

Database showing tense, mood, and negation in Mixtec

compiled by Barbara E. Hollenbach
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INTRODUCTION

Mixtec languages characteristically have a variety of elements that express mood, tense, negation, and related categories, and that are placed before the verb stem. These semantic systems are augmented by certain periphrastic elements as well. This database contains information about these subsystems from different Mixtec towns, organized according to the template described below.

The first part of the template summarizes how the three major moods, declarative, interrogative, and imperative, are expressed. Imperative tends to be marked differently for second person subject than for others, but even though the systems tend to be asymmetrical, they are quite efficient. The second part of the template contains a list of elements in various categories. In that this is a composite list for the whole Mixteca, it includes categories that have a fairly limited geographical distribution. Where I know that a category does not exist in a given variant, I write none. Where I lack information, I use a question mark.

Note that information about person marking is not included in the template, because it is not part of the verb phrase, and does not interact in any significant way with other categories. Person is marked mainly by a set of enclitic pronouns, which have been collected in a separate database.

I have gathered the information largely from published descriptions of twentieth-century Mixtec variants. The earliest source is Pike's description of San Miguel El Grande tone (1948). Descriptions of the Mixtec spoken in other towns began appearing in the 1960s, and they have continued to appear. Most are prepared by North American linguists, largely but not exclusively with SIL, but a growing number are written by native speakers of Mixtec. Sometimes I have extracted information from text material at my disposal, rather than from statements in a description, and sometimes I have elicited data from interviews with SIL linguists. For Magdalena Peñasco and the surrounding towns, the information is from my personal field notes.

The towns are grouped into four broad geographical areas: Western Highland Mixtec, Eastern Highland Mixtec, Lowland Mixtec, and Coastal Mixtec. Some areas are better represented than others. Within each area, I have subdivided them according to Jossierand's classification, following the map she gives on page 470. See: Jossierand, Judy Kathryn. 1983. *Mixtec dialect history*. Doctoral dissertation, Tulane University.

Even though most of the data comes from contemporary sources, I have also included information about varieties of Mixtec spoken in the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The best documented early variety is the sixteenth century Mixtec of Teposcolula described in the Alvarado vocabulary (1593) and the Reyes grammar (1593), and instantiated in the Hernández catechism of 1568. I have also included the sixteenth century Mixtec of Tlaxiaco-Achiutla instantiated in the Hernández catechism of 1567, the Nochixtlán variant instantiated in the Gonzales translation of the Ripalda catechism (1755), and some Lowland variants that are instantiated in catechisms published in the nineteenth century. Even though there are significant gaps in the information that can be abstracted from these sources, especially since most of them do not mark tone, the information they contain is nevertheless significant for tracing the history of various grammatical particles in Mixtec.

There are also texts in various archives which could provide further data. This material is described in: Terraciano, Kevin. 2003. *The Mixtecs of colonial Oaxaca: ñudzahui history, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

I have converted the transcriptions found in all sources to the alphabet adopted by the Mixtec Academy, designed to cover all varieties of Mixtec. The letter x represents an alveopalatal sibilant, the letter j is a velar fricative or an h sound, the vertical stroke is a glottal stop. The letter y can represent a palatal glide / semivowel or a voiced alveopalatal fricative, or sometimes a voiceless one (Magdalena Peñasco). The letter d represents an interdental fricative. The letter n at the end of a word represents nasalization.

Tone is marked when it is provided in the source. In addition to the acute accent for high tone, and the underline for low tone, recognized by the Academy, I also use a grave accent for mid tone, to avoid confusion between tones that are known to be mid, and those that are unmarked for some reason. A few varieties have four tones instead of the usual three. (I have not handled a fourth tone in this database.)

In a few cases a vowel is marked with a diéresis, which indicates a special tone pattern, usually a glide, that marks negative.

WESTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

WESTERN ALTA -- NORTH

Colonial Tlaxiaco-Achiutla, 16th century

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	
2 res	
1, incl, 3	

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	
subjunctive	na
other	

Negative

present	ña
past	ña
future	va(n)
imperative	va ja
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	ña
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	

Near time

already	ja (with all aspects)
about to	
other	

Tense

future	zero; (also stem change or ko-)
present	yo-
past	ni
past unrealized	?
CTF sentence final	?

Preverbal plurals

future	none
present	i- (optional)
past	none

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future	ko
present	
past	

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go	kun
come	ki
other	

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!

come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	sa-
adj	
repetitive	na-
combinations	

Notes

tone not marked in source, and so much information is not available

Sources

Hernández, Fray Benito. 1567. *Doctrina Christiana en Lengua Mixteca*. México: Casa de Pedro Ocharte. [En la variante de Tlaxiaco y Achiutla.]

San Miguel Achiutla

Major moods

Declarative

Interrogative

y/n	ZERO?
WH	interr word at beginning of sentence
alternative	
indirect	

Imperative

2 fam	
2 res	
1	na
incl	na
3	

Elements

Modals

y/n interrogative	ZERO?
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subjunctive	na
other	
Negatives	
present	ña, ñatuu, ña tu
past	
future	ma
imperative	
not yet	
no longer	ña ... -ka, tuka
adjective	
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
Near time	
already	ja
about to	
other	
Tense	
future	stem alone future stem ku- + stem
present	tono alto
past	ni
past unrealized	?
CTF sentence final	ni kuu
Preverbal plurals	
future	
present	ka
past	ka
Motion verb plural	
	koo
Habituals	
future	
present	
past	jo
Durative	
Progressive	
Motion auxiliaries	
go	
come	va
other	
Periphrastic verb tenses	

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist tuu, ña'a tuu
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	x-, s-
adj	sa-
repetitive	nda-
combinations	

Other

Notes

Sources

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena. 2015, Apuntes sobre el mixteco de Achiutla: un proyecto de rescate. Manuscrito puesto en el internet:
www.barbaraelenahollenbach.com/PDFs/AchRESC.pdf

San Antonino Monte Verde, Teposcolula

Major moods

Declarative

Interrogative

y/n
WH
alternative
indirect

Imperative

2 fam	verb alone
2 res	verb + ni
1, incl, 3	

Elements

Modals

y/n interrogative
subjunctive
other

Negatives

present
past
future
imperative
not yet
no longer
adjective
noun phrase
not even, neither
interjection
other

Near time

already
about to
other

Tense

future
present
past
past unrealized
CTF sentence final

Preverbal plurals

future	kun
present	ka
past	ka

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go	
come	veji
other	

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative
verb
adj
repetitive
combinations

Other

plural forms nani y na'nu lost, except that they use nani for hair; kani and ka'nu are used for both sg. and pl.

Notes

Sources

maestra Silvia at CEDELIO course, 6/08

Yosoñama (including Nduaxico [Nd])

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	á (at beginning of sentence)
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	Yos: á before first part, á xí before second part
	Nd: a before first part, xi before second part
indirect	same as direct
Imperative	
2 fam	future verb w/o subj pronoun
2 res	future verb + subj pronoun
	na + future verb + subj pronoun (more polite)
	á má + future verb (= negative question)
1, incl, 3	na + future verb + subj pronoun
	tono alto (kuáàn màà sà̀n)

Elements

Modals		
y/n interrogative	á	
subjunctive	na	
	tono alto	
other		
Negatives		
present	tu	túú
	ñã	
	ñã tu	
past	tu	túú + ñi
	ñã	
	ñã tu	
future	má	
imperative	má	
not yet	chia'an ka	
no longer	tù + verb in present tense + kà	already in effect
	mã + verb in future tense + kà	from now on
adjective		
noun phrase	masu	
not even, neither	ni	
interjection	tuu, ñã'a	
other		

Near time

already	jà (with all aspects)
about to	jà óó (jà óó de ja sà'à de él está al punto de hacer algo)
other	
Tense	
future	zero stem change in about 1/3 of simple verbs ko- prefix
present	tone change
past	ni
past unrealized	--
CTF sentence final	--
Preverbal plurals	
future	vi
present	ka
past	ka
Motion verb plural	-kuei (following reduced verb stem)
Habituals / Iteratives	
future	kò-
past	Yos: o- Nd: jo-
Durative	none
Progressive	ma (treated as a fourth tense-aspect)
Motion auxiliaries (all precede future form of verb)	
go	Peña Colorada: jun (only in compounds) Nduaxico, Ñumí centro: jin Yosoñama: jin (1st & 2nd person); jun (3rd person), but jun is being lost
come	ki
come back	ndi
other	
go home	nu (only in compounds)
arrive	ja (only in compounds)
leave /salir	ke- (in compounds)
Periphrastic verb tenses	see progressive above
Imperative verb forms	
go!	kuá'án
let's go!	ki'on
come!	ne'e
take it!	ja'an
other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not exist	tu, tu na

to not be present	tuu (tuu de 'no está)
other	tuu ... oo (tuu de oo 'no está')
Derivational prefixes	
causative	
verb	s- (before velars and palatals)
adj	x- (before apicals)
	full verb sa'a
	sa- in a few compounds (satniu 'trabajar', savii 'limpiar')
repetitive combinations	nda-
	rep + caus + stem

Other

Notes

Note the progressive aspect with ma-, which seems to be related to less fully grammaticalized uses of kuan (from kua'an) in other variants.

Sources

Gittlen, Laura. n.d. *Gramática popular, mixteco del norte de Tlaxiaco*, manuscrito, 1996. (This grammar has been revised, and it is soon to be published.)

Laura Gittlen, personal communication 9/03

Reignaldo Ventura, personal communication, 2/03

San Cristobal Amoltepec

THE TONE MARKING BELOW IS HIGHLY TENTATIVE.

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked	
Interrogative		
y/n	glottal stop at end	
	xí (a) (or) at beginning	xí kuààn ní tìnàna
	tè (and) at beginning	
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase	nàsá nání ró
alternative indirect		
Imperative		
2 fam	future verb with no subject	
2 res	future verb with subject	
1, incl, 3	(a) + future statement	

nà (a) + future statement -- *nà kí'in de* (que vaya él)

Elements

Modals

y/n interrogative	final glottal stop xíí (or) tè (and)	
subjunctive	(a)	jí kùnó kúnù de kú kùnù de na cha'vi ña'a ri stáva'à <i>nà kúnù de</i>
other	<i>nà m(a)</i>	

Negatives

present	ña (m.b[ba]) túú (ba) ñàtúú	
past	ña túú (ba) ñatuu ?	túú <i>ni</i> já'an de
future imperative	mā (ba) má	mā kú kùnù de má kùnù de má ndùvā ní maku kà'ni ká rō tí tià'an gā kùnù de túú ká jínù de māsū jáá vá'à māsū tée kúú de masi ja va'a ni ñin
not yet no longer adjective noun phrase	mákù, mākú tià'an ká túú ká usually phrased as an NP neg māsū ? māsū	
not even, neither interjection other	nì (a) ñá'á túú (no hay)	

Near time

already (present)	jà	jà jínù de
already (past)	jà	jà <i>ni</i> jínù de
about to	jà yàtnì	jà yàtnì kùnù de
other	none	

Tense

future	no particle paired stems (kùnù/jìnù -- run) kù- on some state verbs
present	floating high tone
past	ni, n-
past unrealized	nì (a) / <i>ni</i> (a)
CTF sentence final	?

Preverbal plurals			
future	jì		
present	kà		
past	kà		
Motion verb plural	kòò		kì'in kòò ó
Habituals			
future	kù		
present	none		
past	kù, jù		nì kù jìnù ðe
Durative	none		
Progressive	none		
Motion auxiliaries			
go	ju, kua; rare -- usually use full forms kuà'an, kì'in		
come	vejì, veè		
other	none		
Periphrastic verb tenses	none		
Imperative verb forms			
go!	kuá'an		
let's go!	kí'on		
come!	nè'e		
take it!	já'an		
other	none		
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)			
to not exist	túú / tujú		
	ñàtúú		
probably also to not be present			
other			
Derivational prefixes			
causative			
verb	s- (a)		stútú (juntar)
	xi- (x)		xìnání (poner nombre)
adj	s-		skuéchì (cortar en trocitos)
	sá- ?; usually full form sa'a		sá'á tné'é (ensuciar)
repetitive	ndà-		ndàkà'an (volver a hablar)
combinations	rep + caus + stem		ndàstútú (volver a juntar)
			ndàstèkú (avivar de nuevo)
Other			
	vìtnà ñù'ú nì jìnù ðe (he is running at this very minute -- given for progressive?)		
	stáva'à nà (a) (para que no)	stáva'à nà kúnù ðe	

Notes

the use of final glottal stop for question is unconscious; an attempt to elicit a question is likely to get xíí, or tè, which are more marked, and seem to be more indirect or polite questions.
note the way the tone of jàa m-b(ba) distributes on nà m(a), creating jàa nà (a)
note ctf nì m(a), different from ní a(a) in Magdalena; tuú nì jínù de
can not elicit an adjective negative; consultant changes it to a NP negative
cannot elicit auxiliary motion verbs; consultant changes them to full forms
cannot elicit a progressive with yikuu; consultant gave vùtnà ñú'ú nì jínù de (he is running at this very minute)

Sources

Hollenbach field notes, based on speech of Maura Zárate (now deceased), daughter of a couple from Amoltepec

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena. 2013. *Gramática del mixteco de Magdalena Peñasco* (Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Núm. 13). México, D. F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Versión electrónica: www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf

Paradigma del verbo correr, SIL Mexico website

Magdalena Peñasco

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	glottal stop at end
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase also glottal stop at end for some speakers
alternative	ò xíí (b), xíí (b)
indirect	?
Imperative	
2 fam	future verb with no subject
2 res	= statement in future
1, incl, 3	(a) + future statement

Elements

Modals	
y/n interr	glottal stop at end of sentence
subjunctive	nà (a) (used in frozen phrases, and in subord. clauses)
(a)	imperative (first and third person, but not second)
other	

Negatives

present	ñàà (a), ñàtúú, túú
past	ñàà (a), ñàtúú, túú
future	mā (a)
imperative	má (for all persons) mákò
not yet	ñàtúú + fut verb + kà
no longer	ñàtúú + pres verb + kà
no longer adjective	mā (ba) + fut verb + kà
noun phrase	ñàà (a)
masu (ba)	no es (él)
ñàtúú na	no hay ningún
not even, neither	ni ja
interjection	ñ'a
other	
emphatic	masu, másu,
lest	nàsáa (a)

Near time

already	jà (with present and past)
about to	sàní tè (with future)
other	

Tense

future	zero (also segmental changes, ko- prefix)
present	(a)
past	nì
past unrealized	ní (a)
CTF sentence final	nkúù

Preverbal plurals

future	jìn
present	kà
past	kà

Motion verb plural

kòò following contracted form of verb;
some verbs take both plurals

Habituals

future	kò
present	zero (because habitual is unmarked meaning of present tense)
past	yò

Durative

none

Progressive

periphrastic construction with yìkúú
pres + yikuu + subj + pres main verb + subj

Motion auxiliaries (all with future verb)

go	jìn jan ~ ja
----	-----------------

	nì jan
	kuan
	kuán
come	ki
	ni ki
	ve
	ne
go home	jin nu
	jan nu
	kuanu
come back	ki ndi
other	

Periphrastic verb tenses

progressive	yìkùù (to be in process of) + subject + pres verb + subject
progress toward goal	kuan + future
progress toward goal	ve + future (meaning close to kuan)

Imperative verb forms

go!	kuá'án
let's go!	kì'òn (= regular contraction of future go and inclusive)
come!	nè'è
take it!	ya'a
take it!	ja'an
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not be present	none; adv. túú, ñàtúú used without verb
to not be	none; adv. masu used without a verb
to not exist	none; adv. masu plus na what used without a verb
other	

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verbs	{s- (a)} + future x- (a) before dentals s- (a) before palatals and velars xs- (a) before j, y
adj	sá- sometimes full verb sá'á
repetitive	ndà- + future
combinations	rep + caus + stem

Other

Notes

no special form for let's go: kì'òn is regular contraction of kì'in + ó
the high tone for imperative seems to have developed by a loss of the segments of nà (a)
interesting compound motion auxiliaries; no'o and ndii require a preceding form of
ki'in or kii

Sources

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena. 2013. *Gramática del mixteco de Magdalena Peñasco* (Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Núm. 13). México, D. F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Versión electrónica: www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena, comp. n. d. Diccionario del mixteco: Mixteco de Magdalena Peñasco, preliminary version 2015

Paradigma del verbo correr. SIL Mexico website

Hollenbach field notes, 1996 ff.

San Agustín Tlacotepec

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	
2 res	
1, incl, 3	

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	
subjunctive	na
other	
Negatives	
present	ñatu
past	?
future	ma
imperative	?
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	ña
noun phrase	

	not even, neither	
	interjection	
	other	
	lest	?
Near time		
	already	ja
	about to	
	other	
Tense		
	future	zero, stem changes, ku- prefix
	present	?
	past	ni-, n-
	past unrealized	?
	CTF sentence final	?
Preverbal plurals		
	future	ku
	present	ka
	past	ka
Motion verb plural		
Habituals		
	future	ko
	present	yu, yo
	past	yu, yo
Durative		
Progressive		
Motion auxiliaries		
	go	kua, ji-
	come	?
	other	
Periphrastic verb tenses		
Imperative verb forms		
	go!	?
	let's go!	
	come!	ne'e
	take it	
	other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)		
	to not exist	
	to not be present	
	other	
Derivational prefixes		

Modals

y/n interr subjunctive	nà (a)
other	

Negatives

present	ñatuu, tuu
past	?
future	ma
imperative	ma
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	?
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
lest	nasa

Near time

already	ja
about to	
other	

Tense

future	zero, stem change, ku- prefix
present	
past	ni-, n-
past unrealized	?
CTF sentence final	nguu

Preverbal plurals

future	ju
present	ka
past	ka

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future	?
present	ñu
past	ñu

Durative

none

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go	?
come	
other	

2 fam
 2 res
 1, incl, 3

Elements

Modals

y/n interrogative subjunctive	nà (a)	(M&S call this determinative) -- note it takes low sandhi
nà kúsú yì plural imperative		?
other		

Negative

past	ñà	
present	ñà	
	tuu	
future imperative	mà (a)	(M&S call this prohibitive)
not yet	má	
no longer adjective		
noun phrase		
not even, neither		
interjection		
other		

Near time

already	jà	with present, x, x (M&S call this perfective)
other		

Tense

future	unmarked	
present	(a)	
past	n-	
past unrealized CTF sentence final	n- (a)	(M&S call this subjunctive)

Preverbal plural

future	jìn
present	kà
past	kà

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future	
present	
past	yo

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries (processual aspect meaning)

go to	kwa _n	(M&S call these initiative -- beginning to)
come to	ve	
other		

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	si-, s-, x-
adj	
repetitive	nda-
combinations	rep + caus + stem

Other

ee	and
ko	but
xi	or

Notes

final glottal stop for questions and perhaps also for doubt?

Sources

William R. Merrifield y Betty J. Stoudt. 1967. "Molinos Mixtec clause structure", *Linguistics* 32:58-78

Hunter, Georgia G., and Eunice V. Pike. 1969. The phonology and tone sandhi of Molinos Mixtec. *Linguistics* 47:24-40.

Global Recordings scripts, c. 1970

Santo Tomás Ocotepec

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	initial á
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	á at the beginning of each part
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	fut verb, usually no subject
2 resp	fut verb + subject
both can be made more polite by adding subjunctive	
1, incl, 3	ná + future verb + subject
negative commands are identical to negative statements	

Elements

Modals

y/n interr	
subjunctive	ná (a), n- (a)
other	

Negatives

present	ndùú, ñàá (rare)
past	ndùú, ñàá
future	mā (a), n-
imperative	mā (a) = regular future negative
not yet	njá'à kà
no longer	ndùú kà
adjective	tal vez ndùú
noun phrase	nsuú (nz)
not even, neither	nì
interjection	njòó -- emphatic, used alone to answer questions
other	
affirmative	sùù

Near time

already	jà	present and past
immediately	kátà	all aspects; about to, still, just now
	tákà	variant used by some speakers
other		

Tense

future	none
	stem change (RMA prefers to think of pres/past as changing)
	kù- prefix

present	high tone on first syllable
past	n̄i (optional if verb begins with n or j, except after ndùú negative)
past unrealized	low tone on first syllable
CTF sentence final	ní after any negative nìkù
Preverbal plurals -	none
Motion verb plural	none
Habituals	none
Durative	
Progressive	kwà is the process of -- reduced form of kua'an go
Motion auxiliaries	
rich system of directionals based on come, go, go to house	
go	k̄i
come	k̄i
other	
Periphrastic verb tenses	
Imperative verb forms	
go!	kuá'án
let's go!	kó'ón
come!	nè'en
take [it]!	jù'un
other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not be	ndùú
other	
Derivational prefixes	
causative	
verb	s- (a) sà- (a)
adj	
repetitive	nà-
combinations	rep + caus + stem

Other

Notes

Ocotepc is located decidedly off the beaten path of the Achiutla valley, near border with Trique and lowland Mixtec.

there seems to be a western boundary to the preverbal plurals, reached here also habituals

Ocotepec also seems to define the western boundary to a special imperative negative

Sources

Alexander, Ruth Mary. 1988. A syntactic sketch of Ocotepec Mixtec, págs. 151–304 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 1 (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics, Publication 83). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington.
 personal communication from Ruth Mary Alexander (now deceased), 8 or 9/02

San Esteban Atatlahuca

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	initial á
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	á + sent 1 + chí + sent 2
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	future tense; pronoun is optional
2 res	need to use pronoun
1, incl, 3	ná / ? + future verb + subject pronoun

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	á at beginning of y/n Q
subjunctive	nà plus floating tone
other	
Negatives	
present	tú, tùú
past	tú, tùú
future	mà + tone changes
	tú, tùú (less frequent)
imperative	mà plus future; identical to indicative in fam y resp both
not yet	ná tùú
no longer	tùá, tùvá (prob from tù gá/ká)
adjective	tal vez tùú
noun phrase	nàsùú / ñàsùú
not even, neither	nì
interjection	

other	
Near time	
already	hè
about to	jè yàjnì (casi)
other	
Tense	
future	none stem change (RMA prefers to think of pres/past changing) kò- in some verbs
present	tone change
past	nì plus some tone lowering in stem kò- in verbs that take it in future
past unrealized	nì becomes high tone after a negative ní used also for CTF
CTF sentence final	núú
Preverbal plurals	
future	none
present	kà
past	kà
Motion verb plural	kòò, ngòò after a nasalized verb
Habituals	
future	?
present	?
past	?
Durative	
Progressive	
Motion auxiliaries	
go	jé kuà
come	kì
other	
Periphrastic verb tenses	
Imperative verb forms	
go!	kuá'án
let's go!	kì'in yo
come!	nè'èn
take it!	
other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not exist	tal vez tùú
to not be present	tùú

other

Derivational prefixes

causative

verb

s- plus floating tone

adj

repetitive

nà-

combinations

rep + caus + stem

Other

Notes

Sources

Alexander, Ruth María. 1980. *Gramática mixteca: mixteco de Atlatlahuca*. Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México 2. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

personal communication from Ruth Mary Alexander (now deceased), 8 or 9/02

San Juan Teita

Major moods

Declarative

unmarked

Interrogative

y/n

a at end of sentence

WH

initial interrogative word or phrase

alternative

di at beginning of second sentence; optional Span. o at beginning

indirect

initial word related to interrogative (example is nde, vs. ndée)

Imperative

2 fam

future, sometimes with pronoun omitted

2 intimate

"

2 res

future + pronoun

na + future + pronoun (more polite)

1, incl, 3

na + future + pronoun (1sg, incl)

Elements

Modals

y/n interr

a at end of sentence

subjunctive

na

other

Negatives

present	ñā ñātuu tuu
past	ñā ñātuu tuu
future	ma
imperative	ma (tone?)
not yet	ta ñā'a ga
no longer	tuu ga + verb ñātuu ga + verb (more emphatic) ñātuu + verb + ga
adjective	ñā ñādi
noun phrase	madi (probably not) ñādi
not even, neither	madi (probably not)
interjection	ni
other	ñā'a

Near time

already	xe ama
about to	xe nuu (or soon)
other	
later on	kunuu ga
probably	vetuni

Tense

future	none verb stem ku-
present	verb stem only rarely tone
past	ni
past unrealized	ni (different tone?)
CTF sentence final	none

Preverbal plurals

future	ki (but not obligatory; was not used in text with o subject)
present	ka
past	ka

Motion verb plural

koyo

Habituals

future	none
present	none
past	xu

Durative

Progressive repetition of verb stem in present
motion verb forms kua'an, vee
ve-

Motion auxiliaries

go	ki- (perhaps only in certain frozen compound forms) ñe- (gives completive meaning) kua- (gives progressive meaning) ve- (gives progressive meaning)
come	
other	

Periphrastic verb tenses prob none

Imperative verb forms

go!	ki'i
	kua'an
let's go!	ki'i o kua'an o
come!	ne'e
take it!	xa'a (= here)
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist	ña xoo
to not be present	
other	

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	da-
adj	da-
repetitive	nda-
combinations	prob. ndada-

Other

Notes

tone is not marked in source, and so information is incomplete in certain crucial areas. The few examples of tone given are very different from Magdalena, and tone does not appear to mark present tense.

There is a sentence-final particle cho, which makes it a sort of exclamation, but speakers do not want to admit it as a "real" word.

There is also the word kuiti at the beginning of a sentence meaning 'a poco'.

¿Kuiti veji te a? / ¿A poco viene [él]?

Sources

Frantz de Barkley, Leanne. Sin fecha. *Nandede kuu xe ki kiku'un va'a ini o jnu'u dañudavi: Cómo entenderemos bien las palabras mixtecas. Una breve gramática del mixteco de San Juan Teita a base de un cuento tradicional*, manuscrito, 2003.

personal communication, Dale Barkley, Aug. or Sept. 02

WESTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

WESTERN ALTA -- SOUTHEAST

Chalcatongo de Hidalgo

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	unmarked
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	missing subject possibly a high tone
2 res	
1, incl, 3	

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	none
subjunctive	nà (a) + future
other	
Negatives	
present	tù
past	tù
future	mà (a)
imperative	mà (a)
not yet	chá'àn kà tè + sent with potential verb (also chá'àn tè)
no longer	?
adjective	tù
noun phrase	túù (in predicate)
other	nàsu / ñàsu / nísú (cp. nìi nor, àsu than) focus NP

fixed phr as: tu-kwiti (nothing) note: in both syllables, the i has mid tone

Near time

already
present à
past à
about to ?
other

Tense

future zero; also stem alternation, ku- prefix
present tone sometimes
past nì
past unrealized none given, but see high tone on kùù in example 18 on p. 190
CTF sentence final

Preverbal plurals

future none
present kà
past kà

Motion verb plural

Habituals none

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go kuà- (apparently only in kuano'o)
come none
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative
verbs s- (a)

adj	sá-
repetitive	nà-
combinations	

Other

Notes

possibly there is an imperative high tone that Macaulay missed; see examples 3 and 4 on p. 46. This may be why she found no difference in tone for some verbs -- she may have been comparing present with imperative instead of with future indicative.

M. mentions that ni sometimes raises the tone of the next word. possibly there are two ni particles, both mid, but the past unrealized one has a floating tone. 190, sentence 18; ex 4, p. 203 has hi tone on and after ni in negative

M says that ma is more an imper neg a = than a future one. She seems to have investigated this quite well, and feels there is no high tone form.

Sources

Macaulay, Monica. 1996. A grammar of Chalcatongo Mixtec. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (University of California Publications in Linguistics, Volume 127).

Pérez Jiménez, Gabina Aurora. 1988. Sain sau: introducción al mixteco de Chalcatongo, en *Continuity and identity in native America: essays in honor of Benedikt Hartmann*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. págs. 132–155.

San Miguel El Grande

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
-------------	----------

Interrogative	
---------------	--

y/n	unmarked (Pike 44:136)
	xí, xíí (or)

WH	initial interrogative word or phrase (Pike 44:136 says no)
alternative	perhaps xí, xíí (or)
indirect	

Imperative	
------------	--

2 fam	
2 res	
1, incl, 3	

Elements

Modals		
	y/n interrogative	
	subjunctive	ná (a), with 1st, 3rd person, future
	other	
Negatives		
	present	tú, also given as túù
	past	tú, túù
	future	màà (a); also given as ma
		túù
	imperative	ma
	not yet	
	no longer	
	adjective	
	noun phrase	
	not even, neither	
	interjection	
	other	ma kùù
Near time		
	already	à
	about to	
	other	
Tense		
	future	zero stem change kù- with passives; Pike 44 writes kùù
	present	(a)
	past	nì, nìi, nì
	past unrealized	ní (prob.; see Dyk 1959:238)
	CTF sentence final	
Preverbal plurals		
	future	none
	present	kà- (not in chart in Pike 44:121, but in vocab and texts)
	past	kà- "
Motion verb plural		
Habituals		none
Durative		
Progressive		
Motion auxiliaries		
	go	kí-, kì- plus change from mid to low on first syllable of verb stem (jumps nà-)
		kuà-, kuà-
		jà-
	come	kì-

other chà-

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go! ch'ó'o
 k'ì'on (ki'in + yo)

come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative
 verb s- (a) -- before k, ch, t
 x- (a) -- before n, nd, ñ
 sì- (a) -- before i, j, y
 su- -- ?
 adj sá-
repetitive nà-
 ndà- (infrequent)
combinations res + caus + stem

Other

passive by stem change or tone change (ta'vi) -- could be considered causative as well

Notes

San Miguel seems to have only m̄a for both -- Dyk 1959:234; m̄a is listed as meaning must not, will not, do not. Pike gives màa (a) for future negative (p.92). The two tones may help to explain some things.

Sources

- Pike, Kenneth L. 1944. Analysis of a mixteco text. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 10:113-138.
- Pike, Kenneth L. 1948. *Tone languages*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. [Incluye una descripción del sistema tonal de la variante de San Miguel El Grande, pp 77-94.]
- Dyk, Anne. 1959. *Mixteco texts*. Linguistic series, number 3. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma. [En la variante de San Miguel El Grande.], esp. pp. 221 ff.
- Dyk, Anne, y Betty Stoudt. 1973. *Vocabulario mixteco de San Miguel El Grande*. Serie de vocabularios indígenas "Mariano Silva y Aceves", Número 12. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Santiago Yosondua

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	subject may be unexpressed
2 res	must express subject same as indicative
	can use ná to make more polite
1, incl, 3	na + future

Elements

Modals	
y/n interr	
subjunctive	ná with future or special imperatives
other	
Negatives	
present	t̥u
past	t̥u
future	t̥u
imperative	koto, koto ma with future
	t̥u but less forceful
not yet	t̥ujá'ì with future or present
no longer	t̥ùkáà with all tenses
adjective	
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
Near time	
already	jà already with past and present
	sà with all aspects -- about to, still, just now
other	
Tense	
future	none; segmental stem changes, prefix kù- or kò-
present	high tone on first syllable

past	nì	optional if tone already marks it low tone on first syllable
past unrealized CTF sentence final		apparently not; see example on p. 56 bottom with nì after tṽ níkú
Preverbal plurals		
future		none
present		kà
past		kà
Motion verb plural		
Habituals		none
Durative		none
Progressive		none
Motion auxiliaries		
go		kìn, ján, j̄an, kuàn, kuán, chó
be in process		kuàn
come		kí, k̄ì vè
other		
Periphrastic verb tenses		
Imperative verb forms		
go!		
let's go!		
come!		
take it!		
other		
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)		
to not exist		
to not be present		
other		
Derivational prefixes		
causative		
verb		s- (a)
adj		sà-
repetitive		nà-
combinations		repetitive + causative + stem
Other		

Notes

in this variant the m̄a (a) / má negatives are lost except for a frozen use following koto
is the koto related to the verb look or care for? or maybe to the ko that serves as a
negative in the lowlands? Or to the ko in Magdalena mákò?

is the sa related to Mag. sàní tè? to one of the Tezoatlán particles?
note grammaticalization of kuan.

Sources

Farris, Edwin R. 1992. A syntactic sketch of Yosondúa Mixtec, págs. 1–171 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 4 (Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, Publication 111). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington.

Beaty de Farris, Kathryn. 2004. *Diccionario básico del mixteco de Yosondúa, Oaxaca*, segunda edición, versión electrónica. Serie de vocabularios y diccionarios indígenas “Mariano Silva y Aceves”, Número 46. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

WESTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

WESTERN ALTA -- SOIUTHWEST

Santiago Nuyoo

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	a2
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase (e.g., na, ne2ýýn)
alternative	a2 ... axi axi ... axi ...
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	future tense, optional pronoun
2 res	future tense plus pronoun
1, incl, 3	

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	a2
subjunctive	
other	
Negatives	
present	ntu3
past	ntu3 n-
future	n- + future segments with present tone

imperative	koto33
not yet	ntia'an23
no longer	ntu3 ... ka'4
adjective	ni-3 (changes to 2 after ya4)
noun phrase	nsu (it's not -- before nouns) nsa (it's not that -- before nouns, adverbs, and verbs)
not even, neither	ni3 ... ni3 ntu3 ...
interjection	
other	
Near time	
already	ya2 n1- (with change from n4- to n1- after tone 2) re2 n1-
about to	ki3
just	kua3
NOTE – source says last 2 occur between verb and subject -- CHECK	
other	
just now	ntañu'un322
Tense	
future	zero (= stem alone); ku-3 or 4
present	change from tone 3 or 4 to 1 or 2
past	different stem with initial ji- or y- n + tone 3 or 4 (low), which sometimes replaces tone 3 on 1st syll of stem; it raises to 1 following an unchecked 2, which is a regular rule of the language
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	nekuvi'223, with future form of verb nekui23
Preverbal plurals	
future	
present	
past	ra2 (may be more general -- only one example)
Motion verb plural	
Habituals	
future	
present	
past	
verb to go has a habitual form	jia'an'21
Durative	
Progressive	
Motion auxiliaries	
go	ký-, kua-, ña-
come	ki-, va-, nki-

other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!	kua'an'
let's go!	nko'on
let's go home	no'on'33 (maybe just regular future)
come!	ne'en'33
take it!	týyn'33 (maybe just regular future)
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	si- (tone 2 present, 3 future, 4 past) caus verbs have future segments, present tone
adj	xi- if stem begins with n
repetitive combinations	na- (tone 2 present, 3 future, 4 past) (Harrises call this habitual)

Other

re2 if

Notes

plurals seem to be formed by a ra2 between the stem and the enclitic;
seems to be an innovation.

Sources

Harris, draft of paper on Nuyoo tone, but incomplete data there
Larry Harris, pers. comm., Aug. or Sept. 02

IT WOULD BE GOOD TO CHECK THIS AGAIN.

Santa Lucía Monteverde

Major moods

Declarative zero

Interrogative

y/n	á at beginning of sentence
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	?
indirect	?

Imperative		
2 fam		future tense
		future tense + familiar pronoun subject
2 res		future tense + formal pronoun subject
		na + future tense + pronoun subject (more polite)
1, incl, 3		

Elements

Modals

y/n interr	á
subjunctive	na
other	?

Negatives

present	tu/tuu
past	tu/tuu
future	?
imperative	?
not yet	? natuu
	? naga
no longer	taan ... ka ?
adjective	?
noun phrase	suvi
not even, neither	?
interjection	?
other	

Near time

already	e
about to	e
other	?

Tense

future	zero
	stem change
	ku-
present	prob high tone
past	ni
past unrealized	?
CTF sentence final	?

Preverbal plurals

future	ka (fuses with V-initial stems)
present	ka "
past	ka "

Motion verb plural	?
--------------------	---

Habituals

future	?
present	?
past	?
Durative	?
Progressive	?
Motion auxiliaries	
go	future ki incomp kua pas ni je
come	incomp ve
other	--
Periphrastic verb tenses	?
Imperative verb forms	
go!	kua'an, cho'o ?
let's go!	cho'o
come!	ne'e
take it!	ya'a
other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not exist	prob tuu
to not be present	
other	
Derivational prefixes	
causative	
verb	s- (nd becomes t after s:-ndoto; stoto)
adj	sa-
repetitive	na-
combinations	na + s: nasia'a (llevar)
Other	
Conjunctions	
and	nde

Notes

Yosonotú does not have a future plural

Source

Martin Eberle and Vivian Cruz de Eberle, grammar sketch. 2005

EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

NORTHERN ALTA

San Juan Coatzospan

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	ndu following item being questioned to question entire sentence, ndu follows the verb phrase initial interrogative word or phrase followed by ndu
WH alternative indirect	tè (if) as a complementizer, and no ndu question word or phrase at beginning, but no ndu
Imperative	
2	sentence with future tense
incl	sentence with future tense
2, incl polite	nà plus future tense plus kùdíí (merely)
1, 3	nà plus future tense

Elements

Modals	
y/n interr	ndu
subjunctive	nà
other	
disbelief	vá ... ndu
hearsay	ku
Negatives	
present	ñá
past	ñá ní
future	ñá
imperative	ñá ku
not yet	vátà
no longer	ñá ... ká
adjective	ñá, ñá tè
noun phrase	ñá tè (not if)
not even, neither	ntè, ntè ña
interjection	ñá'à
other	
none	nté uun
Near time	
already	é

about to	é plus future
other	
dà vɛ	just now
Tense	
future	no change in many verbs addition of k or ku if verb begins with a vowel
present	kə- prefix; stem form is considered basic nda- prefix in plural (optional)
past	addition of mid tone (= low accent) on first syllable if first syllable has a low accent, a high accent is added at beginning of word
past unrealized	nì (treated as modal)
CTF sentence final	none
Preverbal plurals	
future	none
present	optional ndá- form of kə- present prefix
past	none
Motion verb plural	none
Habituals	none
Durative	none
Progressive	none
Motion auxiliaries -- tons of these; see pp. 314-15	
go	
come	
return	
other	
iní	know
ndiɔ	want
kuvì	be able
Periphrastic verb tenses	none
Imperative verb forms	
go!	kwè'én-n
let's go!	kœ'yín ò
come!	nì'í-n ɔ
take it!	ù'un-n
other	
kamá-n	hurry up
du'xèn-n	shut up (you are bothersome)
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not exist	ña túvì
to not be present	xoxo, xoo
other	

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	nà-
adj	tal vez nà-
repetitive	nà-
combinations	caus + rep + verb
	rep + caus + verb

Other

Notes

this variant is conservative in certain respects, such as
 preservation of te (if)
this variant is innovative in certain respects
 ndu interrogative
 nà causative
 no past tense marker, though the CTF marker occurs

Sources

Small, Priscilla C. 1990. A syntactic sketch of Alacatlazala Mixtec, págs. 261–479 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 2 (Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, Publication 90). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington. [Versión facsimilar electrónica disponible en <http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/23964.pdf>]

Priscilla Small, personal communication, Aug. or Sept. 02

EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

APOALA

Santiago Apoala

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	

Imperative

2 fam
2 res
1, incl, 3

Elements

Modals

y/n interr
subjunctive
other

Negatives

present
past
future
imperative
not yet
no longer
adjective
noun phrase
not even, neither
interjection
other

Near time

already
about to
other

Tense

future
present
past
past unrealized
? CTF sentence final

Preverbal plurals

future
present
past

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative
 verb
 adj
repetitive
combinations

Other

Notes

Sources

López García, Ubaldo. 1991. *Sa taxisa'a ñuyi xin'i kuna'nu ñudavi*. México, D.F.: CIESAS.

NOTE: Hugo and Priscila Santiago have done extensive fieldwork on this variant, and they could undoubtedly fill this in. Also, López García has other publications.

EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

NORTHEASTERN ALTA

Nochixtlán, 1755

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	a at beginning of sentence (optional)
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	
2 res	
1, incl, 3	

Elements

Modals	
y/n interr	a at beginning of sentence
subjunctive	
other	
Negatives	
present	ña
past	na, na'a (maybe error for ña)
future	
imperative	
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	ña'a
other	
Near time	
already	
about to	
other	
Tense	
future	
present	yo
past	ni
past unrealized	ni (tone difference?), después de na'a or na
CTF sentence final	
Preverbal plurals	
future	
present	
past	

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
come ki
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative
 verb da-
 adj
repetitive na-
combinations

Other

ta y
dakuite sino
xa'a porque, para que

Notes

Source

Gonzales, Antonio. 1755 *Catecismo y explicacion de la doctrina christiana, compuesto por el P. Geronymo de Ripalda, de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, y traducido en lengua Mixteca*. Reimpreso en la Puebla, en la Imprenta de la Viuda de Miguel de Ortega. En el Portal de las flores.

especially *Mysterios de fee* near the end, which is diglot, with Spanish at the left.

MORE DATA FOR THIS VARIANT CAN PROBABLY BE EXTRACTED FROM THIS CATECHISM, BUT IT IS ENTIRELY IN A QUESTION-AND-ANSWER CATECHISM FORMAT.

EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

EASTERN ALTA

Teposcolula, 16th century

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam sing	future with no pronoun
2 fam pl	chi- + future with no pronoun
2 res	
1, incl, 3	na- + future + pronoun

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	
subjunctive	na-
other	
Negatives	
present	ña'a
past	ña'a
future	va
imperative	vasa (2 & 3, sg. & pl)
not yet	ta- ... -ka, vata- ... -ka
no longer	
adjective	ña
noun phrase	

not even, neither interjection other	
Near time	
already	xa-
about to	
other	
Tense	
future	zero
present	yo-
past	ni-
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	
Preverbal plurals	NONE, but yo- present can have plural y- (i-)
future	
present	i- optional (takes place of yo prefix)
past	
Motion verb plural	NONE
Habituals	
future	ko-
present	
past	
Durative	nikuu at end (in conjugation, but maybe forced)
Progressive	kua
Motion auxiliaries	
go	kua- kuanu- (go back)
come	ki- ndi- (come back)
other	
Periphrastic verb tenses	
Imperative verb forms	
go!	
let's go!	
come!	
take it!	
other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not exist	yoo
to not be present	
other	

Derivational prefxes		
causative		
	verb	da-
	adj	
repetitive		na-
combinations		ndada-
Other		
more, still		-ka
if		tana

Notes

Sources

- Alvarado, Fray Francisco de. 1593. *Vocabulario en lengua mixteca*. 1962, Reproducción facsimilar con un estudio de Wigberto Jiménez Moreno y un apéndice con un Vocabulario sacado del *Arte en lengua mixteca* de Fray Antonio de los Reyes. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional Indigenista e Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. [En la variante de Teposcolula.]
- Hernández, Fray Benito. 1568. *Doctrina Christiana*. México: Casa de Pedro Ocharte. [En la variante de Teposcolula.]
- Jansen, Maarten E. R. G. N., y Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez. 2003. *El vocabulario de dzaha dzavui (mixteco antiguo), versión analítica*. Leiden, versión electrónica. [En la variante de Teposcolula.]
- Reyes, Padre Fray Antonio de los. 1593. *Arte en lengua mixteca*. México: Casa de Pedro Balli. Reimpresión 1890 por Comte H. de Charencey. Reproducción facsimilar de la edición de 1890 publicada en 1976 por Vanderbilt University, Nashville (Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology, Núm. 14). [En la variante de Teposcolula.]

MORE CAN ALMOST CERTAINLY BE EXTRACTED FROM THESE SOURCES, ESPECIALLY FROM REYES.

San Pedro Tidaa

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	zero
	can add a ña'a at end
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	

Imperative		
2 fam		future verb, no subject
2 res		future with subject
		particle ta (perhaps only with motion verbs -- ta nuni 'descend')
1, incl, 3		na + future verb

Negative imperative		
2 fam		wasaku + future verb, no subject
2 resp		wasaku + future verb, subject expressed
1. incl, 3		?

Elements

Modals		
y/n interrogative		zero
subjunctive		na only with future; creates 1,3 commands
imperative		ta -- perhaps only with a few verbs tanuni 'descend'
other		

Negatives		
present		ña
		ñatu
past		ña, precedes ni
		ñatu
future		ña
imperative		wasaku
not yet		?
no longer		ña ... ka; cp. ñatuka 'nomás'
adjective		ñatu
noun phrase		
not even, neither		
interjection		ña'a
other		

Near time		
already		sa, with all tenses, about to or already, precedes ni
other		

Tense		
future		none, segmental stem change, ku- prefix kundetú 'esperar', kunani 'be named'
present		perhaps tone
past		ni
past unrealized		?
CTF sentence final		ni kuu

Preverbal plurals		
future		none
present		none
past		none

periphrastic plural is iin iin + enclitic at end of clause
kaa ni iin iin ni

Motion verb plural none
adjective

Habituals
future ?
present ?
past xo (follows ni)

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries
go jua
come

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms
go! kua'an
let's go!
come! ne'e
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
to not exist (animate) ña tuu (tuu means estar, either an or or inan subj)
to not exist (inanimate) ña tuu
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes
causative
verb da-
adj
repetitive na-
combinations usually rep + caus + root
occ caus + rep + root

Other
adjective plural

Notes
no special future negative except for imperative
the wasaku imperative negative seems to contain the vaja attested in colonial times
plus be
iyo preceding a verb means mucho

What is ka?

ka kunu ni 'rápidamente'
 ka kunu nu 'ya nos vamos aprisa'

Conjunctions

or	a
	o
but	
and	te
because	ko
quotative	ne (at end of sentence -- dicen)

Sources

Oram, Joy, fieldnotes 2004

San Juan Diuxi

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	á at end of sentence; ú following a
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	future verb, no subject
2 res	future with subject
	prefix tá- (with a few verbs -- seem to be motion, leave up,
descend)	
1, incl, 3	ná + future verb
Negative imperative	
2 fam	māx kú + future verb, no subject
2 resp	māx kú + future verb, subject expressed
1. incl, 3	māx kú + future verb, subject expressed

Elements

Modals

y/n interrogative	
subjunctive	nā only with future; creates 1,3 commands, makes 2 more polite
imperative	tá- with a few verbs
other	

Negatives

present	ñà
	ñatù
past	ñà
	ñatù
future	mà
imperative	màxkù (action already begun, or desired by addressee) / màx kú
	nà ñá'a
	ná (fusion of above)
not yet	tà ... kà + future
no longer	
adjective	ñà, ñatù
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
	not, but instead ñàdu
Near time	
already	xá / xà, with all tenses, about to or already
other	
Tense	
future	none, segmental stem change, ku- ? prefix
present	tone
past	n- (many examples show high tone on next syllable)
	xo
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	n-kúú
Preverbal plurals	
future	none
present	kà
	x, with verbs that use a prefix for future, and some verbs w segm. changes
past	kà
Motion verb plural	koio*
adjective	ùnù
Habituals	
future	kù
present	xkò
	x, with a few verbs, takes future, but has present meaning
	xkà, with a few verbs
past	xò
Durative	
Progressive	
Motion auxiliaries	
	go

come

very rich system of directionals, including some compounds

full set from go & come, except for imperatives

3 from ndixi return

1 from nu'u go home, occurs only in compound directionals

some compound directionals are parts of specific compound verbs in Magdalena

other

Periphrastic verb tenses

vàx is coming has the aspectual meaning progressive

juàn went away has the aspectual meaning already begun

polite imperative

íó xá + sentence in future (exists that)

Imperative verb forms

go! juán

let's go!

come! né'é

take it! jú'ún

other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist (animate)

to not exist (inanimate)

to not be present

other

Derivational prefixes

causative

verb da- / dà- with potential segments, minus ku- prefix
sometimes tone differences

adj

repetitive na-, nū- with potential stem
combinations usually rep + caus + root
occ caus + rep + root

Other

adjective plural

Notes

tone is written according to two different systems, neither of which is standard for Mixtec, based on tone levels. One adds in stress, and the other modification. And so the tone transcription is very tentative.

very elaborate system of habituais, negatives, and motion auxiliaries.

special plural for adjectives. two face?

the maxku negative seems to contain the vaja attested in colonial times plus be

*The postverbal plural marker koio is not limited to motion verbs in Diuxi. It occurs optionally with other verbs in any tense, and it can occur together with a preverbal plural. See the statement in K&O 91:252. It appears that koio is used to fill in the gap caused by the lack of a preverbal plural in future. Examples of koio with motion verbs are found on the following pages

of the sketch: 218, 221, 252. Examples of koio with other verbs in the future are found on: 223, 225, 252, 368, 371. Examples of koio with other verbs in other tenses are found on: 252.

Sources

Kuiper, Albertha, y Joy Oram. 1991. A syntactic sketch of Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec, págs. 179–408 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 3 (Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, Publication 105). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington.

Reviewed by Oram 8/02, and she made some comments about koio

Kuiper later wrote about this and asked me to remove the following line from the above list under modals:

affirmative ná / n̄ (treated with negatives as truth-value)

This is in the syntax sketch, but she now feels it was wrong.

Southeastern Nochixtlán

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	a at end of sentence
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	embedded: S an S
indirect	teno (if)
Imperative	
2 fam	future, no pronoun
2 res	future + clitic
1, incl, 3	na + future + subject
NEED TO CHECK INCL YET	

Elements

Modals	
y/n interr	a at end of sentence
subjunctive	na
other	
Negatives	
present	a- SAN, SIZ ñā SDN
past	a- SAN, SIZ ñā SDN ayi SAN, SIZ
future	

imperative	axi (de vaxi)
not yet	vata ... ka
no longer	atuu ka
adjective	a-
noun phrase	a divi
not even, neither	
interjection	ña'a
other	
Near time	
already	ja
about to	
other	
Tense	
future	none stem change (kunu/xinu -- run) ku- with passive-ish verbs
present	cambio del tono
past	ni-
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	niku
Preverbal plurals	none
Motion verb plural	prob none
Habituals	
future	
present	xi-
past	xi- (follows ni-, but takes future stem)
Durative	
Progressive	ta- (with present stem)
Other	kun (dubitative; probably special use of motion auxiliary) ku- (permissive; probably short form of se puede)
Motion auxiliaries	
go	
come	kij (kixi) ?
other	
Periphrastic verb tenses	
Imperative verb forms	
go!	
let's go!	
come!	
take it!	

other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist atuu
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative
 verb da-
 adj
repetitive na-
combinations

Other

conjunctions
 if no, teno

Notes

In some towns (SEN) future negative is *vā* instead of *ma*
note loss of initial *ñ* in many forms
note preservation of *te* (if)

maybe separate towns; gets confusing with letter abbreviations

SDN – Santo Domingo Nuxaa

SIZ – Santa Inés Zaragoza

SAN – San Andrés Nuxiño

Sources

Hughins S., Susana, e Inga McKendry S., recopiladoras. 1997. *Tutu tu'un davi: Minidiccionario del mixteco del sureste de Nochixtlán*, versión preliminar.

also personal communication

See also:

Inga McKendry's master's thesis, UND

Santiago Mitlatongo

Major moods

Declarative unmarked

Interrogative

y/n ko
 maybe also a (= conjunction or) ?
WH initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative
indirect

Imperative	
2 fam	future verb
2 res	
1, incl, 3	na + future + subject

Elements

Modals

y/n interr	?
subjunctive	na
other	

Negatives

present	ñā
past	ñā
future	kú
imperative	?
not yet	?
no longer	kú ... ka ñā'a (xi) kú ... ka
adjective	
noun phrase	ñātu before NP, also ñātu na + verb
not even, neither	
interjection	ñā'a ñā'a xi
other	ñāli, ñāliko (not, never)

Near time

already	?
about to	
other	

Tense

future	zero stem change ku- with passive sorts of verbs ? na- CH--prob. subjunctive
present	
past	ni ni ñe'nu i -- creció niño
past unrealized	?
CTF sentence final	

Preverbal plurals

future	?
present	ka
past	ka

Motion verb plural

Santa María Peñoles

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked	
Interrogative		
y/n	ǎán at end of sentence	
	ù at end of sentence	
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase	
	+ ì at end of sentence	ALI 68
alternative indirect		
Imperative		
2 sg	future verb with no subject	
2 pl	chìì + future verb with no subject	
1, incl, 3		

Elements

Modals		
y/n interr	ǎán at end of sentence	
subjunctive	nà- (glossed constraint)	
other		
Negatives		
present	ñá	GS 75
	ñátúú	ALI 90
past	ñàtúú	GS 62
	ñátúú	ALI 89
future	vá-	GS 77
	túú	GS 75
imperative		
not yet		
no longer		
adjective	baá	GS 80
	ñátúú	ALI 132
noun phrase	ñàdíú	GS 62
	ñádfú	ALI 69
	ñátúú	ALI 62, 63
not even, neither		
interjection	ñá'á	ALI 133

other			
Near time			
already	sà-	present	
about to	sà-	future	
just	sà-	past	
other			
Tense			
future	zero	stem change kunu/xinu	
present	tone lowering		
past	ní-		
past unrealized	prob. nì		
CTF sentence final	nì-kùù; nì-kùù		
Preverbal plurals			
future	none		
imperative	chì		
present	none		
past	none		
Motion verb plural	prob none		
Habituals			
future			
present			
past	xóo (calls this distant past, but translates it as habitual)		
Durative	prob none		
Progressive	tà-		
Motion auxiliaries			
go	kin	ki'in (note: in all syllables i has hi tone)	
	kuá		
come			
other			
Periphrastic verb tenses			
Imperative verb forms			
go!			
let's go!			
come!	né'é		ALI 40
take it!			
other			
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)			
to not exist			
to not be present			
other			

Derivational prefixes			
causative			
	verb	dà-	
	adj	dà-	
repetitive		nà-	GS 72 74
combinations			

Other			
and		tèè	
with		ndi'i	
or		adi	
but		dikò	
because		chiì	
when		ore	ALI 90
in order that		zero conjunction + future tense	
if		núù	ALI 133

Notes

the nì-kuù phrase means CTF in future and present, but in past it does not. It would probably be worth checking the tones (GS 17-18, 31).

treats n-, nd- replacing k- in stems as habitual

there is more to mine out of ALI, but I think I have pretty much exhausted GS

Sources

Daly, John P. 1973. A generative Syntax of Peñoles Mixtec. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.

Daly, John and Holland de Daly, Margaret. 1977. Archivo de Lenguas Indígenas del Estado de Oaxaca.

EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

TEOZACOALCO

[[No data yet]]

LOWLAND MIXTEC

NORTHERN BAJA

Mixteca Baja (Acatlán,-Huajuapán) 1834

Major moods

Declarative	nothing
Interrogative	
y/n	
WH	question word or phrase at beginning
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	fut verb + subj pronoun
2 res	fut verb + subj pronoun
1, incl	
3	na + fut verb
	fut verb alone

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	
subjunctive	na
other	
Negatives	
present	
past	
future	
imperative	un sa (hunssa) (respect)
	ma (familiar)
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
Near time	
already	
about to	
other	
Tense	
future	zero
	verbs with stem change
	ku- with some verbs
present	yo-

past	ni
past unrealized	?
CTF sentence final	

Preverbal plurals

future
present
past

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	da-
adj	
repetitive	na-
combinations	

Other

Notes

Sources

Doctrina christiana en el idioma mixteco (1834)

Mixteca Baja (Acatlán-Huajuapan) 1892 (Huajuapan, Chila, Chazumba, Huapanapan, Tequixtepeq, Huajolotitlan, Acatlan, Totoltepeq, Petlaltzingo, Zacatepeq)

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	
WH	
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	
2 res	fut verb + subj pronoun
1, incl,	
3	na + fut verb

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	
subjunctive	na
other	
Negatives	
present	
past	
future	
imperative	ma sa (polite) ma (familiar)
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	un
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
Near time	
already	
about to	

other

Tense

future	zero
	verbs with stem change
	ko- with some verbs
present	yo
	zero (dika)
past	ni
past unrealized	?
CTF sentence final	

Preverbal plurals

future
present
past

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	da-
adj	
repetitive	

combinations

Other

Notes

this variety preserves the xi possessive marker -- satónixiní (but kuachindi)

Sources

Catecismo en el idioma mixteco: Mixteca Baja (1892)

Mixteca Baja, Puebla 1899

Major moods

Declarative

Interrogative

y/n
WH
alternative
indirect

Imperative

2 fam
2 res
1, incl, 3

Elements

Modals

y/n interrogative	á a beginning, or following fronted topic; causes tone change on following n̄i- past tense
subjunctive	n̄i- (note tone difference with n̄i- past)
other	

Negatives

present	m̄ak̄oó
past	k̄o-
future	
imperative	masa, m̄a, mà
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	k̄oó

other

Near time

already
about to
other

Tense

future	?
present	verbs with stem change
past	? (does not use yo-)
past unrealized	ni-
CTF sentence final	

Preverbal plurals

future
present
past

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative		
	verb	da-
	adj	
repetitive		
combinations		

Other

te	and
doko	but
jaan	sí

Notes

no town is identified, but the author proclaims himself a Mixtec. As near as I can tell, the forms are compatible with Xayacatlán data, and his town can't be too far away from there.

He protested an excessive use of yo, which he calls a contraction of the deictic yo'o, which means here or this. My take on this is that in two other recent catechisms from the Mixteca Baja, both published in 1892, yo- was used for present tense, which reflected earlier usage, probably earlier catechisms. (Religious language is known to be conservative or even archaic.) The author of this 1899 catechism did not recognize yo as a tense marker, which is evidence that the yo- prefix had completely disappeared in his area. I have not, however, found any evidence for tone as a marker of present tense, even though the author used accents heavily.

A more careful reading of this catechism would almost certainly provide data to fill in many of the blanks above.

Sources

Anónimo 1899. Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en la Lengua Mixteca, por un Mixteco. Puebla.

Xayacatlán de Bravo, Pue.

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	sentence-initial a (or)
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	like indicative inclusive
2 res	same as indicative

1, incl, 3 ?

Elements

Modals

y/n interrogative	sentence-initial a
subjunctive	?
other	

Negatives

present	koo
past	koo
future	ma
imperative	masa
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	koó
other	

Near time

already	? -- perhaps none, but unlikely; no examples in grammar Ni ku itní xíchi / van varias veces / Ya son varias veces
about to	
other	

Tense

future	none; stem changes
present	none written on examples, but likely is there
past	ni
past unrealized	none presented; no ex of negative past
CTF sentence final	no ex of conditional sentences given

Preverbal plurals

future	none
present	none
past	none

Motion verb plural

Habituals	none
-----------	------

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go	none presented
come	none presented

other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist	koo
to not be present	koo
other	

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	da-
adj	kida + adj
repetitive	na-
combinations	

Other

doko	pero
na	cuando

Notes on source

tone is written only very sporadically
VV is probably not written consistently.
the grammar is quite short with no text, and some things had to be extracted from examples, like the derivational prefixes.
some things probably occur but just didn't make it into any of the examples. I would expect to find the na subjunctive and the already. Also possibly the past unrealized.

Notes on history

note masa for negative imperative; cp. vaja in Hernández 1567.

Sources

Vázquez Peralta, Rodrigo. 1997. Gramática popular de la lengua mixteca del sur de Puebla. *Fojas Étnicas*, Número 11 / 139. Puebla: Secretaría de Cultura.

LOWLAND MIXTEC

WESTERN / CENTRAL / SOUTHERN BAJA / TEZOATLÁN

**Mixteca Montañez (Tonalá, Silacayoapan, Tlacotepec) 1892
(Tlachichilco, Tonalá, Tlacotepec Nieves, Tezuatlan, Silacayoapan,
Tlapantzingo, Tamazola, Ihualtepec)**

Major moods

Declarative

Interrogative

y/n
WH
alternative
indirect

Imperative

2 fam	
2 res	fut verb + subj pronoun
1, incl	
3	na + fut verb

Elements

Modals

y/n interrogative	
subjunctive	na
other	

Negatives

present	
past	
future	
imperative	un
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	un
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	

Near time

already
about to
other

Tense

future	zero verbs with stem change ko- with some verbs
present	yo

		zero (xika)
	past	ni
	past unrealized	
	CTF sentence final	
Preverbal plurals		
	future	
	present	
	past	
Motion verb plural		
Habituals		
	future	
	present	
	past	
Durative		
Progressive		
Motion auxiliaries		
	go	
	come	
	other	
Periphrastic verb tenses		
Imperative verb forms		
	go!	
	let's go!	
	come!	
	take it!	
	other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)		
	to not exist	
	to not be present	
	other	
Derivational prefixes		
	causative	
	verb	sa-
		da- (dativi)
	adj	
	repetitive	na
	combinations	

Other

Notes

there seems to be a mixture of s and d forms in this publication.

Sources

Catecismo en el idioma mixteco: Mixteca Montañez (1892)

LOWLAND MIXTEC

CENTRAL BAJA

[[No data yet]]

LOWLAND MIXTEC

WESTERN BAJA

[[No data yet]]

LOWLAND MIXTEC

TEZOATLÁN

Tezoatlán (San Andrés Yutatío)

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	á sent initial
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	á ... o ...
indirect	á
	WH word at beg of embedded Q
Imperative	
2 sg	future tense + optional pronoun

2 pl	future tense + pronoun
2 res	na + future tense + pronoun
1, incl, 3	often ná

Elements

Modals

y/n interr	á
subjunctive	ná
other	

Negatives

present	k̄o
past	k̄o
future	o; sometimes a
imperative	o sa
	ná dá'a ni
not yet	k̄o ñá'a
	k̄o ñá'a ta'on
no longer	o + verb + ka
	k̄o + verb + ka
adjective	k̄o
noun phrase	o duú
	aduú
not even, neither	ni + noun
	ni k̄o
	ni o
	ni k̄oó
	ni ... k̄o (neither ... nor)
interjection	o'on (yes/no question)
	k̄oó (I won't or don't)
other	

Near time

already	sa (in present = just begun
about to	sa
other	

Tense

future	ku- prefix in some verbs
	stem difference in some verbs
present	high tone on first of second syllable ro 2-syllablwe kverbs
past	ni
past unrealized	ni
? CTF sentence final	ni kúu (on hypothetical condition)

Preverbal plurals

future	none
present	
past	

Motion verb plural	none		
Habituals			
future			
present	sá (up to present and will probably continue)		
past	s̄a (after ni)		
Durative	s̄a (after ni)		
Progressive	only in special forms of motion verbs		
Motion auxiliaries			
go	kuán (imperative)		
come	none		
other	none		
Periphrastic verb tenses			
occasionally	verb in present + pronoun + kua'an kua'an + verb in future + pronoun		
Imperative verb forms			
go!	kuá'n		
let's go!	kó'q		
come!	nakíj		
take it!	na'a ná + verb in future		
other	jó'on		
mira aquí	yóchi	(yó'q aquí + chí exclamation)	
mira allá	káchi	(káa allá)	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)			
to not exist	kqó		
	kq t̄a'ón		
to not be present	"		
other			
no quiere	kq xín + na		
no quiso	kq ní xín + na		
Derivational prefixes			
causative			
verb	dá-		
	chi- (with some verbs of position)		
adj	dá-		
repetitive	na-		
combinations	nadá- (rare)		
	dáná-		
Other			
kuu	estar en movimiento		
nduu	convertirse en		
kee	hacer		

Notes

k_o is a reduction of the verb k_oó (not equal to exist)
future negative _o is a squishing of m_a

Sources

Ferguson de Williams, Judith. 2006. *Gramática popular del mixteco del municipio de Tezoatlán, San Andrés Yutatío, Oaxaca*. Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Número 9. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A.C. [2007. Versión electrónica disponible en www01.sil.org/mexico/mixteca/tezoatlan/G009a-GramMixTez-mxb.htm]
personal communication from Judith Williams, August 02

LOWLAND MIXTEC

GUERRERO

Coatzoquitengo, Gro.

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative y/n	
WH alternative indirect	initial interrogative word or phrase
Imperative 2 1, incl, 3	
Imperative (pp. 198-201)	
2 sg	no subject expressed, potential verb
2 pl	potential with subject expressed
3	ná plus potential and pronoun
2 sg negative	potential with subject expressed

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	án (218) intonation, rising at end (248-49)
subjunctive	ná (con tercera persona); does not change the following tone (pp. 199-201)

unreal, possible conditional cond. ctf	no information given for first person và (pp. 197-98) tá 'if' (pp. 201-203) tà ní 'if' (204) táni, tàni forms also given (203) núú, nùú (= final particle) (203-205)
other	
Negatives	
present	ùn
past	ùn; changes mid tone of following syllable to high (p. 79)" nì, plus perhaps change of mid to high on next syllable see examples on pp. 196, 197, 198 maybe restricted to certain verbs -- want, eat
future	ùn; changes mid tone of following syllable to high (p. 79); but on p. 197, given as ùn in ùn kù'ùn yò (no iremos)
imperative	ùn (p. 200, 254)
not yet	tà'àn kà (p. 237)
no longer	
adjective	?
noun phrase	sìvì (no es) -- also sìvì (218-19), 241, sìví (256) but sìvì given as sí es (241, 256-57)
not even, neither	
interjection	ù'ùn no interjection (241); also ú'ùn (242)
other	

Note: on p. 227, k_iv_i / k_iv_i (no poder) and x_in (no querer) are given with no negative markers except perhaps their low tone. Maybe they are negative verbs.

253 gives ùn for all three aspects

Near time

already	xà (past) (p. 186) xà (adj) (236)
right away	yàchì (237) kùitì (237) xà yàtìn (240)
other	

Tense

future	zero (208) ku- (210)
present	tono alto (207-208)
past	tono bajo (207) shì- (207) ní- (207)
past unrealized	ní (p. 203)
CTF sentence final	(no hay ejemplos de oraciones condicionales)

Preverbal plurals

future	none
present	none (ex 230)
past	none (ex 230)
Motion verb plural other	pronoun set has singular and plural forms
Habituals	none
Durative	
Progressive	
Motion auxiliaries (187-88, 228)	
go	kua'an (pp. 187-88)
come	vaxi (pp. 187-88)
other	
Periphrastic verb tenses	
Imperative verb forms	
go!	
let's go!	
come!	
take it!	
other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not exist	koó (251),
to not be present	koó (258)
other	
Derivational prefixes	
causative	
verb	sí- (p. 194)
adj	kàsà (do) + adjective (p. 194)
repetitive combinations	nì- (p. 193)
Other	
Notes	
Conjunctions (224)	
and, but	tà
because	chì
or	àn - án
neither	nì - ní
then	tà - tàsàà
also	tàn

Relative adverbs (= subordinate conjunctions) (228-229)

while	nàni
until, since	àntà
as	tà
if	tá
when	kìvi

Sources

Casiano Franco, Vicente Paulino. 1982. Analisis sintáctico del mixteco de Coatzacoquitengo, Gro. *Etnolingüística 11*. México: SEP-INI.

This very valuable work is the pioneer grammar of Mixtec written by a native speaker. It includes tone transcription, though there seem to be some inconsistencies. Unfortunately, no text was included.

Alacatlalzala, Gro.

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	án at beginning of sentence
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	án ... án ...
indirect	
Imperative	
2 sg	future sentence w/o person with person it is more polite
2 pl	must have person
1, incl, 3	all can be more polite with ná added ná plus future

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	án at beginning of sentence
subjunctive	ná (future; all persons)
other	
Negatives	
present	vàsà
past	on vàsà ni- plus tone change to high on first syllable of stem

	vásà ní-	
	on vásà ní-	
	nì vásà ní	
future	on + tone change to high on first syllable of verb	
	on vásà	
imperative	on + tone change to high on first syllable of verb	
not yet	ta'àn (+ future)	
no longer	vásà ... ka	
adjective	vàsá	
noun phrase	siví + NP + equative verb + NP	
not even, neither	nì	
interjection	o'on / o'on	
	vása (it's not so)	
other		
Near time		
already	xà	near time (all tenses; rare with future) already, about to
	xì	(only past), already
		perhaps this is just a variant of xà
		for some speakers xì has replaced xà
other		
Tense		
future		none (mid or low tone on first syllable; about 2/3 with mid)
		segmental stem changes
present		high tone on first syllable of stem, or H-L glide
		segmental changes
past		low tone on first syllable of stem
		nì -- obligatory when first tone of stem is low; usually not
present		
		when first syllable is mid, but optional for a few verbs
past unrealized		nì following a negative
		nì + high tone on stem
CTF sentence final		níkùu (at end of hypothetical sentence or at end of main
sentence)		
<p>some verbs derived from adjectives have kù- in future and xì- in past, or in past and present, as well as the regular two-syllable roots with k/x alternation as kata xíta xíta (sing)</p>		
Preverbal plurals		
future		none
present		none
past		none
Motion verb plural		none
Habituals		none (except for special tense in motion verbs)
Durative		none
Progressive		no special form; use regular present tense form of verbs

Motion auxiliaries

go	kuan progressive meaning; only as part of compound motion
verbs	
come	none
other	

Periphrastic verb tenses

about to	kónì wants + obj compl
continuing action	xíkà walks + subj + 2nd sentence

Imperative verb forms

go!	kuá'án
let's go!	náko'yó -- tones H L H ? ? ?
	ko'yó -- M M ? ? ?
	xko'yó
come!	na'à
take it!	
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist	koó (by a tone change from kòò exist)
to not be present	
other	
to not be able	kiví (by a tone change from kivi be able)

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	sà- (sometimes effects a tone change)
adj	sâ- (")
repetitive	nà- (not productive)
	ndà- (a few speakers)
combinations	sa + na + stem (sanakaku rá -- he resurrected [him])

Other

Notes

the source of the not exist verb is interesting, and historically important; the two negative verbs have the tone change they would get in Magdalena from mā (a), but there is no particle, only the tone change. Cp. Melatonoc, where negative is a low-high tone pattern the vásà form seems to be related to Hernández' vaja, but then the on form seems also to be related to the mā, and I find it curious that two such diverse reflexes occur for what must have been van. (But then this is no stranger than Magdalena yukuan and ma from an earlier yukuan.)

Sources

Zylstra, Carol F. 1991, A syntactic sketch of Alacatlalzala Mixtec. Pp. 1-177 in B&H3

Zylstra, Carol F. 2012. *Gramática del Tu'un Savi (la lengua mixteca) de Alacatlalzala, Guerrero*. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A.C. [2012. Versión electrónica disponible en <http://www-01.sil.org/mexico/mixteca/alacatlalzala/G045-Gramatica-mim.pdf>]

LOWLAND MIXTEC

SOUTHERN BAJA

Silacayoapan

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2	
1, incl, 3	

Elements

Modals	
y/n interr	á
subjunctive	ná
other	
Negatives	
present	k _o
past	k _o
future	ạ (a)
imperative	ạ (a)
not yet	ạ ñá'a
no longer	
adjective	k _o
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	

Near time	
already	s _a all three tenses; about to, just begun, already
other	

Tense	
future	none; stem changes;
present	(a), which usually results in high on first syll of stem
past	n̄a
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	ndùù
Preverbal plurals	
	none
Motion verb plural	
Habituals	
	none
Durative	
	probably none
Progressive	
Motion auxiliaries	
go	kuà; occurs with only a few verbs (= probably lexical)
come	none
other	
Periphrastic verb tenses	
Imperative verb forms	
go!	kuá'án
let's go!	kò'o
come!	nà'à
take it!	ke'e
other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not exist	kò, kóó a
to not be present	kóó a
other	
Derivational prefixes	
causative	
verb	xá-
	tone change involving high on 2nd syllable of stem
adj	
repetitive	ndì-
combinations	
Other	
Notes	
	no futures in ko- or ku-
	vowels in n̄a past and ndì- repetitive are a mystery to me
	nd in ndùù CTF is a mystery

there seems to be an earlier layer of causative with only tone remaining

Sources

Shields, Jäna K. 1988. A syntactic sketch of Silacayoapan Mixtec, págs. 305-446 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 1 (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics, Publication 83). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington.

supplemented by personal communication with Joanne North, Aug or Sept 02

See also:

North W., Juanita y Juliana Shields W. 1978. *Gramática popular del mixteco: mixteco de Silacayoapan*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Coicoyán de las Flores

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	a
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	future verb + pronoun
2 res	future verb + pronoun
1, incl, 3	na + future + pronoun

Elements

Modals	
y/n interrogative	
subjunctive	ná
other	
Negatives	
present	
past	
future	
imperative	
not yet	ndanee ro CH
no longer	
adjective	
noun phrase	

not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
Near time	
already	xa
about to	
other	
Tense	
future	
present	
past	ni
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	
Preverbal plurals	
future	none
present	none
past	none
Motion verb plural	none
Habituals (probably none)	
future	
present	
past	
Durative	
Progressive	
Motion auxiliaries	
go	
come	
other	
Periphrastic verb tenses	
Imperative verb forms	
go!	kua'an
let's go!	
come!	na'a
take it!	
other	
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not exist	
to not be present	
other	
Derivational prefixes	

causative	
verb	si-
adj	
repetitive	
combinations	

Other

Notes

Sources

data gathered by beh, 12 Dec 02 in El Jicaral and in Coicoyán Centro
 NOTE Oct 2012: Beathams have since done extensive fieldwork, and this needs to be filled in based on their data. They have also worked on Peras, and that town is quite different; it needs a separate profile

Metlatonoc, Gro.

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
-------------	----------

Interrogative	
y/n	á at beginning of sentence
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	

Imperative	
2 fam	same as future indicative
2 res	same as future indicative (more common)
	ná + future (in middle of a string of ná clauses)
1	ná + future
incl	ná + future
3	ná + future
	same as future indicative

Elements

Modals	
y/n interr	á at beginning of sentence
subjunctive	ná (HORT) with future; one ex with na
other	

Negatives

present	low on 1st syll + low-high on stressed syllable	
past	low on ndi + low-high on next syllable	
future	low-high tone pattern on both or 1st syll of next word	
imperative	low-high tone pattern	
not yet		
no longer		
adjective	low-high tone pattern	
noun phrase		
not even, neither		
interjection		
other		
Near time		
already	xa	
about to		
other		
Tense		
future	mid tone on first syllable of next word POT	
	kù-	
present	high tone on first syllable of next word CON	
	HAB -- not very common, perhaps only motion verbs	
past	ndi- plus low tone on first syllable of next word?	CMP
	low tone on first syllable of next word	
past unrealized	?	
CTF sentence final		
Preverbal plurals	probably none	
Motion verb plural		
Habituals	probably none	
Durative		
Progressive		
Motion auxiliaries		
go	none that I noticed	
come	"	
other		
Periphrastic verb tenses		
Imperative verb forms		
go!		
let's go!		
come!		
take it!		
other		
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)		

to not exist koo
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative
 verb sá- / sà- + high tone on next syllable
 adjective
repetitive nda- (tone probably indicates aspect)
combinations

Other

conjunctions

and	tà
and thus	tà sàá
because	chìn
if	tún

Notes

in that I abstracted the above from text material, not from a description, there are surely gaps, and perhaps errors; all of this needs to be reviewed with Hillmans.

Sources

Hillman 1987 (text collection; data abstracted from text)

Valerie Hillman, draft of practical grammar, 1995

MORE DATA COULD BE FILLED IN BY PERSONAL COMMUNICATION WITH HILLMANS.

Xochapa, Gro.

Major moods

Declarative unmarked

Interrogative

y/n	á, án
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	á, án
indirect	

Imperative

2 sg	future tense with optional pronoun
2 pl	future tense + pronoun
1, incl, 3	ná + future tense + pronoun

Elements

Modals

y/n interr subjunctive	á, án
other	ná

Negatives

present	kɔ́óó (no hay) + tiempo presente
past	kɔ́óó + ndí + tiempo presente
future	tone; usually h-l glide on stressed syllable, and one tone higher than normal on following tone (exc. súví no es, kuví no va a morir)
imperative	negative future
not yet	táá'an
no longer	neg. future
adjective	usually kɔ́óó + adj. occasional tone only (H-L glide on stressed syllable)
noun phrase	súví
not even, neither	
interjection	koto
other	

Near time

already	xá
about to	
other	

Tense

future	tone: mid or low on first syllable
present	high tone on first syllable
past	low tone on first syllable for verbs with mid in future Ndi on verbs with low in future
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	

Preverbal plurals

future
present
past

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go

come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!	kuá'an
let's go!	kə'o, kə'yó
come!	na'a
take it!	u'ún
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist	koóò
to not be present	
other	

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	si'
adj	ndasa-
repetitive	ndi-
combinations	

Other

Notes

oó = single V with wedge

Sources

AJ, SS, Aug. or Sept. 02, personal communication

Stark C., Sharon (Sara), Audrey (Andrea) Johnson P. y Benita González de Guzmán. 1999. *Diccionario básico del mixteco de Xochapa, Guerrero*, Primera edición. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A.C. [2003. Segunda edición disponible en <http://www01.sil.org/mexico/mixteco/xochapa/P004-DiccXochapa-xta.htm>]

Sharon Stark drafted a grammar around 2010, which she then turned over to Laura Needham to complete, and this grammar needs to be consulted to fill in this database better

Ayutla, Gro.

Major moods

Declarative unmarked

Interrogative
 y/n ñàà at beginning of sentence

	ààn at beginning of sentence tone-raising clitic at beginning of sentence--raises one level initial interrogative word or phrase
WH alternative indirect	
y/n WH	nàà' (if) + basic decl sentence same as direct question
Imperative	
2 sg	future verb with no subject
2 pl	future verb with subject
2 polite	future verb with subject
	nā + future verb with subject
1, incl, 3	nā + future verb with subject
 <i>Elements</i>	
Modals	
y/n interr subjunctive	n̄àà, ààn, tone raising clitic nā nà -- obligation nā -- hope (postverbal)
other	
Negatives	
present	tone pattern mid-low-mid replacing stem tones, some verbs also take final glottal stop some verbs have mid-low-mid-low
past	same, with tone pattern replacing nī and stem
future	same
imperative	
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	same
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
Near time	
already	
just now	xā + past
right now	xà + present
about to	xà + future
other	
Tense	
future	none stem change koto/xito' ku- or ko- prefix with a few verbs

present	tone change to higher, and sometimes addition of a final glottal stop	
past	nì (optional if there is a stem difference)	
past unrealized	nì plus continuative aspect form (= tone change) this includes the negative tone replacement	
CTF sentence final	238-239 -- use of resigned negative in protasis but meaning is not negative	
Preverbal plurals	none	
future		
present		
past		
Motion verb plural		
Habituals		
future		
present	xì- prefix on some present stems	
past		
Durative		
Progressive		
Motion auxiliaries		
go	kùn	kù'un
	kuàn	kuà'an
	shàn, shán	shà'an
	shàn	shà'an
come		
other		
Periphrastic verb tenses		
Imperative verb forms		
go!	kuà'an	
let's go!	tò'o (dos)	
	tò'o ndo' (tres o más)	
come!	nya'a	
take it!		
other		
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)		
to not exist		
to not be present		
other		
Derivational prefixes		
causative		
verb	sa-	
	xa- (in present and past; sa in future)	
adj	sa-	

repetitive combinations	na- nda- + sa- + stem sa- + na + stem s- + na- + other prefix + stem
-------------------------	---

Other

resigned negative form has nì with continuative aspect form of verb

Notes

this variant is a bit isolated, and would be a good place to look for preservation of old forms,
but instead seems to have a lot of innovation.

Sources

Hills, Robert A. 1990. A syntactic sketch of Ayutla Mixtec, págs. 1–260 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 2 (Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, Publication 90). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington. [Versión facsimilar electrónica disponible en <http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/23963.pdf>]

Also, John and Judith Williams have done research since then and may be able to offer more information.

LOWLAND MIXTEC

MIXTEPEC

San Juan Mixtepec

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2	
1, incl, 3	na + future verb + pronoun

Elements

Modals

y/n interr	
subjunctive	na
other	

Negatives

present	kue
past	kue
future	ma
imperative	
not yet	
no longer	kue ... ka
adjective	
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	a'an
other	

Near time

already
about to
other

Tense

future	stem change k- vs. ts- prefix ku- or kun-
present	
past	n-, ni- (before k)
past unrealized	ni
CTF sentence final	

Preverbal plurals	probably none
Motion verb plural	probably none

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!	
let's go!	na ko'on
come!	na'a
take it!	
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	
adj	s-
repetitive	nda-
combinations	

Other

Notes

there is a plural kue that precedes nouns and pronouns, but no verb plurals

Sources

text in orthography statement by Beckmann & Nieves

NOTE, Oct. 2012: Millie Nieves and Gisela Beckmann have continued studying the language and should be able to improve greatly on what I have here.

See also:

Cruz Bautista, Marcos Abraham. s.f. *Esbozo gramatical de la lengua mixteca*. Instituto Estatal de Educación Pública del Estado de Oaxaca, y Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Unidad 201, Oaxaca, Oax., Subsede Tlaxiaco.

COASTAL MIXTEC

WEST COAST

Santa María Zacatepec

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
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Interrogative	
y/n	initial a (= or)
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect y/n	tu (si)

Imperative	
2 sg	future verb with no pronoun
2 sg polite	na + future verb + pronoun
2 pl	future verb with pronoun
2 pl polite	na + future verb + pronoun
1, incl, 3	na + future verb + pronoun

Elements

Modals	
y/n interr	a
subjunctive	na
other	

Negatives	
present	high tone on first syllable of some verbs with separate present stem including auxiliaries kuu (puede), kuuni (quiere)
past	tüvi antes del verbo nì (con tono medio) más verbo con tono bajo (this is probably the past unrealized)
future	töve o tüvi
imperative	high tone on first syllable of verb; can have na preceding verb
not yet	takä'an
no longer	tüva
adjective	high tone on first syllable of some tükuii (nada, nunca), tüvi (no) before adj
noun phrase	yöve
not even, neither	ni
interjection	töve (at least in future)
other	

Near time	
already	cha
about to	
just	já (apenas, acaba de)
ahorita	chani
other	niku (antes, ya no), con tiempo presente

Tense	
future	stem change, k-, ku- vs. ch ku- prefix with statives having nd- or n- ni particle in main verb of indicative clauses
present	low tone on first syllable
past	mid tone on first syllable
past unrealized	nì plus low tone on following verb

CTF sentence final	there is a niku, but it usually means antes, ya no, not
Preverbal plurals	
future	
present	ka (for groups doing things together), ka chachi (comen), ka cha'an (van), ka'iin (están); infrequent; mainly with position verbs
past	

Motion verb plural

Habituals
 future
 present
 past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go		
future	ku	
prog	kua	
hab	cha	
pas	chà	
come	none	
other		

Note: there are also inchoative prefixes from go: ku, cha / chu, chà / chù

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!	kua'an
let's go!	ko'o
come!	na'a
take it!	
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist	tükuii
	tüvi, töve
to not be present	tüvi, töve
other	

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	ja
adjective	ja

repetitive combinations	na- no ex in grammar of either jana or naja
Other as expected	ndio (in VP following verb)
Other -- modal stuff kuni naja ka ri	one might think, at end of a question hearsay quotative, he/she said, no opinion implied.

Notes

Doug Towne says that statives with n- or nd- do not take tense marking.
The ni future may be related to the ni past CTF in other variants; it may have a more generic irrealis meaning in Zacatepec.

Sources

Towne, Douglas, y colaboradores mixtecos. 2011. *Gramática popular del tacuate (mixteco) de Santa María Zacatepec, Oaxaca*. Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Número 12. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A.C. [2011. Versión electrónica disponible en <http://www01.sil.org/mexico/mixteca/zacatepec/GS12a-GramMixtZacatepec-mza.htm>]

Santiago Ixtayutla

NOTE, Oct 2012: Penners have done extensive fieldwork on this variant, and they would be able to provide date for a profile of this town.

Santa María Jicaltepec

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative y/n WH alternative indirect	initial interrogative word or phrase
Imperative 2 sg 2 pl 1, incl, 3	ná

Elements

Modals

y/n interr subjunctive other	ná
------------------------------------	----

Negatives

present	ñá
past	
future	ñá
imperative	
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	
noun phrase	ñá'ní (ningún)
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	

Near time

already	chą
about to	
other	
just	sá

Tense

future	none, va stem change kúnú/chínú
present	low tone replacement
past	chá- on some position verbs
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	

Preverbal plurals

future	
present	ka
past	

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future	
present	
past	

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go	
----	--

come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!	kuá
let's go!	kú'ún
come!	
take it!	
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	sá-
adj	
repetitive	
combinations	

Other

xáán	intensifier
tā, t̄	and
ā	or
sok̄o	but
t̄	if
wátí	because

Notes

ch̄i'ín	marker of direct object, also means with; probably old preposition with
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Sources

Bradley, C. Henry. 1970. *A linguistic sketch of Jicaltepec Mixtec*. (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 25). Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.

Costello, Rachael A. 2014. *Aspect and mood in Jicaltepec Mixtec*, master's thesis, GIAL.

COASTAL MIXTEC

EAST COAST

Santiago Amoltepec

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	high tone on final syllable of sentence
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 fam	
2 res	
1, incl, 3	

Elements

Modals	
y/n interr	tone rise on final syllable of sentence
subjunctive	na
other	
Negatives	
present	
past	ñatu
future	
imperative	
not yet	
no longer	
adjective	
noun phrase	
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
Near time	
already	
about to	
other	
Tense	
future	
present	
past	ni
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	

Preverbal plurals

future	none
present	none
past	none

Motion verb plural none

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative
 verb
 adj
repetitive
combinations

Other

chi'in (with) used as direct object marker before a pronoun

Notes

ki ni na are tense and mood indicating morphemes.

Sources

probably extracted from Schwabs' orthography statement

NOTE, Oct 2012: Schwabs have done extensive fieldwork, and they would be able to fill in many of the blanks on this.

San Juan Colorado

Major moods

Declarative	unmarked
Interrogative	
y/n	á, án, atu al principio de la oración
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	
indirect	
Imperative	
2 sg	tiempo futuro con o sin pronombre
2 pl	tiempo futuro con pronombre
2 polite	nà + tiempo futuro
1, incl, 3	nà + tiempo futuro (no ex of incl)

Elements

Modals

y/n interr
subjunctive
other

Negatives

present	ñà
past	ñà
future	ñà
imperative	ñà
not yet	ñàtà, ñà'à ka
no longer	
adjective	
noun phrase	ñavin
not even, neither	ni
interjection	
other	

Near time

already	tsà (all three tenses)
about to	
other	
apenas	ndì
todavía	"
acaba de	"

Tense		
future	optional ku̱	stem changes kunu/tsinu
present	tono alto	
past	none	
past unrealized		
CTF sentence final		

Preverbal plurals
future
present
past

Motion verb plural

Habituals
future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries		
go	kù- kuà- tsì-	kù'ùn kuà'án tsà'an
come	none	
other		

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms	
go!	kuaa'án
let.s go!	kó'on
come!	cp. nye'e (acá)
take it!	ju'un
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)	
to not exist	nduve
to not be present	yoñi
other	ñavin (no es)

Derivational prefixes	
causative	
verb	jà-
adj	
repetitive	nà-
combinations	

Negatives

present	ñā
past	ñá
future	ma
imperative	
not yet	taña'a ka
no longer	
adjective	
noun phrase	
not even, neither	nu
interjection	
other	

Near time

already	sa
about to	
other	

Tense

future	kua
present	
past	i
past unrealized	
CTF sentence final	

Preverbal plurals none

Motion verb plural prob none

Habituals prob none

future
present
past

Durative prob none

Progressive prob none

Motion auxiliaries

go
come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!	
let's go!	ko'o
come!	ña'a
take it!	
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist	ñá'ñi
to not be present	yoñi
other	yivi (no es así)

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	za-
adj	
repetitive	na-
combinations	?

Other

Notes

Sources

Pensinger, Brenda J. 1974. *Diccionario mixteco del este de Jamiltepec: Pueblo de Chayuco*. Serie de Vocabularios y Diccionarios Indígenas "Mariano Silva y Aceves", Número 18. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Santiago Jamiltepec

Major moods

Declarative unmarked

Interrogative

y/n	atu
WH	initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative	á ... á ...
indirect	

Imperative

2 sg	future, no subject
2 pl	future + subject
2 polite	subj + future + subject
1, incl, 3	subj + future + subject
negative	mà + future + subject (= future statement)

Elements

Modals

y/n interr subjunctive other	nà
Negatives	
present	ñà
past	ñà
future	mà
imperative	
not yet	tá + fut verb + kà
no longer	ña ... ka
adjective	none given
noun phrase	ñima
not even, neither	
interjection	
other	
Near time	
already	chà; with present or past
recent time	ni, with present or past (just now)
about to	
other	
Tense	
future	none, optional kù- prefix, stem change
present	high tone on either or both syllables
past	sometimes a tone change
past unrealized	none given
CTF sentence final	none
Preverbal plurals	
future	kà
present	kà
past	kà
Motion verb plural	
Habituals	none
Durative	
Progressive	
Motion auxiliaries	
go	kù, kuà, chí; with future; express intent as well as motion only with an arbitrary set of verbs
come	none
other	
Periphrastic verb tenses	
Imperative verb forms	

go!	kuà'án
let's go!	kó'ó ndò (uses 2pl subject, but includes speaker)
come!	ñà'à
take it!	ma'
cry!	kuàkù (vs. kuàkù fut-cry), also a few other verbs
other	

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist (animate)	yóri
to not exist (inanimate)	ñá'ri
other	ñima (no es)

Derivational prefixes

causative	
verb	sà- plus future stem
adj	sà- plus adjective
repetitive	nà-, (or ni-) plus future stem
combinations	both caus + rep + stem and rep + caus + stem

Commands

Other

Notes

nà, ñà, mà, sà- do not cause sandhi
no past tense ni, nor even a trace of it in a clear and regular tone lowering of stem
kà for future plural is unique

Sources

Johnson, Audrey F. 1988. A syntactic sketch of Jamiltepec Mixtec, págs. 11-150 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 1 (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics, Publication 83). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington.
supplemented by personal communication SS, AJ Aug or Sept 02

COASTAL MIXTEC

ACATEPEC

[[No data yet]]

TEMPLATE FOR TENSE-MOOD-NEGATION DATABASE

Name of town

Major moods

Declarative

Interrogative

y/n

WH

alternative

indirect

Imperative

2 fam

2 res

1, incl, 3

Elements

Modals

y/n interrogative

subjunctive

other

Negatives

present

past

future

imperative

not yet

no longer

adjective

noun phrase

not even, neither

interjection

other

Near time

already

about to

other

Tense

future

present

past

past unrealized

CTF sentence final

Preverbal plurals

future
present
past

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
come
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!
let's go!
come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

to not exist
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes

causative
verb
adj
repetitive
combinations

Other

Notes

Sources