Database showing tense, mood, and negation in Mixtec

compiled by Barbara E. Hollenbach

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 Josserand’s classification, following the map she gives on page 470. See: Josserand, 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 Tlaxiacocomitlan 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**

*Maj or 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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 2
Negative

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

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

- go: kun
- come: ki
- other: other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

- go!: go!
- let's go!: let's go!
 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

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?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negatives</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>ña, ñatuu, ña tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ña ... –ka, tuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no longer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not even, neither</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near time</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>already</td>
<td>ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>stem alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>tomo alto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past unrealized</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTF sentence final</td>
<td>ni kuu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverbal plurals</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Motion verb plural | koo |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habituals</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Durative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Progressive       |        |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion auxiliaries</th>
<th>Go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Periphrastic verb tenses |       |

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 5
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-

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/AchRES.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 (kuààn màà sàn)

**Elements**

**Modals**
- **y/n interrogative**  
á

- **subjunctive**  
na

tono alto

- **other**

**Negatives**
- **present**  
tu  
ñá

ñá tu

- **past**  
tu  
ñá tu  
túú + nį

- **future**  
má

- **imperative**  
má

- **not yet**  
chia’an ka

- **no longer**  
tú + verb in present tense + kà  
already in effect

mà + verb in future tense + kà  
from now on

- **adjective**

- **noun phrase**

- **not even, neither**

- **interjection**

- **other**

tuu, ñ’a

**Near time**

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 9
already   já (with all aspects)
about to  já óó (jà óó de jà să'à dè 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
- come back
- other
  - go home
  - arrive
  - leave /salir

**Periphrastic verb tenses**

- see progressive above

**Imperative verb forms**

- go!
  - kuá’an
- 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  

\[ \text{tuu (tuu de ‘no está)} \]
\[ \text{tuu ... oo (tuu de oo ‘no está’)} \]

other

Derivational prefixes
causative
verb  
\[ s\- \text{ (before velars and palatals)} \]
\[ x\- \text{ (before apicals)} \]
adj  
\[ \text{full verb sa’a} \]
\[ \text{sa- in a few compounds (satniu ‘trabajar’, savii ‘limpiar’)} \]
repetitive
combinations  
\[ \text{rep + caus + stem} \]

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  
\[ \text{glottal stop at end} \]
\[ \text{xíí (a) (or) at beginning} \]
\[ \text{xíí kuáàn ní tìnàna} \]
\[ \text{tè (and) at beginning} \]
\[ \text{tè (and) at beginning} \]
\[ \text{initial interrogative word or phrase} \]
\[ \text{nàsá nání ró} \]
WH  
alternative
indirect

Imperative
2 fam  
\[ \text{future verb with no subject} \]
2 res  
\[ \text{future verb with subject} \]
1, incl, 3  
\[ (a) + \text{future statement} \]

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 11
nà (a) + future statement -- nà kíf'jn dè (que vaya él)

Elements

Modals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>y/n interrogative</th>
<th>final glottal stop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xíí (or)</td>
<td>já kúnó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tè (and)</td>
<td>kúnù dè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kú künù dè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| subjunctive       | na cha'vi nà'ra ri |
| (a)               | stáva'á nà künù dè |

| nà m(a)           |

| other             |

Negatives

| present           | nì (m.b[ba])       |
|                   | túú (ba)           |
|                   | nìntúú            |

| past              | túú (ba)           |
|                   | tinú já'ath dè     |

| future            | mà (ba)            |
|                   | mà kú künù dè      |

| imperative        | mà kú künù dè      |
|                   | mà nduva ní        |

| not yet           | màkù, màkù        |
|                   | màku kù'
| adjective         | màkù, màkù        |
| usualy phrased as | màkù, màkù        |
| noun phrase       | màkù, màkù        |
| not even, neither | màkù, màkù        |
| interjection      | màkù, màkù        |
| other             | màkù, màkù        |

Near time

| already (present) | já                |
|                  | já jánu dè        |

| already (past)    | jà                |
|                  | já nì jánu dè     |

| about to          | jà yátnì          |

Tense

| future            | no particle       |
| paired stems      | kù- on some state verbs |
|                   | run               |

| present           | floating high tone |

| past              | nì, n-            |
| past unrealized   | nì (a) / nì (a)   |
| CTF sentence final| ?                |

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 12
**Preverbal plurals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>kà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motion verb plural  
kòò  
kìꞌjn kòò ó

**Habituals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>kù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>kù, jù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Durative**  
none

**Progressive**  
none

**Motion auxiliaries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>ju, kua; rare -- usually use full forms kuàꞌàn, kìꞌjn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>ve̱jì, ve̱è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Periphrastic verb tenses**  
none

**Imperative verb forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go!</td>
<td>kuáꞌán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let’s go!</td>
<td>kìꞌon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come!</td>
<td>nèꞌè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take it!</td>
<td>jáꞌán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to not exist</td>
<td>túú / tûá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>probably also to not be present</td>
<td>nàtìíu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Derivational prefixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>causative verb</td>
<td>s- (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi- (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj</td>
<td>s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sá- ?; usually full form sa'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repetitive</td>
<td>ndà-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combinations</td>
<td>rep + caus + stem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other**

vitnà ňúúú ni jìnù dè (he is running at this very minute -- given for progressive?)
stávaꞌà nà (a) (para que no)  
stávaꞌà nà kùnù dè
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 jàa̱ m(ba) distributes on nà m(a), creating jàa̱ na̱ (a) note ctf nì m(a), different from nì a(a) in Magdalena; tůú nì jínù de̱ 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 vitnà núú̱ ni jínù de̱ (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


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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 14
### Negatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>ñàa̱ (a), ñàtúú, túú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>ñàa̱ (a), ñàtúú, túú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>má (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>má (for all persons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Yet</td>
<td>ñàtúú + fut verb + kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Longer</td>
<td>ñàtúú + pres verb + kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Longer</td>
<td>má (ba) + fut verb + kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>ñàa̱ (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>máṣų (ba) + no es (él)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Even, Neither</td>
<td>ñàtúú na no hay ningú́n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>ña’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Emphatic masu, máṣų,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lest nàsáa (a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Near Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Already</td>
<td>jà (with present and past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About To</td>
<td>sàní tè (with future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Zero (also segmental changes, ko- prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>ñí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Unrealized</td>
<td>ñí (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTF Sentence Final</td>
<td>nkúù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Preverbal plurals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>jìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>kà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Motion verb plural

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

### Habituals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>kò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Zero (because habitual is unmarked meaning of present tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>yò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Durative

None

### Progressive

Periphrastic construction with yikúú

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pres + yikuu + subj + pres main verb + subj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Motion auxiliaries (all with future verb)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jan ~ ja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ni jan
kuan
kuán

come
ki
ni ki
ve
ne

go home
jin nu
jan nu
kuánu

come back
ki ndi

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!
kuáťán
let's go!
kì'qn (= regular contraction of future go and inclusive)

come!
nè'ě

take it!
ya'a

take it!
ja'an

other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
to not be present
none; adv. tůú, ňātúú 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 sā́á

repetitive
ndà- + future

combinations
rep + caus + stem

Other

Notes
no special form for let's go: kì'qn is regular contraction of kì'ìn + 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
kì'ìn or kì
Sources


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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 17
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! ne'e 
come! 
take it 
other 

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only) 
to not exist 
to not be present 
other 

Derivational prefixes
causative
  verb    si-
  adj     sa-
repetitive  nda-
combinations

Other

Notes

Sources
Hollenbach field notes
Karina Araiza field notes
  [Una descripción de una boda tradicional de Magdalena, basada en los relatos de los niños del albergue escolar de Magdalena. Está escrito en el mixteco de San Agustín Tlacotepec. Explica mucho acerca de la cooperación mutua, del papel del embajador y de los padrinos.]

San Mateo Peñasco

Major moods

Declarative    unmarked

Interrogative
  y/n      glottal stop at end
  WH      initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative indirect

Imperative
  2 fam
  2 res
  1, incl, 3

Elements
### Modals
- **y/n interr**  
  subjunctive: nà (a)  
  other

### Negatives
- **present**  
  ñatuu, tuu  
- **past**  
  ?  
- **future**  
  ma  
- **imperative**  
  mà  
- **not yet**  
  ?  
- **no longer**  
  ?

- **adjective**  
  ?  
- **noun phrase**  
  ?  
- **not even, neither**  
  ?  
- **interjection**  
  ?  
- **other**  
  nasa

### Near time
- **already**  
  ja  
- **about to**

### 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**
Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

- go! xxx, kuán koo
- let's go!
- come!
- take it!
- other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

- to not exist  ni tuu
- to not be present
- other

Derivational prefixes

causative

- verb  s-, si-
- adjective  sa-, sa'a
- repetitive  nda
- combinations

Other

Notes

Sources

- Global Recordings tape
- Hollenbach field notes
- Karina Araiza field notes
- Survey texts


San Pedro Molinos

Major moods

Declarative  unmarked

Interrogative

- y/n
- WH  initial interrogative word or phrase
- alternative
- indirect

Imperative

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 21
Elements

Modals

\( y/n \) interrogative

subjunctive \( \text{ñà (a)} \) (M&S call this determinative) -- note it takes low sandhi

\( \text{nà kysù yi} \)

plural imperative \( ? \)

other

Negative

past \( \text{ñà} \)

present \( \text{ñà} \)

\( \text{tuu} \)

future \( \text{mà (a)} \)

imperative \( \text{má} \) (M&S call this prohibitive)

not yet

no longer

adjective

noun phrase

not even, neither

interjection

other

Near time

already \( \text{jà} \) with present, x, x

(M&S call this perfective)

other

Tense

future unmarked

present (a)

past \( \text{n-} \)

past unrealized \( \text{n- (a)} \) (M&S call this subjunctive)

CTF sentence final

Preverbal plural

future \( \text{jìn} \)

present \( \text{kà} \)

past \( \text{kà} \)

Motion verb plural

Habituals

future

present

past \( \text{yo} \)
Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 23

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries (processual aspect meaning)
- go to: kwaŋ (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


Global Recordings scripts, c. 1970

Santo Tomás Ocotepec

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 23
**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, ñáá (rare)
- **past** ndùú, ñáá
- **future** mà (a), n-
- **imperative** mà (a) = regular future negative
- **not yet** njá’à kà
- **no longer** ndùú kà
- **adjective** tal vez ndùú
- **noun phrase** nṣụú (nz)
- **not even, neither** nì
- **interjection** njòó ò emphatic, used alone to answer questions
- **other**

**Tense**

- **future** none

Stem change (RMA prefers to think of pres/past as changing)

kù- prefix

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 24
present: high tone on first syllable
past: ni̱ (optional if verb begins with n or j, except after ndùú negative)
past unrealized: ní after any negative
CTF sentence final: nkù

Preverbal plurals: none
Motion verb plural: none
Habituals: none
Durative

Progressive: kwá is the process of -- reduced form of kua'an go

Motion auxiliaries
rich system of directionals based on come, go, go to house
  go: ki
  come: kí
  other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms
  go!: kuáꞌán
  let's go!: kóꞌo̱n
  come!: nèꞌe̱n
  take [it]!: jùꞌùn
  other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
  to not be: ndùú
  other

Derivational prefixes
causative
  verb: s- (a)
  adj: sà- (a)
repetitive
  combinations: rep + caus + stem

Other

Notes
  Ocotepec 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

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

San Esteban Atatlahuca

Major moods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y/n</td>
<td>initial á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>initial interrogative word or phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alternative</td>
<td>á + sent 1 + chí + sent 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>future tense; pronoun is optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 fam</td>
<td>future tense; pronoun is optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 res</td>
<td>need to use pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, incl, 3</td>
<td>ná / ? + future verb + subject pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elements

Modals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y/n interrogative</td>
<td>á at beginning of y/n Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>nà plus floating tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>tú, tùú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>tú, tùú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>mà + tone changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tù, tùú (less frequent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>mà plus future; identical to indicative in fam y resp both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td>ná tùú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no longer</td>
<td>tùá, tùvá (prob from tù gá/ká)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>tal vez tùú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td>násúú / ñásúú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not even, neither</td>
<td>ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interjection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 26
Near time
already hè
about to jè yàjnì (casi)

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
nì 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! kuáˈán
  let's go! kìˈɪn yo
  come! nèˈɛn
  take it!
  other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
  to not exist tal vez túú
  to not be present túú
**Derivational prefixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>causative</td>
<td>verb s- plus floating tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repetitive</td>
<td>nà-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combinations</td>
<td>rep + caus + stem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes**

**Sources**


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

---

**San Juan Teita**

**Major moods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>a at end of sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>initial interrogative word or phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alternative</td>
<td>di at beginning of second sentence; optional Span. o at beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect</td>
<td>initial word related to interrogative (example is nde, vs. ndée)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 fam</td>
<td>future, sometimes with pronoun omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 intimate</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 res</td>
<td>na + future + pronoun (more polite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, incl, 3</td>
<td>na + future + pronoun (1sg, incl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Elements**

**Modals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y/n interr</td>
<td>a at end of sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Negatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>ña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñatuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñatuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>ma (tone?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td>ta ña'a ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no longer</td>
<td>tuu ga + verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñatuu ga + verb (more emphatic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñatuu + verb + ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>ña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madi (probably not)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td>ñadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madi (probably not)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not even, neither</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interjection</td>
<td>ña'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Near time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>already</td>
<td>xe ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about to</td>
<td>xe nuu (or soon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>later on</td>
<td>kunuu ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>probably vetuni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verb stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>verb stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only rarely tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past unrealized</td>
<td>ni (different tone?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTF sentence final</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preverbal plurals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>ki (but not obligatory; was not used in text with o subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motion verb plural

koyo

Habituals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>xu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Durative

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

Motion auxiliaries

ki- (perhaps only in certain frozen compound forms)
ñe- (gives completive meaning)
ku- (gives progressive meaning)
ve- (gives progressive meaning)

Periphrastic verb tenses
prob none

Imperative verb forms

ki'i
kua'an
ki'i o
kua'an o
ne'e
xa'a (= here)

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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 30

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

**WESTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC**

**WESTERN ALTA -- SOUTHEAST**

**Chalcatongo de Hidalgo**

**Major moods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y/n</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>initial interrogative word or phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alternative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>missing subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 fam</td>
<td>possibly a high tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 res</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, incl, 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Elements**

**Modals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y/n interrogative</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>nà (a) + future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>tù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>tù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>mà (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>mà (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td>chá’àn kà tè + sent with potential verb (also chá’àn tè)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no longer</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>tü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td>tùù (in predicate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nì̱asù / ŋì̱asù / nì̱sù (cp. nì̱i nor, ì̱sù than) focus NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 31
Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 32

- **Fixed phrase:** as: tu-kwiti (nothing) note: in both syllables, the i has mid tone

- **Near time**
  - already
  - present: a
  - past: a
  - about to: ?

- **Tense**
  - Future: zero; also stem alternation, ku- prefix
  - Present: tone sometimes
  - Past: nì
  - Past unrealized: none given, but see high tone on kúù 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)
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


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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 33
Modals

- **y/n interrogative**: ná (a), with 1st, 3rd person, future
- **subjunctive**: ná (a), with 1st, 3rd person, future
- **other**:

Negatives

- **present**: tú, also given as túù
- **past**: tú, túù
- **future**: màa (a); also given as mà tùù
- **imperative**: mà
- **not yet**:
- **no longer**:
- **adjective**:
- **noun phrase**:
- **not even, neither**:
- **interjection**: mä kûù

Near time

- **already**: à
- **about to**:
- **other**:

Tense

- **future**: zero
- **stem change**: kù- with passives; Pike 44 writes kùù
- **present**: (a)
- **past**: nì, nìì, nì
- **past unrealized**: nì (prob.; see Dyk 1959:238)

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-, ki- plus change from mid to low on first syllable of verb stem (jumps nà-)
- **kuà-, kuà-**
- **jà-**
- **come**: ki-
Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

- go!  \( \text{chó'q} \)
- let's go!  \( \text{ki'qon (ki'in + yo)} \)
- come!  \( \text{ki'qon (ki'in + yo)} \)
- take it!  \( \text{ki'qon (ki'in + yo)} \)

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

- to not exist
- to not be present
- other

Derivational prefixes

causative

verb

\( s\cdot (a) \) -- before k, ch, t
\( x\cdot (a) \) -- before n, nd, ñ
\( s\cdot (a) \) -- before i, j, y
\( s\cdot u \) -- ?

adj

\( s\cdot a \)

repetitive

\( n\cdot a \)

combinations

\( r\cdot e + c\cdot a + s + m\cdot e \)

Other

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

Notes

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

Sources


Santiago Yosondua

Major moods

Declarative unmarked

Interrogative

y/n initial interrogative word or phrase
WH
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 tü
past tü
future tü
imperative kóto, kóto mā with future
        tü but less forceful
not yet tujáꞌi with future or present
no longer tükáa with all tenses

Near time

already ja already with past and present
          så 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
Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 37

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Mark</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>nį</td>
<td>optional if tone already marks it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>low tone on first syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past unrealized</td>
<td></td>
<td>apparently not; see example on p. 56 bottom with nį after т̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTF sentence final</td>
<td></td>
<td>nikkú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preverbal plurals

- future: none
- present: kà
- past: kà

Motion verb plural

- Habituals: none
- Durative: none
- Progressive: none

Motion auxiliaries

- go: kìn, ján, jan, kuàn, kuán, chó
- be in process: kuàn
- come: kí, khi 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 мά (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?

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 37
is the sa related to Mag. sâné tê? to one of the Tezoatlán particles?
note grammaticalization of kuan.

Sources


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
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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 38
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)
nun phrase nsa (it's not that -- before nouns, adverbs, and verbs)
not even, neither ni3
interjection
other

Near time
already ya2 n1- (with change from n4- to n1- after tone 2)
about to ki3
just kua3
NOTE – source says last 2 occur between verb and subject -- CHECK

Tense
future zero (= stem alone); ku-3 or 4
present change from tone 3 or 4 to 1 or 2
different stem with initial ji- or y-
past 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-
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!     týýn33 (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 na- (tone 2 present, 3 future, 4 past) (Harrises call this habitual)
- combinations

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      ?

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 40
### Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>future tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 fam</td>
<td></td>
<td>future tense + familiar pronoun subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 res</td>
<td></td>
<td>future tense + formal pronoun subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, incl, 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>na + future tense + pronoun subject (more polite)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Elements

#### Modals

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y/n interr</td>
<td>á</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Negatives

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>tu/tuu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>tu/tuu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td>? natuu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no longer</td>
<td>? naga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td>suvi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not even, neither</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interjection</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Near time

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>already</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about to</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Tense

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stem change</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>prob high tone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past unrealized</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTF sentence final</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Preverbal plurals

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>ka (fuses with V-initial stems)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Motion verb plural

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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

WH  
initial interrogative word or phrase followed by ndu

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 kùdż́j (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’á

other  
none  
nté uun

Near time  

already  
é
about to  é plus future
other
dà vê  just now

Tense
future  no change in many verbs
addition of k or ku if verb begins with a vowel
present  kã- prefix; stem form is considered basic
nďã- 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 kã- 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
ñíië  know
ndjó  want
kuvi  be able

Periphrastic verb tenses  none

Imperative verb forms
go!  kwè'én-n
let’s go!  ke'e'ýn ŏ
come!  nľî'-ń ŏ
take it!  ŭ'ũn-n
other
kãmá-n  hurry up
dụ'xèn-n  shut up (you are bothersome)

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
to not exist  ůa túvi
to not be present  xoxo, xoo
other
**Derivational prefixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>causative verb</td>
<td>nà-</td>
<td>nà-verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>adj nà-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>repetitive</td>
<td>nà-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combinations</td>
<td>caus + rep + verb</td>
<td>nà-verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rep + caus + verb</td>
<td>nà-verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other**

**Notes**

this variant is conservative in certain respects, such as preservation of te (if)

this variant is innovative in certain respects

- ndù  interrogative
- nà  causative

no past tense marker, though the CTF marker occurs

**Sources**


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

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
  other

ki

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  Cathecismo y explicacion de la doctrina christiana, compuesto por el P. Geronymo de Ripalda, de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, y traducido en lengua Mixteca. Reimpresso 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 na-

subjunctive

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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 50
not even, neither
interjection
other

Near time
already xa-
about to xa-
other xa-

Tense
future zero
present yo-
past ni-
past unrealized CTF sentence final

Preverbal plurals
future NONE, but yo- present can have plural y- (i-)
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
kua-
go
kuanu- (go back)

come
ki-
ndi- (come back)
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms
go!
let's go!
other

come!
take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
to not exist yoo
to not be present other
Derivational prefixes

causative
verb  da-
adj
repetitive  na-
combinations  ndada-

Other
more, still  -ka
if tana

Notes

Sources


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

San Pedro Tidaa

Major moods

Declarative unmarked

Interrogative
y/n zero
WH

Can add a ña'a at end

Initial interrogative word or phrase

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 52
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’

**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: ñatu
- not even, neither
- interjection: ña'a

**Near time**

- already: sa, with all tenses, about to or already, precedes ni
- other

**Tense**

- future: none, segmental stem change, ku- prefix
  kundetu ‘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
adjective
none

Habituals
future
present
past
?
?
xo (follows ni)

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
come
jua

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?

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 54
ka kunu ni ‘rápidamente’
ka kunu nu ‘ya nos vamos aprisa’

Conjunctions
or a
but o
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 táz (with a few verbs -- seem to be motion, leave up,
descend)
1. incl, 3 ná + future verb

Negative imperative
2 fam max|kú + future verb, no subject
2 resp max|kú + future verb, subject expressed
1. incl, 3 max|kú + future verb, subject expressed

Elements

Modals
y/n interrogative
subjunctive
imperative
other

na only with future; creates 1,3 commands, makes 2 more polite
tá- with a few verbs

Negatives
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>ñà</td>
<td>ñàtù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>ñà</td>
<td>ñàtù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>maxkù (action already begun, or desired by addressee) / max</td>
<td>kú</td>
<td>nà ñá'ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not yet</td>
<td>tã ... kã + future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No longer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Not even, neither |             |

| Adjective | ñà, ñàtù |
| Noun phrase |            |

| 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) |

| Past unrealized | xõ |

| CTF sentence final | n-kúú |

**Preverbal plurals**

| Future   | None |
| Present  | Kã   |
| Past     | Kã   |

**Motion verb plural**

| Adjective | ùnù |

**Habituals**

| Future   | Kù |
| Present  | xko |
| Past     | xko |

**Durative**

**Progressive**

**Motion auxiliaries**

| Go       |          |
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

Periphrastic verb tenses
vàx is coming has the aspectual meaning progressive
juàn went away has the aspectual meaning already begun
polite imperative
   ñó xå + sentence in future (exists that)

Imperative verb forms
go!    juán
let's go!    neñé
come!    júñún

take it!
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
to not exist (animate)
to not exist (inanimate)
to not be present
other

Derivational prefixes
causative
verb dañ- / dàñ- with potential segments, minus ku- prefix
   sometimes tone differences
adj
repetitive nañ-, nuñ- 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 habituals, 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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 57
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**


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 / ná (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

  - ña SDN

  - past
  
  a- SAN, SIZ

  - ña SDN

  - future
  
  ayi SAN, SIZ

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 58
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!
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
- to not exist: atuu
- to not be present: other

Derivational prefixes
  - causative
    - verb: da-
    - adj: -
  - repetitive: na-

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

also personal communication

See also:
  Inga McKendry's master's theis, UND

Santiago Mitlatongo

Major moods

Declarative: unmarked

Interrogative
  - y/n: ko
  - WH: initial interrogative word or phrase
  - alternative: maybe also a (= conjunction or) ?
  - indirect
Imperative
  2 fam   future verb
  2 res
  1, incl, 3   na + future + subject

Elements

Modals
  y/n interr   ?
  subjunctive   na
  other

Negatives
  present   ña
  past   ña
  future   kú
  imperative   ?
  not yet   ?
  no longer   kú ... ka
              ña'a (x) kú ... ka
  adjective
  noun phrase   ñatu before NP, also ñatu na + verb
  not even, neither
  interjection   ña'a
                 ña'a xi
  other   ñali, ñaliko (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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 61
Habituals
future
present
past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

go
future  ki  (ji'in)

Motion auxiliaries

come
other
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

go!  ?
let's go!  ?
come!  ne'e
take it!  ju'un (polite)
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
to not exist

to not be present  ſatu
other

Derivational prefixes
causative

verb  la-
adj

repetitive  na-
combinations

Other

te  and
lo  (xi lo -- porque, kolo -- pero, nulo -- a donde,
(-ye) te lo -- ?, ye lo -- que, para que

kolo  but
jnu  if
wa  probably

Notes

Imperative singular has no marker and no 2 pronoun

Sources

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 62
**Santa María Peñoles**

**Major moods**

- **Declarative**: unmarked

- **Interrogative**
  - y/n: a̱án at end of sentence
  - ù at end of sentence
  - initial interrogative word or phrase: WH + ì at end of sentence

- **Imperrative**
  - 2 sg: future verb with no subject
  - 2 pl: chìì + future verb with no subject
  - 1, incl, 3

**Elements**

- **Modals**
  - y/n interr: a̱án at end of sentence
  - subjunctive: nà- (glossed constraint)

- **Negatives**
  - present: ñá
  - past: ñàtúú
  - future: vá-
  - imperative: tūú
  - not yet
  - no longer
  - adjective: bàá
  - noun phrase: nàdíú

- **Interjection**: ñáꞌá

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 63
Near time
already sà- + present
about to sà- + future
just sà- + past
other

Tense
future zero
present stem change kunu/xinu
tone lowering
past ní-
past unrealized prob. ní
CTF sentence final ní-ku̱ù; ní-kùù

Preverbal plurals
future none
imperative chiì
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'ìn (note: in all syllables i has hi tone)
come kuá
other

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms
go!
let's go!
other
come!
take it!

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
to not exist
to not be present
other
Derivational prefixes
causative
verb    dà-
adj      dà-
repetitive nà-
combinations

Other
and    tèè
with   ndî'i
or     adì
but    dikò
because chii
when   oré     ALI 90
in order that zero conjunction + future tense
if      núù     ALI 133

Notes
the ni-kù 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 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, Huajuapan) 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-
Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 67

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, na + fut verb
  3

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 ?

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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 69
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 ní- past tense

subjunctive ní- (note tone difference with ní- past)

other

Negatives

present makoó

past kó-

future

imperative masa, mà, mà

not yet

no longer

adjective

noun phrase

not even, neither

interjection kóó
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 da-
adj
repetitive
combinations

Other
tead
dokobut
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

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
### 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

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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 75
Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 76

- **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-
    - adj: da- (dativi)
  - repetitive
    - combinations: na

- **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 ...
indirect o...

Imperative
2 sg future tense + optional pronoun

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 77
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  ko
- past  ko
- future  o; sometimes a
- imperative  o sá
- ná dá'a ni
- not yet  kó ñá'a
- kó ñá'a ta'on
- no longer  o + verb + ká
- kó + verb + ká
- adjective  kó
- noun phrase  o dúú
- adúú
- not even, neither  ni + noun
- ni kó
- ni o
- ni kó
- ní ... kó (neither ... nor)
- interjection  o'on (yes/no question)
- kó (I won't or don't)
- other

Near time
- already  sá (in present = just begun
- about to  sá
- 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  ní
- past unrealized  ní
- ? CTF sentence final  ní kúú (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 sá (after ni)

Durative sá (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'án
kua'án + verb in future + pronoun

Imperative verb forms
- go! kua'án
- let's go! kó'ó
- come! nak'í
- na'a ná + verb in future
- take it! jó'ón
- other
  - mira aquí yó'chí (yó'ó aquí + chí exclamation)
  - mira allá káchí (káa allá)

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
- to not exist kóó
- kó tā'ón
- to not be present
- other
  - no quiere kó xíín + na
  - no quiso kó ní xíín + na

Derivational prefixes
causative
- verb dá-
- chi- (with some verbs of position)
- adj dá-
repeatitive
- na-
combinations
- nadá- (rare)
- dáná-

Other
- kuu estar en movimiento
- nduu convertirse en
- kee hacer

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 79
Notes
ko̱ is a reduction of the verb ko̱ó (not equal to exist)
future negative o is a squishing of mā

Sources

personal communication from Judith Williams, August 02

LOWLAND MIXTEC

GUERRERO

Coatzoquitengo, Gro.

Major moods

Declarative unmarked

Interrogative
y/n

WH initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative indirect

Imperative
2
1, incl, 3

Imperative (pp. 198-201)
no subject expressed, potential verb
potential with subject expressed
ná plus potential and pronoun
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  
va (pp. 197-98)

conditional  
ta 'if' (pp. 201-203)

cond. ctf  
ta ni 'if' (204)
tani, tanii forms also given (203)
nuu, nuu (= final particle) (203-205)

Negatives

present  
un

past  
un; changes mid tone of following syllable to high (p. 79)  
ni, plus perhaps change of mid to high on next syllable
maybe restricted to certain verbs -- want, eat

future  
un; changes mid tone of following syllable to high (p. 79);  
but on p. 197, given as un in un ku'ün yò (no iremos)

imperative  
un (p. 200, 254)

not yet  
ta'tän kà (p. 237)

no longer  
?

adjective  

nich (218-19), 241, sivi (256)
but sivi given as si es (241, 256-57)

interjection  
itun no interjection (241); also itun (242)

Note: on p. 227, kiví / kivi (no poder) and xin (no querer) are given with no negative markers  
extcept perhaps their low tone. Maybe they are negative verbs.

253 gives un for all three aspects

Near time

already  
xà (past) (p. 186)

xà (adj) (236)

right away  
yachí (237)
kuíti (237)
xà yatín (240)

Tense

future  
zero (208)
ku- (210)

present  
tono alto (207-208)

past  
tono bajo (207)
shi- (207)
ni- (207)

past unrealized  
ni (p. 203)

CTF sentence final  
(no hay ejemplos de oraciones condicionales)

Preverbal plurals

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 81
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 kóó (251),
to not be present kóó (258)
other

Derivational prefixes
causative
verb sí- (p. 194)
adj kásà (do) + adjective (p. 194)
repetitive ni- (p. 193)
combinations

Other

Notes

Conjunctions (224)
and, but tà
because chí
or àn - án
neither ni - ní
then tà - tásà
also tàn

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 82
Relative adverbs (= subordinate conjunctions) (228-229)
while nànì
till, since àntà
as tà
if tá
when kìvì

Sources
*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.

Alacatlatzala, 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
all can be more polite with ná added
1, incl, 3 ná plus future

Elements

Modals
y/n interrogative án at beginning of sentence
subjunctive ná (future; all persons)
other

Negatives
present vásà
on vásà
past ní- plus tone change to high on first syllable of stem

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 83
vásà ní-
qn vásà ní-
ní vásà ní
future  qn + tone change to high on first syllable of verb
qn vásà
imperative  qn + tone change to high on first syllable of verb
not yet  tàʔàn (+ future)
no longer  vásà ... kã
adjective  vásá
noun phrase  sjví + NP + equative verb + NP
not even, neither  ní
interjection  oʔon / oʔoŋ
vása (it’s not so)
other

Near time
already     xa near time (all tenses; rare with future) already, about to
xį (only past), already
perhaps this is just a variant of xa
for some speakers xį has replaced xa
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
nį -- obligatory when first tone of stem is low; usually not
present when first syllable is mid, but optional for a few verbs
past unrealized nį following a negative
nį + high tone on stem
CTF sentence final níkúù (at end of hypothetical sentence or at end of main
sentence)

some verbs derived from adjectives have kų- in future and xį- in past, or in past and
present, as well as the regular two-syllable roots with k/x alternation as kata xíta xíta (sing)

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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 84
Motion auxiliaries

verbs

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

Periphrastic verb tenses

- about to
  koni wants + obj compl
- continuing action
  xikà walks + subj + 2nd sentence

Imperative verb forms

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

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

- to not exist
  kóó (by a tone change from kòò exist)
- to not be present
- other
  to not be able
  kjví (by a tone change from kivì be able)

Derivational prefixes

- causative
  verb
  sà- (sometimes effects a tone change)
  adj
  sà- (”)
- 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. Metlatonoc, 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 yukan and ma from an earlier yukan.)

Sources

LOWLAND MIXTEC

SOUTHERN BAJA

Silacayoapan

Major moods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>y/n</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WH initial interrogative word or phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alternative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1, incl, 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y/n interr</td>
<td>á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>kò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>kò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>a (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>a (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td>a ñá'á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no longer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>kò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not even, neither</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interjection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>already</td>
<td>sá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>all three tenses; about to, just begun, already</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tense

- future: none; stem changes;
- present: (a), which usually results in high on first syll of stem
- past: na
- 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!: kuáťán
- let’s go!: kó'qo
- come!: nàťà
- take it!: ke'e
- other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only):
- to not exist: kó, kó'q
- to not be present: kó q
- other

Derivational prefixes:

- causative verb: xá-
- tone change involving high on 2nd syllable of stem
- adj
- repetitive: ndí-
- combinations

Other

Notes:
- no futures in ko- or ku-
- vowels in na past and ndí- repetitive are a mystery to me
- nd in ndùù CTF is a mystery

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 87
there seems to be an earlier layer of causative with only tone remaining

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

See also:

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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 88
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
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 nã
other

Negatives

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 90
present   low on 1st syll + low-high on stressed syllable
past      low on ndį + 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   low-high tone pattern
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       ndį- plus low tone on first syllable of next word? CMP
past unrealized low tone on first syllable of next word ?

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)

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 91
to not exist  ko̱o
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  chin
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: á, án
- subjunctive: ná
- other

Negatives

- present: koómo (no hay) + tiempo presente
- past: koómo + ndí + tiempo presente
- future: tone; usually h-l glide on stressed syllable, and one tone higher than normal on following tone (exc. suví no es, kuví no va a morir)
  - imperative: negative future
  - not yet: tą́’an
  - no longer: neg. future
  - adjective: usually koómo + adj.
  - noun phrase: suví
  - not even, neither
  - interjection: koto
- other

Near time

- already: xą
- 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
  - Ndí 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! ko'g, ko'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
- óo = single V with wedge

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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 94
ààn at beginning of sentence
tone-raising clitic at beginning of sentence--raises one level

WH
alternative
indirect
y/n

ààn (if) + basic decl sentence

WH

same as direct question

Imperative

2 sg
future verb with no subject
2 pl
future verb with subject
2 polite
future verb with subject
nà + future verb with subject
1, incl, 3
nà + future verb with subject

Elements

Modals

y/n interr
ñàà, ààn, tone raising clitic
subjunctive
nà
nà -- obligation
nà -- 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 nì and stem
future
same
imperative
not yet
no longer
adjective
same
noun phrase
not even, neither
interjection
other

Near time

already
xà + past
just now
xà + present
right now
xà + present
about to
xà + future
other

Tense

future
none
stem change kòto/xìto'
ku- or ko- prefix with a few verbs
present  
tone change to higher, and sometimes addition of 
a final glottal stop 
past  
ŋį (optional if there is a stem difference) 
past unrealized  
nį̱ 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 

Motion verb plural 

Habituals  

future 

present  
xi- prefix on some present stems 
past 

Durative 

Progressive 

Motion auxiliaries  
go  
kùn  
kuàn  
shàn, shán  
shàn  
kuàn  
kuàn  
shàn, shán  
shàn  
kuàn  
kuàn  
shàn, shán  
shàn

come  
other 

Periphrastic verb tenses 

Imperative verb forms  
go!  
kuàn  
let's go!  
tò'ŋ (dos)  
tò'ŋ ndò' (tres o más)  

come!  
nya'ā  
take it!  
other 

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)  
to not exist 
to not be present 
other 

Derivational prefixes  
causative  
verb  
sà-  
xà- (in present and past; sà in future)  
adj  
sà-  

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 96
repetitive na-
combinations nda- + sa- + stem
sa- + nà + stem
s- + nà- + 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

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  na
  subjunctive  na
  other

Negatives
  present  kue
  past  kue
  future  ma
  imperative  ma
  not yet  ma
  no longer  kue ... ka
  adjective
  noun phrase
  not even, neither
  interjection  a'än
  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!  na ko'on
- 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
  - repetitive
  - 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:

COASTAL MIXTEC

WEST COAST

Santa María Zacatepec

Major moods
- Declarative  unmarked
Interrogative
y/n  initial a (= or)
WH  initial interrogative word or phrase
alternative
indirect y/n  tu (sí)

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)
tüvi antes del verbo
past  ni (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  ni 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion verb</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>prog</th>
<th>hab</th>
<th>pas</th>
<th>come</th>
<th>other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>kuå</td>
<td>chå</td>
<td>chà</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion verb</th>
<th>go!</th>
<th>let's go!</th>
<th>come!</th>
<th>take it!</th>
<th>other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kua'an</td>
<td>ko'o</td>
<td>na'a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion verb</th>
<th>to not exist</th>
<th>to not be present</th>
<th>other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tükuii</td>
<td>tüvi, töve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Derivational prefixes

causative
verb ja
adjective ja

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 101
repetitive combinations no ex in grammar of either jana or naja

Other
as expected ndio (in VP following verb)

Other -- modal stuff
kuni one might think, at end of a question
naja ka hearsay
ri 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

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 initial interrogative word or phrase

WH alternative

indirect

Imperative

2 sg
2 pl
1, incl, 3 ná
**Elements**

Modals
- y/n interrr
- subjunctive: ná
- other

Negatives
- present: ná
- past: ná
- future
- imperative: ná
- not yet
- no longer
- adjective
- noun phrase: ná'ni (ningún)
- not even, neither
- interjection
- other

Near time
- already: cha
- about to
- just: sá

Tense
- future: none, va
- stem change kúnú/chínu
- 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
Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mixtec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go!</td>
<td>kuá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let's go!</td>
<td>kǔ'un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take it!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mixtec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to not exist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to not be present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Derivational prefixes

causative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Mixtec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>sá-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mixtec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xáán</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāa, tā</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōkō</td>
<td>but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tū</td>
<td>if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wátí</td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mixtec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chí'ín</td>
<td>marker of direct object, also means with; probably old preposition with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources


**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  ñàtànà, ñàvànà ka
  no longer
  adjective
  noun phrase  ñavin
  not even, neither  ñì
  interjection
  other

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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 107
Tense

- future: optional kuə
- present: stem changes kunu/tsinu
- past: tono alto
- past unrealized: none
- CTF sentence final

Preverbal plurals

- future
- present
- past

Motion verb plural

Habituals

- future
- present
- past

Durative

Progressive

Motion auxiliaries

- go:
  - future: kù-
  - present: kuà-
  - past: tsì-
- come:
  - future: none

Periphrastic verb tenses

Imperative verb forms

- go!: kuəaʔán
- let.s go!: kóʔon
- come!: cp. nye'e (acá)
- take it!: juˈun
- 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 combinations: nà-
Other

xaan  very

Notes

tsi complementizer; cp tsiꞌin (con)

and  tan
but  soko
because  tyhin
if  tatu
if-CTF  tu tsatyin
although  vasu

The grammar sketch with this dictionary is a gem, short and to the point, with all the basic information, and none of the picky details.

Sources

supplemented by personal communication from AJ/SS 8 or 9/02

San Agustín Chayuco

Major moods

Declarative  unmarked

Interrogative

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

Imperative

2 sg
2 pl
1, incl, 3

Elements

Modals

y/n interr  atu
subjunctive  na-
other

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 109
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negatives</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>ña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ñá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td>taña'a ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no longer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not even, neither</td>
<td>nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interjection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near time</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>already</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>kua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past unrealized</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTF sentence final</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverbal plurals</th>
<th>none</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion verb plural</th>
<th>prob none</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habituals</td>
<td>prob none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Durative</th>
<th>prob none</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>prob none</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion auxiliaries</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periphrastic verb tenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative verb forms</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let's go!</td>
<td>ko'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come!</td>
<td>ña'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take it!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
- to not exist: ña'ñi
- to not be present: yoñi
- other: yivi (no es así)

Derivational prefixes
- causative verb: za-
- repetitive adj: na-
- combinations: ?

Other

Notes

Sources

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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 111
| y/n interr | nà |
| subjunctive | nà |
| other | |

### Negatives
- **Present**: ñà
- **Past**: ñà
- **Future**: mà
- **Imperative**
  - *Not yet*: tā + 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**: nɨ, 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

### Durative

### Progressive

### Motion Auxiliaries
- **Go**: kù, kuà, chi; with future; express intent as well as motion
  - only with an arbitrary set of verbs
- **Come**: none
- **Other**

### Periphrastic Verb Tenses

### Imperative Verb Forms

---

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 112
go!   kuà'án
let's go! kó'ó ndò (uses 2pl subject, but includes speaker)
come!   ñà'á
take it!   ma'
cry!    kuákù (vs. kuákù fut-cry), also a few other verbs
other

Negative verbs (continuative aspect only)
to not exist (animate)  yórì
to not exist (inanimate)  ŋá'ri
other                  ŋíma (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, ŋà, 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

Mixtec mood, tense, and negation database, Hollenbach, 9/15, page 115