

SYNTACTIC AND FUNCTIONAL CRITERIA FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF
ADVERBS IN GUERRERO AMUZGO¹

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0. Introduction

A typical traditional definition of the adverb is that it is a part of speech which modifies a verb, an adjective or another adverb.

Some definitions say the adverb is the non-inflected part of the sentence and some say that it does not require inflection in other words (Ramsey 1934:562). In general adverbs are traditionally subdivided according to time, place, manner, degree, order, doubt, affirmation and negation.

In studying adverbs of Guerrero Amuzgo I have found the traditional definitions and classifications to be inadequate in certain ways and that they don't all hold true. In classifying adverbs syntactic criteria need to be taken into consideration. Owen Thomas has recognized this in talking about pre-verbs in English in his book Transformational Grammar and the Teacher of English (1965:163). In his Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (1969:326) John Lyons states: "In traditional grammar, adverbs constitute a very heterogenous class; and it is doubtful whether any general theory of syntax would bring together as members of the same syntactic class all the forms that are traditionally described as 'adverbs'."

In this presentation we will look at the following types of adverbs of Guerrero Amuzgo: Descriptive, Perception, Inseparable, Separable, Adverbial suffixes and Predicated adverbs. I will not discuss Time and Place adverbs nor Interrogative, Relative or Comparison adverbs.

1. Descriptive adverbs

One sizeable group of Amuzgo adverbs fits into the class of manner adverbs. Many of these manner adverbs are basically

descriptive adjectives or descriptive verbs which also serve as descriptive adverbs. When they serve as adverbs, many of them are no different in form from the adjective or verb form and are distinguished only by their relationship to the verb which is indicated by syntactic placement in the clause.

(1) Examples of descriptive adjectives, verbs and adverbs

a. **t'maⁿ** - big

- 1) descriptive adjective - immediately follows a noun

Cwic'eeⁿna 'ndyoo nato t'maⁿ.²
live-they edge trail big

They live at the edge of a **big** trail.

- 2) descriptive verb - immediately precedes a noun

Jeeⁿ **t'maⁿ** w'aa scwela.
very big house school

The school house **is** very **big**.

- 3) descriptive adverb - immediately precedes a verb

T'maⁿ teijnein ja.
big helped-he me

He helped me **greatly**.

b. **jnda** - expensive

- 1) descriptive adjective

Tifec'oⁿya tsuee jndawaa'.
not-want-buy-I petate expensive-that

I don't want to buy that **expensive** petate.

- 2) descriptive verb

Jeeⁿ **jnda** luee majndaa catsueem'aaⁿ'.
very expensive petates sells mixteco-that

The petates that that Mixteco is selling **are** very **expensive**.

- 3) descriptive adverb

Jeeⁿ **jnda** majndaa catsueem'aaⁿ' luee.
very expensive sells mixteco-that petates

That Mixteco is selling petates very **expensively**.

c. **cax'eeⁿ** - crooked

1) descriptive adjective

Xocwil'ue tscaa' **cax'eeⁿ**waa'.
 can't-be-used board crooked-that

That **crooked** board can't be used.

2) descriptive verb

Cax'eeⁿ x'ee sula.
 crooked leg-of chair

The leg of the chair **is crooked**.

3) descriptive adverb

Cax'eeⁿ meintyjee' w'aa.
 crooked stands house

The house stands **crookedly**.
 The house stands **off-center**.

(2) Further examples of descriptive adverbs

a. **neincoo'** - pretty

Neincoo' mata casaa.
 pretty sings bird

The bird sings prettily.

b. **jñeeⁿ** - poor

Jeeⁿ jñeeⁿ macwa'a.
 very poor eat-I

I eat poorly (poor quality; small amount).

c. **lju'** - clean

Jeeⁿ lju' quimaaⁿ liaa.
 very clean habitually-washes-she clothes

She always washes the clothes very clean.

d. **mpeiⁿ** - taut

Timpeiⁿ jla'ntyjana luiincjo chom.
 not-taut hung-they wires fire

They didn't hang the electric wires tautly.

e. ca'naⁿ - delicious

Ca'naⁿ watsoo welo.
delicious sleeps grandfather

The grandfather is sleeping soundly.
The grandfather is sleeping like a log.

(3) Inflection of descriptive adverbs

Contrary to the traditional definitions which say that adverbs are non-inflected, the descriptive adverbs of Amuzgo may be inflected in the same way the descriptive verbs are inflected, for example:

t'man teijneiⁿ ja
big helped-he me

a. add negative prefix ti- meaning 'not'

tit'maⁿ teijneiⁿ ja
not-big helped-he me

He didn't help me much.

b. add negative prefix ta- meaning 'no longer; no more'

tat'maⁿ teijneiⁿ ja
no-more-big helped-he me

He no longer helped me very much.
He didn't help me as much.

c. add affirmative prefix ma-

mat'maⁿ teijneiⁿ ja
affirmative-big helped-he me

He really helped me a lot.
He did help me a lot.

d. add comparison suffix -ti meaning 'more'

t'maⁿti teijneiⁿ ja
big-more helped-he me

He helped me much more.

(4) Postposing of descriptive adverbs

Occasionally a descriptive adverb will be postposed following the nucleus of the clause. The reason for postposing these adverbs is not clearly apparent.

Perhaps one is sometimes postposed because of other things being fronted with which adverbs don't collocate or because it puts too heavy a load in the front of the clause.

Sometimes a negative prefix on the verb causes the adverb to be postposed. Sometimes sequence or emphasis on the action may force the adverb to follow rather than precede the verb.

When the adverb is postposed it is sometimes preceded by the particle **na**. The reason for the occurrence or non-occurrence of this particle is not yet clear to me.

2. Perception adverbs

The following adverbs which refer to smells and sounds I have chosen to call 'perception adverbs'. These adverbs immediately precede the verb.

(1) Smells

a. **cant'maaⁿ** - scorched smell

Jeeⁿ cant'maaⁿ cwico liaa.
very scorched-smell burns cloth

The cloth is burning with a scorched smell.

b. **casquii'** - singed smell (feathers; hair, horns)

Jeeⁿ casquii' cwico tsaa' caxti.
very singed-smell burn feathers-of chicken

The chicken feathers are burning with a singed smell.

c. **cato'** - rotten smell; smell of dead animal

Jeeⁿ c'ee cato' maju'na' jndye.
very smelly rotten-smell sends air

The air sends a rotten smell.
I got a whiff of rotten smell.

d. **canioom** - pungent smell (citrus; alcohol)

Jeeⁿ canioom ntyja jndye.
very pungent-smell hangs air

The air is permeated with a pungent smell.
There's a pungent smell in the air.

e. **catsoo'** - musty smell

Jeeⁿ catsoo' maju'na' jndye.
very musty-smell sends air

The air sends a musty smell.
I got a whiff of a musty smell.

(2) Sounds

a. **cajwi** - hissing

Jeeⁿ ndyaa' c'uuaa cajwi caca tal'o.
 very very loud hissing goes bullet

Very loudly hissing goes the bullet.
 Very loudly hissing travels the bullet.

b. **candreiiⁿ** - tinkling, ringing, clanging

Jeeⁿ candreiiⁿ caquioo xjoo' ts'aⁿ cjoo' ljo'.
 very clanging falls machete-of person on rocks

Very clanging falls the person's machete on
 the rocks.

c. **capja'** - slapping or beating

Jeeⁿ capja' camaⁿ ts'aⁿ liaa.
 very slapping washes person clothes

Very slapping-sound washes the person
 the clothes.
 The person is washing the clothes with
a slapping sound.

d. **capjo'** - thump or thud

Jeeⁿ capjo' macjoo'a castom.
 very thud knock-I box

Very thud-sounding I'm knocking the box.

e. **canchaaⁿ'** - dull crunch

Jeeⁿ canchaaⁿ' maqui' tatsmaⁿ.
 very dull-crunch eat-you jicama

Very crunchy sounding you're eating
 jicama.

f. **cacheⁿ** - crisp crackling

Jeeⁿ cacheⁿ macwaaⁿ'aⁿ chquiaa cheeⁿ.
 very crackling eats-she tortillas crisp

Very crackling she eats the ticazo.

g. **catraa** - clatter

Catraa teic'uaa seicwa' ts'aⁿ xqueeⁿ ts'oom
clatter sounded hit person head-his wood

xtyo' xquie'.
neck-of shelter

Clatter sounded as the person hit his head
on the beam of the door.

3. Inseparable adverbs

Another group of adverbs immediately precedes the verbs and because of their close syntactical relationship to the verb I have chosen to call them 'inseparable adverbs'. Their syntactic position is like that of the descriptive adverbs; however, in general they cannot be inflected and their function is different from descriptive adverbs. Some of them have to do with sequence; some indicate speed, frequency or duration of the action; or they may have other functions.

(1) **mantyja** - right away; immediately (right after previous action)

a) Xeⁿ jnda tja welo quiajo' mantyja nncwaⁿ ya 'u.
after went old-man then right-away will-call-I you

After the old man has gone, right away I'll call you.

b) Ljeii tyochjoo na ljo caspeii cjoo' liaa. Mantyja tmeiiⁿ eⁿ
discovered boy that is-on cricket on clothes right-away hit-he
nda' juuyo'.
fist that-animal

The boy discovered that the cricket was on the clothes.
Right away he hit him with his fist.

c) Ndii casaalua' na seixuaa chicar'eii'. Mantyja
hears flycatcher that calls cicada right-away

tooⁿ 'oⁿ ntyjooⁿ chicar'eii'neeⁿ.
began-he chases-he cicada-that

The flycatcher heard the cicada call. Right away he began to chase that cicada.

- (2) **mana** - then; next; right away (right after the previous action)

a) Seicwaaⁿ'aⁿ xjo nchue. Mana tue'yo'.
hit-he machete possum then died-animal

He hit the possum with his machete. Then he (possum) died.

b) Teicaljoo cachi' xjombale. Mana tioona' nomtyuaa.
jumped-on fat pail then fell-it ground

The rat jumped on the pail. Then it fell to the ground.

c) Jnda teijndyaa' catsiaⁿ na maleinoom mana 'ndiitoom.
after got-tired tiger that runs-he then stopped-he

After the tiger got tired of running (then) he stopped.

d) Cwe' la'ti' s'aa tyocwañejo ñ'eⁿndyena. Mana
just thus did sir-rabbit with-them then

ntycwii cwentowaa'.
ended story-that

Thus the rabbit did with them. (then) That's the end of the story.

- (3) **mañoom'** - immediately

a) T'uui welo jom ndo' mañoom' seicwaqueⁿ
grabbed old-man him and immediately turned-into

welo jom na snom jom.
old-man him that donkey him

The old man grabbed him and immediately turned him into a donkey.

b) Seinaaⁿ'aⁿ nacjoo' cax'oo. Mañoom' tiooffeyo'.
fired-he on raccoon immediately fell-animal

Mana tue'yo'.
then died-animal

He fired on the raccoon. Immediately he (raccoon) fell. He died.

c) Tjañ'oom lochom 'naaⁿ'aⁿ. Mantyja seinaaⁿ'aⁿ
took-he gun his right-away fired-he

nacjoo' casaa'luii. Mañoom' tiooffeyo'.
on chachalaca immediately fell-animal

He took his gun. Right away he fired on the chachalaca. Immediately the bird fell.

(4) **majndeiiito** - suddenly right away (out of a clear blue sky)

- a) Majndeiiito ljeiiⁿ ts'iaaⁿ nnts'aaⁿ.
suddenly-right-away found-he work will-do-he

Suddenly right away he found work to do.
(he found the work as soon as he started looking
for it)

- b) Majndeiiito tsoo yucachjoo.
suddenly-right-away slept child

All of a sudden the child fell asleep.

- c) Mats'ia jo' ljeiya na jnda tju'taaⁿ nena'
suddenly discovered-I that completed slipped-crooked

xuu' snom tsmaaⁿ'a; chii majndeiiito
load-of donkey my then suddenly-right-away

tjoquicjeendyo ts'oomnquiu' xom'm.
went-put-under-I stick-forked load-his

Suddenly I discovered that my donkey's load had
slipped lopsided so quickly I put a forked stick
under the load.

(5) **njom** - right away; at once; once and for all (without any delay or waiting)

- a) Yati na njom cajndaa' catcum'aaⁿ.
better that once-and-for-all sell-you pig-that

ee jeeⁿ jndye macwa'yo'.
for very much eats-animal

It's better that you sell that pig once and for
all because he eats so much.

- b) Ja majo' na mawax'a cha ntyjii njom
I that's-why ask-I so-that know-I at-once

nnooⁿ'a nnaⁿ.
will-plant-I corn

That's why I'm asking so I'll know; I'll plant corn
at once.

- c) Njom jo.
at-once go-I

I'll go at once.

(6) **maje'ndyo** - right this minute (no delay)

- a) Ty'oom chwawⁿ cwii catscaa. Maje'ndyo tooⁿ'oⁿ
 caught lizard one grasshopper right-away began-he
 tqueeⁿ juuyo'.
 ate-he that-animal

The lizard caught a grasshopper. Right away he
 began to eat him.

- b) Tooⁿ'oⁿ tyojoom chom. Maje'ndyo t'iuu tsqueⁿ.
 began-she started-she fire right-away cooked squash

She started the fire. Right away the squash cooked.

- c) Tyjeeⁿ'eⁿ tsjoom. Maje'ndyo jndyocue xuu
 arrived-he town right-away came-down load

snom tsmeeiⁿ'eⁿ.
 donkey his

He arrived in town. Right away the load was taken
 off his donkey.

(7) **ñecwii ndii'** - continuously; without stopping

- a) Ñecwii ndii' saayâ. Mana squiaayâ tsjoom.
 continuously went-we then arrived-we town

We went without stopping. We arrived at
 town. (We went straight home.)

(8) **tijoom** - never (usually requires future tense, subjunctive or terminated imperfect prefix on verb).

- a) Tijoom nndyocanoom'm ja.
 never will-come-visit-he me

He'll never come visit me.

- b) Tijoom nntsa' na luaa' ee tis'a.
 never will-do-you thus for bad

Never do that, because it's bad.

- c) Tijoom ñetjo Tsjoom TSCO.
 never had-gone-I town leaf

I hadn't ever before gone to Oaxaca City.
 I had never before gone to Oaxaca City.

(9) **Tajom** - never more; never again (usually requires future prefix on verb)

a) Tajom nnts'aannda'a cha'xjeⁿ s'aa je'.
never-again will-do-again-I like did-I now

I will never again do like I did now.

b) Cwe' tajom nntseijomndyu' ñequio nn'aⁿ na
just never-again will-join-you with people that

nl'ana nata' ts'aⁿ.
will-do-they harm person

Just never again join people who harm people.

(10) **meiⁿjom** - never; never once (requires negative past habitual or negative past perfect prefix on verb)

a) Meiⁿjom tyoondiiya cwentowaa'.
never haven't-heard-I story-that

I have never heard that story.

b) Meiⁿjom tiquicaya Sndaa'.
never not-habitually-go-I Mexico-City

I have never gone to Mexico City.

4. Separable adverbs

Some adverbs have more than one syntactical position. I have chosen to call these 'separable adverbs' because they can immediately precede a verb but they are often separated from the verb. When separated from the verb they usually precede another part of the clause which precedes the verb. A few of them may be postposed and a few may precede a dependent clause which precedes the main clause. A few may precede a location, instrument or other expression following the predicate or the nucleus of the clause. The examples given represent positions where each adverb may occur. Given more data some of the adverbs might occur in more positions. (The position of these adverbs is not a matter of style, however. Generally things which are postposed are less emphasized or are less in focus.)

(1) **chjoochjoo** - slightly; a little bit

a. precedes verbs

- 1) Chjoochjoo tjanquiaŋe tyochjoo cha
slightly turned-aside boy so that

ticwinoom nacaŋoom' chcwaⁿb'io.
not-pass near lizard-hell

The boy turned off the path slightly so he
wouldn't have to pass near the gecko.

b. precedes descriptive adverbs

- 1) Chjoochjoo tquioo' waa waa' ti'ŋeeⁿ.
slightly distant is house-of man-that

That man's house is slightly distant.

c. precedes inseparable adverbs

- 1) Chjoochjoo tquia xjeⁿ macaya sjo.
slightly seldom go-I mountain.

It's sort of seldom that I go out to the mountains.

(2) **meiⁿchjoo** - not at all

a. precedes verbs (requires negative prefix on verb)

- 1) Meiⁿchjoo tiŋe'cwinom canmaⁿ jnduu.
not-at-all not-want-pass-over sheep bridge

The sheep didn't at all want to cross over the
bridge.

- 2) Meiⁿchjoo tjaa'naⁿ na sei'naⁿya.
not-at-all there's nothing that studied-I

I didn't study at all.
I never went to school.

b. precedes descriptive adverbs (requires negative prefix on the adverb)

- 1) Meiⁿchjoo taneincoo' mata xjo radio 'naⁿya.
not-at-all no-more-pretty sings metal radio my

My radio doesn't sound good at all any more.

c. precedes the direct object in the emphasis position
(requires negative prefix on verb)

- 1) Meiⁿ chjoo chquiaa ti'cwaaⁿ'aⁿ.
not-at-all tortillas not-eat-he

He didn't eat any tortillas at all.

(3) jeeⁿ - very

a. precedes verbs

- 1) Jeeⁿ maleinom caso.
very runs horse

The horse is really running.

- 2) Jeeⁿ neincoo'ñe casaa.
very pretty bird

The bird is very pretty.

- 3) Jeeⁿ nquiaya.
very fear-I

I'm very afraid.

b. precedes descriptive adverbs

- 1) Jeeⁿ cwenta tyoleiñ'oom w'aachom.
very careful was-carrying-he truck

He was driving the truck very carefully.

- 2) Jeeⁿ cwajndii tyowi'teiⁿya.
very ugly was-chilling-I

I was having very bad chills.

c. precedes inseparable adverbs

- 1) Jeeⁿ tquia xjeⁿ quicaⁿ sjo.
very seldom habitually-goes-he mountain

He very seldom goes out to the mountains.

d. precedes time words

- 1) Jeeⁿ nmeiiⁿndyo jnaⁿ ts'iaaⁿ.
very recently began work

The work began very recently.

- 2) Jeeⁿ cwitsjoom cwi'uaa tsjoo.
very morning be-pressed cane

The sugar cane is pressed very early in the morning.

- 3) Jeeⁿ teibio wii' welo.
very long-time sick old-man

For a very long time the old man has been sick.

(4) **nchaa'** - not

a. precedes verbs

- 1) Nchaa' matsa'ntjomndyo cheⁿnnco.
not rule-I myself

I don't rule myself.
I'm not my own boss.

b. precedes descriptive adverbs

- 1) Nchaa' cwenta maleiñ'oom w'aachom.
not carefully carry-he truck

He doesn't drive the truck carefully.

c. precedes the subject, object, location or time in emphasis position

- 1) Nchaa' ja s'aa ts'iaaⁿ'ñeeⁿ.
not I did-I work-that

It wasn't I who did that work.

- 2) Nchaa' jndaa tjo.
not country went-I

I didn't go out to the country.

- 3) Nchaa' cwitsjoom teicantyyjaaⁿ.
not early-morning got-up-she

She didn't get up early in the morning.

(5) **yache**ⁿ - on the contrary; instead; all the more

a. precedes verbs

- 1) Tcwaⁿ' tyochjoo saa yacheⁿ tjaaⁿ.
called-you boy but instead went-he

You called the boy (to come) but on the contrary he went away.

b. precedes descriptive adverbs

- 1) Meiiⁿ na cwiluii nasei jom yacheⁿ
 even-though is-made medicine him instead

nioom weeⁿ'eⁿ.
 gravely sick-he

Even though he is being medicated, on the
contrary he's more gravely sick.

c. precedes the subject or object in emphasis position

- 1) Tmeiiⁿ'eⁿ xjo cañom ee jeeⁿ cwila'lioo'yo'
 hit-he machete flies for very pester-animals

snom tsmeeiiⁿ'eⁿ saa yacheⁿ nquii
 donkey his but instead the-very

snom tsmeeiiⁿ'eⁿ t'uaaⁿ juuyo'. Yacheⁿ
 donkey his cut-he that-animal instead

jndye cañom tyo'oocañomyo' snom
 many flies were-going-near-animals donkey

tsmeeiiⁿ'eⁿ.
 his

He hit the flies with his machete because
 they were pestering his donkey but on the
contrary he cut his very own donkey. On
the contrary many flies swarmed around
 his donkey.

(6) **quiawaa** - sometimes

a. precedes verbs

- 1) Quiawaa matseicwa'a ntsei.
 sometimes spill-I cane-juice

Sometimes I spill the cane juice.

- 2) Quiawaa jnaaⁿ'a.
 sometimes embarrassed-I

Sometimes I'm embarrassed.

b. precedes descriptive adverbs

- 1) Quiawaa c'uaa mat'ioo yu'ndaa.
 sometimes loudly cries baby

Sometimes the baby cries loudly.

- c. precedes separable adverbs (which may in turn precede descriptive adverbs)

- 1) Quiawaa cwe' mat'ioom.
sometimes just cries-she

Sometimes she just cries.

- 2) Quiawaa jeeⁿ c'uaa mata xjo.
sometimes very loudly sings metal

Sometimes the loudspeaker sings very loudly.

- d. precedes subject, object, time or location in emphasis position

- 1) Quiawaa nexioo ticwjeeⁿ'eⁿ tsjoom.
sometimes older-brother-my not-arrive-he town

Sometimes my older brother doesn't come back to town.

- 2) Quiawaa jnda tmaaⁿ nlquiena tsjoom.
sometimes completed afternoon will-arrive-they town

Sometimes they arrive in town at the end of the afternoon.

- 3) Quiawaa jndaa cwiljoo'ñê.
sometimes country remains-he

Sometimes he remains out in the country.

- e. precedes a dependent clause which precedes the main clause

- 1) Quiawaa, na jnda tqueⁿ sjaⁿ, nntaⁿ, x'a ndeii'yo.
sometimes after laid-eggs oriole will-break grosbeak
eggs-animal

Sometimes, after the oriole has laid her eggs, the grosbeak will break the eggs of that bird.

- 2) Quiawaa meiiⁿ na ya mandi'ntjoⁿ saa tit'maaⁿ,
sometimes even though well serve-I but not-large

nncwantjoⁿya.
will-earn-I

Sometimes even though I work well I don't earn much.

f. postposed

- 1) Jeeⁿ ndyaa' lio'a quiawaa.
 very very angry-I sometimes

Sometimes I'm very angry.
 I'm very angry sometimes.

(7) **nequii'cheⁿ** - always

a. precedes verbs

- 1) Nequii'chenⁿ tyotsoom ndaana chiuu cal'ana.
 always was-saying-he faces-their how do-they

He was always telling them what they
 should do.

b. precedes descriptive adverbs

- 1) Nequii'cheⁿ neincoo' mata casaam'aaⁿ'.
 always pretty sings bird-that

That bird always sings prettily.

c. precedes separable adverbs

- 1) Nequii'cheⁿ chjoochjoo wa'catyaⁿya
 always slightly sitting-I

ma'maaⁿ ndyo ljoos.
 clean-I milpa

I was always slightly sitting while I cleaned
 the milpa.

d. precedes subject, object, time, location or
 accompaniment in emphasis position

- 1) Nequii'cheⁿ chquiaa cheeⁿ tjocho na
 always tortilla crisp took-I that

tjo jndaa.
 went-I country

I always took ticazos when I went to the
 country.

- 2) Nequii'cheⁿ jndaa macaⁿ.
 always country goes-he

He always goes to the country.

- 3) Nequii'cheⁿ cwitsjoom quicaⁿ jndaa.
 always early-morning habitually-goes-he country

He always goes to the country early in the
 morning.

- 4) Nequii'cheⁿ ñ'eⁿ tsotyeeⁿ quicaⁿ
 always with father-his habitually-goes-he

jndaa.
 country

He always goes with his father to the
 country.

e. precedes dependent clauses which precede the main clause

- 1) Nequii'cheⁿ quia na tjo jndaa
 always when went-I country

tjochoya chquiaa cheeⁿ.
 took-I tortillas crisp

Always when I went to the field I took ticazos.
 When I went to the country I always took
 ticazos.

- 2) Nequii'cheⁿ meiiⁿ na maquiina'
 always even though pains

naxeeⁿ'eⁿ maxjeⁿ wjaⁿ jndaa.
 back-his inevitably goes-he country

Even though his back pains he always goes to
 the country.

(8) **mati** - also

a. precedes verbs

- 1) Mati quiaa' ndaatsuu nnc'uu casondye'ndaa.
 also give-you milk will-drink cow-baby

Also give milk to the baby calf to drink.

b. precedes descriptive adverbs

- 1) Mati niroom taⁿ' xqueⁿ tyochjoo.
 also gravely broke head boy

Also the boy cut his head badly.

c. precedes inseparable adverbs

- 1) Mati mantyja catsa' nasei quioo'ndaa.
 also right-away do-you medicine animal-baby

Also apply medicine right away to the baby
 animal.

d. precedes separable adverbs

- 1) Ndo' mati jeeⁿ jnda nc'a na nl'ana
and also very strong grosbeaks that will-do-they

nata' ntjom.
harm crops

And also the grosbeaks are very strong to do harm to the crops.

e. precedes the subject or object in emphasis position (which may in turn precede a descriptive adverb or a word in another emphasis position)

- 1) Mati tyochjoo wjaⁿ jndaa ñ'eⁿ tsotyeeⁿ.
also boy goes-he country with father-his

Also the boy is going to the country with his father.

- 2) Mati masei'ca jndei tyotjoo'na.
also musicians forcefully were-playing-they

Also the musicians were playing loudly.

- 3) Mati castom 'naaⁿ'aⁿ tyuaa wacatyeeⁿna'.
also box his ground sits-it

Also his box sits on the ground.

f. precedes dependent clauses which precede the main clause

- 1) Mati xeeⁿ nliu nc'a yuu na too' nnaⁿ
also if will-find grosbeaks where is corn

maxjeⁿ nntjeii'na joona' quii' ts'o.
inevitably will-take-out-they them inside dirt

Also if the grosbeaks find where there is corn (in the ground) inevitably they will take the kernels out of the ground.

g. postposed

- 1) Nlqueeⁿ 'u mati.
will-eat-he you also

He'll eat you also.

(9) **nchii** - not

- a. precedes verbs (When the verb is second person future it is a command.)

1) Nchii matsaaⁿndyo; mancoo.
not sneezing-I laugh-I

I'm not sneezing; I'm laughing.

2) Nchii nnt'uii' cantycwe'm'aaⁿ' ee w'iiyo'.
not will-touch-you spider-that for harmful-animal

Don't touch that spider because he's harmful.

- b. **Nchii** does not precede descriptive adverbs (The negative prefix **ti-** is used instead.)

- c. precedes inseparable adverbs

1) Nchii maje'ndyo nntioml'uaya 'u.
not right-now will-pay-I you

I won't be paying you right now.
I'm not going to pay you right now.

- d. precedes separable adverbs

1) Nchii jeeⁿ ñe'cjo.
not very want-go-I

I don't really want to go.

2) Nchii waayu tueⁿ'eⁿ waⁿ'aⁿ.
not directly went-she house-her

She didn't go directly home.

- e. precedes subject, object, time or location in emphasis position

1) Nchii nquii x'axquie quich'eeⁿ
not the very grosbeak-female habitually-makes-she
cantquiaaⁿ'aⁿ.
nest-her

It's not the grosbeak herself who makes her nest.

2) Nchii 'iocheⁿ nntsa' ts'iaaⁿwaa.
not tomorrow will-do-you work-this

It's not tomorrow that you're to do this work. (i.e. you're to do it today)

- 3) Nchii jndaa cwic'eⁿna.
not country live-they

They don't live in the country.

- f. precedes indirect object or instrument expression in emphasis position (and occasionally in postposed position)

- 1) Nchii nnom tsotyeeⁿ tsoom ñ'oomwaa'.
not face-of father-his said-he word-that

It wasn't to his father that he said that.

- 2) Nchii ñequio w'aachom tjo Sndaa'. Tjo
not with car went-I Mexico-City went-I

quio w'aajndye.
with airplane

It wasn't by car that I went to Mexico City. I went by plane.

- g. **Nchii** can be predicated (see Section 6.)

(10) **cwe'** - just; only

- a. precedes verbs

- 1) Cwe' macaaⁿ ntom'.
just borrows-she oven

She just borrows an oven (i.e. she doesn't have one of her own for baking bread).

- b. precedes descriptive adverbs

- 1) Cwe' c'uaato matseineiiⁿ.
just loudly-impetuously speaks-he

He's just talking loudly (without saying anything).

- c. precedes separable adverbs

- 1) Cwe' tajom nntseijomndyu' ñequio
just never-more will-join-you with
naⁿ, ñeeⁿ.
people-those

Just don't ever join with those people again.

- d. precedes subject, object, time or location in emphasis position

- 1) Saa tixcwe ty'oomna' catsia'luii'ñeeⁿ.
but not-squarely hit-it magpie-that

Cwe' ntsquiiyo' tom.
just wing-animal broke

But it didn't hit the magpie squarely.
Just his wing broke.

- 2) Tsondyo cwe' ts'a tjacal'ueeⁿ.
mother-my just chiles went-look-for-she

My mother went to look just for chiles.

- 3) Cwe' ljoondyo nndaaya ncheⁿ.
just here will-sell-we lard

We'll just sell the lard here.

- e. precedes accompaniment or instrument expression in emphasis position

- 1) Cwe' ñ'eⁿ ndyencjooya tjowijndo
just with siblings-my grew-up-I

ee jnda tue' tsotya tsondyo.
for completed died father-my mother-my

I grew up just with my siblings.
My parents had died.

- 2) Cwe' ñequio ts'oo tyowit'ioo'na jndaa.
just with vine were-crossing-they river

Just by a vine they crossed the river.

- f. **Cwe'** can also be predicated (see Section 6.)

- (11) **mafoomcheⁿ** - right away again (includes repetition, sameness, promptness)

- a. precedes subject or object in emphasis position

- 1) Jnda jo' mafoomcheⁿ st'eiⁿ tyjee'.
after that right-away-again buzzard came

After that another buzzard came right
away.

- 2) Mafoomcheⁿ tyoo' tei'ñoⁿya.
right-away-again bread received-I

Right away again I received another piece
of bread.

(12) **waayu** - directly; straight away (with obligatory location)

a. precedes verb

- 1) Waayu tuo caxti ts'om xuaa.
directly went-down-into chicken heart-of pot

The chicken went directly down into the pot.

- 2) Waayu tjaquiee' catscoo quii' tsue' waⁿ'aⁿ.
directly went-inside iguana inside hole house-his

The iguana went straight into his hole.

b. precedes location in emphasis position

- 1) Catscoo waayu quii' tsue' waⁿ'aⁿ
iguana directly inside hole house-his

tjaqueeⁿ'eⁿ.
went-inside-he

The iguana went straight into his hole.

- 2) Waayu quii' 'ndyoo yuscuchjoo tjaa'ñê
directly inside mouth-of girl put-in-she

galleta.
cracker

The little girl straight away put the cracker into her mouth.

c. precedes postposed location

- 1) Tueⁿ'eⁿ waayu waⁿ'aⁿ.
arrived-he directly house-his

He arrived directly at his house.
He went straight home.

- 2) Caxti tuooⁿ waayu ts'om xuaa.
chicken went-down-into directly heart-of pot

The chicken flew right into the pot.

5. Adverbial suffixes

Besides the adverbs talked about so far, there are those which occur as 'adverbial suffixes'. These are suffixed to the verb stem and are followed by the pronominal suffixes. Some occur elsewhere as adverbs or other parts of speech, but some can occur only as adverbial suffixes.

The adverbial suffixes can be subdivided into several groups:

Those which occur with many verb stems,
 Those which occur mainly with verbs of motion,
 Those which occur on existential verbs,
 Those which occur on specific verbs.

1. Those which occur with many verb stems are:

a. **jndyee** - first³

- 1) Jol'uajndyaa ts'a jnda chii
 go-look-for-first-I chiles after then
 nluii ndaats'a.
 will-be-made mole

First I'm going to look for chiles
 then the mole will be made.

b. **nnda'** - again⁴

- 1) Teinchonnaaⁿ'aⁿ s'om 'naaⁿ'aⁿ.
 counted-again-he money his

He counted his money again.

c. **nquia** - anew

- 1) Jnda t'ioo' liaa' tyochjoo jo'chii
 completed torn clothes-of boy so

teijndanquia liaⁿ'aⁿ.
 was-bought-anew clothes-his

The boy's clothes had torn so his clothes
 were bought anew. (i.e. a new
 set of clothes was bought)

d. **n'eⁿ** - completely

- 1) Tcwa'n'eeⁿ naaⁿ.
 ate-completely-he soup

He ate the soup all up.

e. **ti** - more

- 1) Cja'ti'.
go-more-you

Go further.

- 2) Seiquiaati tyochjoo nnaⁿ.
spilled-more boy corn

The boy spilled the corn again.
The boy spilled more corn.

f. **to** - impetuously; in desperation; without thinking or planning

- 1) Ty'omtona caso meiiⁿ jndañeyo'.
bought-impetuously-they horse even-though
expensive-animal

They just went ahead and bought the
horse even though he was expensive.

- 2) Na jeeⁿ tjoondyo tsjo'ñjeeⁿ
since very need-I money

jndaatoya⁵ catscu tsmaaⁿ'a.
sold-in-desperation-I pig my

Since I needed the money very much, in
desperation I sold my pig.

g. **xco** - anew; for the first time; starting right now

- 1) Mach'eexcoom⁶ waⁿ'aⁿ.
makes-new-he house-his

He's making a new house.

h. **ya** - well; good; purposely

- 1) Tjoyaya.
went-purposely-I

I decided to go.

- 2) Seilioo'ndyoyayaya. (reduplication of adverbial
got-angry-good-good-I modifier)

I got extremely angry.

i. **ya** - temporarily; for a short time; as a favor

- 1) Cateijndei'ya' snom tsmeiⁿ'.
help-temporarily-you donkey yours

Loan me your donkey.

- 2) Cju'ya' na nlcwa'a.
put-in-favor-you that will-eat-I

Please give me something to eat.
Please put (something in my dish) for me to eat.

j. **yu** - perplexity; inadvertently; imprudently

- 1) ¿Yuu tjayuu tyochjoo?
where went-perplexity boy

Whereever did the boy go?

- 2) ¿Chiuu nl'aayooya?⁶
what will-do-perplexity-we

Whatever will we do?

- 3) Na ncjoom'm cañom seicwa'yoom⁷ nda'
being exasperated-he flies hit-accidentally-he fist

xio 'naaⁿ'aⁿ.
dish his

Being exasperated with the flies he accidentally
hit his dish with his fist.

2. Adverbial suffixes which occur mainly with verbs of motion

a. **c'oom** - fetch

Tquioc'o⁸ⁿ ya ndaatio.

came-fetch-we water

We came to fetch water.

b. **cue** - down

Jndyocueeⁿ ts'oom tax'a.
came-down-he tree coconut

He came down the coconut tree.

- c. **cuo** - down into
 Majocuoo ts'om jndaa.
 go-I-down-into-I heart-of river
 I go down into the river.
- d. **ntyjo** - follow
 Tjantyjooⁿ caso.
 went-follow-he horse
 He chased the horse.
- e. **ñ'eⁿ** - with
 Wjaañ'eⁿ tsotyaya ñeⁿ ñê.
 goes-with father-my with-him
 My father is going along with him.
- f. **ñ'oom** - carrying
 Tjañ'oom xjoom'm.
 went-carry-he machete-his
 He took his machete with him.
- g. **quiee'** - into
 Tjaquiee' catsua' quii' to'.
 went-into cockroach inside trash
 The cockroach went into the trash.
- h. **tscoo'** - dragging
 Jndyofñ'oomtscoo'ñe caso ts'uaa.
 came-carrying-dragging horse rope
 The horse came dragging the rope.
- i. **tya'** - backwards
 Wjaatya' ts'aⁿ.
 go-backwards person
 The person is going backwards.
- j. **wa** - up
 Matyo'oowana cjoo' ta.
 were-going-up-they top-of hill
 They were going up to the top of the hill.

k. **ts'iaa'ŋe** - for the last time

Matseineiⁿts'iaa'ŋê ŋ'eⁿndyena.
talks-last-time-he with them

He's talking with them for the last time.

3. Adverbial suffixes which occur on existential verbs

a. **c'ee** - ready; prepared; alert

Waac'eena'.
is-ready-it

It's ready.

b. **tyeⁿ** - firmly

M'aaⁿtyeⁿ tsaⁿ'ŋeeⁿ waa' tsotyeeⁿ.
is-firmly person-that house-of father-his

That person is living with his father (i.e.,
not just there temporarily).

c. **canda** - complete

M'aaⁿcanda ts'aⁿ.
is-complete person

The person is complete (i.e., his whole family
is still living).

d. **tmaaⁿ'** - bunched up

Niomtmaaⁿ' l'ooⁿ.
is-bunched-up arms-his

His arms are crossed.

e. **ntiaa'** - fighting

M'aⁿntiaa'ndyena.
are-fighting-they

They're at odds with each other.

4. Adverbial suffixes which occur on specific verbs

a. **caxii'** - too much; abundantly

Tcwa'caxii'ndyo
ate-too-much-I

I gorged myself.

b. **jnaⁿ** - on credit

Nnc'oⁿjnaⁿya nnaⁿ.
will-buy-on-credit-I corn

I'll buy the corn on credit.

c. **nc'uaa'** - barely

Jndaanc'uaa' tanda.
ripened-barely tomato

The tomato barely got ripe.

d. **ndyo** - apart

Mac'eⁿndyo tsaⁿ'ñeeⁿ ñequio tsotyeeⁿ.
lives-apart person-that with father-his

That person lives apart from his father.

e. **taⁿ'** - up on end

Co'taⁿ' xuaa.
put-on-end pot

Set the pot up on end.

f. **tcuu** - all; every bit; without skipping around

Jotsei'naⁿtcuundyō ñ'oom' Ty'oots'om.
go-study-all-I word-of God

I'm reading the Word of God verse by verse.

g. **teincuu'** - sensitive; dangerous

Ntyjoteincuu' lochom.
is-on-dangerous gun

The gun is triggered.

6. Predicated adverbs

There is a group of words which I have chosen to call 'predicated adverbs'. These words serve as predicates and are usually followed by a sentential subject which is usually preceded by the particle **na** meaning "that". This particle **na** is sometimes omitted but there is the potential for it to be there. In a few cases the sentential subject is preceded by a conjunction such as **xeeⁿ** meaning "if" or **meiiⁿ** meaning "even though".

Unlike verbs the predicated adverbs are not inflected for tense or aspect nor for pronominal subjects.

1. **tis'a** (na) - it's bad (to)

- a. Tis'a na nlcwa' 'naⁿ na jnda tei'ndaa'.
it's-bad to will-eat-you thing that completed spoiled

It's bad for you to eat something that has spoiled.

- b. Tis'a na cwe' tquiaandyu'to' na tjeiiⁿ'eⁿ wa'.
it's-bad that just gave-in-in-desperation-you that
took-away-from-he house-your

It's bad that you just gave in in desperation and let
him take your house away from you.

2. **tia** (na) - it's wrong (to)

- a. Tia na nntseijmeiⁿ'ndyu' nnom tsotye'.
it's wrong to will-get-angry-you face-of father-your

It's-wrong to speak angrily with your father.

- b. Tia na nnch'uee' 'naaⁿ' x'ia'.
it's-wrong that will-steal-you belongings-of neighbor-your

It's wrong to steal your neighbor's belongings.

3. **ya** (na) - it's good (that)

- a. Ya na tyuaa' tyje' ee waa ts'iaaⁿ nntsa' je'.
it's-good that early came-you for is work will-do-you now

It's good that you arrived early because there's
work for you to do.

- b. Ya na cua' cha tyuaa' nleijnda n'oomljoo.
it's-good that would-rain so-that soon will-grow corn

It'll be good for it to rain so the corn will grow soon.

4. **yati** (na) - it's better (that)

- a. Yati na nnco jo cha jndaa' ñ'oom nntseinaⁿ ñ'eⁿ ñê.
it's-better that I-myself go-I so-that definite word
will-speak-I with-him.

It's better that I go myself so that I can talk
definitely with him.

- b. Yati na ñjom cajndaa' catscum'aaⁿ' ee jeeⁿ jndye macwa'yo'.
it's-better that once-and-for-all sell-you pig-that for
very much eats-animal

It's better that you sell that pig once and for all
because he eats so much.

5. **ñecuaa** (na) - it's okay (that); it doesn't matter; never mind

- a. Necuaa na catseitiaaⁿ'aⁿ ja ee mayuu'
it's-okay that scolds-he me for true

na ti'cjaanjoom' s'aa.
that not-right did-I

It doesn't matter that he scolds me because what I
did didn't turn out right.

- b. Necuaa meiiⁿ na sa' nata' quioo' tsmaaⁿ'a.
never-mind even though did-you harm animal my

Never mind even though you harmed my animal.

6. **cwe' ts'iaaⁿ'ndyo** (na) - it's useless (that); it's in vain

- a. Cwe' tsiaaⁿ'ndyo na t'ua nasei maxjeⁿ ti'cateijndeiina' ja.
it's-in-vain that drank-I medicine inevitably didn't-help-it me

It was useless for me to take the medicine because it
didn't at all help me.

- b. Cwe' ts'iaaⁿ'ndyo na jeeⁿ jndye macwa' ndo' tijndu'.
it's-in-vain that very much eat-you and not-strong-you

It doesn't do any good for you to eat a lot--you're
not strong.

7. **cwe'** (na) - it's just (that)

- a. Maxjeⁿ ya m'aⁿna. Cwe' na jndei ndyaa' jñeeⁿ'ndyena.
inevitably good are-they it's-just that very very poor-they

They're fine. It's just they're very poor.

- b. Quia nljeinnda'a canchqueeⁿ xocatseicua'a juuyo'.
when will-find-again-I salamander won't-kill-I that-animal

Cwe' na maxjeⁿ nquiaya juuyo'.
it's-just that inevitably afraid-I that-animal

When I find a salamander again I won't kill him. It's just
that I'll be afraid of him.

8. **toom cwe'** (na) - oh that

- a. Toom cwe' na nntsei'noⁿ'a ljo' matsei'tiuu'.
oh-that will-understand-I what think-you

Oh that I could understand what you are thinking.

- b. Toom cwe' na ñjom cwjeeⁿ'eⁿ ee jeeⁿ
oh-that at-once would-arrive-he for very

ndyaa' ñecant'iaya jom.
very want-to-see-I him

Oh that he would suddenly show up for I want to see him
very much.

9. **nchii** (na) - it's not (that)

- a. Nchii na jom ñecañoom ñ'eⁿndyo.
it's-not that he wants-to-come-he with-me

It isn't that he wants to come with me.

- b. Nchii na matseiw'iiya 'u.
it's-not that scold-I you

I'm not scolding you.

10. **tjaa'naⁿ** (na) - there is not (that); there is nothing (that)

- a. Tjaa'naⁿ na jndyoñ'oom liaa na matsjoo na
is-not that brought-he cloth that say-I that

nddyoñ'oom.
will-bring-he

He didn't bring the cloth that I asked him to bring.

- b. Tjaa'naⁿ na tueⁿ'eⁿ yuu na macaⁿna' na wjaⁿ.
is-not that arrived-he where that necessary-it that goes-he

He didn't arrive where he was supposed to go.

11. **tjom** (na) - it's alike (that); both; equally

- a. Tjom na wiina ñequio xioom.
it's-alike that sick-they with brother-his

Both he and his brother are sick.

- b. Tjom na ya cal'ana ts'iaaⁿ.
it's-alike that good do-they work

They both work equally well.
It's equally well that they work.

12. **nequii'cheⁿ** (na) - it's always (that)

- a. Nequii'cheⁿ na manquiom'm.
it's-always that plays-she

She's always playing.

- b. Nequii'cheⁿ na ntyja jndye tsioom Sndaa'.
it's-always that hangs air smoke Mexico-City

It's always that the air is smoky in Mexico City.
The air is always smoky in Mexico City.

13. **tquia xjeⁿ** (na) - it's seldom (that)

- a. Tquia xjeⁿ na nnc'oom na weeⁿ'eⁿ.
it's-seldom that will-be that sick-she

It's seldom that she's sick.

- b. Tquia xjeⁿ na nntseiw'eeⁿ ja.
it's-seldom that will-scold-he me

It's seldom that he scolds me.

14. **mawaa xjeⁿ** (na) - it's about (to); almost

- a. Mawaa xjeⁿ na nncwicantye'e' w'aachom 'naaⁿ'aⁿ.
it's-about-to that will-turn-over truck his

His truck was about to turn over.

- b. Mawaa xjeⁿ na nnc'io quia na teiwii'a.
it's-about-to that will-die-I when that was-sick-I

I almost died when I was sick.

NOTES

¹ Amuzgo is an Otomanguean language of the Amuzgoan family and is spoken in southeastern Guerrero and southwestern Oaxaca, Mexico. This paper represents Amuzgo spoken in the municipio town of Xochistlahuaca in the state of Guerrero.

² Guerrero Amuzgo consonants are **p**, **t**, **ty** (**t^y**), **c/qu** (**k**), **ʔ** (**ʔ**), **ts** (**ʧ**), **ch** (**ʧ̣**), **kw** (**k^w**), **b**, **s**, **x** (**ʃ**), **j** (**h**), **m**, **n**, **ɱ**, **nd** (**n^ɱ**), **ndy** (**n^{ty}**), **l**, **y**, **w**, **r**. The vowels are **i**, **e**, **ei** (**ɔi**), **a** (**ae**), **a**, **o** (**ɔ**), **o**, **u**, **eⁿ**, **eiⁿ** (**ɔ̣i**), **aⁿ** (**æ̣e**), **aⁿ**, **oⁿ** (**ɔ̣**), **om** (**ɔ̣**).

This listing represents the practical orthography used in this paper. The letters in parentheses are the technical symbols for the respective phonemes. The raised ⁿ represents nasalization. **Ei** and **eiⁿ** represent the high front vowels which follow velarized consonants. Ballistic syllables are symbolized by a single vowel, and controlled syllables by a double vowel. (The latter are marked in stressed syllables, and occasionally in non-stressed syllables.) Amuzgo has contrastive tone; however, it is not written in the practical orthography except in the following morphemes where a circumflex indicates a falling tone: **jâ** and its variants which indicate first person exclusive; **ɱê** which indicates third person singular; and **tî'** which indicates a past negative. For a detailed description of the phonemes see Bauernschmidt (1965).

³ Stem final **e** becomes **a** in first person forms.

⁴ **nd** becomes **n** when the following vowel is nasalized for third person.

⁵ Stem final **o** becomes **o** in first person forms.

⁶ Stem final **o** becomes **om** when nasalized for third person.

⁷ In first person forms of the adverbial suffix **yuu**, the vowels change to **o**.

⁸ Stem final **u** becomes **om** when nasalized for third person.

⁹ Stem final **om** becomes **oⁿ** in first person forms.

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