

FOUR CONJUNCTIONS IN TEZOATLAN MIXTEC

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to illustrate the uses of the four most common conjunctions in Tezoatlán Mixtec: *da* 'then', *ta* 'and', *cuu* 'and', *ta cuu* 'and'. It is important to determine how each of these conjunctions are used in order to follow the discourse flow because (a) there is a markedness continuum among these sentence level conjunctions, and (b) there is an association of some of the conjunctions with what could be called *narrative peak*.

In sections 1 through 4 of this study, I discuss these four conjunctions separately, and in section 5 I summarize their uses and place them on a markedness continuum.

1.0. Uses of *da* 'then'

1. Mark the event line

In Tezoatlán Mixtec *da* 'then' is a sentence-level conjunction most commonly used to mark the event line. The general movement of a narrative can be marked by *da* when it is used in conjunction with verbs in the completive aspect. When this is the case, it shows chronological progression and indicates nothing more than reporting that the events are sequential. The time lapse between the events in the clauses is not in focus. Of the 115 texts which are in my data base, *da* occurs over 1900 times, most of them marking the event line.

Note the following excerpt from a story. After a brief introductory statement, the author proceeds as in (1).¹

(1) *da ni quee ndu cuahan ndu san mati*
then CMP left lp(ex) PROG=go lp(ex) San Martin
'Then we left and went on our way to San Martín.'

da ni quihin ndu carretera cuahan naranjo
then CMP grab lp(ex) road PROG=go Naranjo
'Then we got on the road that goes to Naranjo.'

da ni saa ndu iin noo ndichi
then CMP arrive lp(ex) CON=stand face rise

noo iin cuesta
face CON=stand hill

¹Abbreviations used in morpheme glosses are listed at the end of the paper.

'Then we arrived where there was a rise, where there was a hill.'

ñoo ni tuu camioneta ñani yuhu
 there CMP break.down truck brother 1s
 'In that place my brother's truck broke down.'

da ni noo ndu
 then CMP get.down lp(ex)
 'Then we got out.'

da ni casaha xi nduvaha xi ro
 then CMP start 3c POT=fix 3c 3m
 'Then he started repairing it.'

da ni chindaha nduhu ro
 then CMP push lp(ex) 3m
 'Then we pushed it.'

da ni cana ro
 then CMP left 3m
 'Then it started.'

da ni yaha nduhu iin cuesta
 then CMP pass lp(ex) one hill
 'Then we passed the hill.'

da ni saa ndu iin ga cuesta ñoo
 then CMP arrive lp(ex) one more hill there
 'Then we arrived to another hill.'

cuu ñoo co ni candee ro caa ro
 and there NEG CMP be.able 3m POT=go.up 3m
 'And there it wasn't able to go up it.'

da caa Pablo
 then CON=say Pablo
 'Then Paul says....'

1.2. Logical progression

When used with the continuative/habitual aspect, *da* marks the logical progression of events or steps. Example (2) is from a text of how to cook nopales. After putting the oil in the pan, one does as described.

(2) ta ni ndihi
 when CMP finish

da quihin ndu vihinda taan ndu
 then CON=grab lp(ex) nopal POT=put.in lp(ex)

da quihin ndu nduu taan ndu
 then CON=grab lp(ex) egg POT=put.in lp(ex)

da nana nduhu ña xihin vihinda ñoo
 then CON=mix lp(ex) 3t with nopal that

'After that, we take the nopales and put them in, then we get the eggs and put them in. Then we mix up the egg with the nopal.'

1.3. Future result

When used with the potential aspect, *da* indicates that the clause which it marks will happen after the previous clause. There will sometimes be another relationship between the clauses, such as antecedent-consequent when they are conjoined by *da*, but the aspect combinations indicate this much more than *da*. In (3), the city mouse feels that once the country mouse goes to his house, he will realize how good the food which he eats is. A similar example is given in (4).

(3) saa on vehe yuhu na casahan a
 POT=arrive 2s house 1s SUB POT=eat lp(incl)

da coní on ndinoho ñaha vaha sasahan yuhu vehe i
 then POT=see 2s all thing good CON=eat 1s house 1s

'Arrive to my house that we might eat, then you will know of all the good things that I eat at my house.'

(4) cuahan ni compadre
 IMP=go 2r godfather

da cuahan ni da casaa ni
 then IMP=go 2r then POT=arrive.here 2r

da na cohon i da castohon i xihin ni
 then SUB POT=go 1s then POT=advise 1s with 2r

'Go, godfather. Go, and then come back. Then I will go, then I will advise you....'

2.0. Uses of ta 'and'

2.1. Conjoin clauses

ta conjoins two clauses (a) when contrast is present, (b) when the two clauses are simultaneous, or (c) when no specific relationship occurs between the two, other than that they express a continuous thought.

Examples (5) through (7) illustrate the use of ta when contrast is present.

(5) oni cuu taa ñoo
three CON=be man that

ta iin cuu tahna ñaha ñoo
and one CON=be female woman that

'Three are men and one is a woman.'

(6) cuu iin va dehe ra ni conixixi ra
and one INT son 3m CMP want much 3m

ta iin ga xini sa xini uhu ña ra
and one more 3c CMP DUR feel pain D.O. 3m

'And one son he loved, and one son he hated.'

(7) co tahon lisenziado
NEG AUX.NEG lawyer

ta ni injeniero co cuu yuhu
and nor engineer NEG CON=be ls

'I'm not a lawyer nor an engineer.'

Examples (8) through (10) illustrate the use of ta when the events are marked as simultaneous. This is similar to the use of ta to conjoin two clauses which are semantically simultaneous but not grammatically marked as such. The order of aspect is what overtly indicates that the events are simultaneous; that is, a clause with a verb in the completive aspect is connected by ta to a clause with a verb in the continuative aspect.

(8) da ni casaha na caní na dohno ñoo
then CMP start 3 CON=hit 3 shirt that

ta cayuhu na cuu i
and CON=yell 3 name ls

'Then he started hitting the shirt and yelling out my name.'

(9) da ni saa san martin noo iin rrdihi
 then CMP arrive San Martin face CON=stand girl

ta ndahi ndeihi xi iin xi
 and poor CON=cry 3c CON=stand 3c

'Then San Martín arrived where a girl was bawling.'

(10) co ni xini ri ni saa tatoho
 NEG CMP see 3a CMP arrive man

ta nehe ra taxii cuahan ra cahni ña ra
 and CON=carry 3m rifle PROG=go 3m POT=kill D.O. 3m

'The deer did not see that the man had arrived and
 was carrying a gun and was going to kill him.'

Examples (11) through (13) illustrate the unmarked use of *ta* as a simple clause
 conjoiner.

(11) chiyahi ndo multa ndo
 POT=pay 2p fine 2p

ta libre cuu ndo cohon ndo
 and free CON=be 2p POT=go 2p

'Pay your fine and you will be free to go.'

(12) co camani tahon cuu
 NEG CON=lack AUX.NEG day

ta chindee tahni yuhu yoho
 and POT=help also 1s 2s

'It won't be long and I will help you too.'

(13) sa ni ndaño ho iin vaca i
 DUR CMP lost one cow 1s

ndahi cuu i xionoo i nducu i ri
 poor CON=be 1s CON=walk 1s CON=look.for 1s 3a

ta co ni nanihi i ri
 and NEG CMP find 1s 3a

ta cundahi ini i saha ri
 and CON=poor inside 1s about 3a

'One of my cows got lost. Very sadly I walk(ed) around looking for it, and I didn't find it. And I am very sad on account of it.'

2.2. In lists

ta can also be used in lists, though not all the things in the list will be marked with ta, as seen in examples (14) and (15).

(14) Ta laho ni casaha ri sediqui ri candita ri
and frog CMP start 3a CON=play 3a CON=jump 3a

ta sarsaha ri
and CON=dance 3a

'And the frog began playing, jumping and dancing.'

(15) dico ra ndoo dico ra pachi dico ra
CON=sell 3m cane Con=sell 3m alcohol CON=sell 3m

serveasa ta dico ra paan ndica
beer and CON=sell 3m bread bananas

'They sell sugar cane, they sell alcohol, they sell beer and they sell bread and bananas.'

2.3. For repetition

ta can be also used between a verb which is repeated two or more times to highlight the action, as in examples (16) through (18).

(16) cuahan ra ta cuahan ra
PROG=go 3m and PROG=go 3m
'He went and went.'

(17) ni casaha ra sandahi ra ta sandahi ra
CMP start he CON=plead 3m and CON=plead 3m

ta sandahi ra noo noni xihin nduchi ñoo
and CON=plead 3m face corn with beans that

'He started pleading, and pleading, and pleading with the corn and beans.'

- (18) da ni yuhu cahndi
 then CMP ls shoot

 ta cahndi nacao yuhu iño vala
 and CON=shoot CON=be ls six bullet

 ‘Then I shot, and I was shooting six bullets.’

3.0. Uses of cuu ‘and’

3.1. Background information

cuu can be used when setting a scene at the beginning of a narrative or giving background information throughout the narrative, as in examples (19) and (20).

- (19) iin cuu ni sahio iin tatoho ni sandei uu dehe ra
 one day CMP be one man CMP be two son 3m

 cuu iin va dehe ra ni coní xixi ra
 and one INT son 3m CMP love much 3m

 ‘One day there was a man who had two sons and one son
 he loved....’
- (20) cuu ni tuunoo
 and CMP get.light

 cuu co tahon montero loho i ni ndusaa
 and NEG AUX.NEG montero little ls CMP arrive.home.here

 ‘And it got light and my little (dog) Montero had not
 returned.’

3.2. Close temporal relation

cuu can indicate that events are very closely related temporally or are simultaneous. It is common that the clause preceding cuu has a verb in the progressive or continuative aspect, while the clause introduced by cuu has a verb in the completive aspect, as in examples (21) through (23).

- (21) ni quihin xi ichi cuahan xi xica xi cuahan xi
 CMP grab 3c path PROG=go 3c CON=walk 3c PROG=go 3c

 cuu ni casndaa xi noo ndei tinduhu cuali
 and CON=arrive 3c face CON=be ants small

'He got on the path, left walking, and arrived where there were some small ants.'

- (22) ñoo ni casaha xionoo ndu nducu ndu sacuaa
 there CMP start CON=walk lp(ex) CON=look.for lp(ex) deer

cuu ni ndañooho va yuhu
 and CMP get.lost INT ls

'There we started walking looking for deer and I got lost.'

- (23) ni noo tuu ña yoho ni quixi ña induu
 CMP go.down CON=be.seen 3t this CMP come 3t sky

cachí ra diha
 CON=say 3m like.this

cuu ñoo ta ni cahan ra dion
 and there when CMP say 3m like.that

cuu ni ndañooho nihni va vehe ra
 and CMP disappear INT house 3m

'«This house was seen coming down from the sky,» he says. And when he said that, his house disappeared.'

In examples (24) and (25), a background state is described in the first clause (the state of sitting) and this is connected by *cuu* to the second clause which describes an action that overlapped in time. Example (26) states a boy was inside a house and, being in that state, started being sad.

- (24) too va ni sa io i
 a.bit INT CMP DUR sit ls

cuu satuu va vei iin ra ñoo
 and CON=see INT PROG=come one 3m those

'I had only been sitting a little while, when I saw coming one of them.'

- (25) dini yito canoo yuhu
 head tree CON=sit ls

cuu ni chicahnda iin tatoho
 and CMP pass.by one man

'I am sitting on a tree, and a man passed by.'

- (26) da ni candoo xi ñoho xi ini vehe ñoo
 then CMP stay 3c CON=be.inside 3c inside house that
- cuu ni casaha xi ndahi cuu ini xi
 and CMP start 3c poor CON=be inside 3c
- 'Then he stayed inside that house and started being very sad.'

3.3. Narrative peak

When several clauses in a row are conjoined by *cuu*, it indicates that a so-called peak in the narrative is occurring. There are three types of evidence that such sections can be identified with a narrative peak. First, there is a change of pace and the action is slowed down to highlight that part of the story. Second, when several clauses in a row are conjoined by *cuu*, there is also a higher concentration of verbs than in other parts of the story, which highlights the action. Third, there is native reaction; my Mixtec consultant says that the parts of the story where *cuu* is used over and over are very emotional parts of the story.

Example (27) is from a story of several men who went to hunt deer. The story moves along with the men moving through the woods, then starts to follow the progress of the main character, after which the sentences in (27) occur. These eight clauses represent about a ten second span of time in the world of reference. Notice also the use of the continuative aspect and the repetition of 'he was about to'.

- (27) da ni nacoto ndaa ra dini yito ñoo
 then CMP look.up 3m head tree that
 'Then he looked into the top of that tree.'
- cuu ni xini ra canoo iin ndicaha dini yito ñoo
 and CMP see 3m CON=sit one lion head tree that
 'And he saw a lion on the top of that tree!'
- cuu ni naa va ini ra
 and CMP be.dark INT inside 3m
 'And he was amazed/afraid.'
- cuu da ni canacono ra ni ndanehe ra taxii ra
 and then CMP move 3m CMP lift 3m gun 3m
 'And he lifted up his gun.'
- cuu ni quihin quiho ra taxii ra
 and CMP aim 3m gun 3m
 'And he aimed his gun.'
- cuu cuahan ra cahni ra ndicaha ñoo
 and PROG=go 3m POT=kill 3m lion that
 'And he was going to shoot that lion.'

cuu ta cuahan ra dakahndi ra
 and when PROG=go 3m CON=fire 3m
 'And he was going to fire (his gun).'

cuu ni sarcaa va yirnoo ndicaha ñoo
 and CMP fell INT tear lion that
 'And a tear fell from that lion's eye.'

In example (28), a boy gets on a bull. This very boy had just told his friends about a dream he had had about being on a bull and it defecating on his mouth. Notice the use of the continuative aspect, and also repetition of the bull bucking, as well as the succinct clauses. After this episode, the boys remember that boy's dream and how the blood on his mouth makes it look like the bull had defecated on him.

(28) da ni caa xi sata ri
 then CMP go.up 3c back 3a
 'Then he got on the bull's back.'

da ni casaha ri candita ri
 then CMP start 3a CON=jump 3a
 'Then it started jumping.'

cuu ni casaha ri cancono ri cuahan ri
 and CMP start 3a CON=run 3a PROG=go 3a
 'And it started running.'

cuu iin cuitio ni saa iin ca tayii
 and one moment CMP arrive one more boy
 'And at that moment another boy came,'

ni sei yihi xi ndoho ri
 CMP bite 3c tail 3a
 'and bit its tail.'

cuu ni yuhu xixio toro loho ñoo
 and CMP be.scared much bull little that
 'And the bull became very afraid.'

cuu ni casaha nacuiin ndichi ri
 and CMP start CON=buck 3a
 'And it started bucking.'

cuu co ni candee ca xi canoo xi
 and NEG CON be.able more 3c POT=be.on 3c
 'And the boy was not able to stay on it.'

cuu ta ni nacuiin ndichi ri iin ca tahanda
 and when CMP buck 3a one more time
 'And when it bucked again,'

cuu ni yaa va xi
 and CMP fall INT 3c
 'the boy fell off.'

cuu ni nandiooco toro loho ñoo
 and CMP return bull little that
 'And the bull returned.'

cuu ni cachihi va ri yuhu xi
 and CMP stab INT 3a mouth 3c
 'And stabbed its horn into the boy's mouth.'

cuu ni caan iin xoo yuhu xi
 and CMP open one side mouth 3c
 'And a hole was made in the side of his mouth, '

ni quee dini ndiqui toro loho ñoo
 CMP do head horn bull little that
 'caused by the bull's horn.'

4.0. Uses of ta cuu 'and'

In the last two sections I discussed the uses of *ta* and *cuu* in isolation. Now I will discuss what happens when these two conjunctions are used together. Judging from the meaning of some of the examples and the reaction of my Mixtec consultant, it seems that when they occur together they have an exclamatory function. My Mixtec consultant told me that when a story is going along and the teller uses *ta cuu*, then the listeners "will lift their heads and listen more closely." They know by the use of *ta cuu* that something exciting or important is about to occur. He says that *ta* by itself gives a very tranquil reaction, but that *ta cuu* means that the story-teller is trying to put a lot of emotion in his story. As a result, *ta cuu* occurs at the peak of some stories. For example, in (28) the use of *cuu*, he says, makes the story exciting and kind of funny, but that replacement of *ta cuu* would make this scene more serious. Besides this exclamatory meaning, it seems that sometimes *ta cuu* can be used to say something that would normally not be expected or to contrast two things.

4.1. Exclamation

The chief use of *ta cuu* is to express admiration in order to highlight the statement. For example my Mixtec consultant said that the writer used *ta cuu* in (29) to express admiration. The author contrasts the dog as being a small dog, but also very brave or powerful. In example (30) there is admiration expressed for a big mountain, and in (31) for how big a river is. These three examples are from three different texts by two different authors.

(29) tido tina lee va cuu ri
 but dog small INT CON=be 3a

ta cuu cuehe ndavaho ri
and CON=potent very 3a

'He is a small dog. And he is very potent!
(brave, mean, acts bigger than he is).'

- (30) ñoo san andres ñoo iin iin yucu nani
town San Andrés that CON=stand one mountain CON=be.named

yucu tachi
mountain wind

ta cuu yucu cahno ndavaho cuu ña
and mountain big very CON=be 3t

'In the town of San Andrés is a mountain called
Wind Mountain. And it is a very big mountain!'

- (31) ñoo naca iin yuu ni nduti ña yuhu tacuii
there CON=be one rock CMP stop.up 3t mouth water

co cana racuii ñoo da dita ña ñoo
NEG CON=leave water there then POT=pull.out 3t that

ta cuu cahno ndaho yuta naca
and big very river CON=be

'There is a rock stopping up the water, and no water
comes out. Pull it out, and there will be a giant river!'

Referring again to example (28), the context of that example, as was mentioned, is of a boy having a dream about a bull defecating on his mouth. After the other boys saw the blood on his mouth caused by the bull's horn, they made the following statement, in admiration or amazement that his dream had come true. This text is from a author different than those of (29)-(31).

- (32) ta cuu ñoo ni candaa ini ndu ña ni saani xi
and there CON realize inside lp(ex) that CMP dream 3c

ña ni tarduhu toro loho xi yuhu xi
that CMP defecate bull little 3c mouth 3c

'And we remembered that he had dreamed that his bull
would defecate on his mouth.'

Example (33) uses ta cuu to highlight the hunger of the man, as opposed to the woman being satisfied. The broader context is that the woman had already eaten a cake in front

of this hungry man, and had made a second one for him, but changed her mind and is about to eat it herself. The exclamatory function of *ta cuu* emphasizes how hungry the man was.

- (33) *cuu ni sahio tucu mii ña ni sei ña pastel*
 and CMP sit again that 3f CMP eat 3f cake
- ta cuu rrtoho ñoo ndahi cuico ra ñoo*
 and man that poor CON=be.hungry 3m that
- ‘And she sat down again to eat the cake, and that poor man was famished.’

Ta cuu highlights the action of the running in (34). In the context, a gnat is looking for a "real man." The dog says he isn't a real man, because the stick is more of a man than he is since he runs away from it. My Mixtec consultant laughed very hard when he read this example.

- (34) *yito cuu ra ñani sata yuhu*
 stick CON=be 3w CON=hit back ls
- quira ñoo cuu taa chaa ca*
 3w that CON=be man much more
- dachi ñani ra ñoo sata yuhu*
 because CON=hit 3w that back ls
- ta cuu canacono va yuhu*
 and POT=run INT ls
- ‘The stick hits me. It is more of a man than I, because it hits my back. And I will run!’

4.2 Peak periods

Since *ta cuu* highlights an event and raises the emotional impact of the clause following it, it also, like *cuu* alone, occurs at peak periods of narratives. The following story begins by telling of a marriage pact which stipulates that if one spouse dies, the other will be buried alive with him or her. The action then slows down and focuses on the predicament the man and wife get into, which then affects the whole rest of the story.

- (35) *ta ni casndaa iin cuu*
 when CMP arrive one day
 ‘When a certain day arrived,’

cuu ni quihin cuehe taa ñoo
 and CON get disease man that
 'the man caught a disease.'

ta cuu ni ndundee tahna ñaha ñoo ni quetata ña ña
 and CMP try.hard female woman that CMP cure D.O. 3f
 'And the woman tried hard to cure him!'

ta cuu ni nduvaha taa ñoo
 and CMP get.well man that
 'And he got well!'

tido ni casaa tahni cuehe
 but CMP=arrive.here also disease

cuu ni tiin tahni ña tahna ñaha ñoo
 and CMP grab also 3t female woman that
 'But the disease also came and the woman got sick.'

ta cuu ni ndundee taa ñoo ni quetata ña ra
 and CMP try.hard man that CMP cure D.O. 3m
 'And the man tried very hard to cure the woman!'

ta cuu co ni candee taa ñoo nduvaha tahna ñaha ñoo
 and NEG CMP be.able man that POT=heal female woman that
 'And he was not able to cause her to get well!'

cuu ñoo ni xihi va ña
 and there CMP die INT 3f
 'And so she died.'

ta cuu ni nduxi taqui va taa ñoo xihin ñaha ñoo
 and CMP bury alive INT man that with woman that
 'And that man was buried alive with the woman!'

Example (36) is from a story where a man comes face to face with a lion when he looks into a cave. This is a real life experience story.

(36) tido cuu ni xincoo raxii i cuahan i quini ri
 but and CON raise gun 1s PROG=go 1s POT=shoot 3a

ni cahan i
 CMP think 1s

'But I lifted my gun and was going to shoot it, I thought.'

ta cuu ñoo ni canacono ri ni queta ri vei ri
 and there CMP run 3a CMP leave it PROG=come 3a

noo iin yuhu
face CON=stand ls

'And from there he ran leaving and was coming to where I
was standing!'

chi ndei cohon ri ñoo queta ri
because where POT=go 3a that POT=leave 3a
'Because how else was he going to leave?'

ta cuu mii ñoo iin yuhu
and SPEC there CON=stand ls

ñoo va cuu yehe ri
there INT CON=be door 3a

'And I was standing where his door was!'

4.3. Anticipation

ta cuu also has an anticipatory function. Since the ta cuu construction highlights the clause it introduces, it can act to prepare the reader for something important or significant to happen. It is anticipatory in that it anticipates an important or emotional part of the story, and it raises the interest level of the listener.

In (37), ta cuu anticipates the finding of a very precious egg, which will be very important later on in the story. In (38), a man tells a story of what happened when he was in a cave. The ta cuu anticipates the lion's arrival.

(37) ni sahno xi ni casaha xi xionoo xi
CMP grow 3c CMP start 3c CON=walk.around 3c

tao xi nduu laa xihi xi
CON=take 3c egg bird CON=drink 3c

ta cuu dion xionoo xi xionoo xi
and like.that CON=walk.around 3c CON=walk.around 3c

ta cuu ñoo ni quee xi cuahan xi iin ca vwelta
and there CMP left 3c PROG=go 3c one more time

ni saa xi ni nanihi xi iin nduu iin nduu ndato
CMP arrive 3c CMP find 3c one egg one egg shiny

'He grew up and began walking around taking bird eggs and
eating them. And in this way he was walking around. And
he went out another time and found an egg, a very shiny
egg.'

(38) cuu ni casaa va coñoño
and CMP arrive.here INT spider

cuu ni chinee ri dandio ri cuu cuahan va ri
and CMP hang 3a web 3a and PROG=go INT 3a

ta cuu too chaa ca ni casaa va ndicaha
and a.bit some more CMP arrive.here INT lion

cuu ni xini ri tanee dandio
and CMP see 3a CON=hang web

'And a spider arrived (at the door of the cave) and spun a web and then left. And a little bit later a lion arrived! And he saw the web (and jumped over it into the cave.)'

5.0. Summary

This paper has illustrated the uses of the four most common conjunctions in Tezoatlán Mixtec:

(1) **da.** (a) connects clauses with the main verbs in the completive aspect to outline the time line of a narrative; (b) introduces clauses with main verbs in the continuative/habitual aspect to show logical progression; and (c) introduces clauses with main verbs in the potential aspect to indicate that the clause it introduces will happen after the previous clause.

(2) **ta:** (a) connects two clauses where contrast is present; (b) indicates when two clauses are simultaneous; (c) connects two clauses where no specific relationship is marked; (d) is used in lists; and (e) connects a verb which is repeated two or more times.

(3) **cuu:** (a) sets the scene and gives other background information; (b) indicates whether events are simultaneous or closely related temporally; and (c) indicates a peak or heightened action when several clauses in a row are connected by it.

(4) **ta cuu:** (a) has an exclamatory function to express admiration; (b) is used at peak periods of a narrative to conjoin several clauses in a row; (c) has an anticipatory function to indicate that something important is about to happen or is about to be said.

The examples in this paper illustrate that there is a markedness continuum among these sentence level conjunctions. The continuum, from less markedness to more markedness is: ta - cuu - ta cuu.

Abbreviations

AUX.NEG auxiliary negative
CMP completive aspect
CON conjunction

D.O.	direct object
DUR	durative aspect
IMP	imperative
INT	intensifier
NEG	negative
POT	potential aspect
PROG	progressive aspect
SPEC	specifier
SUB	subordinator
1p(ex)	first person plural exclusive
1s	first person singular
2r	second person respect
2s	second person singular
2p	second person plural
3	third person
3a	third person animal
3c	third person child
3f	third person feminine
3m	third person masculine/metal
3t	third person thing
3w	third person wood