Commands in Zenzontepec Chatino (Otomanguean)[1]

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1.   Introduction

This chapter is a description of commands in Zenzontepec Chatino: their grammar and the ways that speakers use them to get others to do things. The language has a formally complex, but robust, inflectional category of Imperative Mood, which is used strictly for canonical (addressee-directed) imperatives (Aikhenvald, chapter 1). Depending on the particular verb, Imperative Mood is expressed by one of three imperative prefixes (*kw(i)-*, *ku-*, *k-*) or by coopting the Perfective Aspect. Second person singular pronominal inflection, marked by tone change, is omitted on verbs with imperative prefixes but retained on those that coopt the Perfective Aspect and which would otherwise be homophonous with 3rd person declarative verb forms with omitted subjects. The Imperative Mood is a previously undescribed part of

the complex inflectional class system of the language (Campbell 2011, To appear), and this chapter sheds light on other parts of the inflectional system, and their historical development.

All commands that are not canonical imperatives are expressed with Potential Mood inflection. This includes 1st and 3rd person directives, alternative strategies for addressee-directed commands, and the negative forms of all directives. The Potential Mood has many grammatical and communicative functions besides the range of nuanced command types, and ultimately the appropriate meaning is determined by the context of the interaction and pragmatic factors. The morphological complexity of canonical imperatives (many forms for one category) contrasted with the morphological uniformity of non-canonical directives (one category for many functions) reflects the grammar of Zenzontepec Chatino more broadly: it has idiosyncratic and prodigiously complex inflectional morphology, and formally simple but fluid syntax in discourse.

Some basic information about Zenzontepec Chatino and the data used for this study is provided in §2. A grammatical sketch is given in §3, highlighting aspects of the language most relevant for understanding commands. Canonical imperatives are presented in §4, and non-canonical directives in §5. Some alternative strategies for expressing commands and the sociocultural and communicative motivations for using them are discussed in §6. Finally, general discussion and conclusions are given in §7.

2.   Basic information about Zenzontepec Chatino and the data in this study

Zenzontepec Chatino (ISO 639-3: czn) is an indigenous language spoken by about 8,000 people in the municipalities of Santa Cruz Zenzontepec and San Jacinto Tlacotepec in rural southwestern Oaxaca State, Mexico. It is the most divergent variety of Chatino, which is a cluster of at least three languages (Boas 1913; Campbell 2013a): Zenzontepec Chatino; Tataltepec Chatino; and Eastern Chatino, a group of about 15 varieties with varying degrees

of inter-intelligibility (Cruz and Woodbury 2014). The map in Figure 1 shows the location and subgrouping of Chatino languages. Chatino and Zapotec together make up the Zapotecan family of the Otomanguean stock.
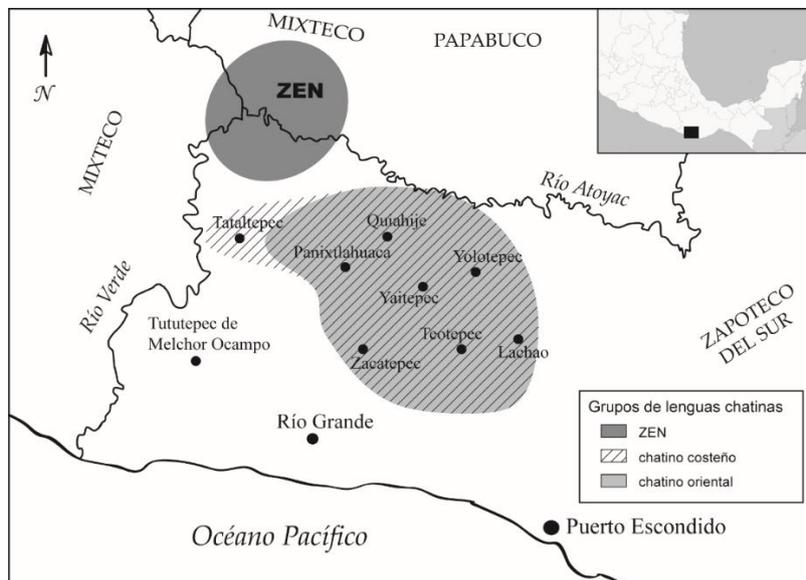
Figure 1. Chatino languages and subgrouping (Campbell 2013a)

The data presented in this chapter are from a corpus of about 18 hours of transcribed and translated texts of varied genres created by the author and Zenzontepec community members since 2009. Some examples are true commands from documented interaction, while others are embedded in narratives or description. None are elicited. Each example includes a reference with the name of the text and time within it, and these are accessible in the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) (Campbell 2013b).

3. Grammatical sketch

Zenzontepec Chatino is a head-initial language. Predicates by default precede their

arguments: (1) shows an existential predicate and (2) an adjectival predicate.[2]

(1)   **tāká**   tyākwę́
       exist   path
       There was a path. [historia2 16:06]

(2)   **ti-katzǭ**   choō? kę
       ADJZ-warm.up   aloe
       Aloe is warm(ing). [historia.medicina 3:56]

Verbs obligatorily inflect for aspect/mood, which sets them apart as a lexical class. The

intransitive verb in (3) is inflected for Perfective Aspect. Basic constituent order is VS.

(3)   lē? **nku-tiyaa**   tzaka kwijnya?
       then PERV-arrive.there   one   mouse
       Then a mouse arrived there. [dos.cuentos.raton 0:37]

Basic constituent order in transitive clauses is VAO. In (4) the verb is initial and the

agent *nkwítzą* 'child' follows the definite article and precedes a demonstrative *=V?*. The

patient *jii* 'ash' occurs last. It is introduced into the narrative here; it is non-specific and non-

topical.

(4)   V   A   O
       lē? **nkay-ukwā**=kā?á   na   **nkwítzą**=V?   **jii**
       then PERV-grab=also   DEF child=NVIS   ash
       Then the child also grabbed some ash. [nkwitzan.ti7i 4:19]

Constituent order is flexible and determined by pragmatic factors. In (5), which immediately

follows (4) in the story, the narrator highlights the word *jii* 'ash', focusing it in initial position

with OVA order.

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[2] The orthography used here differs from the IPA as follows: *kw* = [kʷ], *tz* = [ʦ], *r* = [ɾ], *ty* =

[tʲ], *ly* = [lʲ], *ny* = [nʲ], *ch* = [ʧ], *x* = [ʃ], y = [j], j = [h], Y̨ = nasal vowel, VV = long vowel, V̄

= mid tone, V́ = high tone, '+' = compound boundary.

(5) **jii** nti-kwiʔ   tī   naa
    ash HAB-speak   TOPZ 1pl.inc
    jii ('ash') we call it.

The same narrative continues in (6), which illustrates two important points about Zenzontepec Chatino discourse and syntax. First, the agent (the child) is pronominal and highly topical, so it is omitted (represented as [.3] in the gloss). Second, the patient (the ash), now referenced with the 'non-visible' demonstrative pronoun *nuwę́ʔ*, is preceded by the particle *jiʔī̧*, contracted here to *j-*[M], which flags it as a secondary topic (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011).

(6) lȩ̄ʔ nka-tūkwá   **j-nuwę̄ʔ**   nanȩ̄ʔ   kweję
    then PERV-put.in**[.3]** NSBJ-3.NVIS   stomach bag
    Then he put it in a bag.

Thus, the language has a rich system for encoding information structure, with articles, demonstratives, strategies for indicating topicality, and flexible constituent order, which may all co-occur.

Pronominal arguments of intransitive verbs also immediately follow their predicates. Each pronoun has an independent form and an enclitic form. Both forms of the first person plural exclusive pronoun are shown in S function in (7).

(7) n-tyaʔą̄   **kwaa**   yākwá n-chóteʔę=**ya**   tzajlyā
    HAB-go.around 1pl.exc   there HAB-meet=1pl.exc   graveyard
    We go around there and we meet in the graveyard. [bruja.barbona 1:06]

Unlike 3rd person pronouns, which are often omitted if pronominal and highly topical, 1st and 2nd person pronouns are obligatory. In (8) the A argument is 1sg and the O is 2pl.

(8) k-etzāʔ=**ą́ʔ**   jiʔī̧=**wą**   tzoʔō tzéʔā
    POT-inform=1sg   NSBJ=2pl   good   precise
    I'll advise you (pl.) very well. [historia.maguey 5:00]

The example in (9) shows the same two pronouns, but with grammatical relations reversed.

(9) nkwi-tyāʔná=**wą**   jy-**ą́ʔ**
    PERV-pity=2pl   NSBJ-1sg
    You (pl.) had pity on me. [kwitijyuu 4:07]

Examples (7), (8) and (9) show that Zenzontepec Chatino has nominative-accusative alignment: if all arguments are overtly realized, only S or A may immediately follow the predicate. Only O may be flagged by the particle *jiʔį̄*. In ditransitive constructions, the recipient (R) is always preceded by *jiʔį̄*, and the theme (T) patterns like the O in monotransitives: it is flagged by *jiʔį̄* if topical (10). Thus, Zenzontepec Chatino has indirective alignment in ditransitives (Malchukov et al. 2010).

(10) lēʔ   nu   nka-tāá   **j**-nuwę̄ʔ   **j**-yū
       then   NOMZ   PERV-give[.3]   NSBJ-3.NVIS   NSBJ-3sg.M
       Then he gave that to him. [santa.maria2 12:08]

The particle *jiʔį̄* not only flags objects but may also flag locative (11), beneficiary (12), or maleficiary participants, if topical.

(11) nt-utzę   kwaa   maxi   nu   tz-aa=ya   **jiʔį̄**
       HAB-fear   1pl.exc   even.if   NOMZ   POT-go=1pl.exc   NSBJ[.3]
       We would be afraid to even go by **there**. [no.hay.brujos 1:10]

(12) liwrū k-ujnyā=yu   **jiʔį̄**   kitzę
       book   POT-make=3sg.M   NSBJ   village
       He is going to make a book **for** the village. [historia1 30:22]

The particle *jiʔį̄* also flags the possessor in alienable possession:

(13)   Possessum   Possessor
       tzoʔō nti-ka+kiyāʔ   na lúkwī=Vʔ   **jiʔį̄=ya**   wiʔ
       good   HAB-be+market   DEF mezcal=NVIS   NSBJ=1pl.exc   there
       Our mezcal sells well there. [lukwi.historia 2:58]

Inalienable possession, in contrast, is expressed by encliticizing (14) or juxtaposing the possessor after the possessum.

(14)   Possessum=Possessor
       tāká=ūʔ   lóʔō   **nyáʔa=ūʔ**
       exist=3pl   with   mother=3pl
       They lived with their mother. [sol.y.luna 0:51]

Number is not grammatically marked on nouns:

(15) lēʔ   nti-ji   tī   na **wātá**=Vʔ   lēʔ   nti-ji   **jniʔ**=Vʔ
       then HAB-die TOPZ   DEF cow=NVIS   then HAB-die offspring[.3]=NVIS
       Then the cows were dying and their offspring were dying. [vaquero 3:36]

Zenzontepec Chatino is a head-marking language. Most of the morphology occurs on the verb, which may be quite complex and made up of multiple prosodic words (ω). Figure 2 shows the Verbal Template (Campbell 2015).
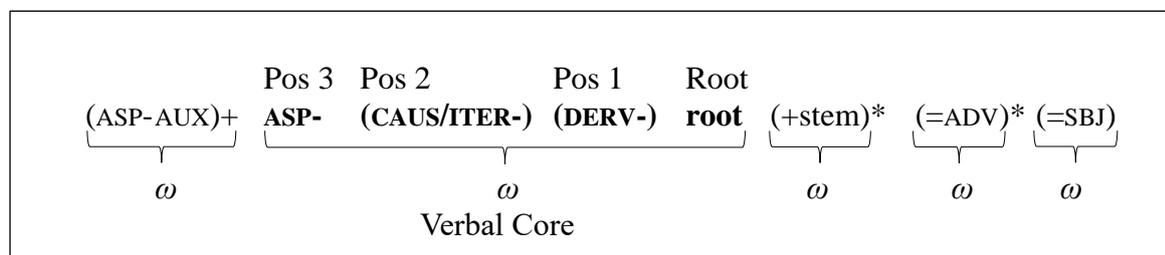
Figure 2. Zenzontepec Chatino Verbal Template

A verb minimally consists of a root plus aspect/mood inflection. There is no morphological tense. Verbs may occur with prefixes and/or enclitics, and may involve compounding. Subject enclitics, if present, occur in final position of the verb. The full set of pronominal enclitics is shown in Table 1, and this single set serves all grammatical functions.

Table 1. Zenzontepec Chatino Dependent pronouns (Campbell, In press)

		singular	plural
1st	exc	=ā̧ʔ	=ya
	inc	—	=na / =ą
2nd		**TONE**	=wą
3rd	(any)	Ø	Ø / =ū̧ʔ ~ =jū̧ʔ
	NSPC	=ū̧ʔ	
	M	=yu	
	F	=chū̧ʔ	
	RSP	=ni̧ʔ	

Particularly crucial for commands is 2sg pronominal inflection, whose sole exponent is tone change (Campbell 2016). If the final prosodic word of the uninflected stem bears only a single M tone on its final mora, then the 2sg form has that M tone replaced by H tone (16).

(16)   (Ø)(Ø)M   →   (Ø)(Ø)H
   a.   jly**ū**   'is big'   →   jly**ú**   '**you**'re big'
        nt-u-sa**ā**ʔ   'tears (tr.)'   →   nt-u-sa**á**ʔ   '**you** tear (tr.)'

   b.   jne jly**ū**   'thumb of'   →   jne jly**ú**   '**your** thumb'
        ch-uʔu=tzoʔ**ō**   'will live well'   →   ch-uʔu=tzoʔ**ó**   '**you** will live well'

If the stem has any other tonal melody, then the 2sg form's final prosodic word has M tone on each mora (17).

(17)   Any other tone pattern   →   (M)(M)M
   a.   jn**e**   'finger of'   Ø   →   M   jn**ē**   '**your** finger'
        ty**uu**ʔ   'will cough'   ØØ   →   MM   ty**ūū**ʔ   '**you'll** cough'
        k-**ōó**   'will grind'   MH   →   MM   k-**ōō**   '**you'll** grind'
        nk-y-**án**ō   'stayed'   HM   →   MM   nk-y-**ān**ō   '**you** stayed'
        ntē-t**ák**w**i** 'is flying'   (M)HØ   →   MMM   ntē-tākw**ī**   '**you're** flying'

   b.   nyá ʔ k**ula**   'grandma of'   →   nyáʔ k**ū**l**ā**   '**your** grandma'
        ʔne+tii=rīk**é**   'can guess'   →   ʔne+tii=rīk**ē**   '**you** can guess'
        y-akwiʔ+k**í**ʔy**ū** 'bragged'   →   y-akwiʔ+k**ī**ʔy**ū** '**you** bragged'

Otomanguean languages are known for having complex inflectional classes (de Angulo 1933; Smith Stark 2002; Wichmann 2006; Palancar 2011). In Zenzontepec Chatino, verbs fall into one of 7 classes according to which allomorphs of the aspect/mood prefixes they take. Though the various prefix classes have general semantic and phonological bases (Campbell 2011), a verb's class membership is ultimately unpredictable. Table 2 presents the allomorphs that define the prefix classes.

Table 2. Aspect/mood prefix classes (Campbell 2011)

	POT	HAB	PROG	PERV
A-c/A-2	*ki-*	*nti-*	*nte-*	*nka-*
A-2	*ki-*	*nti-*	*nte-*	*nkwi-*
B-c	*ki-*	*nti-*	*nte-*	*nku-*
B-t	*(t → ty)*	*n- (t → ty)*	*nte-*	*nku-*
B-y	*(y → ch)*	*n- (y → ch)*	*nte-*	*nk-*
C-a	*k-*	*nti-*	*nch-*	*nku-*
C-2	*k-*	*nti-*	*nch- ~ ntey-*	*y- ~ nkay-*

A verb's tonal melody may change depending on which aspect/mood category it is inflected for, and there are 9 such tonal alternation patterns. One cannot predict the tones in all of a verb's forms from any single form. The 9 tonal alternation patterns are thus another layer of inflectional classes that cross-cuts, and compounds, the prefix classes, yielding some 39 attested prefix-tone classes, some of which have only one or two members and thus stand little apart from otherwise inflectionally irregular verbs (Campbell, To appear).

4.   Canonical imperatives: the Imperative Mood

Like other aspect/mood categories, the Imperative Mood in Zenzontepec Chatino has significant allomorphy, but a verb's imperative form is largely predictable from its prefix class. Imperative Mood is marked either by one of the prefixes *kw(i)-*, *ku-*, or *k-*, or by coopting the Perfective Aspect. It is only used for canonical imperatives (Aikhenvald 2010), that is, pragmatically basic addressee-directed imperatives. In the following discussion, canonical imperatives with singular addressees are discussed first (§4.1), followed by those with plural addressees (§4.2). One irregular imperative exists in the language (§4.3), and some verbs appear to lack imperatives (§4.4). A summary and discussion of canonical imperatives conclude the section (§4.5).

4.1. Singular canonical imperatives

Canonical imperatives are formed by various strategies: the prefix *kw(i)-* (§4.1.1), the prefix

ku- (§4.1.2), the prefix *k-* (§4.1.3), or by coopting the Perfective Aspect (§4.1.4).

4.1.1. The Imperative Mood prefix *kw(i)-*

Verbs that belong to aspect/mood prefix-class A-2 take the special imperative prefix *kw(i)-*in

the Imperative Mood (18).

(18) waʔā   na   kíʔyū nu   nch-ātíʔ   jiʔí̜?   nakwę̨
      where.is   DEF   man   REL PROG-love[.3]   NSBJ.2sg   say[.3]
      Where is the man that is in love with you?, he said,

      kw-etzāʔ   jiʔī̄!
      IMP-inform   NSBJ[.3]
      Tell him about it! [novio 1:26]

Prefix class A-2 has relatively few roots, but several of them are productive in forming

compounds, which then populate the class with lexemes (Campbell 2011). Verbs with the

iterative prefix *i-* fall into this class (19).

(19) **kw-i**-tyuʔu   s-ātēʔ   jā   tz-aa=ą̨!
      IMP-ITER-be.in   POSS-clothes.2sg   CONJ   POT-go=1pl.inc
      Put your clothes on because we're going! [cotita 8:51]

   Tonal 2sg pronominal inflection is absent in these imperatives (20), which is cross-

linguistically common, since 2nd person is the default addressee of commands (Sadock &

Zwicky 1985: 173; Aikhenvald 2010: 19).

(20)   a. **kw-**ise+toǫ   jiʔí̜   nī̄!
           IMP-turn+be.standing   NSBJ.2sg now
           Stand yours (penis) up now! [cotita 11:07]

       b. #**kw-**ise+to͞ǫ   jiʔí̜   nī̄!
           IMP-turn+be.standing.**2sg**   NSBJ.2sg now
           sought meaning: Stand yours (penis) up now!

For verbs with aspect/mood tonal alternations, the imperative stem's tone (21) matches that of the Perfective Aspect (22).

(21) **kw-ī́ʔyá**   tzaka júū̄ retā   nu n-tzuʔu tíʔno   tzúna jata!
     IMP-transport   one   rope load   REL STAT-be fifteen three armful
     Haul a load of eighteen armfuls (of pine)! [nikolasa 2:11]

(22) Aspect/mood forms of the verb -ī́ʔyá 'to transport', organized by tone melody

	MH		ØM
IMP	kw-**ī́ʔyá!**	POT	k-iʔyā
PERV	nkw-**ī́ʔyá**	HAB	nt-iʔyā
STAT	l-**ī́ʔyá**	PROG	nte-k-iʔyā

Some verbs that take the *kwi-* imperative prefix had previously not been classifiable into any one of the prefix classes. Their imperative forms suggest that they belong to prefix-class A-2:

(23) **kwi-**naʔa nāáʔ lóʔō nkwítzą jy=ą́ʔ!   ná n-tyejē̱   tī   nūwá
     IMP-see   1sg   and child   NSBJ=1sg NEG HAB-have.diarrhea TOPZ 3.DIST
     Look at me and my kids! They don't get diarrhea. [historia1 16:10]

4.1.2. The Imperative Mood prefix *ku-*

Most verbs of motion and posture begin with /t/, and a few with /s/. They belong to aspect/mood prefix class B-t and take the Imperative Mood prefix *ku-*. Like imperatives with the prefix *kw(i)-*, they bear no 2sg tonal inflection:

(24) **ku**-taʔą! **ku**-taʔą jā   tzoʔō k-ī́ī!
     IMP-walk   IMP-walk CONJ well   POT-feel.2sg
     Walk around! Walk around so that you feel well! [historia.medicina2 6:22]

(25) **ku**-tejē̱+tákwī   jā   yākwá titzę   l-aa!
     IMP-pass+be.suspended CONJ   there   frightening STAT-be[.3]
     Pass across because it's frightening there! [derrumbe 0:19]

The imperative in (26) contains the vocative *juteʔ* 'ma'am', which also means 'aunt', and is a respectful way to address a woman. Its use serves to soften the force of the command.

(26)   nteē   **ku-**tyukwā   juteʔ
        here   IMP-sit.relaxed   VOC.aunt
        Sit here ma'am! [lengua.tlaco 48:42]

The word *nkwitzą* 'child' is also used vocatively, to a younger addressee, and carries an

endearing tone in imperatives.

    A couple of verbs that belong to aspect/mood prefix class C-2 exceptionally take the

ku- imperative prefix, instead of the Perfective Aspect as expected (§4.1.4):

(27)   **ku-**laʔ   nyāʔā   kwātīʔ   tukwi nyaʔne wá!
        IMP-touch POT.see.2sg POT.know.2sg which animal DIST
        Touch (it) and you'll see and know what animal it is! [mujer.gana.diablo 6:55]

(28)   **ku-**ta!
        IMP-bathe
        'Take a bath!'

4.1.3. The Imperative Mood prefix *k-*

Verbs of aspect/mood prefix class B-y inflect for Imperative Mood with the prefix *k-*, and 2sg

tonal inflection is again omitted:

(29)   **k-**yaą   k-ākū   chaja!
        IMP-come POT-eat.2sg tortilla
        Come and eat (tortillas)! [el.brujo 0:40]

(30)   i   tī   nu   chāā   nyaʔa
        and COND NOMZ POT.go.back.2sg see.2sg
        And if you're going back, you see,

        k-yaa!
        IMP-go.back
        go back! [nkwitzan.ti7i 6:05]

    The imperative in (31) has a non-volitional addressee: corn plants. Though this might

seem unusual, corn is such a central part of Mesoamerican life and subsistence that it is not

surprising to see it anthropomorphized.

(31)   **k-**ya+toǫ   nī   kela
        IMP-go+be.standing VOC corn.plant
        Stand up corn plants! [choo.kwe7en 4:29]

4.1.4. Imperatives formed with Perfective Aspect

Verbs that belong to prefix class A-c/A-u coopt the Perfective Aspect to express Imperative

Mood (32).

(32) **nkā-ʔnē**   tzáʔ.tzoʔō ʔnē   kwítī   jy-áʔ! nteē yánā jy-áʔ
      PERV-do.2sg favor   POT.do.2sg medicine NSBJ-1sg here incense NSBJ-1sg
      Do me the favor of curing me! Here is my incense. [medicina1 12:54]

Unlike verbs with the special imperative prefixes, singular imperatives with Perfective

Aspect always bear 2sg tonal inflection (33).

(33) a. **nkā-tūkwā!**   **nkā-ʔnē**   tī   jnyá!
          PERV-put.in.**2sg** PERV-do.**2sg** TOPZ work
          Plant (corn)! And do (your) work! [kunaʔa.kusuʔ 6:40]

      b. #**nka-tūkwá!**   **nka-ʔne**   tī   jnyá!
          PERV-put.in   PERV-do   TOPZ work
          sought meaning: Plant (corn)! And do (your) work!

Verbs of aspect/mood prefix class C-2 also coopt the Perfective Aspect for imperatives,

marked by the prefix *y-* ~ *nkay-*, and again, 2sg tonal inflection is obligatory:

(34) **y-a+k-ī́ʔyā**   ítā tixi   yākwá k-ōʔó   úʔ ntē!
      PERV-go+POT-transport.**2sg** water sweet there   POT-drink 3pl PROX
      Go get some sodas from there for these guys to drink! [historia1 5:18]

(35) **nkay-oʔó**   jiʔị̄!   nteē chiī́ʔ   ają   **nkay-oʔó**   jiʔị̄!
      PERV-drink.**2sg** NSBJ[.3] here young.one uh-huh PERV-drink.**2sg** NSBJ[.3]
      Drink it! Here, young one. Drink it! [historia1 24:37]

4.2. Plural canonical imperatives

Plural canonical imperatives are formed using the same prefixes as their singular

counterparts, according to aspect/mood prefix class. For example, class A-u imperatives, with

coopted Perfective Aspect, are shown in (36) and (37).

(36) **nka-lōó=wą**   jy=áʔ   jā   k-aja=ą̄ʔ!
      PERV-take.out=2pl NSBJ=1sg CONJ POT-die=1sg
      Take me out of here because I'm going to die! [ni7.rosa 3:43]

(37) **nka**-suʔū=**wą**   jnēʔ jiʔį̄   tī   laaʔ nu   nku-tiyaą=kāʔá!
PERV-show=2pl dog   NSBJ[.3] COND like.so NOMZ PERV-arrive.here=again[.3]
Show them the dogs if they arrive here again like that! [cuento.DSF 5:12]

Unlike singular canonical imperatives, which omit person inflection if they have a prefix

unique to Imperative Mood, plural canonical imperatives always occur with the 2pl enclitic

=*wą*:

(38) k-ya+tūʔú=**wą**!   lyakwā   n-kwanā=wą   s-ūʔwá=ą̄ʔʔ
IMP-go+be.in=2pl   why   PERV-steal=2pl POSS-cargo=1sg
Get up! Why did you steal my bag? [tres.hombres 2:29]

(39) kwī-nána=**wą**   tukwi k-aku=wą   nt-ii=wą!
IMP-ask.for=2pl   what   POT-eat=2pl HAB-want=2pl
Ask for what you (pl.) want to eat! [kwini7.laja 14:51]

4.3. Irregular canonical imperative

The verb *-aku* 'to eat' has an irregular imperative form. It is perhaps prefixless, with glottal

stop epenthesis to avoid an onsetless syllable.

(40) **ʔaku**   tī   lākwīʔ! nakwę ná   k-aku   tī   nāáʔ
IMP.eat COND self.2sg say[.3] NEG POT-eat TOPZ 1sg
You yourself, eat!, he said. I'm not going to eat. [cuento.DSF 9:47]

4.4. Verbs with (apparently) no imperative form

Aspect/mood prefix-classes B-c (41) and C-a (42) verbs are mostly intransitive and non-

agentive. They tend to not occur in Imperative Mood, probably because the addressee has no

control over the action.

(41)   Prefix class B-c

-kiʔi   'get toasted'
-kūnáʔ   'get thrown away'
-jnii   'grow'

(42)   Prefix class C-a

-aja   'die'
-āsúʔ   'get old'

-ala   'be born'

4.5. Summary and discussion of canonical imperatives

Canonical imperatives are formed with one of the three Imperative Mood prefixes or by coopting the Perfective Aspect. Imperative formation is mostly predictable from prefix class. If an imperative verb has a prefix unique to Imperative Mood, 2sg tonal inflection is omitted. If the imperative coopts the Perfective Aspect, then 2sg tone is required. The use of 2sg tonal inflection disambiguates these imperatives from 3rd person Perfective verb forms with zero anaphora. Plural canonical imperatives always bear 2pl inflection.

Table 3. Canonical imperative formation, compared with Perfective Aspect

Aspect/mood prefix class	Imperative Mood	2sg tonal inflection in imperative?	Perfective Aspect
A-2	*kw(i)-*	—	*nkw(i)-*
B-t	*ku-*	—	*nku-*
B-y	*k-*	—	*nk-*
A-c/A-u	*nka-*	✓	*nka-*
C-2	*y- ~ nkay-*	✓	*y- ~ nkay-*
B-c	—	—	*nku-*
C-a	—	—	*nku-*

As Table 3 shows, the prefixes unique to Imperative Mood (*kw(i)-*, *ku-*, *k-*) differ from their corresponding Perfective Aspect prefixes (*nkw(i)-*, *nku-*, *nk-*) by lacking the initial nasal. This suggests a morphological or historical connection between the two categories. It is possible that, historically, imperatives were simply formed by coopting the Perfective Aspect, as is done for verbs of prefix-classes A-u/A-c and C-2. This is in fact the case for 'strong imperatives' in Lachixío Zapotec (Sicoli 2010: 532), a language in the Zapotec group that is sister to Chatino. In Zenzontepec Chatino, all Habitual Aspect and Progressive Aspect prefixes, and most Perfective Aspect prefixes, have a preposed nasal. The Potential Mood

prefixes and Imperative Mood prefixes do not. It seems that this nasal was perhaps a realis prefix at an earlier stage. The Perfective Aspect prefix *y-* is an exception, having no nasal, but it was a relatively recent Chatino innovation that has no Zapotec cognates with that function (Campbell 2011). The *nka-* Perfective Aspect prefix, which is coopted for Imperative Mood would be expected to have no initial nasal in that function. However, it is another Chatino innovation with no Zapotec cognates.

Coateco Zapotec (Beam de Azcona 2004) is like Zenzontepec Chatino in that Imperative Mood prefixes are nasal-less versions of the various Perfective Aspect prefixes. This shared pattern is either archaic, dating back to proto-Zapotecan, or it is due to language contact between Chatino and Coatecan languages.

5. Prohibitives and non-canonical imperatives

This section describes several types of non-canonical imperatives: addressee-directed prohibitives (§5.1), 1st person directives and prohibitives (§5.2), and 3rd person directives and prohibitives (§5.3). What all of these types of directives share is that they are expressed with Potential Mood inflection and their directive nature is interpreted from context.

5.1. Prohibitives

Prohibitives are directives that command what not to do. Addressee-directed prohibitives in Zenzontepec Chatino are formed with one of the standard negation particles preceding the verb, which is inflected for Potential Mood and 2nd person. For singular addressees, 2sg tonal inflection occurs:

(43) naʔā   ʔnē   jnyá!
      not.anymore   POT.do.2sg   work
      Don't work anymore! [nkwitzan.ti7i 15:28]

(44) ná nīkwē̜   tu   nāáʔ n-tákwī=ā̜ʔ   kyaʔa!
      NEG POT.say.2sg HYPOTH   1sg   STAT-be.hanging=1sg   guilt
      Don't say that it is my fault! [nikolasa 3:16]

In 2nd person plural prohibitives, a negator precedes a verb with Potential Mood and 2pl

inflection:

(45) ná   k-u-lā+tē̜é=wą   lyoʔo=wą!
      NEG   POT-CAUS-let.go+be.located=2pl   spouse=2pl
      Don't abandon your wives!,

      ná   ta+sāʔ ̜á=wą   lyoʔo   nyatē̜!
      NEG   POT.become+attached=2pl   spouse   person
      Don't hook up with (other) people's wives! [lo7o.suku7we 5:04]

The example in (46) shows a reflexive plural prohibitive.

(46) ná   k-u-nuʔu=wą   j-wā̜!
      NEG   POT-CAUS-destroy=2pl   NSBJ-2pl
      Don't destroy yourselves! [lo7o.suku7we 4:35]

     Huddleston (2002) points out that non-agentive verbs that tend to not occur in

imperatives, such as Zenzontepec Chatino prefix class B-c and C-a verbs (§4.4), may more

likely occur in prohibitives. The verb in (47), *-aka* 'be', is a class C-a verb as a prohibitive.

(47) ná k-aka kwaʔą tzaka chu   to kiī   chu   kixē̜ʔ!
      NEG POT-be 2pl   one   NOMZ.H at grass NOMZ.H wild
      Don't be men of the grass or men of the wild! [lo7o.suku7we 4:36]

Verbs of emotion and cognition tend to not occur in canonical imperatives in Zenzontepec

Chatino but regularly occur in prohibitives:

(48) ná   k-uwe=tīʔ=wą!
      NEG   POT-get.ground=living.core=2pl
      Don't be sad! [ntelinto.itzaʔ 2:08]

(49) ná k-īī   tula   k-īī!   nkā-ʔnē!
      NEG POT-feel.2sg   what   POT-feel.2sg   PERV-do=2sg
      'Don't think what you'd think! Do it!' [kuna7a.kusu7 7:19]

     The verb *-aku* 'eat', which has an irregular imperative form (§4.3), has irregular

prohibitive forms fused with negators:

(50)   naʔā-kū   sukā!   naʔā-kū   jnyáʔ!
           not.anymore-eat.2sg sugar   not.anymore-eat.2sg chili.pepper
           Don't eat sugar anymore! Don't eat chilis anymore!,

           naʔā-kū   kuweʔ!   ná   tukwi   k-ākū!
           not.anymore-eat.2sg pork   NEG   what   POT-eat.2sg
           Don't eat pork anymore! Don't eat anything! [historia.medicina1 22:44]

5.2. 1st person directives

1st person directives are commands in which the speaker includes him/herself with the

addressee as the target of the command. In Zenzontepec Chatino, these are expressed by

inflecting the verb with Potential Mood and 1st person plural inclusive pronouns:

(51)   k-ōʔó   naa   niī!
           POT-drink   1pl.inc   now
           Let's drink now!' [amigo.borracho 3:25]

(52)   tyatīkwá=ą   jiʔį̄=yu   jā   tyāʔná=yu!
           POT.help=1pl.inc   NSBJ=3sg.M   CONJ   unfortunate=3sg.M
           Let's help him because he's unfortunate! [matrimonio.escarabajo 2:07]

Prohibitive 1st person directives are preceded by a negator particle, but are otherwise the

same:

(53)   ná   k-ii   naa   laaʔ
           NEG   POT-feel   1pl.inc   like.so
           Let's not think that way! [familia 21:59]

      These directives and prohibitives are homophonous with other 1pl inclusive Potential

Mood forms, but context determines the specific communicative function. The verb 'go' is

unique in that it has an irregular, even suppletive, hortative form: *kyáʔą* 'let's go!':

(54)   **kyáʔą**   nyaʔa=na   tī   tza.jnyāʔá
           HORT.go.1pl.inc   POT.see=1pl.inc   COND   true
           Let's go see if it's true! [sol.y.luna 6:35]

5.3. 3rd person directives

Formally, 3rd person commands are like other non-canonical imperatives. They use Potential

Mood and person inflection (55), which, being 3rd person, may be omitted if the referent is

highly topical:

(55) chaą=jṳ̄ʔ   lō nu   k-a+tāká   jūntá!
      POT.come=3pl   when   POT-be+exist   meeting
      That they come when there is a meeting! [lo7o.suku7we 7:12]

     The following passage is an elder from Santa María Tlapanalquiahuitl enacting how

elders advise incoming authorities about how village people should behave under their watch.

It is full of 3rd person prohibitives:

(56) ná   k-ūrá+tyáʔā=jṳ̄ʔ!,
      NEG POT-hit+companion=3pl
      That they don't fight each other!

      ná   tukwi=rū̄ʔ la   kosā nu   ki-kwiʔ   nyatę̄ nk-ā+kū̄ʔwí=jṳ̄ʔ!
      NEG what=even be   thing NOMZ POT-speak person PERV-be+drunk=3pl
      That the people don't say things because they're drunk!,

      lóʔō ná   tyeję̄+leta=jṳ̄ʔ   tzáʔ   kū̄ʔwí!
      and   NEG POT.pass+path=3pl   thing   drunk
      and that they don't get too drunk!

      wisā̄ʔ   laaʔ   tz-aa   tī   kwaʔą̄!
      for that like.so POT-go TOPZ 2pl
      For that, you (pl.) will go! [lo7o.suku7we 6:52]

The final directive of the passage is addressed to the new authorities using the 2nd person

plural. It is cast in Potential Mood because it is not a typical canonical directive with an

expected immediate response.

6. Other addressee-directed command strategies

While there is a delimitable morphological category of Imperative Mood for canonical (2nd

person) imperatives, there are other strategies available for directing addressees. Like other

non-canonical directives (§5), they use the Potential Mood, but with 2nd person inflection.

Pragmatic and sociocultural factors play roles in their use, and they display a range of illocutionary force and interactional nuance, from soft commands to stern demands, even threats, manipulations, humble pleas, or idealistic decrees about how people should act. For example, the directive in (57) is a command that is made less direct by packaging it as a statement.

(57) tz-a=lūū   pantiyǭ   jā   k-u-to+kāchíʔ=ą   tzaka jnēʔ!
      POT-go=dig.2sg   graveyard CONJ POT-CAUS-be.in+hidden=1pl.inc   one   dog
      You'll go dig in the graveyard, because we're going to bury a dog! [novio 2:15]

The example in (58) is a plea for forgiveness. It conveys deference and no response is necessarily expected.

(58) ʔne+jlyū=tīʔ   jy-ą́ʔ!
      POT.do+big=living.core.2sg NSBJ-1sg
      Forgive me! [cuento.DSF 9:50]

A directive can be presented as an offer, but a forceful one with an expectation of acceptance, which is a hallmark of food and drink sharing practices in Mesoamerica (see e.g. Kearney 1972).

(59) k-ākū   chojo perū   wá   níjīkwáʔ létā tzoʔō nt-aku!
      POT-eat.2sg watermelon   DIST   extremely very good   HAB-eat[.3]
      Eat that watermelon! It is extremely good to eat! [ni7.mateya 5:29]

A directive can also be formulated as a question, as in the first line of (60), which is a desubordinated conditional clause. This strategy of desubordinated clauses as questions and then as commands is common in rural Oaxacan Spanish: *¿Si va a comer?!* 'If you're going to eat?!', or *¿Que no va a comer?!* 'That you're not going to eat?!'. It is not clear yet if this Chatino strategy is due to Spanish influence or vice versa.

(60) tī   nt-īī   tz-āā   la   nto   kyāʔ jōʔó=V́ʔ!
      COND   HAB-want.2sg POT-go.2sg   to   face slope sacred=DIST
      Do you want to go to the top of the mountain?!,

      yākwá tz-āā   tíniī! nakwę
      there POT-go.2sg   now   say[.3]
      You'll go there now!, he said,

> jā   tz-a+kyāʔā   tzaka   kwénā   jy-ą́ʔ!
> CONJ POT-go+transport.2sg one   snake   NSBJ-1sg
> because you'll bring me a snake! [juan.oso 3:49]

The desubordinated clause as question and directive in (60) is followed by two non-imperative addressee-directed commands in the Potential Mood. The scene is a priest commanding a troublesome youth what to do. The two final commands in the passage are pragmatically strong with no room for dissent. Potential Mood thus does not always attenuate the force of commands.

     Another command strategy is to drop a question on someone out of nowhere, building in a presupposition that the action will occur, limiting the addressee's freedom (61).

(61)   lakwa   k-iso=ą́ʔ   jį́   nu   k-ūjwī   j-nā   torō mpayū=Vʔ?!
       how.much POT-pay=1sg NSBJ.2sg NOMZ POT-kill NSBJ-DEF bull beige=NVIS
       How much am I gonna pay you to kill the beige bull?! [vaquero 6:41]

Threats may be strong, non-imperative directives. The sequence in (62) begins with a question that is formally a statement, which is followed by further statements, altogether yielding a strong command and threat.

(62)   ʔne+k-ākā   ná ʔne+k-ākā   l-aa   tzáʔ nti-kwiʔ nāáʔ?!
       POT.do+POT-be.2sg NEG POT.do+POT-be.2sg STAT-be word HAB-speak 1sg
       Are you going to carry out or not carry out what I am saying?!

       jā   nāáʔ ki-jnā=ą́ʔ   laʔā   tī   laaʔ nu   ná   ná ʔne+k-ākā
       CONJ 1sg POT-flee=1sg well   COND like.so NOMZ 1sg   neg POT.do+POT-be.2sg
       Because, me, I'm going to leave, well, if it's the case that…, that you do not succeed

       tz-āā   tz-a+lōʔō   jį̄   jūtī   tz-a+kūnáʔ!
       POT-go.2sg POT-go+with.2sg NSBJ father.2sg POT-go+get.thrown.out[.3]
       in taking your father so that he get tossed away! [santa.maria2 4:18]

     One can use 1st person reference to espouse what a collective and inclusive 'we' should do, and how 'we' should live, in order to politely direct someone in how they should act. In (63), a man respectfully advises a woman of similar age how to get through some problems she is facing.

(63) nu jā chukwi laaʔ=kāʔá tāá=na   xile   ji-nā!
but entirely like.so=also POT.give=1pl.inc   strength   NSBJ-1pl.inc
But just like that too we need to give our efforts!

k-unána   naa   j-nā   tza tzáą̄   tza tzáą̄
POT-ask.for   1pl.inc   NSBJ-1pl.inc   one day   one day
We're going to ask ourselves each day for…

l-aa   k-aku   naa   l-aa   k-ṓʔó=na!
STAT-be   POT-eat   1pl.inc   STAT-be   POT-drink=1pl.inc
what we're going to eat and what we're going to drink!

tukwi=rúʔ   ītzáʔ   nu   nte-tiyaą   sę ntoǫ   nyāʔā
what=more   issue   REL   PROG-arrive.here   base face.1pl.inc   POT.see.2sg
Whatever other problem confronts us, you see,

wiʔ   ntii   nāáʔ   jiʔį́   nti-kwiʔ=ą̄ʔ   lō   nyāʔā
NVIS   HAB-want   1sg   NSBJ.2sg   HAB-speak=1sg   like.so   POT.see.2sg
that is what I want to tell you, you see.

nkā-ʔnē   nu   tzaka   tīké=rī   tzaka!
PERV-do.2sg   NOMZ   one   heart=only   one
Do it with all your heart! [ntetakan7.jute7 6:31]

The last line of the preceding discourse is a canonical 2sg imperative, wrapping up the whole

advice sequence as a set of directives.

7. Conclusion

Though constituent order is typically discourse-based and fairly flexible in Zenzontepec

Chatino (§3), it is firmly fixed in imperatives at VS/VAO, the basic constituent order of the

language. Almost all canonical imperatives have the verb in absolute initial position, with a

preceding adverb in only a couple of examples. Even in non-canonical directives there is a

strong preference for verb-initial syntax.

      In Zenzontepec Chatino, canonical imperatives form a discrete morphological category,

the Imperative Mood, which is realized by one of three imperative prefix allomorphs or by

coopting the Perfective Aspect. Singular person tone occurs only when Perfective Aspect is

coopted. The selection of imperative prefix or Perfective Aspect is purely morphological, not

pragmatic; it is based on inflectional class membership of the verb. In contrast, in Lachixío Zapotec (Sicoli 2010) commands are made stronger by perfectivity, and this is also the case in Ashaninka (Mihas, chapter X).

For all other commands, the polyfunctional Potential Mood category is employed. These include non-addressee oriented directives, non-imperative 2nd person commands, and prohibitives of all types, the last being parallel to the use of Irrealis in prohibitives in Korowai (De Vries, chapter X). All commands that are not canonical imperatives have obligatory person marking. No 1sg directives have been documented. This summary of the formal realization of commands is represented in Figure 3.

	basic directives	alternative command strategies	prohibitives
2sg 2pl 1pl.inc 3	Special prefixes, or Perfective Aspect	Potential Mood	NEG + Potential Mood

	Imperative Mood	Disambiguating subject marking (sg); morphologically complex; one category and purpose with many forms
	Other commands	Subject marking present; pragmatically complex; one formal category with many and nuanced purposes

Figure 3. Zenzontepec Chatino Command structures

Of particular note is where the complexity lies. Canonical imperatives have complex and even idiosyncratic morphology, with rigid syntax, while the wide range of other types of commands are morphologically uniform but pragmatically complex. This is a microcosm of broader Zenzontepec Chatino grammar and discourse: it has prodigious morphological complexity and fluid, highly context-determined syntax and discourse. The two domains are very different, but both are where the action is.

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