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Verbs of Motion and Arrival in Mixtec^{1,2}

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1. Introduction

Verbs of motion and arrival in the Diuxi dialect of the Otomanguan language Mixtec have been described in Kuiper and Merrifield, 1975. To my knowledge Diuxi is the only dialect of Mixtec for which this semantic domain has been analyzed. I assume, however, that related systems exist in all dialects of the language. This paper will describe the verbs as they exist in a dialect spoken in the town of Chalcatongo. This dialect encodes the same elements in its set of motion and arrival verbs as Diuxi Mixtec does, but with significant differences. I will claim that the Diuxi data and the data to be presented here represent only particular instantiations of a more general system of options for verbs in this domain in Mixtec, for which a unified characterization is possible.

Kuiper and Merrifield give a basic definition of the verbs of motion as follows: "motion of an Agent through space and time to a Goal" (p. 32), and of the verbs of arrival as "arrival of an Agent at a Goal" (p. 33). They propose an analysis of the verbs in both categories which claims that they are differentiated with respect to the following three criteria: (a) the place of the locutionary act (PLA); (b) the location of the Goal; and (c) the location of the Agent's Base. ("Agent's Base" refers to any place to which a person often returns, usually his or her home. This topic will be discussed further in section 6). While these factors are certainly present in the Chalcatongo dialect, in general individual verbs are not as highly specified in terms of those elements as they are in the Diuxi dialect, as will be shown below.

2. Graphs

Kuiper and Merrifield introduce a system of diagrams to facilitate description of individual verbs in this domain in Diuxi Mixtec. I will follow their model for ease of comparison (and because it is an ingenious way of describing the facts), but with certain modifications. Their diagrams (see Figure 1) consist of two horizontal time lines, a vertical line representing TLA³, and one or two diagonal lines representing motion. A dot at the end of a diagonal line represents arrival at a Goal, and a dotted diagonal line indicates implied motion. Figure 1, then, would represent some hypothetical verb encoding motion away from the place where we are speaking, and arrival at a Goal at some unspecified other place. Additionally, it would represent that verb in the future tense, as evidenced by the diagonal line being to the right of TLA.

In Kuiper and Merrifield's system the lower of the two lines

is by convention time at PLA. The implication of this is, of course, that PLA is constant as a reference point across the entire set of motion and arrival verbs in the Diuxi dialect. In Chalcatongo Mixtec, however, the much more general notions of Source and Goal are the only constants, with PLA (and Base) being only occasionally specified. To accommodate this fact, I will present both sets of data with an altered version of Kuiper and Merrifield's diagrams, in which the lower line is designated as Source and the upper as Goal. (See Figure 2). PLA is then a 'roving' factor which may appear on either the upper or the lower line (or be unspecified).

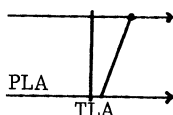


Fig. 1

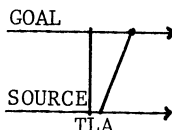


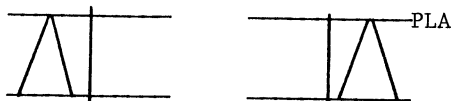
Fig. 2

3. Chalcatongo Mixtec

Listed below are the verbs of motion and arrival in Chalcatongo Mixtec, with examples following each verb^{4,5}. Data for Diuxi Mixtec will be presented in section 4, and discussion in section 5.

3.1. Verbs of Motion

3.1.1. /kii/ - Move toward PLA (and return away from PLA) (Past and Potential)



1. pedrú nikii beʔéyó
Pedro pastcomeR house-lpl, poss
Pedro came to our house and left again

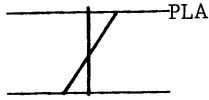
2. pedrú kii yáʔá
Pedro comeP here
Pedro will come here and leave again

3.1.2. /čaã/ - Move toward PLA (Past and Potential)

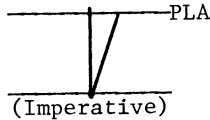


3. pedrú ničaã yáʔa íkú
Pedro pastcomeR here yesterday
Pedro came here yesterday

4. pedrú ɕaà yáʔa ɕiá
 Pedro comeP here tomorrow
 Pedro will come here tomorrow
 /bèi/ - Move toward PLA (Present)

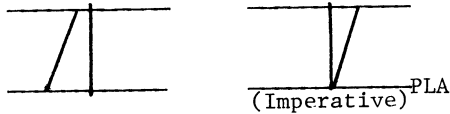


5. pedrú bèi yáʔa
 Pedro come here
 Pedro is coming here
 /nãʔá/ - Move toward PLA (Imperative)



6. nãʔa híiri
 come with-1sg
 Come with me

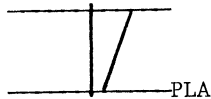
3.1.3. /k^wáʔá/ (Imperative), /k^wáʔá/ (Past) - Move away from PLA



7. k^wáʔa sk^welá
 goR school
 He went to school

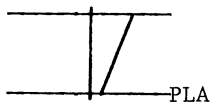
8. k^wáʔá nuù hoán
 goIMP face Juan
 Go to Juan

/kíi/ - Move away from PLA (Potential)



9. kíi sk^wela
 goP school
 He will go to school

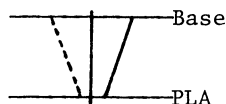
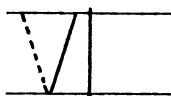
/čóʔò/ - Move away from PLA with speaker (Hortative)



10. čóʔò kée sta
let's-go eat tortillas
Let's (go) eat

11. čóʔò biko béʔéří
let's-go party house-1sg, poss
Let's go to the party at my house

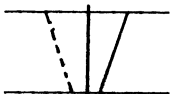
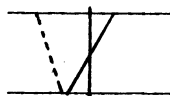
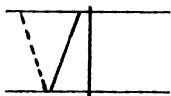
3.1.4. /noʔò/ (Potential), /noʔò/ (Realized) - Move toward Base from PLA



12. noʔò beʔeró
goP house-2sg, poss
Go back to your house

13. ninóʔò
pastgoR
He went home

3.1.5. /našúk^win/⁶ (Potential), /našúk^win/ (Realized) - Move back to starting point



14. šíã nàšúk^win
tomorrow returnP
Tomorrow she'll come back

15. šíã našúk^winrí nùù záʔu
tomorrow returnP-1sg face market
Tomorrow I will go back to the market

16. ninašúk^w in bé'é
 pastreturnR house
 He went home
17. lían noʔò beʔe te našúk^w in nakùnùù
 Leanne returnR house and returnP later
 Leanne is going to go home and will return (here) later

3.1.6. /háʔa/ - Move past some point (Past and Potential)



18. ruʔu a nihaʔarí
 lsg already pastpassR-1sg
 I already went
19. haʔaró uni bé'ete té haaró
 passP-2sg three house and arriveP-2sg
 You will pass three houses and then you'll be there

(The diagrams for this verb are somewhat different from the others. The verb occurs in all tenses, and so to avoid repetition TLA has been left out. Instead, the diagrams show that the Agent of a sentence using this verb can either pass a specified point on his or her way to another point (as in (19)), or can pass a point which is the endpoint of a journey, and then return (as in (18)). In this case the verb is used with a round-trip sense).

/háʔa/ is a verb which is used in a wide range of situations:

20. wāā hínaʔa káhaʔa ŋ žuča
 that pl pl-passR one river
 They are crossing a river
21. saa wá nihaʔa iči núrí
 bird that pastpassR road face-1sg
 The bird flew in front of me
22. k^waʔašāā náʔíu nikaháʔa biko
 many people pastpl-passR party
 Many people came to the party

3.1.7. /kenda/ (Potential), /kéndá/ (Realized) - Move out of

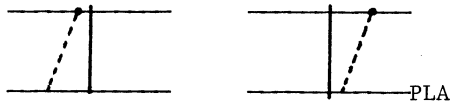


23. ná žóo nikendáró
 what month pastmoveoutR-2sg
 When did you leave?

24. ^ñnánirí kéndá bekää ^ššíá
brother-lsg moveoutP jail tomorrow
My brother gets out of jail tomorrow
25. kenda íçi yaʔa béʔe
moveoutP road this house
Come/go outside
26. saà wá nikéndá nuù ^žžúnú wá
bird that pastmoveoutR face tree that
The bird flew out of the tree

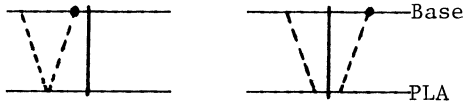
3.2. Verbs of Arrival

3.2.1. /haà/ - Arrive away from PLA (Past and Potential)



27. ^rrúʔu nihaàrí béʔeró iku
lsg pastarriveR-lsg house-2sg yesterday
I arrived at your house yesterday
28. ^ššíá haa táʔari beʔeró
tomorrow arriveP father-lsg house-2sg
Tomorrow my father will arrive at your house

3.2.2. /nahaà/ - Arrive at Base away from PLA (Past and Potential)



29. iku ninaháaña
yesterday pastarriveR-3sg, fem
She arrived home yesterday
30. ^ššíá náhaaná
tomorrow arriveP-lsg, polite
Tomorrow I'll be home

4. Diuxi Mixtec

The data on the Diuxi dialect presented by Kuiper and Merri-field can be summarized as follows:

4.1. Verbs of Motion

- /kiši/ - Move to non-Base toward PLA and return away from PLA
/váši/ - Move to non-Base toward PLA
/ndiši/ - Move to Base toward PLA
/séʔé/ - Move to non-Base away from PLA and return toward PLA

/hwáíá/ , /hííí/ - Move to non-Base away from PLA
 /núúú/ - Move to Base away from PLA

4.2. Verbs of Arrival

/kíśéé/ - Arrive at non-Base toward PLA
 /nśéé/ - Arrive at Base toward PLA
 /śéé/ - Arrive at non-Base away from PLA
 /naśéé/ - Arrive at Base away from PLA

5. Comparison of the Two Dialects

5.1. General

Diuxi Mixtec and a dialect very close to Chalcatongo Mixtec (that spoken in San Miguel el Grande) were among the twenty-eight dialects discussed by Mak and Longacre (1960) in their work on Proto-Mixtec. In trying to determine that some of these verbs are in fact cognate, however, I have found that in the interests of brevity the authors greatly abbreviated their cognate sets, and that Diuxi Mixtec is one dialect which is left out quite often. As a result, proof of relatedness relies on the assumption that Diuxi could have developed along the lines of certain dialects spoken in the periphery of the Mixtec-speaking area. Since San Juan Diuxi is actually located in the center of this area, and other dialects spoken near it developed differently, demonstration that certain verbs are cognate has to be regarded as tentative at this point.

Bearing the above in mind, it can be shown that there is a plausible relationship between certain pairs of verbs, as shown in Table 1'. While only two of the six groups have exactly the same meaning, there are also no contradictions to be seen. Rather, the pairs have the same 'layout,' but with the Diuxi Mixtec verbs showing a tendency towards higher specificity. For example, Goal is always specified as Base or non-Base in that dialect, whereas in Chalcatongo Mixtec if it is not specified as Base it can be either Base or non-Base.

At this point a note on the usual form of verbs in Mixtec is in order. Most verbs in Chalcatongo Mixtec are quite regular, and have two forms - the potential and the realized. The former appears in all uses of the verb that are yet to occur: futures, imperatives, cases corresponding to English modals, etc. The latter is used for present and past tenses. The verbs of motion and arrival, however, are very irregular. Diuxi Mixtec shows similar exceptional behavior, but with a much more regular pattern of irregularity. As can be seen from the diagrams below (Table 1), this group of verbs only occurs in potential and "completive" (i.e. past) forms. Motion and arrival verbs in the Diuxi dialect are "momentary" verbs: the activity is regarded as already having taken place or as not yet begun. There can be no continuative or present action described. (Kuiper and Merrifield ascribe this to a focus on the initiation of the action - once it is initiated it is

/kii/		PLA	/kiši/		PLA, Non-Base		
{	/čaa/		PLA	{	/váší/		PLA, Non-Base
	/bèi/		PLA		/h'áíá/		Non-Base
{	/k'áíá/		PLA	{	/h'áíá/		Non-Base
	/k'áíá/				PLA	/h'íí/	
{	/kíí/		PLA				
/noʔò/		Base	/núʔú/		Base		
/haà/		PLA	/šéé/		Non-Base		
/nahaà/		Base	/našéé/		Base		
		PLA			PLA		

TABLE 1

spoken of in the past tense). This distinction is not as clear-cut in the Chalcatongo dialect, however. There is a tendency for the verbs to be missing a present or continuative form, but some of them clearly do have such a form. Tense distribution will be discussed below.

5.2. Individual Verbs

/kii/ (3.1.1.) is an example of a Chalcatongo Mixtec momentary verb. It patterns just as its semantic near-equivalent in Diuxi Mixtec (/kiši/) does. It is slightly unusual in that its potential form can not be used as an imperative. (This is normally one of the many uses of the potential). Instead, /náʔá/ (3.1.2.) is used, cancelling out the return portion of the motion. Irregularities

in the imperative forms are seen in many of these verbs. Kuiper and Merrifield do not address themselves to the issue of imperatives, so it is not clear if Diuxi Mixtec shows similar behavior in this area.

/čaa/ (3.1.2.) is one of the most interesting verbs in the set because of its three distinct forms. /čaa/ itself is used for past and potential (minus imperative) only, /bèl/ is exclusively present tense, and /ñaʔà/ is an imperative form. Its correspondent in Diuxi Mixtec, /váší/, is also irregular, but not in a parallel fashion. In that dialect, /váší/ occurs only in the past tense, being replaced by /kiši/ in cases where one would expect a potential form. An interesting comparison is to be made between /váší/ and its cognate /bèl/. The former, as Kuiper and Merrifield state, is paradigmatically defective. The latter is the most unusual motion verb in the domain, existing only in the present tense. Furthermore, there appears to be no cognate in Diuxi Mixtec to the verb /čaa/, which appears with the normal momentary verb tense distribution.

The next verb in section 3, /k^wáʔá/ (3.1.3.), also shows a proliferation of forms, but with a different configuration of those forms. In this case, the past and the imperative are phonologically alike, with a distinct form for the potential. Also noteworthy is the fact that the past tense is distinguished from the imperative purely by tone. It is the only past tense form in the language which I have come across which does not (and cannot) have the past morpheme /ni-/ prefixed to it.

There is also a third form, the hortative /čóʔò/. It can be used alone, meaning "let's go," used with another verb (as in (10)), or used with a noun (as in (11)).

/noʔò/ (3.1.4.) is a momentary verb corresponding to the Diuxi Mixtec verb /núʔú/. It is the only verb in the Chalcatongo dialect for which Base is specified as Source or Goal. /našúk^win/ (3.1.5.) is another return verb, but a more general one. As is illustrated by examples (14) and (15), PLA can be either the Source or the Goal of the movement. Sentences (16) and (17) show that when Base is a factor in a sentence using /našúk^win/, its location is not fixed either. Base, like PLA, can be the Source or the Goal of the journey.

/háʔa/ (3.1.6.) and /kenda/ (3.1.7.) are two verbs for which equivalents were not described by Kuiper and Merrifield. It could be argued that the latter is not a verb of motion, but should more properly be described as a verb of "exit" or "departure," contrasting with the arrival verbs. Nicolás (my source for this data) claims that it is a motion verb, however, and some of its uses do seem to fit that description. Others, however, do not, and I will leave it an open question at present.

/háʔa/ seems to be the most general motion verb in the language. As is shown in (20)-(22) it is used under quite varied circumstances. In my data it is translated variously as: walk, pass over, pass by, fly, climb over, go, come, and return. In the

same way that /našúk^win/ allows the speaker to not specify any of the parameters of return motion, /háʔa/ allows the speaker to be vague about simple motion.

/haà/ (3.2.1.) and /nahaà/ (3.2.2.) are the only clear cases of verbs of arrival in Chalcatongo Mixtec. (/ʒaà/ apparently can be used to describe arrival at PLA as well as motion toward PLA, but its status as an arrival verb is unclear at this point). In the case of /nahaà/, the conditions on Base are not the normal ones. Instead of the Agent's Base as Goal being the only determining factor (as one would expect), in this case both the addressee and the Agent of the action must have the same Base for appropriate usage of the verb. That is, if there is a first person Agent, then the speaker and the addressee must have the same Base. But if the speaker is using /nahaà/ in remarking to someone that a third person will arrive at his or her own home, then for appropriate usage the addressee and the person being discussed are the ones who must have identical Bases. In this case, the speaker's Base is irrelevant. This requirement is unique in the system, and is not described for the Diuxi dialect.

6. Base

Kuiper and Merrifield point out that the notion "Base" is probably related to the more general idea of repetition of action in Mixtec. The language has a particle /na-/, which, when prefixed to certain verb stems, indicates such repetition, or an extension of the idea of repetition. Illustrative data from the Chalcatongo dialect are:

- 31a. sáʔa - Do it!
 b. nasáʔa - Do it again!
 32a. ruʔu katarí - I sing
 b. ruʔu nakatarí - I sing again
 33a. kíku - to sew
 b. nakíku - to mend
 34a. skáa - to unfold
 b. naskáa - to stretch

The data which I have on Chalcatongo Mixtec would seem to support the conclusion that the phenomena are related, especially in light of the fact that Base (following the trend in all aspects of this domain) seems to be a more generalized notion than in Diuxi Mixtec. On the subject of Base, Kuiper and Merrifield say:

.. it is sufficient to think of 'Base' as the place to which the Agent of an action returns at the end of the day or at the end of a trip - his home, his hometown, his home district, etc. - the size and precise location in space of the Base being a function of the order of magnitude of the trip in question (p. 42).

The notion "Base" in Chalcatongo Mixtec is in fact usually just as defined above, but there are some instances in which a broader

definition is needed. For example:

35. seʔerí noʔò sk^wela iŋka semána
 son-lsg, poss goP school next week
 My son will go back to school next week

The explanation for this use of /noʔò/ was not that the son lives at school, but that he spends most of his time there, and so /noʔò/ is appropriate.

This more general use of the concept Base supports the hypothesis that it is an extension of the idea of repetition of action. This is especially clearly seen in the pair /haà/ - /nahaà/, in which the verb involving Base actually has the repetitive element prefixed to it. One has to posit some amount of sound change to account for the form of the only other verb obligatorily involving Base in the Chalcatongo dialect (/noʔò/), but the semantic facts remain convincing.

7. Conclusion

Verbs of motion and arrival have been presented and compared in two dialects of Mixtec. In almost all aspects of analysis the Chalcatongo Mixtec system is seen to be more general, with fewer restrictions on the use of individual verbs. Chalcatongo Mixtec also has widely varying tense patterns across the domain, unlike Diuxi Mixtec, which shows a fairly consistent momentary verb tense distribution.

The reasons for these differences are far from clear. Certainly some of them could be due to a difference in age between Nicolás and the Mixtec speaker interviewed by Kuiper and Merrifield. Nicolás is young and strongly bilingual, and it seems highly likely that the existence of present tense verbs of motion in his dialect could be due to the influence of Spanish, which has the full range of tenses in its verbs in the domain under consideration. This putative influence would not, however, explain quite as easily the Chalcatongo dialect's tendency towards lesser specificity.

Leaving explanation aside, I would like to discuss the outcome of comparison of these two dialects. In order to arrive at an analysis which is sufficiently general to encompass the facts from both dialects (and presumably from related dialects as they are investigated), Kuiper and Merrifield's analysis of these verbs has to be changed somewhat. A more general characterization of verbs in this domain would be as follows:

- I. Source and Goal may be specified as any (or none) of the following:
 - A. PLA
 - B. Base
 - C. Non-Base
- II. Verbs must be specified as either "one-way" or "round trip."

Different dialects, then, can "choose" the degree of detail for which verbs of motion and arrival are specified, just as we have seen. A dialect can stipulate that Goal must be designated as Base or non-Base, as Diuxi Mixtec does, or can tolerate ambiguity in all cases except the few in which Goal must be Base, as Chalcatongo Mixtec does. There are also special cases, such as the requirements for shared Base in the use of /nahaà/ in the Chalcatongo dialect, which would have to be specified individually. Other contrasts and degrees of specificity are certainly imaginable and will have to be taken into account as verbs of motion and arrival in other dialects of Mixtec are analyzed.

Footnotes

1. The data on Chalcatongo Mixtec presented in this paper were provided by Nicolás Cortés, a native of Chalcatongo, Oaxaca. I would like to thank him for all of his help and patience over this past year. I would also like to thank Dr. Leanne Hinton, Mariscela Amador, Claudia Brugman, Amy Dahlstrom, Mark Gawron, Martha Macri, and Catherine O'Connor for their suggestions and ever-so-constructive criticisms of earlier versions of this paper. Any folly found in the present version is of course my own.
2. My work on Mixtec has been supported by a Graduate Fellowship from the National Science Foundation.
3. "Time of Locutionary Act," from Fillmore, 1970, following Kuiper and Merrifield's use of the term.
4. Chalcatongo Mixtec has three tones: high tone - ´, mid tone - unmarked, low tone - ` . Tone in the Diuxi data is marked as follows: high tone - ´, low tone - unmarked.
5. "P" after a verb's gloss indicates potential form, "R" after a gloss indicates realized form.
6. /našuk^win/ can be analyzed into two morphemes; repetitive /na-/ (see section 6) plus the verb /šuk^win/, "to turn over or around":
 - a. nišuk^win staà wāā
 pastturnover tortilla that
 She turned the tortilla over
 - b. nišuk^win iči nuuri
 pastturnover road face-1sg, poss
 He turned over towards me

Sometimes /šuk^win/ is used as a verb of motion, translated as "return," but I think its basic sense is "turn around (and move)." To avoid further confusion I will not consider it as a verb of motion.
7. Mak and Longacre demonstrate that Proto-Mixtec (PM) *hi becomes /hi/ or /i/ in San Miguel el Grande Mixtec, and /ši/ in the dialects spoken in Tonahuixtla and Chigmecatitlan, both to the north in the state of Puebla. PM *kihi, then, would have the reflex

/kii/ in San Miguel (and Chalcatongo) Mixtec, and /kiš/ in other dialects. PM *vahi would have become /váš/ in Diuxi Mixtec, and according to this rule, /vai/ in the San Miguel dialect. This is exactly what is found in the Vocabulario Mixteco de San Miguel el Grande (Dyk and Stoudt, 1973), and is one of the points of difference between that dialect and the Chalcatongo dialect. Finally, PM *ha becomes /ha/ in San Miguel Mixtec, /ša/ in dialects spoken in the north (Chigmecatitlán), the west (Metlatonoc), and the southwest (Atoyac), and /še/ in the dialect spoken in San Juan Coatzacoapan, a town in the northeastern part of the state. /haà/ and /šeé/, then, can reasonably be claimed to have derived from PM *haa.

8. Iterative uses of these verbs are being omitted, for the sake of brevity.

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