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

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1 Special thanks to Tranquilino Cavero Ramírez and Flor Cruz Ortiz for their collaboration in documenting their Zenzontepec Chatino language. Thanks to Sasha and Bob for the invitation to the conference and volume, and thanks to the other Workshop participants for helpful feedback. Parts of this paper were presented at the Mini-podium on the Chatino languages of Oaxaca, Mexico, at the University of Texas at Austin, April 23, 2015, and at CILLA VII, also at UT Austin, October 31, 2015, where additional helpful feedback was received. All remaining errors are mine alone. This work was supported in part by grants MDP0153 and IGS0080 from the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Programme (ELDP).
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.

![Map of Chatino languages and subgrouping](image)

**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) \(tākā\) tyākwē  
exist path  
There was a path. [historia2 16:06]

(2) \(ti-katzō\) choō? keč  
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 \(nkwitza\) ‘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=kāʔá na nkwitzą=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: \(kw = [kʷ]\), \(tζ = [ʦ]\), \(r = [ɾ]\), \(τy = [t̃]\), \(ly = [l̃]\), \(ny = [ñ]\), \(ch = [ʧ]\), \(x = [ʃ]\), \(y = [j]\), \(j = [h]\), \(V = nasal\) vowel, \(VV = long\) vowel, \(V̆ = mid\) tone, \(V́ = high\) tone, ‘+’ = compound boundary.
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 nuwɛʔ, is preceded by the particle jiʔʔ, contracted here to j-^M, which flags it as a secondary topic (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011).

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).

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.

The example in (9) shows the same two pronouns, but with grammatical relations reversed.
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-tāʔ j-nuwēʔ 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 lūkwī=V?
    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
    tākā=ūʔ lōʔō 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 ti na wātā=V?
    then HAB-die TOPZ DEF cow=NVIS
    Then the cows 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 (\(\omega\)). Figure 2 shows the Verbal Template (Campbell 2015).

![Verbal Template](image)

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>exc</td>
<td>=āʔ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inc</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td>TONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>(any)</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NSPC</td>
<td>=ūʔ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>=yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>=chūʔ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RSP</td>
<td>=nūʔ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) \((\emptyset)(\emptyset)M\) \rightarrow \((\emptyset)(\emptyset)H\)

a. jlyū ‘is big’ \rightarrow jlyú ‘you’re big’
   nt-ú-saáʔ ‘tears (tr.)’ \rightarrow nt-ú-saáʔ ‘you tear (tr.)’

b. jne jlyū ‘thumb of’ \rightarrow jne jlyú ‘your thumb’
   ch-uʔu=tzoʔó ‘will live well’ \rightarrow ch-uʔu=tzoʔó ‘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 \rightarrow (M)(M)M

a. jne ‘finger of’ \(\emptyset\) \rightarrow M jnē ‘your finger’
   tyuuʔ ‘will cough’ \(\emptyset\emptyset\) \rightarrow MM tyūuʔ ‘you’ll cough’
   k-ōō ‘will grind’ MH \rightarrow MM k-ōō ‘you’ll grind’
   nk-y-ánō ‘stayed’ HM \rightarrow MM nk-y-ánō ‘you stayed’
   ntē-tákwi ‘is flying’ \((M)\h\) \rightarrow MMM ntē-tákwi ‘you’re flying’

b. nyáʔ kula ‘grandma of’ \rightarrow nyáʔ kūlā ‘your grandma’
   ?ne+tti=rīkē ‘can guess’ \rightarrow ?ne+tti=rīkē ‘you can guess’
   y-akwiʔ+kīʔyū ‘bragged’ \rightarrow y-akwiʔ+kīʔyū ‘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.
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-cut, 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>POT</th>
<th>HAB</th>
<th>PROG</th>
<th>PERV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-c/A-2</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>nti-</td>
<td>nte-</td>
<td>nka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-2</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>nti-</td>
<td>nte-</td>
<td>nkwi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-c</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>nti-</td>
<td>nte-</td>
<td>nku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-t</td>
<td>(t → ty)</td>
<td>n- (t → ty)</td>
<td>nte-</td>
<td>nku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-y</td>
<td>(y → ch)</td>
<td>n- (y → ch)</td>
<td>nte-</td>
<td>nk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-a</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>nti-</td>
<td>nch-</td>
<td>nku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-2</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>nti-</td>
<td>nch- ~ ntey-</td>
<td>y- ~ nkay-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) $\text{waʔā na kīʔyū nu nch-āti? jīʔjī? nakwę}$
    
    where.is DEF man REL PROG-love.[.3] NSBJ.2sg say.[.3]
    
    Where is the man that is in love with you?, he said,

    $\text{kw-}$$\text{etzāʔ jīʔī!}$
    
    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) $\text{kw-}$$\text{i-tyuʔu s-ātēʔ jā tz-aa=q!}$
    
    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. $\text{kw-}$$\text{ise+toq jīʔjī nī!}$
    
    IMP-turn+be.standing NSBJ.2sg now
    
    Stand yours (penis) up now! [cotita 11:07]

    b. $\text{kw-}$$\text{ise+tōq jīʔjī nī!}$
    
    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-tʔyá tzaka jũū retā nu n-tzuʔu tʔno tzūna 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 -tʔyá ‘to transport’, organized by tone melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MH</th>
<th>ØM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>kw-tʔyá!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERV</td>
<td>nkw-tʔyá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>l-tʔyá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nāa? lóʔō nkwítzə jy=ʔ?! ná n-tyejč tī nūwā
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-taʔa! ku-taʔa jā tzoʔō k-ī! IMP-walk IMP-walk CONJ well POT-feel.2sg
Walk around! Walk around so that you feel well! [historia.medicina2 6:22]

(25) ku-tejč+tákwī jā yākwá tītē j 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 jute? ‘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 jute?
here IMP-sit.relaxed VOC.aunt
Sit here ma’am! [lengua.tlaco 48:42]

The word *nkwitzq* ‘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-la? nyāʔā kwātī? tukwi nyaʔne wā!
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-yaq 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! [nkwashan.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+toq 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-tzāʔ tzoʔōʔ nē kwítj jy-ʔ? nteē yánā jy-ʔ?
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 jnyā!
PERV-put.in.2sg PERV-do.2sg TOPZ work
Plant (corn)! And do (your) work! [kunaʔa.kusu? 6:40]

b. #nka-tūkwā! nka-ʔne tī jnyā!
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-ʔyā ītā tixī yākwā k-ōʔō 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-oʔō jīʔ? nteē chiʔ? ajā nkay-oʔō jīʔ?
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-lōo=wą jy-ʔ? jā k-aja=ʔ?
PERV-take.out=2pl NSBJ=1sg CONJ POT-die=1sg
Take me out of here because I’m going to die! [nī7.rosa 3:43]
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 =wq:

(38) k-ya+tūʔ=waŋ! lyakwā n-kwanā=waŋ s-ūʔwá=q??
    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-nāna=waŋ tukwi k-aku=waŋ nt-ii=waŋ!
    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 epenthesi to avoid an onsetless syllable.

(40) ʔaku tī lākwī!? nakwē nā k-aku tī nāā?
    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’
    -kūnāʔ         ‘get thrown away’
    -jnis          ‘grow’

(42) Prefix class C-a

    -aja           ‘die’
    -āsūʔ         ‘get old’
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect/mood prefix class</th>
<th>Imperative Mood</th>
<th>2sg tonal inflection in imperative?</th>
<th>Perfective Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-2</td>
<td>kw(i)-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nkw(i)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-t</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-y</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-c/A-u</td>
<td>nka-</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>nka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-2</td>
<td>y- ~ nkay-</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>y- ~ nkay-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-c</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-a</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nku-</td>
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</table>

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) naʔāʔ nē jnyá!
not.anymore POT.do.2sg work
Don’t work anymore! [nkwitzan.tiʔi 15:28]
In 2nd person plural prohibitives, a negator precedes a verb with Potential Mood and 2pl inflection:

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

ná ta+sāʔq=wəq
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=wəq
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 kwaʔq tzaka chu to kīʔ chu kixčəʔ?
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=wəq!
NEG POT-get.ground=living.core=2pl
Don’t be sad! [ntelinto.itzaʔ 2:08]

(49) ná k-kā tula k-kā! nkāʔ-nē!
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:
Don’t eat sugar anymore! Don’t eat chili peppers anymore!

Don’t eat pork anymore! Don’t eat anything!

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-ōʔō naa ni!  
POT-drink 1pl.inc now  
Let’s drink now!’ [amigo.borracho 3:25]

(52) tyatīkwá=q jiʔ=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 laa?  
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: kyáʔq ‘let’s go!’:

(54) kyáʔq 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) chaq=jűʔ? lō nu k-a+tākā jünțá!
    POT.come=3pl when POT-be+exist meeting
    That they come when there is a meeting! [lo7o.suka7we 7:12]

The following passage is an elder from Santa María Tlapalalquiahuitl 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=juʔ!
    NEG POT-hit+companion=3pl
    That they don’t fight each other!

    ná tukwi=rūʔ la kosā nu ki-kwiʔ nyatē nk-dū+kūʔwif=juʔ!
    NEG what=even be thing NOMZ POT-speak person PERV-be+drunk=3pl
    That the people don’t say things because they’re drunk!,

    lōʔō ná tyejē+leta=juʔ? tzāʔ kūʔwī!
    and NEG POT.pass+path=3pl thing drunk
    and that they don’t get too drunk!

    wisāʔ laaʔ tz-aa ti kwaʔą!
    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+kächîʔ=q tzaka jnē?! 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) ?ne+jlyū=tī? jy-ʔ?! 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 wā niřikwā? lētā 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-ī tīzh-āa la nto kyā? jōʔō=ŷʔ?! COND HAB-want.2sg POT-go.2sg to face slope sacred=DIST
Do you want to go to the top of the mountain?!,

yākwā tīzh-āa tīnīi! nakwē
there POT-go.2sg now say[.3]
You’ll go there now!, he said,
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=ʔ? ji nu k-ųjav j-nā toro mpayū=V?! 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) ?ne+k-ākā nā ?ne+k-ākā 1-aa tzá? nti-kwi? nāá?!! 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 nāá? ki-jnā=ʔ? laʔā tī laa? nu nā nā ?ne+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 jū jūtī tz-a+kūnā?! 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 tāʔ=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-uniána naa j-nā tza tzāʔ tza tzāʔ 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-ōʔó=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=řúʔ ītzāʔ nu nte-tiyaʔ sę ntoq nyāʔā what=more issue REL PROG-arrive.here base face.1pl.inc POT.see.2sg
Whatever other problem confronts us, you see,

wiʔ ntiʔ nāʔa jiʔj nti-kwiʔ=āʔ 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.

nkāʔ nē̄ nu tzaka tīkē=řī 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>basic directives</th>
<th>alternative command strategies</th>
<th>prohibitives</th>
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<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>Special prefixes, or Perfective Aspect</td>
<td>Potential Mood</td>
<td>NEG + Potential Mood</td>
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<td>1pl.inc</td>
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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.
References


Mexico, edited by Enrique L. Palancar; Matthew Baerman; and Timothy Feist. Publisher TBD.


