreted as modifying the first. Further, yka ‘tree’ cannot possess l7o ‘fence’ in the alienable possession construction. The following attempt to mean ‘the fence of (i.e., belonging to) the trees is big’ was judged ungrammatical:

231) 1999-09-18 elicitation 118
    * tlyu  l7o   7in  yka
    big  fence  of  tree

The intended meaning was phrased instead as:

232) 1999-09-18 elicitation 117
    tlyu  l7o  n-s7wi  7in  yka
    big  fence  N-be  to  tree
   ‘The fence that is to (around) the trees is big.’

The grammaticality of example 229) and the ungrammaticality of example 231) suggests that the role of the possessing entity is different in the ‘have’ construction from that in attributive possession. In the former, the possessing entity is marked as dative, and is related to the possessed entity in the way that trees can be related to a fence surrounding them, while in the latter it is marked as a possessor, and is related to the possessed item in a way other than that in which trees can be related to a fence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compound nouns</th>
<th>inalienable possession</th>
<th>alienable possession</th>
<th>datives</th>
<th>juxtaposition</th>
<th>marking of second noun by 7in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*Figure 2: The correlation between distinctness and marking by 7in, for possessors*
We thus find three constructions sharing similar grammar, as the marking of a possessor in the ‘have’ construction varies along with that of recipients and attributive possessors depending on the type of relationship (alienable or inalienable) said to exist between the two related entities. This factor points to the semantic similarity between the three types of constructions. For each type, the presence of 7in corresponds to a less close relationship between two entities. Simple juxtaposition, or the absence of 7in, corresponds to a closer relationship, such as that between an object and its parts or between family members. In noun-noun compounds, the distinction between the two entities is minimal: the second noun is interpreted as modifying the first, and a unitary meaning results, as in 17o yka ‘fence of trees,’ n7a tykwan ‘prison (house of iron),’ and kitu7n yu ‘clay pot (pot of clay).’ In effect, 7in marks the entity it precedes as distinct from the other entity to which the first is related.

1.4.4.2. The similarities between possessors/recipients/datives and O participants.

The meaning attributed to 7in when it marks possessors, recipients, and datives is also apparent in its use to mark O participants, with the difference that the presence or absence of 7in correlates with more or less distinctness of an entity with relation to an event, rather than with relation to another entity. One might assume that the discourse prominence of an entity would be a factor influencing how distinct it will be from an event, and indeed the requirement that all pronominal O participants, animate or inanimate, be marked by 7in may be viewed as a grammaticization of the tendency of the referents of pronouns, which have high discourse prominence, to be seen as relatively distinct from the events in which they participate. At the other extreme, inanimate
objects generally have low discourse prominence and are apparently never marked by 7in when they occur as O participants.

Between the two extremes, nouns referring to animals are generally not marked by 7in except when they refer to animals that occur as characters in folk stories. Common nouns referring to human beings are usually but not always marked by 7in. When native speakers are presented with two utterances differing only by the presence vs. the absence of 7in marking the O participant, their usual response is that the utterances mean the same thing. However, such differences as speakers have been able to express are compatible with the meaning of 7in as identified in the possessive, recipient, and dative constructions discussed above. Consider the following contrastive pairs:

233 a) 1999-09-18 elicitation 043  
\[njkwa7n \ Liya \ 7in \ t7a \ \emptyset\]  
C.hit Maria to brother/sister 3  
'Maria hit her brother.'

b) 1999-09-18 elicitation 042  
\[njkwa7n \ Liya \ t7a \ \emptyset\]  
C.hit Maria brother/sister 3  
'Maria hit her brother.'

234 a) 1999-09-19 elicitation 095  
\[n7a \ Liya \ 7in \ nu \ ki7yu \ kwa\]  
C.see Maria to DET man that  
'Maria saw the man.'

b) 1999-09-19 elicitation 096  
\[n7a \ Liya \ nu \ ki7yu \ kwa\]  
C.see Maria DET man that  
'Maria saw the man.'

Comparing example 233 a) to 233 b), the native speaker concluded that a) would be more likely to be heard when the speaker has just seen the event occur, while b) might be used to describe the event after a lapse of time. In example 234), a), but not b), conveys the
impression that the speaker is pointing at the man while speaking. The speaker also suggested the contrasting translations ‘Maria saw that man’ vs. ‘Maria saw the man’ to capture the difference between 234 a) and b). The difference between the a) variants and the b) variants in examples 233) and 234) is the same: the differentiating factor is the degree to which the O participant is made to stand out against the background of the narrated event as a whole. When the speaker has just witnessed the event, the participants are either still on the scene or their images are fresh in memory, so that the O participant is more able to stand out in relief relative to the whole narrated event. The clarity with which the O participant is defined as a result of the presence of 7in results in a slightly different contrast in the following example:

235 a) 1999-09-18 elicitation 051
   n7a  Liya  7in sti  Ø
   C.see Maria to father 3
   ‘Maria saw her father.’

b) 1999-09-18 elicitation 050
   n7a  Liya sti  Ø
   C.see Maria father 3
   ‘Maria saw her father.’

In comparison with 235 a), 235 b) implies that perhaps Maria did not recognize her father, either because he was too far away to be seen clearly or because she does not know him by sight. In 235 a), the implication is that she did recognize him. In examples 233)-234), the distinctness of the O participant communicated by 7in is a feature of the speech act situation, while in example 235) it is a feature of the narrated event. Otherwise, the contribution of 7in is essentially similar in all of the examples. Another semantic contrast resulting from the absence vs. the presence of 7in involves the degree of autonomy or control over the event attributed to the O participant. Consider the following examples:
236 a) 1999-09-18 elicitation 054
njkwa7n Liya 7in ki7yu re
C.hit Maria to man this
‘Maria hit this man.’
b) 1999-09-18 elicitation 055
njkwa7n Liya ki7yu re
C.hit Maria man this
‘Maria hit this man.’

237 a) 1999-09-20 elicitation 019
w-7ya Liya 7in nu ki7yu
C-carry Maria to DET man
‘Maria carried the man.’
b) 1999-09-20 elicitation 020
w-7ya Liya nu ki7yu
C-carry Maria DET man
‘Maria carried the man.’

Comparing 236 a) to 236 b), the native speaker reported that b) suggests the idea ‘this poor man, Maria hit him.’ Between a) and b) of example 237), b) is more appropriate to a situation in which the man does not wish to be carried. In the first example, the O participant seems more helpless when not marked by 7in, and in the second example, he is unwillingly involved when not marked by 7in. In both cases, he is less autonomous. The reduced degree of autonomy attributed to human O participants not marked by 7in is compatible with the meanings of 7in that were found in examples 233)-235). A less autonomous participant stands out less clearly against the background of the narrated event as a whole. The effect of 7in is thus to particularize the O participant, to make it stand out in greater relief.

It was pointed out above that noun-noun compounds stand at one end of the continuum between less and greater distinctness between two entities, namely, the end representing the least degree of distinctness. Incorporation of a noun into a verb stem is
analogous to noun-noun compounding in this respect. Incorporated nouns frequently have the role of patient or of theme in relation to the verbal root with which they are incorporated, as in the following examples:

**Patients:**
- 7o-**snyi** ‘get smoky/smoked (drink smoke)’
- cha-**t7va** ‘fold (break edge)’
- j7in-j7en ‘wag one’s tail (hit tail)’
- jkwa7n-ya7 ‘applaud (strike hands)’
- ku-**t7ya** ‘grind one’s teeth (bite teeth)’
- ku-lo-nwsa ‘eat lunch (eat lunch)’
- xkw-an-tlo ‘scorn (twist face)’
- xnyi-tlo ‘indicate with chin (line up face)’
- x7an-styin ‘change feathers (change feather)’

**Themes:**
- lo-**kijin** ‘skin (take off skin)’
- s7wa-**ke** ‘get involved (put head)’
- s7wa-ki7 ‘set on fire (put fire)’
- s7wa-kw7in ‘inflate (put air)’
- t7ya-sya7 ‘bargain (lower price)’
- ta-ya7 ‘give a hand, help (give hand)’

The underlined noun root in each of the examples above has a semantic relation with regard to the verbal root such that it would appear as the O participant were it not incorporated. The entities denoted by the incorporated roots stand at the end of the continuum representing the least degree of distinctness from the event. Verbs formed by noun-incorporation refer to conventional actions or activities, and in some cases it is clear that the class of items named by the incorporated noun is weakly evoked, as in 7wa-ke ‘get involved (put-head)’ and ta-ya7 ‘help (give-hand).’ The incorporated nouns are non-referential. Thus, the entities denoted by incorporated nouns are at the opposite end of the distinctness continuum from participants marked by 7in.
Only a few examples of incorporation of nouns denoting human entities have been found. One of these is *snyi-konttra* ‘make enemies,’ in which the noun *konttra* ‘enemy’ is incorporated with the verb root *snyi* ‘seize.’ The reciprocal construction may also be seen as involving incorporation of a noun denoting a human entity. In it, the morpheme *t7a*, which occurs as a lexical noun meaning ‘companion’ or ‘sibling,’ is encliticized or perhaps suffixed to the verb stem and is followed by the S participant:

238) 1999-09-18 elicitation 088  
*n7a t7a Liya 7o Xwa*  
C-see RECIP Maria and Juan  
‘Maria and Juan saw each other.’

239) 1999-07-21 elicitation 085  
*n-sun t7a Xwa 7o Tyu*  
N.fight RECIP Juan and Pedro  
‘Juan and Pedro are fighting with each other.’

Assuming that the reciprocal morpheme *t7a* is indeed related to the noun *t7a* ‘companion, sibling,’ we note that in example 238), as in the examples of verbal noun incorporation listed above, the role of the incorporated noun with regard to the event denoted by the verbal part of the root is such that the noun would occur in the O position were it not in the incorporation position, immediately following the event. Compare:

240) 1999-09-18 elicitation 037  
*n7a Liya 7in t7a Ø*  
C.see Maria to brother/sister 3  
‘Maria saw her brother.’

Example 239) shows that an intransitive event can also occur in a reciprocal construction. In that case, the incorporated noun would occur in a prepositional phrase were it not incorporated. Compare:
\[241) \ n-\text{sun} \quad \text{Xwa} \ 7o \quad \text{t7a} \quad \emptyset \]

N-fight Juan with brother/sister 3

'Juan is fighting with his sister.'

In example 238), \(t7a\) is not marked by \(7\text{in}\); indeed, no incorporated noun can be marked by \(7\text{in}\), whether human or not. In example 240), the noun \(t7a\), having a role in relation to the event \(n7a\ 'C.see'\) similar to that of the unmarked \(t7a\) in example 238), is marked by \(7\text{in}\). The absence vs. the presence of \(7\text{in}\) corresponds to the low vs. high degree of distinctness from the event that characterizes incorporated vs. non-incorporated nouns.

Depending on other factors, a non-incorporated noun may be marked by \(7\text{in}\); this possibility does not exist for incorporated nouns. Taking into consideration the patterns of marking of O participants by \(7\text{in}\), Figure 2 above can be expanded as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>participant-participant</th>
<th>compound nouns</th>
<th>inalienable possession</th>
<th>alienable possession</th>
<th>datives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>event-participant</td>
<td>noun-incorporation</td>
<td>relatively indistinct O</td>
<td>relatively distinct O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marking</td>
<td>juxtaposition</td>
<td>marking by (7\text{in})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\Rightarrow \text{Increasing distinctness} \Rightarrow\]

\[\text{Figure 3: The correlation between distinctness and marking by } 7\text{in, for possessors, datives, and O's}\]

1.5. The enclitic -7o and the nuclear-peripheral contrast.

The semantic function of the position of a participant within the nucleus vs. the periphery can be illustrated with reference to a verbal derivation construction in which a participant with a comitative role, which would normally occur in the periphery of the proposition, occurs in the nucleus instead, while the verb bears the clitic -7o. In this section I describe the -7o clitic construction. Section 1.5.1 describes a variety of non-clitic uses of 7o, while section 1.5.2 deals with the uses of the clitic.
1.5.1. Non-clitic uses of 7o.

7o can be glossed ‘and,’ ‘also/too,’ or ‘with’ (in both the instrumental and accompaniment senses of English ‘with’). When it conjoins elements, so that the phrase including both conjoined elements and the conjunction itself acts as syntactic a unit, 7o occurs between the conjoined elements:

242) El conejo y el toro 236
    ntu-7a xa-nu wa nw-7ni kana 7yan 7o tvy7i 7yan in
    soon when already C-do.2sg win to.1sg and money of.1sg DSC
    ‘Soon, when you have beaten me and (won) my money...’

In a distinct but related usage, 7o means ‘with’:

243) El conejo y el toro 166
    n-kila nu cha-kwchi 7o ska7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
    C-arrive REL rabbit with gourd of 3 then
    ‘The rabbit arrived with his gourd then.’

244) Martin’s example sentences 008
    7a7n ja s7a n 7o kwa tze-7i
    no no P.go 1sg with that.one that’s.all
    ‘No, I am not going with him, and that’s that.’

245) Felipa l 015
    ska-n7a-ti nty-ka k7wi Ø 7o t7a-nkwa Ø 7o sti Ø
    only H-be drunk 3 with brother/sister 3 and father 3
    ‘He would get drunk with his brothers and father.’

There is evidence suggesting that these two uses of 7o should be kept distinct. For some examples, the location of a phrase with 7o has consequences for the interpretation of the sentence, as the following pairs of examples illustrate:

246 a) 9-27-99 elicitation 111
    nw-nya Xwa 17an re 7o Tyu
    C-build Juan house this with Pedro
    ‘Juan built this house with Pedro.’
b) 9-27-99 elicitation 112
   \textit{nw-nya Xwa 7o Tyu l7an re}
   C-build Juan and Pedro house this
   ‘Juan and Pedro built this house.’

247 a) 9-27-99 elicitation 113
   \textit{nt-7i-jya Xna ni7 y7an 7o Liya}
   N-play Juana in house with Maria
   ‘Juana is playing in the house with Maria.’

b) 9-27-99 elicitation 114
   \textit{nt-7i-jya Xna 7o Liya ni7 y7an}
   N-play Juana and Maria in house
   ‘Juana and Maria are playing in the house.’

In 246 a), if we are told that one of the two people building the house is a supervisor and
the other is the apprentice, the inference is that Juan is the supervisor. In 246 b), there is
no such inference. A difference between 247 a) and 247 b) is that there is a stronger
implication in 247 a) that the two children are playing together. In 247 b), they might be
merely playing in the same general location. These differences arise from the fact that in
the b) examples, the two conjoined participants not only have the same role in the event,
but also receive the same amount of attention. They are elements of a conjunct, parts of a
unit that relates uniformly to the rest of the utterance. In the a) examples, although the
participants marked by 7o have the same role with regard to the event as that of the
unmarked S participants (Pedro also builds the house in example 246 a), and Maria is
also playing in example 247 a)), they provide contextual information, and are not at the
center of attention. The contextual status of the 7o-marked participants in the a)
examples contributes to the interpretation of the examples. In 246 a), the information that
Pedro also builds the house is contextual, and it is therefore possible to infer that he is the
assistant. In 247 a), the use of the information that Maria is playing as context requires that the two girls be playing in the same context, that is, together.

Another consequence of the contextual status of a participant marked by 7o in the periphery is that, at least in some cases, it is not included in the scope of an utterance-initial negative. Consider the following example:

248) ja y-a Xna t7a 7o Xwa
     noC-go Juana party with Juan
     ‘Juana did not go to the party with Juan.’

This example means that Juana did not go to the party; Juan may still have gone. Juan’s activity remains the context in which Juana’s action might have taken place, but did not.

The use of 7o to mark a comitative is similar to its use to mark an instrument, as illustrated in the following example:

249) Felipa 4 007
     nkjwi-cha7 sti n a7n s7en n-i7an mya 7o traktor
     C.have.accident father 1sg 1sg place N-walk work with tractor
     ‘My father had an accident where he was working with a tractor.’

7o can also be used to include a participant in some narrated event that has been previously mentioned. The following example occurs in a context in which the protagonist of the story, a rabbit, has been commenting on the fact that the bull is very large. Then,

250) El conejo y el toro 019
     7o n a7n nty-ka-ti7 n k-lu n jwin nu kwchi
     with/and 1sg 1sg N-want 1sg P-grow 1sg said DET rabbit
     ‘I too want to grow,’ said the rabbit.’

---

17 I don’t know why the native speaker assumes that Juan is the supervisor and Pedro the assistant, instead of vice-versa. The reverse seems almost as likely, but the important point here is the ready inference of inequality in the involvement of the two participants.
Since the participant marked by 7o, n a7n ‘1sg.’ is co-referential to the participant in the S position, it is considered a nuclear participant. The 7o phrase is placed in utterance-initial position because it consists of information that is unknown in its relation to the rest of the utterance. In this, it is similar to the content answering information questions, which also occurs most often in utterance-initial position (see section 2.3 below). The other previously mentioned participants and their relations to the event k-ulu ‘P-grow’ in example 250) are already known, and attention shifts completely to the newly introduced participant. I refer to this construction as the ‘included participant’ construction.

Thus far, we have encountered four uses of 7o: marking a comitative participant, marking an instrument, linking conjoined participants, and marking a participant in initial position as in example 250). In the first two uses, the participant marked by 7o occurs after the O-position and consists of contextual information. In the latter two, the participant marked by 7o occurs in the S or O position and is not contextual. The following section discusses the use of -7o as a verbal enclitic, the semantics of which also involve the nuclear-peripheral contrast.

1.5.2. The verbal enclitic -7o.

1.5.2.1. The verbal enclitic -7o with intransitive roots.

As discussed in section 1.2 above, in an event-initial utterance, the S participant follows the event immediately, unless one of a class of verbal enclitics or compounding elements intervenes. In particular, O’s and prepositional phrases do not precede the S. Therefore, when the morpheme 7o occurs between the event and the S participant in the following example, it appears to be a verbal clitic rather than a preposition marking a Ø participant:
251) El conejo y el toro 013

\[ n-t7an-7o \quad x7na \quad wa \quad ka7-tla7 \quad nty-ku \quad wa \]

H-walk- owner 1pl.excl corn.husk H-eat 1pl.excl

‘Our owner brings (us) corn husks that we eat.’

The root \( t7an \) ‘walk’ is intransitive, but the stem \( t7an-7o \) is transitive; the S in example 251) is \( x7na \ wa \) ‘our owner,’ and the O is \( ka7-tla7 \ ntyku \ wa \) ‘corn husks that we eat.’

The effect of \(-7o\) is to derive a transitive verb meaning ‘bring’ from the intransitive root \( t7an \) ‘walk.’

In this use, \( 7o \) can be applied derivationally to a large number of intransitive roots.

A few more are illustrated in the following examples:

252) Martin's \_7o_ examples 016

\[ nkw-xen-7o \quad kwyu \quad nu \quad lyu7-ti \quad n-tkwa \quad chu7n \]

C-roll(instr) horse NOM small N-sit back

‘The horse rolled with the child that was riding it.’

253) \( nkw-7wa-7o \)

\[ Xwa \quad 7in \quad Liya \]

C-be.washed.away- Juan to Maria

‘Juan and Maria were washed away (it was probably Juan’s fault; perhaps he grabbed Maria as he was being washed away).’

254) \( jykwi-7o \quad ka-lu \quad ntyga \quad na \quad x7wi \ lo \ o \)

P.boil(instr) soup all thing P.be in it

‘The soup will boil with all of its ingredients.’

255) Martin's \_7o_ examples 001

\[ y-a-7o \quad ta \quad ma-xu7 \quad kwa \quad kwa \quad 7in \quad snye7 \quad \emptyset \quad s7en \quad sten \quad \emptyset \]

C-go- ? old.lady old there to child 3 place P-take.(car) 3

\( ni7 \quad ka-nwyun \)

in car

‘The old lady took her daughter to where she would take the car.’

In each case, the verbal root is intransitive but the derived stem is transitive. The meaning in common to such derivations is that the O participant in a sense performs, along with the S participant, the action named by the verbal root. The contribution of \(-7o\) is therefore reminiscent of its meaning as a preposition translated ‘with,’ in examples
246 a) and 247 a). Constructions with an -7o clitic contrast with constructions with a peripheral comitative marked by -7o and with constructions with conjoined participants. Example 251), which has the -7o clitic construction, contrasts with the following example featuring a peripheral comitative marked by 7o:

256) El conejo y el toro 167

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{n-}kila & \textit{nu} & cha-\textit{kwchi} & \textit{7o} & \textit{ska}7 & \textit{n-}t7in & \textit{ti7a-kilo} & \textit{nu} & kw\textit{na} \\
C-arrive & DET & rabbit & with & gourd & N-be & tear & DET & snake \\
\textit{7in} & \textit{Ø} \\
of & 3 \\
\end{tabular}

‘The rabbit arrived with his gourd that had the snake tears.’

In example 256), the participant marked by 7o, the gourd, is mentioned as a feature of the context, while attention is focused primarily on the rabbit. These conditions result in the translation ‘... arrived with ...’ In example 251), by contrast, attention is focused on both x7na wa ‘our master’ and ka7-tla7 ‘corn husks,’ resulting in the translation ‘... brings ...’ Owing perhaps to the inherent semantics of an inanimate participant, the third formal variant corresponding to examples 251) and 256, in which the two participants would be conjoined in the S position, is not available:

257) ?? x7na wa 7o ka7-tla7 n-ty7an

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
master & 1pl.excl. & and & corn.husk & H-walk \\
\end{tabular}

However, a three-way contrast can be found in examples with two human participants:

258 a) \textit{nk}'y-a-7o Liya 7in Xwa l7an

C-go Maria to Juan house

‘Maria took Juan to the house.’

b) \textit{nk}'y-a Liya l7an 7o Xwa

C-go Maria house with Juan

‘Maria went to the house with Juan.’

c) \textit{nk}'y-a Liya 7o Xwa l7an

C-go Maria and Juan house

‘Maria and Juan went to the house.’
In example 258 b), Xwa is a peripheral comitative while in 258 a) Xwa occurs in the O position. The same contrast between contextual information and information that receives more attention recurs here. There is a further difference, in that Xwa is less actively/volitionally involved in a) than in b). The lesser degree of volition or activity on the part of the O participant in an -7o clitic construction is also found in examples 252)-254). It also constitutes the semantic contrast between a) and c) of example 258): in a), Xwa is less actively/volitionally involved than he is in c). Although both participants perform the action a ‘go’ in c), Xwa does so secondarily, having been drawn into the event as a result of Liya’s prior involvement in it. The secondary involvement of the O-participant is a feature in general of stems derived from intransitive roots by means of the -7o clitic, as seen in examples 252)-255) above. In example 252), the child rolls with the horse, but only because the horse rolls; similar observations hold for the other examples. The contribution of the -7o clitic with an intransitive root is to indicate the secondary involvement of a participant, occurring in the O-position, that performs or undergoes the event along with the S. In the -7o clitic construction, it is possible to place such a secondarily-involved participant in the nucleus of the sentence, where it receives more attention than it would in the periphery.

Because of the secondary nature of its involvement in the event, the participant in the O position in a sentence with the -7o clitic construction often takes on patient-like semantics, being seen as affected by the event. This is the case, for example, with verbs of speech and other vocal expression, in which the contrast between an utterance with a
peripheral comitative 7o phrase and one with the –7o clitic construction is that in the
latter the participant in the O position is negatively affected:

259 a) Martin’s _7o_ examples 008

\begin{verbatim}
 nty-\textit{kwi7-7o} Liya \ nu \ ki7yu snye7 \ \\empty \ cha7 \ nw-kwa \ \empty \ k7wi
N-talk- Maria REL male child 3 because C-be 3 drunk
‘Maria is scolding her son because he got drunk.’
\end{verbatim}

b) \textit{nty-kwi7} Liya 7o nu ki7yu snye7 \empty
N-talk Maria with REL male child 3
‘Maria is talking with her son.’

260 a) Martin’s _7o_ examples 011

\begin{verbatim}
 nw-\textit{styi-7o} Xna 7in Tyu cha7 \ nw-lyu \ lo \ nwtzu7
C-laugh- Juan to Pedro because C-fall at mud
‘Juana laughed at Pedro because he fell in the mud.’
\end{verbatim}

b) 1999-07-21 elicitation 043

\begin{verbatim}
 n-\textit{styi} Xwa 7o Tyu
N-laugh Juan with/and Pedro
‘Juan is laughing with Pedro.’
‘Juan and Pedro are laughing.’
\end{verbatim}

The meaning of the a) examples are different from other examples of the –7o clitic
discussed above, in that the participant in the O-position does not perform the event
named by the verb root. In the case of \textit{kwi7} ‘talk,’ the contrast between the –7o clitic
construction and the peripheral comitative 7o phrase is consistent with that observed in
earlier examples, because the peripheral comitative participant does not necessarily
perform the event; observe the following example, in which the participant marked by 7o
does not speak, but merely receives the message:

261) El tunco y el ciego 063

\begin{verbatim}
 ka7n nty-kwi7 \empty 7o \empty \empty ra-ka7n nw-sla wan l7an kwa jwin an
\end{verbatim}
then N-talk 3 with 3 then C-open 2pl house there said lpl.incl
‘Then he said to them, ‘open that door, I (lit. ‘we’) order you.’ ’

Apparently, the event denoted by the verb kwi7 'talk' in Chatino is conceived of in such a way that a comitative participant does not necessarily participate in the event the way the S participant does; there may be interaction, but the communication may also be one-way. This possibility of interpretation is the one selected for the –7o clitic construction with the verb kwi7. It is not clear that such an explanation for the parallel behavior of styi ‘laugh’ is available; more investigation is needed.

Besides contrasting with the conjoined participant and the peripheral comitative constructions, the –7o clitic also contrasts, as a type of transitivizer, with causative-transitive s-/x-/xi-. The following examples illustrate this contrast:

262 a) 9-27-99 elicitation 123
n-sna-7o Liya 7in Xwa
N-run- Maria to Juan
‘Maria kidnapped Juan (and is fleeing with him).’

b) 9-27-99 elicitation 124
n-xi-sna Liya 7in Xwa
N-make.run Maria to Juan
‘Maria is making Juan run, chasing him off.’

263 a) 9-27-99 elicitation 119
nkw-7wa-7o Xwa 7in Tyu
C-be.washed.away- Juan to Pedro
‘Juan and Pedro were washed away (Juan’s fault, if anyone’s).’

b) 9-27-99 elicitation 120
nw-x7wa Xwa 7in Tyu
C-make.be.washed.away Juan to Pedro
‘Juan caused Pedro to be washed away (e.g., he pushed him into the water and the current carried him away).’

In the a) examples, the S carries out the activity or undergoes the experience as well as the O, and it is also implied that the involvement of the S is prior to that of the O, possibly causing the involvement of the O. In the b) examples, the S causes the
experience of the O, but does not undergo it. The main semantic similarity between the –7o clitic construction and the causative-transitive construction is that for both, the O experiences or carries out an event without volition and without initiating the event.

1.5.2.2. *The verbal clitic –7o with transitive roots.*

As described in the preceding paragraphs, the –7o clitic with an intransitive verb root communicates that in the event with which it appears, the O participant is secondarily involved, with a role similar to that of the S. When it occurs with a transitive root, the effect is different. Cliticized to a transitive root, –7o indicates that the participant in the O position is secondarily involved, with a role typical of a participant occurring in the O position relative to the non-derived root. This leads to the inference that there is another participant, usually unmentioned, that experiences the event with the same role as that of the participant in the O position. Further, it is often implied that the involvement of the O is not intended. Consider the following examples:

264) Martin’s _7o_ examples 027

nw-kkwa-7o Xwa sna Liya
C-sweep- Juan sandal.3 Maria
‘Juan swept Maria’s sandal (along with something else, e.g., the dirt).’

265) Martin’s _7o_ examples 026

nw-ta-7o tza ne7 nta 7yan s7en nw-s7i n
C-give- accidentally person bean to.1sg place C-buy 1sg
ska
sugar
‘They accidentally gave me beans (also) when I bought sugar.’

266) Martin’s _7o_ examples 017

nw-kkin-7o Xwa kwta 7in Ø s7en nt-kin jyan
C-burn- Juan cattle of 3 place N-burn field
‘Juan burned his cow when he was burning the field.’
In example 264), the verb root *kwa* ‘sweep’ is transitive, as is the derived stem *kwa-7o* ‘sweep (along with something else).’ The S is *Xwa*, and the O is *sna Liya* ‘Maria’s sandal.’ The contribution of the –7o clitic, as with intransitive roots, is to indicate that the participant in the O position is secondarily involved in the event. The difference between transitive and intransitive roots with regard to the function of the –7o clitic is that while for intransitive roots the participant in the O position has a role similar to that of the S (although, as noted above, it may be interpreted as affected by the event), for transitive roots the participant in the O-position has the role that would be expected for a participant in that position, having no similarity to the role of the S.

The secondary nature of the involvement of the participant in the O position in an utterance featuring the clitic –7o with a transitive root results in a contrast with another construction type, that of the ‘included participant,’ discussed in section 1.5.1. above. As shown in the following example, the participant marked by 7o and placed in sentence-initial position can be an O:

267) Martin’s example sentences 474

\[7o \_ \_ \_ kinya7 \_ \_ \_ chilianchu \_ \_ \_ nt-jwi7 \_ \_ \_ n\]
also chile chiliancho N-sell 1sg
‘I sell chiliancho chiles too (mentioning another item on the list of things for sale).’

Example 267) can be compared with example 265) above. The difference between the two constructions is that the involvement of the sentence-initial participant in the ‘included participant’ construction is in no way secondary, and its involvement is clearly intentional.
The other participant with a semantic role similar to that of the O can be mentioned in a clause featuring the clitic -7o with a transitive root, and if it is, then it is expressed as a peripheral participant marked by the preposition 7o:

268) 1999-9-19 elicitation 122
   nw-kkwa-7o Xwa sna Liya 7o nwtti
   C-sweep- Juan sandal Maria with garbage
   ‘Juan swept Maria’s sandal with the garbage.’

Taking into consideration both transitive and intransitive verb roots as they take the clitic -7o, it may be noted that of the three grammatical categories, transitive S’s, intransitive S’s, and O’s, only two are related to by the participant in the O position (the participant whose involvement is attenuated by presence of the -7o clitic). That is, the role of the participant in the O position relative to a verb with the -7o clitic is like that of the S of the non-derived stem if the verb root is intransitive or like that of an O if the verb root is transitive. There are no examples in which the role of the participant in the O position is like that of a transitive S; no examples, that is, like the hypothetical

269) * nw-nya-7o Xwa 7in Tyu
    C-build- Juan to Pedro
    ‘Juan and (secondarily) Pedro built (something).’

or

270) * nw-nya-7o Xwa 7in Tyu 17an
    C-build- Juan to Pedro house
    ‘Juan and (secondarily) Pedro built the house.’

The grouping of intransitive S and O to the exclusion of transitive S suggests the existence of an absolutive category characterizing the types of roles found for the participant in the O position in the -7o clitic construction. The absolutive category in this case, however, is clearly derivative of the semantics of the three categories, transitive S,
intransitive S, and O, and of the -7o clitic. Of the three types, the transitive S participant is most consistently volitionally involved in the event. Its role is not vulnerable to the kind of mitigation indicated by the presence of the -7o clitic for other types of participants, which, as we observed above, reduces the agency and volitionality of the participant in the O-position.

If one considers the roles taken by the O's in the -7o clitic constructions (as opposed to the roles of the participants with which the O's are conceptually linked), then the pattern may be noted to distinguish between agents and non-agents. For intransitive roots such as a 'go' and sna 'run,' for which the S has agent-like properties, the O of the derived stems a-7o 'bring' and sna-7o 'flee with (as when kidnapping)' are non-agents. Indeed, the O of a stem derived by means of -7o is always non-agentive. Again, the role of an S of a transitive root is prototypically too agentive to admit participation by the non-agentive O of a stem derived by means of -7o.

The contribution of the -7o clitic is to modify the involvement of the participant in the O-position in the event, indicating that its involvement is secondary. The -7o clitic construction contrasts with the construction with a participant marked by 7o in the periphery, in that with the -7o clitic construction, the secondarily involved participant occurs in the nucleus of the proposition, where it receives more attention.

2. Word order variation: The semantic content of the clause-initial position.

As mentioned above, VS(O) is the most common but not the only possible word order for the simple sentence. The other orders found for the major constituents are SV(O) and OVS. SOV, OSV, and VOS are unattested. As a working hypothesis, it seems reasonable to consider the most common word order, VS(O), to be unmarked, and
to think of SV(O) and OVS as orders in which a noun appears in clause-initial position instead of in its usual position after the verb. This is not to suggest that VS(O) is ‘default’ and therefore unmotivated, but rather that the considerations motivating VS(O) order are those that prevail in most discourse contexts.

There are a number of functions that coincide in their use of the sentence-initial position. The following sections discuss the occurrence in sentence-initial position of the event (section 2.1), negation (2.2), question morphology and answering content of information questions (2.3), nouns in constructions involving the copula ka ‘be’ (2.4), newly included content (2.5), contrastive content (2.6), and unexpected or contrastive topics (2.7). In section 2.6, I also identify the common semantics shared by these functions, which is proposed as the semantic content of the sentence-initial position.

2.1. The event in sentence-initial position.

In narrative discourse, it is common to encounter a series of clauses that are event-initial, sharing the same S participant, as in the following excerpt from the story ‘The lame man and the blind man,’ in which the events are underlined:

271) El tunco y el ciego 074

\begin{verbatim}
  nw-ten-sna  nk-7u  kwna  ka-ti  ke  ka7n  sa-kwa-ti  ku7
\end{verbatim}

C-begin  C-show snake seven head the.mentioned just.this short

\begin{verbatim}
su  Ø  ka7n
\end{verbatim}

beard  3  then

‘The snake with seven heads began to show them his beard hairs just this size.’

272) El tunco y el ciego 075

\begin{verbatim}
nkw-lo-tkw  Ø  tlo  Ø  ra-ka7n
\end{verbatim}

C-show  3  face  3  then

‘He showed it in front of them.’
273) El tunco y el ciego 076

\textit{ka7n jwin kwa}na \textit{ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n}

then said snake that to 3 then

'Then the serpent said to them.'

In such sequences of clauses, a single participant performs a series of activities or undergoes a series of experiences. While the participant remains the same, the event changes from clause to clause. The predominant word order in narrative texts, VS(O), reflects the same principle: the events, which change more frequently than the participants, tend to occur in utterance-initial position.

2.2. Negation.

There are two negative morphemes in Chatino, the event negator \textit{ja}, with its enclitic allomorph –7, and the single-element negator \textit{s7i}.

The event negator \textit{ja} immediately precedes the event:

274) Felipa 3 009

\textit{ja ka 7a tza an lo jwinka ni}

no be.possible more P.go 1pl.incl on plantation now

'We can't go to the plantation any more.'

275) Juan, Cuero de Venado 068

\textit{ja y-7wi-lyo 7a jy7an Ø 7in Ø}

no C-know more mother 3 to 3

'His mother didn't recognize him anymore.'

-7, an optional allomorph of \textit{ja}, may be cliticized to conjunctions such as \textit{lo} 'and' and question words such as \textit{ni-cha7} 'why':

276) El tunco y el ciego 056

\textit{kwi7 we tla lo-7 k-ja s7en tza an}

just already night and-not P-be.found place P.go 1pl.incl

'It is already night and we don't know where to go(lit.: the place is not to be found where we will go).'
277) 1998-11-09 045

ni-cha7-Z y-ja da tla
why-not C-sleep QU.2sg last.night
‘Why didn’t you sleep last night?’

The ‘single-element’ negator s7i negates specifically one element in a proposition without negating the whole, so that the resulting construction has a meaning similar to that of a cleft in English. Syntactically, s7i behaves like a verb in taking as an argument the participant being negated; it is inflected with the subject / inalienable possessor paradigm. s7i occurs at the beginning of its clause, along with the negated element:

278) Felipa 1 038

nk-yan nk-yan l7an Ø cha7 s7i Ø y-jwi Ø 7in sti Ø
C-come C-come N.see 3 that not 3 C-kill 3 to father 3
‘He came to show that that it wasn’t him who killed his father.’

279) La Mujer que se Puso 099

s7i nten t7a jyan 7o
not person companion come.2sg with
‘He isn’t human, the one that you came with.’

280) 1998-11-09 018

yu nw-s7i Xwa, s7i l7an
ground C-buy Juan not house
‘It was a field that Juan bought, not a house.’

It has been noted that a negation pre-supposes the opposite assumption. In example 274), the assertion ja ka 7a tza an lo jwinka ni ‘we can no longer go to the farm’ presumes the opposite assumption, ‘we can still go to the farm,’ and negates it. The placement of ja before the verb usually results in its occurrence in clause-initial position, and s7i, along with the element it negates, has an even stronger association with clause-initial position, being preceded only by conjunctions. The use of sentence-initial position for negation thus aligns presupposed information with the second part of a proposition
and the previously unknown negation of that presupposed information with the initial part of the proposition.

It is not difficult to find examples in which the event negator ja is not sentence-initial, such as in the second of the two following consecutive utterances taken from a narrative:

...  

281) La Mujer que se Puso 029  
    ka7n cha7-nu n-tkwa ke-ktzi i7wa yu  
    then because N-sit gold.tooth mouth man  
    'Because he had a gold tooth,'  

282) La Mujer que se Puso 030  
    lo nu kw7an ka7n ja jlyo-ti7 Ø cha7 ka yu kwne7-x7an  
    and DET woman the.mentioned no know 3 that be man devil  
    'and the woman did not know that he was a devil.'  
    ...  

In example 282), nu kw7an ka7n 'the woman' represents a change in the 'on-stage' personage. As discussed further in section 2.7 below, such changes within narratives frequently correspond to the placement of the new 'on-stage' personage in sentence-initial position, a tendency that in this case results in the negative morpheme occurring in the second position in the sentence.

s7i, by contrast, occurs clause-initially (with the exception of conjunctions) in the great majority of instances found in the corpus. If examples such as 280) are considered to be bi-clausal, with s7i l7an 'not a house' an ellipsed form of s7i l7an nws7i 'not a house he bought' (or if such phrases are at least considered a type of proposition in their own right), then this tendency is exceptionless.
2.3. Information questions.

The Chatino forms corresponding to English wh-question words appear at the beginning of the clause. Wh-questions also often have a morpheme -da ‘QU’ suffixed or encliticized to the verb (occurring between the verb root and the S). In the following examples, the forms used to construct questions for information are formed with either ti ‘what, who’ or ni ‘what,’ and they occur clause-initially:

283) 1998-11-10 011
   ti na nw-sta Liya
   what thing C-break Maria
   ‘What did Maria break?’

284) 1998-11-09 035
   ti ka y-jwi7 nskwa7 7in Ø
   who be C-sell.2sg corn to 3
   ‘To whom did you sell corn?’

285) Felipa 4 012
   ni na nkwa da 7in
   what thing C.be QU to.2sg
   ‘What happened to you?’

Information question morphology occurs consistently in sentence-initial position.

The content that answers information questions often occurs in sentence-initial position; however, depending on the role of that content in its clause, it can also occur in other positions. Illustrating the use of sentence-initial position for answering information questions, examples 283) and 284) can be answered by:

286) 1998-11-10 012
   kitu7n nw-sta Ø
   pot C-break 3
   ‘She broke the pot.’

and
However, the answering content in examples 286) and 287) can also occur in its usual post-event position, as in:

288) 1998-11-10 013

nw-sta Ø  kiwi7
C-break 3  pot
‘She broke the pot.’

and

289) 1998-11-09 037

y-jiwi7 n  nskwa7 7in  Liya
C-sell 1sg corn to Maria
‘I sold corn to Máry.’

The same pattern is observed for an intransitive S:

290) a) 1998-11-10 006

ti  ka  nu  nki-na
who be  REL  N-cry
‘Who is crying?’

b) 1998-11-10 007

Liya  nki-na
Maria  N-cry
‘Máry is crying.’

c) 1998-11-10 008

nki-na  Liya
N-cry  Maria
‘Máry is crying.’

Responses b) and c) are both acceptable in answer to example 290 a), although the native speaker who produced these examples reported a slight preference for response b).

By contrast with the roles that, as illustrated above, can occur either in sentence-initial position or in their usual post-event position when they constitute answers to
information questions, a transitive S can occur only sentence-initially as an answer to an
information question, and not in its usual post-event position:

291) a) 1998-11-10 014
   \textit{ti} \textit{ka} \textit{nu} \textit{nw-sta} \textit{kitu7n}
   who be REL C-break pot
   ‘Who broke the pot?’

   b) 1998-11-10 015
   \textit{Liya} \textit{nw-sta} \textit{kitu7n}
   Maria C-break pot
   ‘Máry broke the pot.’

c) 1998-11-10 016
   ??\textit{nw-sta Liya} \textit{kitu7n}
   C-break Maria pot
   ‘Maria broke the pot.’

Example 291 c) would be perfectly acceptable in other contexts, but as an answer to
example 291 a), it is definitely odd. This pattern distinguishes the transitive S from
intransitive S, O, and recipient: in answering an information question, a transitive S
obligatorily takes the pre-event position, while the other roles take that position
optionally. This contrastive grouping is reminiscent of that noted in section 1.5.2, in
which it was observed that the participant in the O position in an \textit{-7o} clitic construction
can have a role similar to that of an intransitive S or a transitive O, but not of a transitive
S. In section 1.5.2, it was hypothesized that a participant in the O position of an \textit{-7o}
suffix construction cannot have a role similar to that of a transitive S because the very
meaning of the \textit{-7o} suffix is that the involvement of the O is secondary or mitigated, a
circumstance incompatible with the role of a transitive S.

A similar principle seems to be involved in the requirement that a transitive S occur
in the pre-event position when it answers an information question. A transitive S is
prototypically deliberately and actively involved in an event, which prevents the participation of an O in an -7o suffix construction in the role of a transitive S. Similarly, a transitive S is firmly established in its role relative to an event. Yet, in the context of answering an information question, the participant is presented as previously unestablished and unknown in relation to the rest of the utterance. These characteristics, unusual for a transitive S, are indicated by occurrence in sentence-initial position. For the less-established roles coded by the S, O, and recipient positions, special indication of unestablished status by placement in sentence-initial position is possible but not necessary.18

2.4. The copula ka ‘be.’

The morpheme ka ‘be’ establishes a link between an entity and a characteristic or identification, as illustrated in the following examples:

292) Hurricane 068

\[po-7wre \ ka \ n\]
poor be 1sg
'I am poor.'

293) Juan Ceniza 052

\[ki7yu \ ka \ an \ re\]
man be 1pl.incl this
'I am a man.'

294) Hurricane 039

\[nte \ ka \ s7en \ nt7in \ n\]
here be place N.live 1sg
'This is my house.'

In a related use, ka means ‘be possible,’ as in:

---

18 This formulation was suggested by Philip W. Davis, p.c.
295) Martin’s example sentences 301

\[ ka \quad tza \quad snye7 \quad xkwla \]
be.possible P.go child.2sg school
‘Your child can enroll in the school.’

296) Martin’s example sentences 310

\[ ka \quad 7in \quad Liya \quad kw-7ni \quad \emptyset \quad skwa \]
be.possible to Maria P-make 3 mole
‘Maria can make mole.’

In the use glossed ‘be possible,’ \( ka \) has an existential meaning, asserting the existence of a possible circumstance, while in the use glossed ‘be,’ it makes a characterization or identification of a known or assumed entity. The ordering of elements in the latter use is consistent: in declarative main clauses, the characterization or identification comes first, followed by \( ka \) and then by the known or assumed entity. The consistency of this pattern, shown in examples 292)-294), is interesting given the usual VSO pattern found for other verbs.

A difference arises in subordinate clauses and in negative expressions, in which \( ka \) occurs first, followed by the known or assumed entity and then by the characterization or identification:

297) a) Juan Ceniza 005

\[ 7ya \quad yu \quad sa-kwa \quad ke \quad ji \quad ka7n \]
H.carry man such fistful ash then
‘he carried a handful of ashes’

\[ n-sne \quad yu \quad tkwin \quad nky-a \quad yu \]
H.spill man road H-go man
‘spilling it along the way that he went’

\[ cha7 \quad ka \quad yu \quad ska \quad yu \quad ntja \]
because be man one man lazy
‘because he was a lazy man.’
It should also be noted that there are numerous expressions (including those discussed in section 1.2.1.2.2) in which the morpheme ka precedes an adjective and either provides aspectual information by its aspectual inflection or has the auxiliary-like meaning of ‘become.’ The resulting order of meaningful units is ka + characterization + known/assumed entity. I analyze such constructions as involving a morphologically complex event composed of ka + the adjective root, which takes a single S participant. ka also incorporates certain nominal roots, especially those referring to family relationships, such as ka-kw7o ‘marry (‘be-spouse’)' and ka-jy7an-la 'be mother-in-law (to sb.).' Such incorporations result in transitive stems.

The point to be emphasized here is the ordering pattern found in main declarative clauses with the copula ka ‘be,’ in which the unknown information comes first, followed by the copula and the known information. ka itself, being almost void of semantic content, does not occur in the sentence-initial position.

2.5. Newly-included content.

Section 1.5.1 includes a discussion of the construction termed the ‘included participant’ construction, illustrated by the following examples:

299) La Mujer que se Puso 058

\[7o\]
\[chi7n\]
\[tt7a\]
\[nwjkw\]
\[kw-7ya\]

with/and little water holy P-bring.2sg

‘Bring a little holy water, too.’
300) El conejo y el toro 019

\[7o \quad n \quad a7n \quad n-tyka-\text{-}ti7 \quad n \quad k-\text{lu} \quad n \quad j\text{win} \quad nu \quad k\text{wchi}\]

with/and 1sg 1sg H-want 1sg P-grow 1sg said DET rabbit

‘I want to grow too,’ said the rabbit.’

The use of the ‘included participant’ construction is characterized by the existence of a situation or event that is presumed to be known, and into which an additional participant is introduced, or included. The ordering of the two components is consistent in this construction: the newly included participant, marked by 7o ‘with/and,’ occurs initially, followed by the known remainder.

2.6. Contrastive content.

There are a number of types of expressions in which one element is presented, in relation to the rest of the proposition, in contrast to other supposed elements that might have been expected to occur in the same relation to the rest of the proposition. In the following example, for instance, the narrator stresses that ne7 ‘he’ thought that 0 ‘she’ was yu ki7yu, ‘a man,’ instead of, as the listener already knows she is, a woman. The mistaken belief, that the other character was a man, is contrasted with what the hearer knows to be true:

301) La Mujer que se Puso 137

\[komo \quad yu \quad ki7yu \quad xye-\text{-}ti7 \quad ne7 \quad 7in \quad 0\]

as \quad man \quad male \quad P.think \quad person \quad to \quad 3

‘... as he thought she was a \text{mán}.’

Similarly, in the following example, the placement of Xwa jin kwnya7 ‘Deerskin Juan’ in the pre-event position signals a contrast between the expected occurrence, the other man’s going, and what actually happens:
302) Juan, Cuero de Venado 010

\[ \text{lo7 y-a nu ki7yu} \]
and.not C-go DET man

\[ \text{‘And the man didn’t go,’} \]

\[ \ldots \]

Juan, Cuero de Venado 013

\[ \text{ka7n-nu Xwa jin kwyna7 ka7n} \]
then Juan skin deer the.mentioned C-go 3 then

\[ \text{‘Then that Deerskin John went.’} \]

In contrastive constructions, the information that is presented in contrast to that which is assumed occurs in the pre-event position, and is followed by the known information.

The types of content that occur in sentence-initial position are summarized in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction type</th>
<th>Sentence-initial component</th>
<th>Remainder of sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most frequent narrative construction</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negation</td>
<td>Negator or negator + single negated element</td>
<td>Event and (other) participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information question</td>
<td>Question morphology</td>
<td>Already known content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer to information question</td>
<td>Answering content (optional for roles other than transitive S)</td>
<td>Already known content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The copula ka ‘be’ in main declarative clauses</td>
<td>Characterization/identification</td>
<td>ka + the entity characterized or identified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Included participant</td>
<td>Newly included participant</td>
<td>Already known content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive content</td>
<td>Contrasted element</td>
<td>Already known content</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6: Types of content found in sentence-initial position*

Comparing the kinds of content found in sentence-initial position to those found in the remainder of the sentence as shown in Table 6 suggests a unifying principle that may be described in terms of the following oppositions:
change/contrast  ↔  constancy

the unknown (in relation to its context)  ↔  the known

the questioned or negated  ↔  the assumed

the undetermined  ↔  the determined

Figure 4: The oppositions underlying the semantic content of sentence-initial position.

The general semantic content of the sentence-initial position, then, is that found in the left-hand column of Figure 4. That semantic content may be referred to as rheme, following Davis (1987).

2.7. Sentence-initial topics.

Defining the topic of an utterance as the part of the utterance that the whole is about, we find in Chatino a construction type in which the topic occurs sentence-initially, as observed in the following excerpt, comprising the first three lines of a narrative:

303) La Mujer que se Puso 008

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{nú} & \text{lwe-ti} & \text{xkwla} & i & \text{n-t7an} & \text{Ø xkwla} \\
\text{NOM} & \text{small} & \text{school} & \text{DSC} & \text{N-walk 3} & \text{school}
\end{array}
\]

'The school children, they were going to school:'

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{nú} & \text{kw7an} & \text{ka7n} & \text{in} & \text{ka} & \text{Ø ntten} & \text{cha7-lyu} \\
\text{DET} & \text{woman} & \text{the.mentioned} & \text{DSC} & \text{be} & \text{3 person} & \text{world}
\end{array}
\]

'the girl, she was a human being,'

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{lo} & \text{yu} & \text{ki7yu} & \text{ka7n} & \text{in} & \text{ka} & \text{Ø kwne7-x7an} \\
\text{and} & \text{DET} & \text{man} & \text{the.mentioned} & \text{DSC} & \text{be} & \text{3 devil}
\end{array}
\]

'and the boy, he was a devil.'

In each line of the excerpt, a noun referring to the topic comes first, followed by the morpheme \(i / in\)^19 and then by a complete clause with a resumptive \(Ø\) pronoun.

---

^19 The allomorphy is conditioned by the nasality feature of the preceding syllable.
co-referential to the topic. The function of *i* / *in* is to mark the preceding element as a topic. As illustrated in example 304) below, *i* / *in* is optional. It would be expected that within a series of utterances in a narrative, the topic, defined as the part of the utterance that the whole is about, would often be constant, and such a tendency is in fact observed below in section 3. In other words, the topic would be expected to correspond to the right-hand column in Figure 4, and it is therefore surprising to find it occurring in sentence-initial position. In fact, it is just when the topic has something of the property of the left-hand column of Figure 4, specifically, in that it is contrastive or unexpected as a topic, that it occurs in sentence-initial position. In the first line in example 303), none of the characters in the narrative are known to the listener, who therefore cannot be aware of the topic until the sentence is actually uttered. The first line introduces a group, and hence the topic of line two is unpredictable. The topic of line three represents a change with respect to that of line two. Thus the sentence-initial topics in the example all have properties corresponding to the left-hand column in Figure 4.

As shown in the following example, elements other than participants can also occur as sentence-initial topics:

304) 1999-07-21 elicitation 020

\[ti ~ na ~ kw-\text{7}ni ~ da ~ sna ~ jyan ~ re\]

what thing P-do QU.2sg week come this
‘What will you do this week?’

1999-07-21 elicitation 021

\[lu-ni ~ s7a ~ n ~ S7we\]

monday P.go 1sg Juquila
‘Monday I go to Juquila.’
1999-07-21 elicitation 024

mar-te s7a n tza-l7an n jyan
tuesday P.go 1sg P.go.to.see 1sg field
‘Tuesday I go to the field.’

... Sections 2.1 – 2.7 have shown that the sentence-initial position is utilized for the purpose of giving some element of the proposition special prominence as having the kinds of properties listed in the left-hand side of Figure 4. In section 3, I turn to a description of the grammatical devices that indicate continuity of a participant within a stretch of discourse.

3. Tracking of on-stage participants in a narrative text.

In this section, I discuss the relationship of linear order in a sentence, and the choices between different pronouns and between pronouns and lexical nouns, to a broader discourse context. In order to illustrate the patterns relating to the treatment of a continuing topic in Chatino, in the following paragraphs I describe the forms taken by references to participants in the folk narrative Deerskin Juan, which is found in the Appendix. This story is relatively short, comprised of approximately 143 clauses (the definition of ‘clause’ for this description is discussed below). For this description, I consider only the narrative clauses, leaving out of consideration entirely the content of the characters’ speech to one another. The reason for creating this division between the characters’ quoted speech and the rest of the narrative is that in some ways the characters’ quoted speech gives rise to a discourse world distinct from that of the rest of the narrative. The participants in the discourse world of the narrative itself are not necessarily part of the discourse world of the characters’ speech, and vice versa. The same entity may be referred to in distinct ways in the two discourse worlds: the main
character is referred to as Juan or he in the narrative clauses, as I in Juan’s speech, and as you in his wife’s speech. Listeners to the narrative may be aware of some participant of which the characters are not aware, and this difference will be reflected in the grammatical coding of that participant in the narrative and in the characters’ speech. For these reasons, the patterns of topic tracking are more readily illustrated when only one discourse world is considered at a time. Interactions between the discourse worlds can be noted as special cases.

3.1. The entities referred to in Deerskin Juan

The following entities are referred to in the narrative clauses of the story:

Humans (in order of appearance):
   a woman, who becomes Juan’s wife
   an unnamed man
   Juan, the main character
   Juan’s mother

Non-humans (in order of appearance):
   a dog
   a house
   Juan’s deerskin
   a chair
   Juan’s shoes
   Juan’s feet
   Juan’s clothing
   Juan’s things
   Juan’s mother’s home
   Juan’s mother’s hand
   Juan’s wife’s home

These entities are referred to with a variety of grammatical codings. Each reference to any one of these entities is either an S participant, an O participant, an indirect object (IND), an oblique (OBL), or a possessor (POSS). There are a few nominal roots that occur in the story but are not included in this list because they are incorporated into verbs
and do not appear to refer to specific entities. In the following example, the nominal root

kw7o 'spouse' is incorporated by ji 'to find':

305) Juan, Cuero de Venado 053
    ka7n  jwi-kw7o  ne7  7o  Ø ra-ka7n
    then C.marry person with 3 then
    'then she got married with him'

Nominal roots that function as relator nouns, such as chu7n 'back' in the following
example, are also not considered to refer to independent entities:

306) Juan, Cuero de Venado 004
    lo  sen  n-tun  Xwa  ka7n  ti  chu7n  l7an
    and quiet N-stand Juan that at back house
    'and Juan was standing behind the house, eavesdropping'

Three pronominal forms appear in the story: a Ø 3rd person human pronoun,
which is formally indistinguishable from elision; the 3rd person human pronoun ne7,
which is etymologically derived from and phonologically identical to the noun ne7
'person'; and the 3rd person inanimate clitic pronoun o/ an20. Ø and ne7 can be used for
the same antecedents, but, as will become clear, they have different discourse functions.

No attempt is made to distinguish between the Ø pronoun and elision; both are
considered instances of Ø. Such are the forms taken by the references in the story:
proper names or other lexical nouns, Ø/elision, ne7, and o/an.

3.2. The definition of 'clause' used in this description

Every verb that has or that could, in the configuration in which it appears, have one
or more arguments is taken as the center of a single clause. When two verbal roots occur
in a combination that takes arguments as a unit, that combination is considered to be the

---
20 o is used after syllables with non-nasal vowels, and an after syllables with nasal vowels.
center of a single clause. The verb *kya* 'go' combines with a number of other verb roots to form units of this kind, as in the following example:

307) Juan, Cuero de Venado 083

\( xa-nu \ n-ka7an \ n\ nu \ kw7an \ ka7n \ 7in \ \emptyset \ ra-ka7n \)

when C-go-be.located DET woman that to 3 then

'When his woman went to look for (lit. followed) him then...'

Here, a 'go' is inflected for the Completive aspect, while \(-7an\) 'be located' takes its combination form (see Chapter 2, Section 3.3.4.1), and the S participant consistently appears after \(-7an\). The meaning of the combination, 'follow,' is not immediately apparent from the sum of its parts, and the combination is transitive while the roots from which it is derived are intransitive. Such combinations are treated as compounds and example 307) is treated as a single clause.

Given this definition of 'clause,' *Deerskin Juan* is comprised of approximately 143 clauses. The references in each of these numbered clauses are given in the following table, with subscripts S, O, IND (indirect object), OBL (oblique), and POSS (possessor). Clauses consisting of quoted material are marked 'Quote.' The following list includes all of the participant references in the folk story *Deerskin Juan*. Each font corresponds to a distinct character in the narrative.

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67. clothes s
68. mother a...∅
69. ∅ s
70. ∅ s
71. mother s...∅
72. Quote
73. ∅
74. Quote
75. Quote
76. ne7 s
77. Quote
78. ∅ a...clothes o...∅ poss
79. ∅ a...shoes o...∅ poss
80. ∅ a...things o...∅ poss
81. deerskin o...∅ poss...∅ a
82. time s
83. woman a...∅
84. ∅ s
85. place s
86. mother s
87. ∅ s
88. ∅ s
89. ∅ s
90. deerskin s
91. ∅ s (deerskin)
92. Quote
93. ne7 s
94. Quote
95. ne7 s...∅ obl
96. Quote
97. ne7 s...∅
98. Quote
99. ne7 s...∅
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104. Quote
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106. Quote
107. Quote
108. Quote
109. ∅ s
110. Quote
111. woman s...∅
3.3. The distribution of the various coding options

Given the various types of forms with which entities are referred to, we now turn to an investigation of the factors that condition the occurrence of each type.

3.3.1. Proper names and other lexical items

Lexical nouns, including personal names, occur as S's in 24 clauses: numbers 1, 2, 4, 7, 10, 13, 26, 27, 56, 57, 59, 60, 67, 68, 71, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 111, 118, 125, and 127.

The first example of this is the first clause of the text, in which one of the characters is mentioned for the first time:

308) Juan, Cuero de Venado 001  
ntiya ska nu kw7an  
N:be one DET woman  
'There was a woman.'

Clauses 2 and 4 are similar. The lexical noun in clause 7, however, is not the first mention of the woman, but rather signals a return to the woman after other characters ('the man' and 'Juan') have appeared as S's. When a single character in the narrative
performs a series of actions, and so is referred to as the S of a series of clauses, we
generally find that only the first reference in the series is made by means of a proper name
or other lexical noun. This is the case, for example, in clauses 13-18. In clause 13,
‘Juan’ is named, while in the following five clauses he is referred to by Ø.

It turns out that for all but two of the 24 clauses with lexical or proper name S’s, the
preceding clause has as its S a reference to a different individual. The only exception
(besides clause 1, which, having no preceding clause, is self-explanatory) is clause 10. It
occurs in a context in which the woman has invited the man to spend the night with her.

309) Juan, Cuero de Venado 008
    s7we  liye
    good  much
    ‘very good,’

310) Juan, Cuero de Venado 009
    jwin  Ø
    said  3
    ‘he said’

311) Juan, Cuero de Venado 010
    lo-7    y-a    nu  ki7yu
    and-not C-go   DET man
    ‘and the mán didn’t go’

The Ø subject of clause 9 refers to the same entity as nu ki7yu ‘the man’ in clause 10, so
that the subject of clause 10 is unlike the other lexical noun S’s in the story, which occur
following clauses with different subjects. The clauses that follow clause 10 suggest an
explanation for this:

312) Juan, Cuero de Venado 011
    nu    ka
    REL be
    ‘That was,’
313) Juan, Cuero de Venado 012
    cha7 tza k-ja7 nu kw7an ra-ka7n
    so.that P.go P.sleep DET woman then
    'to spend the night with the woman'

314) Juan, Cuero de Venado 013
    ka7n-nu Xwa jin kwnya7n ka7n y-a ra-ka7n
    then Juan skin deer that C-go then
    'then that Deerskin John was the one that went'

Clause 10 is set up in contrast to clause 13; specifically, 'the man' is contrasted with
'Juan.' In clause 13, 'Juan' is signaled as an unexpected topic by its clause initial
position, and the corresponding signal of the contrasting element in clause 10 is the
occurrence of the lexical item rather than the expected Ø / elision.

Lexical nouns occur as O's in clauses 18, 28, 60, 66, 78, 79, 80, 81, 133, and 135.
In all but two of these, the object is an inanimate entity. In every case, the lexical noun O
does not occur in the previous clause. The same pattern is followed by indirect objects
and obliques, with one exception, clause 7:

315) Juan, Cuero de Venado 007
    jwin nu kw7an ka7n 7in Xwa ka7n
    said REL woman that to Juan then
    'said the woman to Juan'

The reference to 'Juan' in clause 7 was identified by a native speaker as an error on the
part of the storyteller; the reference should have been to 'the man.'

The pattern shown by the distribution of lexical nouns in the S or O positions is thus
partially clarified. At any given point in the narrative, one or more of the participants is
'on stage.' A segment of narrative consisting of several clauses can be about one or more
participants. If the participant in the S position continues as the on-stage participant that
was also on stage in the previous clause, then it is coded by Ø. If the participant in the S
position enters the stage, then it is coded by a lexical noun. However, a lexical noun is not selected in every instance of change in the on-stage participant, and in order to understand more completely the function of lexical nouns as opposed to that of pronouns we must explore the latter in more detail.

3.3.2. Ø

One might expect that in the S position, the distribution of references taking the form of Ø would complement that of references taking the form of lexical nouns, i.e., that Ø subjects would tend to refer to the same entities as are referred to by the S’s in the preceding clause. This expectation is largely but not completely met by the data. In *Deerskin Juan*, Ø occurs as the S of 34 clauses: numbers 3, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 28, 37, 41, 43, 45, 65, 66, 69, 70, 73, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 87, 88, 89, 91, 109, 115, 121, 123, 132, and 139. In 22 of these 34 clauses, the Ø S refers to the same entity as does the S of the previous clause. If the use of pronouns is to be associated with continuity of the on-stage participant as the use of lexical items is associated with change of the on-stage participant, then the other clauses, 9, 23, 37, 65, 69, 78, 87, 88, 109, 115, 121, and 139, must be explained. It should be kept in mind that the Chatino 3rd person human pronoun Ø does not distinguish gender or number like the English 3rd person human pronouns do, so that the gender and number features that might distinguish between potential referents in the English glosses are not present in the original Chatino.

The majority of the clauses in which these exceptions occur function to report speech. Clause 121 is a typical example and is shown below with its preceding context:
316) Juan, Cuero de Venado 117
   ni-ka  ka  kw7an  7in  ne7  xa7
   how  be  woman of.2sg  person  fancy
   "How can your wife be such a fancy person?"

317) Juan, Cuero de Venado 118
   nty-kwi7  jy7an  7o  Ø  ra-ka7n
   N-talk  mother  with  3  then
   "said his mother to him"

318) Juan, Cuero de Venado 119
   ni-ka  ka  kw7an  7in  re  ne7  xa7  re
   how  be  woman of.2sg  this  person  fancy  this
   "How can your wife be this fancy person?"

319) Juan, Cuero de Venado 120
   kw7an  7yan  ka  Ø
   woman  of.1sg  be  3
   "She is my wife"

320) Juan, Cuero de Venado 121
   nty-kwi7  Ø
   N-talk  3
   "he said"

The content of clause 120 is sufficient to identify Juan as the speaker. One would expect a closer investigation to show that other signals such as pauses indicating a change of turn in a reported conversation and changes in vocal inflection to imitate the current speaker’s style also give the hearer clues as to whose speech is being reported. Often, the clause reporting an utterance is omitted, so that only the content of the utterance and any clues such as those suggested above indicate when one conversant stops speaking and another begins (see clauses 74 and 75 of Deerskin Juan). Once a given entity is identified as the speaker, s/he also becomes the on-stage participant, and thus a pronominal or elided subject is expected in a clause reporting the utterance. Clauses 9, 23, 37, 65, 109, 115, and 139 follow this pattern.
In two of the exceptional clauses, the discontinuous Ø S appears to resume reference to a participant, from whose last reference it is separated by an aside, or a comment that is not part of the main narrated action. The occurrence of such an aside does not result in a change of the on-stage participant within the main narration; instead, the participant continues in its on-stage status across the aside. The main narration stops momentarily and then continues where it left off. Any participants mentioned in the aside do not continue on stage in the following clauses; with regard to continuity of the on-stage participant before and after it, it is as if the aside did not occur. For example, clauses 67 and 68 seem to be an aside inserted between clauses 66 and 69:

321) Juan, Cuero de Venado 066
    ka7n n-kya-Ø n-kya 17an-Ø jy7an Ø ra-ka7n
    then C-go C-go N.see-3 mother 3 then
    'Then he went to see his mother then.'

322) Juan, Cuero de Venado 067
    s7we ste7 Ø ra-ka7n
    good clothes 3 then
    'His clothes were good then.'

323) Juan, Cuero de Venado 068
    ja y-7wi-lyo 7a jy7an Ø 7in Ø
    no C-know more mother 3 to 3
    'His mother didn’t recognize him anymore.'

324) Juan, Cuero de Venado 069
    n-kila Ø ra-ka7n
    C-arrive3 then
    'He arrived then.'

Note that 'Juan’s clothes' and 'Juan’s mother,' referred to in clauses 67 and 68, do not continue as on-stage participants.

The discontinuous participant referred to by the Ø subject in clause 87 is also a clear example of resumption of on-stage status of a participant after an aside:
325) Juan, Cuero de Venado 084
   cha7-nu si n-kila Ø
   so.that yes C-arrive3
   'Yes, she arrived.'

326) Juan, Cuero de Venado 085
   ka s7en
   be place
   'It was the place'

327) Juan, Cuero de Venado 086
   n-t7in jy7an Ø
   N-live mother 3
   'where his mother lived.'

328) Juan, Cuero de Venado 087
   n-kila Ø ra-ka7n
   C-arrive3 then
   'She arrived then.'

For the last two remaining examples in which a pronominal or elided subject does not correspond to a continuing on-stage participant, clauses 78 and 88, there is no obvious way to explain away the appearance of discontinuity. It therefore appears that Ø can refer to an entity that is not continuing as an on-stage participant. The pattern identified above, in which Ø coding for an S tends to associated with a continuing on-stage participant, is strong but not exceptionless. The contexts in which exceptions occur will be explored further below when the discourse function of the other 3rd person human pronoun, ne7, is described.

Ø can also make reference to an entity as an O, an indirect object, an oblique, or a possessor. With regard to these semantic roles, there does not appear to be any pattern of selection of a pronoun as opposed to a lexical noun to refer to a continuing on-stage participant. In clauses 52-55, there is a Ø indirect object (marked by 7in 'to'), a Ø oblique (marked by 7o 'with') and a Ø O (marked by 7in 'to), all referring to 'Juan,'
although the woman, who is referred to by the pronoun ne7 in the subject position, is on-
stage in the series of clauses:

329) Juan, Cuero de Venado 052
   s7we
good
   ‘ ‘That's fine’ ’

330) Juan, Cuero de Venado 053
   jwin ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
   said person to 3 then
   ‘She said to him.’

331) Juan, Cuero de Venado 054
   ka7n jwi-kw7o ne7 7o Ø ra-ka7n
   then C.marry person with 3 then
   ‘then she got married with him then’

332) Juan, Cuero de Venado 055
   nw-t7en ne7 7in Ø
   C.marry person to 3
   ‘she married him’

In the clause that follows, the appearance of the proper noun Xwa ‘Juan’ as S confirms
that ‘Juan’ has not been the on-stage participant in the preceding clauses:

333) Juan, Cuero de Venado 056
   nu-ka-ti ka7n-nu wa nkwa kwriya7 Xwa ka7n
   DSC then already C.be rich Juan that
   ‘then that Juan was already rich’

Selection of a pronoun or elision in the position of O, indirect object, oblique, or
possessor seems to require only that the referent of that form be readily retrievable from
the foregoing context, as, for example, when it is the most recently mentioned compatible
entity other than the on-stage participant itself.
3.3.3. The pronoun *ne7*

*ne7* occurs as subject in 25 clauses, numbers 21, 24, 25, 30, 35, 47, 51, 53, 54, 55, 61, 63, 76, 93, 95, 97, 99, 113, 128, 133, 134, 135, 137, 140, and 141. One of the most striking circumstances relating to the use of *ne7* in *Deerskin Juan* is that it never refers to Juan himself. It is used 26 times to refer to Juan’s wife and twice to refer to Juan’s mother. *Ø*, by contrast, is used 56 times to refer to Juan, 5 times to refer to his wife, twice to refer to his mother, three times to refer to ‘the man,’ and once each to refer to ‘the dog’ and ‘the deerskin.’ The two occurrences of *ne7* in the compound or phrase *ne7-kw7an* ‘woman’ are not included in the above figures—this use reflects its lexical meaning of ‘person.’

In other respects, the distribution of *ne7* parallels that of *Ø* as a 3rd person pronoun. In 15 clauses, numbers 25, 35, 51, 53, 54, 55, 63, 95, 97, 99, 113, 128, 133, 137, and 141, *ne7* occurs as an S that is continuous with the S of the preceding clause. It is constructions such as these that lead to the conclusion that *ne7* functions as a pronoun in addition to having the lexical meaning ‘person’:

334) Juan, Cuero de Venado 052
   
   *s7we*
   
   good
   
   ‘ ‘Good’ ’

335) Juan, Cuero de Venado 053
   
   *jwin ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n*
   
   said person to 3 then
   
   ‘she said to him then.’

336) Juan, Cuero de Venado 054
   
   *ka7n jwi-kw7o ne7 7o Ø ra-ka7n*
   
   then C.marry person with 3 then
   
   ‘Then she got married with him,’
Juan, Cuero de Venado 055

nw-i7en ne7 7in Ø
C-marry person to 3
'she married him.'

It is clear that in the above examples ne7 functions as a pronoun. Its behavior precisely parallels that of the pronoun Ø in tracking an on-stage participant. No examples have been found in which a single lexical noun occurs as the S in each of a series of clauses like the one above, while ne7 frequently occurs in such contexts.

In clauses 21, 30, 47, 76, and 93, the entity referred to by ne7 as subject is different from that referred to by the preceding narrative clause, but these clauses report speech and therefore may be considered to have S’s that are continuing topics, for reasons discussed above. In clause 135, the S is not continuous with that of the preceding clause, but the preceding clause is subordinated:

Juan, Cuero de Venado 133

nw-snyi ne7 ya7 Ø ra-ka7n
C-seize person hand 3 then
‘Then she (Juan’s wife) greeted her (lit. took her hand)’

Juan, Cuero de Venado 134

cha7 ka jy7an-la ne7 7in Ø
because be mother.in.law person to 3
‘because she (Juan’s mother) was mother-in-law to her (Juan’s wife).’

Juan, Cuero de Venado 135

kayn nkya-7o nu-ka-ti ne7 7in Xwa ra-ka7n
then take DSC person to Juan then
‘Then she (Juan’s wife) took Juan.’

The on-stage participant of the main narrative line is continuous on either side of the subordinate clause.

Clauses 24, 61, 134, and 140 have ne7 as S although the on-stage participant is not continuous in any of the ways discussed so far; in this respect, they are similar to clauses
78 and 88, which have $\emptyset$ third person S although their on-stage participants are not continuous.

As suggested earlier, it is noteworthy that ne7 never refers to Juan. As the majority of the clauses are about Juan, this particular omission is not likely to be coincidental; nor is ne7 marked for feminine gender, as the following example, taken from a different text, illustrates:

341) Felipa 6 033

\begin{verbatim}
  s7we 7win wa jiyo-ti7 tkwin jwin ne7 7in $\emptyset$ ra-ka7n
\end{verbatim}

good 2sg already know.2sg road said person to 3 then

'It is good that you already know the road, he said to him then.'

The fact that it never refers to Juan in Deerskin Juan suggests that ne7 refers to a participant as somewhat secondary with regard to the narrative as a whole. A survey of other texts shows that in them also, ne7 is used as a pronoun to refer to individuals who are somewhat peripheral to the central action of the story. The existence in Chatino of these two possibilities for human 3rd person pronominal reference (ne7 and $\emptyset$) allows the speaker to distinguish between entities with regard to their degree of centrality to the narrative. In Deerskin Juan, there are only four human characters, and only three that persist through the narrative. The dividing line is drawn between 'Juan' and the two female characters.

Given this circumstance, the occurrence of $\emptyset$ and of ne7 as S's referring to participants that have not been continuously on stage in the preceding clauses is more understandable. In clause 78, 'Juan' is referred to by a $\emptyset$ S although his mother has been on stage in the preceding clauses:
342) Juan, Cuero de Venado 075
    *tan s7we
    DSC good
    ‘‘Ah, that is good’’

343) Juan, Cuero de Venado 076
    jwin ne7
    said person
    ‘she said.’

344) Juan, Cuero de Venado 077
    kyan-lya snye7
    come.on.in child
    ‘‘Come on in, son.’’

345) Juan, Cuero de Venado 078
    s7we-wa y-jwi7 ste7 Ø ra-ka7n
    little.by.little C-sell clothes 3 then
    ‘Little by little, he began to sell his clothes.’

However, Juan is implicitly present in the situations depicted by the clauses that precede
the Ø pronoun, and since there is a significantly greater likelihood that ‘Juan,’ rather than
‘his mother,’ will be referred to by the Ø pronoun, the reference is successful. The
situation involving clause 88 is similar.

When the potential referents include only the main character and a more secondary
character, reference to a newly on-stage participant by means of ne7 involves even less
possibility for ambiguity than is present with Ø. This is because the main character is
never referenced by ne7. In clause 61, ne7 ‘he/she’ is much more likely to refer to Juan’s
wife than to anyone else, even though it references a newly on-stage participant:

346) Juan, Cuero de Venado 060
    wa nkw-la7-sti Xwa kjin kwnya7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
    already C-leave Juan skin deer of 3 then
    ‘He left his deerskin aside then.’
347) Juan, Cuero de Venado 061
ka7n nu-ka-ti jwin ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
then DSC said person to 3 then
‘Then she said to him then.’

348) Juan, Cuero de Venado 062
kya-7a7n jy7a7n ni
P.go-see.2sg mother.2sg now
‘now you are going to visit your mother.’

The feature of implied secondary importance in the whole narrative of the character
referred to by ne7 means that in contexts in which only the main character and one other
character are likely referents, Ø and ne7 function to reference continuing and changing
on-stage participants topics equally well. This is because Ø is expected to refer to the
main character, and ne7 to the secondary character.

In one example, clause 134, ne7 refers to a changing on-stage participant even
though the two locally topical characters, ‘Juan’s wife’ and ‘Juan’s mother,’ could both
be referred to by the form. The example, already given above, is repeated for
convenience:

349) Juan, Cuero de Venado 133
nw-snyi ne7 ya7 Ø ra-ka7n
C-seize person hand 3 then
‘Then she greeted her (lit.: she took her hand),’

350) Juan, Cuero de Venado 134
cha7 ka jy7a7n-la ne7 7in Ø
because be mother.in.law person to 3
‘because she was her mother in law.’

ne7 in example 350) refers to a participant other than that referred to by the same form in
example 349). This is the lone example in the text that cannot be accounted for along the
lines suggested here. In real language usage, ambiguities occur, and the association
between a grammatical construction and a specific pragmatic context is not always completely consistent. Thus, occasional exceptions to general patterns are to be expected.

Because it is used to refer to participants that are less central to the narrative, *ne7* might be classified as an obviative pronoun, which could be translated, in clauses like numbers 76 and 133-134, as ‘the other,’ keeping in mind that the ‘other-ness’ is with regard to the relative centrality of characters in the story as a whole, rather than locally.

The morpheme *ne7* is also used to refer to a human referent whose identity is not known, as in the following example:

351) Felipa 1 018

\[kwa\ n\ u\ n\ t\ y\ 7\ a\ n\ -\ n\ k\ 7\ a\ n\ y\ -\ j\ wi\ \ ne7\ 7\ i\ n\ s\ i\ \ \Omega\ ra-k\ a\ 7\ n\ \]

there NOM H.walk-be C.kill person to father 3 then

‘That’s where they were living when they killed his father / when his father was killed.’

In example 351), *ne7* has no antecedent in the preceding discourse, suggesting the non-referential *they* construction or the passive in the English translation. With a slightly different sense, *ne7* can be used to refer to members of a known but vaguely specified group, as in

352) La historia de Yaltepec A 015

\[x\ k\ a\ an\ n\ t\ k\ w\ a\ an\ s\ 7\ en\ n\ t\ y\ k\ w\ i\ 7\ \ ne7\ 7\ o\ ka\ n\ t\ t\ en\ \]

other it N.sit it place H.talk person with be hill *la-k\ wa7*
gentleman

‘Another was [the place] which they call ‘gentleman hill’ / which is called ‘gentleman hill’.’

*ne7* is also used in elicited translations of sentences containing passives. Chatino has no construction syntactically analogous to the passive in English or Spanish—there is no morphology which when affixed to a transitive verb root derives an intransitive stem whose semantics entail that the S participant is patient-like. There are verb roots that
occur in both transitive and intransitive stems, but the transitive alternants are always as morphologically complex or more complex than the intransitive alternants.

It is possible to discern a relationship between the use of *ne7* as a pronoun referring to an individual that is somewhat peripheral to a narrative, and its use in referring to unidentified individuals or individuals that are members of a vaguely specified group. In each case, the involvement of a participant coded by *ne7* receives somewhat less attention than would the involvement of a participant coded by ∅ or by another lexical noun.

In this section, the major grammatical patterns associated with participant tracking in Chatino have been described. Along with the nuclear-peripheral contrast within the clause, and the coding of rheme, participant tracking patterns largely determine the form taken by the nucleus of a simple sentence. In the following sections, I turn to the forms that occur in the periphery of the simple sentence.

4. The periphery of the simple sentence

A survey of a few texts shows that elements occurring in the periphery of the sentence are of a few recurring types. This section discusses locatives, temporal expressions, datives and beneficiaries, comitatives and instrumentals, reasons and causes, and adverbial expressions.

4.1. Locatives

A noun that designates a place can function, unmarked, as a locative, as in the following example:

353) La historia de Yaitepec B 063

\[ n\text{-}i7i n\text{an } kichen\text{re s7ni} \]

N.be it town this long.ago

'It was in this town long ago.'
In this example, the noun phrase *kichen re* ‘this town’ occurs unmarked following the verb and its argument. Syntactically, its treatment is similar to that of an inanimate O, except that the verb *-t7in* ‘be’ is intransitive. Also, as discussed in Section 1.3.1.2, if the verb is transitive and an O is present, a locative will not appear between the verb and the O.

As noted in Chapter 2, Sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4, only a few types of morphemes function as locatives. These types include names of places, such as *kichen re* in example 353), and proper names of towns such as *S7we* ‘Juquila,’ derived nouns referring to the interiors of structures, such as *ny7a* ‘in the house,’ relator nouns, the demonstratives *re* ‘here’ and *kwa* ‘there,’ other locative expressions such as *liya7* ‘outside,’ and clauses introduced by *s7en* ‘place’ (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3). The majority of nouns cannot function as unmarked locatives, as they do not refer to locations. A noun that does not refer to a location can form part of a locative expression when it is the possessor of a relator noun, such as *lo* ‘surface, on’ in the following example (see further discussion in Chapter 2, Section 1.2.3):

354) Felipa 1 005

```
kwlo i nkw-7an sti n a7n lo jwinka
```

first DSC C-be.located father lsg lsg on plantation

‘First, my father was living on the plantation.’

There are no prepositions in Chatino whose function is to specify the type of involvement of a locative expression in a proposition; that is, there are no forms analogous to *to, from,* or *at,* which mark nouns as goals, sources, or static locations in English. The interpretation of the type of involvement of a locative expression in a proposition depends primarily on the semantics of the event. If the event does not
involve translational motion, then a locative expression denotes the place at which the event occurs, as in the following examples:

355) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 131
   nw-t7in  wa  ny7a  re  ra-ka7n
   C-be  1pl.excl  in.house  here  then
   ‘We were here inside the house then.’

356) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 023
   n-tun  Ø la  liya7  nki-na  Ø xa  n-kila  n  ra-ka7n
   N-stand 3 over outside  N-cry 3 when  C-arrive 1sg  then
   ‘They were standing outside crying when I arrived then.’

   If the event does involve translational motion, then the locative is interpreted as either a source or a goal, depending on the semantics of the event and on context or real-world knowledge, as discussed in Section 1.2.1.2.4 above.

   In addition to nouns referring to places, a few other forms that do not appear to belong to the noun class occur in the periphery of the sentence with locative meanings.

   The following examples illustrate the use of two such forms, kwi7-ti ‘close’ and ki7i-ti ‘everywhere,’ which possibly belong to the class of adjectives/adverbs:

357) El tunco y el ciego 106
   s7we  liye,  pero  kwi7-ti  7i-tykwi  tu-nskan
   good much but close  P.place.2sg  ear.2sg
   ‘Very good, but come closer; put your ear close.’

358) Felipa 2 050
   ki7i-ti  y-a  sti  n  a7n  mya  cha7  jwi  na
   everywhere  C-go father 1sg 1sg work so.that  C.be.found thing
   y-ku  sti  n  a7n
   C-eat  father 1sg 1sg
   ‘My father went everywhere working to support himself.’

   Finally, the deictic forms re ‘here,’ nte ‘here,’ and kwa ‘there’ (discussed in Chapter 2, section 1.2.4) function as locative expressions, as in the following examples:
359) Felipa 3 001
   \textit{kwa nw-t7an sti n a7n tnya nty-kwi7 Ø}
   there C-walk father lsg lsg work N-talk 3
   ‘My father went working there, he told us.’

360) El tunco y el ciego 094
   \textit{nte ntiya an}
   here N.be it
   ‘Here it is.’

4.2. Temporal expressions

Forms that refer to points in time or durations of time also occur unmarked in the
periphery of the sentence:

361) La Mujer que se Puso 062
    \textit{ka7n nw-t7o-nkya Ø nwra tykwa}
    then C.leave-go 3 hour twelve
    ‘So they left at twelve.’

362) La Mujer que se Puso 167
    \textit{ka7n ii tnya n-tkwa Ø i 7ni Ø tykwi tla}
    that only work N-sit 3 DSC do 3 all night
    ‘That’s all that he did all night.’

363) 1998-11-11 015
    \textit{ki7a n kya 7o-ta kwcha}
    P.go lsg tomorrow or day.after.tomorrow
    ‘I will leave tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.’

364) Ruben 058
    \textit{nu lwe-ti kinder ty7o kw-la-kya7 kwlo}
    NOM small kindergarten P.go P-bailar first
    ‘The kindergarten children will dance first.’

365) La Mujer que se Puso 148
    \textit{jwi t7a n-t7in n ni jwin Ø 7in i7n ra-ka7n}
    C.be.found companion N-live lsg now said 3 to anim then
    ‘I have my woman now,’ she said to the burro.’

366) La historia de Yaltepec B 060
    \textit{xa y-a sti o Sintiyao re kw-sun s7ni in}
    when C-go father 1pl.incl Santiago here P-fight long.ago DSC
    ‘When the Lord Santiago went to the war long ago.’
In temporal expressions, the morpheme *xa* (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4) has a function similar to that of *s7en* ‘place’ in locative expressions in that it frequently introduces a clause, as in

367) Hurricane 007
\[
\text{ti-ji na nkkwa 7in xa nkw-7ya kyo}
\]
what thing C.be to.2sg when C-descend rain
‘What happened to you when it rained?’

4.3. *Datives and Beneficiaries*

Recipients and benefactives are introduced by the preposition *7in*. As mentioned above, *7in* marks human and pronominal O participants. *7in* also marks recipients of speech acts:

368) Hurricane 022
\[
\text{Madre Santissa ne7 n 7in snye7 n ra-ka7n}
\]
Mother Holy say 1sg to child 1sg then
‘Holy Mother,’ I said to my children then.’

and recipients in events of transfer:

369) Juan Ceniza 142
\[
\text{lo nw-ta rrre ka7n ska xkwi nu ja n-s7wi sun 7in vyu}
\]
and C.give king that one basket REL no N-be bottom to him
\[
\text{ra-ka7n}
\]
then
‘And then the king gave him a basket that didn’t have a bottom to it.’

*7in* can also mark a beneficiary, or the individual for whom an action is performed, as in the following examples:

370) 1999-09-18 elicitation 014
\[
\text{y-jwi Liya 7in Tyu 7in Xwa}
\]
C-hit Mary to Peter to John
‘Mary hit Peter for John..’
371) Elias: El Terremoto 2 029

\[nt7-a \quad ky7-ya \quad n \quad a7n \quad 7in \quad 7ni \quad n \quad 7o \quad \emptyset \quad ra-ka7n\]

soon P.go-carry 1sg 1sg to.2sg say 1sg with 3 then

‘Soon I will go and get it for you,’ I said to him then.’

Finally, 7in can be used to mark a participant to which the event is related, and from

whose point of view the event is true, as in the following example:

372) Martin’s example sentences 071

\[nu \quad kw7an \quad xa7 \quad kwa \quad 7ni \quad sun \quad sna \quad \emptyset \quad tkwi \quad 7in \quad \emptyset\]

DET woman fancy there H.do bottom sandal 3 difficult to 3

‘The well-dressed woman’s shoe heels are being difficult for her.’

The semantics of the preposition 7in are discussed in more detail in Section 1.4 above.

4.4. Reasons and causes

The morphemes cha7 and s7ya are used to introduce expressions referring to

reasons and causes, which occur in the periphery of the sentence. The morpheme s7ya

‘because of’ is the inalienably possessed form of ki7ya ‘fault,’ and is followed by the

possessing noun or clause. In the following example, the possessor of s7ya is a nominal

clause introduced by nu:

373) Ruben 036

\[ja \quad ty7o \quad n \quad s7ya \quad nu \quad ki7an \quad 7a \quad nu \quad lwe-ti \quad tra \quad tun\]

do P.go 1sg because NOM much very NOM small go stand

S7we_kwa

Juquila there

‘I am not going because many children will be there in Juquila.’

The possessor of s7ya can also be a simple noun, as in the following example:

374) 1998-11-09 053

\[s7ya \quad kwten \quad ka7n-cha7-7 \quad y-ja7 \quad n\]

because mosquito so-not C-sleep 1sg

‘Because of the mosquitos, that’s why I didn’t sleep.’

cha7, which occurs as a lexical noun with the meanings ‘word’ and ‘thing,’ functions

similarly to s7ya, except that cha7 is possessed with the alienable paradigm:
375) Martin example sentences 100's 079

\[\text{cha7} \quad \text{7yan} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{y-ku} \quad \text{xni7} \quad \text{7in}\]

because of.1sg no C-bite dog to.2sg

'Because of me the dog didn't bite you.'

In the large majority of cases, \text{cha7} is followed by a clause rather than a possessor, as in

the following examples. A clause introduced by \text{cha7} can be interpreted as a cause or as a
reason for an action (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1 for further discussion):

376) Elias: El Terremoto 2 045

\[\text{nki-izen} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{cha7} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{ya7} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{ru-we} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{ra-ka7n}\]

N-be.afraid 1pl.excl because no time P.arrive Ruben DSC then

'Ve were worried because Ruben had not yet arrived then.'

377) Felipa 4 020

\[\text{kw-7ni} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{tmya} \quad \text{k-ja} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{cha7}\]

P-do 1pl.excl work P-be.found thing P.eat.2sg so.that

\[\text{tyka} \quad \text{ky} \quad \text{7a7}\]

P.get.better foot.2sg

'we will work to give you food so that your foot will get better.'

4.5. Comitatives and Instrumentals

A participant that is secondarily involved in some event and that occurs in the

periphery marked by \text{7o} 'with' can be interpreted as a comitative or an instrument, as in

the following examples:

378) 6-30-98 examples for verbs 040

\[\text{n-kun} \quad \text{Ø} \quad \text{7in} \quad \text{ne7-kw} \quad \text{7o} \quad \text{kitun} \quad \text{7in} \quad \text{Ø}\]

C-shoot 3 to thief with weapon of 3

'S/he shot the thief with her/his weapon.'

379) El conejo y el toro 166

\[\text{n-kil} \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{cha-kwchi} \quad \text{7o} \quad \text{ska7} \quad \text{7in} \quad \text{Ø} \quad \text{ra-ka7n}\]

C-arrive DET rabbit with gourd of 3 then

'The rabbit arrived with his gourd then.'

\text{7o} is also used to mark the recipient of a speech act:
380) El tunco y el ciego 034

kwa su tkwin 7ni Ø 7o t7a Ø ra-ka7n

there lying road say 3 with brother/sister 3 then

‘There is the road,’ he said to his brother then.’

5. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the relationships between various formal and semantic aspects of the simple sentence. Roles of participants in propositions are expressed primarily through word order. The nucleus of the clause is comprised of the event and the one or two participants most centrally involved in the event, while items less centrally involved in the event are usually relegated to the periphery of the clause. The presence of 7in corresponds to a distinctness between the two items related to it.

In the next chapter, I turn to a description of complex sentences in Chatino.
Chapter 4--Complex Sentences

0. Introduction

In this chapter, the varieties of complexity found to occur in Chatino sentences are examined. In section 1, I describe the varieties of expression taken by verbs and adjectives when they follow and modify nouns. Compounds are contrasted with productive constructions, in which verbal elements are capable of expressing a greater variety of distinctions.

When the modifying verb or adjective is preceded by *nu* ‘REL,’ the mutual distinctness between the noun and the event with reference to which it is identified increases. The resulting constructions, which are similar to relative clauses in English, are discussed in Section 2.

Complement clauses, described in Section 3, are formed when the morpheme *cha7* ‘that’ occurs in the nucleus of the proposition and is modified by a following clause, or when an unmarked clause functions as a constituent of another clause. Other forms, such as *s7en* ‘where’ and *xa* ‘when,’ occur in the periphery of the proposition and are modified by relative clauses, forming constructions analogous to adverbial clauses in English. They are discussed, along with other forms that function similarly, in Section 4.

In section 5, conditional clauses with *si / si-ta* are described.

Section 6 deals with a looser kind of connection between clauses, which is expressed by *lo* ‘and’ and *na* ‘and, but,’ and *7o / 7o-ta* ‘or.’

Finally, in Section 7, I discuss examples in which the second of two juxtaposed clauses has an adverbial meaning relative to the first.
1. Adjectives

The grammar associated with the adjectival modification of nouns is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.5. Here, it is re-summarized briefly because it forms part of a continuum along which grammar in complex sentences may be viewed as occurring. When they are used as predicates, adjectives resemble verbs with the exception that they do not take aspectual prefixes, but must occur together with another verb, usually *ka* ‘be,’ if an aspectual meaning other than that of the Continuative Aspect is intended. In the following example, the adjective is unmarked for aspect, but its meaning with regard to aspect is similar to that of a stative verb in the Continuative Aspect:

1) El toro y el conejo 041

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
 ntyjin-ya7 & mu & kwa & lo & ntyjin-ya7 & s\text{e-nty7}an & kwa \\
\end{array}
\]

very big that and very beautiful that

‘They are really big and really beautiful.’

In example 1), the adjectives make assertions about nouns, and, similarly to verbs with that function, they precede the nouns about which the assertions are made.

Members of the adjective class can also function to identify or characterize entities; then they follow the nouns they modify, as in the following example:

2) El toro y el conejo 063

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
 \emptyset-ta & chi7n & nu-ka-ti & ska & ska7 & lyu7-ti & jn\text{ya} \\
P\.give.2sg & little & DSC & one gourd & small & borrowed \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Lend me a small gourd.’

3) El toro y el conejo 121

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
 lo & meru & 7ni & la & a & \\
and & just & animal & fierce & DSC & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘And [he is] really a wild animal.’

Phrases composed of a noun followed by a characterizing adjective, as in examples 2) and 3) are formally indistinguishable from noun-adjective compounds, which are
numerous in the Chatino lexicon (see further discussion in Chapter 2, Section 1.3.3.1). In a few cases, compounds show phonological reduction. For example, ja-xlyya ‘bread’ is heard more frequently than the also accepted kija-xlyya ‘bread’ (kija ‘tortilla,’ xlyya ‘Castellano’). Related forms include ja-kitu7n ‘tamale’ (kitu7n ‘pot’) and ja-ku:7 ‘bean pancake’ (ku:7 ‘?’). Ja meaning something like ‘tortilla’ occurs only in compounds—in isolation, only the form kija is used. Examples showing phonological reduction are exceptional; the only consistent difference between a noun-adjective compound and a noun + adjective phrase is that the former is not interpreted componentially but makes reference to a unitary concept: e.g., kwtu-nkten (‘chicken’-‘white’) referring to a breed of chicken with long, thin, white feathers, is formally identical to kwtu nkten ‘white chicken.’ The adjective in a noun-adjective compound does not refer to a contingent property of a noun that can be used to characterize it or to classify it as a member of a subset. Instead, the adjective and the noun together simply name the referent as a composite expression. Therefore, a difference in conceptual closeness of an adjective to a noun can be discerned between noun-adjective compounds and other noun-adjective sequences—the members of compounds are conceptually closer.

Other examples of noun-adjective compounds include:

l7an-lyy ‘the main house (house-big)’
cha7-nyi ‘truth (word-straight)’
j7wa-tnu ‘plantain (banana-big)’
jy7an-kwla ‘grandmother (mother-old)’
ka7-skwi ‘the smooth side of a sheet of paper (leaf-smooth)’
ke-che7 ‘pomice (stone-rough)’
ke-ktzi ‘gold crown of a tooth (stone-yellow)’
ke-xlyya ‘rose (flower-Castellano)’
ki7-ykwa ‘coals (fire-flat/level)’
kityi-x7an ‘magic (paper-evil)’
kw7in-tnu ‘phantasm (wind-big)’
s7en-t7i ‘wound (place-painful)’
skwe-nkt\textsuperscript{e}  ‘egg-white (egg-white)’
t\textit{t}a-t\textit{\textseven}\textit{a}  ‘soda (water-cold)’

Adjectives are defined as a class in Chatino in part by the fact that unlike verbs they do not inflect for aspect when they function as predicates. Verbal forms, like adjectives, can follow nouns, which they then classify or identify. Noun-verb sequences sometimes form compounds or lexical phrases, as in the following examples:

4) Felipa 3 024

\begin{verbatim}
Wartolo ka7\text{\textseven}n nu ka t\textit{\textseven}a-nkw\textit{\textseven}la \textit{\textseven}O
\end{verbatim}
Bartolo that NOM be sibling 3
‘That Bartolo was his birth (i.e., biological) brother.’

5) Felipa 3 006

\begin{verbatim}
ny\textit{k}w\textit{i}7 7o 7o t\textit{\textseven}a-n\textit{\textseven}t\textit{in} \textit{\textseven}O ra-ka7\text{\textseven}n
\end{verbatim}
N.talk with with spouse 3 then
‘He was saying to his wife then.’

In the underlined compounds, \textit{nkw-la} ‘C-be.born’ and \textit{n-t\textseven{\textseven}in} ‘N-live’ modify \textit{t\textseven{}a} ‘companion, relative, sibling.’ The verbal elements of the compounds are inflected for aspect, unlike adjectives in noun-adjective compounds. However, the aspectual inflection of the verbal elements of many lexical phrases is invariable. For example, there is no lexical phrase \textit{t\textseven{\textseven}a kw-la} ‘sibling P-be.born’ meaning ‘future sibling’; the concept ‘future sibling’ is expressed as \textit{nu ka t\textseven{\textseven}a} ‘NOM P.be sibling,’ or ‘the one who will be the sibling.’ However, the lexical phrases \textit{t\textseven{\textseven}a ty\textseven{\textseven}in} ‘companion P-live’ and \textit{t\textseven{\textseven}a nw-t\textseven{\textseven}t\textseven{\textseven}in} ‘companion C-live,’ meaning ‘future spouse’ and ‘ex-spouse,’ do exist, alongside \textit{nu ka t\textseven{\textseven}a ty\textseven{\textseven}in} ‘NOM P.be spouse’ and \textit{nu nkwa kw\textseven{\textseven}o} ‘NOM C.be spouse.’ The explanation for the fact that the aspectual inflection on verbs in noun-verb lexical phrases is invariable or has very limited variation is that the verb does not denote an actual event, but rather has been recruited as part of a unitary name for something.
In the lexical phrases \textit{t7a-nkwla} and \textit{t7a-nt7in}, the identity of the subject of each of the verbal elements is uncertain. The meaning of \textit{t7a-nkwla} ‘sibling’ includes the idea of two individuals involved in a relationship. One of the individuals is coded as the inalienable possessor of the compound (indicated by $\emptyset$ in example 4)). But does the possessor also correspond to the subject of \textit{nkwla} ‘C.be born,’ or does the possessor’s sibling correspond to the subject? This uncertainty results partially from the fact that \textit{t7a} has the lexical meaning ‘sibling,’ suggesting the gloss ‘sibling that was born’ for \textit{t7a-nkwla}, but also has a grammatical function of indicating accompaniment (see Section 2). suggesting the gloss ‘the one that one was born with.’ The uncertainty is also consistent with the incomplete depiction of the event denoted by a verbal element in a lexical phrase.

In other cases, it is easier to unambiguously identify the arguments of verbal elements in lexical phrases. In \textit{ti7a-njkwан} ‘water-C-bless $\rightarrow$ holy water,’ \textit{ti7a} ‘water’ is clearly a patient, and thus corresponds to the object of \textit{jkwan} ‘bless’ in other contexts. The agent, corresponding to the subject of \textit{jkwan}, is some unmentioned person. In \textit{ne7 kw7o} ‘painter,’ the agent of \textit{kw7o} ‘P-paint’ is \textit{ne7} ‘person,’ while the patient is left unmentioned. In such constructions, however, the verbal roots still do not designate distinct, concrete events, but rather still function as parts of names. The aspectual inflection is invariant, and although the approximate identity of the unmentioned arguments of the verbs is obvious, those arguments are not be overtly mentioned.

Verbal forms can also follow and modify nouns in constructions other than lexical phrases, as in the following examples:
6) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 256
   kwi7 7a n-tkwa l7an-xkwla nkita 7in an
   same very N-sit school house C-break to it
   "There is a broken-down school house right next to it."

7) Martin's example sentences 682
   ki7an kwye7 nty-ku ska cha-kwchi nk-jwi
   much ant N-eat one rabbit C-die
   "A bunch of ants are eating a dead rabbit."

Semantically, there is a difference between constructions like l7an-xkwla nkita 'broken-
down school house' and constructions like t7a-nkwla 'sibling' in that the latter are names
for unified concepts, while in the former the component words seem to refer more clearly
to distinguishable aspects of the referent, i.e., l7an-xkwla specifies a set of objects and
nkita specifies a subset, namely, those that are broken-down. The meaning changes that
accompany modification of the verbal parts of such expressions by ja 'no/not' and wa
'already' reinforce the idea that there is a difference between the two types of
construction. The difference between the phrases l7an ja nkita 'house that is not broken
down' l7an wa nkita 'house that is already broken down,' and the phrase l7an nkita
'broken-down house' is simply negation in one case and the sense of 'already' in the other. The addition of ja and wa to the expression t7a-nkwla 'sibling' results in a greater
change in meaning. t7a wa nkwla means 'the one who was already born with him/her,'
and t7a ja nkwla means either 'the one who is not her/his sibling' or 'the one who is not
her/his twin.' In each case, the expression t7a-nkwla loses some of its more limited,
idiomatic meaning of 'her/his sibling,' and comes to mean 'one who was born with
her/him,' when nkwla is modified. Verbal forms such as nkita in l7an nkita are discussed
in Chapter 2, section 2.5.2.
The only formal correlate to the semantic difference between lexical phrases like *t7a-nkwla* and more productive types of constructions such as *l7an nkitu* is the variability of the aspectual inflection of the non-compound forms. There is in Chatino no single grammatical word (simple or compound) analogous to ‘food’ in English. In isolation, ‘food’ may be glossed *na ku* (‘thing P.eat’), but when *na ku* occurs in context, *ku* is inflected with the appropriate aspect and its agent is mentioned, as in the following examples:

8)  El toro y el conejo 016  
    *n-ta  Ø na nty-ku wa*  
    H-give 3 thing H-eat 1pl.excl  
    ‘He gives us things to eat (lit.: things that we eat).’

9)  Felipa 1 007 - 008  
    *kwa nkw-7an sti n a7n nw-t7an Ø tnya tzan 7in ne7*  
    there C-be.put father 1sg 1sg C-walk 3 work day to person  
    *cha7 jwi Ø na y-ku wa 7o Ø*  
    so.that C.look.for 3 thing C-eat 1pl.excl with 3  
    ‘There my father worked as a day-laborer for them to support us with him (lit.: so that he found things that we ate with him).’

10) Hurricane 069  
    *la n-tiya na Ø-ku n ra-ka7n*  
    where N-be thing P-eat 1sg then  
    ‘And I didn’t have anything to eat then (lit. where were the things I would eat then?)’

The collocations of *na + ku* do not name a unitary concept the way *t7a-nkwla* ‘sibling’ or *ti7a-njkwan* ‘holy water’ do.\(^1\) *na ku, cha-kwchi nkjwi, and l7an-xkwla nkitu* are similar to noun + adjective phrases such as *ska7 lyu7-ti* ‘small gourd,’ while *t7a-

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\(^1\) In examples 8) and 9), the collocation *na + ku* appears not to function like a single grammatical word. In example 8), what might be considered the recipient of the food is not marked like a recipient, with *7in*; instead, it appears to be the subject of *ku* ‘eat.’ Similarly, in example 10), what might be considered the possessor of the food is not marked as a possessor (*7yan ‘my’), but again as the subject of *ku*. However, there is an alternative analysis if *na ku* were categorized as an inalienably possessed noun, because inalienable possessors and recipients of inalienably possessed nouns are both identical to subjects morphologically.
nkwal and ti7a-njkwan may be compared to noun-adjective compounds such as ja-xlva ‘bread.’ In the noun + verb collocations that do not constitute lexical phrases, an event begins to emerge as distinct from the entity denoted by the noun.

2. Clauses linked by nu

The discussion at the end of the previous section implies that although constructions such as ti7a njkwan ‘holy water’ and those such as na ku ‘food’ appear similar to each other, they are in fact representatives of distinct types of collocations in Chatino. In the latter type, the referent of the noun is further identified by the verbal root, which refers to an event that emerges as distinct from that referent, with a specifiable aspectual characteristic and arguments. In the former type, the verbal root classifies the noun, and does not refer so clearly to an event. The occurrence of the morpheme nu ‘REL’ between a noun and a modifier indicates an even greater degree of distinctness between the entity and the event. A verb preceded by nu denotes an actual, specific event. nu occurs before a V(S)(O) sequence, the whole being translated into English as a relative clause, as in the following example:

11) Juan Ceniza 142

lo  nw-ta  rre  ka7n  ska  xkwi  nu  ja  n-s7wi  sun  7in  yu
and C-give king that one basket REL no N-be bottom to man ra-ka7n
then
‘And then the king gave him a basket that didn’t have a bottom to it.’

A slightly different but analogous contrast is discernible in the presence or absence of nu before an adjective. Constructions consisting of a noun followed by an adjective were described above as typically forming either lexical phrases, such as kwetu-nkten ‘(a breed of chicken)’ or formally indistinct but semantically more loosely connected constructions in which the adjective still functions to classify the noun, such as kwetu
nkten 'a white chicken.' The possibility of the occurrence of nu between the noun and adjective suggests that the two-way contrast can be further elaborated. The following examples illustrate this possibility:

12) El toro y el conejo 248
7ni nk-jwi wi lo meru 7ni nu la ka ka7n in ra-ka7n
animal C-die DSC and just animal REL fierce be that DSC then
'It was dead (lit.: a dead animal), and it was a fierce animal.'

13) La historia de Yaitepec A 031
kichen nu kwi la ka an
town REL new more be it
'They were newer towns.'

nu functions as a nominalizer, deriving nouns from adjectives, verbs, and demonstratives, as in nu nk7a 'the red one (NOM red),' nu nw7ni 70 n 'the one that did (something) to me (NOM C.do with 1sg),' and nu kwa 'that one (NOM there).’ Thus nu la 'NOM fierce' and nu kwi 'NOM new' in examples 12) and 13) could alternatively be analyzed as nominal expressions meaning 'the fierce one' and 'the new one,' which occur juxtaposed to nouns in the examples. In any case, the contexts in which examples 12) and 13) occur offer clues about the semantic contribution of nu when it occurs preceding an adjective. In the first example, which comes from a traditional narrative, the protagonist, a rabbit, has just killed a crocodile, and the speaker is expressing amazement that a rabbit could kill such a fierce animal. In the second example, the speaker is contrasting the age of the towns in question with that of another, older town that has earlier been the topic of discourse. In both cases, the adjective receives more focus or emphasis than it would if its function were to classify or to identify the referent of the noun; it comes close to making an assertion about the noun. An adjective introduced by nu thus has something in common with a clause so introduced: both may be semantically
more distinct with regard to the rest of the sentence than adjectives or clauses not introduced by *nu*.

The semantic distinctions between the three kinds of constructions involving adjectives in Chatino are comparable to those coded by stress placement in English. Adjective-noun compounds in English, such as *blubird*, are comparable to noun-adjective compounds in Chatino. If one person indistinctly sees a blue object in a tree and asks another person what the object is, the second person might reply, ‘It’s a blue bîrd,’ using a construction comparable to the non-compound noun-adjective sequence in Chatino. Finally, if one were to notice a particularly brightly-colored blue bird, one might exclaim, ‘That’s a blûe bîrd!’ thus expressing a meaning similar to that coded by a N-*nu*-Adj sequence in Chatino. The kinds of Chatino constructions discussed so far in this chapter may be arranged on a scale one end of which represents the highest degree of semantic unity between the morphemes, and the other greater mutual distinctness, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>compound N + modifier</th>
<th>non-compound N + modifier</th>
<th>N + <em>nu</em> + modifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N + Adj</td>
<td><em>kwu</em>-nkten ‘chicken (species)’</td>
<td><em>kwu nkten</em> ‘white chicken’</td>
<td>7ni nu la ‘fierce animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N + V</td>
<td><em>ti7a-njkw</em> ‘holy water’</td>
<td><em>na ku</em> ‘thing (one) eats’</td>
<td>(relative clauses with <em>nu</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Figure 1:** The partial unified-mutually distinct scale for complex expressions.

The morpheme *nu* is optionally present in constructions that express the meaning that I have suggested is associated with it. The following example occurs in a context almost identical to that in which example 12), which contains 7ni nu la, appears, in the same narrative:
Similarly, most relative clauses containing *nu* are accepted by native speakers when *nu* is omitted (see below). There are, however, environments in which *nu* is consistently absent. It never occurs in a noun-adjective sequence that is identifiable as a compound based on native speakers’ judgment that the sequence has a highly specific, non-compositional meaning. With regard to the middle column of *Figure 1*, some non-compound noun-adjective and noun-verb sequences seem not to occur with *nu*. In a database consisting of over 4,000 utterances from recorded texts, elicitation sessions, and example sentences invented by native speakers, 23 examples of the sequence *na* ‘thing’ + *ku* ‘eat’ (in one of its four aspectual inflections) occur, but no examples of *na* + *nu* + *ku* occur. This is not surprising: although *na ku* ‘food’ is not formally fixed as a lexical phrase, it does refer to a stable concept, and would therefore be expected to require less distinction between the concepts of the entity and the event that it combines. Although *nu* appears to be optional in all cases in which it occurs, when it does occur, it is in contexts that suggest its meaning is compatible with the combination of relatively distinct elements.

The patterns relating to relative clauses, however, show that the mutual distinctness between clauses linked by *nu* is limited by the fact that two such clauses always share a participant. The following examples illustrate the range of relations that can be relativized in Chatino. In each example, the relative clause is underlined and the co-referenced noun in the main clause is dotted-underlined:

S:
15) Elicitation 1999-11-09 129

\[ nw-xi-tun \quad Xwa \quad \text{i7an} \quad nu \quad nw-\text{tten} \quad / \quad \]

C-stand-up(tr.) John house REL C-fall

'John repaired the house that fell down.'

16) Elicitation 1999-11-09 137

\[ nw-j7in \quad nu \quad lyu7-ti \quad ke \quad 7in \quad xmi7 \quad nu \quad nk\text-\text{jin} \quad / \quad tlo \quad \varnothing \]

C-throw NOM small stone to dog REL C-pass face 3

'The child threw a stone at the dog that passed in front of him.'

O:

17) Elicitation 1999-11-09 131

\[ nw-xi-tun \quad Liya \quad yka-x\text{ly}a \quad nu \quad nw-\text{xten} \quad Xwa \quad / \quad \]

C-stand-up(tr.) Mary chair REL C-break John

'Mary repaired the chair that John broke.'

18) El toro y el conejo 247

\[ nw-\text{7}n\text{i} \quad 7o \quad i7n \quad na \quad nu \quad nk\text-wa-ti7 \quad tiye \quad \varnothing \quad / \quad \]

C-do with anim thing REL C.want chest 3

'He did what he wanted with the crocodile.'

A:

19) Elicitation 1999-11-11 012

\[ nw-\text{rykwan} \quad ne7 \quad ke \quad nu \quad nw-\text{sta} \quad / \quad \text{kamyun} \]

C-remove person rock REL C-break car

'They removed the rock that destroyed the car.'

20) Elicitation 1999-11-09 141

\[ y-\text{jwi} \quad Liya \quad xmi7 \quad nu \quad y-\text{ku} \quad / \quad kuwe7 \]

C-hit Mary dog REL C-bite pig

'Mary hit the dog that bit the pig.'

Recipient:

21) Elicitation 1999-11-09 143

\[ xmi7 \quad nu \quad nw-\text{ta} \quad Xwa \quad \text{ska} \quad \text{kiija} \quad 7in \quad / \quad nk\text-w-7e \quad i7n \quad ya7 \quad \varnothing \]

dog REL C-give John one tortilla to C-lick anim hand 3

'The dog that John gave a tortilla to, it licked his hand.'
Possessor:

22) Elicitation 1999-11-11 003

\[ nki-na \ ntu \ lyu7-ti \ nu \ n-kya \ xni7 \ 7in \ \]
N-cry NOM little REL C-go dog of
‘The child whose dog wandered off is crying.’

23) Elicitation 1999-11-11 071

\[ n-s7wa-ty7i \ xni7 \ nu \ n-tykwan-la \ Xwa \ tiyan \ 7in \ \]
N-cry.out dog REL N-steal John bone of
‘The dog whose bone John stole is whining.’

Possessor of a relator noun:

24) Elicitation 1999-11-09 144

\[ xni7 \ nu \ nt-7i-ija \ nu \ lyu7-ti \ kwa \ tlo \ \]
\[ la \ i7n \]
dog REL NOM child that face wild anim
‘The dog that the child is playing in front of, it is wild.’

Instrument / accompanier

25) Martin’s example sentences 883

\[ n-tkwi-lyu \ nu \ lyu7-ti \ nw-tykwan \ na \ nt-ija \ \]
\[ \emptyset \ 7o \ \]
N-bend.over NOM small C-take.out thing N-play 3 with
‘The child is bending over to get his toy.’

26) 1999-09-19 elicitation 143

\[ s7i \ nten \ ?7a \ jyan \ \]
\[ 7o \ \]
is.not person companion come.2sg with
‘The one that you came with is not human.’

Time:

27) Elicitation 1999-11-11 006

\[ tl1ya7 \ 7a \ nkwa \ tla \ nu \ nkw-7ya \ kyo \ \]
cold very C.be night REL C-fall rain
‘The night that it rained was very cold.’

Location:

28) El toro y el conejo 006

\[ ra-ka7n \ nw-tiya \ nu \ cha-kwchi \ ka7n \ s7en \ nu \ n-s7wi \ toro \ \]
then C-arrive DET rabbit that place REL N.be bull
‘The rabbit arrived at a place where there was a bull.’
The shared participant is in each case elided in the relative clause. In many relative clauses occurring in texts, the elision of the shared participant in the relative clause is not evident because the 3rd person human pronoun is zero, and zero and elision are phonologically indistinguishable. The examples above were chosen because in most of them the relativized positions are taken by animal or inanimate participants. The animal pronoun is \( i\tilde{n} \) and the inanimate pronoun is \( o/an \). As illustrated in the following example for an inanimate participant, co-reference across clause boundaries is tracked by the use of pronouns:

29) Elicitation 1999-11-11 031
   \( nw\text{-}xi\text{-}tun \ Xwa \ l7an \ xa \ nu \ nw\text{-}tt\text{en} \ an \)
   C-stand.up(tr.) John house when NOM C-fall it
   ‘John repaired the house when it fell down.’

30) Elicitation 1999-11-11 032
   ?? \( nw\text{-}xi\text{-}tun \ Xwa \ l7an \ xa \ nu \ nw\text{tt}\text{en} \)

The attempted sentence with elision (or possibly understood as having a \( \emptyset \) 3rd person pronoun) rather than the pronoun \( o/an \) is judged understandable but is highly dispreferred.

The most noticeable characteristic of relative clauses other than their optional marking by \( nu \) is the preferred elision of the relativized noun in the relative clause. In examples 15) - 28) above, square brackets indicate the position in which the elided participant would have occurred if it had not been elided. Variants of sentences such as those above in which a co-referential pronoun occurs instead of elision are accepted as grammatical by native speakers. The following example was not considered particularly odd, but was judged less felicitous than example 15):

---

2 The allomorph \( o \) occurs following morphemes with final syllable vowels \( i, e, o, \) and \( u \), while \( an \) occurs following \( a \) or any of the nasalized vowels, \( in, en, un, \) and \( an \).
31)  Elicitation 1999-11-11 057
nw-xi-tun  Xwa  i7an  nu  nw-iten  an
C-stand.up  John  house  REL  C-fall  it
'John rebuilt the house that fell down.'

Although such resumptive pronouns are accepted by native speakers, they rarely if ever occur in narrative texts. In a narrative text of 241 lines, 'Juan Ceniza,' 95 constructions resembling relative clauses as described above occur. 48 of these begin with cha7 or na and function as either complements or as cause or purpose adverbials. For reasons discussed below, it is not quite clear that clauses beginning with cha7 or na are best analyzed as relative clauses; in any case, none of those in the text have resumptive pronouns. Among the 47 remaining relative clauses, seven relativize human participants and thus any resumptive pronoun, assuming that it would be Ø, would be indistinguishable from elision. The remaining 40 relative clauses relativize inanimate participants; any resumptive pronouns co-referential to them would therefore be non-zero. In thirteen clauses, the role of the relativized participant in the relative clause is locative, and kwa 'there' might be expected as a resumptive pronoun. In the five clauses relativizing a temporal noun, ka7n/ra-ka7n 'then' might be expected. Twelve clauses relativize a direct object, while one relativizes a possessor. The inanimate pronoun for both of those positions would an 'it,' marked by 7in 'to, of.' In the six clauses relativizing subjects, one might expect the unmarked forms an / o. One clause relativizes an accompanier, so that a resumptive pronoun would be marked by 7o 'with': 7o o.

Finally, there are two clauses in which the grammatical relation of the relativized noun is not clear. Both involve the verb -a 'go,' which normally does not take a direct object; the clauses are:
32) Juan Ceniza 167

\[ la \ nkwa \ da \ mya \ nkya \ ni \]
where C.be QU work N.go.2sg now

‘Where is the work you went to do?’

and

33) Juan Ceniza 169

\[ na \ nu \ 7ni-cha7 \ na \ nkya \]
thing REL H.need thing N.go.2sg

‘The thing you went for is needed.’

The verb –a ‘go’ with mya ‘work’ following the subject (i.e., in the direct object position) means ‘go to work’; however, since –a ‘go’ has not been observed to occur with other nouns as direct objects, it is not clear that mya is a direct object in that construction. na in example 33) appears to refer anaphorically to mya in example 32).

It is significant that in none of the 40 relative clauses in which a resumptive pronoun would be expected to take a non-zero form does such a resumptive pronoun occur. The strong tendency for the relativized participant to be elided in a relative clause is related to the fact that complex sentences with relative clauses, the two clauses always share a participant. This also indicates the degree of semantic closeness between the clauses in sentences with relative clauses by comparison to other complex constructions. While the relative clause refers to an event that is somewhat independent of the event denoted by the other clause, the two clauses are still closely linked by the involvement of the shared participant in both.

A few other observations can be made with regard to the grammar used to indicate the role of the relativized participant in the relative clause. The roles of subject and direct object are indicated only by word order in simple sentences, except for pronominal, human, and some animal direct objects. Since both subject and direct object follow the
verb, ambiguity results when both are non-human and when one is elided in a transitive relative clause. Thus example 20), repeated below, could mean either 'Mary hit the dog that bit the pig,' or 'Mary hit the dog that the pig bit':

34) Elicitation 1999-11-09 141
   y-jwi Liya xni7 nu y-ku kuwe7
   C-hit Mary dog REL C-bite pig

The two readings indicate different positions for the elision: the first nu yku [ ] kuwe7 and the second nu yku kuwe7 [ ]. When the direct object would be marked by 7in, i.e., when it is pronominal, or in most of the cases when it is human, this ambiguity does not exist, because when the subject is elided the direct object is overt, and marked by 7in.

Recipients and alienable possessors have their roles marked within the relative clause, as 7in remains in its usual position in the relative clause when nouns with those roles are elided (see examples 21), 22), and 23)).

The kinds of complex sentences discussed so far form a type that may be contrasted with those to be discussed in the following sections. In compounds, noun-adjective or noun-verb phrases, and relative clauses, a noun is followed by a modifying verb, adjective, or relative clause. Compounds are contrasted with phrases on the basis of the degree of conventionality associated with a particular collocation, and the presence of nu correlates with greater distinctness or particularization of the verb or adjective with respect to the noun. An adjective preceded by nu may have the semantic content of an assertion rather than merely classifying, and a verb preceded by nu refers to an actual event.

The following two sections deal with subordinate clauses. Section 3 describes clauses that function as arguments within other clauses, and are introduced by the
complementizer cha7 ‘that.’ Section 4 discusses subordinate clauses that are part of the periphery of other clauses, with temporal, locative, and causative meanings.

3. Complement clauses

cha7 as a lexical noun is translated ‘thing,’ ‘word,’ or ‘language.’ In one of its uses as a grammatical morpheme, it appears in complex sentences, introducing a clause that is an argument of a verb belonging to another clause. The following list includes typical examples of verbs that take complements introduced by cha7: ne7 ‘say,’ jwin ‘say,’ ta-sun ‘give to understand,’ t7an cha7 tiye ‘think,’ jlyo-ti7 ‘know,’ ki-ti7 ‘find out,’ l7an ti ‘see,’ tzen ‘be afraid,’ ka-ti7 ‘want,’ ta ‘allow,’ nt7in ‘be (one’s duty),’ nk7an ‘be supposed,’ ni ka ‘how (what be),’ tkwa ti ‘be two.’ The following examples illustrate complement clauses beginning with cha7:

35) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 016
nkwa-ti7 n cha7 ty7o n liya7 ra-ka7n in pero ja nw-ta wi7 C.want lsg that P.go.out lsg out then DSC but no C-give fam.
cha7 ty7o n liya7 ra-ka7n cha7 nki-tzen wi7 cha7.
that P.go lsg out then because N-be.afraid fam. that
ty7o-t7in na 7yan ra-ka7n P.leave.trapped thing to.1sg then
‘I wanted to go outside then, but they didn’t let me go outside then because they were afraid that something would fall on me then.’

The analytic causative in Chatino is formed by the verb 7ni ‘do’ followed by a complement clause beginning with cha7:

36) La Mujer que se Puso 123
lo kw-7ni cha7 k-ja pa-nnta-lon ku7
and P-do.2sg that P-be.found pants P.put.on.2sg
‘And get yourself some pants to put on (lit.: make it so that some pants are found for you to wear).’

Examples 35) and 36) are typical in their use of the complementizer cha7 ‘that,’ in that the complement clause occurs in the ‘O’ position of the main clause. However, in
another type of construction, the complement clause arguably occurs in the ‘S’ position,
as in the following examples:

37) El toro y el conejo 069

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
lo & n-7in & cha7 & kw-7ni & n & kumpli & 7in & an \\
\end{array}
\]
and N-be that P-do 1sg complete to it
‘And I have to complete them.’

38) 7-2-98.a examples for verbs 026

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
n-tiya & cha7 & xta & nten & snye7 & ne7 & ntyga & tzan \\
\end{array}
\]
N-be that P.bathe person child person every day
‘It is necessary for people to bathe their children every day.’

The verb -\textit{t}7\textit{in} ‘be’ and \textit{tiya} ‘be’ are intransitive, taking a single argument that is
predicated to exist or to be located in a certain place. In examples 37) and 38) the clauses
introduced by \textit{cha7} function as the single arguments of \textit{nt}7\textit{in} and \textit{nt}yi\textit{a}. A clause
introduced by \textit{cha7} has been observed to function as the single argument only with the
verbs –\textit{tiya} and –\textit{t}7\textit{in}. Complement clauses have not been found to function as subjects
in transitive clauses. The verbs \textit{ka-ti7} ‘want,’ \textit{ta} ‘give (allow)’ and \textit{t}7\textit{en} ‘be afraid’
involve two arguments, a subject and a direct object. In example 35), the clauses
introduced by \textit{cha7} function syntactically as the direct objects of these verbs.

The verbs -\textit{t}7\textit{in} ‘be, live,’ –\textit{tiya} ‘be,’ –\textit{ka-ti7} ‘want, love,’ –\textit{ta} ‘give,’ and –\textit{n}7\textit{ni} ‘do’
can occur with ordinary nouns that have syntactic functions analogous to those in which
the complement clauses occur in the examples above:

39) El toro y el conejo 061

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
ka7n & nw-ti\textit{ya} & \emptyset & ra-ka7n & s7en & n-7in & m\textit{wbare} & 7in & \emptyset & ra-ka7n \\
\end{array}
\]
than C-arrive 3 then place N-live friend of 3 then
‘Then he arrived at the place where his friend lived.’

40) Martin’s example sentences 781

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
ma & nty-ka-ti7 & 7in & snye7 & \emptyset & lo & n-ta & na & nty-ku & snye7 & \emptyset \\
mama N-want to child 3 and H-give thing H-eat child 3
\end{array}
\]
‘The mother loves and feeds her children.’
41) Felipa 1 010

*ntya tza*ntya *tzan 7ni sti n a7n tmya*

all day all day H.do father 1sg 1sg work

‘Every day, every day my father worked.’

This pattern confirms the idea that the cha7-clauses in examples 35)-38) are arguments of the main-clause verbs. (*-tzen ‘be afraid’ does not occur in the text database with a non-clausal direct object, and it has not been determined through elicitation whether or not an ordinary noun can occur as direct object of that verb.)

Complements consisting of cha7 and a following modifying clause are not syntactically reduced in comparison to main clauses. In the first part of example 35), nkwa-ti7 n cha7 ty70 n liya7 ‘I wanted to go outside,’ the subjects of the verbs nkwa-ti7 ‘wanted’ and ty70 ‘Potential-go out’ are co-referential, yet the subject of ‘go out’ is not elided. Further, the aspectual marking on the verb of the relative clause modifying cha7 in such constructions is not restricted. Although verbs in the Potential aspect are given in response to elicitations featuring infinitive verbs in Spanish, and the other contexts in which they occur correspond to many of those in which infinitive verbs are used in Spanish, Potential aspect verbs are not inflectionally reduced compared to verbs inflected for the other aspects. Rather, the Potential aspect verbs in example 35) are completely parallel with regard to their inflectional characteristics to the verb nkjwi ‘C-die’ in the following example:

42) Elias: El Terremoto 2 086

*na jwin ne7 cha7 nkjwi nтен ra-ka7n*

and said person that C.die person then

‘And they said that someone had died then.’
There appear to be no complement clause constructions in Chatino in which the possibilities for inflection are reduced the way they are in English and Spanish complement clauses.

Complement clauses such as those described in the above paragraphs are not necessarily introduced by cha7; they may also be unmarked. A partial list of verbs that occur with unmarked complement clauses in narrative texts in part replicates the list given above of verbs taking complements marked by cha7: t7an tiye ‘think,’ sye7-iti7 ‘think,’ s7wi cha7 tiye ‘think about, worry,’ tywe-iti7 ‘think, wonder,’ tzen ‘be afraid,’ chen ka tiye ‘worry,’ n7a ‘see,’ 7an-an ‘see,’ ka-iti7 ‘want,’ tiya-iti7 ‘want,’ 7ni tiye ‘be willing,’ tkwi-iti7 ‘like,’ 7ni cha7 s7we ‘do a favor,’ ta-ya7 ‘help,’ tjin-ya7 ‘be exceeding,’ s7i ka-na ‘not be worth-while,’ ka mu-du ‘exist a way,’ tiri-sna ‘begin (to happen),’ s7i kwa ‘not be there’ ka jwtye ‘be foolish,’ s7we ‘be good,’ ka ‘be (possible),’

The following examples illustrate unmarked complements:

43) El toro y el conejo 021
   ja ka jin kite7-iti7 wa-re
   no be.able happen hungry 1pl.excl
   ‘It can’t happen that we should be hungry.’

44) El toro y el conejo 224
   wa s7we ja nw-i7in 7in an nu-ka-iti sun-nskan n
   already good no C-hit to it DSC below.ear 1sg
   ‘It is a good thing that he didn’t hit it below my ear.’

45) El toro y el conejo 042
   7o n a7n nty-ka-iti7 n kw-lu n
   also 1sg 1sg N-want 1sg P-grow 1sg
   ‘I also want to grow.’

In most cases, the difference between a complement clause marked by cha7 and an unmarked complement clause is simply the presence vs. the absence of cha7. Both unmarked complement clauses and clauses marked by cha7 in complement constructions
may be formally indistinguishable from main clauses. However, it is also possible for a complement clause introduced by cha7 to include the nominalizer nu, as in the following examples:

46) Juan Ceniza 057
   nw-7ni yu cha7 nu 7ya yu ska xkwi 7a-xu nta7-kwji
   C-do man that NOM carry man one basket garlic onion
   ra-ka7n
   then
   ‘Then he made it so that he came with a basked of garlic and onions then.’

47) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 073
   kwa nu wa jwin ra-ka7n cha7 nu nwi7an Ø kya7 ti
   there NOM already said then that NOM C.walk 3 foot only
   nwi7o Ø la 7ondura asta nkila Ø la re ra-ka7n jwin Ø
   C.come.out 3 to gorge until C.arrive 3 to here then said 3
   ‘There he told us that he had left the hills on foot and had arrived here.’

The possibility of the occurrence of nu following cha7 in a complement clause is an indication of the etymology of the complementizer cha7. As a lexical noun, cha7 has the meanings ‘word,’ ‘language,’ or ‘thing, matter.’ The meaning ‘word’ can be detected when cha7 introduces a complement of a verb of speech, and this meaning may have also been the basis for extension to complements of verbs of cognition or perception, while the meaning ‘thing, matter’ can be detected in examples such as 37), 38), and 57) above. The use of nu following cha7 in a complement clause may be a remnant of the nominal etymology of cha7; nu may have had its normal function of relativization or nominalization, and the phrase introduced by nu may have modified the originally nominal cha7. I have not been able to identify a semantic contrast between complement clauses with and without nu following cha7. Complement clauses are never introduced by nu alone.
4. Peripheral subordinate clauses

In this section I describe clauses that occur in the periphery of other clauses, and communicate temporal, locative, purposive, or causative information. These clauses are always introduced by grammatical morphemes, most of which also occur as lexical nouns.

4.1. Peripheral clauses marked by cha7

In addition to introducing complement clauses, cha7 can also occur at the beginning of peripheral clauses indicating causes, reasons, or purposes, in uses that may be glossed 'because' or 'so that' in English. The meanings described as 'causes, reasons, or purposes' are illustrated in the following examples:

48) Juan Ceniza 107

\[
na \ ja \ nty-ka \ 7a \ ti \ ty-kwi7 \ \emptyset \ cha7 \ nty-ka7n \ t7wa \ \emptyset
\]

and no N-be.able more only P-talk 3 because N-be.tied mouth 3

'And she could no longer talk because her mouth was gagged.'

49) El tunco y el ciego 012

\[
ska \ ra-ka7n \ l-7u \ tkwin \ nkya \ \emptyset \ ra-ka7n \ cha7 \ tyka7n \ kilo \ \emptyset
\]

one then N-show road N.go 3 then because have.sight eye 3

'One went indicating the road where they were going because he could see.'

50) Elias: El Terremoto 2 153

\[
wv-7i-k7an \ \emptyset \ na-ylo \ 7in \ an \ cha7 \ ja \ kw-tza7 \ an \ ra-ka7n
\]

C-put 3 plastic to it so.that no P-get.wet it then

'He put plastic over it so that it would not get wet then.'

In example 48), the clause marked by cha7 communicates the cause of the situation described in the preceding clause. The relationship of the second clause to the first in example 49) is slightly different, as the second clause describes the reason that explains the volitional activity denoted by the first clause. The clause introduced by cha7 in example 50) refers to the purpose for which the activity in the first clause is performed.
In the following example, cha7 can be seen to mean something like ‘reason’ and also to have nominal syntactic properties:

51) Juan Ceniza 231
cha7 7win in cha7 t7i-ti7 nten 7in ka7n cha7 nty-kwi7
because 2sg DSC because hate person to.2sg that reason H-talk
ne7 cha7 ntja
person that lazy.2sg
‘Because people hate you, that’s why they say that you are lazy.’

cha7 appears to mean ‘reason’ only in specific constructions, including . . . ka7n cha7 . . .
‘. . . , that’s why . . .’ and the question form ni cha7 ‘why (what reason),’ and therefore I analyze ka7n cha7 as a single lexeme and usually gloss it as such in examples. However, ka7n cha7 is analyzable as consisting of the deictic element ka7n ‘that (the afore-mentioned) (is)’ plus cha7.

The various meanings of cha7 ‘that’ in peripheral clauses—it introduces clauses relating to causes, reasons and purposes—can be explained in terms of a single, somewhat abstract characterization of the meaning of the morpheme. A peripheral clause introduced by cha7 always relates to the notion of explanation, an association that is not surprising given the lexical meaning of cha7, ‘word.’ When the event to be explained is non-volitional, as in example 48), the explaining event is understood as a cause. When the event to be explained is volitional, as in example 49), the explaining event is understood as a reason for the act. As a special case of the latter situation, when the explaining event is potential and can be characterized as a desired outcome, as in example 50), it is understood as the purpose for the event that is to be explained.

In the discussion above concerning the use of cha7 to mark complement clauses, it was noted that the construction cha7 + modifying clause, when it functions as a
complement, often shares its distribution with simple nouns. Compare the two examples below (repeating examples 37 and 39 above):

52) El toro y el conejo 069

\[ \text{lo } n \text{-} t\text{in } \text{cha7 } kw\text{-} 7\text{ni } n \text{ ku-}\text{mpli } 7\text{in } an \]

and N-be that P-do 1sg complete to it

'And I have to complete them.'

53) El toro y el conejo 061

\[ \text{ka7n } nw\text{-}t\text{iya } \emptyset \text{ ra-ka7n } s7\text{en } n \text{-} t\text{in } mw\text{ba}\text{-}re \text{ 7in } \emptyset \text{ ra-ka7n} \]

then C-arrive 3 then place N-live friend of 3 then

'Then he arrived at the place where his friend lived.'

The \text{cha7}-clause and the simple noun \text{mwba-re} 'friend' both occur as subjects of \text{t7in} 'be, live.' By contrast, peripheral \text{cha7}-clauses do not share their distribution with simple nouns in general. The only noun besides \text{cha7} that can occur in such contexts is \text{s7ya}, a noun with the lexical meaning '(one's) cause, (one's) fault.' \text{s7ya} and \text{cha7} differ in two respects. First, while \text{cha7} is followed by a relative clause, \text{s7ya} is almost always followed by an inalienable possessor:

54) 1998-11-09 053

\[ \text{s7ya } kw\text{ten } ka7n\text{-}\text{cha77 } y\text{-}\text{ja7 } n \]

because mosquito that's why. not C-sleep 1sg

'Because of the mosquitos, that's why I didn’t sleep.'

\text{s7ya}, derived from \text{ki7ya} 'crime, fault,' is a member of the class of morphologically possessed nouns (see Chapter 2, Section 1.2.2). Members of that class are interpreted as obligatorily possessed, even when a possessor is not overtly mentioned. In the speech of one individual, however, uses of \text{s7ya} are found in which the noun is apparently not possessed, but instead functions like \text{cha7}, for example:

55) Ruben 036

\[ \text{ja } ry7o \text{ n } s7\text{ya } nu \text{ ki7an } 7\text{a } nu \text{ lwe}\text{-}ti \text{ rza } tun \]

no P-go 1sg because NOM much very NOM small P-go stand

\[ S7\text{we } kw\text{a} \]

Juquila there
‘I am not going because many children will be there in Juquila.’

Because *s7ya* is a derived, morphologically possessed form, my guess is that the use of
*s7ya* alone to introduce a clause is an extension, perhaps based analogically on the similar
function of *cha7*. The possessor of *s7ya* is frequently a clause nominalized by the
morpheme *na* (which has the lexical meaning ‘thing’):

56)   Elias: El Terremoto 2 034
   *ja kya wan s7ya na nki-nya-tkwa l7an-xkwla kwa*
   no P.go 2pl because thing N-move.2sg school.house that
   ‘Don’t go, because the classroom is moving.’

*s7ya na* might be profitably analyzed as a single functional unit, with a use similar to that
of *cha7*.

In one specific construction, *cha7*, like *s7ya*, can mark a single noun rather than a
clause as a cause. In that construction, the noun designated as the cause possesses *cha7*,
and the phrase is pre-posed:

57)   Martin example sentences 100’s 079
   *cha7 7yan ja y-ku xni7 7in*
   because of.1sg no C-bite dog to.2sg
   ‘Because of me the dog didn’t bite you.’

A second difference between *cha7* and *s7ya* when they mark causes is that *s7ya* marks a
smaller range of types of causation, namely, causes and reasons, but not purposes.

In addition to *cha7*, there are a number of other morphemes that introduce
peripheral clauses. The following sections discuss these forms.

4.2. *na* ‘because’

As a lexical item, *na* has the meaning ‘thing’:

58)   Elias: El Terremoto 2 052
   *ka7n wa nkya 7ya wa ntyga na 7wa*
   then already C.go carry 1pl.excl all thing of.1pl.excl
   ‘Then we went to get all of our things.’
As a grammatical morpheme introducing a peripheral clause it can be glossed as 'because' or 'and.' In the examples found in the text collection, the meaning of na when it is glossed 'because' is more limited than that of cha7 or of s7ya with the same gloss.

While cha7 marks causes, reasons, and purposes, and s7ya introduces clauses referring to a cause or a reason, na appears to be used only to mark reasons:

59) Elias: El Terremoto 2 023
   ja kw-tzen wan na ja ki-nya 7a ni 7ni 7o
   no P-be.afraid 2pl because no P-have.earthquake more now say with
   wa ra-ka7n
   lpl.excl then
   'Don't be afraid, because it is not going to quake any more, she said to us then.'

60) El tunco y el ciego 106
   s7we liye, pero kw7-ti 7i-tykwi tu-nskan na
   good much but close P.place.2sg ear.2sg because
   nwna 7a x7ya wa-re 7ni Ø
   quiet very P.call lpl.excl say 3
   'Very good, but come closer put your ear close because we can't shout very loud, he said.'

61) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 262
   ja n-tzen an na tjyu7 n-s7wi n a7n 7ni kwa ra-ka7n
   no H-fear lpl.incl because far N-be 1sg 1sg say that then
   'I'm not afraid because my classroom (lit. 'I') am far from there, he said.'

The propositional content of the clause marked by na 'because' in example 59) is hard to conceive of as a direct cause of the effected event, which itself is not described as having occurred, as the statement is an imperative. The na-clause is even more clearly not a purpose. Instead, it is given as a reason for complying with the imperative.

4.3. s7en 'where'

The lexical meaning of the noun s7en is 'place,' as illustrated in the following example:
62) Elias: El Terremoto 2 152

\[nw\text{-}7i\text{-}k7an \ 0 \ 7in \ an \ xa7 \ s7en \ ra\text{-}ka7n\]
C-put 3 to it other place then
‘He put them in another place then.’

Any noun that names a place can occur unmarked in the periphery of the clause, in which case it is interpreted as a locative (see Chapter 2, Section 1.2.4). In the following example, \(S7we\) ‘Juquila’ is such an unmarked locative:

63) Martin’s example sentences 237

\[sna \ ja\text{-}kitu7n \ nta \ tkwa \ mi: \ nw\text{-}s7i \ n \ S7we\]
three tamale bean two thousand C-buy lsg Juquila
‘I bought three bean tamales for two pesos in Juquila.’

The peripheral placement of \(s7en\) followed by a relative clause is the means by which two clauses are combined, one of which modifies the other by expressing the place at which the event denoted by the other occurs:

64) Felipa 4 007

\[nk\text{-}jwi\text{-}cha7 \ sti \ n \ a7n \ s7en \ n\text{-}t7an \ tnya \ 7o \ tra\text{-}ktor\]
C-have.accident father lsg lsg place N-walk work with tractor
‘My father had an accident where he was working with a tractor.’

65) Martin example sentences 100’s 029

\[s7en \ ka \ norte \ nt\text{-}7ya \ wke7\]
place be north H-fall ice
‘In the north ice falls.’

Adverbial clauses beginning with \(s7en\) are also used to indicate the time of an event, as in the following example:

66) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 013-014

\[kwa \ n\text{-}tun \ n \ n\text{-}ta \ n \ cha7 \ 7o \ 0 \ ra\text{-}ka7n\]
there N-stand lsg N-give lsg word with 3 then
\[s7en \ nw\text{-}t7o \ nkw\text{-}nya \ ra\text{-}ka7n\]
place C-come.out C-have.earthquake then
‘There I stood talking with her then when (lit. ‘where’) it began to quake then.’

As the earthquake affected a wide area, the speaker is not indicating the place of the earthquake with reference to that of another event, but rather the time. The use of a
s7en-clause to indicate time is related to a more general ‘space-for-time’ metaphor in Chatino, further illustrated by the use of nte ‘here’ to mean ‘now’:

67)   El conejo y el toro 001
       nte tykwí7 n ska kwinttu 7in nu cha-kwchi 7o nu toro
here P.talk 1sg one story of DET rabbit with DET bull
‘Now (lit. ‘here’) I will tell you the story of the rabbit and the bull.’

s7en can also function to indicate a more abstractly conceived context of an event:

68)   Martin’s _7o_ examples 017
       nw-kkin-7o Xwa kwta 7in Ø s7en nw-kkin Ø jyan
C-burn.with John cattle of 3 place C-burn 3 field
‘John burned his cow where/when he was burning his field.’

In example 68), the association between the content of the two clauses is neither specifically spatial nor temporal. English would use ‘when’ to express the relationship, which is one of partially depicted contextuality.

As implied in Section 2 above, it is possible to analyze the morpheme s7en when it introduces a locative clause as the head of a relative clause. As the following example (repeated from example 28) above) shows, it is possible for the clause following s7en to include nu, and it is possible that a locative noun has been elided in the subordinate clause:

69)   El toro y el conejo 006
       ra-ka7n nw-tiya nu cha-kwchi ka7n s7en nu n-s7wi toro [ ]
then C.arrive DET rabbit that place REL N.be bull
‘The rabbit arrived at a place where there was a bull.’

s7en appears in this use to function as a grammatical morpheme primarily because it is a member of the class of unmarked locatives and because it has a highly abstract meaning. The two types of noun that comprise the large part of that class, names of specific places such as Ke-nxin ‘Yaitepec’ and relator nouns such as ni7 ‘in,’ are not found modified by
relative clauses. As a consequence, s7en is regularly used when one event specifies the location at which another takes place.

4.4. xa ‘when’

xa occurs as a noun meaning ‘brightness’ and as an adjective meaning ‘clear’:

70) Elias: El Terremoto 2 061
nkw-7ya xa ra-ka7n
C-descend brightness then
‘Then day broke.’

71) 1998-11-10 052
xa ti7a tu-j7o ya7 xa ni7-kwan
clear water sea as clear sky
‘The water of the sea is clear like the sky.’

It also introduces adverbial clauses indicating the time of an event:

72) Hurricane 007
ti-ji na n-kkwa 7in xa nkw-7ya kyo
what thing C-happen to.2sg when C-descend rain
‘What happened to you when it rained?’

73) Juan Ceniza 037-038
ntyga tzan xa nu nty-jin in jwin Ø
all day when NOM H-pass.2sg DSC said 3
n-s7wi ji ka7n tkwin re cha7 nu nty-ka tyka7n
N-be ash that road this so.that NOM H-be.able be.visible
cha7 nu ki-ja tkwin kyan
so.that NOM P-appear road P.arrive.2sg
‘Every day when you pass,’ she said, ‘there are ashes on the roads so that you can find the way to come back.’

Forms referring to times occur unmarked in the periphery of the clause, as in the following examples:

74) Ruben 008
we ka-la 7o ko7 kya
already twenty with month tomorrow
‘It is the twentieth of the month tomorrow.’
75) Martin’s example sentences 238

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wra we} & \quad \text{ja-kwa} & \quad \text{tlya} & \quad \text{n-kila} & \quad \text{pulma} & \quad \text{nty7o} & \quad \text{Lo-nt7a} \\
\text{hour already four early H-arrive bus H.come.out Oaxaca} & \\
\text{S7we} & \\
\text{Juquila} & \\
\text{‘At four in the morning the Oaxaca-Juquila bus arrives.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Thus a peripheral clause introduced by \( xa \) is analogous to a single word or phrase referring to a time.

4.5. \( ja \) ‘while’

As an inalienably possessed noun, \( ja \) refers to the space between adjacent parts of an object (the possessor of \( ja \)), as illustrated in the following:

76) Martin’s example sentences 658

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja} & \quad \text{yka} & \quad \text{n-tkwa} & \quad \text{s7en} & \quad \text{tke7} & \quad \text{nty-7wi} & \quad \text{kwsu7n-yu} \\
\text{in.between tree N-sit place hot H-be white.termite} & \\
\text{‘In trees in hot places there are white termites.’}
\end{align*}
\]

77) Martin’s example sentences 892

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s7en} & \quad \text{ka} & \quad \text{cho-ro} & \quad \text{cha-kwchi} & \quad \text{n-tun} & \quad \text{ti7a} & \quad \text{ska} & \quad \text{ja} & \quad \text{ke} \\
\text{place be cascade rabbit N-stand water one in.between rock} & \\
\text{‘At Rabbit Falls there is a waterfall in a space in the rocks.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In example 76), \( ja \) denotes not a space between trees, but rather a space within a tree or some wood (\( yka \) can also mean the substance ‘wood’). \( ja \) thus denotes an interior negative space created by an object that is perceived as a unitary whole. This meaning, which is consistent with example 77), as a pile of rocks is easily perceived as a single object, is the basis of the use of \( ja \) in which it is glossed ‘while’:

78) Felipa 4 005-006

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja} & \quad \text{n-i7an} & \quad \text{tmya} & \quad \text{ka7n} & \quad \text{in} & \quad \text{nu-ka-ti} & \quad \text{nk-iwi-cha7} \\
\text{while N-walk work then DSC DSC C-have.accident} & \\
\text{sti} & \quad \text{n} & \quad \text{a7n} & \quad \text{ra-ka7n} & \\
\text{father 1sg 1sg then} & \\
\text{‘While he was working my father had an accident.’}
\end{align*}
\]
The fact that *ja* ‘the in-between’ is an inalienably possessed noun raises a question with regard to the grammatical relationship between *ja* ‘while’ and the following clause: unlike most of the other forms that introduce subordinate clauses, *ja* ‘while’ could be analyzed as possessed by the following clause. In that case, the clause *nt7an tnya ka7n in* in example 78) above would be considered the possessor of *ja*, just as *yka* ‘tree’ is the possessor of *ja* in example 76). Alternatively, the grammatical relation of possession may not be applicable to the relationship between *ja* and a clause that it introduces; *ja* could simply be considered a conjunction analogous to *cha7* ‘that’ and the others.

4.6. *7an* ‘when’

Unlike the relative nouns described in sections 4.1 – 4.5, *7an* has not been observed to occur as a lexical noun. A homophonous form occurs as part of the phrase *ni 7an* ‘how.’ The *7an* of *ni 7an* is perhaps etymologically a noun meaning ‘way’ or ‘means,’ syntactically parallel to other nouns that occur with *ni* ‘what,’ such as *tzan* ‘day’ and *wra* ‘hour’:

80) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 055

*ntywe-ti7 n ni7an ka kila waldo ra-ka7n*

N.think 1sg what way be P.arrive Waldo then

‘I was wondering how Waldo would get there.’

81) 1998-11-09 029

*ni tzan nkila*

what day C.arrive.2sg

‘What day did you arrive?’
If the two forms are related, then 7an ‘when’ is probably also etymologically a noun, and may be described as a member of the class including xa, s7en, etc. The use of 7an meaning ‘when’ is illustrated in the following examples:

82) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 069
\[7an\ n-i7in\ wa\ la\ kwa\ ra-ka7n\ la\ kwa\ n-kila,\]
when N-be lpl.excl way.over there then way.over there C-arrive
\[n-kila\ sti\ 7omar\ ra-ka7n\]
C-arrive father Omar then
‘When we were there then, Omar’s father arrived there then.’

83) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 170
\[7an\ nky-an\ n\ nw-ta-x7we\ ne7\ ska\ te7-kicha7n\ 7yan\]
when C-come 1sg C-give.present person one blanket to.1sg
\[ra-ka7n\]
then
‘When I came back they gave me a blanket.’

The difference in meaning, if one exists, between 7an and xa ‘when’ is not clear. While the data are quite limited, it can be noted that 7an seems to occur only in relation to an event that has actually occurred and is depicted as the occasion on which the event in the other clause occurs. xa occurs in the same contexts, but also in other contexts such as the habitual one in example 73) above. In the database, the clause beginning with 7an always precedes the other clause.

4.7. la ‘when / as’

la ‘when / as’ appears to be homophonous with the form la used with locatives and expressing distance as opposed to nearness (see Chapter 2, Section 1.2.4), illustrated in the following example:

84) Felipa 2 018
\[nkyan\ la\ nte\ cha7\ nw-7ni\ Ø\ tzan\ ka\ 7in\ sti\ Ø\]
C.come way.over here so.that C-do 3 day nine of father 3
‘He came way over here to observe the nine days of his father.’

\(^3\) Nine days of mourning.
The use of *la* to mean ‘when / as’ is found in only one example in the text database:

85) Juan, Cuero de Venado 024

*lo la wa y-ja7 ne7 7o Ø*

and when already C-sleep person with 3

‘When she had already spent the night with him . . .’

The form *ti*, which contrasts with *la* in indicating nearness when it occurs with a
do nothing, can also be used to mean that one event occurs immediately after another, as in
the following example

86) El conejo y el toro 122-3

*l7an ti Ø ka su kwna-tnu ka7n ra-ka7n*

C.see just 3 be lying rattlesnake that then

*ka7n jwin Ø 7in kwna-tnu ka7n*

then said 3 to rattlesnake that

‘As soon as he saw the rattlesnake lying there (or possibly, ‘he had just seen the
rattlesnake lying there’), then he said to the rattlesnake. . .’

The grammatical constructions involving *ti* and *la* in examples 85) and 86) are not
parallel, but some of the ‘near’ versus ‘distant’ meaning that characterize the two forms
seems to be relevant to these examples. The event denoted by a clause marked by *la* that
is the temporal setting for another event is of longer duration or occurs after a longer time
lapse than an event marked by *ti*. Further investigation is required in order to
characterize the use of *la* with a subordinate clause more completely.

4.8. *porke* ‘because’

Borrowed from Spanish, *porke* ‘because’ introduces a clause that expresses a
reason. *porke* seems to be essentially a stylistically marked variant of *cha7* with that
meaning; otherwise, the two cannot be interchanged:
87) El toro y el conejo 054-055

\[kw-7ni \ n \ chi7n \ lu-cha \ cha7 \ nu \ nty-ka-ti7 \ n \ kw-lu \ n \ jwin\]
P-do 1sg little struggle because NOM 1sg P-grow 1sg said
\[\emptyset \ porke \ lyu7 \ n \ 7a \ n \ jwin \ \emptyset \ ra-ka7n\]
3 because small 1sg very 1sg said 3 then
'I will really try, because I want to grow,' he said, 'because I am very small,' he said.

4.9. \textit{komo} `as`

\textit{komo} `as` is also borrowed from Spanish. All of the occurrences of \textit{komo} in the
text database were produced by three speakers, who collectively contributed 53% of the
narrative text lines, the rest being contributed by seven other individuals. A total of 13
tokens of \textit{komo} occur in 3,240 lines of narrative text. These two factors suggest that
\textit{komo} may not be part of the idiolect of the majority of speakers; it has a meaning
between those of \textit{cha7} (in some of its uses) and of \textit{xa} `when.' The following examples
illustrate the meaning of the morpheme:

88) El conejo y el toro 323-324

\[komo \ nt-7ya \ sla \ kw7na \ su \ n-snyi \ sla\]
as N.descend tiredness crocodile lying N-seize tiredness
\[kw7na \ su\]
crocodile lying
'As the crocodile (lying there) became tired, he (lying there) fell asleep.'

89) Hurricane 018-020

\[komo \ y-an \ kyo \ kw7in \ tnu \ in \ la \ kwa \ n-tun \ n \ ra-ka7n\]
as C-come rain wind big DSC to there N-stand 1sg then
\[nw-lyu \ n \ kw7u \ 7yan \ cha7 \ t7na \ ti7 \ n\]
C-take 1sg chicken to.1sg because hurt nature 1sg
'And as there came a rain with strong winds, there I was standing then, I took my
chickens out because I felt sorry.'

5. Conditionals

Conditional constructions are formed by marking the `if'-clause with the Spanish
borrowing \textit{si} `if`:
90) Felipa 5 024
   xnu7  tzaN jyan  n  xi-ya7  si  ka-tiye  kya
   eight day come 1sg again if want.2sg P.go.2sg
   'In eight days I will come again if you want to go.'

91) Hurricane 058
   k-ja  an  ni7  re  si  k-ja  an
   P-die 1pl.incl in this if P-die 1pl.incl
   'We would die in here, if we would die.'

92) Martin's example sentences 276
   si  nkite7-ti7  o  ku  o  kija  jykwi  tiye  o
   if N.be.hungry 1pl.incl P.eat 1pl.incl tortilla P.boil chest 1pl.incl
   'If we are hungry our stomach growls.'

Optionally, the morpheme ta may follow si 'if,' as in the following example:

93) La Mujer que se Puso 118
   lo  ni  7an  ka  n  da  n  ni  xye-ti7  si  ta  ty7o  nu
   and what DSC be 1sg QU 1sg now P.think.2sg if P.go NOM
   ka  yu  ki7yu  xna  7ya  7in  jwin  wuru  ka7n 7in  Ø
   be man man P.run carry to.2sg said burro that to 3
   'What will happen to me do you think if the men come and take you away,' said
   the burro to her.'

The presence of ta seems to indicate that the content of the 'if'-clause is considered less
likely to occur; the clause in example 93) might be more precisely translated, 'if by any
chance the men come and take you away.' The presence of ta is related to the degree of
hypotheticality of the clause in which it occurs, a meaning also found when it has the
meaning 'or,' as discussed in Section 6.2 below.

6. Coordinate conjunction

6.1. lo 'and,' na 'and, but,' and pero 'but'

English 'and' is translated by either of two nouns, lo and na:

94) El 2000-1-19 011
   ni  kw-7ni  Liya  tnya  lo  kya  0-xi-tnya7 Ø
   today P-do Mary work and tomorrow P-rest 3
   'Today Mary will work and tomorrow she will rest.'
95)  1998-11-11 006
Xwa y-a s7en nty-ka t7a na y-7an-kw7ya Ø
John C-go place N-be fiesta and C-watch 3
ne7 nki-la-kyya7
person N-dance
'John went to the fiesta and watched the dancers.'

As a lexical item, lo is an inalienable noun meaning 'surface'; in the text database it
occurs exclusively as a relator noun meaning 'on' or with the meaning 'and.' The former
use is illustrated in the following example:

96)  Juan, Cuero de Venado 018
ka7n-nu mw-stya kijin kwnya7 ka7n 7in Ø lo yka-xlya ra-ka7n
then C-put skin deer that of 3 on chair then
'He put his deerskin on a chair then.'

The syntax of the use of lo as a coordinate conjunction appears similar to that of the
forms used to introduce subordinate clauses discussed in the previous section—in both
types of construction, a nominal form occurs between two clauses and indicates a specific
semantic relationship between them. However, there are also significant differences
between the two kinds of construction. The most obvious concerns the ordering
variations between the two clauses. Subordinate clauses, especially those referring to
temporal or spatial settings, are frequently found to occur as topics, in sentence initial
position, as in the following examples:

97)  Felipa 7 016
s7en ykwa ti n-kila wa 7o Ø ra-ka7n
place flat only C.arrive 1pl.excl with 3 then
'At a completely flat place we arrived with him then.'
98) Felipa 7 024-026

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  xa & wa-re & n-kila & wa & t\text{7wa} & ryku & s\text{7en} & n\text{-k7an ne}\text{7}
\end{array}
\]

when lpl.excl C-arrive lpl.excl mouth river place N-be person

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  s\text{7en} & nu & wa & O\text{-kila} & s\text{7en} & n\text{-k7an ne}\text{7} & ra\text{-ka7n}
\end{array}
\]

place REL already P-arrive place N-be person then

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  ka7n-nu & wa & ne & x\text{7ya} & kw\text{tu}
\end{array}
\]
then already N.sound P.call chicken

‘When we arrived at the riverside where the people lived, where we were arriving, where the people lived, the roosters were already calling.’

The possibility of topicalization fronting is consistent with the subordinate function of the clause as compared to the rest of the sentence. The placement of the subordinate clause can be used as a means of indicating the relationship of the whole sentence to the preceding discourse. In example 98), the content of the fronted subordinate clause not only specifies the time at which the event of the main clause occurs, but also indicates the context, with relation to the preceding discourse, in which the main clause event occurs.

A clause following the coordinate conjunction \( \text{lo} \), by contrast, has its own relationships within the discourse as a whole, and its position relative to the clause to which it is linked cannot be manipulated in order to indicate the relationship of the whole coordinate construction to the preceding discourse. As a consequence, \( \text{lo} \) always occurs between the two coordinate clauses, and never at the beginning of the whole coordinate construction.

The clause introduced by \( \text{lo} \) could be analyzed as the possessor-complement of \( \text{lo} \), so that \( \text{ky}a \ O\text{-x}i\text{-mya7} \ O \ ‘tomorrow she will rest’ in example 94) would be considered analogous to \( \text{yka-x}i\text{ly}a \ ‘chair’ in example 96). The grammaticization of \( \text{lo} \ ‘surface’ to mean ‘on’ as a relator noun is further extended based on the idea of surface contact. Two clauses conjoined in discourse are depicted as analogous to two objects in contact with each other.
The semantic basis of the grammatization of *na* ‘thing’ to mean ‘and’ is harder to rationalize. The clause following *na* might be best analyzed as appositive to *na*.

However, it might be better to consider *lo* and *na*, in their uses in which they are glossed ‘and’ or ‘but,’ to simply have the syntactic function of linking two coordinate clauses.

Although in many contexts there seems to be no contrast resulting from the use of *na* as opposed to *lo*, there is a semantic difference between the two forms. *na* is more frequently the choice in antithetical contexts, as in the following example:

99) 1998-11-11 009
tlyu kwyu na burru i lyu7 ti i7n
big horse and burro DSC small only anim
‘The horse is big and the burro is little.’

*na* is also used in elicited sentences to translate ‘but.’

*pero*, borrowed from Spanish, is also in frequent usage with that meaning:

100) Elias: El Terremoto 2 099
nkw-nya pero kwnu la ra-ka7n
C-have.earthquake but be.less more then
‘It quaked, but it was less (than before).’

*lo* and *na* are used to conjoin clauses, but not constituents of clauses. Participants are conjoined by means of the preposition *7o* ‘with’ (glossed ‘and’ in that context):

101) Martin’s example sentences 792
n-tun ska ta na-nkwlyu 7in Xwa 7o t7a Ø
N-stand one pair ox of John and brother/sister 3
‘John and his brothers have a pair of oxen.’

Whenever two predicates are conjoined, the resulting construction is formally identical to the conjunction of two complete clauses with the subjects overt in both conjuncts. There is no equi-deletion of co-referential subjects in conjoined clauses. Because the third person human subject pronoun is Ø, this fact is often not apparent, but in contexts in
which a subject would be realized by a non-zero pronoun in the second conjunct, the subject is clearly overt, as in the following examples:

102) El conejo y el toro 452  
*ky-a 7i-skwen an kjin re tu-tlan 7in ntiyo-se lo kw7ni an*  
P-go P.throw lpl.incl skin this door of God and P.do lpl.incl  
*jin-sya 7na*  
business of lpl.incl  
'I (lit. 'we') will throw this skin at God's door and get out of here (lit. 'we will do our business').'

103) Martin's example sentences 717  
*nk7a kwya7-kinya7 lo n-tykwa an si7 yu*  
red chile.mushroom and H-sit it side ground  
'The chile mushroom is red and it grows on the sides of cliffs.'

104) 1998-11-11 020  
*liwru 7in n-skwa an lo nwsa 7o-ta 7wi q ni7 ka-ja*  
book of 2sg N-lie it on table or be it in box  
'Your book is on the table or in the box.'

6.2. *ta, 7o-ta 'or'*

The morpheme *ta 'or' marks a proposition as having a content that is somehow questionable, surprising, or unbelievable. This meaning is present when it is used to link clauses, as well as when it occurs at the beginning of a proposition, without having a linking function. The following examples illustrate the latter condition:

105) Elias: El Terremoto 2 138  
*ta n-kita s7en n-t7in wan a 7ni ne7 7o wa ra-ka7n*  
or C-break place N-live 2pl QU say person with lpl.excl then  
'So your house fell down?' they asked us.'

106) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 020  
*y-tzen n xa-nyi ta nk-jwi nu lwe-ti 7yan ra-ka7n*  
C-be.afraid 1sg true or C-die NOM small of 1sg then  
'I was very frightened; had my children perished?'

In example 105), *ta nkita s7en nt7in wan a* is a real question in that it expects (and receives) an answer, hence the presence of the question particle *a*. In the personal
narrative from which the example is taken, the speaker is taking shelter in a neighbor's home after an earthquake. The people asking the question are thus presumably aware that the answer to the question is 'yes,' but they sympathetically mark that information as surprising or doubtful. In example 106), the proposition nkjwi nu tве-тi 7yan does not expect a response, and the question particle a is absent. Again, тa communicates the speaker's presupposition (or hope) that the content of the proposition is unreal. When the speaker does not express surprise or the presupposition that the content of the proposition is unreal, тa does not occur:

107) El toro y el conejo 026

7o nty-ka-ti7 kw-.lu a jwin nu toro ka7n 7in Ø
also.2sg N-want.2sg P-grow.2sg QU said DET bull that to 3
‘ ‘Do you also want to grow?,’ said the bull to him.’

When тa links clauses, the semantics of surprise or presupposition of unreality are translated into the expression of an alternative. In the clause-linking function, тa alternates with 7o-tа; I have not identified any difference in meaning between the two forms. The most likely etymology of the 7o in 7o-tа is borrowing from Spanish o 'or.'

тa / 7o-tа can link clauses or clausal constituents:

108) Martimiano 1 081-082

nw-tа ne7 nu skan w-7ya na 7wan a та na
C-give person NOM police C-carry thing of.2pl QU or thing
7wan w-7ya wan 7in an
of.2pl C-carry 2pl to it
‘Did they give you police to carry your things, or was it your business to carry them?’

109) Ruben 089-090

tu-xkwla ka ka tiye lo tu-xkwla federa та tu-xkwla
teacher be.2sg be chest.2sg and teacher federal or teacher
bilingwe
bilingual
‘You think you will be a teacher? And (will it be) a federal teacher, or a teacher in the bilingual schools?’
110) 1998-11-11 015
    \textit{ki7a} \textit{n \ kya \ 70-ta \ kwcha}
    \small{\begin{array}{l}
go \ 1 \text{sg} \text{ tomorrow or } \text{ day.after.tomorrow} \\
    \text{‘I will leave tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.’}
    \end{array}}

In some cases, \textit{ta} / \textit{70-ta} mark both alternatives. One might speculate that when this
occurs neither alternative is preferred; at present, however, the data are not sufficient for
a test of that hypothesis:

111) Silvia: El Terremoto 1 244
    \textit{nty-kwi7 \ ne7 \ cha7 \ x7wa \ ne7 \ l7an \ 7wa \ pero \ ja}
    N-talk \ person \ that \ P.replace \ person \ house \ of.1pl.excl \ but \ no
    \textit{jlyo-ii7 \ wa \ ta \ x7wa \ ne7 \ ta \ ja \ x7wa \ ne7}
    know \ 1 \text{pl.excl} \ or \ P.replace \ person \ or \ no \ P.replace \ person
    \small{\begin{array}{l}
    \text{‘They said they would replace our house, but we didn’t know whether they}
    \text{would replace it or not.’}
    \end{array}}

7. Juxtaposed clauses

Two of the semantic relationships between clauses discussed above are frequently
expressed by the simple juxtaposition of clauses: the temporal or circumstantial setting,
and purpose, reason, or cause.

When the relationship between the two sentences has to do with time, the second
sentence indicates the temporal setting within which the event of the first occurs, by
relating another event that occurs at a reference time. The following examples illustrate
this pattern, which reverses the usual ordering of temporally related sentences in narrative
discourse. Usually, the linear order of sentences in discourse parallels the linear order of
events in time. The event \textit{nwtiya} ‘C.arrive’ in example 112), however, occurs before the
event \textit{ntykwi7} ‘N.say’ in temporal order:
112) Juan, Cuero de Venado 126

\[
ta\ nte\ n-kila\ Xwa\ a\ ntykwi7\ ne7\ kw7an\ ka7n\ or\ here\ N-arrive\ John\ QU\ N.say\ person\ woman\ that\ ‘So\ John\ came\ here?’\ said\ that\ woman’\nw-tiya\ ne7\ C-arrive\ person\ ‘when\ she\ arrived.’ \]

Similar examples occur frequently in narrative texts, and native speakers are clear in their judgments that sentences like nwtiya ne7 in example 112) indicate the temporal setting for the preceding sentence.

In a similar construction, the second of two juxtaposed sentences relates a circumstance accompanying the event denoted by the first:

113) 2000-01-19 elicitation 054

\[
ry7an\ kya7\ ti\ Xwa\ ry7o\ Ø\ S7we\ tiya\ Ø\ la\ Skwi\ P.walk\ foot\ only\ John\ P.go\ 3\ Juquila\ P.arrive\ 3\ way.over\ Panixtlahuaca\ ‘John\ will\ walk\ from\ Juquila\ to\ Panixtlahuaca\ (lit.\ John\ will\ walk,\ he\ will\ leave\ from\ Juquila\ and\ arrive\ in\ Panixtlahuaca).’ \]

The second of two juxtaposed sentences may also give the reason, purpose, or cause for the event of the first. A purpose is illustrated in example 114), a reason in the second part of example 115), and a cause in the second part of example 116):

114) Juan, Cuero de Venado 101

\[
y-jwi7\ n\ 7in-an\ C-sell\ 1sg\ to.it\ ‘I\ sold\ them’\jwi\ na\ y-ku\ n\ C.be.found\ thing\ C-eat\ 1sg\ ‘to\ be\ able\ to\ maintain\ myself.’\]

115) 2000-1-19 Elicitation 030

\[
s7we\ 7a\ ka\ tiye\ Tyu\ nkw-7ya\ kyo\ tla\ good\ very\ be\ chest\ Peter\ C-fall\ rain\ last.night\ ‘Peter\ is\ happy\ because\ it\ rained\ last\ night.’\]
116) 2000-1-19 Elicitation 055

\textit{t7i} 7iwa nw-tiyu \Ø lo yka
hurt Ivan C-fall 3 on tree
'Ivan is in serious condition because he fell out of the tree.'

In all examples of this type of juxtaposition of sentences in texts, and in all examples
produced by native speakers as elicited translations, it is the second sentence that gives
the time, circumstance, or reason/purpose/cause of the first sentence. Native speakers
accepted the opposite order as grammatical also:

117) 2000-1-23 Elicitation 041

\textit{nkw-7ya kyo tlya7 7a}
C-fall rain cold very
'It rained, so it is very cold.'

Since this order has not been observed being produced by native speakers, the order in
which the semantically subordinate sentence follows the other sentence is possibly one of
the grammatical characteristics of this type of juxtaposition.

8. Conclusion: the complete unified-mutually distinct scale for complex sentences

In section 2 a scale is proposed in which different types of complex constructions
are positioned depending on how distinct semantically the events they denote are. Based
on the characteristics of the constructions described in sections 3-7, it is possible to
extend the scale to include those constructions, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compound</th>
<th>non-compound</th>
<th>N + modifier</th>
<th>N + nu + modifier: relative clauses</th>
<th>complement clauses</th>
<th>Peripheral \textit{cha}, \textit{na}, \textit{s7e}, \textit{sa}, etc.; Coordinate conditionals</th>
<th>Juxtaposed clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{cha}</td>
<td>\textit{na}, \textit{s7e}, \textit{sa}, etc.; Conditionals</td>
<td>mutually distinct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Figure 2: The extended unified-mutually distinct scale.}

The event denoted by a complement clause is considered more distinct from the
main clause than that denoted by a relative clause is, because the proposition of a
complement clause does not necessarily share a participant with that of the main clause, while that of a relative clause does. The events denoted by peripheral clauses are more distinct from those of the main clause than are those of complement clauses, because although peripheral clauses are constituents of main clauses, their content is more peripheral to, and hence more distinct from, the event of the main clause.

In coordinate conjunctions, the semantic relationship between the two clauses is even more tenuous. The presence of a morpheme linking the two clauses indicates that a connection between them is perceived by the speaker. This connection may be vague, as when lo or na ‘and’ occurs, or the second clause may be marked as an alternative by 7o or 7o-ta, or as concurrent but surprising, by na ‘but’ or pero.

Finally, when two clauses are simply juxtaposed, the semantic relationship between them is given no overt coding, and must be inferred on the basis of discourse patterns that are not treated in detail in this dissertation. In one such pattern, a proposition giving contextual information about time or reason/purpose/cause follows a more foregrounded proposition. Since a frequent interpretation of juxtaposed clauses is that they express completely distinct propositions, juxtaposition appears at the right-most end of Figure 2.
References

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SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS. Ethnologue.com website.
Appendix

(Four narrative texts)
Kwen-nttu 7in Xwa Jin Kwnya7
The Story of Deerskin Juan

(This is the complete text of the narrative that is referred to in Chapter 3, Section 3.)

Deerskin Juan 001
nu-ka-ti ni tya ska nu kw7an
so N-be one DET woman
'So, there was a girl'

Deerskin Juan 002
lo n-tun ska nu ki7yu
and N-stand one DET man
'and a boy was standing,'

Deerskin Juan 003
nty-kwi7 7o Ø
N-talk with 3
'talking with her,'

Deerskin Juan 004
lo sen n-tun Xwa ka7n ti chu7n l7an
and quiet N-stand Juan then just behind house
'and Juan was standing quietly right behind the house.'

Deerskin Juan 005
lo nu-ka-ti nti7 jyan
and DSC soon come.2sg
'And then, 'Soon you will come'

Deerskin Juan 006
k-ja7 an
P-sleep 1pl.incl
'so we will sleep,'

Deerskin Juan 007
jwin nu kw7an ka7n 7in Xwa ka7n
said DET woman that to Juan then
'said the girl to Juan.' [[Narrator error: should have been 'to the boy.']]

---

1 Narrated by Cecilia Carmona, recorded by Jeff Rasch, transcribed and translated by Martín Suárez and Jeff Rasch.
Deerskin Juan 008
s7we liye
good much
‘Very good,’

Deerskin Juan 009
jwin Ø
said 3
‘he said.’

Deerskin Juan 010
lo7 y-a nu ki7yu
and not C-go DET man
‘And the boy didn’t go’

Deerskin Juan 011
nu ka
NOM be
‘who was’

Deerskin Juan 012
cha7 tza k-ja7 nu kw7an ra-ka7n
so that P-go P-sleep DET woman then
‘to go to sleep with that girl.’

Deerskin Juan 013
ka7n-nu Xwa jin kwnya7 ka7n y-a Ø ra-ka7n
then Juan skin deer that C-go 3 then
‘Then deerskin Juan was the one that went to her.’

Deerskin Juan 014
lo xa-nu nw-tiya Ø
and when C-arrive 3
‘And when he came’

Deerskin Juan 015
cha7 k-ja7 Ø ra-ka7n i
so that P-sleep 3 then DSC
‘to sleep’

Deerskin Juan 016
ka7n-nu wa wa lja7 Ø 7o ne7 ra-ka7n
then already already N-sleep 3 with person then
‘then he (Juan) was already sleeping with her.’
Deerskin Juan 017
\textit{wa\ nw-ti\ya\ Ø\ ra-ka\7n}
\textit{already C-arrive 3 then}
\textit{‘He had already arrived then.’}

Deerskin Juan 018
\textit{ka\7n-nu\ nw-stiya\ Ø\ kiji\n\ kw\nya\7\ ka\7n\ 7in\ Ø\ lo\ yka-xl\ya\ ra-ka\7n}
\textit{then C-put 3 skin deer that of 3 on chair then}
\textit{‘He put his deerskin on a chair then.’}

Deerskin Juan 019
\textit{kwa\ xtya\ ste\7}
\textit{there P.put.2sg clothing.2sg}
\textit{‘Put your clothes on the chair’}

Deerskin Juan 020
\textit{cha\7\ k-ja\7\ an}
\textit{so.that P-sleep lpl.incl}
\textit{‘so that we can sleep,’}

Deerskin Juan 021
\textit{j\win\ ne\7\ 7in\ Ø\ ra-ka\7n}
\textit{said person to 3 then}
\textit{‘she said to him then.’}

Deerskin Juan 022
\textit{j\7\n\ j\7\n\}
\textit{yes yes}
\textit{‘Yes, yes,’}

Deerskin Juan 023
\textit{j\win\ Ø\ 7in\ ne\7\ ra-ka\7n}
\textit{said 3 to person then}
\textit{‘he said to her then.’}

Deerskin Juan 024
\textit{lo\ \la\ wa\ y-ja\7\ ne\7\ 7o\ Ø}
\textit{and at.the.point already C-sleep person with 3}
\textit{‘When the woman had already slept with him,’}

Deerskin Juan 025
\textit{nw-ki-ti\7\ ne\7}
\textit{C-be.aware person}
\textit{‘she found out’}
Deerskin Juan 026
cha7 ka Xwa ra-ka7n
that be Juan then
'that it was Juan.'

Deerskin Juan 027
lo y-a xni7
and C-go dog
'And the dog went'

Deerskin Juan 028
nkjwa-ki Ø kijin kwnya7 ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n
C.drag 3 skin deer that of 3 then
'and dragged away his deerskin.'

Deerskin Juan 029
Xwa
Juan
'Juan,'

Deerskin Juan 030
nty-kwi7 ne7 7o Ø ra-ka7n
N-talk person with 3 then
'the girl said to him then.'

Deerskin Juan 031
nu-ka-ti ta na 7win ka a
DSC or thing 2sg be QU
'Is it you?'

Deerskin Juan 032
lo s7i 7win
and is.not 2sg
'And you weren't the one'

Deerskin Juan 033
nk-7an
N-be
'that it was supposed'

Deerskin Juan 034
cha7 k-an
that P-come.2sg
'that you would come,'
Deerskin Juan 035
\textit{jwin ne7 7in ð ra-ka7n}
said person to 3 then
‘the girl said to him.’

Deerskin Juan 036
\textit{na7 ka n}
1sg be 1sg
‘It is me,’

Deerskin Juan 037
\textit{jwin ð ra-ka7n}
said 3 then
‘he said then.’

Deerskin Juan 038
\textit{na-7 yka 7a na}
and not be able more thing
‘And it is not possible’

Deerskin Juan 039
\textit{kw-7ni}
P-do.2sg
‘for you to do anything,’

Deerskin Juan 040
\textit{na wa y-ja7 n 7o ni}
thing already C-sleep 1sg with 2sg now
‘because I have already slept with you,’

Deerskin Juan 041
\textit{jwin ð ra-ka7n}
said 3 then
‘he said.’

Deerskin Juan 042
\textit{ni in ty7en n 7in ni in}
now DSC P.marry 1sg to 2sg now DSC
‘‘Now I am going to marry you,’

Deerskin Juan 043
\textit{jwin ð ra-ka7n}
said 3 then
‘he said.’
Deerskin Juan 044
*ka kw7o n 7in*
P.be spouse 1sg to.2sg
‘ ‘I will be your husband’ ’

Deerskin Juan 045
*jwin Ø 7in ne7 ra-ka7n*
said 3 to person then
‘he said to her then.’

Deerskin Juan 046
*s7we liye si ka7n*
good much if that
‘ ‘Well, that’s fine.’ ’

Deerskin Juan 047
*jwin ne7 7in Ø*
said person to 3
‘she said to him,’

Deerskin Juan 048
*ni-nwudu*
no.escape
‘ ‘There’s no way out.’ ’

Deerskin Juan 049
*ja yka*
no be.able
‘ ‘It is not possible,’ ’

Deerskin Juan 050
*wa y-ja7 n 7o*
already C-sleep 1sg with.2sg
‘ ‘I have already slept with you,’ ’

Deerskin Juan 051
*jwin ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n*
said person to 3 then
‘he said.’

Deerskin Juan 052
*s7we*
good
‘ ‘That’s fine,’ ’
Deerskin Juan 053

jwin ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
said person to 3 then
'she said to him.'

Deerskin Juan 054

ka7n jwi-kw7o ne7 7o Ø ra-ka7n
then C.marry person with 3 then
'Then she married him,'

Deerskin Juan 055

nw-t7en ne7 7in Ø
C-marry person to 3
'she married him.'

Deerskin Juan 056

nu-ka-ti ka7n-nu wa nkwa kwriya7 Xwa ka7n
DSC then already C.become rich Juan that
'Then that Juan had already become rich.'

Deerskin Juan 057

y-7wi zapatu kya7 Ø
C-be shoe foot 3
'He already had shoes.'

Deerskin Juan 058

y-7wi
C-be
'There was...'

Deerskin Juan 059

wa jwi ste7 Xwa ra-ka7n
already C.be.found clothing Juan then
'He already had good clothes then.'

Deerskin Juan 060

wa nk-w-la7-sti Xwa kjin kwnya7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
already C-leave Juan skin deer of 3 then
'He had left his deerskin aside.'

Deerskin Juan 061

ka7n nu-ka-ti ka7n-nu wa jwin ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
then DSC then already said person to 3 then
'Then she said to him,'
Deerskin Juan 062
ky-a 17an  jy7an  ni
P-go see.2sg mother.2sg now
‘Now you are going to visit your mother,’

Deerskin Juan 063
jwin ne7  7in  Ø  ra-ka7n
said person to  3 then
‘She said to him.’

Deerskin Juan 064
ki7a  n
P.go  lsg
‘I’ll go,’

Deerskin Juan 065
jwin  Ø  ra-ka7n
said  3 then
‘He said then.’

Deerskin Juan 066
ka7n  nkya  nkya  17an  Ø  jy7an  Ø  ra-ka7n
then  C.go C.go see  3 mother  3 then
‘Then he went to visit his mother.’

Deerskin Juan 067
s7we  ste7  Ø  ra-ka7n
good clothing  3 then
‘His clothing was good.’

Deerskin Juan 068
ja  y-7wi-lyo  7a  jy7an  Ø  7in  Ø
no  C-know more mother  3 to  3
‘His mother no longer recognized him then.’

Deerskin Juan 069
n-kila  Ø  ra-ka7n
C-arrive  3 then
‘He arrived.’

Deerskin Juan 070
ne7  xa7  wa  ka  Ø  ra-ka7n
person  fancy  already be  3 then
‘He was a stylish person then.’
Deerskin Juan 071

ka7n-nu jwin jy7an Ø 7in Ø ra-ka7n
then said mother 3 to 3 then
'Then his mother said to him,'

Deerskin Juan 072

chu Xwa nte wa nky-an ni an
Juan here already C-come.2sg now DSC
'=?, Juan, are you already here?'

Deerskin Juan 073

jwin Ø
said 3
'she said.'

Deerskin Juan 074

wa nky-an n
already C-come 1sg
'I have come.'

Deerskin Juan 075

7an s7we
DSC good
'Ah, that is good,'

Deerskin Juan 076

jwin ne7
said person
'she said.'

Deerskin Juan 077

kyan-lya snye7 n jwin ne7
come.on.in.2sg child 1sg said person
'Come on in, son,' she said.'

Deerskin Juan 078

s7we-wa y-jwi7 Ø ste7 Ø ra-ka7n
little.by.little C-sell 3 clothing 3 then
'Then little by little he began to sell his clothes.'

Deerskin Juan 079

wa y-jwi7 Ø zapatu 7in Ø
already C-sell 3 shoe of 3
'He sold his shoes.'
Deerskin Juan 080
wa y-jwi7 Ø na 7in Ø
already C-sell 3 thing of 3
‘He sold his things.’

Deerskin Juan 081
wa kwi7 kijin kwnya7n ka7n 7in Ø nky-a na Ø xya7 ra-ka7n
already same skin deer that of 3 C-go look for 3 again then
‘Then he went to look for that same deerskin of his again.’

Deerskin Juan 082
ka7n nu-ka-ti nw-tiya ya7
then DSC C-arrive time
‘Then the time came’

Deerskin Juan 083
xa nu nky-a nti7an nu kw7an ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n
when NOM C-go be at DET woman that to 3 then
‘when his wife went after him.’

Deerskin Juan 084
cha7-nu si n-kila Ø
because yes C-arrive 3
‘So, yes, she arrived’

Deerskin Juan 085
ka s7en
be place
‘where the place was’

Deerskin Juan 086
n-7in jy7an Ø
N-live mother 3
‘where his mother lived.’

Deerskin Juan 087
n-kila Ø ra-ka7n
C-arrive 3 then
‘She arrived.’

Deerskin Juan 088
n-tkwa ti Ø ra-ka7n
N-sit only 3 then
‘He was sitting there.’
Deerskin Juan 089
$tiiyu\text{-}ti \quad \emptyset \text{ra\text{-}ka7n}
\text{naked} \quad 3 \text{ then}
‘He was naked.’

Deerskin Juan 090
$ska\text{-}ti \quad kijin \quad k\text{wnya7} \quad k\text{a7n}
\text{only skin deer} \quad \text{that}
‘It was only that deerskin’

Deerskin Juan 091
$n\text{-}s7wi \quad yni \quad \emptyset \text{ra\text{-}ka7n}
\text{N\text{-}be neck} \quad 3 \text{ then}
‘that he had around his neck.’

Deerskin Juan 092
$Xwa$
Juan
‘Juan.’

Deerskin Juan 093
$nty\text{-}kwi7 \quad ne7 \quad 7o \quad \emptyset \text{ra\text{-}ka7n}
\text{N\text{-}talk person with} \quad 3 \text{ then}
‘his wife said to him then,’

Deerskin Juan 094
$ta \quad kwi7 \quad ka \quad re \quad a$
or same be.2sg here QU
‘are you really here?’

Deerskin Juan 095
$nty\text{-}kwi7 \quad ne7 \quad 7o \quad \emptyset$
\text{N\text{-}talk person with} \quad 3
‘she said to him.’

Deerskin Juan 096
$la \quad nw\text{-}7ni \quad da \quad ste7$
\text{where C\text{-}do QU.2sg clothing.2sg}
‘What did you do with your clothes?’

Deerskin Juan 097
$j\text{win ne7} \quad 7in \quad \emptyset$
said person to \quad 3
‘she said to him,’
Deerskin Juan 098

la nw-7ni da na 7in in
where C-do QU.2sg thing of.2sg DSC

‘What did you do with your things?’

Deerskin Juan 099

jwin ne7 7in Ø
said person to 3

‘she said to him.’

Deerskin Juan 100

nte s7en
here place

‘This is the place’

Deerskin Juan 101

y-jwi7 n 7in an
C-sell lsg to it

‘I sold them’

Deerskin Juan 102

jwi na y-ku n
C.be.found thing C-eat lsg

‘to get things to eat.’

Deerskin Juan 103

nte s7en
here place

‘This is the place’

Deerskin Juan 104

y-jwi7 n 7in an
C-sell lsg to it

‘I sold them.’

Deerskin Juan 105

y-jwi7 n sna n
C-sell lsg sandal lsg

‘I sold my sandals.’

Deerskin Juan 106

y-jwi7 n pantalun 7yan
C-sell lsg pants of.1sg

‘I sold my pants.’
Deerskin Juan 107
y-jwi7 n xka7n n y-jwi7 n
C-sell lsg shirt lsg C-sell lsg
‘I sold my shirt.’

Deerskin Juan 108
lo ka7n-cha7 nky-a na n kijin kwny7 7yan xy7a
and so C-go look for lsg skin deer of lsg again
‘And that’s why I went to look for my deerskin again,’

Deerskin Juan 109
jwin Ø ra-ka7n
said 3 then
‘he said.’

Deerskin Juan 110
7a nte n-tiya ste7
DSC here N-be clothing 2sg
‘Ah, here are your clothes,’

Deerskin Juan 111
jwin ne7 kw7an ka7n 7in Ø
said person woman that to 3
‘the woman said to him,’

Deerskin Juan 112
cha7 kya an ni
so that P-go 1pl.incl now
‘now let’s go,’

Deerskin Juan 113
jwin ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
said person to 3 then
‘she said to him.’

Deerskin Juan 114
nte wa jyan kw7an 7yan a7n
here already come woman of lsg lsg
‘Here comes my woman,’

Deerskin Juan 115
nty-kwi7 Ø 7o jy7an Ø ra-ka7n
N-talk 3 with mother 3 then
‘he said to his mother,’
Deerskin Juan 116
nte wa jyan kw7an 7yan
here already come woman of.1sg
'Here comes my woman.'

Deerskin Juan 117
ni-ka ka kw7an 7in ne7 xa7
how be woman of.2sg person fancy
'How can your wife be such a fancy person?'

Deerskin Juan 118
nty-kwi7 jy7an Ø 7o Ø ra-ka7n
N-talk mother 3 with 3 then
'said his mother to him.'

Deerskin Juan 119
ni-ka ka kw7an 7in re ne7 xa7 re
how be woman of.2sg this person fancy this
'How can this woman of yours be this fancy person?'

Deerskin Juan 120
kw7an 7yan ka Ø
woman of.1sg be 3
'My woman she is,'

Deerskin Juan 121
nty-kwi7 Ø
N-talk 3
'he said,'

Deerskin Juan 122
jyan kw7an 7yan
come woman of.1sg
'My wife is coming,'

Deerskin Juan 123
nty-kwi7 Ø ra-ka7n
N-talk 3 then
'he said,'

Deerskin Juan 124
7an-da-i
uhuh
'Ahhh, so,'
Deerskin Juan 125
_jwin jy7an Ø 7in Ø ra-ka7n_
said mother 3 to 3 then
‘said his mother to him.’

Deerskin Juan 126
ta nte n-kila Xwa a
or here C-arrive Juan QU
‘ ‘So Juan came here?’ ’

Deerskin Juan 127
nty-kwi7 ne7 kw7an ka7n
N-talk person woman that
’said the woman’

Deerskin Juan 128
nw-tiya ne7 ra-ka7n
C-arrive person then
‘when she arrived.’

Deerskin Juan 129
nte jwin
here said
‘ ‘Here,’ he said.’

Deerskin Juan 130
na7 ka n jy7an Xwa
1sg be 1sg mother Juan
‘ ‘I am the mother of Juan.’ ’

Deerskin Juan 131
7an-da-i
uhuh
‘ ‘Ah, so,’ ’

Deerskin Juan 132
jwin Ø ra-ka7n
said 3 then
‘she said then.’

Deerskin Juan 133
nw-snyi ne7 ya7 Ø ra-ka7n
C-seize person hand 3 then
‘Then she (Juan’s wife) greeted her,’
Deerskin Juan 134
cha7  ka  jy7an-la  ne7  7in  Ø  ra-ka7n
because be mother.in.law person to 3 then
'because she was her mother in law.'

Deerskin Juan 135
ka7n  nky-a-7o  nu-ka-ti  ne7  7in  Xwa  ra-ka7n
then C-take DSC person to Juan then
'Then she took Juan.'

Deerskin Juan 136
ky-a  an  ni
P-go 1pl.incl now
'Let's go now,'

Deerskin Juan 137
jwin  ne7  7in  Ø  ra-ka7n
said person to 3 then
'she said to him,'

Deerskin Juan 138
ky-a  an
P-go 1pl.incl
'Let's go,'

Deerskin Juan 139
jwin  Ø  ra-ka7n
said 3 then
'he said.'

Deerskin Juan 140
ka7n-nu  nu  n-kila  ne7  7o  Ø  s7en
then NOM C-arrive person with 3 place
'Then she arrived with him at the place'

Deerskin Juan 141
n-t7in  ne7  ra-ka7n
N-live person then
'where she lived.'

Deerskin Juan 142
nu  ka
NOM be
'That was,'
Deerskin Juan 143

nu nw-tyi o 7in Ø ni
NOM C-finish it to 3 now
‘it’s finished with him (the story is over).’
The hurricane

(Examples from this text appear in the chapters.)

Martín:

001
ni wra y-ten-sna nkw-7ya kyo xa nkw-7ya kyo jwin Ø
what hour C-begin C-descend rain when C-descend rain said 3
‘At what hour did it begin to rain when it began to rain, he says,’

... [a few unclear lines]

002
ti-ji ny7a n-x7wa kwu 7in y7an
what manner N-put.back.2sg chicken of.2sg inside.house
‘How did you keep your chickens inside the house?’

003
ti-ji ny7a y-ten ti7a-yu y7an re 7in
what manner C-enter ground.water inside.house here of.2sg
‘How did the ground water come into your house?’

004
ntyga ny7a ka7n ty-kwi7 jwin Ø
all manner that P-talk.2sg said 3
‘Talk about all of that, he says.’

Cecilia:

005
tykwi7 n ni7 na re an a
P.talk 1sg in thing this 1pl.incl QU
‘I talk into this thing?’

006
7an-an
Ah.so
‘Ah, so.’

1 Narrated by Martín Suárez and Cecilia Carmona, recorded by Jeff Rasch, transcribed and translated by Martín Suárez and Jeff Rasch
Martin:

007
ni wra y-ten-sna nkʷ-7ya kyo
what hour C-begin C-descend rain
‘When did it begin to rain?’

Cecilia:

008
xa nw-tyi-sna kyo i
when C-begin rain DSC
‘When the rain began,’

009
y-tzen n a7n ra-ka7n
C-be.afraid 1sg 1sg then
‘I was afraid then,’

010
komo y-an kyo-kw7in tnu in
as C-come hurricane big DSC
‘as there came a big hurricane.’

011
la kwa n-tun n ra-ka7n
way there N-stand 1sg then
‘I was standing over there.’

012
nw-lyo n kwtu 7yan cha7 t7na-ti7 n kwtu 7yan
C.take 1sg chicken of.1sg because sorry 1sg chicken of.1sg
‘I took my chickens out because I felt sorry.’

013
nw-stya n kwtu 7yan nte
C-put 1sg chicken of.1sg here
‘I put my chickens here.’

014
Madre Santissa ne7 n 7in snye7 n ra-ka7n
Mother Holy say 1sg to child 1sg then
‘ ‘Holy Mother,’ I said to my children then,’

015
k-ja an ni
P-die 1pl.incl now
‘ ‘Now we die.’ ’
016
sa-ti o cha7-lyu ni ne7 n
just this 1pl.incl world now say 1sg
‘It is just this much for us in the world,’ I said.’

017
jyan kyo-kw7in jyan kyo-kw7in
come hurricane come hurricane
‘The hurricane came, the hurricane came’

018
nte ti ny7a s7en n-t7in n
here only P.see.2sg place N-live 1sg
‘You see the place I live is only here (only like this).’

019
ja n-tiya 7yan
no N-be to.1sg
‘I don’t have. . .’

020
nte n-tiya kwsi 7yan
here N-be cross of.1sg
‘Here is my cross (an oath).’

021
ny7a 7an ny7a s7en n-t7in n
P.see.2sg what manner place N-live 1sg
‘See how the place I live is.’

022
nte ti y-ten n y-7wi n ra-ka7n
here only C-enter 1sg C-be 1sg then
‘I came in and stayed just here then.’

023
la s7a n nt-7ya kyo
where P.go 1sg N-descend rain
‘Wherever I would go, it was raining.’

024
y-na n 7o snye7 n y-na 7o snye7 n
C-cry 1sg with child 1sg C-cry with child 1sg
‘I cried with my children, I cried with my children’
xa-nyi la s7a n kwi7
true where P-go lsg same
'It is true, wherever I would go . . . '

ny7a ny7a s7en n-t7in n
P-see.2sg manner place N-live lsg
'See how my house is.'

ja n-ta ntiyo-se 7yan
no H-give God to.lsg
'God doesn't give me . . . '

7m
look
'Look.'

nte ka s7en n-t7in n
here be place N-live lsg
'Here is the place I live.'

nte y-ja7 n
here C-sleep lsg
'Here I slept.'

ja la y-7a n nw-jinya n l7an-tyi ntnen
no where C-go lsg C-ask lsg home person
'I didn't go anywhere to ask someone for a place.'

n-tkwa l7an s7we n-tkwa l7an lo-sa
N-sit house good N-sit house concrete
'There are good houses, there are houses with concrete.'

ja y-7a n
no C-go lsg
'I didn’t go.'
nte ti n-17in n 7o snye7 n
here only N-live 1sg with child 1sg
‘Here I live with my children.’

nki-tzen n
N-be.afraid 1sg
‘I was afraid.’

cha7-7 kw-tzen n
why-not N-be.afraid 1sg
‘Why wouldn’t I be afraid?’

na se cha7 ka nu nu ka nu lwe-ti i ka7n ti
thing I.know that be NOM NOM be NOM small DSC that only
nu nw-17o
NOM C-leave
‘I know that only those children left.’

na7 y-ja7 n re 7yan
1sg C-sleep 1sg here of.1sg
‘I slept here in my place.’

ni-sya nty-ka kyo-kw7in nty-ka kyo-kw7in
although N-be hurricane N-be hurricane
‘Even though it was storming, it was storming.’

ntiyo-se ja kw-la-ya7 7na nw-i7an-tiye n
God no P-abandon to.1pl.incl C-think 1sg
‘God will not abandon us,’ I thought.’

y-ja7 n re 7yan
C-sleep 1sg here of.1sg
‘I slept in my house.’

nkw-7ya xa 7yan 7o snye7 n
C-descend clear to.1sg with child 1sg
‘It dawed on me and my children.’
043
nu-ka-ti nki-tzen n ra-ka7n cha7 ty7o-t7in re 7yan cha7
so N-be.afraid 1sg then that P.leave.trapped this to.1sg that
k-ja n
P-die 1sg
‘I was afraid that this would fall so that I would die.’

044
nki-tzen n cha7 ty7o-t7in l7an re 7yan ra-ka7n
N-be.afraid 1sg that P.leave.trapped house this to.1sg then
‘I was afraid that the house would fall on me,’

045
ta ta kita re
or or P.break this
‘or this would break.’

046
k-ja an ni7 re si k-ja an pero si ntiyo-se n-tlo-my a
P.die 1pl.incl in this if P.die 1pl.incl but if God N-command
‘We would die in this, if we would die, but if God commanded it,’

047
lo si ntiyose ja n-tlo-my a ka nkwan-7an
and if God no N-command be thus
‘and if God didn’t command that it be thus, . . .’

048
k-ja7 tu7 o ne7 n 7in snye7 n ra-ka7n
P-sleep just 1pl.incl say 1sg to child 1sg then
‘Let’s just sleep,’ I said to my children.’

049
ka7n y-ja7 n 7o snye7 n re
then C-sleep 1sg with child 1sg here
‘and I slept with my children here.’

050
cha7 chen-ny7a s7en n-t7in n chen-ny7a
because ugly place N-live 1sg ugly
‘Because the place where I live is very ugly, it is ugly.’

051
ja n-tiya 7yan
no N-be to.1sg
‘I don’t have, . . .’
j̱iy̱o-ti7 ntiyo-se j̱iy̱o-ti7 Œ ja n-tiya sya7 ti
know God know 3 no N-be once only
‘God knows, knows that I don’t have anything at all.’

po7-wre ka n
poor be 1sg
‘I am poor.’

la n-tiya na ku n ra-ka7n
where N-be thing P.eat 1sg then
‘I didn’t have anything to eat then (lit. where were the things I would eat then).’

la n-tiya ni ka ti ty7an n ni ka
where N-be what be only P.walk 1sg what be
‘Where was, how would I be able to walk?’

la k-ja na ku
where P-be.found thing P.eat
‘Where could food be found?’

nkwan-7an na nw-tjin wa-re
thus thing C-pass 1pl.excl
‘that’s what happened to us.’
The Pear Story

001
\textit{n-tkwa ska xu7 n-stun Ø na ska lo yka}
N-sit one old.man N-pull.up 3 thing one on tree
‘There was an old man cutting things in a tree.’

002
\textit{lo nw-tjin ska xu7 7o chiyu 7in Ø ra-ka7n}
and C-pass one old.man with goat of 3 then
‘An old man passed with his goat.’

003
\textit{ja nkw-7ya-nwna ka7n na n-stun xu7 ka7n lo yka ka7n}
no C-steal that thing N-pull.up old.man that and tree that
‘He didn’t steal the things that the old man was cutting in the tree.’

004
\textit{n-tun ska siera si7 yka}
N-stand one ladder side tree
‘There was a ladder against the side of the tree.’

005
\textit{y-kwen xu7 ka7n xiya7 ra-ka7n in}
C-climb old.man that again then DSC
‘That old man went up again.’

006
\textit{y-kwen xu7 ka7n lo yka xiya7 cha7 nu xtun}
C-climb old.man that on tree again so.that NOM P.pull.out
\textit{la Ø pera lo yka ka7n}
more 3 pear on tree that
‘The old man climbed up to pick more pears in the tree.’

007
\textit{lo ka7n ra-ka7n in nw-t7a ti pera ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n}
and then then DSC C-be.complete only pear that of 3 then
\textit{ni7 xka7n Ø n-k7an an nkwan-7an}
in shirt 3 N-be it thus
‘And then the pears were complete and he put them in his shirt (lit. ‘and they were in his shirt’).’

\footnote{1 Narrated by Martín Suárez, recorded by Jeff Rasch, transcribed and translated by Elías Suárez and Jeff Rasch.}
lo ka7n nw-s7wa Ø pera nw-s7wa Ø pera lo ka7n nkw-7ya Ø lo
and then C-put 3 pear C-put 3 pear and then C-descend 3 on
yka ka7n n-s7wa Ø 7in an ni7 xkwi n-tun ti
tree then N-put 3 to it in basket N-stand only
7ya ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n
down that of 3 then
'He put his pears, and then climbed down from the tree, and put his
pears in his basket that was just below.'

nw-tyi s7wa ti Ø 7in an ni7 xkwi n-tun ti 7ya
C-finish put only 3 to it in basket N-stand only down
ka7n ra-ka7n y-kwen Ø nky-a Ø ti kwan xiya7 ra-ka7n
that then C-climb 3 C-go 3 only high again then
'When he had finished putting them in the basket that was below, he
climbed right up again.'

nw-t7o ja jlyo-ti7 n la-ya7 ka nw-t7o ska nu lyu7
C-come.out no know 1sg where be C-come.out one NOM small
ti ra-ka7n nw-tkwa ka7n bicicleta jyan Ø tyka-ti tyka-ti
only then C-sit that bicycle come 3 slowly slowly
tyka-ti n-tkwa ka7n bicicleta jyan Ø
slowly N-sit that bicycle come 3
'There came, from I don't know where, a child riding a bicycle, he came
slowly, slowly, slowly, sitting on the bicycle he came.'

tyka-ti n-tkwa ka7n bicicleta jyan Ø ra-ka7n
slowly N-sit that bicycle come 3 then
'He came slowly with his bicycle.'

n-skwa ska nwslu ke ka7n jyan Ø
N-lie one hat head that come 3
'There was a hat on his head as he came.'

lo ka7n nw-tjin nu lyu7 ka7n s7en nu n-tun s7en
and then C-pass NOM small that place REL N-stand place
nu n-s7wi xu7 n-stun Ø pera 7in Ø ra-ka7n in
REL N-be old.man that 3 pear to 3 then DSC
'Then the child passed the place where the old man was standing, where
the old man was.'
w-7ya-nwna
C-steal
‘He stole.’

nw-snyi nu lyu7 ka7n ny7a xkwi ka7n nw-stya Ø lo bicicleta
C-seize NOM small that all basket that C-put 3 on bicycle
7in Ø ra-ka7n
of 3 then
‘He grabbed the basket and put it on his bicycle.’

nw-stya Ø lo bicicleta 7in Ø y-kwen Ø chu7n bicicleta 7in Ø nky-a
C-put 3 on bicycle of 3 C-climb back bicycle of 3 C-go
Ø xiya7 nky-a Ø
3 again C-go 3
‘He put it on his bicycle, got onto his bicycle and left again.’

nky-a nky-a nu lyu7 ka7n ra-ka7n
C-go C-go NOM small that then
‘The child went, went.’

lo ka7n ra-ka7n in
and then then DSC
‘And then,’

siya7 ti n-tkwa ke kya7 an 7in nu lyu7 ti ka7n
one.time only N-sit rock foot it of NOM small only that
nw-lyu Ø
C-fall 3
‘Suddenly a rock got in the wheel of it (the bicycle) of the child and
he fell.’

nw-lyu nu lyu7 ti ka7n 7o pera ka7n nw-tyi pera ka7n 7in nu
C-fall NOM small only that with pear that C-finish pear that of NOM
lyu7 ti ka7n n-kine-17in
small only that C-spill.out
‘The child fell with his pears and the child's pears all spilled out.’
nu snya n-kine-t7in an 7in nu lyu7 ti ka7n xa-nyi
much disgusting C-spill.out it of NOM small only that true
ra-ka7n
then
'It was truly sad the way the pears spilled out.'

ra-ka7n y-an sna nu nw-ta-ya7 7in nu lyu7 ti ka7n
then C-come three REL C-help to NOM small only that
nw-so7 Ø 7in an 7in nu lyu7 ti ka7n nw-so7 Ø 7in an
C-gather 3 to it to NOM small only that C-gather 3 to it
nw-s7wa Ø 7in an 7in nu lyu7 ti ka7n ni7 xkwí 7in nu
C-put 3 to it to NOM small only that in basket of NOM
lyu7 ti ka7n xiya7 ra-ka7n
small only that again then
'Then three came who helped the child by gathering them for the child, by
gathering and putting them for the child in the child's basket again.'

xiya7 nw-xi-tun nu lyu7 ti ka7n bicicleta ka7n 7in Ø
again C-stand.up NOM small only that bicycle that of 3
ra-ka7n
then
'The child stood his bicycle up.'

nw-stya Ø 7in an lo na na na ka7n 7in Ø na n-k7an
C-put 3 to it on thing be.named thing that of 3 thing N-be
tlo bicicleta 7in Ø
face bicycle of 3
'He put them in his what do you call it, the thing on the front of his
bicycle.'

ka7n nw-stya Ø xkwí ka7n 7in Ø nw-t7o Ø nky-a Ø xiya7
then C-put 3 basket that of 3 C-come.out 3 C-go 3 again
ra-ka7n
then
'He put the basket (there) and he went again.'

nkw-la7-st[i Ø nwslu ra-ka7n] (corrupted recording)
C-leave 3 hat then
'He left the hat then.'
027
*tyka-ti tyka-ti nky-a Ø ra-ka7n tyka-ti nky-a nu lyu7 ka7n*
slowly slowly C-go 3 then slowly C-go NOM small that
ra-ka7n
then
‘He went slowly, the child went slowly.’

028
*ka7n jywi ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n cha7 nkw-la7-sti Ø nwslu*
then C-whistle person to 3 then because C-leave 3 hat
7in Ø
of 3
‘Then they whistled to him, because he had left his hat.’

029
*ra-ka7n y-a ska ne7 y-a-7o ne7 nwslu 7o ska nu*
then C-go one person C-take person hat with one REL
sta7 lyu7 ti 7o ska nu kwxi lyu7 ti nu ja
flat small only with one REL incapacitated small only REL no
ntlyu 7a 7o ka7n
H.grow more with then
‘Then one of them went to leave his hat with him, along with a shorty
and a little incapacitated guy who was not growing any more.’

030
*nky-a-7o ne7 ska nwslu 7in nu kwxi lyu7 ti ka7n*
C-take person one hat to NOM incapacitated small only that
ra-ka7n
then
‘The left the hat with the incapacitated guy (i.e., the child).’

031
*nky-a nu ki7yu lyu7 ti ka7n ra-ka7n nkw-jin-y7wi nu*
C-go DET man small only that then C-exit.from.the.scene DET
ki7yu lyu7 ti ka7n nky-a Ø ra-ka7n
man small only that C-go 3 then
‘The child left and disappeared from the scene.’

032
*ka7n jyan sna lo nu jyan sna ka7n ka7n nu nw-ta-ya7*
then come three and NOM come three that that NOM C-help
7in nu lyu7 ti ka7n ra-ka7n ka7n nu we nkw-jin tlo
to NOM small only that then then NOM already C-pass face
xu7 ka7n ra-ka7n
old.man that then
‘The three who had helped the child came and passed by in front of the
old man.’
Then the man thought that they had stolen his pears, and he was really surprised.
Kwen-nuttu 7in nu ntkwa skwe kwnya7 ni7
The story of the one who attached the deer’s organ in her crotch

(Examples from a different telling of this story appear in the chapters.)

001  
nte ty-ki7 n ska kwen-nuttu 7in nu n-tkwa skwe kwnya7  
here P-talk 1sg one story of NOM N-sit penis deer  
ni7 crotch  
‘Now I will tell you the story of the one who had the deer’s organ in  
h her crotch.’

002  
ska nu kw7an in n-t7an 0 xkwla 7o ska yu ki7yu nu ka  
one DET woman DSC N-walk 3 school with one DET man REL be  
kwe7-x7an devil  
‘A girl went to school with a boy who was a devil.’

003  
lo n-tiya-ti7 yu ki7yu ka7n 7in 0 in  
and N-want DET man that to 3 DSC  
‘And the boy was in love with her.’

004  
 nw-tykwa-tiye yu 7in 0 cha7 nu ka t7a-ty7in yu 7in  
C-be.decided he to 3 so.that NOM P.be wife/husband he to  
0 ka-tiye yu  
3 think he  
‘The boy was determined about her, that he would be her husband.’

005  
lo nu kw7an ka7n in, kwi7-ti n-tiya-ti7 0 7in yu i  
and DET woman that DSC also N-want 3 to he DSC  
‘And the girl also liked him.’

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1 Narrated by Mauro Martínez, recorded by Jeff Rasch, transcribed and translated by Martín Suárez and Jeff Rasch
lo nki-tza7 yu ki7yu ka7n 7in sti Ø cha7 nu n-tiya-ti7 ska nu
and C-advise DET man that to father 3 that NOM N-want one DET
kw7an 7in Ø
woman to 3
‘And the boy told his father that a girl was in love with him.’

lo ka7n jwin sti Ø 7in in si nu kw7an kwa n-tiya-ti7 Ø 7in
and then said father 3 to DSC if DET woman that N-want 3 to
in cha7 nu liye xtyi 7o ne7 cha7 ny7a ne7
DSC so.that NOM much P.laugh.2sg with person so.that P.see person
cha7 nu 7wi ke-ktzi t7wa jwin Ø 7in sne7 Ø
that NOM be gold.tooth mouth.2sg said 3 to child 3
‘And then his father said to him, ‘if that woman likes you, laugh a lot
with her so that she will see that there is a gold tooth in your mouth,’ he
said.’

ka7n-nu s7we liye jwin yu ki7yu ka7n ra-ka7n
then good much said DET man that then
‘Then, ‘that’s fine,’ the man said then.’

liye nxyi ka7n 7o nu kw7an ka7n ra-ka7n in cha7 nu
much H.laugh that with DET woman that then DSC so.that NOM
n-s7wi ke-ktzi t7wa Ø
N-be gold.tooth mouth 3
‘Then he laughed a lot with the girl then because he had a gold tooth in
his mouth.’

ka7n-nu wa nki-tza7 nu kw7an ka7n 7in sti Ø, ka7n jwin
then already C-advise DET woman that to father 3 then said
ka7n 7in sti Ø i n-tiya-ti7 ska nu ki7yu t7a n-t7an n
that to father 3 DSC N-want one DET man together N-walk 1sg
xkwla kwa 7yan jwin Ø na wa nty-kwi7 Ø 7o n cha7 nu
school there to.1sg said 3 thing already N-talk 3 with 1sg that NOM
t7in n 7o Ø
P.live 1sg with 3
‘Then the girl told her father, then she said to her father, ‘That boy
who goes to school with me said that he wants me and wants me to live with
him.’’
ka7n jwin sti nu kw7an ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n in ty7in 7o
then said father DET woman that to 3 then DSC P.live.2sg with
ne7 si nu ty7en ne7 7in jwin Ø
person if NOM P.marry person to.2sg said 3
‘Then the girl’s father said to her, ‘Live with him if he marries you.’ ’

7an-an na ty7en 7yan jwin Ø wi
to.see thing P.marry to.1sg said 3 DSC
‘He said that he would marry me.’

7an-an s7we liye pero na7 in jwin nu kw7an ka7n t7o n s7a
to.see good much but 1sg DSC said DET woman that P.come.out 1sg P.go
n 7o Ø 7an wra nu jywin Ø
1sg with 3 DSC hour REL P.say 3
‘ ‘Ah, good,’ she said, ‘but I,’ she said, ‘will go with him at the time that
he says.’ ’

an-da-in jwin sti Ø 7in Ø pero xa nu tza 7o yu,
good said father 3 to 3 but when NOM P.go.2sg with man
nu-ka-ti, n-tun ska wurru 7na in lo ka7n wuru
DSC N-stand one burro of.1pl.incl DSC and then burro
tza 7o cha7 nu tykwa jwin sti Ø 7in Ø
P.go with.2sg so.that NOM P.sit said father 3 to 3
‘ ‘Good,’ her father said, ‘but when you go with that man, we have a donkey
and you will take that burro with you for you to ride,’ her father said.’

s7we liye jwin Ø ra-ka7n
good much said 3 then
‘ ‘Good,’ she said then.’

7o kw-7ni-kwintta 7in wurruru kwa i, cha7 nu ta ti7a
and P.take.care.of to burro that DSC so.that NOM P.give.2sg water
k-7o i7n ta kxi7n ku i7n ta tza tza
P-drink anim P.give.2sg grass P.eat anim P.give.2sg P.go.2sg P.go
xi-k7an 7in i7n la ji ka
move.from.one.place.to.another.2sg to anim way.over where be
n-tun i7n jwin sti Ø 7in Ø
N-stand anim said father 3 to 3
‘ ‘And take good care of this burro, so that you give it water to drink
and grass to eat, and move it from one place to another, the place where it
stands,’ her father said to her.’
s7we liye jwin Ø ra-ka7n

good much said 3 then
‘‘Good,’’ she said.’

ra-ka7n nu, liye ntxyi yu ki7yu ka7n 7o Ø i, lo liye,
then NOM much H.laugh DET man that with 3 DSC and much
nu-ka-ti nty-kwi7 yu 7o Ø cha7 nu ty7in yu 7o Ø i
DSC H-talk he with 3 so.that NOM P.live he with 3 DSC
‘Then the boy laughed a lot with her and talked a lot with her that he
would live with her.’

ra-ka7n nu n-tiya-ti7 Ø 7in yu lo n-tiya-ti7 yu 7in Ø in
then NOM N.want 3 to he and N.want he to 3 DSC
‘Then she like him a lot and he liked her a lot.’

ra-ka7n nu, xa nu nx7ya wurrru ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n in, nky-a
then NOM when NOM H.call burro that to 3 then DSC H-go
Ø ra-ka7n nky-a ta Ø ti7a k-7o i7n, nky-a Ø ra-ka7n in
3 then H-go give 3 water P-drink anim H-go 3 then DSC
ta Ø kxi7n ku i7n
P.give 3 grass P.eat anim
‘Then, when the burro would bray, she would go to give water for it to drink, and to give
grass for it to eat.’

ra-ka7n jwin wurrru ka7n 7in Ø, t7na ka an 7o i jwin
then said burro that to 3 poor be 1pl.incl with.2sg DSC said
wurrru ka7n 7in Ø la ka tza an 7o Ø jwin Ø 7in Ø pero
burro that to 3 where be P.go 1pl.incl with 3 said 3 to 3 but
s7en nu tza an 7o kwa i ka7n na ja jlyo-ti7
place REL P.go 1pl.incl with that DSC then thing no know
o ni-7an tyjin an jwin i7n 7in Ø
1pl.incl how P.pass 1pl.incl said anim to 3
‘Then the burro said to her, ‘We are to be pitied,’’ he said to her, ‘where
we are going with him,’’ he said to her, ‘but in the place we are going with
him, we don’t know what will happen to us,’’ he said to her.’
ja jlyo-ti7 o ni tza-kwa wi-da nu tyjin an jwin i7n
no know 1pl.incl now such life REL P.pass 1pl.incl said anim
7in Ø ra-ka7n
to 3 then
‘We don’t know what kind of life we will have,’ he said to her.

ka7n-nu cha7 s7we da jlyo-ti7 jwin Ø 7in i7n
then why good QU know.2sg said 3 to anim
‘And how do you know,’ she said to him.

7an-an jwin i7n 7in Ø, jlyo-ti7 n jwin i7n 7in Ø porke ja
to see said anim to 3 know 1sg said anim to 3 because no
7ya-ya7 cha7 nu ka Ø nten nu ka i7a tza an
be sure that NOM be 3 person REL P.be together P.go 1pl.incl
jwin i7n 7in Ø, pero ja jlyo-ti7 o si na-re ty7o o tza
said anim to 3 but no know 1pl.incl if 1pl.incl P.go 1pl.incl P.go
an in 1pl.incl DSC
‘Ah,’ he said, ‘I know very well,’ he said to her, ‘because I don’t believe
that it is a person that we will go with,’ he said, ‘but I don’t know if we
will go.’

ja ka wy7-ti7 o si ta ti kila an lo
no be knowledgable 1pl.incl if or still P.arrive 1pl.incl and
si7 kila 7a an jwin i7n 7in Ø
if not P.arrive more 1pl.incl said anim to 3
‘We don’t know whether we will still return or whether we won’t,’ he said
to her.

7an-da-i jwin Ø 7in i7n po ni na 7an ka da ni in jwin
uhhuh said 3 to anim well what thing DSC be QU now DSC said
Ø 7in i7n
3 to anim
‘Ah, so,’ she said to the animal, ‘but what are we going to do now?’

7an-an jwin wurr7 ka7n 7in Ø, na-re i jwin i7n 7in Ø, kw-7ni
ah said burro that to 3 1pl.incl DSC said anim to 3 P-do
an cha7 k-ja ska na jwin i7n 7in Ø
1pl.incl that P.be.found one thing said anim to 3
‘Ah,’ the burro said to her, ‘let’s get something.’
k-ja ska jun nkwlù i jwin i7n 7in Ø lo k-ja ska
P-find.2sg one thread rolled DSC said anim to 3 and P-find.2sg one
tyku yka jwin i7n 7in Ø lo kw-7ni cha7 k-ja ska kinya7
comb wood said anim to 3 and P-do.2sg that P-find.2sg one chile
jwin i7n 7in Ø
said anim to 3
‘Get a spool of thread and a wooden spoon,’ he said, ‘and get a pepper, he
said.’

s7we liye jwin Ø
good much said 3
‘Good, the girl said.’

por-ke na ja jlyo-ti7 o ni tza-kwa 7an tyjin an
because thing no know 1pl.incl now such DSC P.pass 1pl.incl
tza an jwin i7n 7in Ø
P.go 1pl.incl said anim to 3
‘Because we don’t know the things that will happen to us,’ he said.’

7an-da-i jwin Ø 7in i7n
uh huh said 3 to anim
‘Ah, so,’ she said to him.’

lo x7i chi7n ti ti7a njkwan jwin i7n 7in Ø porke
and P.buy.2sg little only water holy said anim to 3 because
na-re lo ja jlyo-ti7 o ti t7a tza an jwin
1pl.incl and no know 1pl.incl what companion P.go 1pl.incl said
i7n
anim
‘And buy a little holy water,’ he said to her, ‘because we don’t know who
it is that we will go with,’ he said.’

porke nti7ya-kwan kya i ra-ka7n ka nu tza an 7o
because mid.day tomorrow DSC then be NOM P.go 1pl.incl with
Ø jwin Ø wi jwin Ø 7in wuru ka7n 7in Ø
3 said 3 DSC said 3 to burro that of 3
‘Because tomorrow at mid-day,’ he said, ‘we will go with him,’ she said to
her burro.’
034
7an-da-i jwin i7n 7in Ø
uhuh said anim to 3
‘ ‘Ah, so,’ said the burro to her.’

035
tza tu7 o jwin i7n 7in Ø por-ke tnya wa nkw-lo
P.go just 1pl.incl said anim to 3 because work already C-take.out
nu-ka-ti7 x7na n a7n ka an jwin i7n 7in Ø lo tnya wa
DSC master 1sg 1sg be it said anim to 3 and work already
nkw-lo ne7 kwla 7in in 7in jwin Ø 7in cha7 nu tza
C-take.out person old of 2sg DSC to 2sg said 3 to 2sg that NOM P.go
7o Ø i po tza tu7 o jwin i7n 7in Ø
with 3 DSC well P.go just 1pl.incl said anim to 3
‘ ‘Let’s just go,’ the animal said to her, ‘because my master already
ordered me, and your parents already ordered you, and said that you will go
with him, well, let’s just go,’ he said to her.’

036
s7we liye jwin Ø ra-ka7n
good much said 3 then
‘ ‘Good,’ she said.’

037
ra-ka7n nu xa nu nw-tiya wra nu jwin kwne7-x7an ka7n
then NOM when NOM C-arrive hour REL said devil that
7in Ø in cha7 tza Ø 7o ka7n in y-a Ø
to 3 DSC that P.go 3 with that DSC C-go 3
‘Then when the time came that the devil had told her that she would go
with him, she went.’

038
nu-ka-ti nw-t7o Ø nky-a Ø i nti7ya-kwan nyi
DSC C-come.out 3 C-go 3 DSC mid.day true
‘Then they went at mid-day.’

039
nu-ka-ti jwin sti Ø 7in Ø in tza ni snye7 n
DSC said father 3 to 3 DSC P.go.2sg now child 1sg
‘Her father told her, ‘go now, child.’ ’

040
s7a n
P.go 1sg
‘ ‘I will go.’ ’
7an-an, s7we liye
ah    good much
‘ Ah, good.’

pero nu kī7yu kwa i, kwa nu ka t7a ty7in hasta
but DET man that DSC that NOM P.be companion P.live.2sg until
 schooling hour N-be world said father 3 to 3
‘ But that man will be your spouse for as long as you are in the world,’
his father said to her.

7an-an s7we liye jwin Ø 7in sti Ø
ah    good much said 3 to father 3
‘ That’s fine,’ she said to her father.

ka7n nu nw-t7o Ø nky-a Ø
then NOM C-come.out 3 N-go 3
‘Then they left.’

ka7n nu y-kwen Ø chu7n wurruru ka7n 7in Ø in
then NOM C-climb 3 back burro that of 3 DSC
‘Then she got on the burro’s back.’

nky-a Ø 7o nu ka yu kī7yu ka7n
C-go 3 with NOM be DET man that
‘Then she went with that man.’

nky-a Ø i nky-a Ø i hasta ke s7en nw-tyi jī tzan ka7n in
C-go 3 DSC C-go 3 DSC until that place C-finish all day that DSC
‘They went until the day was over.’

xa nu wa nkw-7ya tla i ra-ka7n nu nw-tiya Ø ska
when NOM already C-descend night DSC then NOM C-arrive 3 one
s7en s7en nu n-tkwi ska l7o lambre kiche7
place place REL N-hang one fence wire thorn
‘When night fell, they arrived at a place where there was a barbed wire
fence.’
ka7n  jwin  Ø  7in  nu  ka  ki7yu  ka7n  ni  na-7an  cha7  nu
then said 3 to  NOM be  man that now how that NOM
tyjin  wurru  7yan  nte  lo  ka  an  s7en  nu  n-tkwi
P.pass burro of.1sg here and be it place  REL N-hang
l7o  jwin  Ø  ra-ka7n
fence said 3 then
'Then she said to that man, 'How will my burro pass here, as it is a
fenced-in place,' she said then.'

7an-an  jwin  yu  7in  Ø  ja  ta-kyà7  cha7  ka7n  jwin  yu  ki7yu
ah said he to 3 no P.worry.2sg thing that said DET man
ka7n
then
‘Ah,’ said the boy to her, 'don't worry about that,' the boy said to
her.'

na7  wa  jlyo-ti7  n  ni-7an  tyjin  i7n  jwin  Ø  ra-ka7n
1sg already know 1sg how P.pass anim said 3 then
‘I already know how the animal will pass.''

7an-da-i  jwin  Ø  ra-ka7n
uhuh  said 3 then
‘Ah, so,' she said.'

7an  ni  a  jwin  wurru  ka7n  7in  Ø  ra-ka7n  ny7a  chi7n
let's.see now DSC said burro that to 3 then P.see.2sg little
ni  7an-an
now let's.see
‘You see now,' said the burro to her, 'watch a little now.''

we  tzà-kwa  ti  wra  nty7an  an  in  lo  tzà-kwa  na
already such only hour H.walk 1pl.incl DSC and such thing
wa  nty7an  an  ni  in  nty-7o  cha7  jwin  i7n  7in  Ø
already H.see 1pl.incl now DSC H-come.out thing said anim to 3
‘We have been walking just this long and we have already seen all these
things happen,' he said to her.'
055
ni ka da cha7 t-yjin an-re re ni lo nty-ka-ti7 nu
what be QU that P-pass 1pl.incl here now and N-want NOM
n-tka lo nky-a re i
N-sit ahead N-go this DSC
‘‘How will we pass here, as the one ahead of us wants.’’

056
we-nu wa jlyo-ti7 re tza-kwa s7en nty7an Ø lo wa
okay already know this such place H.walk 3 and already
jlyo-ti7 re na-7an 7ni Ø jwin i7n 7in Ø
know this how H.do 3 said anim to 3
‘‘This one already knows the places that he goes and he already knows how
he does it,’’ he said to her.’’

057
ka7n-nu n-kun-l7an Ø l7o ka7n in
then C-push 3 fence that DSC
‘‘Then he pushed the fence.’’

058
nky-a l7o ka7n nw-lyu o ra-ka7n in
C-go fence that C-fall it then DSC
‘‘Then that fence went falling away.’’

059
ra-ka7n nkw-jin wrru ka7n 7in Ø
then C-pass burro that of 3
‘‘Then her burro passed.’’

060
ra-ka7n jwin Ø 7in Ø jwin wrru ka7n 7in nu kw7an ka7n in
then said 3 to 3 said burro that to DET woman that DSC
nw-xyu nu-ka-ti jun nkwl7 kwa 7in ni
C-let.fall DSC thread rolled that of.2sg now
‘‘Then he said to her, the burro said to the woman, ‘Let the spool of
thread fall now.’’

061
s7we liye jwin ka7n ra-ka7n
good much said that then
‘‘Good,’’ she said then.’’

062
ka7n nw-xyu ka7n ska jun nkwl7
then C-let.fall that one thread rolled
‘‘Then she let the spool of thread fall.’’
ka7n-nu ti nky-a la Ø i, nky-a Ø ra-ka7n nky-a Ø ntyga
then still C-go more 3 DSC C-go 3 then C-go 3 all
nkwa7n-7an wa tla la i
thus already night more DSC
‘Then they went farther, they went and went and meanwhile night was falling more.’

nky-a Ø s7en n-tkwi xka l7o
C-go 3 place N-hang other fence
‘They went to a place where there was another fence.’

ka7n jwin Ø 7in ki7yu 7in Ø xya7 ra-ka7n ni na-7an da ni
then said 3 to man of 3 again then what how QU now
‘Then she said to her man again, ‘What now?’’

ni-cha7 xkwi7 da s7en ny7a nkwan-7an tjin n jwin Ø 7in
why always QU place P.see.2sg thus pass 1sg said 3 to
ki7yu 7in Ø
man of 3
‘‘Why do I always have to pass in places like this,’ she said to her man.’

7an-an porke nte 7wi cha7 7yan n-t7an n jwin ka7n
ah because here be thing of.1sg H-walk 1sg said that
ra-ka7n
then
‘‘Ah, because I have the custom of walking here,’ he said.’

7an-da-i jwin Ø ra-ka7n
uh huh said 3 then
‘‘Ah, so,’ she said.’

ni-7an ka da cha7 tyjin wurr u 7yan nte xye-ти jwin Ø
how be QU that P.pass burro of.1sg here think.2sg said 3
‘‘How do you think that my burro will pass here,’ she said.’
ka an jwin Ø, kwi7 ny7a nu we nw-tjin an kwi7
be.able it said 3 same manner REL already C-pass 1pl.incl same
nkwan-7an ty-jin an jwin ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n
thus P-pass 1pl.incl said that to 3 then
‘Yes, it is possible,’ he said, ‘in the same way that it happened, just
like that it will happen,’ he said to her.’

7an-an jwin Ø ra-ka7n
ah said 3 then
‘Ah,’ she said.’

7an ni a jwin wurr u ka7n 7in Ø, wenu nw-xtyu ska tyku
let’s see now DSC said burro that to 3 okay C-let.fall one comb
yka kwa 7in ni jwin i7n 7in Ø
wood that to.2sg now said anim to 3
‘You see,’ the burro said to her, ‘well, let the wooden comb fall now,’ he
said to her.’

s7we liye jwin Ø, por-ke cha7 nu nte tkwin ky-an an
good much said 3 because because NOM here road P-arrive 1pl.incl
re ky-an na an wra nu 7ya-ya7 si wa nw-na7
this P-arrive look.for 1pl.incl hour REL perhaps if already C-get.lost
tkwin 7na jwin i7n 7in Ø
road to.1pl.incl said anim to 3
‘Good,’ he said, ‘because on this road we will come, we will come looking
when we may have lost our way,’ he said.’

j7an j7an jwin Ø
yes yes said 3
‘Ah, yes, she said.’

ra-ka7n nu nky-a Ø ra-ka7n in ntyga nkwan-7an wa tla la
then NOM C-go 3 then DSC all thus already night more
‘Then they went on, and all the while night was falling.’

nw-tiya Ø xka s7en in ka7n s7en nu wa nw-tiya Ø xka
C-arrive 3 other place DSC that place REL already C-arrive 3 other
s7en n-tkwi l7o
place N-hang fence
‘Then they arrived in another place, in a place where there was a fence.’
komo nu-ka-ti jwin Ø 7in ki7yu xya7 ra-ka7n in ni-7an ka da
as DSC said 3 to man again then DSC how be QU
ty-jin wurruru 7yan nte xya7 i
P-pass burro of.1sg here again DSC
‘Then she said to her man once more, ‘How will my burro be able to pass
here again?’’

cha7 ka an jwin ka7n 7in Ø kwi7 s7en ny7a nu we
word be.able it said that to 3 same place manner REL already
nw-tjin an in, kwi7 nkwa7n ti 7an ka jwin ka7n 7in Ø
C-pass it DSC same thus only DSC be said that to 3
‘‘It is possible, in the same way that we passed, so it will be,’ he said
to her.’’

s7we liye jwin Ø
good much said 3
‘‘Good,’ she said.’’

ta7 ne7 n 7in a jwin wuru ka7n 7in Ø
or.not say 1sg to.2sg QU said burro that to 3
‘‘Didn’t I tell you,’ said the burro to her.’’

ja 7ya-ya7 cha7 ka re ntten jwin ka7n 7in Ø
no it.seems that be this person said that to 3
‘‘This doesn’t seem to be a person,’ he said to her.’’

ka7n-nu wa wa nkwi-xi stya-ti7 wuru ka7n
then already already C-turn ticklish burro that
ra-ka7n in Ø komo wa jlyo-ti7 Ø cha7 s7i ntten ka
then DSC 3 as already know 3 that is.not person be
ra-ka7n wi
then DSC
‘‘Then the burro felt strange, as he knew that that was not a human being.’’

na ka ni jwin Ø 7in i7n ra-ka7n
what be now said 3 to anim then
‘‘What now, she said to the animal.’’
na ka jwin i7n 7in Ø
What be said anim to 3
‘What now,’ he said to her.

nw-xtyu lya xka kinya7 kwa 7in jwin i7n 7in Ø
C-let.fall now other chile that of.2sg said anim to 3
‘Let the other chile fall now,’ he said to her.

s7we liye jwin Ø ra-ka7n
good much said 3 then
‘Good,’ she said then.

nw-xtyu Ø xka kinya7 ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n in
C-let.fall 3 other chile that of 3 then DSC
‘She let her chile fall then.’

nkw-jin Ø nky-a Ø
C-pass 3 C-go 3
‘They left.’

nky-a Ø ra-ka7n in
C-go 3 then DSC
‘They went then.’

ka7n-nu wa 7ya-ya7 cha7 ti wa nkw-la cha7 nu
then already it.seems that still already C-appear that NOM
ki-7ya xa
P-go.down clear
‘Then it seemed like it was going to dawn.’

ka7n jwin Ø 7in ki7yu 7in Ø ra-ka7n ni wra tiya da
then said 3 to man of 3 then what hour P.arrive QU
an
lpl.incl
‘Then she said to her man, ‘When will we arrive?’ ’
092
7an-an ki-7ya xa re hasta la wra tykwa ti
ah P-go.down clear this until way.over hour twelve.(o’clock) only
an jwin Ø ra-ka7n
it said 3 then
‘Ah, when it dawns, then at twelve we will arrive,’ he said.’

093
tiyu7 s7en ka an
far place be it
‘It is a very far place.’’

094
tiyu7 o a
far it QU
‘Is it far?’’

095
tiyu7 o
far it
‘It is far.’’

096
ka7n-nu 7ya-ya7 cha7 nu xa ki-7ya xa i ra-ka7n na-7an
then it.seems that NOM when P-go.down clear DSC then how
ka ni jwin wurru ka7n 7in Ø
be now said burro that to 3
‘Then when it seemed that it was about to dawn, ‘What will we do now,’
the burro said to her.’

097
ja y-ka la mudu jwin i7n 7in Ø porke si ti nky-a la
no C-be more way said anim to 3 because if still N-go more
an wa ja ka 7a 7yan a7n s7ya na nkwa tmya
1pl.incl already no be more to.1sg 1sg because thing C.pass tired
r a7n jwin i7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n
1sg 1sg said anim to 3 then
‘‘There is no other way,’’ he said to her, ‘because if we continue more,
I can’t, because I am tired,’’ he said to her.’

098
ja ka 7a ti t7an n jwin i7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n
no be more still P.walk 1sg said anim to 3 then
‘‘I can’t walk anymore,’’ he said to her.’
n-kun lya ti7a njkwan kwa tza chu7n 7an-an cha7
C-shoot.2sg now water holy that P.go back to see so that
ka tyka7n ny7a ti ka ka si ka ntten cha7-lyu i
P.be be.visible P.see what be be if be person world DSC
7o ta ka kwne7-x7an jwin wurru ka7n 7in Ø
or or be devil said burro that to 3
‘Throw this holy water behind him so that it will be obvious whether he
is a human being or a devil,’ the burro said to her.’

s7we liye jwin Ø ra-ka7n
good much said 3 then
‘Good,’ she said then.’

ka7n-nu ntze nky-a nkw-lo ti7a njkwan ka7n 7in Ø in
then slowly C-go C-take.out water C.bless that of 3 DSC
‘Then she slowly went taking out her holy water.’

nw-j7in 7in an chu7n nu ka ki7yu 7in Ø ra-ka7n in
C-throw to it back NOM be man of 3 then DSC
‘She threw the holy water on her man’s back then.’

nw-lyu ka7n ra-ka7n
C-fall that then
‘Then he fell.’

ka7n-nu nkwa-wya7 ti nw-lyu ka7n in ska tzu7 ti kya7 ka7n ny7a
then once only C-fall that DSC one side only foot that P.see
an ny7a kya7 ntten
it manner foot person
‘Then it could be seen when he fell that only one foot was seen to be
like a human foot.’

xka tzu7 kya7 ka7n ny7a an tza-7an kya7 la-kwsu7
other side foot that P.see it like foot turkey
‘The other foot looked like a turkey’s foot.’
106

la ra-ka7n ti l7an cha7 nu 7ya-ya7 cha7 ka ka7n
way.over then only C.see that NOM it.seems that be that
kwne7-x7an
devil
‘Finally she saw that he was a devil.’

107

ka7n jwin wurr u ka7n 7in Ø in ni-7an ka da ni cha7 ky-a
then said burro that to 3 DSC how be QU now so.that P-go
an jwin i7n 7in Ø
1pl.incl said anim to 3
‘Then the burro said to her, ‘What will we do to be able to go?’’

108

ky-a an kwi7 tkwin nu y-a an re a 7o-ta ky-a
P-go 1pl.incl same road REL C-go 1pl.incl this QU or P-go
an xka tkwin jwin i7n 7in Ø
1pl.incl other road said anim to 3
‘ ‘Shall we go by the same road that we came on, or should we go by
another road,’ he said to her.’

109

7win jlyo-ti7 jwin Ø 7in i7n
2sg know.2sg said 3 to anim
‘ ‘You know,’ she said to him.’

110

s7we liye jwin i7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n nu-ka-7i 7win jlyo-ti7 i
Juquila much said anim to 3 then DSC 2sg know.2sg DSC
ni-7an ka jwin i7n 7in Ø
how be said anim to 3
‘Then he said to her, ‘You know how it is,’ he said to her.’

111

jwin Ø 7in i7n
said 3 to anim
‘She said to him [[narrator error]].’

112

ja7n-j7an jwin i7n 7in Ø
uh.huh said anim to 3
‘Uh-huh, he said to her [[narrator error]].’
113 pero na-re i jwin i7n 7in Ø k-ya an lo ja jlyo-ti7 n
but 1pl.incl DSC said anim to 3 P-go 1pl.incl and no know 1sg
ni-7an, ni-7an nu ka 7in si ni7en nnten tykwa an
how how NOM P.be to.2sg if there.is person P.sit 1pl.incl
jwin i7n 7in Ø
said anim to 3

'But we,' the animal said, 'let's go, and I don't know what will happen
if we come upon some people,' he said to her.

114 lo si ni7en nnten tykwa an si ka yu ki7yu i lo
and if there.is person P.sit 1pl.incl if P.be DET man DSC and
jlyo-ti7 cha7 ka nu kw7an jwin i7n 7in Ø 7an ka da si
know.2sg that be DET woman said anim to 3 what P.be QU if
xna 7ya nnten 7in lo na7 in ni-7an ka n da n
P.run carry person.2sg and 1sg DSC how P.be 1sg QU 1sg
'And if the people we meet are men, and you know that you are a woman,'
he said to her, 'what will happen if they kidnap you, and what will become of
me?'

115 kw-la7-tun 7yan a jwin Ø
P-abandon.2sg to.1sg QU said 3
'Will you abandon me,' he said.'

116 ja jlyo-ti7 n jwin Ø ra-ka7n
no know 1sg said 3 then
'I don't know,' she said.'

117 ni-7an cha7-tiya nu kw-lo ni jwin Ø 7in i7n
how idea REL P-take.out.2sg now said 3 to anim
'What ideas will you come up with now,' she said to him.'

118 ni in jwin i7n 7in Ø kw-7ni cha7 x7yu ke
now DSC said anim to 3 P-do.2sg that P.cut.2sg head.2sg
'Now,' said the animal to her, 'you will have your hair cut.'

119 s7we liye jwin Ø 7in i7n ra-ka7n
good much said 3 to anim then
'Good,' she said to the animal.'
x7yu ke i lo k-ja ska panttalun
P.cut.2sg head.2sg DSC and P-find.2sg one pants
ku7 lo k-ja ska nwsu xkwa ke
P.put.on.2sg and P-find one hat P.lie head.2sg
jwin i7n cha77 x7wi-lyo nnten 7in in cha7 ka
said anim so.that.not P.recognize person to.2sg DSC that P.be.2sg
nu kw7an jwin i7n 7in Ø
DET woman said anim to 3
‘You will cut your hair, and you will get pants to wear and a hat to be
on your head,’ he said, ‘so that people will not recognize that you are a
woman,’ he said to her.’

s7we liye jwin Ø ra-ka7n
good much said 3 then
‘Good,’ she said.’

nky-a Ø ra-ka7n in
C-go 3 then DSC
‘Then they went on.’

ka7n-nu ja n-kija 7a tkwin nu y-an Ø komo ka an
then no C-appear more road REL C-come 3 as be it
ska s7en nu n-ikwi l7o s7en nwi-tjin ti-kwlo
one place REL N-hang fence place C-pass at.first
‘They couldn’t find the road they had come by, as it was a fenced-in
place, the way they had come at the beginning.’

xka tkwin nw-snyi in
other road C-take DSC
‘They took a different road.’

n-kila ska kichen
C-arrive one town
‘They came to a town.’

jwin Ø 7in ska nnten ra-ka7n in kw-7ni wan ska cha7 s7we
said 3 to one person then DSC P-do 2sg.rsp one thing good
s7yu wan chi7n ke n
P.cut 2sg.rsp little head 1sg
‘Then she said to a person, ‘Do me a favor, cut my hair.’’
s7we liye jwin ne7 7in Ø ra-ka7n
good much said person to 3 then
'Okay,' said the person to her.'

nw-s7yu ne7 ke Ø tza-7an n-kinu ke tza-7an nx7yu
C-cut person head 3 like H-remain head like H.cut
ke nu ka yu ki7yu
head NOM be DET man
'Then they cut her hair so that it was the way men cut their hair.'

we-nu ra-ka7n in jwi ska panttalun 7in Ø
okay then DSC C.be.found one pants to 3
'Okay, so she found a pair of pants.'

y-ku7 Ø panttalun jwi ska nwstu 7in Ø 7o
C-put.on(clothes) 3 pants C.be.found one hat of 3 and
xka7n Ø
shirt 3
'She put on pants, and she had a hat and a shirt.'

ra-ka7n ny7a ra-ka7n ya7 ny7a yu ki7yu ka7n-nu wa y-7wi
then P.see then as P.see DET man then already C-be
sna yu ki7yu kya7 Ø wa y-7wi, yu ki7yu wa ka
sandal DET man foot 3 already C-be DET man already be
7ni-tyi7 Ø wra nu nky-a 7o wurrµ ka7n 7in Ø
H.believe.oneself 3 hour REL C-go with burro that of 3
'Then she looked like a man, she had men’s shoes on her feet, she had,
she thought herself to be a man when she went with her burro.'

n-tkwa Ø chu7n i7n ra-ka7n
N-sit 3 back anim then
'She was mounted on her back.'

ni-7an ka da ni jwin Ø 7in wuru ka7n
how be QU now said 3 to burro that
' 'What now,' she said to her burro.'
134
7an-an jwin i7n 7in Ø ky-a an-re kya na an s7en
ah said anim to 3 P-go 1.pl.incl P.go look.for 1pl.incl place
kw-7ni tnya jwin i7n 7in Ø
P-do.2sg work said anim to 3
‘‘Ah,’’ said the burro to her, ‘let’s go look for a place where you will
work.’’

135
s7we liye jwin Ø ra-ka7n
good much said 3 then
‘‘Fine,’’ she said then.’’

136
n-kila Ø ska s7en in s7en n-t7in rre n-kila Ø ra-ka7n
C-arrive 3 one place DSC place N-be king C-arrive 3 then
‘They arrived at a place, at a place where a king lived they arrived
then.’

137
ka7n nu ka rre ka7n in ka7n ka ska nten nu kwya7
then NOM be king that DSC that be one person REL rich
‘Then that king was a rich person.’

138
ra-ka7n jwin Ø 7in ka7n ra-ka7n ja ska tnya nu n-tkwi
then said 3 to that then no one work REL N-hang
7in to ta chi7n kw-7ni an jwin Ø 7in ka7n
P.give.2sg little P-do 1pl.incl said 3 to that
‘Then she said to the king, ‘Don’t you have some work that you could
give me to do,’’ she said to him.’’

139
n-tkwi o jwin ka7n 7in Ø
N-hang it said that to 3
‘‘Yes, I do have,’’ said the king.’’

140
ni-7an tnya nu 7ya-ya7 nty-ka 7in jwin ka7n 7in Ø
how work REL perhaps N-be.able to.2sg said that to 3
‘‘What kind of work can you do,’’ the king said to her.’’

141
na7 in n-s7wi cha7 7yan 7ni n ntyga lo tnya jwin Ø
1sg DSC N-be thing to.1sg H.do 1sg all class work said 3
ra-ka7n
then
‘‘I have the custom of doing all kinds of work,’’ she said then.’’
7an-an s7we liye jwin ka7n
ah good much said that
‘Ah, good,’ he said.’

ka7n-nu nw-ta ka7n tmya nw-7ni Ø
then C-give that work C-do 3
‘Then the king gave her work to do.’

wa tyun tzan n-t7in Ø ra-ka7n in
already many day N-be 3 then DSC
‘She had already been working there many days.’

ra-ka7n n-tiya-ti7 ska nu kw7an snye7 rre ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n
then N-want one DET woman child king that to 3 then
cha7 ka Ø ska yu nu 7ni tmya ni7 kixi7n nw-sye7-ti7
because be 3 one man REL H-do work in field C-think
ka7n ra-ka7n in lo ti-kwi7 t7a kw7an ka7n ka Ø
that then DSC and same companion woman that be 3
‘Then the king’s daughter liked her, because she was a man who worked in
the fields, so she thought, and she was actually her fellow woman.’

ra-ka7n na ka ni nw-t7an-tiye Ø ra-ka7n
then what be now C-think 3 then
‘Then, ‘What will I do now,’ she thought.’

ka7n-nu wra nu nw-s7ya wurr7 7in Ø ra-ka7n in y-a Ø y-a
then hour REL C-bray burro of 3 then DSC C-go 3 C-go
l7an Ø 7in i7n
see 3 to anim
‘Then, when her burro brayed, she went to see it.’

ni na nty-ka da ti7 jwin Ø 7in i7n ra-ka7n
what thing N-be QU nature.2sg said 3 to anim then
‘‘What do you want,’ she said to him then.’
H-walk 1sg H-walk move from one place to another 1sg to 2sg
H-walk 1sg P.give 1sg water P-drink 2sg said 3 to anim
‘I come to move you from one place to another, and I come to give you water,’ she said to the animal.’

DSC good more that H-walk 2sg said anim to 3 then because
that only thing H-want 1sg 1sg said anim to 3 so that P.eat 1sg
said anim to 3 and P-drink 1sg only 1sg little said anim to 3
‘It is a good thing that you come,’ he said to her then, ‘because
that’s all I want, so that I can eat,’ he said, ‘and drink a little,’ he said
to her.’

DET woman that DSC N-want to 1sg and same companion woman
already be 3
‘A, yes, and now what do you think, because this woman is in love with
me, and is my fellow woman.’

DET man DSC said anim to 3
‘There is no other way,’ he said to her, ‘if she likes you, but you
already made yourself out to be a man,’ he said to her.’

and now DSC said anim P-take 2sg with 3 said anim C-put 2sg
word to 3 DSC said so that NOM P.marry 3 to 2sg
‘And now,’ he said, ‘talk with her, speak of love with her so that she
will marry you.’
s7we liye jwin Ø ka7n ni-7an ka da ra-ka7n ka
good much said 3 then how P.be QU then P.be
wyat-ti7 t7en n 7in Ø ni-7an ka da k-ja7 n 7o Ø
knowledgable P.marry 1sg to 3 how be.able QU P-sleep 1sg with 3
jwin Ø
said 3
‘Good,’ she said, ‘and when I have married her, how will I be able to
sleep with her?’

kwa ka wyat-ti7 7o ni-7an s7wa ka jwin i7n 7in Ø
there P.be knowledgable with.2sg how task be said anim to 3
‘There we will see what we will do,’ the animal said to her.

s7we liye si kwa jwin Ø 7in i7n
good much if that said 3 to anim
‘Well, that’s fine,’ she said to him.

nw-t7o Ø nky-a Ø
C-come.out 3 C-go 3
‘She left.’

n-kila Ø s7en n-t7in rre ra-ka7n in ntyga nkwan-7an chen
C-arrive 3 place N-be king then DSC all thus fascinated
la ti 7ni nu kw7an ka7n 7o Ø n-tiya la ti ti7
more only H.do DET woman that with 3 N-be more only nature
ka7n 7in Ø in
that to 3 DSC
‘Then she arrived at the king’s house, and the woman was more and more
obsessed with her.’

ka7n-nu wa y-kwi7 Ø 7o rre ka7n cha7 nw-ta ka7n snye7 Ø
then already C-say 3 with king that so.that C-give that child 3
7in Ø
to 3
‘Then she talked with the king so that he would give his daughter to her.’

nw-xi-t7en ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n in jwi kw7o Ø ra-ka7n
C-marry that to 3 then DSC C.be.found spouse 3 then
in
DSC
‘Then the king married them, they married then.’
nkwa-wya ti jwi kw7o Ø i nw-s7ya wurr 7in Ø
once only C.be.found spouse 3 DSC C-bray burro of 3
xya7
again
‘When they had gotten married, her burro brayed again.’

y-a Ø y-a xi-k7an Ø 7in i7n in y-a
C-go 3 C-go move.from.one.place.to.another 3 to anim DSC C-go
l7an Ø nw-ta Ø ti7a k-7o i7n
see 3 C-give 3 water P-drink anim
‘She went to move him to another place and to see and give him water to
drink.’

ka7n jwin Ø 7in i7n ra-ka7n we nw-t7en n 7in nu kw7an
then said 3 to anim then already C-marry 1sg to DET woman
kwa ni in ni-7an s7wa ka
that now DSC how task be
‘Then she said to him, ‘I have gotten married to this woman now, now
what will I do?’’

ni in jwin i7n Ø jywin 7in nu ka sti-lya
now DSC said anim to 3 P.say.2sg to NOM be father.in.law.2sg
kwa ni cha7-nu ta Ø ska nwslu 7in
that now so that P.give 3 one hat to.2sg
‘ ‘Now,’ the animal said to her, ‘tell your father-in-law to give you a
hat.’’

s7we liye
good much
‘ ‘Fine.’’

lo jywin 7in Ø ta Ø ska ti tykwa ni7 an
and P.say.2sg to 3 P.give 3 one rope P.be in it
‘ ‘And tell him to give you a chin strap for it.’’

j7an j7an
yes yes
‘ ‘Yes, yes.’’
168
7o ska jun 17o ska kwxa jywin 7in Ø
and one thread and one needle P.say.2sg to 3
‘And a thread and a needle, tell him.’

169
s7we liye jwin Ø
good much said 3
‘Alright,’ she said.

170
lo nu kw7an t7a n-t7in kwa i ja ka k-ja7
and DET woman together N-live.2sg that DSC no be.able P-sleep.2sg
7o Ø wra jwin i7n 7in Ø porke ni-ka da an na t7a
with 3 hour said anim to 3 because how QU it and companion
kw7an wan jwin i7n 7in Ø
woman 2pl said anim to 3
‘And that woman that you live with, you can’t sleep with her right
away,’ he said to her, ‘because how could it be, as you are fellow women?’

171
s7we liye si kwa
good much if that
‘Fine then.’

172
7o ti n-tkwa ni7 nwslu ti ka7n in ka7n nu
with rope N-sit in hat only that DSC that NOM
tykwa stun tykwi tla jwin i7n 7in Ø cha77
P.be P.pull.out all night said anim to 3 because.not
ka k-ja7 7o t7a n-t7in
be.able P-sleep.2sg with companion N-live.2sg
‘And the chin-strap of the hat, that you will be pulling out all
night,’ he said to her, ‘because you can’t sleep with your wife.’

173
s7we liye jwin Ø
good much said 3
‘Fine,’ she said.

174
xtun ka7n in lo 7i-tykwa ka7n ti tnya
P.pull.out.2sg that DSC and P.put.2sg that only work
tykwa tykwi tla jwin i7n 7in Ø
P.be.2sg all night said anim to 3
‘Pull it out and attach it back, just that is what you will do all
night,’ he said to her.'
175
7an-an s7we liye si kwa jwin Ø ra-ka7n
ah good much if that said then 3
‘Ah, that’s fine,’ she said.’

176
nw-7o Ø nky-a Ø ra-ka7n in
C-come.out 3 C-go 3 then DSC
‘Then she left.’

177
n-kila Ø s7en n-t7in rre
C-arrive 3 place N-live king
‘She arrived at the king’s house.’

178
ka7n-nu nkw-7ya tla i
then C-descend night DSC
‘Then night fell.’

179
nw-jnya Ø ska nwslu lo nw-jnya Ø ska ti n-tkwa ni7 an
C-ask 3 one hat and C-ask 3 one rope N-sit in it
7o ska jun 7o ska kwxa
with one thread with one needle
‘She asked for a hat, a chin-strap, a thread, and a needle.’

180
nw-ta ka7n 7in Ø
C-give that to 3
‘He gave them to her.’

181
ra-ka7n nu nkw-wya7 ti nkw-7ya tla i y-ten tkwa
then NOM once only C-descend night DSC C-enter sit
Ø nky-a Ø t7wa ki7yan 7in t7a-nt7in Ø
3 C-go 3 edge bed of spouse 3
‘Then when night fell, she went and sat on the edge of her wife’s bed.’

182
nkwa nxtun ti Ø ka7n in lo nkwa 7i-tykwa Ø ka7n ti
C.be H.pull.out only 3 that DSC and C.be P.put 3 that only
tnya nkwa y7ni Ø tykwi tla ra-ka7n lo-ga nu wa y-ja7
work C.be do 3 all night then place REL already C-sleep
Ø 7o nu ka kw7o Ø
3 with NOM be spouse 3
‘She pulled out the chin-strap and put it back, that’s all she did
during the entire night instead of sleeping with the one who was her wife.’
Then when it dawned, the king came to the place where they lived.'

'How are you now,' he asked her.'

'Ah, we're fine,' she replied to him.'

And how are you,' he said to his daughter, 'are you okay with your husband, do you treat each other well?'

'Yes, we are fine,' she said.'

'The only thing that he lacks, I don't know why he treated me that way last night,' she said.'

'He didn't want to lie beside me.'
ni-cha7 da ka7n jwin rrre ra-ka7n 7o-ta na ja n-tiya-ti7 Ø 7in
why QU that said king then or thing no N-want 3 to.2sg
snye7 n jwin ka7n 7in snye7 Ø ra-ka7n
child lsg said that to child 3 then
‘Why would he do that,’ the king said then, ‘could it be that he
doesn’t like you,’ he said to his daughter then.’

s7i o jwin Ø ra-ka7n porke ti nu nkkwa ni7 nwulu
is.not it said 3 then because rope REL C.be in hat
7yan in s7i ny7a tykwa an ja nty-ka nu tykwa
of.1sg DSC is.not manner P.be it no H-be.able NOM P.sit
tkwa an 7an nu nty-ka-ti7 n jwin Ø ra-ka7n
sit it what REL N-want lsg said 3 then
‘That’s not it,’ she (not the king’s daughter) said, ‘because I
just couldn’t get the chin-strap the way I wanted it,’ she said.’

7an-an s7we si kwa jwin rrre ka7n 7in Ø ra-ka7n
ah good if that said king that to 3 then
‘Ah, that’s good,’ said the king to her then.’

ka7n-nu nw-s7ya wurr7u ka7n 7in Ø xya7 i
then C-bray burro that of 3 again DSC
‘Then her burro brayed again.’

ra-ka7n nw-t7o Ø nk-ya l7an Ø 7in i7n
then C-come.out 3 C-go see 3 to anim
‘Then she went out to see him.’

s7a n tza l7an n wurr7u 7yan jwin Ø
P.go lsg P.go see lsg burro of.1sg said 3
‘I am going to see my burro,’ she said.’

s7a n jwin Ø
P.go lsg said 3
‘Are you going?’ she said.’
nw-t7o  Ø nky-a  Ø
C-come.out  3  C-go  3
‘She left.’

nw-tiya  Ø s7en n-tun wurru 7in  Ø in
C-arrive  3 place  N-stand  burro  of  3  DSC
‘Then she arrived where her burro was.’

jyan  n  jyan l7an n  ni  cha7  ta  n  ti7a  k-7o
come  lsg  come  see  lsg  now  so.that  P.give  lsg  water  P-drink.2sg
jwin  Ø  7in  i7n  cha7-nu  ta  n  kxi7n  ku  jwin  Ø  7in  i7n
said  3  to  anim  so.that  P.give  lsg  grass  P.eat.2sg  said  3  to  anim
cha77  x7ya  liye  7a
so.that.not  P.call.2sg  much  very
‘I came to see you now, to give you water,’ she said to him, ‘to give
you grass to eat,’ she said to him, ‘so that you won’t bray so much.’

s7we liye  jwin i7n  7in  Ø
good  much  said  anim  to  3
‘Good,’ he said.’

ni  7a  jwin i7n  7in  Ø  na-7an  n-t7in  da  ni
now  DSC  said  anim  to  3  how  N-be  QU.2sg  now
‘And now,’ he said to her, ‘how are you doing now?’

7an-an  s7we n-t7in  n
ah  good  N-be  lsg
‘Ah, I am fine.’

s7we  o  a
good  it  QU
‘You are fine?’

s7we
good
‘Yes, I am fine.’
207
7an-da-i jwin wurrū ka7n 7in Ø
uhuh said burro that to 3
‘Ah, so,’ the burro said to her.

208
ni-7an ka da ni in xye-ti7 jwin Ø 7in i7n ra-ka7n
how be QU now DSC think.2sg said 3 to anim then
‘And what now, do you think?’ she said to him then.’

209
na7 in wa n-7in 7o nten ni in lo na7 in ka n nu
1sg DSC already N-be with person now DSC and 1sg DSC be 1sg DET
kw7an
woman
‘I already live with a person and I am a woman.’

210
jiyo-ti7 a jwin i7n 7in Ø jywtn 7in stt-lya ni ta
know.2sg QU said anim to 3 P.say to father.in.law.2sg now P.give
Ø ska kitun 7in jwin i7n 7in Ø
3 one weapon to.2sg said anim to 3
‘You know,’ the he said to her, ‘Tell your father-in-law to give you a
gun,’ he said to her.

211
lo tza ni7 kixi7n jwin i7n 7in Ø
and P.go.2sg in field said anim to 3
‘And go into the field,’ he said to her.

212
s7we liye jwin Ø
good much said 3
‘Good,’ she said.

213
wra nu 7win tiya s7en nu n-tun kwnyə7 nu ka
hour REL 2sg P.arrive.2sg place REL N-stand deer REL be
kwnyə7 kila i ka7n nu kun
deer male DSC then NOM P.shoot.2sg
‘And when you come to a place where there is a deer that is male, shoot
at it.’
ja kun nu ka kwnya7 kwte7 kwnya7 nu
no P.shoot.2sg NOM be deer female deer REL
n-tkwa yka-ke ka7n nu kun jwin i7n 7in Ø 7o
N-sit horn that NOM P.shoot.2sg said anim to 3 and
wra nu tza ny7a tlyu kwnya7 ka7n in wra tza tza
hour REL P.go P.see.2sg P.fall deer that DSC hour P.go.2sg P.go.2sg
tza stun nu ka skwe i7n cha7 7i-tykwa
P.go P.pull.out NOM be penis anim so.that P.put.2sg
ni7 ra-ka7n
crotch.2sg then
‘Don’t shoot at a female deer, shoot at a deer with antlers,’ he said
to her, ‘and when you see the animal fall, go and pull out its penis and put
it in your crotch.’

s7we liye jwin Ø ra-ka7n
good much said 3 then
‘Fine,’ she said then.

ka7n-nu nw-tiya Ø, n-kila Ø s7en n-t7in sti-lya Ø
then C-arrive 3 C-arrive 3 place N-live father.in.law 3
‘Then she arrived at the house of her father-in-law.’

ta wan ska kitun 7yan jwin Ø ra-ka7n
P.give.2sg 2sg.rsp one weapon to.1sg said 3 then
‘Give me a gun,’ she said then.

s7we liye jwin ka7n 7in Ø
good much said that to 3
‘Fine,’ he said to her.

na s7a n ni7 kixi7n
because P.go 1sg in field
‘Because I am going into the field.’

220
tza a
P.go.2sg QU
‘Are you going?’
221
s7a n
P.go 1sg
‘I am going.’

222
n-ti7a-ti7 rre ka7n cha7 tza Ø ni7 kixi7n
N-want king that that P.go 3 in field
‘He was proud that she was going into the field.’

223
ka7n-nu nw-ti7a Ø ska s7en, s7en nu l7an Ø ska kwnya7 nu
then C-arrive 3 one place place REL C.see 3 one deer REL
ka kwnya7 kw7e7 i
be deer female DSC
‘Then she came to a place where she saw a female deer.’

224
7a ja kun an re nw-t7an-tiye Ø ra-ka7n por-ke kwnya7
DSC no P.shoot 1pl.incl this C-think 3 then because deer
kw7e7 ka re
female be this
‘Ah, I am not going to shoot this one,’ she thought then, ‘because this
one is a female deer.’

225
tza an in sta s7en nu k-ja nu ka kwnya7 kil7a
P.go 1pl.incl DSC until place REL P.be.found NOM be deer male
7na
to.1pl.incl
‘I will go to a place where I will find a male deer.’

226
nw-ti7a Ø xka s7en in ka7n s7en nu wa l7an ska
C-arrive 3 other place DSC then place REL already C.see one
deer REL be deer male C.see 3 that N-sit horn
i7n
anim
‘Then she came to another place, a place where she saw a male deer, she
saw that it had antlers.’

227
nte nu ka ka7n nw-t7an-tiye Ø
here NOM P.be that C-think 3
‘This will be it,’ she thought.’
ntze nky-a Ø nw-skwen-tkwa Ø ya7 Ø kitun 7in Ø nw-7i-tykwi
slowly C-go 3 C-raise.and.let.sit 3 hand 3 weapon of 3 C-put
7in an s7en n-tun i7n
to it place N-stand anim
‘Slowly she went, raised her hand to her gun and pointed it at the animal.’

nw-chu Ø ra-ka7n in
C-shoot 3 then DSC
‘She fired then.’

xa nu nw-lyu kwnya7 ka7n in wra y-a Ø y-a stun Ø
when NOM C-fall deer that DSC hour C-go 3 C-go pull.out 3
skwe i7n nw-7i-tykwa ni7 Ø
penis anim C-put crotch 3
‘When the deer fell, she went right away to pull out its penis and she put it in her crotch.’

ka7n-nu nkwa-la7-tkwa Ø skwe kwnya7 ka7n ni7 Ø ra-ka7n in
then C-remain 3 penis deer that crotch 3 then DSC
‘Then the deer’s penis stayed in her crotch.’

nw-t7o Ø nky-a 7ya Ø kwnya7 ka7n 7in Ø in
C-come.out 3 C-go carry 3 deer that of 3 DSC
‘Then she went carrying her deer.’

n-kila Ø s7en n-t7in sti-lya Ø
C-arrive 3 place N-live father.in.law 3
‘She arrived in the house of her father-in-law.’

ka7n-nu n-tiya-ti7 ka7n cha7 n-kila Ø 7o kwnya7 cha7 sa-ti7
then N-want that that C-arrive 3 with deer because clever
snye7-la xye-ti7 Ø ra-ka7n in
son.in.law think 3 then DSC
‘Then he was proud that she arrived with the deer, because he thought his son-in-law was clever.’
235
7o-ra ka7n-nu in ja jlyo-ti7 o cha-kwa cha7-tiya nu ti
now then DSC no know 1pl.incl so.much idea REL still

ta wurrū ka7n 7in 0 in si nu ti nw-ta 0 s7en nu x7wi
P.give burro that to 3 DSC if NOM still C-give 3 place REL P.be
i7n cha7-lyu
anim world

‘Now we don’t know how many ideas the burro would have given her if she
had allowed it to remain in the world.’

236
ra-ka7n in nw-s7ya i7n 7in 0 ra-ka7n in
then DSC C-bray anim of 3 then DSC

‘Then her burro brayed.’

237
nu-ka-ti 7a 7ni ple kwa jwin 0 ra-ka7n s7a n tza l7an
DSC DSC animal foolish that said 3 then P.go 1sg P.go see
n 7in 0 ni cha7 ka nx7ya 0 jwin 0 7in kw7an 0 7in
1sg to 3 now because be H.call 3 said 3 to woman 3 of
ra-ka7n
then

‘Ah, that crazy animal,’ she said then, ‘I will to see it now, because
it will be braying,’ she said to her woman then.’

238
s7we liye jwin ka7n 7in 0
good much said that to 3

‘Fine,’ said her woman to her.

239
ka7n-nu xa nkw-7ya tla ka7n in y-ja7 0 7o i7a-nt7in 0
then when C-descend night that DSC C-sleep 3 with spouse 3
ra-ka7n y-ja7 0 7o 0 n-s7wa 0 skwe kwyna7 ka7n 7in ne7
then C-sleep 3 with 3 N-put 3 penis deer that to person
ra-ka7n
then DSC

‘Then when night fell, she slept with her woman, and she put the deer’s
penis to her then.’

240
lo xa nkw-7ya xa ka7n in y-a 0 ra-ka7n y-a l7an 0
and when C-descend clear that DSC C-go 3 then C-go see 3
wurrū ka7n 7in 0
burro that of 3

‘Then when it dawned, she went to see her burro.’
Then she said to the animal, 'why are you always braying,' she said to the animal.'

'I am tired of coming to see you,' she said to him then.'

'You are a devil,' she said to him, 'because you are always braying,' she said to him.'

'Then she went and got a rock and hit it on his head.'

'Her burro went falling.'

'Then her burro died.'
ka7n-nu s\text{\={e}}n nu nkjwi wurr\text{\={u}} ka7n 7in \emptyset in ka7n nw-ky\text{\={a}}7
then place REL C.die burro that of 3 DSC then C-be.built
ska tankke nu-ka-\text{\={i}} ni nw-ky\text{\={a}}7 ska ka7n in ka7n nw-t7o-tkwa
one tank DSC C-be.built one that DSC then C-appear
cha7 nw-t7o-tkwa letra ni7 ka7n cha7 nu ni-7an nw-ta wurr\text{\={u}} ka7n
word C-appear letters in that that NOM how C-give burro that
cha\=7-ti\=ya 7in \emptyset ni-7an sa-kwa cha\=7-ti\=ya nk\=w-lo i\=7n 7o ni-7an
idea to 3 how such.as idea C-take.out anim and how
ka \emptyset nu kw7an ni-7an nk\=w-lo i\=7n tnya nw-s7yu \emptyset ke \emptyset
be 3 DET woman how C-take.out anim work C-cut 3 head 3
ni-7an nk\=w-lo i\=7n tnya 7in \emptyset nu-ka-ti 7i-tykwa \emptyset skwe kw\=nya7
how C-take.out anim work to 3 DSC P.put 3 penis deer
ka7n ni7 \emptyset ni-7an
that crotch 3 how
\=\text{\={e}}n Then in the place where the burro died, a tank was built, that is, one
was built, and then, words and letters appeared on its side, telling how the
burro had given her ideas, how he had come up with the ideas, and how she was
a woman, how he had told her to cut her hair, how he had told her to put the
deer’s penis in her crotch.’

248
ka7n-nu j\text{\={u}}n \emptyset
then said 3
‘Then he said.’

249
y-a rre ka7n s\text{\={e}}n nk-7an ty\text{\={u}} ka7n in
C-go king that place N-be river that DSC
‘The king went to where the river was.’

250
y-kwi7 ka7n letra nu nw-t7o-tkwa ni7 ka7n cha7 ni ni ny7a
C-say that letters REL C-appear in that that what what manner
n-t7in cha7 7in \emptyset
N-be thing of 3
‘The king read the letters that were formed about how her things were.’
then when the king arrived at his home, 'daughter,' he said to his daughter then, 'it is not a man that you live with.'

'That's the reason she didn't sleep with you the first night that she married you.'

'Do not give her ideas of what to do.'

'Her burro was very intelligent,' he said.'
ty7o-tun ka-ti sna-du re i cha7 kjwi n 7in n jwin
P.come.out-stand seven soldier here DSC so.that P.kill 3 to 3 said
ka7n ra-ka7n porke s7i 7an tnya nw-7ni n 7o n lo
that then because is.not there work C-do 3 with 1sg and
s7i 7an tnya nw-7ni n 7o n jwin ka7n 7in snye7 n
is.not there work C-do 3 with 2sg said that to child 3
'I will order seven of these soldiers to kill her,' he said then,
'because it is not right what she did to me and it is not right what she did
to you,' he said to his daughter.'

s7we liye jwin ka7n ra-ka7n
good much said that then
'That's fine,' she said then.'

ka nu nkw-lo-tun ne7 ka-ti sna-du ka7n in n y-jwi n 7in
be NOM C-take.out-stand person seven soldier that DSC 3 C-kill 3 to
n in
3 DSC
'Then they ordered the seven soldiers to kill her.'

ka7n y-a ti kwentu 7in nu n-tkwa skwe kwnya7 ni7 n
that C-go only story of NOM N-sit penis deer crotch 3
'This is the end of the story of the one who put the deer's organ in her
crotch.'