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**A grammatical sketch of the Comanche language**

Charney, Jean Ormsbee, Ph.D.

University of Colorado at Boulder, 1989

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A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF  
THE COMANCHE LANGUAGE

by

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B.A. University of Colorado, 1964

M.A., University of Colorado, 1976

A thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of Linguistics

1989

This thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy degree by


Jean Ormsbee Charney

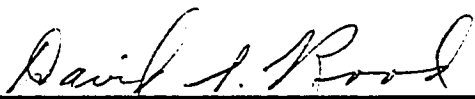
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Date Nov. 27, 1989

Charney, Jean Ormsbee (Ph.D., Linguistics)

A Grammatical Sketch of Comanche

Thesis directed by Professor Allan R. Taylor

This dissertation is an analysis of the Comanche language. Comanche belongs to the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family and is spoken by a handful of people (generally aged 65 and older) who mostly live in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma. This analysis is based on the model of a descriptive grammar developed by Mary Haas and her students at the University of California at Berkeley in the 1950s and 1960s. The phonology, morphology and syntax of the language are described and exemplified in some detail. Comanche manifests the "final features" of most Numic languages in interesting ways. It has a morphology which is fairly easy to identify - there is little in the way of complex morphophonemics beyond the final feature system. There is a wealth of affixation in many areas of the language - for instance, the instrumental prefixes, the postpositions and the verbal suffixes. The pronominal system contains a wealth of different forms, and nominals and pronominals are inflected for subjective, objective and possessive case. The most important element of the sentence is usually marked with one of two topic markers, and demonstratives are marked for the speaker's presumption of the hearer's knowledge of them. Sentences with more than one verb manifest the switch reference system which is well known in Numic languages.

This work is dedicated to the preservation  
of diversity in the world.

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My family has suffered more than I can possibly know - thanks to Michael, Jacob, Sasha and Jared as well as to other members of my (non-nuclear) family and to friends.

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Finally, and most importantly, I thank Lucille McClung, who is a most intelligent, patient and generous teacher and friend.

## ABBREVIATIONS

In alphabetical order

ABS	absolute
ACCOMP	accomplished
ADVB	adverb
ASP	aspect
Asp	aspirated
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COMPL	completive
CONTR	contrast
DIRECT	direction
DISTRIB	distributive
dl, DL	dual
DS	different subject
DT	different time
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EMPHAT	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
EXPECT	expectative
GEN	generic
IMPER	imperative

IMPERS	impersonal
INCL	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite
INFER	inferential
INTENT	intensive
INST	instrumental
LIT	literally
MTN	motion
N	nasal consonant
NARR	narrative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizing
ONGO	ongoing
obj, OBJ	object(ive)
pers	person
pl, PL	plural
poss, POSS	possessive
preasp	preaspirated
PRED	predicative
PROG	progressive
Q	question
QUOT	quotative
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplicated
REFLEX	reflexive
SS	same subject

STAT	stative
subj, SUBJ	subject(ive)
TEMP=STATE	temporary state
TOP	topic
UR	unrealized
VD	voiced vowel
VL	voiceless vowel
WH	question



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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Comanche is a Uto-Aztecan language spoken in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma. Within Uto-Aztecan, Comanche belongs to the Numic family, a group of closely related languages found (except for Comanche) in the Great Basin. The relationships among the Numic languages, following Freeze and Inanucci 1979, are:

Western Numic

- (1) Mono
- (2) Northern Paiute

Eastern Numic

Central Numic

- (1) Shoshoni  
Comanche
- (2) Panamint

Southern Numic

- (1) Southern Paiute  
Ute  
Chemehuevi
- (2) Kawaiisu

We know that the Comanche had adopted the horse and split from the Northern Shoshoni by the late 1600s, as they were observed in New Mexico in 1705 (Shimkin, 1940:21). From that time the Comanche language has been differentiating from the Shoshoni language, although the two remain quite close. Miller 1970 describes the general situation of the Shoshoni in the Great Basin, where constant movement of small groups has helped maintain language cohesion over a large area of land, despite a certain amount of dialect diversity. The Comanche, in contrast, ranged widely over the Plains for at

least 250 years (Wallace and Hoebel, 1952), winding up far from the Basin, in contact with many other languages.

Very early work on describing and classifying Comanche is discussed in Shaul 1981. There was a flurry of interest in the language in the 1940s and 1950s. In the published literature of that era there are several short articles on Comanche. Casagrande 1948 gives an interesting list of lexical items. Riggs 1949 discusses whether h plus stop should be analyzed as a cluster or a unit phoneme. Canonge 1957 argues for the phonemic status of some of the voiceless vowels of the language. Osborne and Smalley 1949 is an excellent, but brief, preliminary analysis of the morphemes of the language. The other short article on the language from that era - Smalley 1953 - discusses phonemic rhythm in Comanche, but is hard to follow, as the analysis seems to rely heavily on tapes, thus missing final and medial voiceless vowels.

Larger works from that era include Canonge's 1958 Comanche Texts, an outstanding collection of folktales and personal anecdotes with a Comanche-English morpheme list, and Casagrande's masterful study of loan words in Comanche from 1954-55.

Presently, Comanche is being studied by James Armagost and John McLaughlin. Armagost 1980 is a grammar of Comanche taken primarily from Canonge's texts. Armagost 1979, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1984 and 1985a examine the ways in which morphology and syntax conspire to reference participants in Comanche narrative. Armagost n.d.a, n.d.b, 1985b and 1986 explore the workings of Comanche voiceless vowels. Armagost and Miller n.d. is an examination of this problem utilizing material from Comanche and Shoshoni. Most of the

references to McLaughlin are studies of Central Numic morphology, and trace the roles some elements of the language - basically affixes - have had in these languages. Much of his work is directed to aspects of Comanche morphology. Armagost and McLaughlin work closely from Canonge's texts.

Because Shoshoni is ancestral to and closely related to Comanche, an understanding of that language is vital to an understanding of Comanche. Miller 1972 and n.d.a, Crapo 1976 and Dayley 1970, as well as McLaughlin 1987 describe Shoshoni languages. Miller 1980, n.d.b. and n.d.c all focus on the ways in which the languages of Central Numic differ from each other. Other references by Miller (1970) and Crum (1980) are helpful in understanding Shoshoni dialects and poetry, respectively.

In the realm of Numic, Booth 1979 and Munro 1974 and 1976 tackle problems that exist in Comanche, and both are excellent models for doing work on problems in Numic languages. The first chapter of McLaughlin 1987, and Nichols 1974, are guides through the maze of literature on and problems in the Numic final feature system. Sapir 1939 established the concept of final features and is invaluable as a description of a Numic language.

Works on Uto-Aztecan which are utilized here include Langacker 1977b, an overview of Uto-Aztecan, as well as his studies of non-distinct argument phenomena (1976) and postpositions in the language family (1977a). Steele 1973 describes second-position phenomena and general modality in the language family. Crapo 1970 examines main and subordinate verbs in Uto-Aztecan.

Material for this study was gathered in 1981, 1983, 1985 and



1987 from work with Mrs. Lucille McClung of Cache, Oklahoma. Some work was conducted in Oklahoma and some was conducted in Colorado. Other material was furnished to me by Mrs. Agnes Wermy and Mrs. Theresa Saupitty, also of Cache. I have concentrated on the data from these speakers rather than the data found in Canonge's texts, as I have been working with data from a period some 40 years later than that Canonge describes. There are few Comanche speakers under the age of 65.

This work is a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Comanche. I have chosen to describe the language as it appears on the surface, and make few hypotheses about the underlying structure of the language except in the phonology, where appeal to a deeper level of representation is clearly necessary.

## CHAPTER TWO

### OVERVIEW

Comanche is morphophonemically a relatively non-complex language. A fair amount of prefixing, suffixing, compounding and incorporation occur. As with many American Indian languages, a sentence can consist of virtually a single word - although Comanche differs somewhat in that an independent pronoun or noun often occurs with this word. This overview briefly discusses those aspects of Comanche which I believe will be of greatest interest to a reader who has little or no background in the Numic languages. It is highly likely that I have overlooked some topics which seem unremarkable to me. Also, this overview is extremely brief, and glosses over the complications and details of the systems described. For these reasons, the reader is urged to consult the grammar to gain a better sense of the language.

#### 2.1. Phonology

The most unusual aspects of Comanche phonology are the related areas of final features and voiceless vowels. As with most Numic languages, Comanche has, underlyingly, a single series of voiceless non-nasal stops (and an affricate, *ts*, which participates in this system), yet there are a large number of phonetic stops which share place of articulation with these stops and with the

affricate. For instance, /p/ is found as [p], [v], [B] (a voiceless spirant) and [hp]. The explanation for the various manifestations of /p/ is that there exists a series of what people who work on the Numic languages term "final features" which generally occur as the last element of a stem or affix and condition the shape of a following non-nasal stop or the affricate. Thus, the postposition /-paʔā/, 'on', has the shapes -paʔa, -vaʔa, -Baʔa or -hpaʔa depending on the final feature of the noun it is suffixed to:

kwasuʔupaʔa 'on the dress' /kwasuʔū-paʔā/ (dress-on)

arikavaʔa 'on the deer' /atika-paʔā/ (deer-on)

saap̄Baʔa 'on the stomach' /saāp̄ih-paʔā/ (stomach-on)

\_\_\_\_\_ hpaʔa not attested; cf.

wihpiti 'to be near something' /wiH-piti/ (INST-arrive)

Although termed "final," these features occasionally begin a morpheme, and when they do they cancel out the final feature of the preceding element. Thus, the absolutive suffix -̄p̄ih always has the shape [p] regardless of the final feature of the stem it is suffixed to. One of the final features is responsible for the voiceless vowels of the language. The intricacies of the final feature system are explored in the phonology section.

## 2.2. Nouns

Comanche is agglutinative. In almost all cases, prefixes and suffixes maintain their integrity. The only major problem with morpheme boundaries is the final features phenomenon discussed above. There are genuine categories of nouns and verbs (and verbs are not separated into stative vs. active categories).

Nouns are inflected for case (subjective, objective and possessive) and for number (singular, dual and plural). Many nouns occur with an absolutive suffix when they are not a member of a compound, incorporated or followed by a postposition. Absolutive suffixes are widely found on nouns in the in Uto-Aztecan languages; they do not have a discernable semantic function. There is a rich system of postpositions which is used to express a number of locative and other adverbial notions.

### 2.3 Verbs

A number of verb stems are regularly suppletive. Intransitive verbs are suppletive for singular vs. plural subject and transitive verbs are suppletive for singular vs. plural object.

The verb stem may occur with a wide range of prefixes and suffixes. A sketch of all the elements which may be affixed to the verb is:

(OBJ PRONOUN )									VERBAL
(INDEF SUBJ )	--(ADVBL)--	(INCRP)	--(INST)--	ROOT--					
(INDIRECT OBJ )	(PREFIX)	(NOUN )	(PRE )						OR
									STEM
		(2NDARY)							
(-hu <sup>=</sup> (1))	--(VBL ROOT)--	(BEN/)	--(DIRECT--)	--(PREFINAL)--					
	(OR STEM)	(CAUS)	(IGNAL )	(ASPECT )					
(FINAL )	--(VERBAL)--	(SUBORD--)	--(TOPIC )						
(ASPECT)	(NUMBER)	(INATORS)	(CONTRAST)						

The transitivity of the verb is often affected by the instrumental prefixes (these form a rich system), the unspecified argument prefixes, the benefactive/causative marker and by nominalizing the verb.

The derivation of nouns and verbs is an ongoing process.

Most derivation is accomplished by affixes, many of which are used secondarily to derive stems and have their primary function in some other area of the language. For instance, nominal objective suffixes are used to form nominalizations in complex sentences.

The most widely-used suffix in the language, and one which exemplifies the fluid nature of nominalization and verbalization, is  $-ti^=$ . When it occurs on a verb in a transitive or intransitive sentence it has an aspectual function, and is generally translated with an imperfective meaning. In predicative sentences it is used as a predicator on a noun, modifier or postposition. It also is found on verbs with a nominalizing role. The interpretation of  $-ti^=$  depends entirely on its context. Further, the postpositions, color terms, numbers, demonstrative stems, third-person dual and plural pronouns and the indefinite-interrogative pronouns are all suffixed with a  $-ti^=$  (or the dual or plural shape of this suffix) which is probably the same element.

#### 2.4 Referentials

Pronouns and demonstratives form a complex system. The pronouns refer to singular, dual and plural and first, second and third person with different forms for subject or object of verb, possessive and object of postposition. There is an inclusive/exclusive distinction within first person dual and plural. There is also a set of reflexive-possessive pronouns. The third-person pronouns are based upon the demonstrative roots, which differentiate near, far, very far, distributed and obviative. A vowel-initial demonstrative whose referent is presumed to be known to the hearer is preceded by

an s-.

## 2.5 Modifiers

There are only a handful of "true adjectives" - forms which only modify elements rather than being derived from either verbs or nouns. There are few if any differences between adjectives and adverbs in Comanche. Any semantically appropriate item can be used to modify a noun, verb, or other modifier. When an element modifies a noun it is sometimes incorporated with the noun. When it is an independent element it agrees with the noun in case and number.

## 2.6 Sentence-level Phenomena

The parts of speech are: nominal, predicate, modifier and particle. The parts of the sentence are: nominal, predicate, adverbial and particle. Sentence fragments, such as hāā 'yes' and kee 'no' occur.

Comanche is an SOV language, but two phenomena make surface word order complex and interesting: 1) There are two suffixes which serve to mark and/or highlight the topic of the sentence. These occur on the first element of many sentences, especially the first sentence of a larger speech unit similar to a paragraph. The element is typically a single word, but may be a longer constituent. This topicalization often places elements other than the subject in sentence-initial position. 2) The subject tends toward sentential second position (after the first constituent, not the first word). Thus, unless the subject is topicalized, it tends to occur in second position within the sentence. Because the subject is often the topicalized element, basic SOV order is largely preserved, but the

ability of virtually any element to be topicalized results in variant word orders. A few possibilities are:

'I hit the man.'	I-TOP man-OBJ hit-ASP Man-OBJ-TOP I hit-ASP	OR:
'I fed them a lot.'	I-TOP a=lot them-fed-ASP a=lot-TOP I them-fed-ASP	OR:
'You were eating while I was talking.'	my-talk-while-TOP you eat-ASP you-TOP my-talk-while eat-ASP	OR:

Modals which express speaker's wish (hope, expectation) occur in sentential first position. Other modals (obligation, inferential) tend to occupy sentential second position, though this situation is not clear-cut.

Narrative particles give information about the speaker's source of knowledge - if this source is not firsthand, a narrative particle is used. There is also a quotative particle, which interacts with (and is also used independently from) the numerous verbs of speaking/telling.

## 2.7 Complex Sentences

As in many Numic languages, Comanche has switch-reference markers to handle subordination. There are different markers for same vs. different subject and same vs. different time. Both adverbial clauses and relative clauses use the reflexive-possessive pronouns to help disambiguate the subject or object of the subordinate clause from the subject or object of the main clause.

## 2.8 Beyond the Sentence

This grammar does not examine issues at the text level. Armagost 1979, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1984 and 1985a explore the ways

in which the topic-marking suffixes, demonstratives and pronouns are used to maintain the flow of discourse and narrative. The reader is referred to these sources.



## CHAPTER THREE

### PHONOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

There are three classes of significant phonological elements in Comanche: consonants, vowels and final features. Each non-glottal, non-nasal stop and the affricate has, underlyingly, the shape of a single stop (or affricate). Final features affect these stops in such a way that, depending on the stop, the result is a three or four-way surface contrast. The nasals are affected by final features in a somewhat different way.

Vowels occur in three surface forms: short, long and voiceless. Voiceless vowels arise from short, unstressed vowels.

The structure of the typical morpheme is CVCV, but there are some exceptions.

The most common position for stress is the first syllable of the word. Exceptions to this are marked with an acute accent over the stressed vowel.

The phonological elements are presented in Table 1 on the following page. That table is followed by Table 2, which presents the phonetic transcription of many of the consonants and vowels.

## 3.1. Phonemes

Table 1. Phonological Elements

	LABIAL	DENTAL	PALATAL	VELAR	LABIOVELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	p	t		k	kw	ʔ
NASALS	m	n				
AFFRICATE		ts				
FRICATIVES		s				h
GLIDES	w		y			
VOWELS			i	i	u	
			e		o	
			a			
LENGTH	(Long vowels are written as double)					
FINAL FEATURES	lenis (no mark)	fortis - <sup>h</sup>	preaspirated -H	aspirated -h		
STRESS	Stress is marked when non-initial					

Table 2. Surface Forms of Some of the Consonants and Vowels

LABIAL	DENTAL	AFFRICATE	VELAR	LABIOVELAR	PALATAL
p	t	ts	k	kw	y
v	r				
f , B	R				Y
hp	ht	hts	hk	hkw	
hv	hr				
	d		g		
m	n				
mm	nn				
w					
hw					

Voiceless vowels are: E I I O U

### 3.1.1. Final features.

"Final features" is the term used by students of the Nomic languages to designate a form of morphologically conditioned consonant gradation found in those languages. It describes a phenomenon whereby the shape of a consonant (whether it be lenis, fortis, prenasalized and so forth) is determined by a feature which is posited to terminate the stem or affix which immediately precedes the consonant intervocalically and between words in rapid speech (i.e., when not interrupted by a pause). This term is rather misleading, because consonants within morphemes are similarly affected, and because in some cases the initial consonant of a stem or affix

may have an invariant shape. In this case, it is said to begin with a final feature. Details of precisely which consonants are affected vary from language to language. The showcase example for final features in Numic is Southern Paiute, where, for instance, the adjectival suffix *-ka* is reflected in the following ways, depending on the stem to which it is attached:

[aŋka-ya]	'to be red'	spirantizing
[kutt̥sa-kka]	'to be gray'	geminating
[pai-ŋka]	'to be smooth'	nasalizing

The terms are Sapir's (1930-31), and are used by Miller (n.d.a.); the terms *lenis* and *fortis* for spirantizing and geminating are used by others (Cf. Nichols 1974). Sapir hypothesized that the spirantizing, geminating and nasalizing effects are an integral part of a morpheme. He wrote the above stems as: *anka<sup>s</sup>*, *kutt̥sa<sup>g</sup>*, *pai<sup>n</sup>*; the superscript letter indicates the "inner form" of the morpheme (1930-31;63).

It is now hypothesized that the element which determines the shape of the consonant of a following root or morpheme is a feature which, in the case of geminating and nasalizing, is the final element of the preceding morpheme, and that when a following consonant is spirantized (or lenis), the preceding morpheme ends in a vowel. Final features are present underlyingly in morpheme-final position and affect immediately following stops and nasals. Analogous phenomena are present within morphemes; these are not explained, but it is assumed that similar processes are at work because the same kinds of allophones are found in both cases, and because one finds cognates which demonstrate the phenomenon morpheme-internally, as in

the examples below.

Miller n.d.b. convincingly demonstrates that the Shoshoni system of final features is prior to and has explanatory value for Comanche final features. Therefore, some of his findings are discussed here.

In Shoshoni, consonants appear as geminated (*fortis*), spirantized (*lenis*), nasalized or preaspirated. The four-way contrast in Shoshoni stops arose from the basic Numic three-way contrast (as seen in Southern Paiute) in the following way (Miller 1980): The spirantized, geminated and nasalized stops are the same as those found in Southern Paiute. The preaspirated series is phonetically realized as a series of voiceless spirants preceded by a voiceless vowel. Historically, these voiceless spirants were geminated stops. When they followed a short, unstressed vowel, the vowel became voiceless, so that, for instance, *vpp* became *Vpp*. Once the vowel was voiceless it (a) preaspirated the stop so that *Vpp* (voiceless vowel-geminated stop) became *Vhp* (voiceless vowel-preaspirated consonant); later (b) the stop became a voiceless spirant, so that *Vhp* became *VB* (voiceless vowel-voiceless spirant).

Examples of Shoshoni final features, from Miller n.d.b. using *-paʔi* ~ *-pai* 'to have':

[tsoʔo-vaʔi]	'to have great-grandparents'	(spirantizing)
[tɪvəp-paʔi]	'to have pine nuts'	(geminating)
[tsoom-baʔi]	'to have beads'	(nasalizing)
[hai-Bai]	'to have a crow'	(preaspirating)

A four-way system also exists in Comanche, but with important changes from Shoshoni. Miller n.d.b. shows that Comanche has

changed from Shoshoni in the ways described in 1 - 4 below. The examples are generally his forms; my data agree. For expository purposes, these examples are morpheme-internal. Examples at morpheme boundaries (for Comanche) are found under the various consonants in the following section.

1) Comanche has despirantized the non-anterior stops and the affricate, so that lenis forms of the stops only occur with /p/ following any vowel and with /t/ after all vowels but /i/ and /e/; /ts/, /k/ and /kw/ do not become lenis:

Shoshoni	Comanche	
[naivi]	[naivi]	'girl'
[ara]	[ara]	'uncle'
[taza]	[tatsa]	'summer'
[piyappi]	[pikapi]	'buckskin'
[iywi-]	[ikwi-]	'smell something'
[peði]	[peti]	'daughter'

2) Comanche has dropped the nasal before stops, so that Shoshoni NC is Comanche C. (Although the nasal is gone, /p/, and /t/ after a non-front vowel, remain fortis. The other non-nasal stops are also fortis, so because these stops have no lenis reflex a Comanche equivalent to the Shoshoni nasal/non-nasal contrast has disappeared for /t/ after front vowels and for /k/, /kw/ and /ts/.)

Shoshoni	Comanche	
[timbi]	[tipi]	'rock'
[anda]	[ata]	'different'
[kinga]	[kika]	'onion'

3) The Shoshoni geminated stops are equivalent to the preaspirated stops in Comanche, so that Shoshoni CC has a Comanche hC analog. These are true, surface aspirates rather than the forms in the Shoshoni preaspirated series, which usually are realized phonetically as voiceless fricatives. The latter correspond to Comanche voiceless fricatives.

Shoshoni	Comanche	
[appi]	[ahpi]	'father'
[hitto]	[hihtoo]	'meadow lark'
[tuttsapɪ]	[tuhtsaipɪ]	'dirt'
[tukku]	[tuhku]	'flesh'

4) The aspirated series remains in Comanche, though in both languages forms with an aspirating final feature are rare. These forms (a) surface as voiceless fricatives ([B] and [R]) or (b) trigger voicelessness of preceding short, unstressed vowels ([Vt], [Vk], [Vkw], [Vts], [VR], [VB]), thus remaining distinct from the preaspirating series with /p/ and with /t/ after non-front vowels. In a handful of forms the final feature appears as [hv] or [hr] rather than [B] or [R] because it occurs in a stressed or initial syllable.

It has not been possible to cite Shoshoni cognates as seen in numbers 1-3 above; aspiration is demonstrated at morpheme boundaries in forms such as:

[tirikɪraivo]	/ti-tiɪkəh-taipo/	'thief'	(INDEF=OBJ-eat-white=man)
[hunupɪku/	/hunu=pih-ku/	'at the creek'	(creek-at)
[nakɪtsanika]	/nakiɪ-tsanika/	'earring'	(ear-g=string)

The bulk of forms with the aspirating final feature is found in the verbal system discussed in Section 3.1.3.2.2.1. Examples are also found below with the descriptions of the various consonants.

Terminological equivalents between Comanche and Shoshoni, then, are:

Shoshoni SPIRANTIZED	=	Comanche LENIS
Shoshoni NASALIZED	=	Comanche FORTIS
Shoshoni GEMINATED	=	Comanche PREASPIRATED
Shoshoni ASPIRATED	=	Comanche ASPIRATED

Table 4, in the section immediately below, gives the surface forms of the Comanche non-nasal, non-glottal stops and the affricate.

Because a preceding morpheme determines the realization of a following consonant, the final features must be separated from the consonant in order to permit identification of the morpheme. I use the following marking conventions.<sup>2</sup> Examples of the final features are shown in Table 3, below.

Lenis:	(no mark; the form is vowel final)
Fortis:	-ʰ
Preaspirated	-h
Aspirated	-h



Table 3. Final Features Morpheme-Internally and at Morpheme Boundaries

## LENIS

[pavi]	/papi/	'older brother'
[toyavaʔatɪ]	/toya-paʔa <sup>=</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> /	'on the mountain' (mountain-on-PRED)

## FORTIS

-<sup>=</sup>

[papi]	/pa <sup>=</sup> pi/	'head'
[kwasuʔupaʔa]	/kwasuʔu <sup>=</sup> -paʔa <sup>=</sup> /	'on the shirt' (deer-on)

## PREASPIRATION

-H

[ahpi]	/aHpi/	'father'
[pihporóóki]	/piH-potóóki/	'motorcycle' (INST-??)

## ASPIRATION

-h

[naBíwi]	[nahvíwi]	/nahvíwi/	'to cost'
[saapí <sup>h</sup> va]	[saapíBa]	/saa <sup>=</sup> pih-paʔa <sup>=</sup> /	'on the stomach' (stomach-on)

[kuitsIva]	/kuitsih-paʔa <sup>=</sup> /	'on the throat' (throat-on)
------------	------------------------------	--------------------------------

## 3.1.2. Consonants

## 3.1.2.1. Stops and Affricate.

The affricate and the non-nasal non-glottal stops take the following surface forms depending on a preceding final feature:

Table 4. Stops and Affricate

underlying	p	t(1)	t(2)	ts	k	kw
lenis	v	r	t	ts	k	kw
fortis	p	t	t	ts	k	kw
preaspirated	hp	ht	ht	hts	hk	hkw
aspirated	B, hv Vv, f	R, hr VR	Vt ht	Vts hts	Vk hk	Vkw hkw

---

In Table 4, v is a cover symbol for the spirantized bilabial, which varies from a voiced bilabial stop to a voiced bilabial fricative; the Comanche prefer the letter v.

t(1) is the dental stop following non-front vowels; t(2) is the dental stop following front vowels.

V is the symbol for any voiceless vowel.

---

[hr] occurs in the language in one set of pronouns and in one verb. The pronouns are the third person dual pronouns. Examples, using the distal demonstrative base u are: [uhri] (plural subject), [uhri] (plural object) and [uhri] (plural possessive). (The complete set of these pronouns is found in Section 4.2). The verb is [nahru], [nahru] 'to fight with each other.'<sup>3</sup> I assume that these forms include the aspirating final feature. This final feature never causes the spirant to become voiceless because the vowel is always stressed. Note, in the section above, the form for 'cost', /nahpiwi/, in which the bilabial is varyingly [hv] or [B]. Although the vowel does not devoice in this form (probably because it occurs in the initial syllable of the word, even though that syllable is not stressed) I believe that the voiceless spirant is evidence of the presence of this final feature. Because of the existence of [hr] and [hv] it is probable that [ht] (after high

vowels), [hk], [hkw] and [hts] can also arise when an aspirated final feature precedes one of those consonants in a stressed syllable, but there is no phonetic difference between these forms and ones which occur following a preaspirating final feature.

[R] has two sources. It reflects the aspirated final feature under certain circumstances, and also arises when a lenis /t/ is followed by a voiceless vowel. This is discussed in Section 3.1.4.2.7, below. When the lenis labial follows a voiceless vowel it is variously [f] or [B] or [v]. Like [R], [f] also arises from the situation described in Section 3.1.4.2.7.

To illustrate Table 4, examples are given of the various stops following the different final features. In each case, morpheme-internal examples are given, followed by those at morpheme boundaries:

/p/, and /t/ when not following a front vowel

/p/

Initial: [paapi], [papi] /pa<sup>h</sup>pi/ 'head'

Morpheme-internally:

Lenis:	[pavi]	/papi/	'older brother'
Fortis:	[paapi], [papi]	/pa <sup>h</sup> pi/	'head'
Preasp	[pohpi]	/po <sup>h</sup> pi/	'to jump' (sg subj)
Asp	[na <sup>h</sup> biwi], [nahviwi]	/nahpiwi/	'to cost'

## At a morpheme boundary:

Lenis:	[arikavaʔa]	/atika-paʔa <sup>=</sup> /	'on the deer' (deer-on)	
Fortis:	[kwasuʔupaʔa]	/kwasuʔu <sup>=</sup> -paʔa <sup>=</sup> /	'on the dress' (dress-on)	
Preasp:	[wihpiti]	/wiH-piti/	'to be near something' (INST-arrive)	
Asp:	[saap <sup>h</sup> va]	[saap <sup>h</sup> va]	/saa <sup>=</sup> pih-paʔa <sup>=</sup> /	'on the stomach' (stomach-on)
	[kuitsIvaʔa]	/kuitsih-paʔa/	'on the throat' (throat-on)	

## /t/ after a non-front vowel

Initial: [taivo]            /taipo/    'white man'

## Morpheme-internally:

Lenis:	[nura]	/nuta/	'travel'
Fortis:	[titaa]	/ti <sup>=</sup> taa/	'small'
Preasp:	[kohtoo]	/koHtoo/	'make a fire'
Asp:	no examples		

## At a morpheme boundary:

Lenis:	[arikaruhka]	/atika-tuHka <sup>=</sup> /	'under the deer' (deer-under)
Fortis:	[kwasuʔutuhka]	/kwasuʔu <sup>=</sup> -tuHka <sup>=</sup> /	'under the dress' (dress-under)
Preasp:	[wih-tokwe]	/wiH-tokwe/	'to kill something' (INST-kill)
Asp:	[sap <sup>h</sup> Ruhka]	/saa <sup>=</sup> pih-tuHka <sup>=</sup> /	'under the stomach' (stomach-under)

**/t/ after front vowels, and /ts/, /k/, /kw/**

The dental after front vowels, the affricate (/ts/) and the non-anterior stops (/k/ and /kw/) are not affected by the lenis final feature (see above) and demonstrate only a difference between fortis, preaspirating and aspirating. /ts/ may be realized as [č] for emphasis. This is described in Section 3.5.2.

**/t/ after a front vowel**

**Morpheme-internally:**

Fortis or Lenis:	[kwita]	/kwita/	'excrement'
Preasp:	[wihtua]	/wihtua/	'bucket'
Asp:	[kutsitona]	/kuH-tsihtona/	'set fire, burn' (trans) (fire-??)

**At a morpheme boundary:**

Lenis:	[kahpetuhka]	/kaHpe-tuHka <sup>=</sup> /	'under the bed' (bed-under)
Fortis:	[tipituhka]	/ti <sup>=</sup> pi <sup>=</sup> -tuHka <sup>=</sup> /	'under the rock' (rock-under)
Preasp:	[tsihti <sup>?</sup> ahwe]	/tsiH-tiahwe/	'point with the fingers' (INST-talk, speak)
Asp:	[kuitsituhka]	/kuitsih-tuHka <sup>=</sup> /	'under the throat' (throat-under)

**/ts/**

Initial: [tsanika] /tsanika/ 'g-string'

**Morpheme-internally:**

Lenis or Fortis:	[taatsa]	/tatsa/	'summer'
Preasp:	[tuhtsaipɪ]	/tuHtsai- <sup>=</sup> pih/	'dirt' (dirt-ABS)
Asp:	no examples		

## At a morpheme boundary:

Lenis:	[arikatsa]	/atika-tsa/	'The deer . . .' (deer-TOP)
Fortis:	[kwasuʔutsa]	/kwasuʔu <sup>-</sup> -tsa/	'The dress . . .' (dress-TOP)
Preasp:	[kihtsiʔa]	/kiH-tsia/	'to bite' (INST-?)
Asp:	[sap <sup>h</sup> tsa]	/saa <sup>-</sup> pih-tsa/	'The stomach . . .' (stomach-TOP)
	[kuitsitsa]	/kuitsih-tsa/	'The throat . . .' (throat-TOP)

## /k/

Initial: [kooni], [koni] /koni/ 'to turn' (intransitive)

## Morpheme-internally:

Lenis or Fortis:	[haki]	/haki/	'who', 'who?'
Preasp:	[hahka]	/haHka/	'whom', 'whom?'
Asp:	No examples		

## At a morpheme boundary:

Lenis:	[arikakuhpa]	/atika-kuHpa <sup>=</sup> /	'in the deer' (deer-in)
Fortis:	[kwasuʔukuhpa]	/kwasuʔu <sup>-</sup> -kuHpa <sup>=</sup> /	'in the dress' (dress-in)
Preasp:	[wihkupa]	/wiH-ku <sup>-</sup> pa/	'kill' (useless things) (INST-break)
Asp:	[sap <sup>h</sup> kuhpa]	/saa <sup>-</sup> pih-kuHpa <sup>=</sup> /	'in the stomach' (stomach-in)
	[kuitsika]	/kuitsih-ka <sup>=</sup> /	'at the throat' (throat-at)

/kw/

Initial: [kwavi] /kwapi/ 'lie down' (pl subj)

Morpheme-internally:

Lenis or Fortis: [tekwa] /tekwa/ 'talk, speak'

Preasp: no examples

Asp: [kihtsikwe] /kiH-tshkwe/ 'to chew' (INST-??)

At a morpheme boundary:

Lenis: [paakwavi] /paa-kwapi/ 'swim' (water-lie  
(pl subj))Fortis: [ukwásu?u] /u<sup>=</sup>-kwasu?u<sup>=</sup>/ 'its dress' (its-dress)Preasp: [tsahkwaviki] /tsh-kwapi-ki<sup>=</sup>/ 'lie pl. obj. down'  
(INST-lie(pl subj)-BEN/CAUS)Asp: [uriwekIkwatu?i] /utii-wehki-h/H/kwa-tu?i/ 'go to look  
for them' (them-lock=for-MTN=TOWARD-UR:ASP)

## 3.1.2.2. Nasals.

The nasals do not reflect the effects of the final features in the same way that the non-nasal stops and the affricate do. They appear between vowels as plain, long or preaspirated. (Nasal length also marks durative aspect in verb roots that contain a nasal as a second consonant - see Section 4.3.6.1.2.) Length occurs underlyingly in some morphemes such as some of the pronouns. Other nasals within a morpheme are optionally pronounced as long when they follow a stressed vowel, especially - but not exclusively - when occurring between identical vowels. The [hn] (or [hm]) sequence which occurs within a morpheme such as kahni 'house' does not arise from the effects of the preaspirated final feature which is cognate to the Shoshoni geminating final feature. Rather, it reflects the

Shoshoni aspirated series (cf. Shoshoni [kahni], /kahni/.) Thus the [h] represents that /h/ which causes the devoicing of a preceding vowel in certain environments described below in Section 3.1.4.2. However, at a morpheme boundary the nasals reflect the effects of the final features in a manner similar to /t/ after a front vowel and /k/, /kw/ and /ts/. There is no difference between the fortis and lenis final features. The preaspirating final feature causes an hN (h-nasal) sequence and the aspirating final feature is realized as VN (voiceless=vowel-nasal).

/n/ and /m/

Morpheme-internally:

underlying	m or mm	n or nn
lenis/fortis	m or mm	n or nn
preaspirated	not applicable	not applicable
aspirated	hm	hn

At a morpheme boundary:

lenis/fortis	m	n
preaspirated	hm	hn
aspirated	Vm	Vn

/m/

Initial: [mootso]      /motso/      'beard'

Morpheme-internally:

Lenis or Fortis: [pímoróó]      /pímotóó/      'cow'



	[immi]	/immi/	'you' (sg obj)
Asp:	[pahmu]	/pahmu/	'smoke'

## At a morpheme boundary:

Lenis:	[nimaʔai]	/ni-maʔai/	'with me' (me-with)
Fortis:	[imaʔai]	/i <sup>=</sup> -maʔai/	'with you' (you-with)
Preasp:	[kihme]	/kiH-me/	'tongue-lashing' (INST(teeth)-QUOT, say)
Asp:	[kuitsImaʔai]	/kuitsih-maʔai/	'with the throat' (throat-with)

/n/

Initial: [naha] /naha/ 'happen, become'

## Morpheme-internally:

Lenis or Fortis:	[sana]	/sana/	'sticky'
	[inni]	/inni/	'you' (sg subj)
Asp:	[kahni]	/kahni/	'house'

## At a morpheme boundary:

Lenis:	[nivetinikwɪ]	/ni-peti-nikwih/	'my two daughters' (my-daughter-DL)
Fortis:	[kwasuʔunikwɪ]	/kwasuʔu <sup>=</sup> -nikwih/	'two dresses' (dress-DL)
Preasp:	[nahnaʔaikɪ]	/naH-naʔaikih/	'here and there' (just-here=and=there)
Asp:	[nikúitsInai]	/ni-kuitsih-nai/	'from my throat' (my-throat-from)

## 3.1.2.3. Glides

## /w/

[wosa]	/wosa/	'bag'
[pahmuwosa]	/pahmu-wosa/	'smoking bag' (smoke-bag)
[tisawosa]	/tisa-wosa/	'perfume bag, sachet' (?-bag)

The sequence [hw]<sup>4</sup> occurs; I assume its source is /hw/ because when an unstressed short vowel occurs before this [h] it can be voiceless - see Section 3.1.4.2. Also, as noted by John McLaughlin, when an instrumental prefix which is terminated with /-H/ precedes a verb stem which begins with /w/, no [h] occurs.

[tiʔahwe]	/tiahwe/	'to tell'
[nahweeyu]	/nahweeyu/	'group in mourning; all crying' (cry (pl subj))
[tsagweni]	/tsaH-weni/	'to hang out a large object' (INST-hang=out (sg obj))

## /y/

[yaa]	/yaa/	'carry' (sg. obj.)
[kidyaa]	/kiH-yaa/	'carry with teeth' (INST-carry(sg obj))
[kweyai]	/kweyai/	'be tired'

I have no forms with the sequence [hy], though Canonge reports t<sup>^</sup>nahyaa-/h 'to trail something (of dogs)' and muhy<sup>^</sup>, 'doorway'. (In my data, the latter form is consistently [muYH], and I was unable to elicit the former.) /y/ is fully or partially devoiced when followed by a voiceless vowel, which in turn may be

deleted, as in [naYine] /na-yahne/ 'cry' (pl subj) or in verbs with the final aspect suffix [YU] /-yu/ (the derivation of naYine is discussed in 3.1.4.2.5). The voicelessness of /y/ parallels the devoicing of the lenis bilabial and dental stops and the preaspiration deletion discussed in Sections 3.1.4.2.6 and 3.1.4.2.5.

### 3.1.2.3.1. Voiced stops inserted before glides.

Some Comanche speakers optionally insert a voiced velar stop or fricative at morpheme boundaries between a vowel and /w/, and an alveolar stop at morpheme boundaries between a vowel and /y/. I transcribe the velar as g and the alveolar as d.<sup>5</sup>

[g] and [d] are most commonly inserted after a preaspirating stem or affix. In the following examples the instrumental verb -wai 'poke' is preceded by instrumental prefixes that, before the stop consonants, yield the sequence [hC]:

[tsigwai] /tsiH-wai/ 'poke with sharp point, stick'  
(sharp obj-poke)

[kigwai] /kiH-wai/ 'poke with tongue' (teeth-poke)

However, [g] is also found before /w/ following non-preaspirating morphemes:

[sugwai] /su<sup>w</sup>-wai-/ 'to want' (mind-poke)

[pagwihtema] /paa-wiH-tema/ 'pond' (water-INST-tie=up, retain)

[nigwosa] /ni-wosa/ 'my purse' (my-bag)

and often alternates with [w]:

[pásagwíyo] or [pásawíyo] 'frog' (analysis unclear;  
pasa is 'sand')

[tasigwóó] or [tasiwóó] 'buffalo'

It is not found in the following, in which the surface forms may

have become lexicalized (i.e., are no longer compounds or inflected forms):

[tinowaikin] /ti-no-waikin/ 'pickup, truck'  
(INDEF=OBJ-carry-wagon)

[kewainahai] 'deceased people' /ke-?/ (NEG-??)

[g] also may occur between words in normal and fast speech:

[hakari gwaʔipi] 'Which woman . . .?' /hakati= waʔi=pi/  
(who woman-ABS)

Examples with [d] preceding /y/ are limited in my data to forms using the verb yaa 'carry' (sg obj), reflecting the usage of the principal speaker I worked with. At least one speaker uses the [d] more frequently.

[kidyaa] /kiH-yaa/ 'carry with teeth' (teeth-carry)

[utsódyá] /u-tsoH-yaa/ 'carry (it) on head' (it-head-carry)

#### 3.1.2.4. Fricatives.

The fricatives trigger voicelessness of preceding short vowels in certain environments, as discussed in Section 3.1.4.4.2.

[s] alternates, in certain emphatic contexts, with [š] (Section

3.3.1). /h/ interacts with /ʔ/ and is also discussed in Section

3.1.5. /h/ is deleted when it follows most voiceless consonants; this rule is discussed in Section 3.1.4.2.4.

/s/

[sia] /sia/ 'to cultivate' (plants)

[tosa] /tosa/ 'white'

[tsahsároʔi] /tsoH-satoʔi/ 'tear off violently' (INST-??)

[aakwisi] /aa-kwasi/ 'braids' (??-tail)

[namsi]      /namVsi/      'quickly'

/h/

Because a surface [h] may represent either the preaspirating final feature /-H/ or the aspirating final feature /-h/, this segment is sometimes difficult to describe. As nearly as I can determine, the [h] which occurs initially and intervocalically has the same effect as the final feature /-h/ (i.e., it causes voicelessness of a preceding short, unstressed vowel). The [h] that occurs before the stops and the affricate (including nasals at a morpheme break) is usually the quite audible preconsonantal [h] which is caused by the preaspirating final feature. The [h] which occurs before a nasal, and the [h] which occurs before [v], [r] and [w] represent the aspirating final feature (/h/). The [h] which appears initially and between vowels is exemplified in forms such as:

[havi]      /hapi/      'lie' (sg subj)

[pihi]      /pihi/      'grass, leaves'

### 3.1.3. Sequential constraints.

The vowel clusters are listed below (3.1.4.1). Consonant clusters do not occur, with the following apparent exceptions:

- 1) When a vowel is deleted because it precedes /s/ or /h/, the phonetic realization is often a cluster, particularly when the consonant which precedes the deleted vowel is a nasal. If the preceding consonant is [t], the resultant cluster ([ts]) is indistinguishable from the affricate /ts/. (See Section 3.1.4.2.3 for examples.)

The phonemic transcription used here retains the underlying vowel. If the quality of the vowel is undetermined, V is used to symbolize this vowel.

2) Consonant-final English loans in objective case are given the objective suffix /-ha/, eg., [John-ha] (John-OBJ). The resultant shape is a consonant cluster.

All possible sequences of consonant and vowel occur within morphemes with the exceptions of \*kwo, \*kwu, em and ut. Because the vowels which do not follow the labiovelar are both rounded, I assume their absence is a principle of the language. The other two missing sequences probably represent lacunae.

### 3.1.3.1. Morpheme structure.

The structure of the typical Comanche morpheme is CVCV, although because a handful of stems do not conform to this to this shape, the following lengthy morpheme structure must be described. Vowels may be long or clustered, and a vowel may begin a word. An initial syllable may be (C)V(V). The morpheme structure is:

(C)V(V)(C)(C)(V)(V)(C)(V)(V)(C)(V). Examples are:

V	u	/u/	'that one; he; it'
CV	ma	/ma/	'that one; he; it'
CVV	nii	/nii/	'I'
VCV	ahpi	/aḥpi/	'father'
VCCV	inni	/inni/	'you'
CVCV	pikwi	/pikwi=/'	'their own'
VCVCV	akwfsi	/akwVsi/	'sneeze' (noun)
CVCVCVV	pímoróó	/pímotóó/	'cow'

VCVCVCV̄	anikúra	/anikúta/	'ant'
CVCVCVCV̄V	wakaré?ee	/wakaté?ee/	'turtle'

### 3.1.4. Vowels.

There are six vowels: the low vowel /a/, the front and back mid vowels /e/ and /o/ and the front, mid and back high vowels /i/, /i/ and /u/. There is also vowel length, which is written with a double vowel.

#### Examples of short vowels:

/a/:	ata-	/a <sup>ː</sup> ta-/	'different'
	tihka	/ti <sup>ː</sup> hka/	'eat'
/e/:	eka	/ekax-/	'red'
	pehka	/pe <sup>ː</sup> hka/	'kill' (sg obj)
/i/:	isax	/isax/	'lie'
	pohpi	/po <sup>ː</sup> hpi/	'jump'
/o/:	oha	/ohax/	'yellow'
	soho	/soho/	'cheek'
/u/:	uhtu	/u <sup>ː</sup> htu/	'give' (sg obj)
	mutsix-	/mutsix-/	'sharp'
/i/:	i-	/i <sup>ː</sup> -/	'your' (2nd pers. poss.)
	suri	/suti <sup>ː</sup> /	'that one, he'

#### Examples of underlying long vowels:

/aa/:	saap̄i	/saa <sup>ː</sup> p̄ih/	'stomach'
/ee/:	wakaré?ee	/wakaté?ee/	'turtle'
/ii/:	miitsi	/miitsi/	'right now'

/oo/:	soo-	/soo ~ soo <sup>-</sup> -/	'a lot'
/uu/:	huupi	/huu <sup>-</sup> pi/	'tree'
/ii/:	urii	/utii <sup>-</sup> /	'those ones, they' (3rd pers pl subj)

Surface long vowels arise from two sources. Short vowels may be optionally lengthened when stressed, eg., [múúpitsɪ] or [múpitsɪ] /mú<sup>-</sup>pitsih/, the name of a monster in Comanche folklore. A handful of forms are invariably long as, of course, are clusters. Long vowels may be optionally shortened in compounds or finally but these vowels are never devoiced. The examples above, with the exception of 'turtle', are of this type. One group of long vowels reflects a once-present nominalizing suffix and is always word-final (Section 4.1.4.2). This is probably the case with 'turtle'.

Occasionally one encounters a form which fails to undergo the type of devoicing described in Section 3.1.4.2.2, below. I assume that the vowel in question is underlyingly long. An example is [kove], 'face'. When the [e] is followed by an /h/ or /s/, which should cause it to devoice, it does not do so. Eg., when 'face' is suffixed with the contrast morpheme -se the form is [kovese] /kopee-se/, not [\*kovEse].<sup>6</sup>

#### 3.1.4.1. Vowel clusters.<sup>7</sup>

Vowel clusters are: a nonfront vowel plus /i/ ([ai], [oi], [ui] and [ii]) and any vowel except /e/ plus /a/ ([ia], [oa], [ua] and [ia]) The cluster [ie] also occurs. All clusters but [ai] are heterosyllabic; they occur with a transition between vowels. This transition ranges from a short pause to a surface glottal stop. Stress, when present, is found on the first vowel of the cluster,



eg., [pía], 'big', with the exception of [ai], which is stressed as a unit, eg., [táivo], 'white man'. The glottal, whether a transition phenomenon or an integral part of the morpheme, does not cause a two-vowel sequence to be counted as two short vowels and thus the final vowel of the sequence is not subject to devoicing. The form /nie/ 'me' (first person object pronoun) is pronounced [ne] in all but the slowest speech, which shows that heterosyllabic vowels can occasionally come to be pronounced as though they occur in the same syllable.

A phonetic [i] is often inserted between /a/ and /y/:

[naiYU] /na-yuhu/ 'bone marrow; lard; motor oil'  
(RECIP-fat)

[kimaiYU] /kima-yu/ 'come' (come-PROG:ASP)

[cachekaiyutu?i] /cache-ka-yu-tu?i/ 'be in Cache (unrealized)'  
(name-at-PRED-UR:ASP)

Examples of vowel clusters:

/ai/:	[taivo]	/taipo/	'white man'
/oi/:	[ihkoi]	/ihkoi/	'to sleep' (pl. subj.)
/ui/:	[pui]	/puih/	'eye'
/ii/:	[tii]	/tii/	'female friend of a woman'
/ia/:	[pia]	/pia/	'big, large'
/oa/:	[koa]	/koa/	'cut'
/ua/:	[tua]	/tua/	'son'
/ia/:	[mia]	/mia/	'month'
/ie/:	[tie]	/tie/	'small'

#### 3.1.4.2. Voiceless vowels.

Short vowels may be either voiced or voiceless. Almost all voiceless vowels in the language can be derived from their cor-

responding voiced counterpart, with the exception of /a/ and /i/, which usually fall together as [ɪ] when they are organically, or obligatorily, voiceless. Optional, or inorganic, voiceless vowels (these terms are from Miller) occur when a short, unclustered, unstressed final vowel occurs before a pause:

[uvaʔatɪ] /u-paʔa<sup>̄</sup>-ti<sup>̄</sup>/ 'on him' (him-on-GEN:ASP)

cf. [tuuhkati ma] /tuHka-ti<sup>̄</sup> ma/ 'it's deep' (deep-GEN:ASP it)

Voiceless vowels in Comanche were the focus of a controversy between Canonge (1957) and Jakobson (1952), the former arguing for the phonemic status of voiceless vowels and the latter maintaining that their occurrence is predictable. In his paper, Canonge presents minimal pairs demonstrating a voiced/voiceless contrast. The following are from that paper, and will be discussed at the end of this section. (Canonge writes stress preceding the stressed syllable and uses the carat for the high mid vowel. VD represents "voiced vowel" and VL represents "voiceless vowel." The voiceless vowels are underlined.)

	Canonge	Morphemes	gloss
VD	ʔu'hani <u>ki</u> ʔu	(it-do-MTN=TOWARD-he)	'he came to do it'
VL	ʔu'hani <u>ki</u> ʔu	(it-do-MTN=TOWARD-he)	'he did it and came on'
VD	ʔu'hani <u>k</u> <sup>^</sup> kiʔuʔ	(it-do-BEN-MTN=TOWARD-he)	'he came to fix it for him'
VL	ʔu'hani <u>k</u> <sup>^</sup> kiʔuʔ	(it-do-BEN-MTN=TOWARD-he)	'he fixed it for him and came on'

## Examples of organic voiceless vowels:

- /a/: [tikitsi] /tiHka-htsi/ 'eat' (eat-SS)
- /e/: [nari?ahwEvinnitii] /na-ti?ahwe-hpinni-tii=/ 'talking'  
(pl subj) (REFLEX-talk-ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP=PL)
- /i/: [popItsii] /poHpi-htsi/ 'jump' (jump-SS)
- /o/: [nokOvinnitii] /noHko-hpinni-tii=/ 'baking (bread)'  
(bake=bread-ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP)
- /u/: [nivohi?akUse] /ni-pohi?a-ku-se/ 'while I was walking'  
(me-walk-DS-CONTR)
- /i/: [sitiise] /siti=-se/ 'that one, he' (3rd=demonst-CONTR)

These voiceless vowels reflect two processes, one no longer productive, which I term Devoicing A, and the other productive (Devoicing B).

## 3.1.4.2.1. Devoicing A.

This rule specifies that an unstressed vowel became voiceless when it occurred between a voiceless stop or affricate and an h-nasal sequence:

$$V \longrightarrow [-VOICE] / \begin{array}{c} C \\ [-CONT] \\ [-VOICE] \\ [-GLOTT] \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [-stress] \\ \hline \\ \end{array} \begin{array}{c} hC \\ [+NAS] \end{array}$$

I assume that Devoicing A is not productive because its effects are only evident in a few forms which are probably memorized as units. They include:

- (1) [maRni] /ma-tVhni/ 'to hurt' (transitive) (Canonge writes this as mar<sup>^</sup>ni- /h). The presumed stem /tahni/ or /tihni/ can no longer

be separated from the presumed instrumental prefix /ma-/.

(2) nor<sup>na</sup>- /h 'to make a bed', a form found in Canonge only.

(3) -[kɪni] /kahni/, 'house'. kahni is extensively represented below both in lexical items which represent frozen compounds and in compounds which are productive. /kahni/ is realized as [kɪni] in:

[pukukɪni] /puku-kahni/ 'barn' (horse-house)

[sookɪni] /soo-kahni/ Lawton (Oklahoma) (many-house)

Canonge has several other forms with [kɪni] - viz.,

sekwi-k<sup>ni</sup> 'a storm cellar, a sod or mud house'  
mud-house)

ini-k<sup>ni</sup> a shelter hung in the teepee to deflect  
rain coming through the top (rain-house)

wobi-k<sup>ni</sup> 'a wood or frame house' (wood-house)

He also has two forms with the full form [kahni]:

n<sup>m</sup>-kahni 'a teepee' (Comanche-house)

wokwe-kahni 'a peyote teepee' (cactus-house)

My data contain 'teepee' and 'peyote teepee' as well as many other lexical items with kahni as the second, and unstressed, element; for instance:

[kokokahni] /koko-kahni/ 'chicken pen' (chicken-house)

[tosakahni] /tosax-kahni/ 'white house' (white-house)

[tivokahni] /tipo-kahni/ 'school' (write-house)

All cases of [kahni] - including the two from Canonge - are lexical items that were probably not present at a time when the process was viable.

## 3.1.4.2.2. Devoicing B.

This process produces a voiceless vowel when a short, unstressed vowel is followed by /s/ or by the /h/ which is the true /h/ present both at the surface and in underlying forms. It is never the preaspiration found with the preaspirating final feature (-H) which is realized as [hC] with the non-nasal stops and with the affricate.

$$V \longrightarrow [-VOICE]/ C \begin{array}{l} [-stress] \\ \text{—————} \\ [+CONT] \\ [-VOICE] \end{array}$$

Examples include:

[pimakwɪsi] /piH-ma<sup>-</sup>-kwasi/ 'behind, tail bone'  
(INST(rear)-its-tail)

[wekwIhuupitɪ] /wekwi-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)-piti/ '(they) went in'  
(enter(pl=subj)-ACCOMP:ASP-arrive)

Cf. the same forms when voiced: [kwasi] /kwasi/ 'tail' and [wekwi] /wekwi/ 'enter' (pl subj). These examples are representative of the majority of devoiced vowels in Comanche. Exceptions to DEVOICING B are discussed in Section 3.1.4.2.2.1.

The presence of /h/ in the underlying form explains most of the remaining cases of organic voiceless vowels. Other examples of voiceless vowels are found in Section 3.1.2.1 - the effect of the aspirating final feature on the non-nasal stops and the affricate.

Devoicing B explains most of the forms in Canonge 1957. The devoicing found in his data presented here is explained by the final features which are found morpheme-initially on verb suffixes.

### 3.1.4.2.2.1. Final features within the verb system.<sup>8</sup>

All verb roots end in a vowel with the exception of  $su^?a^=$ , 'think', and  $kama^=$ , 'taste', and thus a suffix which follows any root but those will be spirantized if it begins with a /p/, or with /t/ when it follows a non-front vowel. There are, however, a number of verb suffixes which manifest fortis, preaspirating or aspirating final features. In these cases the suffix has a final feature as the first element of the suffix. The one which manifests the fortis final feature is  $/^=pih/$ , an absolutive suffix often used as a nominalizer.

The other suffixes are termed "alternating suffixes" in Central Numic scholarship. The final feature is determined by the preceding verb stem. The final features involved are aspirating (written as  $/-hCV . . ./$ ) and preaspirating (written as  $/-hCV . . ./$ ). Following a long vowel aspiration does not occur. Some of these suffixes have a third allomorph in which a final feature is not present. These are discussed at the end of this section.

These suffixes are:

$-h/h/ka^=$	'stative aspect'; switch reference (DS)
$-h/h/kaku$	switch reference (DS) (related to $-h/h/Ka^=$ above)
$-h/h/ka^=ti^=$	'temporary state' (related to $h/h/ka^=$ above)
$-h/h/ki$	'motion toward speaker'
$-h/h/kwa^=$	'motion away from speaker'
$-h/h/pinni$	'ongoing aspect'
$-h/h/tsi$	identical reference (SS)

Examples are given below for -h/H/pinni, -h/H/ki and -h/H/tsi. The labial stop differs from the other suffixes of this type because it becomes extremely lenis and voiceless (i.e., [B]) after an aspirating final feature. I cannot determine the shape of the aspect suffix in such a case. The shape of the suffixes following a long vowel is hypothesized to be -HC . . . because in the examples with -h/H/pinni following a long vowel the labial is [p], not [v], as in 'boiling.' Whether this is true for the other stops and the affricate is not phonetically determinable, but to maintain consistency I assign such suffixes the underlying form /HC . . ./.

-h/H/pinni:

[nokOvinni]	/noHko-hpinni/	'making bread'	(bake=bread- ONGO:ASP)
[noʔiyaipinni]	/noʔiyai-Hpinni/	'boiling'	(boil- ONGO:ASP)
[tekwahpinni]	/tekwa-Hpinni/	'talking'	(talk- ONGO:ASP)
[saap <sup>h</sup> Binni]	/saa <sup>h</sup> pih-h/Hpinni/	'making soup'	(soup- ONGO:ASP)

-h/H/tsi:

[popItsi]	/poHpi-htsi/	'after jumping. . .'	(jump-SS)
[unimaitsi]	/u-nimai-Htsi/	'after calling him . .'	(him-call-SS)
[ukih <sup>t</sup> irahtsi]	/u-kiH-tita-Htsi/	'after popping (it) with the teeth. . .'	(it-INST-pop-SS)

-h/H/ki:

[popIki]	/poHpi-hki/	'jumped towards'	(jump-MTN=TOWARD)
[aikitI]	/ai-Hki-ti <sup>h</sup> /	'loped towards'	(lope-MTN=TOWARD- GEN:ASP)
[nukihkin]	/nuki-Hki-n/	'ran toward'	(run-MTN=TOWARD- COMPL:ASP)

With some stems, both allomorphs of the affix occur. One is present with the verb stem and the other follows when a prefixed element moves the stress leftward.

[tíʔahwepinnití] /tiʔahwe-ʔpinni-ti/ 'talking' (talk-  
ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP)

[náriʔahwEBinni] /na-tiʔahwe-hpinni/ 'talking (about  
oneself (REFLEX/RECIP-talk-ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP)

[pihivítihka] /pihi-piti-Hka/ 'When they arrived . . .'  
(them=DL-arrive-DS)

[wékwiUpitika] /wekwi-hu(2)-piti-hka/ 'When they went  
in . . . ' (enter(pl subj)-ACCOMP:ASP-arrive-DS)

The two forms above for 'talking' demonstrate this phenomenon. The first example has stress on the first syllable of the root and secondary stress on every other vowel following, and the secondary stress protects the [e] from devoicing. In the second example stress falls on the reflexive /na-/, which has become the first syllable of the word, and the [e] is left with no stress and is thus devoiced. The forms with -h/Hka are similar.

The origin of the use of both allomorphs with the same verb stem has been traced to a very old (non-productive) Central Numic stress pattern. In Shoshoni, where the same variation in the initial consonant of many verbal affixes exists, the surface forms of the initial consonants of these affixes are CC and hC, as in the corresponding forms for -h/ʔpinni:

Shoshoni /-ppinni/ = Comanche /-ʔpinni/ and

Shoshoni /-hpinni/ = Comanche /-hpinni/

Miller (1980) hypothesizes that at one time such forms had only one consonant (a geminated one), and demonstrates, using com-



parative Numic evidence and evidence from alternating stress in Shoshoni, that the two forms of the suffix are most likely to have arisen at a time when CVCV verb roots had either initial or second-syllable stress. Geminated consonants occur after roots which historically had second-syllable stress which protected the vowel before the affix from devoicing. Aspirated consonants arose from and still occur after roots with initial stress, because this stress left the second vowel of the root free to be devoiced. The resultant voiceless vowels, over time, caused the geminated consonants to become preaspirated, and this split is reflected in the alternating verb suffixes under discussion (see also Section 3.1.1).

The following forms demonstrate that this system is currently undergoing levelling in Comanche:

[tárikʰtsi] /ta-tiHka-htsi/ 'after eating breakfast . . .'  
(morning-eat-SS)

[tíkʰtsi] /tiHka-htsi/ 'after eating. . .' (eat-SS)

Returning now to the Canonge forms given above and repeated here, the forms with the voiceless vowel preceding the suffix -ki 'motion toward speaker' must have the underlying form /-hki/.

	Canonge	Morphemes	gloss
VD	ʔu'haniʔu	(it-do-MTN=TOWARD-he)	'he came to do it'
VL	ʔu'haniʔu	(it-do-MTN=TOWARD-he)	'he did it and came on'
VD	ʔu'haniʔkiʔuʔ	(it-do-BEN-MTN=TOWARD-he)	'he came to fix it for him'
VL	ʔu'haniʔkiʔuʔ	(it-do-BEN-MTN=TOWARD-he)	'he fixed it for him and came on'

When I attempted to re-elicite these forms, I was unable to replicate Canonge's pairs. A typical pair from my elicitation is:

[uhániki u] /u-hani-ki u/ 'he came to do it' (it-do-  
MTN=TOWARD he)

[uhántsi suri kiman] /u-hani-htsi suti<sup>h</sup> kima-n/ 'he did it  
and came on'  
(it-do-SS that=one come-COMPL:ASP)

Note that in both Canonge's forms and mine there is a difference between a voiced and voiceless form, and the forms glossed 'came to do it' are voiced while the forms 'did it and . . . ' are voiceless in both cases. The answer to this meaning difference is based on a difference between suffixes which begin with one of the final features (h/H . . .) as described above, and the same suffix with no preceding final feature. This difference is described by McLaughlin 1982. In that paper he examines motion suffixes (his term is directionals) such as -h/H/ki 'motion toward speaker', and demonstrates a Proto-Numic pattern of a "spirantized initial consonant [eg., Comanche /-ki/] on the directional when the motion precedes the main verb action and a geminated/aspirated initial consonant [eg., Comanche /-h/Hki/] when the action and motion are coterminous." As McLaughlin notes, this pattern is maintained in Comanche in examples such as those from Canonge given here, and appears to have been extended (or continued?) in Comanche with the identical reference/switch reference suffixes listed above, as demonstrated in my example above, with the same subject suffix -tsi when the action precedes the action of the main verb. Another example is found in

the following, with the different subject suffix  $-h/H/ka^-$ :

[ne uvúnnikase níi wínni] /nie u-puni-ka-se níi wíni [+n]/  
 'He looked at me when I was standing.'  
 (me him-look-DS-CONTRAST I stand=DUR:ASP)

[pímmi u nívunnihka wíniru?i] /pímmi u ní-puni-Hka wíni-tu?i/  
 'He'll stand up when I look at him.'  
 (him=own I my-look-DS stand-UR:ASP)

### 3.1.4.2.2.2. Exceptions to Devoicing B.

There are some exceptions to Devoicing B. Armagost is currently researching this problem, and finds that the expected voicelessness does not occur in some cases. According to Armagost 1986, voicelessness is suspended for the following reasons:

(1) When the consonant preceding the vowel which should be devoiced is identical to the /s/ or /h/ following the vowel or is comparable in stridency with the /s/ which follows the vowel, devoicing does not occur.

(2) Two consecutive syllables cannot be organically voiceless. If a syllable is voiceless, the vowel in the next syllable rightward will not be devoiced even if all conditions for devoicing are met. (An inorganically devoiced vowel may follow an organically devoiced one, as in *nakIka*, 'to the ear' /*nakih-ka/*.)

(3) A late, stylistic stress shift may create an environment for devoicing well after the point in the derivation at which devoicing should have taken place.

(4) Armagost's final exception to devoicing is with forms in which important discourse information must be maintained. His examples rely on the fact that devoicing would lead to the narrative particle  $-ki$  'speaker uninvolved' being, in discourse, identical in

sound to several -ka suffixes (i.e., they would all have the surface form [kɪ]).

Further, for reasons which I do not understand, there are words in which /u/ is not devoiced when it is followed by -se, 'contrast'. These forms include the following. (Armogost believes that [wihnuse] is explained by the rule of h-metathesis described in 3.1.4.2.5. At this point, I do not agree with his conclusion, but do not have an alternative explanation to offer.)

[nikinuse] /ni-kinu-se/ 'my grandfather . . .' (my-father's=father-CONTR)

[tammakuse] /tamma<sup>=</sup>-ku<sup>=</sup>-se/ 'a lot . . .' (much-ADVB-CONTR)

[wihnuse] /wihnu-se/ 'and then . . .' (and=then-CONTR)

### 3.1.4.2.3. Vowel Deletion 1.

A voiceless vowel is varyingly dropped when it occurs between any stop or affricate and the fricatives (/s/ or /h/). The degree of the presence of a voiceless vowel in this environment is on a gradient, with the vowel completely gone after the nasals and [t], usually present as a puff of air after [p], [k] and [kw], and varyingly present after [ts].

$$\begin{array}{c}
 v \longrightarrow 0 / C \\
 [-\text{voice}] \quad \quad \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} [+STOP] \\ [+AFF] \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} h \\ s \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

Examples are:

[saapha] /saa<sup>=</sup>pih-ha/ 'stomach' (obj) (stomach-ABS-OBJ)

[etsipɪ] /etisi<sup>=</sup>pih/ 'ashes' (ash-ABS)

[hakɪse] /hakah-se/ 'Where . . .' (where-CONTR)

[piakwɪsu]	/pia-kwasuʔu <sup>ʷ</sup> /	'coat'	(big-shirt)
[watsɪhannitɪ]	/watsi-hani-ti <sup>ʷ</sup> /	'secret'	(hide-do-NOM)
[haitsha]	/hairsV-ha]	'friend (obj)'	(male friend of a male-OBJ)
[simsi]	/simi-si/	'once'	(one-EMPHAT ????)
[innha]	/inni-ha/	'you?'	(you-WH)

This rule has led to a change in the morpheme structure of Comanche. The verb suffixes that Canonge writes as -nU (momentaneous aspect) and -nA (continuative aspect), which I assume had the underlying forms /-nuh/ and /-nah/, are found in my data as [-n], thus introducing consonant-final morphemes.

When a vowel is deleted between [t] and [s] the consonant sequence is indistinguishable from the unit segment /ts/. The form [etsipɪ] is a case in point. It contrasts with [kuhtsipɪ], the term for 'ashes' (when the fire is still glowing); Shoshoni yields the cognate *kuttuhsippeh* 'ashes', which preserves the vowel. (Canonge gives the form as *et<sup>h</sup>sip<sup>h</sup>*; this may reflect a knowledge of the derivation of the form or the presence of a voiceless vowel). There may be forms in which the sequence -tVs- does not yield to such analysis. Armagost (1986) notes that Osborne and Smalley cite *totOsa* 'white' (reduplicated) as *totsa*.

#### 3.1.4.2.4. h-Deletion.

After a vowel has been deleted by vowel deletion, /h/ is deleted following certain consonants. This always happens after /s/ and is varyingly true after the velar and labial stops:

$$h \rightarrow 0 / \begin{array}{l} C \\ [-NAS] \\ [-VELAR] \\ [??-LAB] \end{array} \underline{\hspace{1cm}}$$

Examples are:

[osákari] /o-si-hakati<sup>h</sup>/ 'Who is. . .' (demonst-  
emphat??-who)

[tikani] or [tikhani] /ti<sup>h</sup>ka-hani/ 'cook' (intrans)  
(eat-dc, make)

In [osákari] there is no trace of [h] following [s]; in 'cook', [h] after [k] is audible in slow speech. Similarly, with the labial stop [p] there is often audible aspiration. For instance, the objective form for 'stomach' is generally [saapha], occasionally [saapa].

### 3.1.4.2.5. h-Metathesis.

In some forms, /h/ is systematically metathesized. This rule was discovered by Jim Armagost, and is described in Armagost 1986. I have restated it slightly, and write it as:

C	V	h	C	
[+cont]	[-voice]			
[+voice]				
1	2	3	4	⇒
3+1	0	0	4	

Examples are:

[naYine] /na-yahne/ 'laugh (pl subj)'  
(RECIP-laugh)

[naYU] /na-yuhu/ 'bone marrow; lard'  
(RECIP-fat)

[wahwanikwī] /wa-waha<sup>h</sup>-nikwih/ 'twins' (REDUP-two-DL)

### 3.1.4.2.6. Preaspiration Deletion

This rule operates in two forms; one within a morpheme and one at a morpheme boundary. Within a morpheme, as Armagost notes,

preaspiration drops if the vowel following the preaspirated consonant is organically devoiced. Examples of [HC] are found in Section 3.1.1.

#### Preaspiration Deletion 1

$$HC \rightarrow C / \begin{array}{c} \underline{V} \quad \underline{V} \\ [+voice] \quad [-voice] \end{array}$$

[tihka] 'eat' [tikɪtsi] /tiHka-htsi/ 'eat and . . .'  
(eat-SS)

[pohpi] 'jump' [popɪtsi] /poHpi-htsi/ 'jump and . . .'  
(jump-SS)

#### Preaspiration Deletion 2

At a morpheme boundary (+), preaspiration drops and certain consonants and the palatal glide are changed as follows: The palatal glide (/y/) becomes a voiceless spirant ([ç], which I write as Y) and the bilabial and the dental consonants ([p] and [t]) become the voiceless spirants [f] or [β] and [R], respectively. Examples of this, using the instrumental prefix **mu-** or **muH-**, 'with the nose, front' are given below. (Further discussion of this prefix is found in Section 4.3.3.1.)

$$HC \longrightarrow C / \begin{array}{c} \underline{V} + \quad \underline{V} \\ [+stop] \quad [-stop] \\ [-nasal] \\ (y \text{ but not } w) \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \underline{V} \\ [-voice] \end{array}$$

[mufɪne] /muH-pVhne/ 'to spit (an object) out' (nose-??)

[muRɪwi] /muH-tVhwe/ 'to butt' (nose-??)

[muYɪnesuʔa] /muH-yahnesuʔa/ 'grin, wrinkle the nose'  
(nose-smile)

Other examples include the following. I assume that the forms that begin with na- contain an underlying /naH-/; cf. nahmeti /naH-meti/ 'both, two (dual)' (analysis unclear).

[maRni] 'to hurt' (transitive) (analysis unclear)

[naRso] 'sack' (analysis unclear)

[nafIsa] or [nafIsaa] 'powder' (analysis unclear)

(Cf. ekwipIsa /ekwi<sup>=</sup>-pisa/ 'red rock for rouge')

Note that in the form for 'grin' above the form of the root - yahne - is known. I assume that the forms with no -s- as a second consonant similarly contained an underlying /h/, but I have been unable to discover the roots occurring without the prefixes.

#### 3.1.4.2.7. Consonant devoicing.

When the palatal glide (/y/) or the lenis reflexes of the bilabial and the dental ([v] and [r]) are followed by a voiceless vowel, the consonant becomes a voiceless spirant ([Y], [f] or [B] and [R], respectively). This is also discussed in Section 3.1.2.1.

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{C} \longrightarrow [-\text{VOICE}] / \text{---} \text{V} \\ [+ \text{VOICE}] \qquad \qquad \qquad [-\text{VOICE}] \\ [+ \text{CONT}] \\ (\text{y but not w}) \end{array}$$

Examples are:

[miʔaRi] /miʔa-ti<sup>=</sup>/ 'go (sg)' (go-GEN:ASP)

cf. [miʔarii] /miʔa-tii<sup>=</sup>/ 'go (pl)' (go-GEN:ASP=PL)

[miʔaiYU] /miʔa-yu/ 'go' (go-PROG:ASP)

I have no clear examples of the labial, but believe it would behave in a similar fashion if the appropriate environment existed.



I have been unable to determine the synchronic underlying forms of the following items. They may arise from Consonant Devoicing or from Preaspiration Deletion 2. McLaughlin (personal communication) notes that the forms 'female' and 'boy/girlfriend' contain the Comanche reflex of the Proto-Central Numic absolutive \*-pih; the final feature -h explains the devoicing, at least historically.

[piʔafi]	'female'	/piapih/
[tiʔurafi]	'boy/girlfriend'	/tiʔutapih/
[wahafisuakati]	'doubt'	/waha-pV-sua-h/Hka <sup>=</sup> ti <sup>=</sup> / (two-??-seem- TEMP=STATE:ASP)
[nafsiʔai]	'dream' (verb)	(analysis unclear)
[kefiisa]	'hard-working'	/ke-ʔ/ (NEG-??)

#### 3.1.4.2.8. Vowel Deletion 2.

When a vowel is suffixed to another vowel, it causes the immediately preceding vowel to be deleted. This occurs with the objective suffixes -i and -e. Other occurrences of this phenomenon are rare because most affixes begin with a consonant.

$$V \longrightarrow 0 / \underline{\quad} +V$$

Examples are:

[pai]	'water obj'	/paa-i/:	(water-OBJ)
[puki]	'horse obj'	/puku-i/	(horse-OBJ)
[naRʔse]	'sack obj'	/nahtVso-e/	(sack-OBJ)

## 3.1.5. Glottal Stop and /h/.

/ʔ/

[miʔa]	/miʔa/	'go'
[naʔsiʔpee]	/naʔsiʔpee/	'ball'

/ʔ/ is known to be a thorny area in Numic (Sapir 1930-31;59-62 is the classic treatment) and Comanche is no exception. Even common roots such as miʔa, 'go', occur with and without a glottal. Some glottals in my transcription simply represent a short inter-vocalic transition.

/ʔ/ and /h/ are in free variation when the verb root is followed by either the unrealized aspect suffix -tuʔi or the completive aspect suffix -i and the next element is the first person pronominal nii, as in:

[miʔaruʔi nii] or [miʔaruhi nii] /miʔa-tuʔi nii/ 'I'm going to leave.' (go-UR:ASP I)

cf. [pietsku nii miʔaruʔi] /pietsiku nii miʔa-tuʔi/ 'I'm going tomorrow.' (tomorrow I go-UR:ASP)

[unásugwatsiʔi nii] or [unásugwatsih nii] /u-na-suʔ-watsi-i nii/ 'I forgot' (it-self-mind-lose-COMPL:ASP I)

cf: [unásugwatsiʔi urii] 'they forgot' /u-na-suʔ-watsi-i utiiʔ/ (it-self-mind-lose-COMPL:ASP they)

McLaughlin (personal communication) points out that the unrealized suffix always appears as -tuʔI in Canonge, reflecting an underlying /-tuʔih/, and suggests that my forms show a reanalysis of the suffix. -tuʔi is never found with a final voiceless vowel in my forms, which supports this hypothesis. In fact, I believe that the glottal no longer is perceived as a consonant for purposes of vowel devoicing, and that a sequence such as uʔi behaves as a long vowel.

I have several other instances of variation between /h/ and /ʔ/. For instance, for 'persimmon' Canonge has naʔsééka and I have [nahseeeka] (note that mine has first syllable stress.) For 'cheek' I have both [soho] and [soʔo] (cf. Shoshoni soho-peh).

Canonge has a final glottal which is analyzed as a nominalizing suffix (Osborne and Smalley 1947, Armagost 1980). This suffix does not appear in my data but many lexical items - including a number of the animal names mentioned below (3.2.1) - have long final vowels and are, in objective case, suffixed with the objective marker -ʔa. The objective form of these nouns is evidence for the persistence of a final glottal, but vowel-final English loans are ended by -ʔa in objective case, which argues for reanalysis of the suffix. (Discussion and examples of the objective are found in Section 4.1.3.1). A final /ʔ/ is also found in Canonge after first person singular subject (niʔ). I have vowel length and strong stress on this pronoun [níí], with only a rare trace of a final glottal.

### 3.2. Stress

Most Comanche words are stressed on the first syllable, but there are some important exceptions. Primary stress is always marked when non-initial. Many instances of non-initial stress are explainable synchronically or diachronically; some are not.

Possessive and objective pronouns and the indefinite subject prefix /ta<sup>-</sup>/ are proclitic to verb and noun stems. That is, stress does not move leftward to these elements. When a pronoun is suffixed by, for instance, a postposition, the pronoun does take pri-

mary - and initial - stress. Examples:

- [nivía] /ni-pia/ 'my mother' (my-mother)  
 [mihípía] /mihí<sup>-</sup>-pia] 'your mother' (your=DL-mother)  
 [mihitóhtikwa?i nii] /mihí-toh-tikwa-i/ I hit you two.  
 (you=DL-INST-hit-COMPL:ASP I)  
 [tapíarihka] /ta<sup>-</sup>-pia-tihka/ 'Thanksgiving' (INDEF=SUBJ-  
 big-eat)  
 [níma?ai] /ni-ma?ai/ 'with me' (me-with)  
 [níhima?ai] /nihí-ma?ai/ 'with us' (us=DL=INCL-with)

Other elements which precede verb roots become part of the stem and thus take first syllable stress, as in 'hit', with the instrumental prefix /toH-/:

- [niróhtikwa?i nii] /ni-toH-tikwa-i/ I hit myself.  
 (I-INST-hit-COMPL:ASP I)

### 3.2.1. Non-initial stress.

Non-initial stress occurs when a syllable other than the first syllable of the word receives primary stress. Non-initial stress may be found on any syllable of the word, and may or may not co-occur with initial stress. The initial syllable never weakens to the point of voicelessness.

Loans are a common source of words with non-initial stress:

- [wasápe] /wasá<sup>-</sup>pe/ 'bear' (Osage wasápe)<sup>10</sup>  
 [pirísii] /pitísii/ 'policeman' (English policeman)  
 [pihúra] /pihúta/ 'bean, beans' (Spanish frijoles)

Some forms have two stresses:

- [ánikúra] /ánikúta/ 'ant' (analysis unknown)  
 [návukuwáá] /na-puku-waa/ 'car' (REFLEX-horse-without)

[písimarokóó] /pisix-ma-toko/ 'rainbow' (LIT: infected  
forefinger) (spoiled-it-digit)

Usually non-initial stress falls on a long vowel. An exception to this is:

[wakaré?ee] 'turtle' (analysis unknown)

A number of animal names have non-initial (and usually final) stress. As mentioned in Section 3.1.4, they may reflect a final nominalizing glottal that was present as recently as the 1940s and 1950s in the speech of the people Canonge worked with. Thus, besides loans such as:

[kaviríí] /kapitíí/ 'sheep, goat'

examples of other Comanche animal names, many with clear Central Numic cognates, include:

[huhtsúú] or [huutsúú] /huhtsúú/ 'bird' (cf: Shoshoni  
huittsuu)

[kwasinavóó] /kwasi-na-poo/ 'snake' (cf: Shoshoni kwaisi  
'tail'; tail-REFLEX-mark, write)

[parukúú] /pa-tuku/ 'raccoon' (cf. Shoshoni and  
Comanche paa 'water')

### 3.2.2. Alternating stress.

In words of three or more syllables, alternating stress may be present. In words with initial stress the stress begins on the initial syllable and a secondary stress is placed on every second mora rightward. The first example below, '12', demonstrates straightforward mora-counting.

[wáhatí'mato'ʔika'tí] /waha<sup>̄</sup>-??/ '12' (two-??)

'spider web' and the form for making soup (both below) demonstrate problems with a vowel cluster: In both cases ʔai 'do,

make' is a part of the word. In the compound 'spider web' this element seems to count as one mora, and in the form for 'soup' it seems to count as two moras. Recall that the pronominal object does not receive a stress.

[píhire'tsiwa'naʔai'pí] /pihi-tetsi<sup>-</sup>-wana-ai-<sup>-</sup>píh/ 'spider  
web' (fuzz-brother=in=law-cloth-make-NOM)

[nisááhu'vaʔai'khu'tuʔi] /ni-saahupa-ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-hu<sup>-</sup>(2)-tuʔi/  
'(you) were going to make me some soup'  
(me-soup-make-BEN-DUB=FUT:ASP-UR:ASP)

The prefinal aspect suffix I term -hu<sup>-</sup>(1), 'accomplished', is independently stressed. This is unusual for aspect markers.

Examples are:

[wínhúpití] /wini-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)-piti/ '(arrived and) stopped'  
(stand-ACCOMPL:ASP-arrive)

[wékwIhúpití] /wekwi-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)-piti/ '(arrived and) entered'  
(enter (pl subj)-ACCOMPL:ASP-arrive)

The prefinal aspect suffix -hu<sup>-</sup>(2), 'intentional', usually behaves as in the example above for making soup, or as:

[nimakhutuʔi] /ni-maka-hu<sup>-</sup>(2)-tuʔi/ '(you) were going to  
give me (some food)' (me-feed-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP)

[himhutuʔi] /hima-hu<sup>-</sup>(2)-tuʔi/ 'might give' (give-  
INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP)

That is, -hu<sup>-</sup>(2) participates in mora-counting in a straightforward manner. However, there are also forms such as the following, in which -hu<sup>-</sup>(2) seems to pull primary stress rightward one mora ('(what) will happen?') (see Section 3.2.3 below) or to behave in a manner similar to -hu<sup>-</sup>(1) ('expected to see them'). Clearly, further exploration of this suffix is called for.

[naháhutuʔi] /naha-hu<sup>-</sup>(2)-tuʔi/ '(what) will happen?'  
(become-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP)

[uhripúnihútuʔi] /uhti-puni-hu<sup>=(2)</sup>-tuʔi/ 'expected to see them' (them=DL=OBJ-see-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP)

Note also 'pear', which shows a shift from second-syllable stress when compared with its source, the lexical item 'bear' /wasá<sup>pe</sup>/. 'pear' may be a lexicalized compound.

[wásapéʔatíhkapɪ] /wasa<sup>pe</sup>-a<sup>=</sup>-tiHka<sup>=</sup>-pih/ 'pear'  
(bear-POSS-eat-NOM)

### 3.2.3. Stress shift.

The suffixes -n 'completive aspect' (for Canonge's speakers this suffix had the shape -nU) and -pai 'have' cause a rightward shift of stress in forms with the shape /CVHCV/ or /CVhV/ (i.e., forms where [h] is present as the second consonant or as a preaspirated consonant).

[pohpín] /poHpi-n/ 'he jumped' (jump-COMPL:ASP)

[pihkán] /piHka-n/ 'it (phone) rang' (sound-COMPL:ASP)

[kohtóin] /koHto-i-n/ 'he built a fire' (build a fire-??-COMPL:ASP)

[pahín] /pahi-n/ 'he fell' (fall-COMPL:ASP)

[marohtíkwán] /ma-toH-tikwa-n/ 'he hit him' (him-INST-hit-COMPL:ASP)

Note the form 'hit' with a different suffix. Note also that stress does not shift rightward when the verb root does not contain an h.

cf. [maróhtikwítsi] /ma-toH-tikwa-h/H/tsi/ 'after he hit him' (him-INST-hit-SS)

[nómiʔán] /no-miʔa-n/ 'they moved camp' (carry-go-COMPL:ASP)

[yítsin] /yitsi-n/ 'he got up' (get up, fly-COMPL:ASP)

[nígwinin] /niwini-n/ 'he said' (say-COMPL:ASP)

Examples with -pai or -paʔi 'to have':

[kahnívai] /kahni-pai/ 'to live' (house-have)

[huuhtsípiapivai] /huuhtsi<sup>̄</sup>-pia<sup>̄</sup>-pi<sup>̄</sup>-pai/ 'have a  
daughter-in-law' (grandchild(daughter's)=POSS-ABS-have)

/-h/Epinni/ has a strong stress when followed by a CV suffix. This is also true of the verb navunni, 'to appear, look like'.

[nise tíkiv/Bini uriinígwiniv/Bi'níkU] /ni<sup>̄</sup>-se tíHka-  
h/Epinni utii-niwini-h/Epinni-ku/  
'I was eating while they were talking.'  
(I-CONTR eat-ONGO:ASP them=DL-talk-ONGO=ASP-DS)

[návunnítí] /napunni-ti<sup>̄</sup>/ '(she) looks . . .'  
(appear-GEN:ASP)

[návunniti'kwí] /napunni-tíkwi/ '(the two of them)  
look . . .' (appear-GEN:ASP=DL)

### 3.3. Phonetic details.

#### 3.3.1. Palatalized /s/ and /ts/.

Palatalization of /ts/ and /s/ occurs in two places in my data. (1) One speaker, a woman in her 80's, uses [č] and [š] occasionally, though not only after /i/; rather, this use is emphatic, as in [čaa] for [tsaa] /tsaa/ 'good'. (2) [s] is optionally found as [š] in expressions of strong emotion. Thus, 'you're no good' is [timavi soʔaití] but, to register true disgust, one pronounces it [timavi šoʔaití] (analysis unclear).

#### 3.3.2. Vowel harmony.

Occasionally the vowel of a suffix will agree in height and shape with the vowel of a preceding stem. This phenomenon only occurs with a few suffixes. The vowel /u/ of the locative postpositions -H/ku<sup>̄</sup>, -H/pu<sup>̄</sup> and -Ě/tu<sup>̄</sup> becomes [o] when it follows a stem



or suffix which contains /o/ as its last vowel. The vowel of the switch reference suffix -ku also becomes [o] when the vowel immediately to its left is an /o/. The locative demonstrative suffix -EkVh agrees with a preceding vowel so completely that an underlying shape for the vowel of the suffix cannot be determined.

## Notes

## Chapter Three

<sup>1</sup> This chapter owes a great debt to Wick Miller, who has given generously of his time and knowledge to help unravel the intricacies of Comanche. I have also benefitted greatly from the work of Jim Armagost, who has spent much time and energy working out the problems of Comanche voiceless vowels. John McLaughlin has given me valuable criticism on an earlier version of this chapter. The first chapter of his description of Panamint synthesizes and recapitulates the scholarship on Numic final features from Sapir to the present. Finally, Allan Taylor and David Rood have endeavored to make the material here accessible to the non-Numic scholar.

<sup>2</sup> The notations used were chosen for the following reasons. Lenis is the absence of a final feature. The raised equal sign (=) will signify fortis. The quotation mark (") is used to represent the final feature gemination by Miller and McLaughlin. Since the Comanche realization of this feature is -hC, I have chosen H for preaspiration as a mnemonic to remind the reader that the preaspirating final feature has a different effect from that of the aspirating one. An -h is used for aspiration because it demonstrates effects indistinguishable from surface /h/ in the language. A form terminated in -x indicates that the final feature of the stem or morpheme is undetermined.

<sup>3</sup> Canonge transcribes this form as naʔAruu- /h.

<sup>4</sup> In Shoshoni Miller states (n.d.a.;9) that most examples of hw are variants of hm. In Comanche, there is no evidence of this relationship.

<sup>5</sup> Riggs (1949:229) notes that, "In intervocalic position w and y have idiolectal variants gw and dz respectively."

<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, the form for the cognate morpheme in Shoshoni is kopai. In Shoshoni /e/ and /ai/ frequently occur as variants of one another. I have not discovered any phonetic interchange between /e/ and /ai/ except for the postposition 'around', which occurs variously as [-hoikɪ], [-hoaikɪ] and [-hoekɪ].

<sup>7</sup> The vowel clusters are almost the same as the vowel clusters of Shoshoni. Miller n.d.a.;10 also reports the cluster ea, which I have not encountered, although McLaughlin (personal communication) has discovered the form nahweaki 'burn oneself' in Canonge's material.

<sup>8</sup> There are 3 postpositions, -H/pu=, -H/tu= and -H/ku=, which demonstrate a contrast between preaspirated and lenis/fortis in some contexts.

<sup>9</sup> In Miller's work this suffix is -ppi. The expected Comanche reflex for this form should be /-hpi/ ([-hpi]) and, in fact, Canonge gives the forms for tenapi and waʔipi as tenahp<sup>^</sup> and waʔihp<sup>^</sup>. In my experience this h is seldom heard, and I assume this absolutive is in the process of being reanalyzed as being parallel to -p̄ih, above. The remaining differences are in the shape of the two suffixes finally and in objective case: [p̄i] and [p.ha] vs. [pi] and [piʔa], respectively.

<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to John Koontz for the Osage form, which follows Robert Rankin's transcription for that language.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### MORPHOLOGY

#### 4.1. Nominal Roots

The nominal root is the form of the noun without affixes - for instance, as it is when compounded. The various elements which may be attached to the root are discussed below.

Some nouns may be inherently possessed. These nouns are names for body parts, kin terms and the word for a possessed horse (puku). This area of Comanche morphology is difficult to ascertain, as the speakers I have worked with are able to produce words without possessive morphology during elicitation. However, the above terms are always found with possessive pronouns in texts.

##### 4.1.1. Noun inflection.

Nouns are inflected for subjective, objective and possessive case and for singular, dual and plural number. Many noun stems are found with an absolutive suffix.

##### 4.1.1.1. Absolutive suffixes.

In most Uto-Aztecan languages, many nouns are found with an ending traditionally termed an absolutive suffix<sup>1</sup>. The function of the absolutive may have originally been to classify nouns, but any rationale the system once may have had is now lost, and no semantic (or other) criteria explain which absolutive suffix, or none,

appears with a particular noun. The suffix is usually present when the noun occurs in isolation and when it is topicalized with *-tsa* or *-se*. It is dropped when the noun is the first member of a compound, followed by a postposition, or incorporated. The productive<sup>2</sup> absolutive endings in Comanche are:

- pih* (objective [-pha])
- pi* (objective [-piʔa])
- pi* (objective [-pihta] or [pita])
- pih*

-*pih* is also found extensively as a nominalizing suffix (Section 4.1.4.3.2-4.1.4.3) and it is occasionally used with predicative force (Section 5.2.3.1). -*pih* and -*pi* are both found on nouns describing natural phenomena (but not very often with animal names), body parts, etc.

#### -*pih*

Examples of -*pih* include:

tannapī	/tanna- <i>pih</i> /	'knee' (knee-ABS)
tuinapī	/tuina- <i>pih</i> /	'little boy' (little=boy-ABS)
tommopī	/tommo- <i>pih</i> /	'roots' (roots-ABS)

As mentioned above, the absolutive suffix does not occur when the noun is compounded, followed by a postposition, or incorporated:

wanapī	/wana- <i>pih</i> /	'cloth' (cloth-ABS)
wanarammu	/wana-tammu/	'cotton thread' (cloth-thread)
tsunipī	/tsunix- <i>pih</i> /	'bone' (bone-ABS)
tsunituhka	/tsunix-tuhka/	'under the bone' (bone-under)

tsuniwimhinakatĩ /tsunix-wimVhina-ka<sup>ti</sup>=/ 'arthritis'  
(bone-give=up-have)

-<sup>pi</sup>

-<sup>pi</sup> is found chiefly on human nouns.

tenapi	/tena- <sup>pi</sup> /	'man' (man-ABS)
tenapi?a	/tena- <sup>pi</sup> -?a/	'man' (obj) (man-ABS-OBJ)
tenanii	/tena-nii/	'men' (man-PL)
wa?i- <sup>pi</sup>	/wa?i- <sup>pi</sup> /	'woman'
wa?i <sup>pi</sup> ?a	/wa?i- <sup>pi</sup> -?a/	'woman' (obj) (woman-ABS-OBJ)
wa?ipi?anii	/wa?i- <sup>pi</sup> -?a-nii/	'women' (woman-ABS-?a-PL)

-pi

Examples of -pi are:

piipi	/pii <sup>=</sup> -pi/	'blood' (blood-ABS)
pii?okweetĩ	/pii <sup>=</sup> -okwe-ti <sup>=</sup> /	'blood is flowing' (blood-flow-GEN:ASP)
hanipi	/hani <sup>=</sup> -pi/	'corn' (corn-ABS)
hanitusupĩ	/hani <sup>=</sup> -tusu- <sup>pih</sup> /	'mush' (corn-grind-NOM)
toyavi	/toia-pi/	'mountain' (mountain-ABS)
toyava?a	/toia-pa?a/	'on the mountain' (mountain-on)
huupi	/huu <sup>=</sup> -pi/	'tree'
huutsamo?itĩ	/huu <sup>=</sup> -tsamo?i-ti <sup>=</sup> /	'grove' (tree-??-NOM)

-pih

When the color terms occur in citation form, the stem is followed by -pih (and the construction is completed with the predica-

tive suffix  $-ti^=$ ). The objective form is  $-piti$ .  $-pih$  is unique to the color terms. Since it does not appear when these terms are compounded, it is classified as an absolutive suffix.

tuuhu $^=$ pIti /tuhu $^=$ -pih-ti $^=$ / 'black' (black-ABS-GEN:ASP)

ekapIti ~ ekafIti /eka $^=$ -pih-ti $^=$ / or /ekaH-pih-ti $^=$ / 'red' (red-ABS-GEN:ASP)

In compounds:

tuutaivo /tuu $^=$ -taipo/ 'black man' (black-white=man)

ekahpaa /ekaH-paa/ 'red water' (red-water)

#### 4.1.2. Nominal number.

Free, unincorporated nouns may be marked for dual and plural. The marking is obligatory for human nouns, optional for animate nouns, and seldom used for non-animate nouns. The suffixes are:

Table 5. Nominal Number Suffixes

	SUBJECT	OBJECT	POSSESSIVE
DUAL	-nikwih	-nikwih-ha	-nikwih-ha $^=$
	-nihi	-nihi	-nihi $^=$
PLURAL	-nii	-nii	-nii $^=$

Note that the subject and possessive forms differ only in their final feature in several of these forms. This is different from nouns and most pronouns. In those elements, the objective and possessive forms differ only in their final feature. Of the two duals,  $-nikwih$  seems to be preferred for humans. The absolutive is sometimes dropped before dual and plural suffixes. Examples, using sub-

ject forms, are:

SG	tena- <sup>̄</sup> pi	'man' (man-ABS)	sati?i	'dog'
DU	tena-nikwih	'two men'	sati?i-nihi	'two dogs'
PL	tena-nii	'men'	sati?i-nii	'dogs'

With a few words, <sup>ʔ</sup>a is inserted between the stem and the dual and plural subject and object suffixes. The words in which this glottal-vowel sequence is found are not predictable. An example is:

SG	wa?i <sup>̄</sup> pi	'woman'
DU	wa?i <sup>̄</sup> pi- <sup>ʔ</sup> a-nikwih	'two women'
PL	wa?i <sup>̄</sup> pi- <sup>ʔ</sup> a-nii	'women'

Examples of the use of dual and plural number suffixes follow. Possessive forms are found below, in Section 4.1.3.2.

- (1)           iti nii sari?inihi tohim<sup>̄</sup>kat<sup>̄</sup>  
 i-ti nii sati?i-nihi to<sup>̄</sup>H-hima-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 here-OBJ I dog-DL=OBJ INST(hand)-hold(pl obj)-  
 TEMP=STATE:ASP

I carried two puppies.

- (2)           tiresari?inii nii tohim<sup>̄</sup>kat<sup>̄</sup>  
 tite-sati?i-nii nii to<sup>̄</sup>H-hima-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 little-dog-PL=OBJ I INST(hand)-hold(pl obj)-  
 TEMP=STATE:ASP

I carried puppies.

- (3)           oritsa kutsunii tihkar<sup>̄</sup>  
 oti<sup>̄</sup>-tsa kutsu-nii tiHka-tii<sup>̄</sup>  
 those-TOP cow-PL eat-GEN:ASP=PL

The cows are eating.

Dual and plural meanings for non-human nouns are usually expressed with numerals and quantifiers, as in:



- (4) kahniʔaiti<sup>ˀ</sup> nii  
 kahni-ai-ti<sup>ˀ</sup> nii  
 house-make-GEN:ASP I  
 I'm building a house.
- (5) wahati nii kahniʔaiti  
 waha<sup>ˀ</sup>-ti nii kahni-ai-ti<sup>ˀ</sup>  
 two-OBJ I house-make-GEN:ASP  
 I'm building two houses.
- (6) soʔoti nii kahniʔaiti  
 soʔo<sup>ˀ</sup>-ti nii kahni-ai-ti<sup>ˀ</sup>  
 many-OBJ I house-make-GEN:ASP  
 I'm building houses.

When a place name is found with the plural suffix, reference is to the inhabitants of the location. For instance, in the sentence below 'Fort Sill' may be translated as 'the people/soldiers at Fort Sill'.

- (7) Fort Sillniitsah usúnni pitáʔwoʔiʔa  
 tsahtiraipiiniʔeeti<sup>ˀ</sup>  
 Fort Sill-nii-tsa u<sup>ˀ</sup>-sunni pi<sup>ˀ</sup>-taʔwoʔi-ʔa  
 tsahtitai-h/Hpiini-ʔe-tii<sup>ˀ</sup>  
 name-PL-TOP it's-always their=own-  
 gun-OBJ fire=a=gun-ONGO:ASP-DISTRIB:ASP-GEN:ASP=PL  
 At Fort Sill they shoot all day.

A plural noun may be optionally reduplicated. This reduplication often contributes a distributive meaning. Initial reduplication also occurs with modifiers and verbs with a distributive meaning. When a form is reduplicated, the first syllable of the stem is repeated initially. With some forms, a preaspirating h (/h/) is inserted between this syllable and the non-nasal stop or affricate of the stem. Reduplication can optionally co-occur with the plural suffix.

SINGULAR		REDUPLICATED	PLURAL
tammi	'younger brother'	nararaminii na-ta-tammi-nii RECIP/REDUP-younger=brother-PL	'brothers'
nammi	'younger sister'	nananami na-na-nammi RECIP/REDUP-younger=sister	'sisters'
pia	'big'	pivia pi-pia REDUP-big	'big group'
taka	'relative'	tahtakanii taH-taka-nii REDUP-relative-PL	'relatives'
tenséé	'ten cents'	téhtenséé teH-tenséé REDUP-ten=cents	'ten cents apiece'
pieti	'elderly person'	pihpietini piH-pietini-nii REDUP-elderly=person-PL	'group of elders'
haitsi	'male friend of a man'	habaitsV-nii of a man' ha-haitsih-nii REDUP-male=friend=of=a=man-PL	'male friends of a man'

The dual affix *-nikwih* sometimes is used for an otherwise unmentioned participant in an action. I.e., it may be used to represent the second of two commonly-linked names. The following narrative describes an event involving a married couple named Francine and Phil. The narrative begins:

- (8) Francinenikwitsa ria niriviniYU . . .  
 Francine-nikwih-tsa ria ni-tipini-yu . . .  
 name-DL-TOP NARR=ONSET me-ask-PROG:ASP
- Francine and Phil asked me . . .

### 4.1.3. Case marking

#### 4.1.3.1. Objective case.

The objective endings for nouns are: -0, -ʔa, -ha, -i, -e and -ta or -hta. Additionally, certain nominalizations have the objective suffix -na.<sup>3</sup> It is not possible to predict which allomorph a noun will take. For instance, kahni, 'house,' takes the -0 suffix while puku, horse, takes the suffix -i. Both are widely-used Numic words:

- (9) kahni u vunni  
 kahni u puni  
 house-OBJ he see

He sees the house.

- (10) oretsa renapi ohka puki vunni  
 oti-tsa tena-̄pi oHka puku-i puni-i  
 that-TOP man-ABS that-OBJ horse-OBJ see-COMPL:ASP

The man saw a horse.

There are a few guidelines for predicting which suffix will occur with which noun stem, but in most cases noun stems must be marked for the objective suffix they will take.

As recently as Canonge's time, there were fewer "basic" objective suffixes: -0, -ʔa, -i and -ta -hta. -ʔa had the allophone -ha when it followed an aspirating stem, and -i had the shape -e when it followed a word ending in a or o (Armagost, 1980:49). -ha is still the objective ending used with stems which end with the aspirating final feature, but it is also the objective suffix used for consonant-final English words<sup>4</sup>, and these words show no evidence of having an aspirating final feature. Further, -ha is used to mark the objective form of a number of nominalized verbs.

For these reasons, I believe it has been analyzed as a separate objective suffix.

The -i ending is found after any vowel except -i and -e. As mentioned above, words ending with a and o once phonologically conditioned -e, with -i appearing as -e when it followed a low vowel. This is usually the case in my material, but there are a number of exceptions. Further, -e is rare as an objective suffix, and is probably disappearing. Words which are nominalized with the suffix -ti<sup>2</sup> have the objective form -ti.

The -o allomorph most frequently - but not exclusively - occurs after nouns that end in -i.

-ta or -hta is found on nouns ending with -wi or with the absolutive suffix -pi.

In Canonge the objective suffixes have the lenis final feature, in contrast with the fortis final feature of the possessive (Section 4.1.3.2). Thus, a sentence like (11) has the objective -ʔa with the p of the following verb in lenis form [v]. While this is generally true for the objective, there are also a number of examples in which the final feature following the objective seems to be suspended, and if the following word begins with p or t, that consonant is fortis, as in Sentence (12). Because the object is often topicalized and thus is found in sentence-initial position, where it is separated from the verb by a second-position element and/or terminated by -tʂa or -se (see Section 5.2.1), I believe that its final feature may be in the process of being lost.

- (11) uhka nii posarenapi?a vunin  
 uHka nii posa-tena-pi-?a puni-n  
 that=OBJ I crazy-man-ABS-OBJ see-COMPL:ASP

I saw the crazy man.

- (12) uhka nii tsuku-pi?a punin  
 uHka nii tsuku-pi-?a puni-n  
 that=OBJ I old=man-ABS-OBJ see-COMPL:ASP

I saw the old man.

Incorporated nouns do not take an objective suffix:

- (13) hakaniti inni návukuwáavai  
 hakaniti inni nápukuwáá-pai  
 WH=kind=OBJ you car-have

What kind of car do you have?

Cf.

- (14) hakaniti inni návukuwaa!?a tsahanIka  
 hakaniti inni nápukuwáá-?a tsaH-hani-h/Hka=  
 WH=kind-PRED-OBJ you car-OBJ INST(hand)-  
 do, fix-STATE:ASP

What kind of car do you drive?

Examples of the various objective endings are:

-0

SUBJECT	OBJECT		
huuvia	huuvia	/hupia/	'song'
kohi	kohi	/kohi/	'guts, intestines'
nehki	nehki	/neHki/	'belt'
kahni	kahni	/kahni/	'house'

-?a

muuvitai	muuvitai?a	/mupitai-?a/	'walnut'
pihnáá	pihnáá?a	/pihnáá-?a/	'sugar, candy'
tso?nika	tso?nika?a	/tso?nika-?a/	'hat'

tenapi	tenapiʔa	/tena- <sup>̄</sup> pi-ʔa/	'man' (man-ABS-ʔa)
kwásinavóó	kwásinavóʔa	/kwásinapóó-ʔa/	'snake'
naʔsiʔpee	naʔsipeʔa	/naʔsi- <sup>̄</sup> pee-ʔa/	'ball'
nahu	nahuʔa	/nahu-ʔa/	'knife'
patsi	patsiʔa	/patsi-ʔa/	'older sister'
Brandy	Brandyʔa	/brandy-ʔa/	'Brandy' (personal, English name)

-ha

napí	napha	/napih-ha/	'shoe'
haitsí	haitsha	/haitsih-ha/	'friend'
tekwapí	tekwapha	/tekwa- <sup>̄</sup> pih-ha/	'speech, talking' (talk-NOM-OBJ)
Francine	Francineha	/Francine-ha/	'Francine' (personal, English name)

-i

paa	pai	/paa-i/	'water'
sooti	sooti	/soo- <sup>̄</sup> ti- <sup>̄</sup> i/	'many, lots' (much-PRED/NOM-OBJ)
puku	puki	/puku-i/	'horse'
kiika	kiki	/kika-i/	'onion'
pitsohko	pitsohki	/pitsohko-i/	'pants'
moʔo	moʔi	/moʔo-i/	'hand'

-e

nahRiso	nahRise	/nahtVso-e/	'sack'
agwo	agwe	/awo-e/	'dish'

**-ta or -hta**

toyavi	toyavita	/toya-pi-(H)ta/	'mountain'
	toyavihta		(mountain-ABS-OBJ)
ti <sup>̄</sup> pi	tipihta	/ti <sup>̄</sup> pi-hta/	'rock'
puhihwi	puhihwihta	/puhihwi-hta/	'money'

Subordinate verbs which occur in complex sentences are often nominalized, and these nominalizations may then be placed in objective case, where this is appropriate. A list of these nominalizations and their objective cases is found in 4.1.4.3.

**4.1.3.2. Possessive case.**

In a possessive phrase the possessor precedes the possessed. The possessed noun is unmarked. The possessor nominal is marked for possession by terminating the objective form of the noun with the final feature fortis (-<sup>̄</sup>). As Armagost points out (1980;51), derived nouns which end in the nominalizing suffix -ti<sup>̄</sup> have the possessive suffix -na<sup>̄</sup>. This reflects a stage in which -ti<sup>̄</sup> had the underlying shape /-tiN/ (i.e., had the final feature "nasalized") and was followed by the basic objective suffix -ʔa, as discussed above. Currently, it represents a separate possessive suffix, paralleling the emergence of -ha as a separate suffix. A chart of the possessive suffixes demonstrates this:

Table 6. Objective and Possessive Forms of Nouns

OBJECTIVE FORM OF NOUN	POSSESSIVE FORM OF NOUN
-0	-0 <sup>=</sup>
-ʔa	-ʔa <sup>=</sup>
-ha	-ha <sup>=</sup>
-i	-i <sup>=</sup>
-e	-e <sup>=</sup>
-ta ~ -hta	-ta <sup>=</sup> ~ -hta <sup>=</sup>
-ti	-tina <sup>=</sup>

As noted in Section 4.1.2, in the dual and plural suffixes of nouns the possessive is usually marked by adding the fortis final feature to the subjective form of the suffix.

- (15) ohkatsa tsuhkukahni sokovi  
oHka<sup>=</sup>-tsa tsuHku-kahni<sup>=</sup> soko-pi  
that=POSS-TOP old-house=POSS ground, floor-ABS  
  
'that old house's floor'
- (16) Miaʔatsa sariʔi  
Mia-ʔa<sup>=</sup>-tsa satiʔi  
name-POSS-TOP dog  
  
'Mia's dog'
- (17) Philha návukuwááʔakimaru  
Phil-ha<sup>=</sup> návukuwááʔ-ʔa-kimatu<sup>=</sup>  
name-POSS car-OBJ-by  
  
'by Phil's car (OBJ)'
- (18) ánikúraʔa<sup>=</sup> kahni  
ánikútaʔ-ʔa<sup>=</sup> kahni  
ant-POSS house  
  
'ant's house'



- (19) tsuku<sup>-</sup>pi<sup>?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> pímoróó  
 tsuku<sup>-</sup>pi<sup>-?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> pímotóó  
 old=man-ABS-POSS cow  
 'old man's cow'
- (20) ohkatsah piayuupíha<sup>=</sup> pímoróó<sup>?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> kahni  
 oHka<sup>=</sup>-tsa pia-yuu<sup>-</sup>pih<sup>-</sup>ha<sup>=</sup> pímotóó<sup>-?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> kahni  
 that-POSS-TOP big-fat-ABS-POSS cow-POSS house  
 'the fat cow's barn'
- (21) simi<sup>?</sup>a u ahpi  
 simi<sup>-?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> u ahpi  
 someone-POSS he father  
 He's somebody's father.
- (22) ohkatsa tie<sup>?</sup>otisari<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> pihi tuhtasití  
 oHka<sup>=</sup>-tsa tie-o<sup>=</sup>ti<sup>-</sup>sati<sup>?</sup>i<sup>-?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> pihi tuhtsai<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 that-POSS-TOP small-tan-dog-POSS hair dirty-PRED  
 The little brown dog's hair is dirty.
- (23) "nah ninitso uhka nini<sup>?</sup>gwi<sup>?</sup>yiriki<sup>?</sup>a tiretii"  
 naH ninni<sup>-</sup>tsu uHka<sup>"</sup> nini<sup>-</sup>wiyiriki<sup>-?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> tite<sup>-</sup>tii<sup>=</sup>  
 just we=EXCL-?? that-POSS people-scare-POSS child-PL  
 "We're just children of the quail."

Examples of dual and plural possessive nouns include:

- (24) piagwa<sup>?</sup>ónikwíha narimi  
 pia-wa<sup>?</sup>ó-nikwi<sup>-</sup>ha<sup>=</sup> natimi  
 big-cat-DL-POSS owner  
 'the two big cats' owner'
- (25) tenanii puhihwitekwapí  
 tena<sup>-</sup>nii<sup>=</sup> puhihwi<sup>-</sup>tekwa<sup>-</sup>pih  
 man-PL=POSS metal-talk-NOM  
 'the men's telephone'
- (26) oritsa piayuupíni<sup>i</sup> nararamini<sup>i</sup> kahni  
 otii<sup>-</sup>tsa pia-yuu<sup>-</sup>pih<sup>-</sup>nii<sup>=</sup> na-ta-tami<sup>-</sup>nii<sup>=</sup> kahni  
 those-TOP big-fat-ABS-PL=POSS RECIP/REDUP-  
 younger=brother-PL=POSS house  
 'the fat brothers' house'

- (27) oritsa naiʔanihi kwasuʔu  
 otii-tsa naiʔ-ʔa-nihi= kwasuʔu=  
 those-TOP girl-ʔa-DL=POSS dress  
 (the a before the dual is not possessive; it is  
 discussed in Section 4.1.2)

'the two girls' dresses'

Possessive derived nouns ending in -ti= include:

- (28) tiepirina tihkapī  
 tie=pi-ti=-na= tiHka-̄pih  
 small-NOM-POSS eat-NOM

'the child's meat'

- (29) yitsietina kasanikwī  
 yitsie-ti=-na= kasa-nikwih  
 fly-NOM-POSS wing-DL

'airplane's wings'

As mentioned in Section 4.1.4.1, some compounds involve a possessive construction:

- (30) wasapéʔa=tihkapī  
 wasa=pe-ʔa=-tiHka-̄pih  
 bear-POSS-eat-NOM

'pear'

Sentences which attribute possession are equative; they are exemplified in Section 5.2.3.1. Relative clauses are possessive clauses; they are discussed and exemplified in Section 5.6.3.1.

#### 4.1.4 Noun derivation.

##### 4.1.4.1 Noun compounding.

Compounding is a productive process in Comanche. The first element of the compound is usually a noun, followed by at least one noun or verb. the first noun in a compound does not appear with an absolutive suffix. The last element (noun or verb) of the compound

determines the status (noun or verb, respectively) of the resulting form, with the apparent exception of lexical items which terminate with the predicative suffix *-pai*, 'have.' These forms have the specialized meaning of a place to dwell. An example is *kahnivai* /*kahni-pai*/ (house-have) 'town, village.' An example of a long compound is:

- (31) *pihiretsiwana?aip*  
*pihi-tetsi-wana-?ai-pyh*  
 fuzz-brother=in=law-cloth-make-NOM  
 'spider web'

#### Noun-noun Compounds

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (32) | <i>taarihakp</i><br><i>taa-tyHka-pyh</i><br>morning-eat-NOM<br><br>'oatmeal' | <i>paani?et</i><br><i>paa-ni?e-ty</i><br>water-wind-NOM<br><br>'hurricane'                |
|      | <i>puhnikahni</i><br><i>puhnikahni</i><br>money-house<br><br>'bank'          | <i>taivovihnaa</i><br><i>taipo-piHnaa</i><br>white=man-sweet, sugar<br><br>'cantaloupe'   |
|      | <i>kwasitaivo</i><br><i>kwasi-taipo</i><br>tail-white=man<br><br>'monkey'    | <i>ku?ekwYsitaivo</i><br><i>ku?e-kwasi-taipo</i><br>braid-tail-white=man<br><br>'Chinese' |

Some noun-noun compounds express a genitival relationship. The first noun is suffixed with *-?a=*, which is terminated by the final feature fortis. This final feature is almost always found as the last element of the possessive case of nouns and pronouns (see Sections 4.1.3.2 and 4.2.3). However, *-?a=* does not represent the

normal possessive form of all of the nouns listed here. The possessive of *kwasu?u*, 'dress,' is *kwasu-i*, for instance. Because the final feature of *-?a* is fortis, I assume a possessive relationship in this construction.

(33)	<i>ohapiti?apaa</i> <i>oha-pi-ty-?a-paa</i> yellow-ABS-PRED- POSS-water	<i>yuutaivo?atik?kahni</i> <i>yuu-taipo-?a-ti?ka-kahni</i> fat-white=man-POSS-eat- house
	'orange juice'	'Mexican restaurant'
	<i>kwasu?a?gwoa</i> <i>kwasu-?a-wosa</i> dress-POSS-bag	<i>wasape?atihkapi</i> <i>wasape-?a-tyi?ka-pih</i> bear-POSS-eat-NOM
	'pocket'	'pear'

It is difficult to predict which compounds will be formed using a possessive first member, and which will not. For instance, one might expect 'cantaloupe' to be possessive, to agree with 'pear' and 'Mexican restaurant' or, if common occurrence is a guide, for 'pear' to be similar to 'cantaloupe'.

Nouns which are frequently the first member of a compound occasionally appear in truncated form. For instance, *taa* in 'oatmeal' (above) is a shorter form of *taape* 'morning, day' and *yu* in 'Mexican restaurant' is probably a short form of *yuhu*, 'fat, grease.' It is not possible to predict which common noun stems will undergo shortening.

#### Verb-noun Compounds

(34)	<i>tinowaikin</i> <i>ti-noo-waikin</i> INDEF=OBJ-carry-wagon	<i>tivokahni</i> <i>ti-po-kahni</i> INDEF=OBJ-write-house
	'freight train, pickup truck'	'school'

titamɪRaivo<sup>5</sup>  
 ti-tamah-tai<sub>po</sub>  
 INDEF=OBJ-to=herd-  
 white=man

'sheriff'

nomiʔaraivo  
 noo-miʔa-tai<sub>po</sub>  
 wander-go-white=man

'someone who wanders;  
 a gypsy'

#### Modifier-noun Compounds

Modifiers are often used to form new lexical items. They are generally affixed to nouns. For instance, using *pia*, 'big':

(35)	<p>piahuutsuu          pia-huutsu          big-bird</p> <p>'eagle'</p> <p>piaváá          pia-paa          big-water</p> <p>'ocean'</p> <p>piawekIti<sup>6</sup>          pia-wekihty<sup>=</sup>          big-width</p> <p>'wide'</p>	<p>piakahúú          pia-kahúú          big-mouse</p> <p>'rat'</p> <p>piavani          pia-paa-ni          big-water-??</p> <p>'lake'</p>
------	--	---

#### 4.1.4.2. Nominalizing affixes in simple sentences.

Affixes which create nouns from non-nouns stems are described here. Those which are used to nominalize a complex predication are described at the end of this section. Nominalizing prefixes are:

na-

ta<sup>=</sup>

na- REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL<sup>7</sup>

Verbs are occasionally nominalized by the use of the reflexive-reciprocal prefix na-, which is used to express the meaning "place where the action occurs." I am not sure how productive the use of this suffix is.

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| (36) | narimi<br>na-timi<br>na-sit (sg subj)<br><br>'store'<br><br>nakohtoo<br>na-kohtoo<br>na-set=a=fire<br><br>'stove' | nakari<br>na-katy<br>na-buy, sell<br><br>'chair'<br><br>cf. kohtoopi (Canonge)<br>kohtoo-pyh-NOM<br>set=a=fire-NOM<br><br>'a fire' |
|------|---|--|

## ta=- INDEFINITE SUBJECT

The indefinite subject prefix ta=- is sometimes used to create a noun from a verb. This is probably an extension from the use of ta=- with the nominalizing suffix -na discussed in the following section. The following examples show ta=- occurring without any other nominalizing morphology.

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| (37) | tapiárikka<br>ta=-pia-tihka<br>ta=-big-eat<br><br>'Thanksgiving' | tanáharu?itsah<br>ta=-naha-tu?i-tsa<br>ta=-become-UR:ASP-TOPIC<br><br>'what's going to happen' |
|------|--|--|

Nominalizing suffixes are:

Table 7. Nominalizing Suffixes

SUBJECT	OBJECT
-na	-na
-nii	-nii
-p̄ih	-p̄yh-ha
-tȳ	-ty-i
-wāp̄ih	-wāp̄ih-ha

-ʔ

Osborne and Smalley describe a final -ʔ which is a nominalizing suffix (see also Armagost 1980:31). I have scanty evidence of such a suffix. This is related to the loss of other final glottals in the language (Section 3.1.5.). Echoes of this system still exist, as in the example below, but the final syllable is long and stressed; it is not terminated by a glotta. I assume that forms such as 'turkey' have become lexicalized as one word.

- (38)      púhitóó  
             puhi-too  
             grass-to=graze  
             'turkey'

-na

-na forms nouns from verbs in a variety of ways. It is used to describe the process of the verb, as the following triplet from Canonge demonstrates:

- (39) poma 'to pick fruit, berries, nuts'  
 pomap^ 'anything which has been picked off, as berries, fruits, nuts'  
 pomana 'the process of picking berries, fruits, nuts'

Along with the above variation of -na and -<sup>̄</sup>pyh, there is some variation among -na and other nominalizing suffixes for which there does not seem to be any explanation. For instance, for 'wind' Canonge has both niēna and niepi (nie is 'blow'). I have niepi (/nye-pi/) only; note also the form paani<sup>?</sup>eti, 'hurricane' above, in the section on compounding, in which the nominalizing suffix is -ty<sup>̄</sup>. Canonge reports t<sup>^</sup>-himana for 'rations' (INDEF=OBJ-take/get(pl obj)-na), while I have tihimap<sup>i</sup> /ti-hima-<sup>̄</sup>pih/ (INDEF=OBJ-take/get(pl obj)-<sup>̄</sup>pih) for 'commodities.'

-na usually occurs with the INDEFINITE SUBJECT prefix /ta<sup>̄</sup>-/ (see the section directly above for examples of ta<sup>̄</sup>- without -na).

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| (39) | tanóhina<br>ta <sup>̄</sup> -nohi-na<br>INDEF=SUBJ-play-na<br><br>'a fair'   | tatínikwina<br>ta <sup>̄</sup> -tinikwi-na<br>INDEF=SUBJ-sing-na<br><br>'singing'  |
|      | tatírakwi <sup>?</sup> ne <sup>?</sup> ena<br>ta <sup>̄</sup> -titakwi <sup>?</sup> ne- <sup>?</sup> e-na<br>INDEF=SUBJ-??-REPET:<br>ASP-na<br><br>'ironing board' | tamáyake <sup>?</sup> ena<br>ta <sup>̄</sup> -ma-yake- <sup>?</sup> e-na<br>cry(sg subj)-REPET:ASP<br>-na<br><br>'piano' |

Other examples of -na include:

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (40) | pitékwana<br>pi <sup>̄</sup> -tekwa-na<br>his=own-talk-na<br><br>'his preaching' | nihkana (Canonge)<br>niHka-na<br>dance-na<br><br>'a dance, dancing' |
|------|--|---|



nimaihkana  
 nimai-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>-na  
 call-STAT:ASP-na

'the one who is called'

níf

-níf is occasionally found as a nominalizing suffix. It indicates "one who has the quality of the verb." This ending is related to the adverbial suffix -ni, 'like' (section 5.4.1.), with length and stress representing the old glottal suffix discussed above. I do not know if níf is productive.

(41)	póhiyaníf pohiya-níf walk-níf	písuníf pisu-níf break=wind-níf
	'walker' (also a personal name)	'skunk, stinker'

-<sup>-</sup>pyh

The absolutive suffix -<sup>-</sup>pih (Section 4.1.1.1.) is frequently used to nominalize verbs. In Shoshoni, the cognate suffix is also used (though rarely) as a marker of perfective aspect (Miller n.d.a; 39). In Comanche, the suffix is not used in the tense/aspect system, but a perfective meaning persists, as the triplet from Canonge listed above, under -na, and the following examples demonstrate:

piapi u nahai pia- <sup>-</sup> pih u naha-i big- <sup>-</sup> pih he become- COMPL:ASP	cf. pia u nahami?ari pia u naha-mi?a-ty <sup>-</sup> big he become-go- GEN:ASP
He's gotten big.	He's getting big.

tekwapĩ  
tekwa-p̄ĩh  
talk-p̄ĩh

'speech, talking'

namakaʔmukipĩ  
na-makaʔmuki-p̄ĩh  
REFLEX/RECIP-be=ready  
-p̄ĩh

'be ready'

pukuwatsipĩ  
puku-watsi-p̄ĩh  
horse-lost--p̄ĩh

'lost horse'

cf: nivuki nyy watsikiʔI  
ny-puku-i nii watsi-ki=?i  
my-horse-OBJ I lose-BEN-COMPL:ASP

I lost my horse.

tivoʔopĩ  
ti-poʔo-p̄ĩh  
INDEF=OBJ-write-p̄ĩh

'letter'

cf: poo or poʔo and tivo  
poo or poʔo and ti-po  
write and INDEF=OBJ-write

'to point, write' and 'pencil'

-ti<sup>̄</sup>

In the verbal system, -ti<sup>̄</sup> functions as the generic aspect suffix (Section 4.3.6.1.2) and as an identical reference suffix (Section 5.6.2.1). It is often used as a predicative suffix (Section 5.2.3.1) and it also occurs as a nominalizing suffix. In isolation, one cannot tell whether this affix is being used verbally or nominally; the usage must be determined from the context.<sup>8</sup> When

it is nominal it can be inflected for subjective, objective and possessive case and singular, dual and plural number. (The number marking corresponds to the number marked on the suffix when verbal, but the nominal forms can be inflected for objective and possessive case.) The following table demonstrates the possible inflections. Blanks represent unattested forms.

Table 8. Forms of Nominalizing -ti<sup>̄</sup>

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
SUBJECT	-ti <sup>̄</sup>	-tikwi	-tii
OBJECT	-ti	_____	_____
POSSESSIVE	-tina	_____	_____

The nouns in the pairs below demonstrate words which, through their translations, are clearly verbal or nominal. Contrasting sentences are given to demonstrate the last two pairs in context.

- (44)      muhakamati                      muhakamati  
             muha-kama<sup>̄</sup>-ti<sup>̄</sup>                      muha-kama<sup>̄</sup>-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
             bitter-taste-GEN:ASP                      bitter-taste-NOM  
             'tastes bitter'                      'bitterroot'
- (45)      okwetɪ                                      usúnni paa<sup>?</sup>okwetɪ  
             okwee-ti<sup>̄</sup>                                      usúnni paa-okwee-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
             flow-GEN:ASP                                      always water-flow-NOM  
             'flows'                                      'everlasting water'

- (46) kėnanımırekwaɾı                      kėnanımırekwaɾı  
ke-na-nımi-teɧkwa-ti<sup>ɿ</sup>              ke-na-nımi-teɧkwa-ti<sup>ɿ</sup>  
NEG-REFLEX/RECIP-                      NEG-REFLEX/RECIP-  
Comanche-speak-GEN:ASP              Comanche-speak-NOM
- 'can't speak Comanche'              'Can't Speak Comanche'  
(a personal name)
- (47) tinikwiri                              tinikwiri  
tynikwi-ti<sup>ɿ</sup>                              tiniwiki-ti<sup>ɿ</sup>  
sing-GEN:ASP                              sing-NOM
- 'sings'                                      'a musical' (i.e., a  
show or movie)
- (48) tsaa urii tinikwirii  
tsaa utii<sup>ɿ</sup> tinikwi-ti<sup>ɿ</sup>  
good, well they sing-GEN:ASP=PL
- They sing well.
- (49) . . . mikwa uhka . . . tinikwiri . . .  
. . . mikwi-ha uɧka . . . tinikwi-ti . . .  
you-DL-Q that=one-OBJ sing-NOM=OBJ
- (Would) you two (like to see) a musical . . .
- (50) navana?aitı                              navana?aitı  
napana?ai-ti<sup>ɿ</sup>                              napana?ai-ti<sup>ɿ</sup>  
show=off-GEN:ASP                              show=off-NOM
- 'shows off'                                      'a show-off'
- (51) tamma urii navana?aitii  
tamma utii napana?ai-ti<sup>ɿ</sup>  
a=lot those=ones show=off-GEN:ASP
- They like to show off.
- (52) navana?aiti nii vuni  
napana?ait-tii nii puni  
show=off-NOM=OBJ I see

Occasionally the nominalizing form of -ti<sup>ɿ</sup> is -?iti<sup>ɿ</sup> or -?eti<sup>ɿ</sup>, which I believe represent the combination of a very old, non-productive predicative -?i with -ti<sup>ɿ</sup>.

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| (53) | yitsiʔeti<br>yitsi-ʔeti=<br>fly(sg subj)-NOM<br><br>'airplane'<br><br>posanaʔiti<br>posa-na-ʔiti=<br>crazy-??-NOM<br><br>'a crazy person' | yoriʔetii<br>yoti-ʔetii=<br>fly(pl subj)-NOM=DL<br><br>'airplanes' |
|------|---|--|

-wa<sup>̄</sup>pih    Agentive

The agentive -wa<sup>̄</sup>pih is restricted to specialized activities carried out by skilled individuals, and thus has honorific overtones (cf. Armagost, 1989:38).

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (54) | tivowapI<br>ti-po-wa <sup>̄</sup> pih<br>write-wa <sup>̄</sup> pih<br><br>'teacher'<br><br>tekwi <sup>̄</sup> nigwapI<br>tekwa-hani-wa <sup>̄</sup> pih<br>speak-do, make-wa <sup>̄</sup> pih<br><br>'speaker', 'town<br>crier', 'brave who's<br>a leader' | nahnawapI<br>nah-na-wa <sup>̄</sup> pih<br>REDUP-RECIP-wa <sup>̄</sup> pih<br><br>'elders'<br><br>titsi <sup>̄</sup> hannigwapI<br>ti-tsaH-hani-wa <sup>̄</sup> pih<br>INDEF=OBJ-INST(hand)-<br>do, make-wa <sup>̄</sup> pih<br><br>'chauffeur' |
|------|--|---|

Among words in isolation and in simple sentences, -na is chosen when a nominalizing suffix occurs with the indefinite subject ta<sup>̄</sup>-, but beyond this it is not possible to predict the affix that will occur with any verb stem. Even the agentive suffix -wa<sup>̄</sup>pih is not always used for the doer of a verb, because of the honorific nature of this suffix. Thus, tinikwi<sup>̄</sup>wa<sup>̄</sup>pih means 'head drummer', 'song leader' or 'head singer', while 'singer' is generally tinikwiʔeti<sup>̄</sup>, 'one who sings'. Compare:

- (55) urikwitsa tinikwi?etikwi kimari  
 utikwih-tsa tinikwi-?e-tykwy kima-tii=  
 those=ones=DL=TOPIC sing-DISTRIB-NOM=DL  
 come=GEN:ASP=PL

The two singers are coming.

- (56) urikwitsa tatīnikwiwapinikwi kimarīkwī  
 utikwi-tsa ta<sup>̄</sup>-tinikwi-wa<sup>̄</sup>pih-nikwi kima-kikwi=  
 those=ones=DL=TOPIC our??-sing-agentive-DL  
 come=GEN=DL

The two head singers are coming.

#### 4.1.4.3. Nominalizing suffixes in complex sentences.

The subordinating suffixes which occur on relative, adverbial and complement clauses are nominalizing suffixes. Sentential examples are found in Sections 5.6.3.1, 5.6.3.2 and 5.6.4. In Table 9, -i marks completive aspect in the verbal system. As discussed above, the absolutive -<sup>̄</sup>pih once marked perfective aspect and -ti<sup>̄</sup> marks generic aspect in the verbal system. -tu?i marks unrealized aspect in the verbal system.

Table 9. Nominalizing Suffixes in Complex Sentences

SUBJECT	OBJECT
-i	-i-ha
no examples	-na
no examples	- <sup>̄</sup> pih-ha
-ti <sup>̄</sup>	-ti
-tu?i	-tu?i-ha

-i

- (57) pímoróóʔa pehkai tenapi  
 pímotóó-ʔa<sup>̄</sup> peHka-i tena-<sup>̄</sup>pi  
 cow-POSS kill-i man-ABS  
 'the man who killed the cow' (subject)

- (58) tenahpi'a pímoróóʔa pehkaiha  
 tenaH-<sup>̄</sup>pi-ʔa<sup>̄</sup> pímotóó-ʔa<sup>̄</sup> peHka-i-ha  
 man-ABS-POSS cow-POSS kill-i-ha  
 'the man who killed the cow' (object)

-na

- (59) ukímana  
 u<sup>̄</sup>-kima-na  
 his-come-na  
 'that he is coming' (subject)

-<sup>̄</sup>pih-ha

- (60) kimapha  
 kima-<sup>̄</sup>pih-ha  
 come-<sup>̄</sup>pih-ha  
 'to come' (object)

-ti<sup>̄</sup>

- (61) tenapi tihiyakariʔeeti  
 tena-<sup>̄</sup>py tihiya-kati-ʔe-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 man-ABS horse-sit(sg subj)-DISTRIB:ASP-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 'the man who rode the horse' (subject)

- (62) tihiyayikwitii  
 tihiya-yikiw-tii  
 horse-sit(pl subj)-tii  
 '(the men who) rode the horses' (object)

## -tuʔi

- (63)        tihiyayikwituʔini  
               tihiya-yikwi-tuʔi-nii  
               horse-sit(pl subj)-tuʔi-PL
- '(the men who) are going to ride the horses' (subject)

- (64)        tihiyaroʔituiha  
               tihiya-toʔi-tuʔi-ha  
               horse-get=on(sg subj)-tuʔi-ha
- '(the man who) is going to ride the horse' (object)

There are a number of ways in which one can predict which nominalizing suffix will be chosen to nominalize a subordinate clause. If the clause is marked for unrealized, completive or generic aspect, the subordinating suffix chosen is a suffix which marks that aspect within the verbal system. If the clause is the object of the main verb, the verb is marked with an objective form of the suffix. If the verb of the subordinate clause is not tensed, the suffix -na is used with adverbial relative clauses and with complement clauses of all verbs but 'wish, want.' The complement clauses of the latter verb are marked with -<sup>̄</sup>p̄ih-ha. A chart of this is:

Table 10. Subordinate Clause Nominalizers

Relative and Adverbial Clauses:		SUBJECT	OBJECT
Tensed Verb	Completive Aspect	-i	-i-ha
	Generic Aspect	-ti <sup>̄</sup>	-ti
	Unrealized Aspect	-tuʔi	-tuʔi-ha
Non- Tensed Verb	Relative and Adverbial Clauses, and complements of verbs such as 'tell' and 'know'	no evidence	-na
	Complements of 'wish, want'	no evidence	- <sup>̄</sup> p̄ih-ha



## 4.1.5. Other noun affixes.

## na- or nana- REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL

The reflexive/reciprocal prefix na-, frequently in the reduplicated shape nana-, may be prefixed to a kin term. The construction is completed with the dual nominal suffix, and is used to refer to a set of two related individuals. Note that the younger of the pair is consistently the chosen nominal:

(65)	naruʔanikwɪ na-tuʔa-nikwih na-son-DL  'father and son'	nanavetɪnikwɪ nana-peti-nikwih nana-daughter-DL  'mother and daughter'
	nanaraminikwɪ nana-tami-nikwih nana-younger=brother-DL  'two brothers'	nananaminikwɪ nana-nami-nykwih nana-younger=sister-DL  'two sisters'

This prefix is glottalized in the expression for 'kin', naʔniminiɪ /na-nymy-nii/ (na-Comanche-PL). This expression may be a lexicalized formation.

## -naH Deceased

(66)	niáhpynahpɪ ni-aHpi-naH-pih ni-father-nah-NOM  'my late, my deceased father'	nivíanahpɪ ni-pia-naH-pih ni-mother-nah-NOM  'my late, my deceased mother'
------	---	---

## -tsi

-tsi is a diminutive, affective and emphatic suffix. My principal consultant states that, for her, the suffix carries the

meaning of 'pitiful' 'sick' or 'skinny' rather than 'small.' The suffix is no doubt related to the intensifying suffixes -pitsi and -titsi discussed in Section 5.4.1.

- (67) "ahh riasi simitsi ikI havinini"  
 "ahh tiasi simi-tsi i-ki hapi-ni-ny"  
 EXCLAM another one-tsi this-at lie-??-??  
 "Here's another poor one."

One term for Coyote incorporates the suffix:<sup>9</sup>

- (68) tiventitsi vennititsi  
 Coyote (analysis unclear)

-si and -ka

-si is found in personal names only.

- (69) tekwasI  
 tekwa-si  
 talk-si  
 'Talker, Chatterbox'

-ka is found in my data in one personal name and in items formed with the verb stem tsani, 'hanging on.'

- |      |   |                   |
|------|---|-------------------|
| (70) | tsanika   | pu?itsanika       |
|      | tsani-ka  | pu?i-tsani-ka     |
|      | hanging=on-ka   | eye-hanging=on-ka |
|      | 'g-string'  | 'eyeglasses'      |
|      | wi?wuka   |                   |
|      | wi?wu-ka  |                   |
|      | ??-ka   |                   |
|      | 'Ripper-Upper' (so named because the person goes through clothes rapidly) |                   |

## waa 'without'

My principal consultant translates 'widow' and 'widower' as 'no husband' and 'no wife.' The aspiration in the last two forms is unexplained.

(71)	návukuwáá na-puki-waa REFLEX-horse-waa	mívigwáá mupi-waa nose-waa
	'car'	'No Nose' (personal name)
	kumawahti kuma-waa-ti <sup>=</sup> husband-waa-NOM	kwihwahti kwih-waa-ti <sup>=</sup> wife-waa-NOM
	'widow'	'widower'

## 4.1.6. Postpositions.

The postpositions form a rich and varied complex of elements. The majority express location, though others express concepts such as case functions. They often occur in combination, as will be seen below. It is impossible to make a direct association between English prepositions and Comanche postpositions. For instance, a locative concept may be expressed by an English preposition while Comanche, in some contexts, uses an instrumental prefix:

(72)	Rerun-tsa huutsúú <sup>?</sup> a kidyaakatí Rerun-tsa huutsúú- <sup>?</sup> a kíH-yaa-ka <sup>=</sup> ti <sup>=</sup> name-TOP bird-obj INST (mouth)-carry-have
------	---

Rerun (a dog) has a bird in his mouth.

or a verb such as to<sup>?</sup>i 'go down, out,' etc.

Postpositions are suffixed to nouns, pronouns and demonstratives. The pronominals which take postpositions are described in Section 4.2.4. Predicates are formed from postpositions with the addition of the verbalizing suffixes -yu and -ti<sup>=</sup>, discussed in Sec-

tion 5.2.3.1. (-tī is used in many ways in the language; see, for instance, Section 4.3.6.1.2.) If a nominalization is created by the suffix -tī, that form may then have the objective form -ti (plural -tii).

In Miller n.d.a. 78-84, the choice of locative postposition from among the many forms available is, in Shoshoni, explained by the verb involved. Thus, 'to, toward' may be -kā or -kahtū. The former is used with an intransitive verb. The latter in Shoshoni is also used with anverb, but expresses the endpoint of the action.

Remnants of this system are found in Comanche, as in:

- (73)           Vanessamaʔai nikw̄i tohtinka yikirikw̄i  
 Vanessa-maʔai nikw̄ih tohtin-kāyiki-tikw̄ih  
 name-with DL=EXCL name-at be-GEN:ASP=DL

Vanessa and I have been to Lawton.

- (74)           pietsiku nii Lawtonkahtu miʔarui  
 pietsihku nii Lawton-kahtū miʔa-tui  
 tomorrow I name-to go-UR:ASP

Tomorrow I'm going to Lawton. (In the former sentence the consultant pronounces Lawton, OK as her elders did and in the latter, as it is currently pronounced.)

#### 4.1.6.1. Locative postpositions with variant forms.

The set of postpositions described by Miller (n.d.a.;79) for Shoshoni is not found in Comanche. The situation in Comanche for those locative postpositions with variant forms is shown in Table 11, below (the tabular form follows Miller n.d.a.;78a; it is maintained for comparative purposes).<sup>10</sup>

Table 11. Locative Postpositions with Variant Forms

GLOSS	on, above, over		under	
SET I	-paʔa	/-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /	-tuhka	/-tuHka <sup>̄</sup> /
SET II	-paʔati	/-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> -ti <sup>̄</sup> /	-tuhkati	/-tuHka <sup>̄</sup> -ti <sup>̄</sup> /
SET IV	-paʔahtu	/-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> -Htu <sup>̄</sup> /		
SET VI	-paʔaiku	/-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> -iku/		
NO SET	-pʔaiki	/-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> -ikiH/	-tuhkaiki	/-tuHka <sup>̄</sup> -ikiH/
GLOSS	in			
SET I	-kupa	/-ku <sup>̄</sup> pa <sup>̄</sup> /		
SET II	-kupati	/-ku <sup>̄</sup> pa <sup>̄</sup> -ti <sup>̄</sup> /		
SET IV				
SET VI				
NO SET				
GLOSS	at, to, toward; in*		there, to, at; from	
SET I	-ka	/-ka <sup>̄</sup> -kah/	-ku	/-H/ku <sup>̄</sup> /
SET II	-kahti	/-ka <sup>̄</sup> -hti <sup>̄</sup> /	-kuti	/-H/ku <sup>̄</sup> -ti <sup>̄</sup> /
SET IV	-kahtu	/-ka <sup>̄</sup> -htu <sup>̄</sup> /		
GLOSS	by, beside, near			
SET I				
SET II				
SET IV	-kimaru	/-kimatu <sup>̄</sup> /		
AS NOUN	kimaruti	/-kimatu <sup>̄</sup> -ti <sup>̄</sup> /	'cliff, edge'	
NO SET	-kimaki	/-kima-kih/		
	other; to, toward			
SET II	-pehti	/peH-ti <sup>̄</sup> /	(other)	
SET IV	-pehtu	/pe-H/tu <sup>̄</sup> /	(to, toward)	

-----  
 \* 'in' is -kahtu<sup>̄</sup> only.

The form in Set II with -ti<sup>̄</sup> is almost always the citation form for contextless nouns, as with (78) ('roof') or (104) ('from the rock'), for instance.

Miller does not have a set of postpositions ending with -ikiH, and the suffix is not common among Comanche postpositions, occurring only in the forms -paʔaikiH, -tuHkaikiH and -hoʔaikiH ('around'; see below). The meaning of these forms seems to be distributive, and probably represents a coalescence of the Shoshone -i in SET III above with final -ka<sup>̄</sup>, which is cognate with a Shoshone form -ka<sup>̄</sup> or -kah, depending on dialect).

-----

-paʔa<sup>̄</sup> 'on, above, over'

-paʔa<sup>̄</sup> also forms a part of the non-locative postposition  
-paʔatsi 'about, concerning' discussed below (Section 4.1.6.3), and  
is the stem for the modifier 'long, tall.'

- (75) yitsiʔetipaʔa nikwi Dallaskahtu miʔarikwi  
yitsiʔ-eti<sup>̄</sup>-paʔa<sup>̄</sup> nikwih Dallas-kahtu<sup>̄</sup> miʔa-tikwih  
fly-NOM-paʔa DL=EXCL name-to go-GEN:ASP=DL

We're (dual) going to Dallas on a plane.

- (76) uvaʔa nii karitsi uvitfikinetuʔi  
u-paʔa<sup>̄</sup> nii kati-h/H/tsi u-piH-tahkine-tuʔi  
it-paʔa I sit-SS it-INST(behind)-mash-UR:ASP

I'm going to sit on it (eg., a can) and mash it.

- (77) hinipaʔa suri kaahti  
hini<sup>̄</sup>-paʔa<sup>̄</sup> suti<sup>̄</sup> kati [+H]  
what-paʔa that=one sit=DUR:ASP

What is he sitting on?

-paʔa<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>

- (78) kahnivaʔati  
kahni-paʔa<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>  
house-paʔa<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>

'roof'

- (79) ovaʔati u  
o-paʔa<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> u  
that-paʔa<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> it

It's up there.

-paʔahtu<sup>̄</sup>

- (80) huuve u nivaʔahtu tsahkwiriʔai  
hupa-e u ni-paʔahtu<sup>̄</sup> tsaH-kwitiʔa-i  
coffee-OBJ she me-paʔahtu INST(hand)-spill-COMPL:ASP

She spilled coffee on me.

## -paʔaikih

- (81) marivaʔaikɪ miʔaiYU  
 matii-paʔaikih miʔa-yu  
 them-paʔaikih go-PROG:ASP  
 (Kaawosa) going along over, above them  
 (on a creek bank).
- (82) ohki nii ria nihɛkivaʔaikɪ ugwisoʔaiʔtɪ  
 uwihpekoatɪ  
 o-HkVh nii tia ni-hiki-paʔaikih u-wiH-soʔai-ti=  
 u-wiH-pekoa-ti  
 there-at I NARR=ONSET my-arbor-paʔaikih  
 it-INST(gen'l)-??-SS it-INST(gen'l)-cut-GEN:ASP  
 I spread it (meat) out on my arbor  
 after I had thinned it out.

-tuHka= 'under'

This postposition forms the stem for the adjective 'deep'.

- (83) hinituhka suri  
 hini-tuHka= suti=  
 WH-tuHka that=one  
 What is he under?

## -tuHka=ti=

- (84) hanivituhkatɪ  
 hani-pi-tuHka=ti=  
 corn-ABS-tuHka=ti=  
 'under the corn'

## -tuHkaikih

- (85) titimapɪRuhkaikɪ urikwɪ kiʔai  
 ti=tima=pih-tuHkaikih utikwih kiʔa-i  
 fence-ABS-tuHkaikih they=DL go=out(pl subj)-  
 COMPL:ASP  
 They (dual) went under the fence.

-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa<sup>̄</sup> 'in'

- (86) pipíanahunii u kahnikupa rahni?i  
 pi<sup>̄</sup>-pia-nahu-nii u kahni-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa<sup>̄</sup> taHni?i-i  
 his=own-big-knife-PL=OBJ he house-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa<sup>̄</sup>  
 put=down(pl obj)-COMPL:ASP

He put his butchering knives down in the house.

-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>

- (87) kahnikupati  
 kahni-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 house-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>

'in the house'

-ka ~ -kah 'at, to, toward; in'

Although [ka] usually occurs when /-ka/ is followed by a pronoun, when the form refers to time the vowel is always voiceless. Occasionally, a form is found which ends in -kih. I hypothesize that this is the objective form of -kah.

- (88) Kansaska urii niminaahketii  
 Kansas-ka utii nimina-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 name-ka they live-TEMP=STATE:ASP=PL

They live in Kansas.

- (89) návukuwáákavikwī (or -kaBikwī) namsi kian  
 nápukuwáá-ka-pikwih (or -kah-pikwih) namisi kia-n  
 car-ka(or-kah)-DL=IMPER quickly  
 get=in(pl subj)-COMPL:ASP

You two get in the car quickly!

- (90) mikwīse návukuwáákī namīsi kian  
 mikwih-se nápukuwáá-kah namVsi kia-n  
 you=DL-CONTR car-kah quickly get=in(pl subj)-COMPL:ASP

You two quickly got in the car.



- (91) simikI urii titsáhtiwaru?i  
simi-kah utii ti-tsaHtiwa-tu?i  
one-kah they INDEF=OBJ-start, open-UR)

They're going to start at 1:00.

-ki

- (92) nise ukI su?atsIvinni  
ni-se u-ki su?atsi-h/Hpinni  
I-CONTR it-ki think-PROG:ASP

I'm thinking about it.

- (93) niráhpanaki tsagwone?eti  
ni-taHpana-ki tsaH-wone-?e-ti=  
my-bottom=of=feet-ki INST(hand)-??-DISTRIB:ASP-  
GEN:ASP

Someone's scratching the bottom of my feet.

-kaHti=  
=

- (94) Normankahti urii sugwaitii  
Norman-kaHti-i utii suwaitii  
name-kaHti-i they want=PL=SUBJ

They wish they were in Norman.

- (95) nirihiyatsah Cachekahti tu?ai  
ni-tihiya-tsa Cache-kaHti= tu?a-i  
my-horse-TOP name-kaHti= be=born-COMPL:ASP

My horse was born in Cache.

- (96) Normankahti urii sugwaitii  
norman-kaHti utii= suwai-tii=  
name-kahti=OBJ they wish-GEN:ASP=PL

They wish they were in Norman (Oklahoma).

-kaHtu=  
=

- (97) návukuwáákahtu nii unóokati  
nápukuwáá-kaHtu= nii u-no?o-h/Hka=ti=  
car-kaHtu= I it-carry-TEMP=STATE:ASP

I'm carrying it in the car.

-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> 'there, to, at; from'

-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> occurs on demonstratives and on nouns, but it is found more frequently on demonstratives. When it occurs on any demonstrative but *ma* the form is [-hku]. Note vowel harmony of u to o following the demonstrative o, as in Sentence 101.

- (98)      pínítuhe návukuwáá maku u nohivinni  
             píni-htuhe nápukuwáá ma-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> u nohi-h/Hpinni  
             own-?? car it-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> he play-ONGO:ASP

He or she's playing with the little car.

- (99)      nise utívo?opí maku tivo?o-ní  
             ni-se u<sup>̄</sup>-tipo?o-<sup>̄</sup>píh ma-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> tipo?o-ní  
             I-CONTR his/her-write-NOM it-ku<sup>̄</sup> write-??

I copied the letter from that person.

- (100)     miitsi nii puhihwikahniku mi?atsi puhihwítahnaru?i  
             miitsi nii puhihwi-kahni-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> mi?a-h/H/tsi  
             puhíhwi-tahna-tu?i  
             soon I money-house-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> go-SS money-plant-UR:ASP

I'm going to the bank after a while to deposit money.

- (101)     oretsa tirenasi?pe?enii ohko taiku yigwikwa?etii  
             ore-tsa tite-na?si<sup>̄</sup>?pee-nii o-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> tai-H/ku<sup>̄</sup>  
             yíwi-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-?e-tii  
             those=ones-TOP little-ball-PL there-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> hole-H/ku<sup>̄</sup>  
             disappear-MTN=AWAY-DISTRIB-GEN:ASP=PL

The balls fell (i.e., disappeared) down the hole.

'Toward,' with -H/ku<sup>̄</sup>, contrasts with 'toward' using peHtu<sup>̄</sup>, Sentence 112, repeated here for clarity of exposition. The former refers to destination and the latter to general direction.

- (102)     pihku u nimí?ana supana?ití  
             pí<sup>̄</sup>-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> u ní-mi?a-na su<sup>̄</sup>pana?i-tí<sup>̄</sup>  
             its=own-H/ku he my-go-NOM know-GEN:ASP

He knows where I'm going.

- (103) pipehtu u nimí?ana supana?ití  
 pī-pehtū u ni-mi?a-na sūpana?i-tī  
 its=own-pehtū he my-go-NOM know-GEN:ASP

He knows where I'm going.

-H/kūtī

- (104) tiipi-kutí  
 tīpī-H/kūtī  
 rock-H/kūtī

'from (off of) the rock'

-kimatū 'by, beside, edge, near'

-kima is undergoing a change of status from word to affix.

kima also occurs as a noun meaning 'edge', and Canonge lists k<sup>h</sup>ma as a word meaning 'beside, along the edge of.' Unlike other postpositions, when -kima is suffixed to a full noun the noun is often followed by objective -a or possessive -ā (the form is impossible to determine because k does not become lenis).

- (105) marikimaru mi?aiYU  
 matii-kimatu mi?a-yu  
 them/their-kimatu go-PROG:ASP

(Kaawosa) going, walking by them.

-kimakih

- (106) soovesi niniria huunu?akimakí káhkínívai  
 soo-pe-si ninni-tia huunu-?a-kimakih kaH-kahni-pai  
 long-time-EMPHAT we=EXCL-NARR creek-it/its-kimaki  
 REDUP-house-have

A long time ago we camped by the creek.

- (107) nikimakí winiRí  
 ni-kimakih wini-tī  
 me-kimakih stand-GEN:ASP

'standing beside me'

-kimatu<sup>ti</sup>, objective -kimatu<sup>ti</sup>

- (108) innha ohka noovihtakimaruti punnihka ukimarutitsá  
 kuyaninikiiti  
 inni-ha oHka noopi-Hta-kimatu<sup>ti</sup> punni-h/Hka<sup>ti</sup>  
 u-kimaru<sup>ti</sup>-tsa ku-yaninikiiti  
 you-Q that=OBJ hill-OBJ-kimatu<sup>ti</sup> see-STAT:ASP  
 it/its-edge-TOP INST(heat)-(?? the word is  
 'heat wave, mirage')

Can you see the heat wave just on the edge of  
 that hill?

-pe 'other' -peHtu<sup>ti</sup> 'to, toward

-peHtu<sup>ti</sup> is no doubt related to -H/tu<sup>ti</sup>, see below, and to the  
 adverbial element -pe which occurs on demonstrative stems (Section  
 4.1.7.1). It is also related, at least semantically, to the post-  
 position -H/pu<sup>ti</sup> (Section 4.1.6.2).

- (109) simitsa evetI  
 simi-tsa e-pe-ti<sup>ti</sup>  
 someone-TOP there-pe-PRED

Someone is outside.

- (110) wokohwivehtu mi?aRI  
 wokohwi-peHtu<sup>ti</sup> mi?a-ti<sup>ti</sup>  
 squirrel-pehtu go-GEN:ASP

Walking towards the squirrel.

- (111) posakivehtu nii pohiyakwatu?i  
 posaki-peHtu<sup>ti</sup> nii pohia-h/H/kwa<sup>ti</sup>-tu?i  
 bridge-peHtu<sup>ti</sup> I walk-MTN=AWAY-UR:ASP

I'm going to walk toward the bridge.

As noted above, -peHtu<sup>ti</sup> contrasts with -H/ku<sup>ti</sup>. The example  
 sentences are repeated here. The example with -peHtu<sup>ti</sup> refers to  
 general direction and the example with -H/ku<sup>ti</sup> refers to destination.

- (112) pipehtu u nimí?ana supana?ití  
 pi<sup>̄</sup>-pehtu<sup>̄</sup> u ni-mi?a-na su<sup>̄</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 its=own-pehtu<sup>̄</sup> he my-go-NOM know-GEN:ASP

He knows where I'm going.

- (113) pihku u nimí?ana supana?ití  
 pi<sup>̄</sup>-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> u ni-mi?a-na su<sup>̄</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 its=own-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> he my-go-NOM know-GEN:ASP

He knows where I'm going.

#### 4.1.6.2. Other locative postpositions.

The following are locative postpositions that are either invariant or do not fall within the scheme of Table 11. The instrumental postposition ~~-ma~~ discussed in the section below on non-locative postpositions seems to also have a specialized locative use. There is also a locative element ~~-EkVh~~ which occurs with the demonstratives; it is discussed in Section 4.1.7.1.

-hoikí	/-hoikih/	'around'
-na?a	/-na?a/	'middle'
-nai	/-nai ~ -Hnai/	'from, direction'
-nakwi	/-nakwi/	'unspecified direction'
-pu	/-H/pu <sup>̄</sup> /	'way, direction'
-tu	/-H/tu <sup>̄</sup> /	'down, along, on; outside'
-waka	/waka/	'at, to' (?)
-wahketi	/waHketi <sup>̄</sup> /	'from'

-hoikih 'around'

As can be seen from the examples, I have recorded variant forms of this postposition. I assume that Canonge's ~~-hoi~~ is basic.

- (114) hinihoʔaikɪ suri miʔan  
 hini-hoʔaikih suti<sup>=</sup> miʔa-n  
 what-hoikih that=one go-COMPL:ASP

What did he go around?

- (115) puehoekɪ u miʔan  
 pue-hoʔaikih u miʔa-n  
 road-hoikih he go-COMPL:ASP

He walked on, around the road.

- (116) nimihoikɪ  
 nimi-hoikih  
 us-hoikih

'around us'

-naʔa 'middle'

- (117) unáʔakɪ  
 u-naʔa-ka  
 it-naʔa-at

'in the middle'

- (118) puenaʔaki u  
 pue-naʔa-ka<sup>=</sup> u  
 road-naʔa-at it

It's in the middle of the road.

- (119) matífinanaʔatsi. . .  
 ma<sup>=</sup>-tipihna-naʔa-h/H/tsi  
 its-half-naʔa-SS

When he got in the middle. . .

-nai, -Hnai 'from, direction'

-nai is also used predicatively; see Section 5.2.3.1.

Occasionally, following some demonstratives, the form of the post-position seems to be /-Hnai/.

- (120) hakanai inni kiimaiYU  
haka-nai inni kima-yu  
WH-nai you come-PROG:ASP  
  
Where are you coming from?
- (121) inai u kimari surfisevinni ohnai vitutu<sup>11</sup>  
i-nai u kima-ti<sup>=</sup> suti<sup>=</sup>-se-pinni o-Hnai pitu-tu  
this-nai he/she come-GEN:ASP that=one-CONTR-but,  
however that-nai return  
(note that the different directions are reinforced by  
the use of different verbs)  
  
This one's coming from this direction, and this  
person's coming from that way.
- (122) manaitsa návukuwáá nivehtu nuukikití  
ma-nai-tsa nápukuwáá ni-pehtu<sup>=</sup> nuki-h/H/ki-ti<sup>=</sup>  
that-nai-TOP car me-toward move-MTN=TOWARD-GEN:ASP  
  
The car's coming toward me from far away.
- (123) ohnaisi simi pohiyahkwai  
o-Hnai-si simi pohiya-h/H/kwa<sup>=</sup>-i  
this-Hnai-EMPAHAT someone walk-MTN=AWAY-COMPL:ASP  
  
Someone is walking this way.

-nai contrasts in meaning with the postposition -waHketih. The former means 'from the direction of' and the latter means 'directly from.' The contrast is demonstrated in the following pair of sentences, with parenthetical explanation provided by my principal consultant:

- (124) simitsa paritsohpenai kimari  
simi-tsa patitsoHpe-nai kima-ti<sup>=</sup>  
someone-TOP spring-nai come-GEN:ASP  
  
Someone is coming from the spring (and probably they  
simply passed it by).
- (125) simitsa paritsohpewahketí kimari  
simi-tsa patitsoHpe-waHketih kima-ti<sup>=</sup>  
someone-TOP spring-waHketih come-GEN:ASP  
  
Someone is coming from the spring (and was involved  
with it in some way, perhaps drinking from it).

**-nakwih (-nakwi, objective) 'unspecified direction'**

Occasionally I have recorded a form **-nakwu**, which I believe is a coalescence of **-nakwih** with a following element which is as yet unidentified.

(126)	muhyinakwɪ muhyih-nakwi front-nakwih	kaapinakwɪ kaa-pi-nakwih house-INST(behind)-nakwih
	east	west
	kwhneʔnakwɪ kwhne-nakwih cold-nakwih	yuanienakwɪ yua-nie-nakwih warm-wind-nakwih
	north	south

(127)	sitikwɪse navinakwɪ kiʔan sitikwi-se na-pi-nakwih kiʔa-n those=ones=DL-CONTR REFLEX/RECIP-rear-nakwih get=in(pl subj)-COMPL:ASP
-------	--

They got in the back (of the car).

(128)	inakwi tiʔasi tsagwoneeYU i-nakwi tiʔasi <sup>ʔ</sup> tsaH-wone-yu here-nakwi=OBJ also INST(hand)-scratch-PROG:ASP
-------	--

. . . he's scratching another part of his behind.

**-H/pu<sup>ʔ</sup> 'way, direction'**

See the comments on **-pe**, **-pehtu<sup>ʔ</sup>** above.

(129)	hakahpu inni miʔaYU haka-H/pu <sup>ʔ</sup> inni miʔa-yu where-H/pu <sup>ʔ</sup> you go-PROG:ASP
-------	---

Where are you going?

(130)	atahputɪ a <sup>ʔ</sup> ta-H/pu <sup>ʔ</sup> -ti <sup>ʔ</sup> other-H/pu <sup>ʔ</sup> -NOM
-------	--

'different'



- (131) kahniatahpu u miʔai  
 kahni-a<sup>ta</sup>-H/pu<sup>=</sup> u miʔa-i  
 house-other-H/pu<sup>=</sup> he go-COMPL:ASP

He walked away from the house.

- (132) ivu u tihya karimiʔaRI  
 i-pu<sup>=</sup> u tihya kati-miʔa-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 this-pu<sup>=</sup> he horse sit-go-GEN:ASP

He's riding along on a horse, going this way. OR  
 He's going this way, riding along on a horse

-H/tu<sup>=</sup> 'down, along, on; outside'

(See also -pehtu<sup>=</sup>, above.) Note that -H/tu<sup>=</sup> is an element on the postpositions in the chart in the preceding section. These form Miller's Set IV (p. 80) - usually used "with intransitive verbs of motion, but to define the end point of the motion, 'to, at'." In Shoshoni, when -tu functions independently it has the nonlocative meanings "in respect to, at." In Comanche, -H/tu<sup>=</sup> functions independently, and usually has a locative translation. Note, however, -ma<sup>=</sup>tu<sup>=</sup> below and -pehtu<sup>=</sup>, above. As with -H/ku<sup>=</sup>, this form is [-htu] when it follows any demonstrative but ma.

- (133) nah urii hipetu niigwihtuʔikatuʔi  
 nah utii<sup>=</sup> hi<sup>=</sup>pe<sup>=</sup>-H/tu<sup>=</sup> ni-wihtuʔi-ka-tuʔi  
 just they when-H/tu<sup>=</sup> my-wait=for=someone-??-UR:ASP

They doubt if I'll be ready.

- (134) puetu nii pohiyakwatuʔi  
 pue-H/tu<sup>=</sup> nii pohiya-h/H/kwa<sup>=</sup>-tuʔi  
 road-H/tu<sup>=</sup> I walk-MTN=AWAY-UR:ASP

I'm going to walk down the road.

- (135)        simitsa ihtu pohiyahkwai  
               simi-tsa i-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> pohiya-Hkwa-i  
               someone-TOP here-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> walk-MTN=AWAY-COMPL:ASP  
               (speaker is inside looking out)

Someone walked by here.

And, with vowel harmony:

- (136)        oritsa pímoróonii ohto nayikwiitii  
               otii<sup>̄</sup>-tsa pímotóó-nii o-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> nayikwii-tii<sup>̄</sup>  
               those=ones-TOP cow-PL that-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> graze-GEN:ASP=PL

The cows are grazing (out there).

-waka 'at the residence of'

I am unsure of the precise nature of this postposition. -waka always implies that the goal of the action is the usual abode or permanent location of the object of the sentence. It usually occurs with the verb piti, 'arrive'.

- (137)        nigwaka kahnavitin  
               ni-waka kahni-piti-n  
               me-waka house-arrive-COMPL:ASP

Someone is visiting me.

- (138)        keta nigwaka pitiri  
               keta ni-waka piti-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
               NEG=IMPER my-waka arrive-GEN:ASP

Don't come to my house!

- (139)        igwakati urikwi  
               i-waka-ti<sup>̄</sup> utikwih  
               you-waka-PRED they=DL

The two of them are with you.

- (140)        uwaka nii wakaré?eewaka irá?o?aru?i  
               u-waka nii wakaré?ee-waka i-ta?o?a-tu?i  
               it-waka I turtle-waka you-meet-UR:ASP

I'll meet you where the turtle is.  
 (The referent is a concrete turtle statue in a shopping mall.)

Note that *-waka* is not present in the following sentences. Perhaps it is not compatible with the verbs used in these sentences:

- (141)        *nanakwīnii urikwī punituʔi*  
               *na-nakwih-nii utikwih puni-tuʔi*  
               RECIP-DL(??)-DL=OBJ they=DL see-UR:ASP

Who are they going to visit? (one couple will be visiting another couple)

- (142)        *keta urikahniku miʔaʔi*  
               *keta utii=-kahni-H/ku= miʔa-ti=*  
               NEG=IMPER their-house-to go-GEN:ASP

Don't go to their house!

*-waHketi=*, *waHtiki* 'from'

These forms mean 'from.' The difference between the two is not known, but *-waHketi=* seems to be more common. As explained above under *-nai*, *-Hnai*, which also means 'from,' *-waHketi=* means that a participant in the action has been actively involved with the postposed nominal.

- (143)        *patsiwahketi*  
               *patsi-waHketi=*  
               older=sister-waHketi=  
               'from the older sister'

- (144)        *puihwahketi*  
               *puih-waHketi=*  
               eye-waHketi=  
               'from the eye'

- (145)        *novihwahketi*<sup>12</sup>  
               *noopi=-waHketi=*  
               hill-waHketi=  
               'from the hill'

- (146) naʔseekawahtikI  
 naʔseeka-wahtiki  
 persimmon-wahtiki  
 'from the persimmon'
- (147) tipywahtikI  
 ti<sup>~</sup>pi-wahtiki  
 rock-wahtiki  
 'from the rock'

#### 4.1.6.3. Non-locative postpositions.

It is difficult to categorize the elements below. As with the locatives, they are adverbial in meaning. They are classified as non-locative postpositions because they are suffixed to nominals, and because Comanche does not have a strictly definable category 'adverb' (for instance, sentential adverbial concepts such as 'while, when,' etc. are expressed by identical reference/switch reference suffixes; Section 5.2.6.)

-ma	/-max/	'with, on' (an instrument)
-maʔai	/-maʔaix/	'with' (comitative)
-mati	/-ma <sup>~</sup> ti <sup>~</sup> /	'partitive'
-matu	/-ma <sup>~</sup> tu <sup>~</sup> /	'with, about'
-paʔatsi	/-paʔatsi/	'about, concerning'
-suʔa	/-suʔax/	'also, and'
-taka	/-takax/	'alone; just, only'
-wai	/-wai/	'like, similar to'
-wekI	/-wekih/	'measure'

**-max 'with' or 'on' (an instrument)**

- (148) nináRso?apha nii wanatsahki?ma? tsiho?i  
 ni-natiso?a-pih-ha nii wanatsaHki-max tsiH-ho?i  
 my-sticker-ABS-OBJ I needle-max INST(point)-  
 remove?-COMPL:ASP

I took my splinter out with a needle.

- (149) huupima nii ukwásikitu?i  
 huu-pi-max nii u-kwasi-ki-tu?i  
 stick-ABS-max I it-cook-BEN-UR:ASP

I'm going to roast it on a stick.

This postposition is often used with the verb *timi* 'to buy, sell', especially when a sum of money is involved.

- (150) sikwevima nii ihka tihye timi?i  
 sikwepi-max nii ihka tihya-e timi-i  
 half-max I this=OBJ horse-OBJ buy, sell-COMPL:ASP

I bought this horse for fifty cents.

Another specialized use of **-max** is to mark the object of the verb 'to climb'.

- (151) sohovima nii to?i  
 soho-pi-max nii to?i-i  
 tree-ABS-max I climb (sg subj)-COMPL:ASP

I climbed the tree.

- (152) piaroyama nini sohokiai  
 pia-toya-max ninni sohokia-i  
 big-mountain-max we=PL=EXCL climb(pl subj)-COMPL:ASP

We climbed the mountain.

**-ma?aix 'with' (comitative)**

- (153) hakama?ai inni mi?aiyu  
 haka-ma?aix inni mi?a-yu  
 who-ma?aix you go-PROG:ASP

Who are you going with?

- (154) Brandytsa Miamaʔai nahmaʔai yikwikatikwi<sup>13</sup>  
 Brandy-tsa Mia-maʔaix na-maʔaix yikwi-h/Hkaʔtikwih  
 name-TOP name-maʔaix RECIP-maʔaix sit (pl. subj)-  
 TEMP=STATE:ASP=DL

Brandy and Mia are sitting together.

Use of the reciprocal na- distinguishes this from the following:

- (155) Brandytsa Miamaʔai ohkwí yikwikatikwí  
 Brandy-tsa Mia-maʔaix o-Hkwí yikwi-h/Hkaʔtikwih  
 name-TOP name-maʔaix there-DL sit (pl subj)-  
 TEMP=STATE:ASP=DL

Brandy is sitting with Mia.

- (156) Tracymaʔai nikwí ehka tirepiri nohiʔaikitikwí  
 Tracy-maʔaix nikwih ehka titepiti-i  
 nohi-ai-kiʔ-tikwih  
 name-maʔaix we=DL=EXCL those=OBJ children-OBJ  
 toy-make-BEN-GEN:ASP=DL

Tracy and I are making toys for the children.

-maʔtiʔ      partitive

- (157) huumati  
 huuʔ-maʔtiʔ  
 tree-maʔtiʔ

'bark of a tree; part of a tree'

- (158) iʔámagwómati nii kihkaʔaruʔi  
 iʔ-ámawó-maʔtiʔ nii kih-kaʔa-tuʔi  
 your-apple-maʔty=OBJ I INST(teeth)-break-UR:ASP

I'm going to bite a piece of your apple.

-maʔtuʔ      'with, about'

-maʔtuʔ seems to occur only with human or other highly animate referents (eg., animals in folktales), and only with verbs of speaking or with the term 'to worry'.

- (159) sitise púharáivo mari?imatu tekwahRI, tekwahRI . . .  
 siti<sup>-</sup>-se puha-taipó mari-ma<sup>-</sup>tu<sup>-</sup> tekwa-ti<sup>-</sup>, tekwa-ti<sup>-</sup>  
 this=one-CONTR power-white=man them-ma<sup>-</sup>tu<sup>-</sup> talk-SS  
 talk-GEN:ASP

The preacher is talking to them . . .

- (160) "omátu nii inámmimatu masasu?ati"  
 o-ma<sup>-</sup>tu<sup>-</sup> nii i<sup>-</sup>-nami-ma<sup>-</sup>tu<sup>-</sup> masasua<sup>-</sup>-ti<sup>-</sup>  
 her-ma<sup>-</sup>tu I your-younger=sister-ma<sup>-</sup>tu worry-GEN:ASP

"I was concerned about your little sister."

-pa?atsi, -pa?atsi, -pa?a<sup>-</sup>ti (obj) 'about, concerning'

This form is no doubt related to -pa?a<sup>-</sup>, 'on,' above. It only occurs in sentences with a reflexive element. -tsi seems to be an emphatic suffix; see -su?a, directly below, and Section 4.2.6.

- (161) ninse nava?atsi nahriahwEvinni<sup>14</sup>  
 ninni-se na-pa?atsi na-tiaHwe-h/Hpinni  
 we=EXCL-CONTR REFLEX/RECIP-pa?atsi  
 REFLEX/RECIP-talk-ONGO:ASP

We're (a group) talking about ourselves.

- (162) pináminapíBa?ati u niríahwekívinni<sup>14</sup>  
 pi-nimina<sup>-</sup>-píh-pa?a<sup>-</sup>ti u ni-riahwe-ki-h/Hpinni-ti<sup>-</sup>  
 his=own live-NOM-pa?a<sup>-</sup>ti he me-tell-BEN-ONGO:ASP-  
 GEN:ASP

He's telling me about his life.

-su?ax 'also, and; too'

-su?ax frequently occurs on pronouns with the meaning 'I, you, he, etc., also, too. . .' When it occurs with the reflexive-possessive pronouns it is followed by -tsih or -tsih, which augment the emphatic nature of these pronouns (Section 4.2.6).

- (163)      nisu?atsa sona?ai?eti  
 ni-su?ax-tsa sona-ai-e-ti<sup>-</sup>  
 I-su?ax-TOP quilt-do-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 I also do quilting.
- (164)      mimisu?aka tuunehtsi  
 mimmi-su?ax-ka tunehtsi  
 you=PL-su?ax-PL=IMPER run  
 You-all run, too!
- (165)      . . . pihipúkuváá?a pikwisu?atsi kiatsi  
 turunéhtsin  
 pihi<sup>-</sup>-puku-pa?a<sup>-</sup> pikwi<sup>-</sup>-su?ax-tsi kia-h/ɛ/tsi  
 tu-tunehtsi-n  
 their=OWN=DL-horse-on their=OWN=DL-su?ax-EMPHAT  
 get=on(pl subj)-SS REDUP-run-COMPL:ASP  
 . . . they got on their horses and they ran too.
- taka      'alone; just, only'
- (166)      pietsikutaka nii uvunnitu?i  
 pietsVhku<sup>-</sup>-taka nii u<sup>-</sup>-punni-tu?i  
 tomorrow-taka I her-see-UR:ASP  
 I have to wait till tomorrow to see her.
- (167)      pihná?araka nii timiru?i  
 pihnáá-?a-taka nii timi-tu?i  
 sugar-OBJ-taka I buy, sell-UR:ASP  
 I'm just going to buy sugar.
- (168)      nirakatsa niminahkatí  
 ni-taka-tsa niminaHka<sup>-</sup>-ti<sup>-</sup>  
 my-taka-TOP live-GEN:ASP  
 I live alone.
- (169)      itsa ukúhkumaráka  
 i-tsa u<sup>-</sup>-kuHkuma-taka  
 here-TOP its-REDUP-male-taka  
 These are only bulls.



- (170) ehka tsanakatınataka tsahani?en  
 eHka tsanaka<sup>ti</sup>-na<sup>-</sup>-taka tsaH-hani-?e-n  
 those-**OBJ** rich-**NOM**-taka **INST**(hand)do-  
**DISTRIB:ASP-COMPL:ASP**

Only the rich drive that kind (of car).

In one example, -taka appears to replace a nominal:

- (171) "matákatsa tammikI pitiru?i"  
 ma<sup>-</sup>-taka-tsa tammi-ki piti-tu?i  
 its-taka-**TOP** us=**INCL**-at arrive-**UR:ASP**

"The mate (of the Muupits) could be nearby."

-wai 'like, similar to'

- (172) Johntsa pi?áhpıwaih navunnitı  
 John-tsa pi<sup>=</sup>-aHpi-wai na-punni-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 name-**TOP** his=**own**-father-wai resemble-**GEN:ASP**

John looks like his dad.

- (173) ugwaitı  
 u-wai-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 it-wai-**PRED**

'same'

-wekih 'measure',

'measure' is an approximate translation for -wekih. The meaning of this postposition is also discussed in Note 6 of this chapter. The form functions in words such as the following. In the first two, -ta may be a mis-hearing of -ti<sup>=</sup>.

- |       |              |              |
|-------|--------------|--------------|
| (174) | piawekıta    | tiewekıta    |
|       | pia-wekih-ta | tie-wekih-ta |
|       | big-wekih-ta | small-wekih  |

'wide'

'narrow'

utifIna-wehkiti	wekinaiti
u-tipihna-wekih-ti <sup>=</sup>	wekih-nai-ti <sup>=</sup>
it-half-wekih-NOM	wekih-direction-NOM
'half'	'side'

When *wekih* is nominalized its meaning is 'low'.

(175) weekiti  
 weeki-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 weeki-PRED

'low'

In comparative expressions the nominal being compared is first postposed with *-ka*, and *-wekih* is then added to the construction. The comparative construction is discussed in Section 5.2.3.1. I have not identified this *-ka*.

(176) Brandytsa Tracykagweki winniRi  
 Brandy-tsa Tracy-ka-wekih winni-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 name-TOP name-ka-wekih stand-GEN:ASP

Brandy is taller than Tracy.

Syntactically, the postpositions are free to appear on nouns, pronouns and demonstratives. In some cases a postposition occurs on both a nominal and on pronominal referents to the noun which occur in the same sentence. This construction, which is widespread in Uto-Aztecan, is known as the copy pronoun construction (see Langacker 1977b:27-28). These pronouns may precede (presumptive pronouns) and/or follow (resumptive pronouns) the nominal. The postposition may also occur on elements which modify the noun. I cannot say definitely that any of the postpositions must appear with a copy pronoun, although this seems to be the case with *-nai*, *-Hnai* and *-nakwi*. The use of copy pronouns is not frequent. Restrictions as to which postpositions can occur in the construction are not

known.

(177) inai pikáhninai toyanai  
 i-nai pi<sup>=</sup>-kahni-nai toya-nai  
 here-nai his=own-house-nai mountain-nai

'from his house in the mountains'

(178) oki atiki návukuwááki to?i  
 o-ka<sup>=</sup> a<sup>=</sup>ti-ka<sup>=</sup> nápukuwáá-ka<sup>=</sup> to?i  
 that-ka<sup>=</sup> other-ka<sup>=</sup> car-ka<sup>=</sup> go=in(sg subj)

Get in the other car!

(179) nise ohkO atiku puhakíniku nimíahka  
 nii-se o-H/ku<sup>=</sup> a<sup>=</sup>ti-H/ku<sup>=</sup> puha-kahni-H/ku<sup>=</sup>  
 ni-mi?a-h/H/ka  
 I-CONTRAST that-H/ku<sup>=</sup> other-H/ku<sup>=</sup> power-house-H/ku<sup>=</sup>  
 me-go-DS

When I went to the other church . . .

#### 4.1.7. Noun modification.

##### 4.1.7.1. Demonstratives.

Armagost has studied Comanche demonstratives in depth (see especially 1982a, 1983b and 1985) and this section draws extensively on his work. The demonstrative roots are: i, o, u, e and ma. The first three reflect distance from the speaker or the speaker's point of view, as follows:

NEAR	MIDDLE DISTANCE	FAR, OUT OF SIGHT
i	o	u

The element e is best described by the term 'scattered'. It refers to a group of objects distributed within a field. When it occurs with the locative element -pe it has the extended meaning 'other' (see the Locative Demonstrative section below). Distance from the speaker is irrelevant with e. Distance from the speaker is

also irrelevant with *ma*, which is generally used with weather verbs and as the noncommittal "it" in predications such as "It is tall," in which the referent is unimportant or unknown (e.g., in elicitation). *ma* is also used to mark the less important of two third-person participants in an event; see Armagost 1985.

The vowel-initial demonstratives may optionally be preceded by *s-*, which indicates prior mention or the speaker's presumption of the hearer's prior knowledge of the referent.

*o* seems to be the statistically most common stem for the non-immediate demonstrative when not preceded by *s-*. When /*o*-ty<sup>̄</sup>/ is topicalized with *-tsa* and the referent is human, the form is often heard as [oretsa]. The most common stem for non-immediate demonstratives with *s-* is *u*; *u* is also the most frequently encountered third person pronominal form.

The demonstratives may optionally be suffixed with *-ti<sup>̄</sup>*, which is at least homophonous with *-* and is probably the same as *-* the suffix used to mark generic aspect (Section 4.3.6.1.2) among several functions. The demonstratives are inflected for singular, dual and plural number and for subjective, objective and possessive case, as shown in Table 12.

The singular objective form of *e-* is *eHka* and the translation is 'those' (OBJ). A singular meaning for "scattered" would be semantically anomalous. Similarly, *e-* does not occur with dual suffixes.

When the vowel-initial demonstrative stems are preceded by *s-* they have the same shapes as the demonstratives in Table 12, but with an initial *s-* as, *siti<sup>̄</sup>*, *suti<sup>̄</sup>*, etc.

Table 12. The Demonstrative Pronouns

		UNKNOWN / NEW TO DISCOURSE								
		SINGULAR			DUAL		PLURAL			
		SUBJ	OBJ	POSS	SUBJ	OBJ	POSS	SUBJ	OBJ	POSS
NEAR	i(tī)	iHka	iHka	iHka	itikwih	itihii	itihii	itii	itii	itii
MIDDLE	o(tī)	oHka	oHka	oHka	otikwih	ohti	ohti	otii	otii	otii
FAR	u(tī)	uHka	uHka	uHka	utikwih	uhti	uhti	utii	utii	utii
SCATTERED	e(tī)	eHka	eHka	eHka	_____	_____	_____	etii	etii	etii
LOCATION	ma(tī)	maHka	maHka	maHka	matikwih	mahti	mahti	matii	matii	matii

The demonstrative roots serve as the base for the third person pronouns. In fact, it is often difficult to distinguish between demonstrative and pronominal usage.<sup>14</sup>

The demonstrative stems are also intimately related to elements dealing with position, location, time and manner. They are used as bases for postpositions and for many adverbial expressions of place and time. See the references to Armagost listed above for extensive exploration of the roles of the demonstratives in narrative.

Demonstratives precede the nouns they modify; the sequence may be interrupted by a second-position element (Sect. 5.2.2).

(180)      *sihka mia*  
             *siHka mia*  
             this=OBJ month

'this month' (obj)

(181)      *suhka mia*  
             *suHka mia*  
             that=OBJ month

'next month, the following month' (obj)

(182)      *ihka nii iKI tikituʔi*  
             *iHka nii i-H/kVh tiki-tuʔi*  
             this=OBJ I here-at set=down(sg obj)-UR:ASP

I'm going to set this down (here).

(183)      *oritsa kuhtsunii tihkarii*  
             *otii-tsa kuHtsu-nii tiHka-tii<sup>=</sup>*  
             those-TOP cow-PL eat-GEN:ASP=PL

The cows (non-scattered) are eating (as, in a barn).

(184)      *etitsa kuhtsu ohto naiyikwiitii*  
             *etii-tsa kuHtsu o-H/tu<sup>=</sup> naiyikwii-tii<sup>=</sup>*  
             those-TOP cow there-at graze-GEN:ASP=PL

The cows (scattered) are grazing  
 (here and there in a field).

- (185) surise ehka vímoróó?a nasúyake?eYU  
 sutii-se eHka pímotóó?-a na-su-yake?-e-yu  
 those=ones-CONTR those=OBJ cow-OBJ REFLEX-  
 INST(mind)-cry-DISTRI:ASP-PROG:ASP

They wished for some cows.

- (186) uhka nii huuvi?a nakai  
 uHka nii huupia naka-i  
 that=OBJ I song=OBJ hear-COMPL:ASP

I heard that song.

- (187) uhri nii huuvianihi nakai  
 uhti nii huupia-nihi naka-i  
 those=DL=OBJ I song-DL=OBJ hear-COMPL:ASP

I heard those two songs.

- (188) uri nii huvia nakai  
 utii nii hupia naka-i  
 those=PL=OBJ I song=OBJ hear-COMPL:ASP

I heard those songs.

- (189) ohka tenahpi?a yitsi  
 oHka= tenaH=pi?-a= yitsi  
 that=POSS man-ABS-POSS fly

'the man's airplane'

- (190) orii tenanii yitsi  
 otii= tena-nii= yitsi  
 that=PL=POSS man-PL=POSS fly

'the men's airplane'

The following two sentences exemplify the way in which demonstratives may be used to make a noun definite. In the first, the speaker has a specific book in mind and *i* is used. In the second, a group of books is contemplated and *e* is the demonstrative root:

- (191) ihka nyy ryvopha Francineha uhturu?i  
 iHka nyy ty-po=pyh-ha Francine-ha uHtu-tu?i  
 this=OBJ I INDEF=OBJ-write-ABS-OBJ name-OBJ  
 give (sg obj)-UR:ASP

I'm taking the book to Francine.

- (192) ehka nyy ryvopha Francine-ha himimi?aRi  
 eHka nyy ty-po-pyh-ha Francine-ha himi-mi?a-ty<sup>~</sup>  
 these=OBJ I INDEF=OBJ-point-ABS-OBJ name=OBJ  
 give(pl obj)-go-GEN:ASP

I'm taking the books to Francine.

In the following sentence, no particular book is specified:

- (193) tyvopha nyy yaakwatu?i  
 ty-po-pyh-ha nyy yaa-h/H/kwa<sup>~</sup>-tu?i  
 INDEF=OBJ-point-ABS-OBJ I carry-MTN=AWAY-UR:ASP

I'm taking a book.

The choice of pronoun vs. demonstrative or noun vs.

demonstrative - noun seems optional. For instance:

- (194) oretsa nakariva kariri  
 oti<sup>~</sup>-t<sup>~</sup>sa na-kati-pa?a<sup>~</sup> kati-ti<sup>~</sup>  
 that=one-TOP REFLEX-sit-on sit-GEN:ASP

She sits on a chair.

cf:

- (195) kariri u  
 kati-ti<sup>~</sup> u  
 sit-GEN:ASP he

He's (or she's) sitting.

Another pair is the following. Both sentences are acceptable. Of course, if 'that man' is requested in elicitation, a demonstrative is always used.

- (196) oretsa tenapi ohka wa?ipi?a vunni  
 oti<sup>~</sup>-t<sup>~</sup>sa tena-pi<sup>~</sup> ohka wa?i-pi<sup>~</sup>?-a puni  
 that=one-TOP man-ABS that=OBJ woman-ABS-OBJ see

The man sees the woman.

cf.

- (197) tenapitsa wa?ipi?a vunni  
 tena-pi<sup>~</sup>-t<sup>~</sup>sa wa?i-pi<sup>~</sup>-a punni  
 man-ABS-TOP woman-ABS-OBJ see

The man sees the woman.

Some examples from texts are:



- (198) sitikwi<sup>se</sup> sohki vihivítihka ori Baldwin  
 Parker mahrima<sup>ai</sup> mahri<sup>iyai</sup>ki<sup>i</sup>  
 sitikwi<sup>-se</sup> so-HkVh pihi-piti-h/H/ka<sup>=</sup> oti<sup>=</sup> Baldwin  
 Parker mahti-ma<sup>ai</sup> mahti<sup>-iyai</sup>-ki<sup>=</sup>  
 these=2-CONTR there-at them=own=DL-arrive-DS that=one  
 name them=DL-with them=DL-watch, guard-BEN

When they (two women, previously introduced)  
 got there, Baldwin Parker was their spokesman and  
 guardian.

Thereafter, Baldwin Parker is also referred to with s- plus  
 demonstrative. Familiar characters often are granted an s-. For  
 instance, beginning a Coyote story:

- (199) suRse oha<sup>ahnakat</sup>i tia siki tia nahahupiti  
 suti<sup>=</sup>-se oha<sup>ahnakat</sup>i tia si-H/kvh tia  
 naha-hu(1)-piti  
 that-CONTR coyote (yellow=under=arm) NARR=ONSET  
 this-at NARR=ONSET become-ACCOMP:ASP-arrive

That Coyote, here he is again.

Demonstratives are often repeated, with emphatic force:

- (200) "yaa via uretsa uri kaawosa. . ."  
 "yaa via uti<sup>=</sup>-tsa uti<sup>=</sup> kaawosa. . ."  
 EXCLAM mother that-TOP that name  
 "Well, mother, that ol' fox . . ."

usi<sup>=</sup>

The demonstrative stem u occasionally occurs in the form usi<sup>=</sup>  
 (-si<sup>=</sup> is probably the emphatic suffix -si - see Extent Demonstra-  
 tives, below, and Section 5.4). The form occurs in constructions  
 which express doubt:

- (201) nomi<sup>atsi</sup> kia usi nookia haku<sup>puhtu</sup> nomi<sup>an</sup>  
 nomi<sup>a-h/H/tsi</sup> kia u-si noo-kia haka-H/puhtu nomi<sup>a-n</sup>  
 move-SS INFER u-si just-INFER where-to move-COMPL:ASP

They<sub>i</sub> didn't know which way they<sub>i</sub> moved.

### Locative demonstratives

The demonstrative stems are used with several locative elements to express notions such as 'here' and 'there'. The distance from speaker described above is maintained in these expressions.

Demonstrative stems may be suffixed with the locative postpositions, especially in the copy pronoun construction (Section 4.1.5.3). The stems are also found with a locative element -H/kVh, which translates as 'here' or 'there' depending on the demonstrative stem and on the context. With this element, the final vowel harmonizes with the high vowels (i i and u) and is otherwise i.

- (202) ihka nii ikI tikitu?i  
 iHka nii i-H/kih tiki-tu?i  
 this-OBJ I here-H/kvh set=down(sg obj)-UR:ASP

I'm going to set this down.

- (203) surise suhkU ka?win  
 sutii<sup>=</sup>-se su-H/kVh ka?wi-n  
 those=ones-CONTR there-H/kVh gather-COMPL:ASP

They gathered there.

- (204) . . . okI nahaRi. . .  
 . . . o-H/kV<sup>h</sup>i naha-ti<sup>=</sup> . . .  
 there-H/kVh become-GEN:ASP

. . . they're over there. . .

- (205) osákari okO winni  
 o-si-hakati<sup>=</sup> o-H/kVh wini /+n/  
 that=one-who there-H/kVh stand+DUR:ASP

Who is that person over there?

- (206) hakari sikI kahnívai  
 hakati<sup>=</sup> si-H/kVh kahni-pai  
 who here-H/kVh house-have

Who lives here?

/-H/kVh/ is used to refer to a single location. Note the following

sentences, in which the postposition -H/tu<sup>̄</sup> 'to, at' is used:

- (207) ihtu nii nahna?aikI marahni?itu?i  
 i-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> nii naH-na?a-i-ki ma-tahni?i-tu?i  
 here-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> I just-middle-??-at it-  
 set=down(pl obj)-UR:ASP

I'm putting (i.e., planning to put) them  
 here and there.

- (208) suse ehtu uvétin  
 su-se e-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> u-peti-n  
 that=one-CONTR scattered-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> it-throw-COMPL:ASP

He threw it around.

The element -?a has the meaning 'around'.

- (209) innha si?ahku ke uvúni?iyU  
 inni-ha si-?a-H/ku ke u-puni-i-yu  
 you-Q here-a-H/ku NEG him-see-DISTRIB:ASP-PROG:ASP

Have you seen him around here?

Another adverbial element, H/pu<sup>̄</sup> ([-po] after o-) expresses a location different from the location of the moment. -H/pu<sup>̄</sup> is probably the same as the postposition -H/pu<sup>̄</sup> 'way, direction' (Section 4.1.6.2).

- (210) ovohto ma rahpo?tseh  
 o-H/pu<sup>̄</sup>-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> ma taH-po?tse  
 there-pu-to it INST(foot)bounce

Kick it the other way!

- (211) ivu u tihya karimi?aRI  
 i-H/pu<sup>̄</sup> u tihya kati-mi?a-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 this-H/pu<sup>̄</sup> he horse sit-go-GEN:ASP

He's going this way, riding along on a horse.

- (212) atahpu ma pohiyakwatu?i  
 a<sup>̄</sup>ta-H/pu<sup>̄</sup> ma pohiya-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-tu?i  
 other-H/pu he walk-MTN=AWAY-UR:ASP

He's going to walk away.

- (213) atahputi suri uriahwekin  
 a<sup>̄</sup>ta-H/pu<sup>̄</sup>-ti suti<sup>̄</sup> u-tiahwe-ki<sup>̄</sup>-n  
 different-hpu-NOM=OBJ that=one  
 him-say-BEN-COMPL:ASP

He told them the other direction.

In the following example, 'that way', with s-, refers to a location previously discussed in the narrative.

- (214) "ihvuhtu nii mi?ari suvuhtu"  
 "i-H/pu<sup>̄</sup>-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> nii mi?a-ti<sup>̄</sup> su-H/pu<sup>̄</sup>-Htu<sup>̄</sup>  
 this-H/pu<sup>̄</sup>-to I go-GEN:ASP that-H/pu<sup>̄</sup>-to

"I'm going that way (and I'll go) by there."

The element -pe, -peHtu<sup>̄</sup> 'other', is used to express both locative and temporal distance. When pe occurs with the demonstrative stem e-, 'scattered', the stem seems to also have the meaning 'other, elsewhere'. pe is related to the postposition -pe (Section 4.1.6.1) and to the -pe which is found with the indefinite/interrogative hi<sup>̄</sup>pe 'when' (Section 4.2.7, 5.2.4.3), the oblique subordinating 'when' (5.6.3.2) and a number of other lexical items related to measuring time.

- (215) nise eve ihkan  
 ni-se epe ihka-n  
 I-CONTR epe go=in(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP

I went inside.

- (216) nise evehtu to?in  
 ni-se epeHtu<sup>̄</sup> to?i-n  
 I-CONTR epeHtu<sup>̄</sup> emerge(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP

I went outside.

(217) . . . mapátsi evehti vunnitsi. . .  
 . . . ma<sup>=</sup>-patsi epe<sup>H</sup>tu<sup>=</sup>-i puni-h/H/tsi . . .  
 her-older=sister epe<sup>H</sup>tu<sup>=</sup>-iOBJ look-SS

. . . her older sister looks outside. . .

(218) ihkitsitsa ke eve kwavi?ití  
 ihkitsi-tsa kee epe kwapi?-i-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 now-TOP NEG epe sleep(pl subj)-  
 DISTRIB:ASP-GEN:ASP

Now, no one sleeps outside (i.e., in the summer).

#### Extent demonstratives

The demonstrative stems are suffixed with *-pe* (see the examples directly above) to demonstrate temporal distance and the metaphorical distance or extent of an action. The construction may be followed by *-si*, which may have been formerly a demonstrative stem used for forming predicate nominatives (Miller n.d.a.;24; see *-usi*, above). In Comanche it has emphatic force:

(219) soovesi  
 soo-pe-si  
 much-pe-EMPHAT

'once upon a time' (traditional opening for tales)

(220) suveti u (usually [subetu])  
 su-pe-ti<sup>=</sup> u  
 that-pe-PRED it

'that's all' (traditional ending for narratives)

(221) suveti u naBihwikatí  
 su-pe-ti u nahpihwi-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 that-pe-PRED=OBJ it cost-TEMP=STATE:ASP

It costs that much.

I also have recorded an example of *supe* as a predication, utilizing a suffix *-ka*, which I have not analyzed (the imperative *-ka* is not used with the singular). Coyote has been crying uncontrollably:

- (222) suveka yaake. suveka. ai inni naninsukaru?i  
 su-pe-ka yaake. su-pe-ka.  
 ai inni na-niH-nisuka-tu?i  
 that-pe-ka cry. that-pe-ka. bad you REFLEX-  
 INST(verbal)-sick, feel=bad-UR:ASP

Enough crying. Enough. You're going to  
 make yourself sick.

Armagost also has *sive?si* 'at this time, now,' for which I have the  
 term *ihkitsi*, 'now'.

#### Manner demonstratives

The adverbial suffix *-ni*, 'like', is used with the  
 demonstrative stems to express the notion 'in this, that fashion'.

- (223) hakaniyutI inni sinniku nimini?atsi?iyU  
 hakaniyu=ti= inni si-ni-ku= nimmi-ni?atsi-?i-yu  
 why you this-ni-ADVB us=EXCL-tell, advise-  
 REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP

Why are you telling us to do this?  
 (I.e., why are you telling us to do it this way?)

- (224) hakaniyutI inni sunniku nimiti?ahwekivinni  
 hakaniyu=ti= inni su-ni-ku= nimi-ti?ahwe-ki-h/Hpinni  
 why you that-ni-ADVB us=EXCL-tell-BEN-ONGO:ASP

Why are you telling us (to do it that way)?

The manner demonstratives are often used for elipsis, referring to  
 actions that occurred earlier in the narrative:

- (225) sinni manakaku riasi "manamsohivikwi"  
 si-ni ma-naka-ku tiasi manamVsohi-pikwih  
 this-ni him-be-DT again hurry DL=IMPER

While he's sitting here, again (he said),  
 "Y'all hurry up!"

- (226) sunni nayikwIvinnitI  
 su-ni nayikwI-H/hvinni-ti=  
 that-ni continue-ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP

The same thing kept happening over and over.

(227) "hāā. nah nīi sunni naharuʔi"  
 hāā. naH nīi su-nī naha-tuʔi  
 yes. just I that-ni do-UR:ASP

"Yes, I'll do it that way."

Armogost (1980;64) maintains that the stem always has the prefix s-, indicating that the referent is presumably known to the hearer.

This is true in the vast majority of cases. However, I encountered two occurrences of a demonstrative stem suffixed with -ni without the s-; both are instances of the proverbial "exception that proves the rule." In the example below, a speaker used gestures to describe an animal. In the other instance, an action was described; again, a gesture was employed to supplement the narrative.

(228) . . .inniti moʔokatī  
 . . .i-ni-ti moʔo-ka=ti=  
 this-ni-PRED=OBJ hand-have  
 . . . he's got a hand like this (gestures)

#### 4.1.7.2. Other noun modifiers.

Nouns may be modified by a wide range of elements. These include, along with the demonstratives, a few morphemes which are true modifiers and many which are derived from nouns and verbs. (Because these elements modify verbs as well as nouns they are termed modifiers rather than adjectives or adverbs.) Other modifiers include color terms, numerals and quantifiers. These are described below in Sections 4.1.7.3 - 4.1.7.5

The modifier precedes the noun it modifies and may optionally occur with no morphology of its own. When it is uninflected, though the modifier and noun are both stressed, second-position elements (Section 5.2.2) do not occur between them. For

this reason, and because of the lack of morphology on the modifier, I consider the modifier to be incorporated into the noun and write the combination as one word.

A variety of morphological devices occur with modifiers when they are not incorporated. Many may be suffixed with  $-ti^{\bar{}}$ , and can then be inflected to agree with the modified noun in number (singular, dual and plural) and case (subjective, objective and possessive). I assume that  $-ti^{\bar{}}$  is related to the generic aspect suffix (see Section 4.3.6.1.2 for a list of the functions of this suffix).

Predicate adjectives are usually suffixed with  $-ti^{\bar{}}$  or  $-yu$  (Section 5.2.3.1). In citation form the modifiers are found with a number of different endings, including emphatic suffixes such as  $-pitsi$   $-pitsih^{15}$  and  $-titsi$ , the nominalizing  $-pih$  and the aspect suffixes  $-ti^{\bar{}}$  and  $-h/\hbar ka^{\bar{}}ti^{\bar{}}$ .

Examples of multiple modifiers (eg., demonstrative + color term + other adjective + noun) are presented in Section 4.1.7.5.

Modifiers may optionally be reduplicated for plural and distributive meaning, as in:

(230)	poposani $\bar{i}$	cf: posarenapi $\bar{?}a$
	po $\bar{}$ -posa-ni $\bar{i}$	posa-tena- $\bar{pi}$ -a
	REDUP-crazy-PL	crazy-man-ABS-OBJ
	'bunch of crazy ones'	'crazy man' (obj)

#### Underived modifiers

There is a small number of stems which, when modifying a noun, are almost always incorporated into it. I term these true



modifiers. In citation form, some of these are followed by emphatic suffixes such as *-pitsi* ~ *-pitsi* and some are not. The ones which are suffixed with the emphatic suffixes are not followed by the generic/predicative *-ti*, and I am unaware of any which are suffixed by the absolutive/nominalizing suffix *-pih*. Examples include *iki-* 'new', *a<sup>̄</sup>ta-/at<sup>̄</sup>i* 'other, different', *tie-* 'small', *pai-*, 'short', *kana-*, 'thin' and *ai-* 'bad'.

(230)	<i>ikinávukuwáá</i> <i>iki-nápukuwáá</i> new-car	<i>ikivitsi</i> <i>iki-pitsi</i> new-EMPHAT
	'new car'	'new'
	<i>kánarénahpi</i> <i>kana-tenaH-pi</i> thin-man-ABS	<i>kanaviitsi</i> <i>kana-pitsi</i> thin-EMPHAT
	'thin man'	'thin'
	<i>páiténahpi</i> <i>pai-tenaH-pi</i> short-man-ABS	<i>paititsi</i> <i>pai-titsi</i> short-EMPHAT
	'short man'	'short'
	<i>átakáhni</i> <i>a<sup>̄</sup>ta-kahni</i> other-house	<i>atavitsi</i> <i>a<sup>̄</sup>ta-pitsi</i> other-EMPHAT
	'other house'	'outsider, non-Comanche'

*a<sup>̄</sup>ta-* has a variant form *a<sup>̄</sup>ti* which can be used without a noun or *-pitsi* ~ *-pitsih* and which can be inflected for case and number, as in:

(231)	<i>a<sup>̄</sup>ti</i> or <i>a<sup>̄</sup>ti</i> <i>a<sup>̄</sup>ti</i> or <i>a<sup>̄</sup>ti</i>
	'the other one' (distinguishing between two people)

ati puʔe  
 ati puʔe  
 different=OBJ road=OBJ

'different road'

atina nii taveni miʔai  
 a<sup>ti</sup>-na nii tapeni miʔa-i  
 different-?? I day go-COMPL:ASP

I went on a different day.

atitsah sariʔi woʔwokiʔitɪ  
 a<sup>ti</sup>-tsa satiʔi woʔwoki-ʔi-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 other-TOP dog bark-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

Another dog is barking.

cf:

oritsah átisáriʔi woʔwokiʔitɪ  
 oti<sup>=</sup>-tsa a<sup>ti</sup>-satiʔi woʔwoki-i-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 that-TOP other-dog bark-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

The other dog is barking.

The form a<sup>ta</sup>hpu<sup>=</sup>, 'away,' is a combination of a<sup>ta</sup>-, and the locative suffix -h/pu<sup>=</sup> 'different (location)' (Section 4.1.6.2).

at<sup>=</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pu also carries the meaning 'different'.

(232) atahputi nii wanapha urai  
 a<sup>ta</sup>-h/pu<sup>=</sup>-ti nii wana-<sup>pih</sup>-ha uta-i  
 different-other-PRED=OBJ I cloth-ABS-OBJ  
 find-COMPL:ASP

I found a different color of cloth.

a<sup>ti</sup> also can occur with postpositions:

(233) nise ohko atiku puhakɪniku nimiʔahka . . .  
 ni-se o-h/ku<sup>=</sup> a<sup>ti</sup>-h/ku<sup>=</sup> puhakahni-h/ku<sup>=</sup>  
 ni-miʔa-h/hka<sup>=</sup> . . .  
 I-CONTR that-to other-to church-to  
 me-go-DS . . .

When I went to the other church . . .

The adjective stem tie- 'little, small' does not use -pitsih  
 -pitsih, but also does not occur with the predicative -ti<sup>=</sup>.<sup>16</sup>

(234)      tienárimí  
             tie-na-timí  
             small-REFLEX-buy, sell

'camp, settlement' (small town)

            tievimoróó  
             tie-pímotóó  
             small-cow

'calf, small cow'

Many elements modify verbs as well as nouns. tipitsi, 'real', and ai, 'bad', are commonly found adverbially. Examples of use with nouns are:

(235)      tivitsinanimí  
             tipitsi-na-nimí  
             real-RECIP-Comanche, person

'close kin'

(236)      aiti uríi puʔekatíi  
             ai-ti utíi<sup>=</sup> puʔe-ka<sup>=</sup>tíi<sup>=</sup>  
             bad-PRED=OBJ they road-have=PL

They've got a bad road.

#### Derived modifiers

The majority of Comanche "adjectives" are derived from verbs and nouns, predominately verbs. In citation form, they are followed by the predicative/generic aspect suffix -ti<sup>=</sup> or the temporary state aspect suffix -h/ɛka<sup>=</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>f or by the nominalizing/absolute suffix -píh. These forms are often used in forming nouns as well (see Section 4.1.4.1).

Typical derived adjectives include:

(237)	ketsaati ke-tsa <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> NEG-good-PRED	toponiti to <sup>-</sup> -poni-ti <sup>=</sup> ??-roll-PRED (cf -poni?i 'roll')
	'wrong'	'round'
	tsanahkati tsaa-naka <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> good-??-PRED	kesuati ke-sua <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> NEG-feel-PRED
	'rich'	'mean'
	yuupi yuu- <sup>-</sup> pih fat-PRED	kihtati kihta <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> hard-PRED
	'fat'	'hard'
	paisoketi pai-soke-ti <sup>=</sup> wet-PRED	tsayiiyikati tsaa-yiiyi-h/Hka <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> good-jelly-PRED (cf yi?yikii 'shake')
	'wet, wringing wet'	'soft'
	pi?a-pi pi?a- <sup>-</sup> pih ??-PRED 'loose'	sanakati sana-h/Hka <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> sticky-PRED 'sticky'
	tuhtsaipi tuhtsai-pih dirty-PRED (cf: tuhtsai 'be dirty')	titaati tihiya ti <sup>-</sup> taa <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> tihiya pitiful-PRED horse
	'dirty'	'a pitiful horse'

The postpositions which also function as predicates (see Section 4.1.6.1) can be used adjectivally:

(238)	tuuhkati paa tuHka <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> paa under-PRED water	pa?ati ma pa?a <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> ma on-PRED it
	'deep water'	It's long. OR It's high.

The following is not a nonce form, but indicates how a modifier may be created; in this case, the modifier is a relative clause:

- (239) uHka nii ria nanIsu?uyaa tihni?aRii<sup>13</sup>  
 tenapi?a vunin  
 uHka nii tia nanVsu?uyaa tihni?a-tii  
 tena-pi-a puni-n  
 that=OBJ I MARR=ONSET cute tell, read-  
 NOM=PI=OBJ man-ABS=OBJ see-COMPL:ASP

I saw the funny man.  
 (lit.: the man who tells funny stories)

Other examples are:

- (240) piámúpitsi ikI uriva?a kahti  
 pia-mu-pitsVh i-HkVh utii-pa?a= kati /+H/  
 big-name here-at them-above sit+DUR:ASP

A big Muupits is sitting above them (on a hill).

- (241) suritakatsa tsaati návukuwáakatI uriki  
 suti=-taka-tsa tsaa=-ti nápukuwáa-ka=ti= utii=-ki-i  
 that=one-only-TOP good-PRED=OBJ car-have  
 them-at=OBJ

She has the nicest car in her family.

#### ke With Lexical Items

The negative ke- is found as the first component of a number of lexical items, with negative force. Most of these forms translate as English adjectives. Some have no corresponding positive meaning when the morpheme is isolated without ke-, in a fashion that parallels English words like 'inept' and 'uncouth'.

- |       |               |                |
|-------|---------------|----------------|
| (242) | ketsáatI      | ke-fIsa        |
|       | ke-tsaa=-ti=  | ke-pVsa        |
|       | NEG-good-PRED | NEG-??         |
|       | 'wrong'       | 'hard-working' |
|       | kenámarahpaa  | kevúti         |
|       | ke-namaraHpaa | ke-pu=-ti=     |
|       | NEG-??        | NEG-??-PRED    |
|       | 'easy'        | 'weak'         |

kesuáti	kénanímirekwahí
ke-sua <sup>̄</sup> -ti <sup>̄</sup>	ke-na-nimi-tekwa-ti <sup>̄</sup>
NEG-feel, think-PRED	NEG-REFLEX-Cm-talk-PRED
'mean'	Can't Speak Comanche (personal name)

#### 4.1.7.3. Color terms.

Color terms when used predicatively or in citation form have an absolutive suffix *-pih*, which seems to be unique to these terms (see Section 4.1.1.1). *-pih* is always followed by the generic aspect suffix *-ti<sup>̄</sup>* discussed above.<sup>17</sup> Stems for the color terms seem to have two underlying shapes, terminating with either the fortis or the preaspirating final feature. The stems of the basic colors are listed here, and 'red' is given phonetically in citation form and as compounded with several different noun stems to demonstrate the different shapes in which these terms can be manifested.

tuhu <sup>̄</sup> - ~ tuhuH-	'black, dark'
oha <sup>̄</sup> - ~ ohaH-	'yellow'
eka <sup>̄</sup> - ~ ekaH-	'red'
koti <sup>̄</sup> - ~ kotiH-	'brown'
tosa <sup>̄</sup> - ~ tosaH-	'white'
epi <sup>̄</sup> - ~ epiH-	'blue'
esi <sup>̄</sup> - ~ esiH-	'gray'
o <sup>̄</sup> ti <sup>̄</sup> - ~ o <sup>̄</sup> tiH-	'tan'

(243)	[ekafIti ~ ekapIti]	'red'
	ékahpimoróó ekaH-pímotóó red-cow	ékapihúúra eka <sup>̄</sup> -pihúúta red-bean
	'red cow'	'pinto beans'
	ékahtsóna ekaH-tsona red-rug	ekakahni eka <sup>̄</sup> -kahni red-house
	'red rug'	'red house'
	ekamuBi eka <sup>̄</sup> -mihpi red-nose	
	'red nose'	

The following are typical derived terms:

(243a)	ekahwi eka-hwi red-shortened form of puhihwi, 'iron, money'	óha?ékafIti ohax-ekaH-pih-ti <sup>̄</sup> yellow-red-PRED
	'gold'	'orange'
	Cp: tosapuhihwi 'silver, coins' and ekahwiwita, 'penny'	
	tósaékafIti tosax-ekaH-pih-ti <sup>̄</sup> white-red-PRED	patiwiaketi pa <sup>̄</sup> tiwiaketi ??
	'pink'	'green' <sup>18</sup>

When modifying a subject noun, the stem precedes the noun,<sup>19</sup> with no morphology of its own, as in the examples above with 'red', and in:

(244)	tosakahni tosa <sup>̄</sup> -káhni white-house	tuukahni tuu <sup>̄</sup> -kahni black-house
	'white house'	'black house'
	ekaokwe eka-okwe red-flow	esiokwe esi-okwe gray-flow
	'Red River'	'Canadian River'

Occasionally, a color term is used in predicative form when modifying a noun. The following example is typical, in that the form occurs within a relative clause:

- (245) uretsa waʔipi ekafIti papikatI Cachetu miʔai  
 uti<sup>=</sup>-tsa waʔi-<sup>=</sup>pi ekaH-pih-ti papi-ka<sup>=</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 Cache-H/tu<sup>=</sup> miʔa-i  
 that-TOP woman-ABS red-ABS-PRED=OBJ head-have  
 name-to go-COMPL:ASP  
 cf. eka<sup>=</sup>-pa<sup>=</sup>pi 'red-headed, red hair' (red-head)

The red-haired woman went to Cache.

If the modified noun is objective, the color term may optionally be found with the objective suffix -ti if it is not incorporated with the noun.

- (246) ohka nii evipIti kwasuʔi mavunnituʔi  
 oHka nii epi<sup>=</sup>-pih-ti kwasuʔu<sup>=</sup>-i mapuni-tuʔi  
 that=OBJ I blue-ABS-PRED=OBJ dress-OBJ try-UR:ASP

I'm going to try on that blue dress.

cf.

- (247) uikiékapiakwIsuʔi nii vunni  
 u<sup>=</sup>-iki-eka<sup>=</sup>-piakwasuʔu-i nii puni-i  
 her-new-red-coat-OBJ I see-COMPL:ASP

I saw her new red coat.

#### 4.1.7.4. Numerals.

The first ten numbers are:

simi	'one'	/simi/
waha	'two'	/waha <sup>=</sup> /
pahiitI	'three'	/pahi-ti <sup>=</sup> /
hayarokwetI	'four'	/hayatokwe-ti <sup>=</sup> /
moʔovekatI	'five'	/moʔo-pe-ka <sup>=</sup> ti <sup>=</sup> /
navaitI	'six'	/napai-ti <sup>=</sup> /
tatsikwItI	'seven'	/tatsikwih-ti <sup>=</sup> /



namegwatsikwItI	'eight'	/namewatsikwih-ti <sup>̄</sup> /
wimhinatI	'nine'	/wimVhina <sup>̄</sup> -ti <sup>̄</sup> /
simaRI / tokwe	'ten'	/simi-mati <sup>̄</sup> / / /tokwe/

*simi*, 'one', is found in a variety of derivations. It is used adverbially in the construction *simi*-Vb which means 'to Vb completely, totally'. When *simi* is reduplicated (*sisimi*) it means 'some'. Other occurrences include *simi*?oyoko 'a lot', *simi*fsi 'once', *simi* 'someone' and *simi*?oyetI 'everyone'. In all but extremely slow speech, *simi* is [simm], even when followed by a glottal-vowel sequence. (i.e., /simi?oyetih/ is [sim?oyetI])

*waha<sup>̄</sup>* 'two' is used with the appropriate dual suffix. The term for 'twins' is *wahwanikwI*, demonstrating reduplication. Expressions such as 'those two', 'we two' and so on are almost always expressed by dual pronominals and dual nominal and verbal suffixes, as the context requires.

In objective case, *simi*, 'one', has the objective suffix -a (*simi*?a). When used predicatively or in citation form, the other numerals are followed by -ti<sup>̄</sup> and are inflected for singular and plural number and for objective and possessive case.

Derivationally, the numerals are relatively opaque. *mo*?o in 'five' is probably the same stem as *mo*?o, 'hand' and -pe may be the demonstrative affix which is used in expressions of quantity (Section 4.1.7.1). *hayakwasiki* means 'last' and the stem *haya* is no doubt related to 'four', which could be analyzed as 'last' and *tokwe*, 'exact', indicating the last finger on the hand. -*mati* in '10, 20' and so forth is also translated as 'more'.

The numbers above ten are:

simi ma toʔikatɪ /simi ma toʔika <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> /	'eleven'
wahati ma toʔikatɪ /waha <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> ma <sup>-</sup> toʔika <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> /	'twelve' etc.
wahamaRɪ /wahamati <sup>-</sup> /	'twenty'
wahamaniti <sup>-</sup> simi /wahamaniti <sup>-</sup> simi/	'twenty-one'
wahamaniti <sup>-</sup> wahati /wahamaniti <sup>-</sup> waha <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> /	'twenty-two' etc.
pahimaRɪ /pahimati <sup>-</sup> /	'thirty'
pahimati <sup>-</sup> simi ma toʔikatɪ /pahima <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> simi ma <sup>-</sup> toʔika <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> /	'thirty-one'
pahimati <sup>-</sup> wahati ma toʔikatɪ /pahima <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> waha <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> ma <sup>-</sup> toʔika <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> /	'thirty-two' etc.
hayarekwɪ simaRɪ /hayatekwɪ simati <sup>-</sup> /	'forty'
hayarekwɪ simaRɪ simi ma toʔikatɪ /hayatekwɪ simati <sup>-</sup> simi ma <sup>-</sup> toika <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> /	'forty-one'
hayarekwɪ simaRɪ wahati ma toʔikatɪ /hayatekwɪ simati <sup>-</sup> waha <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> ma <sup>-</sup> toʔika <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> /	'forty-two' etc.
moʔovetɪ simaRɪ /moʔopeti <sup>-</sup> simati <sup>-</sup> /	'fifty' (etc. as with 40)
navai simaRɪ /napai simati <sup>-</sup> /	'sixty' (etc. as with 40)
tatsakwɪ simaRɪ /tatsakwɪ simati <sup>-</sup> /	'seventy' (etc. as with 40)
namegwatsikwɪ simaRɪ /namewatsikwɪ simati <sup>-</sup> /	'eighty' (etc. as with 40)
wihminatɪ simaRɪ /wihVmina <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> simati <sup>-</sup> /	'ninety' (etc. as with 40)
simati <sup>-</sup> /sima <sup>-</sup> ti <sup>-</sup> /	'one hundred'

waha simatI 'two hundred'  
/waha sima<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>/

In the above, -to<sup>?</sup>ika<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup> is probably the verb to<sup>?</sup>i 'go in/out' followed by -h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>, the aspect suffix for temporary state. Cf., for instance, oha<sup>-</sup>to<sup>?</sup>ikatI /oha<sup>-</sup>-to<sup>?</sup>i-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>/ '(leaves) turning yellow'. (yellow-go=in, out-TEMP=STATE).

The following loan words are used:

páiséé	'nickle'	(5 cents)	/páisee/
tenséé	'dime'	(10 cents)	/tenséé/
tuviitsI	'quarter'	(25 cents)	/tupiitsi/

Other money terms are:

sikwevI	'half, 50 cents'	/sikwe-pi/
simatI	'half, 50 cents'	/sima <sup>-</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> /
sikweviwiyaRI	75 cents	/sikwe-pi-wiya-ti <sup>=</sup> /

(wiya means something like 'hanging on' or 'stretched out'; cf. soniwiyaa 'rope' (grass-wiya))

Examples of numerals include:

(248) simi<sup>?</sup>a uran  
simi<sup>?</sup>-a uta-n  
one-OBJ find-COMPL:ASP

They finally found one.

(249) simse utíretimati utsáhwikin  
simi-se u<sup>=</sup>-titeti-ma<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup> u-tsahwi-ki<sup>=</sup>-n  
one-CONTR his-child-PART it-open-BEN-COMPL:ASP

One of his children opened (the door).

(250) ni<sup>?</sup>áhpitsa pahitii múvipooro<sup>?</sup>nii tihanni  
ni-<sup>?</sup>aápi-tsa pahi-ti mupipooto-nii ti-hani  
my-father-TOP three-PRED=OBJ pig-PL=OBJ  
INDEF-OBJ-do=COMPL:ASP

My father butchered three pigs.

- (251) tiakitsa soovesi nimigwi?yirikinii sihki  
 kwavihka tihtitatii nahkia hayarokweti  
 tia-ki-tsa soopesi nimiwi?yitiki-nii si-HkVh  
 kwapi-h/h/ka<sup>h</sup> tiH-tita-tii<sup>h</sup> naH-kia hayatokweti<sup>h</sup>  
 NARR=ONSET-NARR:PAST-TOP long=ago just-INFER quail-PL  
 this-at lie(pl subj)-DS REDUP-little=one-PL maybe  
 four

Once upon a time there were approximately  
 four little quails lying here.

- (252) navaitiki rakwi mi?aru?i  
 napaiti<sup>h</sup>-ki takwih mi?a-tu?i  
 six-at we=2=INCL go-UR:ASP

At six (o'clock) we'li go.

The following is from a description of a transaction involving the  
 sale of some hay:

- (253) "hipetise mikwi manáBiwi?aikI?" nikwise,  
 sikwegwiyaARI. "háá," me suri, "wahati nii  
 timiru?i." simi gwaha unáharu?i sikwevi  
 kehegwai.  
 "hipeti-se mikwih ma-nahpiwi?ai-??" nikwih-se,  
 sikwe-wi-yaa-ti. "háá," me suti<sup>h</sup> "waha<sup>h</sup>-ti nii  
 timi-tu?i." simi waha<sup>h</sup> u-naha-tu?i sikwepi  
 kehewa-i.  
 how=much=OBJ-CONTR you=2=EXCL INDEF=OBJ-cost-do-??  
 we=2=EXCL-CONTR 75=cents-OBJ. yes QUOT  
 that=one 2-PRED=OBJ I buy-UR:ASP. one (dollar?) two  
 it-become-UR:ASP 50=cents (half) gone-COMPL:ASP.

"How much are you (2) charging?" We (said),  
 "75 cents." "OK," he said, "I'll buy two (bales)."  
 (To arrive at the total of \$1.50, the translation is:  
 'To make \$2.00, 50 cents was gone.'

Another example of making change:

- (254) tuvitsi tenseewihyaRI simi ekahwiwitawiyari  
 tupiitsi tensee-wihya-ti<sup>h</sup> simi ekaH-wiwita-wiya-ti<sup>h</sup>  
 25 cents 10 cents-hanging=on one penny-hanging=on  
 -PRED

'36 cents'

## 4.1.7.5. Quantifiers.

The quantifiers do not comprise a uniform set. Those based on *simi* 'one' are discussed above, in the section on numerals. The quantifying stem *soo-* or *soo<sup>-</sup>* 'a lot, much' is also used adverbially. *hiʔi* 'a little' is the objective form of the indefinite/interrogative *hii*, 'how many?' 'some'. One of Canonge's forms for 'much, many' is *t<sup>^</sup>mar<sup>^</sup>moa*. My principal consultant accepts this form, but she uses *soo<sup>-</sup>* or *tamma<sup>-</sup>* (*tamma<sup>-</sup>ti*, objective *tamma<sup>-</sup>ti*). There is no obvious difference in the usage of *soo<sup>-</sup>* and *tamma<sup>-</sup>*. Both modify both animates and inanimates. Both are optionally suffixed with the predicative/nominal *-ti<sup>-</sup>*, and can then be inflected for subjective and objective case.

The term for 'half' is *tifInawekIti* /*tih-pihna-wekih-ti<sup>-</sup>*/ (INDEF=OBJ-either??-more-PRED). The other form for half, *simatI* /*sima<sup>-</sup>-ti<sup>-</sup>*/, has the specialized meaning '50 cents' (see above).

The quantifier precedes the noun it modifies. The sequence may be interrupted by a second-position element (see Section 5.2.2):

(255)      *sooti nii rivopha himai*  
              *soo<sup>-</sup>-ti nii ti-po-<sup>-</sup>pih-ha hima-i*  
              many-PRED=OBJ I INDEF=OBJ-write-NOM-OBJ  
              take(pl obj)-COMPL:ASP

I took many books.

cf.

*wahati nii tivopinihi himai*  
              *waha<sup>-</sup>-ti nii ti-po-<sup>-</sup>pih-nihi hima-i*  
              two-PRED=OBJ I INDEF=OBJ-write-NOM-OBJ  
              take(pl obj)-COMPL:ASP

I took two books.

and:

tivopha nii yai  
 ti-po-<sup>̄</sup>p̄ih-ha nii yaa-i  
 INDEF=OBJ-write-NOM-OBJ I take (sg obj)-COMPL:ASP

I took the book.

- (256) soosokoritsiip̄i                    cf. simisokoritsiip̄i  
 soo-soko-titsi-<sup>̄</sup>p̄ih                    simi-soko-titsii-<sup>̄</sup>p̄ih  
 many-ground-measure-NOM            one-ground-measure-NOM

'many miles'

'one mile'

- (257) tammati niimi / niniini  
 tamma-<sup>̄</sup>ti-<sup>̄</sup>nimi / nimi-nii  
 much-PRED Comanche / Comanche-PL

'a lot of Comanches'

tamma<sup>̄</sup> is also used with extended meanings, such as:

- (258) tamma yahne<sup>?</sup>eti  
 tamma<sup>̄</sup> yahne<sup>?</sup>-eti<sup>̄</sup>  
 a=lot laugh-NOM

'good laugh' (lit: 'laugh a lot')

'some' may be expressed by sisimi:

- (259) sisimi pikáhni miinin . . . siti sisimi<sup>?</sup>a  
 pikáhnimiini<sup>?</sup>a nah sikhusi wihtokwen  
 si-simi pi<sup>̄</sup>-kahni miini-n . . . siti si-simi-<sup>?</sup>a  
 pi<sup>̄</sup>-kahni-mini-<sup>?</sup>a nah si-H/ku<sup>̄</sup>-si wiH-tokwe-n  
 REDUP-one their=own-house fail-COMPL:ASP . . .  
 that=one REDUP-one-OBJ their=own-house-fail-NOM  
 just there-at-EMPHAT INST(gen'l)-kill=and=eat-  
 COMPL:ASP

Some of them couldn't get their doors open. . .  
 He just killed them there in their doorways.

Following are a few phrases and sentences which combine noun modifiers. The basic order is DEMONSTRATIVE MODIFIER NOUN. The demonstrative may be followed by a second position element. Within the modifier category, the order of elements depends on context.

- (260)      nirietusari?i  
 ni-tie-tuu-sati?i  
 my-little-black-dog  
 'my little black dog'
- (261)      ohkatsa tie?otisari?i?a pihi  
 oHka=-tsa tie-o=ti-sati?i-a= pihi  
 that=POSS-TOP little-brown-dog-POSS hair  
 'the little brown dog's hair'
- (262)      oritsa piayuupinii nararaminii kahni  
 otii=-tsa pia-yuu=-pih-nii= na-ta-tami-nii= kahni  
 those-TOP big-fat-ABS-PL=POSS RECIP/REDUP-  
 younger=brother-PL=POSS house  
 'the fat brothers' house'
- (263)      uikiékapiakwisu?i nii vunni  
 u=-iki-eka=-piakwasu?u-i nii puni-i  
 her-new-red-coat-OBJ I see=COMPL:ASP  
 I saw her new red coat.
- (264)      pi?ikitietinohinihi u wihtava?i  
 pi=-iki=-tieti-nohi-nihi u wiH-tapa?-i  
 her-own-new-small-doll-DL=OBJ she  
 INST(gen'l)-break-COMPL:ASP  
 She broke her two new dolls.
- (265)      ninse mo?oveti ikihuuvi?a nihtó?in  
 ninni-se mo?ope-ti iki-huupi-?a niH-tó?i-n  
 we=EXCL-CONTR 5-PRED-OBJ new-song-OBJ INST  
 (voice) go=in/out-COMPL:ASP  
 We learned five new songs.

#### 4.2. Pronouns.20

Pronouns stems are inflected for first, second and third person and for subjective, objective and possessive case and singular, dual and plural number. The pronominal forms that the postpositions are attached to form yet another pronominal set.

First person singular and dual have inclusive and exclusive forms. The exclusive forms mark "we two" or "we all" (but not the

listener), while the inclusive forms include the listener with the speaker.

Third-person pronouns are based on the demonstrative stems (see Section 4.1.7.1). *i*, *o* and *u* mark distance from the speaker; the closest is *i* and the farthest is *u*. The unmarked pronoun for 'he, she it' is *u*, with *ma* indicating a more impersonal 'that person', etc. Subjective *ma* is used in impersonal sentences (Section 5.2.3.1) and objective *ma-* is also used as an indefinite object marker (see Section 4.3.4.2).

Table 13. Subject Pronouns

	1ST	2ND	3RD	REFLEX/ POSS	IMPERS
SG	<i>nii</i>	<i>inni/nii</i>	<i>i</i> <i>ma</i> <i>o</i> <i>u</i>	<i>pinni</i>	
EXCL	<i>nikwih</i>		<i>iti/itikwih</i>	<i>pi/</i>	
DU		<i>mih/mikwih/</i>	<i>mahti/matikwih</i>	<i>pikwih</i>	
INCL	<i>tah/</i> <i>takwih</i>	<i>nii</i>	<i>ohti/otikwih</i> <i>uhti/utkwih</i>		
EXCL	<i>ninni</i>		<i>itii</i>	<i>pimmi</i>	<i>ta<sup>=</sup></i>
PL		<i>minni/mimmi</i>	<i>matii</i>		
INCL	<i>tanni</i>		<i>otii</i> <i>utii</i>		



Table 14. Object Pronouns

	1ST	2ND	3RD	REFLEX/ POSS	INDEF
SG	ni/nie/ nieti	i/immi/ immi	i~ ma o u	pi/pimmi	ti/ ma
EXCL DU	nih	mihi	itih mahti	pihi	
INCL	tahi		ohti uhti		
EXCL PL	nimmi	mii/mimmi	itii matii	pii/pimmi	
INCL	tai/ tammi		otii utii		

Table 15. Possessive Pronouns

	1ST	2ND	3RD	REFLEX/ POSS
SG	ni	i <sup>=</sup>	i <sup>=</sup> ma <sup>=</sup> o <sup>=</sup> u <sup>=</sup>	pi <sup>=</sup> /pimmi <sup>=</sup>
EXCL DU	nih <sup>=</sup>	mihi <sup>=</sup>	itih <sup>=</sup> mahti <sup>=</sup>	pihi <sup>=</sup>
INCL	tahi <sup>=</sup> /taha <sup>=</sup> taa <sup>=</sup>		ohti <sup>=</sup> uhti <sup>=</sup>	
EXCL PL	nimmi <sup>=</sup>	mii <sup>=</sup> /mimmi <sup>=</sup>	itii <sup>=</sup> matii <sup>=</sup>	pii <sup>=</sup> /pimmi <sup>=</sup>
INCL	taa <sup>=</sup> /tammi <sup>=</sup>		otii <sup>=</sup> utii <sup>=</sup>	

Table 16. Postpositional Pronouns

	1ST	2ND	3RD	REFLEX/ POSS
SG	ni	i <sup>=</sup>	i ma o u	pi/pimmi
EXCL	nih <sup>i</sup>		itih	pihi??/
DU		mihi	mahti	pikwih
INCL	taha		ohti uhti	
EXCL	ninni		itii	pimmi
PL		mimmi	matii	
INCL	tamma/tammi		otii utii	

## 4.2.1. Subjective pronouns.

As discussed in Section 5.2.2, subject pronouns are moved into sentential second position. Often, however, the subject pronoun is topicalized with *-tsa* or *-se*; in these cases, it remains the first element of the sentence. Coreferential forms are discussed below. Attempts to acquire paradigms demonstrate some of the variations possible in choosing subject pronouns:

(266)	kahn <sup>i</sup> kat <sup>i</sup> ni <sup>i</sup> kahni-ka <sup>=</sup> ti <sup>=</sup> ni <sup>i</sup> house-have I	nikwi <sup>i</sup> tsa kah <sup>i</sup> kat <sup>i</sup> nikwih-tsa kahni-ka <sup>=</sup> ti <sup>=</sup> DU=EXCL-TOP house-have
	I have a house.	We two (EXCL) have a house.
	takwi <sup>i</sup> mi <sup>?</sup> aru <sup>?</sup> i takwih mi <sup>?</sup> a-tu <sup>?</sup> i DU=INCL go-UR:ASP	nahweeti <sup>i</sup> ninni nahwee-tii <sup>=</sup> ninni cry-GEN=PL we=PL=EXCL
	We (two) are going.	We-all are crying.

tihkapī tsumai tanni tiHka- <sup>̄</sup> pih tsumai tanni meat-NOM gone we=PL=INCL	kahnikati inni kahni-ka <sup>̄</sup> ti <sup>̄</sup> inni house-have you
We're out of beef.	You have a house.
ahpikati mikwī aHpi-ka <sup>̄</sup> ti <sup>̄</sup> mikwih father-have you=DU	kahnikati mimmi kahni-ka <sup>̄</sup> ti <sup>̄</sup> mimmi house-have=PL you=PL
You two have a father.	You-all have a house.
kahnikati u kahni-ka <sup>̄</sup> ti <sup>̄</sup> u house-have he	kahnikati urikwī kahni-ka <sup>̄</sup> ti <sup>̄</sup> utikwī house-have they=DL
He has a house.	They two have a house.
simi kahnikati simi kahni-ka <sup>̄</sup> tii <sup>̄</sup> all house-have=PL	nahweeti urii nahwe-tii <sup>̄</sup> utii cry-GEN=PL they
They all have a house.	They're crying.

An example of the reflexive-possessive, which has emphatic usage here, is:

(267) pimīsua urii nigwātsinarimū?ikitu?i  
pimmi-sua utii ni-watsi-natimū?i-ki<sup>̄</sup>-tu?i  
they-too they me-secret-tell-BEN-UR

They're going to tell me some secrets.

#### 4.2.2. Objective pronouns.

The objective pronouns are found as direct and indirect objects of verbs and in certain subordinate clauses (Section 5.6.2).

Note that many of the objective forms end in -i.

(268) nihúúva?ai<sup>̄</sup>ki?i u  
ni-hupa-?ai-ki<sup>̄</sup>-i u  
me-coffee-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP she

She made coffee for me.

ke nie mimmi tokwfsu?aku. . .  
 ke nie mimmi tokwa-su?a-ku  
 NEG me you=PL=OBJ believe-DS  
 (second person is objective  
 because the verb is subordinate)

If you-all don't believe me . . .

nihitáitu?a  
 nihi-táitu?a  
 us=DU=EXCL help

Help us!

tahitá?o?ai?i nii  
 tahi-?ao-ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-i nii  
 us=DU=INCL-pound=meat-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP I

I made pound meat for the two of us.

surise mimmi ni?atsin  
 sutii<sup>-</sup>-se mimmi ni?atsi-n  
 those=ones-CONTR us=PL=EXCL advise-COMPL:ASP

They advised us.

tammitá?o?ai?i nii  
 tammi-?ao-ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-i nii  
 us=PL=INCL pound=meat-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP I

I made pound meat for us all.

taitá?o?ai?i nii  
 tai-?ao-ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-i nii  
 us=PL=INCL-pound=meat-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP I

I made pound meat for us all.

irá?o?ai?i nii  
 i-?ao-ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-i nii  
 you-pound=meat-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP I

I made pound meat for you.

mihitá?o?ai?i nii  
 mihi-?ao-ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-i nii  
 you=DL-pound=meat-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP I

I made pound meat for you two.

miminarimmi?ikitu?i nii  
 mimmi-natimmi?i-ki<sup>-</sup>-tu?i nii  
 you=PL-tell-BEN-UR:ASP I

I'm going to tell you a story.

urá?o?aiiki?i nii  
 u-tao-?ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-i nii  
 him-pound meat-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP I

I made pound meat for him/her.

uhritá?o?aiiki?i nii  
 uhti-tao-?ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-i nii  
 them=DL-pound=meat-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP I

I made pound meat for the two of them.

uritá?o?aiiki?i nii  
 utii-tao-?ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-i nii  
 them-pound=meat-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP I

I made pound meat for them.

#### 4.2.3. Possessive pronouns.

The possessive pronouns are prefixed to the possessed stems of nouns.

nivía	'my mother'	/ni-pia/
nihípía	'our mother' (DU EXCL)	/nihi <sup>-</sup> -pia/
tahípía	'our mother' (DU INCL)	/tahi <sup>-</sup> -pia/
tahapía	'our mother' (DU INCL)	/taha <sup>-</sup> -pia/
nimmípía	'our mother' (PL EXCL)	/nimmi <sup>-</sup> -pia/
taapía	'our mother' (PL INCL)	/taa <sup>-</sup> -pia/
ipía	'your mother'	/i <sup>-</sup> -pia/
mihípía	'your mother' (DU)	/mihi <sup>-</sup> -pia/
miihpía	'your mother' (PL)	/mii <sup>-</sup> -pia/
upía	'his/her mother'	/u <sup>-</sup> -pia/

uhripía	'their mother' (DU)	/uhti <sup>̄</sup> -pia/
oriipía	'their mother' (PL)	/otii <sup>̄</sup> -pia/

#### 4.2.4. Pronouns in postpositional constructions.

The following exemplify the pronouns when followed by a postposition.

nivaʔa	'on me'	/ni-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
nihivaʔa	'on us' (DU=EXCL)	/nihi-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
tahavaʔa	'on us' (DU=INCL)	/taha-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
ninivaʔa	'on us' (PL=EXCL)	/ninni-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
tammavaʔa	'on us' (PL=INCL)	/tamma-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
tammivaʔa	'on us' (PL=INCL)	/tammi-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
ipaʔa	'on you'	/i <sup>̄</sup> -paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
mihivaʔa	'on you' (DU)	/mihi-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
mimivaʔa	'on you' (PL)	/mimmi-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
uvaʔa	'on him/her'	/u-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
uhrivaʔa	'on them' (DU)	/uhti-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
uriivaʔa	'on them' (PL)	/utii-paʔa <sup>̄</sup> /
pitaka	'he-only'	/pi <sup>̄</sup> -taka/
pikwɪraka	'them-only' (DU)	/pikwih-taka/
pimsuʔa	'them-too' (PL)	/pimmi-suʔa/

#### 4.2.5. Reflexive/Reciprocal constructions.

Simple reflexives and reciprocals are expressed using the reflexive/reciprocal prefix *na-*, which is also discussed in Sections 4.1.4.2 and 4.3.4.1.

(269)      naróhtikwaʔi nii  
             na-toH-tikwa-i nii  
             na-INST(violent)-hit-COMPL:ASP I

I hit myself.

naróhtikwai urii  
             na-toH-tikwa-i utii  
             na-INST(violent)-hit-COMPL:ASP they

They all hit themselves.

naróhtikwai u  
             na-toH-tikwa-i u  
             na-INST(violent)-hit-COMPL:ASP he

He hit himself.

cf:          uróhtikwaʔi nii  
             u-toH-tiwa-i nii  
             him-INST(violent)-hit-COMPL:ASP I

I hit him.

When a pronoun is used in a reflexive construction, it is optionally marked with the emphatic suffix *-si* (see Sections 4.1.7.1 and 5.4). This suffix can be reduplicated for emphasis:

(270)      innsi mahánnI  
             inni-si ma-hani [+n]  
             you-si it-do=DUR:ASP

You do it yourself!

surisitsa uhánni  
             sutii-si-tsa u-hani [+n]  
             they-si-TOP it-do=DUR:ASP

They did it themselves

nisisitsa mahánitúʔi  
             nii-sisi-tsa ma-hani-tuʔi  
             I-REDUP-si-TOP it-do-UR:ASP

I'm going to do it myself.

The reciprocal use of *na-* is demonstrated in sentences such as:

(271)      *nahmetirikwī navuninikwī*  
             *nahmeti-tikwih na-puni-nikwi*  
             both-DL na-see-DL

They (dual) see each other.

cf.          *surise siminanīhwai<sup>13</sup> navunnin*  
             *sutii<sup>13</sup>-se simi-nana-wai napuni-n*  
             those=ones-CONTR completely, all-REDUP-na-like  
             resemble-COMPL:ASP

They all looked alike.

#### 4.2.6. Reflexive-possessive pronouns.

The reflexive-possessive pronouns *pīnni*, etc., are used in several ways. They mark object and locative nouns in a clause as being possessed by the subject of the clause, and are used as an emphatic (i.e., he himself did X). They are also used in complex sentences to indicate that the subject or object of the subordinate clause is coreferential with (i.e., is identical to or overlaps with) the subject of the main clause. The latter usage is discussed and described in Section 5.6.2.3.

Examples of coreferential possession are:

(272)      *pikáhnik u ihkai*  
             *pī<sup>13</sup>-kahni-H/ku<sup>13</sup> u ihka-i*  
             his=OWN-house-to he go=inside-COMPL:ASP

He went into his (own) house.

cf:          *ukáhnik u ihkai*  
             *u<sup>13</sup>-kahni-H/ku<sup>13</sup> u ihka-i*  
             his-house-to he go=inside-COMPL:ASP

He went into his (someone else's) house.



- (273) pikwite tsagwonen  
 pi<sup>h</sup>=kwita-e tsa<sup>h</sup>-wone-n  
 his=own-behind-OBJ INST(hand)-scratch-COMPL:ASP

He's scratching his (own) behind.

- (274) sitikwise pihi kahnikuuti  
 sitikwih-se pihi<sup>h</sup>=kahni-H/ku<sup>h</sup>=tii<sup>h</sup>=  
 these=ones=DL-CONTR their=own=DL house-in-PRED

They're in their (own) room.

- (275) surise wihnu pi<sup>h</sup>ahpi<sup>h</sup>a petsitsi pikahnivehtu mi<sup>h</sup>an  
 sutii<sup>h</sup>=se wihnu pii<sup>h</sup>=ahpi<sup>h</sup>-a peti-H/h/tsi  
 pii<sup>h</sup>=kahni-pehtu<sup>h</sup>= mi<sup>h</sup>a-n  
 these=ones-CONTR and, then their=OWN-father-OBJ  
 accompany-SS their=OWN-house-toward go-COMPL:ASP

And then they took their (own) father and went home.

A reflexive-possessive may be used for emphasis (see simple reflexives, above) but when it is used this way it must be suffixed with the emphatic *-si*.

- (276) surise pimisi nari<sup>h</sup>ahwekin  
 sutii<sup>h</sup>=se pimmi-si<sup>h</sup>= na-ti<sup>h</sup>ahwe-ki<sup>h</sup>=-n  
 these=ones-CONTR they=OWN-si REFLEX-tell-BEN-  
 COMPL:ASP

They tell themselves. OR  
 They themselves tell themselves.

surikwise pikwisi sime nigwinin  
 sutikwih-se pikwih-si sime niwini-n  
 these=ones=DL-CONTR they=OWN-si si-QUOT  
 say-(pl subj)-COMPL:ASP

They (dual) say to themselves.

pinisi u nava<sup>h</sup>atsi nari<sup>h</sup>ahwepinnit<sup>h</sup>  
 pinni-si u na-pa<sup>h</sup>atsi na-ti<sup>h</sup>ahwe-H/hpinni-ti<sup>h</sup>=  
 his=OWN-si he REFLEX-about REFLEX-talk-  
 ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP

He's talking about himself.

- (277) pimsi urii uháni  
 pimmi-si utii<sup>h</sup> u-hani  
 they=OWN-si they it-do

They did it themselves.

- (278) "ihvu ma kwavi?etikati<sup>h</sup>" me pinsi usi naria?ahwet<sup>h</sup>  
 i-H/pu<sup>h</sup> ma kwapi-?e-ti<sup>h</sup>-h/Hka<sup>h</sup>ti<sup>h</sup> me pinni-si usi  
 na-ti?ahwe-ti<sup>h</sup>  
 this-at it lie(pl subj)-NOM-TEMP=STATE:ASP  
 QUOT his=own-si that-EMPHAT REFLEX-tell-GEN:ASP

"There are a lot of them lying around over there,"  
 he said to himself.

The following indicates how the reflexive-possessive may be used to disambiguate referents. The man in the sentence pays admission to a movie theater for himself and two women:

- (279) sitikwise suri pii nahrimakakin<sup>13</sup>  
 sitikwi-se suti<sup>h</sup> pii na-ti-maka-ki<sup>h</sup>-n  
 these=ones=DL-CONTR that=one them=OWN  
 REFLEX-INDEF=OBJ-give, feed-BEN-COMPL:ASP

He paid for all three of them.

To demonstrate that there is no easily discernible reason for the choice of variant pronominals (in this case, *pii* vs. *pimmi*), the above sentence is followed, after one sentence, by:

- (280) suri pimmi suhri urinákimakakitsi suku  
 uhri tagwekwika  
 suti<sup>h</sup> pimmi suhti utii-narimaka-ki<sup>h</sup>-h/H/tsi su-H/ku<sup>h</sup>  
 uhti taH-wekwi-h/H/ka<sup>h</sup>  
 that=one them=OWN their=DL them=all-pay-BEN-SS  
 there-at them=DL INST(hand)-go=inside-DS

After he paid, he took them in.

The following sentence demonstrates emphatic usage of the reflexive/possessive. There is nothing in the text that would indicate confusion of referents.

- (281) sitiise pimmi sukUsi, sukUsi sitii jiiikwika  
 sitii<sup>=</sup>-se pimmi su-HkVh-si<sup>=</sup> su-HkVh-si<sup>=</sup> sitii<sup>=</sup>  
 jikwi-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 these=ones-CONTR they=OWN that-at-EMPHAT  
 that-at-EMPHAT they sit(pl subj)-STAT:ASP

They just remained where they were.

When the postposition -suʔa 'too, also', is used with the reflexive/possessive pronouns it is obligatorily followed by -tsi/-tsi, which is probably an emphatic suffix. The same suffix is found as part of the postpositions -paʔatsi, -paʔatsi, but the total environment is not understood (see Section 4.1.6.3). Examples are:

- (282) wipáitsi suri tunehtsin surise utúnetsika  
 pihipukuvaʔa pikwisuʔatsi kiatsi turunetsin  
 wipai-tsi suti<sup>=</sup> tunehtsi-n suti<sup>=</sup>-se u<sup>=</sup>-tunetsi-H/h/ka<sup>=</sup>  
 pihi<sup>=</sup>-puku-paʔa<sup>=</sup> pikwih-suʔa-tsi kia-h/H/tsi  
 tu-tunehtsi-n  
 whip-SS that=one run-COMPL that=one-CONTR his-run-DS  
 their=OWN=DL-horse-on they=OWN=DL-too-tsi get=on  
 (pl subj)-SS REDUP-run-COMPL:ASP

Whipping his horse, he ran. After it ran, they (2) got on their horses and they ran, too.

- (283) nikinunapise soʔoti pukuvai eti tiasi  
 nininahnimina Waltersnaiti pimisuʔatsi  
 pipuki suri uritáhkohnnikikaʔeJU  
 ni-kinu-naH-pi-se soʔo<sup>=</sup>-ti puku-pai etii<sup>=</sup> tiasi  
 nimi-naH-nimi-na Walters-nai-tii<sup>=</sup> pimi-suʔa-tsi  
 pi<sup>=</sup>-puku-i sutii<sup>=</sup> utii-taH-kohniki-h/H/ka<sup>=</sup>-ʔe-ju  
 my-father's=father-DECEASED-ABS-CONTR many-PRED=OBJ  
 horse-have those and our=EXCL-RECIP-Cm-PL?  
 name-from-PRED=PL they=OWN-too-tsi  
 their=OWN-horse-OBJ they them-drive=in-??-  
 REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP

My late grandfather had a lot of horses, and our close kin from Walters also had a lot of horses penned up.

- (284) sitikise "háā" meki "ivuhtu ma kwaviʔetikatī" me  
 vinisuʔatsi pinsi nariʔahwetī  
 sitikih-se "háā" me-ki "i-H/pu<sup>=</sup>-H/tu<sup>=</sup> ma  
 kwapi-ʔeti<sup>=</sup>-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>-ti<sup>=</sup> me pini-suʔa-tsi pinni-si  
 na-tiʔahwe-ti<sup>=</sup>

this=one-NARR=PAST-CONTR Yes say-NARR=PAST here-at-to  
 it lie(pl subj)-REPET:ASP-TEMP=STATE:ASP say  
 he=OWN-too-tsi he=OWN-REFLEX REFLEX-say-GEN:ASP

He (Pound Meat) says (to himself), "There are still  
 a slew of them up this way."

#### 4.2.7. Interrogative/Indefinite pronoun inflection.

A large group of interrogative/indefinite pronouns is inflected. The members of this group all have, as their base, ha- or hi-. The stems that are inflected are haka-, 'who,' hini<sup>-</sup>, 'what,' 'something,' 'someone' hii, 'some,' 'how much,' hi<sup>-</sup>pe, 'when,' 'how much,' hakah, 'where' and hakani, 'why,' 'because of'. hakai 'how' (state of being) and hakaniyu<sup>-</sup>ti, 'why,' are not inflected. The element -pe found with hi<sup>-</sup>pe also occurs with the temporal demonstratives (Section 4.1.7.1). The postposition -h/pu<sup>-</sup>, which is suffixed to hakah, 'where,' also occurs with the locative demonstratives (Section 4.1.7.1). The adverbial -ni of hakani, 'why,' also occurs with the manner demonstratives (Section 4.1.7.1).

The human interrogative/indefinite pronoun haka- is inflected for singular, dual and plural number and for subject, object and possessive case, and for object of a postposition. Most other interrogative/indefinite pronouns are inflected for subjective/objective case and singular/plural number only. These pronouns are used as interrogatives far more frequently than as indefinites. Examples of interrogative usage are found in Section 5.2.4.3. I do not have examples of indefinite usage of hi<sup>-</sup>pekai and hakaniyu<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>-</sup>.

Other indefinites include forms such as simi, 'one'; 'someone' (see Section 4.1.7.4), kehe-, 'nobody,' u<sup>?</sup>ahti, 'anybody,'

ke . . . ?u?ane- 'never' and tuku<sup>-</sup>ta, 'somebody'. Some of these are discussed in Section 5.4.

### haka 'who'

The forms for 'who,' 'whom' and 'whose' are give below.

Gaps in the table represent gaps in the data. Note that these forms are suffixed with -ti<sup>-</sup> in subjective case, but have the forms haHka and haHka<sup>-</sup>, respectively, in objective and possessive singular, in parallel with the objective and possessive forms of the demonstratives (Section 4.1.7.1).

Table 17. Inflections of haka, 'who'

	SUBJECT	OBJECT	POSSESSIVE	OBJECT OF POSTPOSITION
SG	hakati <sup>-</sup>	haHka	haHka <sup>-</sup>	haka
DU	hakatikwih	hakatihi or hakatikwi	_____	_____
PL	hakatii	haHkarii	_____	hakatii

(285) sitikwise nookia hakari urimati yitsikwatsi  
 utsahwin  
 sitikwih-se noo-kia hakati<sup>-</sup> uti-ma<sup>-</sup>ti  
 yitsi-h/H/kwa<sup>-</sup>-h/H/tsi u-tsaH-wi-n  
 these-DL-CONTR just-INFER hakati<sup>-</sup> them=DL-PART  
 get=up(sg subj)-MTN=AWAY-SS it-INST(hand)  
 open-COMPL:ASP

One of them, I'm not sure which, got up and opened it (a door).

**hini** = 'what,' 'something, someone'

The forms for 'what' are inflected for subject and object.

Note that they counter the general Comanche use of -i for objective.

SUBJECT	OBJECT	OBJECT OF POSTPOSITION
---------	--------	---------------------------

hini	hina	hini
------	------	------

- (286) taveeni tanni ke hinna hannigwaitii  
tapeni tanni ke hina hanni-wai-tii  
today we NEG hinna do-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP=PL

We're not going to do anything this afternoon.

- (287) hinnitsa ketsaati  
hini-tsa ke-tsa-ti  
hini-TOP NEG-good-PRED

Something's not right.

- (288) tsa hinnI supana?i-ti  
tsaa hini su-pana?i-ti  
good hini know-GEN:ASP

Someone's smart.

- (289) uritsa hinni nari?iyaati nimiki piti?eeti  
uti-tsa hini nati?iya-ti nimmi-ka piti-?e-ti  
that-TOP hini dangerous-PRED us-EXCL-at  
arrive-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

That mean person could just drop in on us any time.

- (290) kianoo usitsa urii hinni usitsa urii  
pimoroo tiano nimikutsu?a tivéhkan  
kia-noo u-si-tsa utii hini u-si-tsa utii  
pimotoo tianoo nimi-kutsu-?a ti-pehkan  
INFER-just it-EMPHAT-TOP they hini it-EMPHAT-TOP  
they cow-OBJ INDEF=OBJ-kill-COMPL:ASP

(I'm) doubtful (don't remember) what it was that they  
butchered - a cow or a buffalo.

hii 'some,' 'how much'

hii, 'how much,' has the following forms. Those with -ti<sup>=</sup> and -tii are restricted to animates. The form hiiH only occurs with emphatic suffixes.

	SUBJECT	OBJECT
	hii, hiʔi, hiʔi <sup>=</sup> ti	hii, hiʔi <sup>=</sup> tii
(291)	nokia u hii sime yikwi noo-kia u hii si-me yikwi just-INFER he hii si-QUOT say	
	I don't know how many times he said that.	
(292)	hiitihtsiʔa nii igwihtiakitupi hiitihtsi-a nii i-wihtia-ki <sup>=</sup> -tuʔi hii-small-OBJ I you-pour-BEN-UR:ASP	
	I'm going to pour you a small amount.	
(293)	na hiʔikutsiʔa nisááhuva wihtiaki naH hii-ku <sup>=</sup> -tsi-a ni-saahupa wihtia-ki <sup>=</sup> just hii-ADVB-DIMIN-OBJ me soup pour-BEN	
	Just pour me a little soup.	
(294)	siitise itsiʔi sigwee hiʔitsi siti <sup>=</sup> -se itsiʔi si-wee hiʔi-tsi this-CONTR cold INST(cold)-get, go=down hii-DIMIN	
	It's beginning to turn a little cold.	

hi<sup>=</sup>pe 'when'

hi<sup>=</sup>pe, if uninflected, means 'when'. With suffixes for subjective and objective case the meaning is 'how much'. Both suffixes are plural. Singular and dual meanings are semantically inappropriate.

## SUBJECT

## OBJECT

hi<sup>-</sup>petii<sup>=</sup>hi<sup>-</sup>petii

- (295) na urii hipetu nigwihtu?ikatu?i  
 naH utii<sup>=</sup> hi<sup>-</sup>pe-H/tu<sup>=</sup> ni-wiHtu?i-ka-tu?i  
 just they hi<sup>-</sup>pe-H/tu<sup>=</sup> my-wait-for=someone-??-UR:ASP

They doubt if I'll be ready.

hi<sup>-</sup>pekai 'how big'

hi<sup>-</sup>pekai is clearly based on hi<sup>-</sup>pe. It is optionally reduplicated for plural.

## SINGULAR

## PLURAL

hi<sup>-</sup>pekaihi<sup>-</sup>pekai hihi<sup>=</sup>!pekai

hakah 'where'

hakah, 'where, is found with various postpositions and with the locative postposition -H/pu<sup>=</sup>.

- (296) usi nookia hakahpuhtu nomi?an  
 u-si<sup>=</sup> noo-kia haka-H/pu<sup>=</sup>-H/tu<sup>=</sup> no-mi?a-n  
 that=one-?? just-INFER haka-H/pu<sup>=</sup>-H/tu<sup>=</sup>  
 carry-go-COMPL:ASP

They don't know which way they moved.

- (297) kahnikupa u nookia hakI pinóhi?a tiki  
 kahni-H/ku<sup>=</sup>-pa?a<sup>=</sup> u noo-kia hakah pi<sup>=</sup>-nohi-?a tiki  
 house-in-at she INFER-just hakah her=own-toy-OBJ  
 put, place

I don't know where in the house she put her toy.

hakai 'how' (state of being)

- (298) kiase suri hakai uyikwiku suri onakwi supana?iti  
 kia-se suti<sup>=</sup> hakai u-yikwi-ku suti<sup>=</sup> o-nakwi  
 su<sup>-</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>=</sup>



INFER-CONTR that=one hakai him-say-DS that=one that-  
direction know-GEN:ASP

He (Mupits) must have know that he (a frog) was  
the one doing the talking.

**hakani** 'how,' 'because of'

**hakani**, 'how,' 'what happened' is optionally found with the  
objective **-ti**:

SUBJECT	OBJECT
hakani	hakani, hakaniti

(299)      naRse mariiki hakani huuku navuni?iYU  
na $\bar{n}$ -ti-se matii-ki hakani huuku na-puni-i-yu  
just-??-CONTR them-at hakani dust  
REFLEX-see-DISTRIB:ASP-PROG:ASP

You couldn't see because of the dust.

### Miscellaneous

The lexical items for the terms 'thing' and 'things' are based on the indefinites, but have become specialized. **hi $\bar{p}$ ah** is 'thing' (sg) and **hini** is 'things' (pl). Note that the plural forms are suffixed; I do not know if this is obligatory. The form, with or without the possessive **-pai** can also indicate possession. (I have no examples with the other form for 'have,' **-ka $\bar{t}$ i $\bar{t}$** , with 'thing(s)').

(300)	nihíp̄	nihíninii
	ni-hipah	ni-hini-nii
	my-hi $\bar{p}$ ah	my-hini-PL

'my thing' OR It's mine. 'my things'

- (301)      nise kinni noo uhka kwasu?i hipfBai  
 ni-se ki-nii noo uEka kwasu?u=-?i hi=pah-pai  
 I-CONTR OPT-I just that=OBJ dress-OBJ  
 hi=pah-have

I wish I had that dress.

- (302)      itsa nohi ke u?aRina hiipf  
 i-tsa nohi ke u?ahti-na hi=pah  
 this-TOP toy NEG anybody-OBJ hi=pah

This toy doesn't belong to anybody.

#### 4.3. The Verb.

##### 4.3.1. Introduction.

Morphologically verbs can be highly complex. Because the elements which may be bound to the verb root or stem are discussed in various sections of this work, a rough sketch of the verb and its affixes is included at this point:

(OBJ PRONOUN )									VERBAL
(INDEF SUBJ )	--(ADVBL)--	(INCORP)	--(INST)--	ROOT	--(-hu(1))--				
(INDIRECT OBJ )	(PREFIX)	(NOUN )	(PRE )					OR	
								STEM	

(2NDARY).  
 (VBL ROOT)--(BEN/)--(DIRECT-)--(PREFINAL)--(FINAL )--  
 (OR STEM) (CAUS) (IONAL ) (ASPECT ) (ASPECT)

(VERBAL)--(SUBORD-)--(TOPIC )  
 (NUMBER) (INATORS) (CONTRAST)

##### 4.3.2. Stem formation.

No verb root occurs with all the above morphology. The verb root may, and often does, stand alone as a verb stem, and many verb stems occur with only one affix or with no affixation. A number of roots are suppletive; these are discussed below (Section 4.3.2.1). The shape of the typical verb root is CVCV. Stems may be formed

from the root plus an instrumental prefix and, in fact, some roots do not occur without an instrumental; see Section 4.3.3.1. In some cases an incorporated noun is joined with a verb root to create a new verb (Section 4.3.2.2).

#### 4.3.2.1. Suppletion.

Many verbs are suppletive for number. Intransitive verbs are suppletive for singular versus plural subject, and transitive verbs are suppletive for singular versus plural object. This suppletion is common in Numic and speakers do not hesitate to supply the singular or plural form of a suppletive verb when this information is requested. Examples of suppletive verbs are:

(303)	yaa / himi yaa / himi	kweʔya / kweyuʔi kweʔya / kweyuʔi
	'to hold, carry' (sg obj / pl obj)	'to remove' (sg obj / pl obj)
	yikwi / nikwi yikwi / nikwi	tekwa / niwini tekwa / niwini
	'to say, tell' (sg obj / pl obj)	'to talk' (sg subj / pl subj)
	ihpii / ihkoi ihpii / ihkoi	havi / kwavi hapi / kwapi
	'to sleep' (sg subj / pl subj)	'to lie down' (sg subj / pl subj)
	weekwi / ika weekwi / ika	
	'go inside' (sg subj / pl subj)	
	toʔi / ika toʔi / ika	
	'go in or out' (sg subj / pl subj)	

toʔi / kia  
toʔi / kia

'go in or out' (enter or leave an enclosed space)  
(sg subj / pl subj)

Suppletive verbs may interact with one another. For instance, in the pairs above which have toʔi as the singular member ika generally occurs with toʔi, but toʔi may also occur with kia. Similarly, in the two pairs with ika as the plural member, ika is more commonly paired with toʔi, but may also occur with weekwi.

The singular/plural distinction found in verb suppletion is maintained when nominals are derived from these forms:

(304) tirohtimapī / tirohtimiʔipī  
ti-tohtima-ṽpīh / ti-tohtimiʔi-ṽpīh  
INDEF=OBJ-to=can(sg obj)-NOM /  
INDEF=OBJ-to=can(pl obj)-NOM

'something canned, preserved' sg/pl

yitsiʔeti / yoriʔetii  
yitsi-ʔetiṽ / yoti-ʔetiiṽ  
fly(sg subj)-NOM / fly(pl subj)-NOM=PL

'airplane' sg / pl

#### 4.3.2.2. Secondary verbs.

Although in principle Comanche verbs may be freely combined with other verbs (Section 4.3.3.4), in actuality only a handful of verbs, termed secondary verbs, are frequently combined with other verbs. These forms take the full range of aspectual suffixes.

Most secondary verbs occur independently as well as with other verbs. In some cases the meaning of the resultant form is changed, and in some the two stems retain their separate meanings. Examples of two secondary verbs, hani 'do, make' and naha 'be,

become' are found in Sections 5.2.3.2 and 5.2.3.1 respectively.

Other common secondary verbs include *miʔa*, 'go,' *kati* / *yikwi* 'sit' (sg / pl subj), *-tai* 'emerge'. Something of the range of meaning of these verbs is exemplified below, using *miʔa*, 'go'.

(305)	<i>nomiʔa</i> <i>noo-miʔa</i> carry- <i>miʔa</i>	<i>nukimiʔa</i> <i>nuki-miʔa</i> move- <i>miʔa</i>
	'move camp'	'move'
	<i>karimiʔa</i> <i>kati-miʔa</i> sit(sg subj)- <i>miʔa</i>	<i>namamiʔa</i> <i>nama-miʔa</i> run=off, sneak= off- <i>miʔa</i>
	'riding and going'	'you're expected to do some work and you leave'
	<i>tsihariyaihumiʔa</i> <i>tsiha-tiyai-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-miʔa</i> hungry-die(sg subj)-INTENT:ASP- <i>miʔa</i>	
	'starve to death'	

#### 4.3.2.3. Instrumental verbs.

Instrumental verbs generally do not occur without an instrumental prefix (Section 4.3.3.1), although in some cases the REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL prefix *na-* (or a semantically similar form, *ni<sup>̄</sup>-*) occurs instead. Many instrumental prefixes change the instrumental verbs from intransitive to transitive; *na-* and *ni<sup>̄</sup>-* do not affect the transitivity of the root. Instrumental verbs generally describe an activity that changes the physical state of an object. Most often the meaning of the resultant verb describes the action of the instrumental. Some examples are given below. Two verbs (*-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa* (sg obj) / *tokwe* (pl obj) 'fall' and *tama* RETAIN) are given with a number of instrumental prefixes, to demonstrate

semantic range. Capital letters indicate a semantic gloss. A dash before a root indicates that the verb does not occur without an instrumental prefix or the REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL prefix *na-* or *ni=-*.

(306) -kaʔa / pomiʔi  
 -kaʔa / pomiʔi  
 'break, snap' (sg obj / pl obj)

-kinna  
 -kinna  
 'stick together' (small objects)

koa  
 koa  
 'cut'

-kupa / -tokwe  
 -ku<sup>̄</sup>pa / -tokwe  
 FALL (sg obj / pl obj)

kihkupa  
 kiH-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa  
 TEETH-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa

timakupaa  
 ti-ma-ku<sup>̄</sup>paa  
 INDEF=OBJ-HAND-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa=NOM

'bite (sg obj) to death'      'tiger, jaguar'  
 (LIT: squeezing to death)

niikupa  
 ni-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa  
 REFLEX-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa

narakhupa  
 na-taH-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa  
 REFLEX-HAND-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa

'to fall down'      'to give up for good'

na-nih-kupa- /<sup>^</sup> / na-nih-tokwe- /e (CANONGE)  
 na-niH-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa / na-niH-tokwe  
 REFLEX-VOICE-ku<sup>̄</sup>pa

'to laugh very loud' (sg subj / pl subj)

-kweya / -kweyuʔi  
 -kweya / -kweyuʔi  
 REMOVE (sg obj / pl obj)

-nua  
 -nua  
 MOVE

-soʔa  
 -soʔa  
 MANIPULATE OBJECTS

tama  
tama  
RETAIN

nasutama  
na-su<sup>=</sup>-tama  
REFLEX-MIND-tama

'remember, think  
about something'

wihtama  
wiH-tama  
GEN'L-tama

'to tie something up,  
to bandage'

-tsiʔa  
-tsiʔa  
'break' (small objects)

-wai  
-wai  
'feel, poke'

ninsutamaki  
ni-nV-su<sup>=</sup>-tama-ki<sup>=</sup>  
VERBAL-REFLEX-MIND-  
tama-BEN

'to remind someone'

tsitima<sup>21</sup>  
tsiH-tama  
POINT-tama

'to lock'

#### 4.3.3. Incorporation.

##### 4.3.3.1. Instrumental prefixes.

Comanche has a rich repertoire of instrumental prefixes. They occur most frequently with the set of verbs termed instrumental verbs discussed above, so called because many of these verbs must occur with an instrumental prefix (Section 4.3.2.3). The prefixes are, generally speaking, productive. Most are transitive, and make an intransitive verb stem transitive. Others, such as kuH-, 'with heat, fire,' are intransitive. A few, such as mu- ~ muH-, are both transitive and intransitive. At times, the translation of an instrumental construction suggests that the instrumental prefix is being used as an object of the action, as in Sentences 308 and 321.

kiH-	'with the teeth, chin, mouth'
kuH-	'with heat, fire'
ma-	'with the hand,' and as a generalized instrumental
mu- ~ muH-	'with the nose, lips, front'
niH-	'verbally'
piH-	'with the buttocks, rear' (eg., of a car)
si <sup>-</sup> -	'with cold'
siH-	'with the foot,' in a violent motion
su <sup>-</sup> -	'with the mind,' mental activity
taH-	'with the foot'
toH-	'with the hand,' violent or completed action
t <sup>s</sup> aH-	'with the hand' (extended to hand tools)
t <sup>s</sup> iH-	'with a sharp point, with the finger'
tsox-	'with the head'
wiH-	all-purpose instrumental.

## kiH-

'with the teeth, chin, mouth'

- (307) sánakóʔa nii kihtsIkwiʔeti  
 sánakó-ʔa nii kiH-t<sup>s</sup>ahkwe-ʔe-ti<sup>-</sup>  
 gum-OBJ I kiH-stick=together-REFET:ASP-GEN:ASP

I'm chewing gum.

- (308) kigwii  
 kiH-wii  
 kiH-raise

Lift your chin up!



kuH-

'with heat, fire'

- (309) kuhtavai  
kuH-tapa-i  
kuH-break-COMPL:ASP

(It) broke from the heat.

ma-

'with the hand' and as a generalized instrumental

- (310) nah nii ihu magwainiiti  
naH nii i-H/tu<sup>=</sup> ma-wai-nii-ti<sup>=</sup>  
just I here-to ma-feel-MTN=AROUND-GEN:ASP  
(cf. taH- below)

(It's so dark) I'm going to have to feel around  
(with hands).

mu- - muH-

'with the nose, lips, front'

The final feature of mu- is undetermined. Forms exist with both /mu-/ (lenis) and /muH-/ (preaspirating). It is possible that the prefix may be undergoing specialization, with the lenis form meaning 'with the nose' and the preaspirating form meaning 'with the front'. The evidence for this analysis is not clear. Forms with /mu-/ include:

[muvi]	/mu-pi/	'nose' (mu-ABS)
[muvorooki]	/mu-potooki/	'blow up' (mu-??)
[mukwiti]	/mu-kwi <sup>=</sup> ti/	'butt' (sg obj) (mu-shoot?)
[mu <sup>ro?</sup> i]	/mu-to <sup>?</sup> i/	'overflow, boil over' (mu-go=in=or=out(sg subj))

[mukwiriʔe] /mu-kwitiʔe/ 'push, spit with the mouth'  
(as, gargling, then spitting) (mu-??)

Forms with /muH-/ include:

[mufine] /muH-pahne/ 'spit (obj) out' (muH-??)

[muRfiwi] /muH-tahwi/ 'butt' (muH-??)

[muhtiʔahwe] /muH-tiʔahwe/ 'point with the lips'  
(muH-say, tell)

Other verbs with mu- include:

[mugwai] /mu-wai/ 'poke with the nose' (mu-poke)

[mudyaakfi] /mu-yaa-kiʔ/ 'carry on the nose'  
(mu-carry(sg obj)-BEN/CAUS)

[muYinesuʔa] /mu-yahne-suʔa/ 'wrinkle the nose; grin'  
(mu-laugh(sg subj)-seem, think)

niH-

'verbally'

(311) immi nii niriahwekina nihpiʔai  
immi nii ni-tiahweki-na niH-piʔa-i  
you I my-tell-BEN-NOM niH-leave-COMPL:ASP

I'm not telling you any more!

piH-

'with the buttocks, rear'

(312) pigwain  
piH-wai-n  
piH-poke-COMPL:ASP

'feeling around in dark' (for a seat)

(313) Larryʔa nii návukuwááʔa pihtsakikatfi  
Larry-ʔaʔ= nii nápukuwáá-ʔa piH-tsaka-h/Hkaʔ=tiʔ=  
name-POSS I car-OBJ piH-pull, lead-TEMP=STATE:ASP

I'm towing Larry's car.

si<sup>-</sup>-

'with cold'

- (314) si<sup>-</sup>tavai  
 si<sup>-</sup>-tapa-i  
 si<sup>-</sup>-break-COMPL:ASP

It (e.g., a pipe) broke from the cold.

siH-

'with the foot,' in a violent motion

- (315) tihiyase usiihkwati  
 tihiya-se u-siH-kwati-i  
 horse-CONTR him-siH-kick-COMPL:ASP

A horse kicked him.

su<sup>-</sup>-

'with the mind,' mental activity

- (316) narimaku nii mi<sup>?</sup>apha sugwaiti  
 na-tima-H/ku<sup>=</sup> nii mi<sup>?</sup>a-<sup>=</sup>pih-ha su<sup>=</sup>-wai-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 REFLEX-buy, sell-to I go-NOM su<sup>=</sup>-feel-GEN:ASP

I want to go to town.

taH-

'with the foot'

- (317) tagwain  
 taH-wain  
 foot-poke

'feeling around with the feet'

- (318) ovohto marahpo<sup>?</sup>tseh  
 o-H/pu<sup>=</sup>-H/tu<sup>=</sup> ma-taH-po<sup>?</sup>tse  
 that-direction-to it-taH-kick

Kick that ball away!

## toH-

'with the hand,' violent or completed action

- » (319) evuhtu tohpetiitɪ  
 e-H/pu<sup>=</sup>-H/tu<sup>=</sup> toH-peti-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 that-direction-to toH-throw-GEN:ASP

. . . really throwing (that sand)

- (320) tohtimai  
 toh-timai  
 toH-??

'to can' (eg., vegetables)

- (321) tohtsaa  
 toH-tsaa  
 toH--??

'draw back the arm to hit'

## tsaH-

'with the hand' (extended to hand tools)

- (322) nah nii ihtu tsagwaihniɪ  
 naH nii i-H/tu<sup>=</sup> tsaH-wai-nii-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 just I this-at tsa-feel-MTN=AROUND-GEN:ASP  
 (This is used when it's not dark; cf. ma- above.)

I'm going to have to feel around, look around.

- (323) nitsóʔnikaʔa nii tsahkweyai  
 ni-tsoʔnika-ʔa nii tsaH-kweya-i  
 my-hat-OBJ I tsaH-remove-COMPL:ASP

I took off my hat.

- (324) tsahtoʔi  
 tsaH-toʔi  
 tsaH-go=out, in (sg subj))

'to take out, extract' (with a tool)

## tsiH-

'with a sharp point, with the finger'

- (325) anikúraʔa kahni tsiɣwai  
 anikúta-ʔa kahni tsiH-vʔi  
 ant-OBJ house tsiH-poke  
 '(to) poke an ant's house with a (pointed) stick'
- (326) tsihtiʔahwe  
 tsiH-tiʔahwe  
 tsiH-tell  
 'point with finger'

## tsox-

'with the head'

- (327) utsódyaaɬ  
 u-tsox-yaa-ki=  
 it-tsox-carry-BEN/CAUS  
 'carry it on head'
- (328) tsoʔnika  
 tsox-nika  
 tsox-put=on  
 'hat'

## wiH-

all-purpose instrumental

- (329) wigwai  
 wiH-gwai  
 wiH-poke  
 'feel around with a stick'
- (330) wihtoʔi<sup>22</sup>  
 wiH-toʔi  
 wiH-go=out, in(sg subj)  
 'to vomit'

Some of the instrumental prefixes are clearly related to nouns and are, in fact, freely used in forming nouns. This is particularly evident with  $\text{m}\bar{\text{m}}\text{-}/\text{m}\bar{\text{m}}\text{H-}$  (nose) and  $\text{piH-}$  (behind):

(331)	$\text{m}\bar{\text{m}}\text{ivipóóro}$ $\text{m}\bar{\text{m}}\text{pi}^{\text{=}}\text{-pooto}$ nose-digger  'pig'	$\text{m}\bar{\text{m}}\text{vitai}$ $\text{m}\bar{\text{m}}\text{pi}^{\text{=}}\text{-tai}$ nose-hole  'walnut'
(332)	$\text{pinakw}\bar{\text{i}}$ $\text{piH-nakwi}$ back-direction  'behind'	$\text{pihtsohkO}$ $\text{piH-tsoHko}$ back-??  'pants'

When there is a choice of instrumental prefixes (eg.,  $\text{siH-}$  or  $\text{taH-}$  'foot'), one seems to have a specialized function. Thus,  $\text{siH-}$  is used for violent motion. For a situation such as kicking a ball, carrying with the foot, etc., the principal speaker I have worked with strongly prefers  $\text{taH-}$ .

In the case of 'hand,' a speaker may choose among  $\text{ma-}$ ,  $\text{toH-}$  and  $\text{tsaH-}$ .  $\text{toH-}$  carries a sense of violence or completed action. Example 317 above using  $\text{toH-}$  is emphatic;  $\text{tsaH-}$  is generally used with throwing. In the two examples translated as feeling around with the hand (Examples 310 and 322),  $\text{ma-}$  is consciously chosen, and yet  $\text{tsaH-}$  is used with many verbs.  $\text{ma-}$  is found with nouns, eg.:

(333)	$\text{ma-witsokO}$ $\text{ma-witsoko}$ hand-??  'bracelet'
-------	---

Miller's translation of the cognate Shoshoni instrumental prefix  $\text{ma-}$  'with the hand, not grasping' holds generally; however, I have one form - for squeezing, holding tight - which counters this general trend:

- (334) kiki nii umákupaa  
 kiki nii u-ma-ku<sup>pa</sup>  
 OPT I him-HAND-kill(sg.obj.)

I wish I could just squeeze him to death!

I have no examples of tsaH- used with nouns, which helps to explain/maintain ma- as the 'hand' instrumental of conscious choice. The verb 'touch' is tsai; 'shaking hands' is moʔo-tsai (hand-touch).

#### 4.3.3.2. Noun incorporation.

Incorporated nouns have the effect of detransitivizing a transitive verb. They are found fairly often in Comanche and are generally used to describe habitual activities. The incorporated noun is the bare root with no absolutive suffix, uninflected for case or number. Occasionally an incorporated noun plus verb yields a new intransitive verb, as in puku-tsaka 'to witness, testify' (horse-lead) (cf. puku-i horse-OBJ) and pii-okwe 'to bleed' (blood-flow).

- (335) pukumakwIʔeti urii<sup>23</sup>  
 puku-makwih-ʔe-tii<sup>ti</sup> utii  
 horse-chase, herd-DISTRIB-GEN:ASP=PL they

They're chasing horses.

cf.

- (336) ehka nii waʔóʔa makwIʔepinnit<sup>23</sup>  
 eHka nii waʔóʔ-a makwih-ʔe-pinni-ti<sup>ti</sup>  
 those=OBJ I cat-OBJ chase, herd-DISTRIB:ASP-  
 ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP

I'm chasing the cats.

- (337) kikari inni nisáhuvamakhutuʔi  
 kikati inni ni-sahupa-maka-hu<sup>(2)</sup>-tuʔi  
 EXPECT you me-soup-give, feed-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP

I thought you'd give me some soup.

cf.

- (338) kikari inni saahuve nimákihutu?i  
 kikati inni saahupa-e ni-maka-hu<sup>=</sup>(2)-tu?i  
 EXPECT you soup-OBJ me-give, feed-  
 INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP

I thought you'd give me some soup.

- (339) tiasi nii sona?ai?eti  
 tiasi nii sona-ai-e-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 also I quilt-make, do-DISTRIB:ASP-GEN:ASP

I also do quilting.

cf.

- (340) uhka nii sone marikai  
 uHka nii sona-e ma-tika-i  
 that=OBJ quilt-OBJ finish-COMPL:ASP

I finished the quilt.

#### 4.3.3.3. Other incorporation.

Other forms which can be incorporated into the verb are modifiers. These forms are prefixes such as *simi-* 'completely,' *namVsi-* 'quickly,' *pia-*, AUGMENTATIVE, etc. *simi-* occurs frequently; the other forms are less common.

- (341) simmiríkikai  
 simi-tiHka-h/H/ka-i  
 completely-eat-DS-COMPL:ASP

'ate all (the meat)'

- (342) námsitihkavikwi  
 namVsi-tiHka-pikwih  
 quickly-eat-DL=IMPER

Both of you hurry and eat!

- (343) piawa?aki  
 pia-wa?aki  
 big-holler, yell

'holler loudly'

The indefinite object prefix *ti-* (see Section 4.3.4) can be prefixed to a verb stem to detransitivize a transitive verb or to



alter the meaning of a transitive verb. In some cases this object seems to have become incorporated with the verb. The following are typical forms. This does not seem to be a productive means of forming verbs:

(344)	ti?eka ti-eka ti--OBJ-red	tirihka ti-tiHka ti-eat
	'to paint'	'to steal'
	tivu?uni ti-puni ti-see	tivehka ti-peHka ti-kill
	'to wake up'	'to butcher'

#### 4.3.3.4. Compounding.

General remarks on compounding are found in Section 4.1.6.1. Verb-final compounds, with the exception of those in which the second member is a secondary verb, are rare.

#### Noun-Verb compounds

The few forms I have encountered demonstrate specialized meanings, and all were no doubt originally incorporated nouns. Note, for instance, 'to witness, testify,' below, where the nominal, 'horse,' is in subjective form, which is indicative of an incorporated noun. (The objective form would be puki.)

(346)	pukutsaka puku-tsaka horse-pull, lead	pahavi paa-hapi water-lie=down(sg subj)
	'to witness, testify' (as, in court)	'to swim' (sg subj)

kahniviti  
kahnī-piti  
house-arrive

'to visit'

puhikwihi  
puhi-kwihi  
grass-catch

'to rape'

tomoyake  
tomo-yake  
cloud-cry (sg subj)

'to thunder'

#### Verb-Verb compounds

Most such compounds use secondary verbs as their second element (see Section 4.3.2.1). One of the few forms with a non-secondary verb is:

(347) watsinarimuʔi-kī  
watsi-narimuʔi-kī=  
hide, lose-tell-BEN/CAUS

'tell a secret'

#### Modifier-Verb compounds

In a few forms a modifier is compounded with a verb:

(348) ainaha                      matsuhniyaa  
ai-naha                      ma-tsuhni-yaa  
bad-become                      INST(hand)-quickly-  
take, hold(sg obj)

'to rot'

'to grab' (sg obj)

#### 4.3.4. Argument specification.<sup>24</sup>

There are several ways to indicate the nature of the arguments associated with the verb of a sentence when nominals are not present but are implied logically. When the logical subject of the verb is not expressed and the object of the action is in subject

form, the construction is made passive by nominalizing the verb, usually with the nominal suffix  $\bar{p}yh$  and occasionally by using the reflexive-reciprocal prefix  $na-$ . When an object is not present but is implied, the indefinite object prefixes  $ma-$  or  $ty-$  are used. If the clause has no overt subject but one is logically present, and the object, if present, is not in subjective form, the indefinite subject prefix  $ta\bar{-}$  is used.  $ta\bar{-}$  almost always occurs in complex sentences. The benefactive/causative suffix  $\bar{ky}$  implies the presence of two objects when it occurs with a transitive verb, or makes an intransitive verb transitive.

#### 4.3.4.1. Passive.

The usual way to create a passive sentence is by nominalizing the verb. The passive is not a common construction.

(349)  $u\bar{i}k\bar{i}p\bar{i}akw\bar{i}su\bar{?}utsa\ sihwap\bar{i}$   
 $u\bar{-}iki\bar{-}piakwasu\bar{?}u\bar{-}tsa\ sihwa\bar{-}p\bar{i}h$   
 her-new-coat-TOP tear- $\bar{p}ih$

Her new coat is torn.

(350)  $oretsa\ kovap\bar{i}$   
 $oti\bar{-}tsa\ kopa\bar{-}p\bar{i}h$   
 that=one-TOP break(sg obj)- $\bar{p}ih$

It got broken, was already broken.

(351)  $nahmet\bar{i}\ marikw\bar{i}\ kovi\bar{?}ip\bar{i}$   
 $na\bar{H}met\bar{i}\ matikw\bar{i}h\ kopi\bar{?}i\bar{-}p\bar{i}h$   
 both, DL they=DL break(pl obj)- $\bar{p}ih$

Those two (chairs) are broken.

A passive notion may also be expressed by using the reflexive-reciprocal prefix  $na-$ , although this usage is rare. Note that the first example below demonstrates both  $na-$  and the nominalizing suffix  $\bar{p}ih$ .

- (352) natsagwopī u  
na-tsa-wo-<sup>̄</sup>pih u  
na-INST(hand)-??-<sup>̄</sup>pih it

It's (a field) been plowed.

- (353) ukáʔiffitsa nariʔekīkatī<sup>25</sup>  
u<sup>̄</sup>-kaʔih-pih-tsa na-tieka-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>  
his-forehead-ABS-TOP na-paint-TEMP-STATE:ASP

There's paint on his forehead.

As mentioned in Section 4.1.4.2, na- is used to nominalize a verb with the sense "place where the action occurs." na-, and a semantically related form, ni<sup>̄</sup>-, occur with instrumental verbs with resultative force, but they do not affect the transitivity of these verbs (see Section 4.3.2.3). na- is most often used in reflexive and reciprocal constructions (Sections 4.2.5 and 4.1.5), and can also change the meaning of the verb, as in the pair:

- (354) yahne / naYine  
yahne / na-yahne  
'laugh'(sg subj) / 'laugh'(pl subj)

Examples of ni<sup>̄</sup>- include:

- (355) titaa niisukaa  
ti<sup>̄</sup>taa ni<sup>̄</sup>-sukaa  
bad ni-feel

'feel sad'

- (356) niʔyikwiiti  
ni<sup>̄</sup>-yikwi-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
ni<sup>̄</sup>-shake-GEN:ASP

'wiggle upper body'

ni<sup>̄</sup>- can be preceded by an instrumental prefix:

- (357) w<sup>^</sup>-n<sup>^^</sup>h-kupa-/<sup>^</sup> 'to be knocked down by force, to  
be thrown down' CANONGE

The preponderance of verbs that occur with ni<sup>̄</sup>- are instrumental, but the form for 'divorce' is not. The first example below has a

reciprocal meaning; the second does not.

- (357)      *nipíahrai u*  
              *nī-pia-tai-i u*  
              *nī-quit, leave-go=out-COMPL:ASP he/she*

He/she divorced him/her.

- (358)      *ipíahraitu?i nii<sup>26</sup>*  
              *i-pia-tai-tu?i nii*  
              *you-quit, leave-go=out-UR:ASP I*

I'm going to divorce you.

Some sentences that have a passive meaning in English are expressed with the use of an intransitive verb in Comanche. For instance, in the first example below, *no?iyai*, 'boil', is intransitive and is made transitive by the benefactive suffix *-kī*.

- (358a)      *nivihúúratsa no?iyaivinnit̄i*  
              *ni-pihuuta-tsa no?iyai-h/Hpinni-tī*  
              *my-bean-TOP boil-ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP*

My beans are boiling.

cf:

- (358b)      *pai nii no?iyaikitu?i*  
              *paa-i nii no?iyai-kī-tu?i*  
              *water-OBJ boil-CAUS-UR*

I'm going to boil water.

- (358c)      *wanapítsa siigwai*  
              *wana-pih-tsa siigwa-i*  
              *cloth-ABS-TOP tear-COMPL:ASP*

The cloth tore.

#### 4.3.4.2. Indefinite object.

The indefinite object prefixes are *ma-* and *ti-*. Of the two, *ma* is also a demonstrative stem and a third-person pronoun. It is more definite than *ti-*, functioning as a context-specific "it". It also tends to be used when the implied object is human, and in those cases it is usually translated as 'someone'. *ti-* occurs more fre-

quently than *ma-*, and is used when the implied object is non-human. It is less definite than *ma-*, and is best translated (when translation is called for) as "something". When *ti-* is prefixed to a verb root it may create a new verb (see Section 4.3.3.3).

- (359)      *makuyaʔa*                      cf:    *nih-kuyaʔa*  
              *ma-kuyaʔa*                      *niH-kuyaʔa*  
              *ma-be=frightened*                *INST(voice)-be=frightened*  
              'scare someone'                      'scare someone verbally'

- (360)      *matsásoʔi*  
              *ma-tsaH-soʔi*  
              *ma-INST(hand)-scratch*  
              'scratch a pan' or 'scratch someone'

- (361)      *sihka nii raveni ke tsaa tisuʔatsiʔiti*  
              *sihka nii tapeni ke tsaa<sup>̄</sup> ti-suʔatsi-i-ti<sup>̄</sup>*  
              this=OBJ I day NEG good ti-think-REPET:ASP  
              -GEN:ASP

Today I can't think.

- (362)      *ke nii ritshaniwaiti . . .*  
              *ke nii ti-tzahani-wai-ti<sup>̄</sup>*  
              NEG I ti-drive-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP

I'm not going to drive . . .

cf:

- (363)      *hakaniti inni návukuwáʔa tsahanIka*  
              *hakaniti inni nápukuwá-ʔa tsahani-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>*  
              how=OBJ you car-OBJ drive-STAT:ASP

What kind of car do you drive?

#### 4.3.4.3. Indefinite subject.

The indefinite subject marker is *ta<sup>̄</sup>-*. Constructions with *ta<sup>̄</sup>-* almost always occur in subordinate clauses or as nominalizations; i.e., *ta<sup>̄</sup>-* seldom occurs with the main verb of the sentence. See Section 4.1.4.3 for other examples of the use of *ta<sup>̄</sup>-* in nominalizations.

- (364) Miatsa pinnihku tatívo?enna hannipha sugwaití  
 Mia-tsa pinni-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> ta<sup>̄</sup>-ti-po-e-na hani-<sup>̄</sup>píh-ha  
 suwai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 name-TOP its=own-how ta<sup>̄</sup>-INDEF=OBJ-mark-  
 DISTRIB:ASP-NOM do-NOM-OBJ want-GEN:ASP  
 Mia wants to learn to write.
- (365) taníhkanatsa kíhtatí tatínikwinase pinni  
 kenamaRahpaiYU  
 ta<sup>̄</sup>-níHka-na-tsa kíHta<sup>̄</sup>-ti<sup>̄</sup> ta<sup>̄</sup>-tinikwi-na-se pinni  
 ke-na-mahraHpa-yu  
 ta<sup>̄</sup>-dance-NOM-TOP hard-PRED ta<sup>̄</sup>-sing-NOM-CONTR but  
 NEG-REFLEX-?hurt?-PRED  
 Singing is easy but dancing is hard.
- (366) sookíniku taníríhi?eti  
 soo-kahni-ku ta<sup>̄</sup>-ni-tíhi?e-tíi  
 many-house-to ta<sup>̄</sup>-me-send-GEN:ASP=PL  
 I'm being sent to Lawton.
- (367) tanáharu?itsah ke supana?ití  
 ta<sup>̄</sup>-naha-tu?i-tsa ke su<sup>̄</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 ta<sup>̄</sup>-become-UR-TOP NEG know-GEN:ASP  
 You can't tell what's going to happen.
- (368) pikíku uhka tatáhtikwise tuupíYU  
 pí<sup>̄</sup>-ka-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> uHka ta<sup>̄</sup>-toH-tikwa-se tuu<sup>̄</sup>-pi-yu  
 its=OWN-at-where that=OBJ ta<sup>̄</sup>-INST (hand)-hit-CONTR  
 black-ABS-BE  
 Where he was hit looked black.

The following is one of the rare examples of ta<sup>̄</sup>- affixed to the main verb of the sentence:

- (369) tíhkava?a tatíhka?etí  
 tíHka-pa?a ta<sup>̄</sup>-tíHka-?e-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 table-on ta<sup>̄</sup>-eat-DISTRIB:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 Table is what you eat on.

#### 4.3.4.4. Benefactive.

The suffix -ki<sup>̄</sup> is used to mark benefactive, causative and, by extension, transitive action. Objects and indirect objects are

in objective case unless, of course, a nominal object is incorporated.

- (370) Pattyʔa nii taʔoʔaikiʔi  
 Patty-ʔa nii taʔo-ai-kiʔ-i  
 name-OBJ I pound=meat-make-kiʔ-COMPL:ASP

I made pound meat for Patty.

- (371) tsaku u kahniʔa pattyʔa kahniʔaikiʔi  
 tsaa-kuʔ u kahni-ʔa Patty-ʔa kahni-ai-kiʔ-i  
 nice, good-ADV he house-OBJ name-OBJ  
 house-make-kiʔ-COMPL:ASP

He built a nice house for Patty.

cf.

- (372) tsaku u kahniʔai  
 tsaa-kuʔ u kahni-ai  
 nice, good-ADV he house-make-COMPL:ASP

He built a nice house.

- (373) pai nii nooʔiyaikituʔi  
 paa-i nii noʔiyai-kiʔ-tuʔi  
 water-OBJ I boil-kiʔ-UR:ASP

I'm going to boil water.

cf.

- (374) paatsa nooʔiyaiti  
 paa-tsa noʔiyai-tiʔ  
 water-TOP boil-GEN:ASP

The water's boiling.

- (375) ihka nii huupihta tsahavikituʔi  
 ihka nii huupi-hta tsa-hapi-kiʔ-tuʔi  
 this=OBJ I tree, pole-OBJ INST(hand)-lie-kiʔ-UR:ASP

I'm going to lie the pole down. (sic)

- |       |   |  |
|-------|---|--|
| (376) | ninsutamaki<br>ni-na-su-tama-kiʔ<br>INST(voice)-REFLEX-<br>RETAIN-kiʔ | cf. nasutaama<br>na-suʔ-tama<br>REFLEX-INST(mind)-RETAIN |
|-------|---|--|

'remind someone'

'remember'

When the benefactive occurs in the imperative, -kiʔ is the final suffix on the verb. The object and recipient of the action are both



in objective case:

- (377)      ninápha nigwihiki  
             ni-na<sup>~</sup>pih-ha ni-wihi-ki<sup>=</sup>  
             my-shoe-OBJ me-throw-ki<sup>=</sup>

Throw me my shoe.

Some causative verbs have a meaning which differs from the meaning of the stem with the addition of an affix:

- |       |                             |   |
|-------|-----------------------------|---|
| (378) | miʔa / miʔaki               | kari / kariki   |
|       | miʔa / miʔa-ki <sup>=</sup> | kati / kati-ki <sup>=</sup>                           |
|       | 'go' / 'chase'              | 'sit'(sg subj)/ 'put something on<br>to cook or boil' |
|       | kama / kamaki               | watsi / watsiki                                       |
|       | kama / kama-ki <sup>=</sup> | watsi / watsi-ki <sup>=</sup>                         |
|       | 'to taste' / 'to love'      | 'hide, secret' / 'to lose<br>something'               |

In at least one instance, -ki<sup>=</sup> is used to form a verb from a noun:

- pitsi / pitsiki  
 pitsi / pitsi-ki<sup>=</sup>  
 'breast' / 'to breastfeed'

#### 4.3.5. Motion suffixes.

The motion suffixes mark the direction or type (i.e., random vs. non-random) of the motion of the verb, and may be followed by aspectual suffixes. Those suffixes with differing shapes are known as alternating suffixes; they are discussed in Section 3.1.4.2.2.1.

- |                       |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| -h/H/ki               | MOTION TOWARD SPEAKER    |
| -h/H/kwa <sup>=</sup> | MOTION AWAY FROM SPEAKER |
| -nii                  | MOTION AROUND, RANDOM    |
| -noo ~ -noʔo          | MOTION ALONG             |

**-h/H/ki MOTION TOWARD SPEAKER**

- (379) uriwékIkitu?i nii  
 utii-weki-h/H/ki-tu?i nii  
 them-look=for-h/H/ki-UR:ASP I  
 I'm coming to look for them.
- (380) nivehtu pohiyakitī  
 ni-pehtu<sup>̄</sup> pohiya-h/H/ki-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 me-toward walk-h/H/ki-GEN:ASP  
 He's walking toward me.
- (381) manáitsa návukuwáá nivehtu nuukikitī  
 ma-nai-tsa nápukuwáá ni-pehtu<sup>̄</sup> nuki-h/H/ki-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 it-DIRECTION-TOP car me-toward move-h/H/ki-GEN:ASP  
 The car is moving towards me from far away.
- (382) weekitsiki siti popIki  
 weeki-h/H/tsi-ki siti<sup>̄</sup> popi-h/H/ki  
 get=off-ki-SS-NARR:FAST this=one jump-h/H/ki  
 Getting down (from his horse), he jumped.

-h/H/ki is also used in the sense of "come to verb":

- (383) mahrikihmekiti nii  
 mahti-kiH-me-h/H/ki-ti<sup>̄</sup> nii  
 them=OBJ INST(teeth)-say-h/H/ki-GEN:ASP I  
 I'm coming to give them a tongue-lashing.

**-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup> MOTION AWAY FROM SPEAKER<sup>27</sup>**

- (384) uriwékIkwatu?i nii  
 utii-weHki-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-tu?i nii  
 them-look=for-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-UR:ASP I  
 Im going to look for them.
- (385) atahpu ma pohiyakwatu?i  
 a<sup>̄</sup>ta-H/pu<sup>̄</sup> ma pohiya-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-tu?i  
 other-DIRECT he walk-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-UR:ASP  
 He's going to walk away.

Because this suffix defines direction relative to the speaker's

position it is important to know the speaker's location. In the following example, the subject of the sentence is walking away from the speaker:

- (386) kahni-peHtu<sup>̄</sup> pohiikwai  
 kahni-peHtu<sup>̄</sup> pohiya-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-i  
 house-toward walk-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-COMPL:ASP

He walked toward the house.

At times, -h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup> lends emphasis to the distance of the action:

- (387) manakwetI tihkakwa  
 ma-nakwi-ti<sup>̄</sup> tiHka-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>=  
 that-DIRECTION-PRED eat-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>=

Go eat far away.

cf.

- (388) onakwetI tihka  
 o-nakwi-ti<sup>̄</sup> tiHka  
 there-direct-OBJ-PRED eat

Eat over there.

-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup> can also be translated as 'go to verb'

- (389) tapó?tseti urii tipunnikwai<sup>28</sup>  
 ta<sup>̄</sup>-po?tse-ti utii ti-punni-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-i  
 INDEF-SUBJ-kick-NOM=OBJ they  
 INDEF-OBJ?-see-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-COMPL:ASP

They went to see a football game.

At times -h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup> has a partitive meaning:

- (390) uhiimakwai u  
 u-hima-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-i u  
 it-take-(pl obj)h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-COMPL:ASP he

He took some of it.

-nii MOTION AROUND, RANDOM

- (391) uriwéhkiniti nii  
 utii-weHki-nii-ti<sup>̄</sup> nii  
 them-look=for-nii-GEN:ASP I

I'm going around looking for them.

- (392) nah nii ihtu magwáiniiti  
 nah nii i-H/tu<sup>~</sup> ma-wai-nii-ti<sup>~</sup>  
 just I here-at INST(hand)-feel-nii-GEN:ASP

(It's so dark) I'm going to have to feel around.

-nii can be used to indicate that an action is ongoing, as in the following pair of sentences. The first describes an individual outdoors, throwing up continuously, and the second an individual who vomits a single time.

- |       |                                     |     |                     |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| (393) | oʔiniitʔi u                         | cf: | oʔi u               |
|       | oʔi-nii-ti <sup>~</sup> u           |     | oʔi u               |
|       | vomit <sup>~</sup> -nii-GEN:ASP he  |     | vomit-COMPL:ASP he  |
|       | He's throwing up<br>(continuously). |     | He threw up (once). |

-noo ~ -noʔo MOTION ALONG

-noo ~ -noʔo is glossed as MOTION ALONG to describe motion in a single direction with no reference to the speaker's position. It is possible that this affix only occurs in sentences with more than one verb; this has not been completely explored.

- (394) nise pohiyanoʔi uvúnnin  
 ni-se pohiya-no-ti<sup>~</sup> u-puni-n  
 I-CONTR walk-noo-SS him-see-COMPL:ASP

I walked along and saw him.

- (395) ohnaʔase suri todyahʔi pohiyano  
 ohna-ʔa-se suti<sup>~</sup> to-yaa-ti<sup>~</sup> pohiya-noo  
 baby-OBJ-CONTR that=one INST(hand)-hold-SS walk-noo

He was walking along carrying the baby.

- (396) nise tinikwinoʔo nimivovohiamiʔaaku  
 ni-se tinikwi-noʔo nimi-po-pohiya-miʔa-ku  
 I-CONTR sing-noʔo us=DL=EXCL-REDUP-walk-go-DS

I was singing while we were walking around.

- (397)        surise ihpiinoʔo piʔinúramiʔakU  
                suti<sup>̄</sup>-se ihpii-noʔo pii<sup>̄</sup>-nuta-miʔa-ku  
                that=one-CONTR sleep-noʔo them=own-go-move-DS

She was sleeping while they were driving.

#### 4.3.6. Verb inflection.

##### 4.3.6.1. Aspect.

Many elements function aspectually, marking the extent, the sporadic or non-sporadic nature of and sometimes the outcome of an action or state. There is a great deal of semantic overlap among some of the aspect markers. Aspect is generally marked with a suffix, but distributive aspect is marked by reduplication of the first syllable of the verb stem, and durative aspect by preaspirating the final consonant of the verb stem. Imperatives and some verbs (the contexts are not understood) may occur with no aspect marker. The markers are categorized as prefinal aspect and final aspect.

##### 4.3.6.1.1. Prefinal aspect.

The prefinal aspect suffixes, with the exception of -h/Hpinni, must be followed by a final aspect suffix. In combination with the latter they yield meanings that are sometimes more complex than the sum of its parts.<sup>29</sup>

-ʔe ~ -ʔi	REPETITIVE
-hu <sup>̄</sup> (1)	ACCOMPLISHED
-hu <sup>̄</sup> (2)	INTENTIVE
-ma	FINISH
-h/Hpinni	ONGOING ACTIVITY
-waʔi	UNREALIZED (discussed in Section 4.3.6.2.2)
REDUPLICATION	DISTRIBUTIVE

## -ʔe -ʔi REPETITIVE

-ʔe means an action is repeated. Meanings of habitual and/or distributive aspect are often present when this suffix is used. It is followed by a final aspect marker, generally -yu or -ti<sup>̄</sup>. -ʔe sometimes has the variant -ʔi when it follows a verb stem that ends in -i.

- (398) nah manáákati itsiʔiʔeti  
 naH ma-naka<sup>̄</sup>-ti<sup>̄</sup> i<sup>̄</sup>tsiʔi-ʔe-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 just it-be-SS cold-ʔe-PRED

It's cold off and on.

cf.

- (399) usúnni ma itsiʔiti  
 usúnni ma itsiʔi-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 always it cold-PRED

It's always cold.

But cf.

- (400) ipápitsa usúnni tsaa navunniʔiti  
 i<sup>̄</sup>-pa<sup>̄</sup>pi-tsa usúnni tsaa napuni-ʔi-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 your-hair-TOPIC always good appear-ʔi-GEN:ASP

Your hair always looks nice.

Habital meaning is also exemplified in:

- (401) nináʔniminii nii tihkanikiʔeti  
 ni-na(?)-nimi-nii nii tiHka-hani-ki<sup>̄</sup>-ʔe-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 my-RECIP-Comanche-PL=OBJ I food-make-BEN-ʔe-GEN:ASP

I cook for my kin (all the time).

- (402) tatítsahkinaʔeti nii  
 ta<sup>̄</sup>-titsaHkina-ʔe-ti<sup>̄</sup> nii  
 INDEF=SUBJ-sew-ʔe-GEN:ASP I

I sew. (spoken by someone who sews habitually)

The following sentence refers to a person who is selling a quantity of pecans to several people.

- (403)       umatími?eyU  
               u<sup>-</sup>-ma<sup>-</sup>-timi-?e-yu  
               his-it-sell-?e-PROG:ASP

Someone is selling.

The following sentence demonstrates a distributive meaning for the suffix. This meaning is reinforced by the use of the demonstrative e-, 'scattered':

- (404)       etikíse inní uva?aikI mi?a?etiI uvúnni?etiI  
               usuyáke?etiI mi?a?etiI . . .  
               etii<sup>-</sup>-ki-se inní u-pa?ai-ki mi?a-?e-ti<sup>-</sup>  
               u-puni-?e-ti<sup>-</sup> u-su-yake-?e-ti<sup>-</sup> mi?a-?e-ti<sup>-</sup> . . .  
               those-NARR=PAST-CONTR animal him-above-at go-?e-SS  
               him-see-?e-SS him-INST(mind)-cry-?e-SS  
               go-?e-SS

Those animals passed by and looked at him.  
 They were laughing at him and just went on . . .

-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)       ACCOMPLISHED

-hu<sup>-</sup>(2)       INTENTIVE

There are two suffixes with the shape -hu<sup>-</sup>.<sup>30</sup> They occur in different environments and have different meanings.

-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)       ACCOMPLISHED

-hu<sup>-</sup>(1) precedes a secondary verb and means 'to accomplish a goal'. There are a few cases, such as the lexical item, 'to starve to death', which have -hu<sup>-</sup>(1) followed by the secondary verb -mi?a, 'go', but with a meaning the reverse of 'accomplish'. I believe this represents an idiom with ironic meaning.

Forms such as:

- (405)       ya-hu-nii-/h sg.       'to fetch, to scrounge for'  
               yaa-hu-y^ka-/^ pl.

(from Canonge) and several other verbs have a 'gathering' meaning. I was unable to ascertain whether the hu<sup>̄</sup> in these forms is productive. Other examples are almost exclusively from texts:

- (406) kahnikī wekwIhuupiti  
 kahni-ka wekwi-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-pitii  
 house-at enter-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-arrive=PL

They went in the house.

- (407) tovoʔihupiti  
 topoʔi-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-pitii  
 stand(pl subj)-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-arrive=PL

They crossed (made it) to the other side.

- (408) mamárikaRhumiʔari nii  
 ma-matika-tV-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-miʔa-ti<sup>̄</sup> nii  
 it-finish-??-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-go-GEN:ASP I

I almost finished it.

cf.

- (409) mamárikaruʔih nii miitsisī  
 ma-matika-tuʔi nii miitsi-si<sup>̄</sup>  
 it-finish-UR:ASP I soon-EMPHAT

I'm going to finish it soon.

- (410) suṛse ohaʔahnakatī tia sikI tia nahahupiti  
 suti<sup>̄</sup>-se ohaʔahnaka<sup>̄</sup>ti tia si-HkVh tia  
 naha-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-piti  
 that=one-CONTR Coyote(yellow=under=arms) NARR=ONSET  
 here-at NARR=ONSET happen, become-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-arrive

That Coyote, here he is again! (beginning a story)

Below are examples of -hu<sup>̄</sup>(1) with tsiha-tiyai . . . miʔa (hunger-die. . . -go) 'starve to death'. The first example is typical of most coyote stories. Coyote may starve in the story but he always returns. This is why I term the usage ironic.



- (411) suRse sukI tsihariyaihumi?ahRI hahpI  
 suti<sup>-</sup>-se su-ka tsiha-tiyai-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)-mi?a-ti  
 haaHpi [+H]  
 that=one-CONTR there-at hunger-die(sg subj)-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)-  
 go-SS lie(sg subj)=DUR:ASP

He's lying there starving to death.

In the following, putative starvation was forestalled.

- (412) nihitsihako?ihumi?akuse nii nihitikhmanikin  
 nihi-tsiha-ko?i-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)-mi?a-ku-se nii  
 nihi-tiHka-mani-ki<sup>-</sup>-n  
 us=DL=EXCL-hungry-die(pl subj)-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)-go-DS-CONTR I  
 us=DL-food-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP

We were starving to death and I cooked for us.

Compare the following, in which starvation is a reality and -hu<sup>-</sup>(1)  
 is not present:

- (413) pa?unahriniitsah tsihako?ivinnitii  
 pa-?u-naH-ti-nii-tsa tsiha-ko?i-h/Hpinni-tii<sup>-</sup>  
 water-other side?-PL-TOP hungry-die(pl subj)-  
 ONGO:ASP-GEN=PL

Across the ocean they're starving to death.

-hu<sup>-</sup>(2) INTENTIVE

-hu<sup>-</sup>(2), INTENTIVE, often occurs with the expective modal  
 kikati, and means that the outcome is dubious, and in fact often  
 unaccomplished. This meaning is also present when -hu<sup>-</sup>(2) is  
 directly followed, as it usually is, by -tu?i, UNREALIZED aspect.  
 hu<sup>-</sup>(2) does not occur before secondary verbs.

- (414) kikari nii tammaku ta?o?aihutut?i  
 kikati nii tamma<sup>-</sup>-ku<sup>-</sup> ta?o?-ai-hu<sup>-</sup>(2)-tu?i  
 EXPECT I a=lot-ADVB pound=meat-make-hu<sup>-</sup>(2)-UR:ASP

I thought I was going to make a lot of pound meat  
 (but probably didn't).

cf.

- (415) kikari nii sooko tiraiyunen  
 kikati nii soo-ku<sup>̄</sup> titayune-n  
 EXPECT I a=lot-ADVB make=pound=meat-COMPL:ASP

I thought I was going to make a lot of pound meat  
 (and probably did).

- (416) kikari nii sookɪniku miʔahutuʔi  
 kikati nii soo-kahni-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> miʔa-hu<sup>̄</sup>(2)-tuʔi  
 EXPECT I many-house-to go-hu<sup>̄</sup>(2)-UR:ASP

I thought I was going to Lawton  
 (but probably didn't).

cf.

- (417) kikari nii sookɪniku miʔaiyu  
 kikati nii soo-kahni-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> miʔa-yu  
 EXPECT I many-house-to go-PROG:ASP

I thought I was going to Lawton (and probably did).

- (418) kikari suri tehtenseeʔa mihihimhutuʔi  
 kikati suti<sup>̄</sup> teH-tensee-ʔa nihi-himi-hu<sup>̄</sup>(2)-tuʔi  
 EXPECT that=one REDUP-ten=cents-OBJ you=DL=OBJ  
 give(pl obj)-hu<sup>̄</sup>(2)-UR:ASP

I thought he was going to give you-all  
 ten cents apiece.

cf.

- (419) mikwise tehtenseeʔa mihi maúhturuʔiha suʔa  
 mikwih-se teH-tense-ʔa mihi<sup>̄</sup> ma<sup>̄</sup>-uhtu-tuʔi-ha suʔa  
 you=DL-CONTR REDUP-ten=cents-OBJ your=DL  
 his-give(sg obj)-UR:ASP-NOM:OBJ think

You two thought that he'd give you ten cents apiece.

- (420) hakani takwi nahahutuʔi  
 hakani takwih naha-hu<sup>̄</sup>(2)-tuʔi  
 how we=2 happen, become-hu<sup>̄</sup>(2)-UR:ASP

What are we going to do?

- (421) sitikwise nikihutuʔi  
 sitikwih-se nikwi-hu<sup>̄</sup>(2)-tuʔi  
 they=2-CONTR dance-hu<sup>̄</sup>(2)-UR:ASP

They're going to dance.

**-ma FINISH**

This suffix means an action has been completed. The semantics of the occurrence of **-ma** versus other means of expressing 'finish', notably the verb **matika**, are not understood.

- (422) piesi nii tihkanimai  
 piesi nii tiHka-hani-ma-i  
 already I eat-do-ma-COMPL:ASP

I've finished cooking.

- (423) miitsi nii tihkanimaaru?i  
 miitsi nii tiHka-hani-ma-ru?i  
 soon I eat-do-ma-UR:ASP

I'm going to finish cooking.

cf.

- (424) nisóne nii marikai  
 ni-sona-i nii matika-i  
 my-quilt-OBJ I finish-COMPL:ASP

I've finished my quilt.

and cf.

- (425) nisóne nii marikaru?i  
 ni-sona-i nii matika-tu?i  
 my-quilt-OBJ I finish-UR:ASP

I'm going to finish my quilt.

The difference between **-ma** and **matika** is not the presence or absence of a nominal object. In the following elicited sentences, 'The bread is finished.' is expressed both with a nominalization and with a nominal object. The presence of the reflexive-possessive prefix **pi-**<sup>2</sup> and the third person singular **u** indicate that the first sentence could equally well have been translated 'His/her bread-baking is finished.' and the second sentence could have been translated 'He/she finished (baking) the bread.'

- (426)      pi<sup>o</sup>ko<sup>o</sup>vinnina u marikai  
 pi<sup>o</sup>-no<sup>o</sup>ko-h/Epinni-na u matika-i  
 his=own-bake=bread-ONGO:ASP-NOM he finish-COMPL:ASP

The bread is finished.

- (427)      pi<sup>o</sup>hko<sup>o</sup>?a u marikai  
 pi<sup>o</sup>-no<sup>o</sup>ko-?a u matika-i  
 his=own-bake=bread-OBJ he finish-COMPL:ASP

The bread is finished.

#### -h/Epinni ONGOING ACTIVITY

-h/Epinni is the only prefinal aspect suffix that can occur both with and without a final aspect suffix. The majority of instances in which it is not followed by a final aspect suffix occur in complex sentences. -h/Epinni is usually translated with English '-ing', although that translation does not necessarily imply the presence of -h/Epinni. The suffix occurs frequently, and is found in both texts and isolated sentences. When followed by the generic final aspect suffix -ti<sup>o</sup>, the i of the suffix is stressed. When final, the i receives a secondary stress. -h/Epinni is rare with verbs of motion.

- (428)      tahawaka rakahnipitivinniti  
 taha-waka taa<sup>o</sup>-kahni-piti-h/Epinni-ti<sup>o</sup>  
 us=DL=INC-at our=PL=INCL(or INDEF=SUBJ??)  
 -house-arrive-h/Epinni-GEN:ASP

We had visitors and they kept coming at different times.

cf.

- (429)      tahawaka rakahnivitin  
 taha-waka taa<sup>o</sup>-kahni-piti-n  
 us=DU=INCL-at our=PL=INCL(or INDEF=SUBJ??)  
 -house-arrive-COMPL:ASP

Someone's visiting the two of us.

- (430) taihuúvatsa nóʔiyaivinnítĪ  
 tai-hupa-tsa noʔiyai-h/Ēpinni-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 our=INCL-coffee-TOP boil-h/Ēpinni-GEN:ASP  
 Our coffee's boiling.
- cf.  
 (431) ipátsa noʔiyaitĪ  
 i<sup>̄</sup>-paa-tsa noʔiyai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 your-water-TOP boil-GEN:ASP  
 Your water's boiling.
- (432) tirikĪRaivoniise hunuvihta mannĪvinnĪ  
 titĪĤkatabo-nii-se hunu-pi-Ĥta mani-h/Ēpinni  
 thief-PL-CONTR creeek-ABS-OBJ cross-h/Ēpinni  
 The thieves were crossing the creek.
- (433) sitikwĪ titsahkinivinnĪ wihnuse mahri  
 puhihwitekwapĪ piĤkán  
 sitikwih ti-tsaĤ-kini-h/Ēpinni wihnu-se mahtii<sup>̄</sup>  
 puhihwi-tekwa-<sup>̄</sup>piĤ piĤka-n  
 they=DL INDEF=OBJ-INST(hand)-stick=together-h/Ēpinni  
 and=then-CONTR their=DL iron-talk-NOM sound-COMPL:ASP  
 They (dual) were sewing and then their telephone rang.

-waʔi UNREALIZED

-waʔi marks UNREALIZED aspect under negation; it is discussed with -tuʔi, UNREALIZED aspect, below, Section 4.3.6.1.2.

#### REDUPLICATION      DISTRIBUTIVE

Reduplication of the first syllable of the verb is used to express repetitive or distributive action. Similar reduplication is found with substantives and modifiers, with distributive effect (Sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.7.2).

- (434) ninse wihnu uvasa?eku hunuhpetu nunuraweYU  
 ninni-se wihnu u-pasa-?e-ku hunu-peHtu<sup>=</sup>  
 nu-nuta-?e-yu  
 we=EXCL-CONTR then it=OBJ-dry-REPET-DS creek-toward  
 REDUP-run=off-REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP

When it (mud) dried, we ran for the creek.

- (435) etise sekwipi ninimet?i yuhYumaki?eyU  
 etii<sup>=</sup>-se sekwi-<sup>=</sup>pih ninni-meti yuh-yuma-h/H/ki-?e-yu  
 that-CONTR mud us=EXCL-off REDUP-fall-  
 MTN=AWAY-REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP

The mud is sliding off us.

- (436) "yaa tii oretsa taapuhihwetekwapi pipIkuhRI"  
 "yaa tii ore-tsa taa<sup>=</sup>-puhihwi-tekwa-<sup>=</sup>pih pi-piku-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 exclam. friend (woman's, woman=speaking)! that-TOP  
 our metal-talk-NOM REDUP-??-GEN:ASP

"Oh, friend! Our telephone is still ringing."

#### 4.3.6.1.2. Final aspect.

The final aspect suffixes are attached to the verb stem, a secondary verb, a directional suffix or a prefinal aspect marker. Durative aspect is marked by pre-aspirating the final non-nasal stop consonant of the stem and by geminating a corresponding nasal consonant. Final aspect markers must follow all prefinal aspect markers with the exception of -h/Hpinni, with which they are optional.

-i	COMPLETIVE (isolated action)
-h/Hka <sup>=</sup>	STATIVE, RESULTATIVE
-h/Hka <sup>=</sup> ti <sup>=</sup>	TEMPORARY STATE
-n	COMPLETIVE (non-isolated action)
-ti <sup>=</sup>	GENERIC
-tu?i/wai	UNREALIZED (wai is actually prefinal)
-yu	PROGRESSIVE
PRE-ASPIRATION	DURATIVE

**-i** COMPLETIVE; isolated action

**-i** is more often found in isolated (elicited) sentences than in texts. It is used frequently in the former, and I hypothesize that this use extends to conversations as well. When compared with **-n** 'completive aspect' (see below) **-i** is used to express a sense of "X is an isolated action which is over and done with."

(437) agwe nii wihtivai  
awo-e nii wiH-tipa-i  
dish=OBJ I INST(gen'l)-break-i

I broke the dish.

cf.

(438) ihka nii agwe wihtivaru?i  
iHka nii awo-e wiH-tipa-tu?i  
this=OBJ I dish=OBJ INST(gen'l)-break-UR:ASP

I'm going to break the dish.

(439) uma nii timi?i  
u-ma nii timi-i  
it-with I sell-i

I sold it.

(440) nihuútsinii nii noopiti?i  
ni-huutsi-nii nii noo-piti-i  
my-son's=children-PL=OBJ I carry-arrive-i

I went after (i.e., went to fetch)  
my paternal granddaughters.

**-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>** STATIVE, RESULTATIVE

**-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>** is difficult to describe. In declarative sentences, it seems to occur only with a small number of verb stems (mainly those which describe a physical condition), but the same stems can occur with other suffixes with no apparent difference in meaning. The meaning of the construction is that of being in a state, and the state is usually the result of a prior action. **-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>** is not com-

mon in statements, but it occurs fairly frequently in questions, and here it can occur with a greater range of verbs. This suffix also occurs in subordinate clauses as a switch reference marker (Section 5.6.2.2).

- (441) usápise poʔotokIka  
 u<sup>-</sup>-saa<sup>-</sup>pih-se poʔotoki-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 his-stomach-CONTR swell-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 His stomach is all swollen.
- (442) surikwíse tammaku kweʔyíka  
 sutikwih-se tamma<sup>-</sup>-ku<sup>-</sup> kweʔya-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 those=DL much-ADVB tired-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 The two (women) were exhausted.
- (443) pikíkuse uhka tatóhtikwaih tuunavoohka  
 pi<sup>-</sup>-ki-ku<sup>-</sup>-se uhka ta<sup>-</sup>-toH-tikwa-i tuu-napo-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 its=own-at-ADVB-CONTR him=OBJ INDEF=SUBJ  
 INST(hand)-hit-NOM=OBJ black-look, appear-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 Where he was hit looked black.
- (444) tiakitsa soovesi nimigwiʔyirikinii sihkI  
 kwavihka . . .  
 tia-ki-tsa soopesi nimiwiʔyiriki-nii si-HkVh  
 kwapi-h/Hka<sup>=</sup> . . .  
 NARR=ONSET-NARR=PAST-TOP long=ago quail-PL here-at  
 lie(pl subj)-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 A long time ago (they say), (some) quails were  
 lying here.
- (445) onakwíse vinni Baldwin kari "nohi titimavi soʔaiti  
 kia nii petsihka"  
 o-nakwi-se pinni Baldwin kati "nohi "ti-timapi soʔai-ti  
 kia nii petsi-h/Hka<sup>=</sup> "  
 that-DIRECT-se but, however Baldwin sit almost  
 REDUP-terrible-OBJ INFER I accompany-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 From over there, Baldwin (said), "Oh, they're  
 terrible! I don't know why I'm taking care of them!"
- (446) surise hakani naʔaka  
 sutii<sup>=</sup>-se haka-ni naha-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 those=ones-CONTR how be, become-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 What's happening?



- (447) hakaniti inni návukuwá?a tsahanIka  
 hakani-ti inni nápukuwáá-?a tsahani-h/Hka=  
 HOW-ti=OBJ you car-OBJ drive-h/Hka=

What kind of car do you drive?

- (448) innha ihpi?ihka  
 inni-ha ihpi?i-h/Hka=  
 you-Q sleep(sq subj)-h/Hka=

Are you asleep?

- (449) osákari tihíyakarihka  
 o-si-hakati= tihiya-kati-h/Hka=  
 that-EMPHAT-who horse-sit-h/Hka=

Who is riding a horse?

-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup> TEMPORARY STATE

-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup> is also used as a predicative suffix meaning 'to have' - see Section 5.2.3.2. In fact, that use predominates, although the suffix is also frequently used aspectually. It is formed from -h/Hka<sup>=</sup>, 'stative/resultative aspect', discussed directly above, and -ti<sup>=</sup>, 'generic aspect', discussed below.

- (450) tammiva?aikí ma tomoakatí  
 tammi-pa?aikih ma tomoa-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 us=INCL-above it to=cloud=up-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>

It's cloudy over our heads.

- (451) nivía?a nii wihtuikatí  
 ni-pia-?a nii wihtui-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 my-mother-OBJ I wait-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>

I'm waiting for my mother.

- (452) noha u usúnni no?avíhkfakati  
 noha u usúnni no?apíh-kV-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 once she always pregnant-??-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>

At one time, she was always pregnant.

- (453)      sitikIse nahovinIkati yitsitsi wahamati kiká?an  
              siti<sup>̄</sup>-ki-se nahopini-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> yitsi-h/H/tsi  
              waha<sup>̄</sup>-ma<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> kiH-ká?a-n  
              that=one-NARR=PAST-CONTR groan-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> get=up  
              (sg subj)-SS two-PART INST(teeth)-break-COMPL:ASP

He (Coyote) was groaning when he got up, and he took two bites.

-n      COMPLETIVE, and other action will follow

This suffix is, like -i, completive. It is frequently used on verbs as a citation form, but is not found as often in isolated, contextless sentences. It is quite frequent in texts, and I believe the meaning is something like: "he/she did X and then . . ." In the stage of Comanche represented by Canonge's texts, one finds two final aspect suffixes that begin with -n: -nu or -nuh 'completive' and -na or -nah 'continued action'.<sup>31</sup> The final u and a after n have vanished and the two suffixes are being reanalyzed as one. The semantics of this final -n are still in a state of flux; in discussing the meaning of -n I have at various times been told "It means it's in action." and "It means it's past." The following examples are all from texts. The final one demonstrates the sequence of actions that -n often seems to imply.

- (454)      sitikwI hunuvehtu mi?an  
              sitikwih hunu-pehtu<sup>̄</sup> mi?a-n  
              these=DL creek-toward go-n

They went to the creek.

- (455) sitise ihkó?in  
 sitii<sup>̄</sup>-se ihko?i-n  
 these=PL-CONTR sleep(pl subj)-n  
 They all went to sleep.
- (456) kikari siti pi?ihi tahpétin  
 kikati siti<sup>̄</sup> pi<sup>̄</sup>-ihi-i taH-peti-n  
 EXPECT this=one her=own-blanket-OBJ  
 INSTR(foot)-throw-n  
 I thought she'd kicked off her blanket.
- (457) piikihta tunetsikati piipuki wipáin. wipaitsi suri  
 tunetsin. sunrise utúnetsika pihipukuwa?a pikwisu?atsi  
 kiatsi tunetsin. suri suhka muupits pianuran.  
 pii<sup>̄</sup>-kihta tunetsi-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti pii<sup>̄</sup>-puku-i wiH-pai-n.  
 wi<sup>̄</sup>-pai-h/H/tsi suti<sup>̄</sup> tunetsi-n.  
 suti<sup>̄</sup>-se u<sup>̄</sup>-tunetsi-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> pihi<sup>̄</sup>-puku-wa?a  
 pikwi-su?a-tsi kia-h/H/tsi tunetsi-n.  
 sutii<sup>̄</sup> suHka muu<sup>̄</sup>pitsi pia-nuta-n.  
 his=own-fast, hard run-NOM=OBJ his=own-horse-OBJ  
 INST(gen'l)whip-n.  
 INST(gen'l)whip-SS that=one run-n.  
 those=ones-CONTR its-run-DS their=own=DL-horse-on??  
 they=DL-also-EMPHAT get=on-SS run-n  
 those=ones that-OBJ name leave-run=off(pl subj)-n  
 He whipped his fast-moving horse. When he whipped  
 the horse it ran. After it ran, the two of them  
 got on their horses and they ran too.  
 They ran off from Muupits.

-ti<sup>̄</sup> GENERIC

My terminology follows (Miller n.d.a.;39), who labels -ti<sup>̄</sup> 'generic aspect'. When it occurs as final aspect it basically has a progressive meaning. It is also used as a predicator and as a nominalizer (Sections 5.2.3.1 and 4.1.4.2-.3), and is probably the -ti<sup>̄</sup> found with the pronouns (Section 4.2), the demonstratives (Section 4.1.7.1), the postpositions (Section 4.1.6) and some of the indefinite-interrogative pronouns (Section 4.2.7) as well as the colors (Section 4.1.7.3) and numerals (Section 4.1.7.4). It also is

used to mark identical reference subordinate clauses (Section 5.6.2.1).  $-ti^=$  is marked for number; see the following section for further exemplification of verbal number.

- (458)      nohkopItsa kesi kwasiRf  
 noHko= $\bar{p}ih$ -t $\bar{s}a$  kesi $\bar{=}$  kwasi-ti $\bar{=}$   
 bake=bread-ABS-TOP already fry-ti $\bar{=}$

The bread is done.

- (459)      Pattyma?ai nikwI Cacheka yikarikwI  
 patty-ma?ai nikwih cache-ka yika-tikwih  
 name-with we=DL=EXCL name-to travel(pl subj)-tikwih

Patty and I have been to Cache.

- (460)      miikiti inni  
 mii-h/H/ki-ti $\bar{=}$  inni  
 get=rations-MTN=TO-ti $\bar{=}$  you

You're coming to get rations (i.e., beef).

- (461)      "ikIsi nii makótsahpinníI"  
 iki-si $\bar{=}$  nii ma-kotse-h/Hpinni-ti $\bar{=}$   
 yet-EMPHAT I her-wash-ONGO:ASP-ti $\bar{=}$

"I'm still washing her."

- (462)      . . . usúnni eve nohipha suwaiti  
 usúnni epe nohi= $\bar{p}ih$ -a suwai-tii $\bar{=}$   
 always other play-NOM-OBJ want-ti=PL

. . . they always want to play outside.

$-tu?i/-wa?i$      $-wai$     UNREALIZED

The two suffixes occur in different environments.  $-wa?i$  is a prefinal aspectual suffix and is generally followed by  $-ti^=$ . It occurs in negative sentences. The co-occurrence of  $-tu?i$  with  $-hu^=(2)$ , 'intensive aspect', is discussed and exemplified above. Examples of  $-tu?i$  and  $-wa?i$  include:

- (463) tohtinkahtu nii mi?aru?i  
toHtin-kaHtu<sup>̄</sup> nii mi?a-tu?i  
name-toward I go-tu?i

I will go to Lawton.

- (464) ke nii tohtinkahtu mi?agwaiti  
ke nii toHtin-kaHtu<sup>̄</sup> mi?a-wai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
NEG I name-toward go-wa?i-GEN:ASP

I will not go to Lawton.

Other examples, which demonstrate something of the range of meaning expressed by the suffix, include the following. The two sentences directly below are consecutive. Two elderly monolingual Comanche women are sitting in a hotel room in an English-speaking town and the telephone is ringing:

- (465) hakani takwi nahahutu?i  
hakani takwih naha-hu<sup>̄</sup>(2)-tu?i  
how we=DL happen, become-INTENT:ASP-tu?i

What are we going to do?

- (466) nooma nahma pikivinnitu?i  
noo-ma naH-ma pika-h/Hpinni-tu?i  
just-it just-it noise-ONGO:ASP-tu?i

Just let it ring.

- (467) nahkia nii ke unsi namakawukigwaiti  
naH-kia nii ke uni-si<sup>̄</sup> na-makamuki-wai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
just-INFER I NEG ??-EMPHAT  
REFLEX-get=ready-wa?i-GEN:ASP

I doubt if I'll be ready.

- (468) pietsikutaka nii uvunnitu?i  
pietsVhku<sup>̄</sup>-taka nii u-puni-tu?i  
morning, tomorrow-just I her-see-tu?i

I have to wait till tomorrow to see her.

- (469) sitikise "innhase noo yitsigwaiYU"  
siti-ki-se, "inni-ha-se noo yitsi-wai-yu  
that=one-NARR=PAST-CONTR "you-WH-CONTR just  
get=up(sg subj)-wai-PROG:ASP

He (said), "Are you able to get up?"

-yu PROGRESSIVE<sup>32</sup>

The environments in which -yu occurs instead of -h/ɸpinni are unknown.

- (470) surise ehka pímoróóʔa nasúyakeʔeYU  
 sutii<sup>̄</sup>-se ehka pímotóó-ʔa na-su-yake-ʔe-yu  
 those=ones-CONTR those-OBJ cow-OBJ  
 REFLEX-INST(mind)-cri-REPET-yu

They wished for some cows.

- (471) orikwí tirepirikwí hinna vunniʔetí sitikwí uhku  
 tunetiʔeYU. utsahpomiʔití nihimiʔeyU  
 otikwih tite<sup>̄</sup>pi-tikwí hina puni-ʔe-ti<sup>̄</sup> sitikwih  
 u-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> tunetsi-ʔe-yu.  
 u-tsaH-pomiʔi-ti<sup>̄</sup> ni-himi-ʔe-yu  
 those=DL child-DL what=OBJ see-REPET:ASP-SS they-DL  
 it-to run-REPET:ASP-yu it-INST(hand)-pick(pl obj)-SS  
 me-give-REPET:ASP-yu

Those two children, whenever they saw something interesting, would run over (and look it over). They pulled (weeds) and gave them to me.

- (472) piyákeʔena suri ke nihpiʔaiYU  
 pi<sup>̄</sup>-yake-ʔe-na suti<sup>̄</sup> ke niH-piʔa-yu  
 his=own-cry-REPET:ASP-NOM that=one NEG  
 INST(voice)-leave-yu

He (Coyote) wouldn't quit his crying.

- (473) ke tsaaku ugwitamiʔiYU  
 ke tsaa-ku<sup>̄</sup> u-wiH-tamiʔi-yu  
 NEG good-ADVB it-INST(gen'l)-stick=together-yu

It (a horse) wasn't tied right.

## Preaspiration DURATIVE

A durative action may be expressed by preaspirating the final non-nasal stop consonant of the verb stem.<sup>33</sup> In verb stems with a final nasal stop the nasal consonant is lengthened. It is possible that durative aspect does not occur with prefinal aspect suffixes.

- (474) hakari návukuwáákĩ kaahtĩ  
 hakati<sup>̄</sup> nápukuwáá-ka kahtĩ /+H/  
 who-SUBJ car-in sit /+H/

Who was sitting in the car?

cf.

- (475) simĩtsa návukuwáákĩ karĩri  
 simi-tsa nápukuwáá-ka kati-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 someone-TOP car-in sit-GEN:ASP

Someone's sitting in the car.

- (476) itĩtsa nakari kohpapĩ  
 iti<sup>̄</sup>-tsa nakati kohpa-<sup>̄</sup>pĩh /+H/  
 this-TOP chair break/+H/-NOM

That chair is broken.

Cf.

- (477) ninákari?a rukura pihkova?i  
 ni-nakati?-a tukuta piH-kopa-?i  
 my-chair-OBJ ?? INST(behind)-break-COMPL:ASP

They (somebody) broke my chairs.

- (478) osákari okO winni  
 o-si-hakati<sup>̄</sup> o-HkVh winni /+n/  
 that-EMPHAT-who there-at stand/+n/

Who is that person over there?

Cf.

- (479) winiri u  
 wini-ti<sup>̄</sup> u  
 stand-GEN:ASP he

He's standing.

#### 4.3.6.2. Verbal number.

Non-suppletive verbs are optionally marked for dual and plural subject. This marking is generally used for animate - particularly human - subjects. When the verb is terminated by the generic aspect suffix <sup>̄</sup>-ti<sup>̄</sup>, number is marked as follows. The singular often is heard as voiceless finally [-tɪ]. The plural may be heard as short [-ti], but it is never voiceless. Verbs which end in [ti]

such as *piti*, 'arrive', sometimes have shapes for dual and plural which are the same as those for *-ti* (i.e., *pitikwih* and *pitii*).

- |  | SINGULAR   | DUAL           | PLURAL      |
|--|------------|----------------|-------------|
|  | <i>-ti</i> | <i>-tikwih</i> | <i>-tii</i> |
- (480) *naiya urikwi navunnitikwi*  
*naya utikwih na-puni-tikwih*  
 both they=DL REFLEX-see-tikwih
- The two of them see each other. OR:  
 They both like to look in the mirror.
- (481) *taveni tanni ke hinna hannigwaitii*  
*tapeni tanni ke hina hani-wai-tii*  
 today we=DL=INCL NEG something=OBJ do-UR:ASP-tii
- We're not going to do anything this afternoon.
- (482) *pukumakwi?eti urii<sup>24</sup>*  
*puku-ma-kwi-?e-tii utii*  
 horse-INST(hand) chase-REPET:ASP-tii
- They're chasing horses.
- (483) *kikitsah urii pipitsinii ke vi?itii*  
*kiki-tsa utii pi-pitsi-nii ke pitii*  
 OPT-TOP they REDUP-greedy-PL NEG arrive=PL
- I hope those greedy people don't come.
- Cf.
- (484) *keta nigwaka pitiri*  
*keta ni-waka piti-ti*  
 NEG=IMPER me-at arrive-ti
- Don't come to my house!
- (485) *pipaha?a marii punipiha sugwaitii*  
*pi-paha-?a matii puni-pih-ha suwai-tii*  
 their=own-aunt-OBJ they see-NOM-OBJ want-tii
- They wanted to see their aunt.

When the generic aspect suffix is not used, verbs are occasionally marked with the nominal plural and dual subject suffixes *-nii* and *-nikwih*, respectively. There are not enough



instances of this usage to determine if there are restrictions on occurrences with any particular verbs, aspect suffixes or the like.

- (486) nahkia marii pipáha?a punitu?inii  
 naH-kia matii<sup>=</sup> pi<sup>=</sup>-paha-?a puni-tu?i-nii  
 just-INFER they their=own-aunt-OBJ see-UR:ASP-nii

They expected to see their aunt.

- (487) u?íkinávukuwáayahka urii simi?oietí uva?a  
 kiaru?inii  
 u<sup>=</sup>-iki-nápukuwáá-yaa-h/H/ka<sup>=</sup> utii<sup>=</sup>  
 simi?oietí<sup>=</sup> u-pa?a kia-tu?i-nii  
 his-new-car-get(sg obj)-DS they all it-on  
 go=in, out-UR:ASP-nii

When he gets a new car they'll all go for a ride.

- (488) niháhaitsniitsa simi?oietí kwi?itu?inii  
 ni-ha-haitsi-nii-tsa simi?oietí kwi?itu-?i-nii  
 my-REDUP-male=friend=of=a=male-PL-TOP all marry  
 (male subj)-COMPL:ASP-nii

All my male friends got married. (male speaker)

- (489) nahmetirikwí navuninikwí  
 naHmeti-tikwih na-puni-nikwih  
 both-DL RECIP-see-nikwi

They see each other.

## Notes

## Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup> Sapir, 1930:111; Langacker, 1977b.

<sup>2</sup> Miller describes Shoshoni as having, in addition, *-ttsih*, *-pittsih*, *-mpih* and *-pai* (realized as *-pe* or *-pai*). These endings are not productive in Comanche. but are discussed briefly in this note.

Shoshoni *-ttsih* (*-htsih*)

Shoshoni *-ttsih* (expected Comanche reflex: *-htsih*) Miller finds this almost exclusively with animals, usually small ones. I do not have examples of this suffix.

Shoshoni *-pittsih* (*-pitsVh*)

*-pittsih* (Comanch reflex: *-pitsVh*) Miller remarks that this suffix generally applies to "fearsome beings". In Comanche it is found in this role on the name for a monster. I assume that this name is to be analyzed as a single word.

Muupitsi	Muupits (monster, 'boogey man')
	(analysis unclear)

Additionally it is used as an intensifier with some adjective stems - see Section 4.1.7.2.

a <sup>h</sup> ta-vitsi	'outsider' (different, other- <i>pitsVh</i> )
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Shoshoni *-mpih* (*-pih*)

*-mpih* In Shoshoni, "the berry or fruit of the plant." In Comanche, the form has lost the underlying final feature "nasal" (which would result in the expected Comanche fortis form /-<sup>h</sup>pih/). Words ending in *-pih* are found occasionally, but the names for most fruits, etc., are not cognate with the Shoshoni forms in *-mpih*. The first two examples below have Shoshoni cognates. The others are given to demonstrate other types of fruit names.

pokopi	'fruit' (SH <i>pokom-pih</i> , 'currant')
wookwevi	'cactus, peyote' (SH <i>wokai-pin</i> , 'cactus')
siikii	'plum' (Cf. CM and SH <i>siki</i> , 'sour')
pihisikii	'peach' (fuzz-plum)
wasap <sup>h</sup> eatihkapih	'pear' (bear-POSS-eat-NOM)
nat <sup>h</sup> samukwe	'grapes' (analysis unknown)

<sup>3</sup> See Section 4.1.3.2 for the use of  $-na^-$  in the case of derived nouns, and section 5.6.4 for the use of this suffix with sentential complements.

<sup>4</sup> Vowel-final English loans and names have  $-ʔa$  as their objective suffix, with the exception of hookI /hookih/, 'pig', which is [hookIha] in the objective case.

<sup>5</sup> The indefinite object generally has the final feature lenis; a t following it should be [ɾ]. This word may represent an extremely old compound, or it may be incorrectly analyzed.

<sup>6</sup> 'width' is a cover term for some sort of general measurement. In Shoshoni, *weki* is 'side'. In Comanche, 'side' is *weki-nai-ti^-* (width-direction-PRED/GEN), *weeki-ti^-* is 'low' and *t^ewekit^* (from Canonge) is 'narrow'. See also  $-wekih$ , in Section 4.1.6.3.

<sup>7</sup> This nominalizing function is an extension of the reciprocal uses of  $na-$  described in Langacker 1976;53. Miller n.d.a.;53-54 identifies the passive  $na-$  as occurring with a few nouns in Shoshoni, but notes that the process is not productive.

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Wick Miller for this observation.

<sup>9</sup> Canonge analyzes a similar expression as: *tamih-tsiʔ-benihtih-tsi* 'dear little brother,' a term of endearment. The voicelessness in this example may reflect an earlier underlying form for  $/-tsi/$  of  $/-htsi/$  or  $/-h/Htsi/$ .

<sup>10</sup> The set and number in the table are Miller's. He has a total of six. They are, briefly (and generally - there are exceptions to each): SET I: locative postpositions used with intransitive verbs of rest. SET II: locative postpositions used with intransitive verbs, showing general diffuse location. SET IV: locative postpositions used with intransitive verbs of motion, to define the end point of the action; SET VI: locative postpositions used with transitive verbs with the notion of "from there, right there." The sets not found (at least in their Shoshoni shape) in Comanche are: SET III - ending in  $-i$ : motion to or through, usually with intransitive verbs of motion; SET V: - ending in  $-ti$ : defining the starting point of the motion, "from". As can be seen from the examples below, parts of this system remain, but it is hardly intact.

<sup>11</sup> sic; I would expect *piti* for 'arrive'

<sup>12</sup> The aspiration in this form is not understood.

<sup>13</sup> The aspiration following the REFLEXIVE-RECIPROCAL prefix is unexplained.

14 The situation is much the same as in Shoshoni. For that language, Miller (n.d.a.;71-72) states:

The force of the demonstrative is not as strong as in English, so that it is often best translated by the definite article 'the'. When used without a noun, that is, as a noun substitute, it is best translated by a third person pronoun; the subject form semantically takes the place of the missing third person pronoun.

I translate such demonstratives as pronouns but gloss them as this=one, that=one, etc., in my morpheme-by-morpheme glosses to signal their status as demonstratives.

15 In Shoshoni, this is an absolutive suffix; see Note 2, Section 4.1.1.1. In Comanche, -pitsih ~ -pitsih can be used verbally as well:

namavitsiyake  
na-ma-pitsi-yake  
REFLEX-??-pitsi-cry

'be safe, take care of yourself, be careful'

16 The derived form tie- plus the predicative/generic aspect suffix -ti<sup>h</sup>, tieti<sup>h</sup>, has the specialized meaning 'baby, small child'.

17 The suffix -kaih found with color terms in in Shoshoni (Miller n.d.a.;75) is not attested. (The expected Comanche cognate would be /-keh/.)

18 My primary consultant analyzes this as "water and grass blending". My data do not confirm or contradict this analysis.

19 I recorded one example of a color term occurring post-nominally. This is a personal name, and I believe it is an old one:

paRiyeeeka

Red Elk (water-deer?-red)

(tihiya is 'deer' in Shoshoni. In Comanche it means 'horse' (non-specific). A specific, or possessed, horse is puku. The Comanche term for 'deer' is atika.)

20 This section owes an enormous debt to Armagost, particularly Armagost 1983b. Many of his other papers also explore the workings of the third person/demonstrative system, and the reader is referred to these. The tables in this section are Armagost's; I use them with only minor changes.

21 Sic; this form should be tsihtima.

22 This verb is generally used for children. For adults,

the form for 'vomit' is oʔi.

23 *makwI* is not fully analyzed. *ma-* is probably the instrumental 'by hand' - cp. *tagwekwIka* 'penned up, corralled' (/ta<sup>̄</sup>-wekwi-h/hka<sup>̄</sup> INDEF-SUBJ??-go=inside(pl subj)-TEMP=STATE:ASP) - but I was unable to obtain forms with *-kwI* preceded by other instrumentals.

24 Langacker 1977 is an in-depth study of how unspecified arguments are expressed in Uto-Aztecan languages.

25 I assume the absolutive suffix following 'forehead' in this example is a mistake, as /kaʔih/ often occurs without it.

26 The fortis nature of the stop following the object pronoun is unexplained.

27 Miller reports a directional suffix *-kwai* 'random movement' in Shoshoni as well as the cognate /-kwan/ (thither). The former is not found in Comanche, perhaps because *-h/h/kwa<sup>̄</sup>* plus the completive aspect suffix *-i* yields a homophonous form.

28 The following is an equally acceptable variant, using the secondary verb *miʔa*, 'go':

tapóʔtseti urii tipunnimiʔai  
 ta<sup>̄</sup>-poʔtse-ti utii ti-puni-miʔa-i  
 INDEF-SUBJ-kick-NOM=OBJ they  
 INDEF=OBJ?-see-go-COMPL:ASP

They went to see a football game.

I have no explanation for the fortis nature of the labial in *puni*. It should be lenis [v] if *ti-* is the indefinite object marker.

29 At times, the second vowel of the verb stem is doubled, with an intervening glottal stop. This may represent another type of prefinal aspect, but there are too few examples to determine if this is the case. Typical examples are:

kikitsah urii pipitInii ke viʔitii  
 kiki-tsa utii pi<sup>̄</sup>-piti-nii ke pitii<sup>̄</sup>  
 hope-TOP they REDUP-greedy??-PL NEG arrive(iʔi)=PL

I hope those greedy people don't come.

matifInanaʔatsi siti umuffInén  
 ma<sup>̄</sup>-tiHpihna-naʔa-h/h/tsi siti<sup>̄</sup> u-muH-pVhne-n  
 its-middle-become(aʔa)-SS this=one  
 it-INST(mouth)spit-COMPL:ASP

When he got in the middle he spat it out.

30 Miller (n.d.a.;43) describes a prefinal aspect suffix -hVn 'to finally and completely do it' which, when it occurs with the UNREALIZED final suffix -tu?i means REMOTE, DUBIOUS FUTURE. As will be seen, Comanche has differentiated these two meanings.

31 McLaughlin 1983a contains an excellent discussion of these two suffixes.

32 Armagost (1980;93) notes that -yu is always used (when progressive is called for) as the progressive marker on verbs of speaking.

33 Note that this parallels Shoshoni, where corresponding consonants on cognate forms are geminated.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE SENTENCE

The minimal Comanche expression is a sentence fragment such as *hāā* 'yes', *kee* 'no', *yaa tii* "Hey friend!" (woman friend of a woman, woman speaking). A sentence must contain at least a predicate. The constituents of the sentence and the types of sentence are discussed below.

#### 5.1. The constituents of the sentence

The constituents of the sentence are nominals, predicators, adverbials and particles.

##### 5.1.1. Nominals.

Nominals consist of nouns or pronouns. They are optionally modified by demonstratives, quantifiers and adjective-like elements which I term modifiers. The noun and its modifiers are inflected for case (subjective, objective and possessive) and number (singular, dual and plural), and function as the subject of the sentence or as an element of the predicate. The typical order of elements in a modified noun phrase is QUANTIFIER MODIFIER NOUN.

##### 5.1.2. Predicates.

The predicate is the minimal component of the sentence. The most common predicate is the verb, but other elements may function

as predicates. When they do, they are often accompanied by some verbal morphology. In equative sentences and imperatives no aspectual morphology is necessarily present.

### 5.1.3. Adverbials.

A variety of elements function as adverbs. Some of these are inflected and some are not. Postpositions are used to convert nominals into adverbials.

### 5.1.4. Particles.

Particles specify the modality of the sentence and/or the status of the speaker's knowledge about the sentence. They are not inflected, although some are optionally compounded with each other.

## 5.2. Simple sentences

### 5.2.1. Sentence markers.

In many sentences, the topic of the narrative is marked by *-tsa*, which Armagost describes as a marker of declarative or assertive sentences, and a device for setting the stage in narrative.<sup>1</sup> His analysis is clearly correct. Because *-tsa* is frequently found in isolated (elicited) sentences as well, I have chosen to label it a topic marker, as it can clearly be used to focus on what the speaker seems to choose as an important element of the sentence. It is always found on the first constituent of the sentence. *-tsa* has a predicative function in at least one, and possibly two, constructions (see Sections 5.6.3.3 and 5.2.3.1).

A second sentence marker, *-se*, functions much as *-tsa* does in marking and highlighting information.<sup>2</sup> In narrative it is



employed in subsequent sentences after the topic has been introduced in a beginning sentence by *-tsa*. Like *-tsa*, it occurs on the first constituent of the sentence. In isolated sentences it is seemingly interchangeable with *-tsa* (or with no sentence marker). Armagost argues convincingly that, within narrative, *-se* is used to signal contrast; i.e., a change of participants, referents or scenes. I agree, and use his designation, with the caveat that this function is not apparent in isolated sentences. Good examples of contrast are:

- (1) paatsa ehki. kunase tiʔasi.<sup>3</sup>  
 paa-tsa e-HkVh. kunaa-se tiʔasi  
 water-TOP here-at. wood-CONTR also

There is water and wood here.

and

- (2) pihnanohkopitsa tsaa pihnakamati.<sup>3</sup>  
 nokopise pinni kee.  
 pihna-noHko-<sup>̄</sup>pih-tsa tsaa pihna-kama<sup>̄</sup>-ti<sup>̄</sup>.  
 noHko-<sup>̄</sup>pih-se pinni kee.  
 sweet-bake=bread-NOM-TOP good sweet-taste-GEN:ASP  
 bake=bread-NOM-CONTR but no

Cake is sweet, but bread isn't.

The contrast signalled by *-se* occurs at the intersentential level. A change of subject or time within a complex sentence is signalled by the use of switch-reference suffixes described in Section 5.6.2. *-tsa* and *-se* are suffixed to most elements of the language with the exception of postpositions and the main verb of the sentence. They most frequently occur with the subject of the sentence. Within complex sentences the behavior of *-tsa* is somewhat different. See Sections 5.6.3.1 and 5.6.3.3 for discussion.

### 5.2.2. Word order.

There are two conflicting factors which affect word order: the basic SUBJECT OBJECT VERB order of the language and the tendency to move the subject into sentential second position.

The basic order for intransitive sentences is SUBJECT VERB. As discussed above, the subject, when followed by *-tsa* or *-se*, is in first position (SUBJECT VERB). There is a strong tendency in Comanche for the subject to be moved into sentential second position, i.e., following the first constituent. The first constituent can be as lengthy as an adverbial phrase but is generally one lexical item. If no other elements are present, and if it is not suffixed by *-tsa* or *-se*, the subject is moved into second position, resulting in the order VERB SUBJECT. If another element such as an adverb is initial in the sentence, the subject occurs in second position following it and the verb is in final position, with resultant SUBJECT VERB word order.

In transitive sentences with full nouns, the basic word order is SUBJECT OBJECT VERB. However, because subject pronouns regularly are moved into sentential second position if they are not emphasized by *-tsa* or *-se*, the resulting order is OBJECT SUBJECT VERB for transitive sentences with nominal objects. Pronominal objects are proclitic to the verb, resulting in OBJECT-VERB SUBJECT word order for transitive sentences with pronominal objects. Indirect objects generally follow the direct object. Examples of word order are found in the various sections labelled sentence-type below and, of course, throughout this work.

### 5.2.3. Sentence types.

#### 5.2.3.1. Intransitive sentences.

Intransitive sentences consist of a predicate and one nominal. The predicate is generally a verb, which may be suffixed by any of the elements in the aspect system. In the absence of a verb, the predicate may be a nominal or one of several predicating suffixes.

#### Impersonal, weather sentences

Impersonal sentences (for the weather, particularly) occur with the third person pronoun *ma*. This contrasts with the use of third person *u* in equative sentences; see the following section.

Many of the aspect suffixes may occur.

- (3)        *iri?iti ma*  
           *iti?i-ti<sup>°</sup> ma*  
           hot-GEN:ASP it

It's hot.

- (4)        *yu?ai?i ma*  
           *yu?ai?-i ma*  
           warm-COMPL:ASP it

It grew warm.

- (5)        *kwhnenaikiti ma*  
           *kwhne-nai-h/H/ki-ti<sup>°</sup> ma*  
           cold-direction-MTN=TOWARD-GEN:ASP it

Cold weather's coming.

- (6)        "*ke ma nah soo tai?imagwaiti*"  
           *ke ma naH soo tai-ima-wai-ti<sup>°</sup>*  
           NEG it just a=lot us=DU=INCL-rain-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP

"It's not going to rain on us a lot."

Impersonal sentences based on postpositions are common:

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| (7) | paʔati ma<br>paʔa <sup>=</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> ma<br>on-PRED it | tuhkati ma<br>tuHka <sup>=</sup> -ti <sup>=</sup> ma<br>under-PRED it |
|     | It's long.   | It's deep.  |

### Equative sentences

With equative sentences, the third person pronoun *u* (or its dual or plural equivalent) is used when the referent is known. This contrasts with the use of third person *ma* in impersonal sentences.

There is no overt verb in these sentences.

- (9) káhniʔaitáivo u  
kahni-ai-taipo u  
house-make-white=man he

He's a carpenter.

- (10) piʔési urii  
piʔési utii<sup>=</sup>  
ready they

They are ready.

Sentences which attribute possession are equative:

- (11) simiʔa u ahpi  
simiʔ-a<sup>=</sup> u aHpi  
some=one-POSS he father

He is someone's father.

- (12) itsa niáhpiʔa sariʔi  
i-tsa ni-aHpi-ʔa<sup>=</sup> satiʔi  
this-TOP my-father-POSS dog

That dog is my father's.

- (13) niʔváviʔ-a u návukuwáá  
ni-papi-ʔa<sup>=</sup> u nápukuwáá  
my-older=brother-POSS it car

It's my brother's car.

Predicate adjectives are similar to equative sentences.

Some, especially color terms and numerals, must occur with the predicative suffix  $-ti^=$  or  $-yu$ .  $-ti^=$  is used more commonly; see the section directly below for examples of  $-yu$ .

- (14)         $yuup\bar{i}$  u  
               $yuu-\bar{p}ih$  u  
              fat-PRED he

He is fat.

- (15)         $i?iri?nii$   $urii$   
               $i-it\bar{i}?-nii$   $utii^=$   
              REDUP-nice-PL they

They're nice.

- (16)         $pietip\bar{i}$   $urikw\bar{i}$   
               $pieti-\bar{p}ih$   $utikwih$   
              old-ABS they=DL

The two of them are old.

- (17)         $nivienávukuwáátsa$   $ekapIti$   
               $ni-pie-nápukuwáá-tsa$   $eka^=-p\bar{i}h-ti^=$   
              my-old-car-TOPIC red-COLOR=ABS-PRED

My old car is red.

The comparative construction is a type of equative sentence.

When an individual or group of individuals is said to possess a quality in equal measure with another individual or group of individuals (i.e., X is as good as Z) the construction usually has the shape: [X-tsa Z-wai-H/ku $^=$  Predicate]. Both nominals are in nominative case.  $-wai$  is an adverbial suffix meaning 'like', and  $-H/ku^=$  is probably the locative postposition 'there, at'.  $-tsa$  has a predicative role in the presentative construction (Section 5.6.3.3), and since it is present in most of the comparative constructions it may have a predicative role in this construction as well.

- (18) Susietsa Frankwaihku yuupĩ  
 susie-tsa frank-wai-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> yuu-<sup>̄</sup>pih  
 name-TOP name-wai-Hku<sup>̄</sup> fat-PRED  
 Susie is as fat as Frank.
- (19) tihiyatsa pĩmoróowaiku sooti naBihwikatĩ  
 tihiya-tsa pĩmotóó-wai-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> soo<sup>̄</sup>-ti  
 nahpiwi-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 horse-TOP cow-wai-H/ku<sup>̄</sup> a=lot-OBJ cost-TEMP=STATE:ASP  
 Horses are as expensive as cattle.
- (20) nivétinikwĩtsa ipétinihiwaihku i?irinikwĩ  
 ni-peti-nikwih-tsa i<sup>̄</sup>-peti-nihi-wai-H/ku<sup>̄</sup>  
 i-iti-nikwih  
 my-daughter-DL-TOP your-daughter-DL-wai-Hku<sup>̄</sup>  
 REDUP-nice-DL  
 My two daughters are as good as your two daughters.
- (21) Miatsa Melaniepeka winniRĩ  
 Mia-tsa Melanie-pe-ka wini-ti<sup>̄</sup> [+n]  
 name-TOP name-measure-ka stand=DUR:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 Mia is as tall as Melanie.
- When two individuals or groups are being compared (or an individual is being compared to a group or vice-versa) and one is said to be superior to the other (i.e., 'X is better than Z'), the construction [X-tsa Z-ka-wekih Predicate] usually occurs. -wekih is a postposition meaning 'measure' (see Section 4.1.6.3); -ka may be the locative postposition 'at'.
- (22) Brandytsa TracykagwekI winniRĩ  
 Brandy-tsa Tracy-ka-wekih wini-ti<sup>̄</sup> [+n]  
 name-TOP name-ka-wekih stand=DUR:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 Brandy is taller than Tracy.
- (23) tuinapinitsa wa?ipikawekItĩ  
 tuina<sup>̄</sup>pi-nii-tsa wa?i<sup>̄</sup>pi-ka-wekih-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 boy-ABS-PL-TOP woman-ka-wekih-PRED  
 There are more boys than girls.

- (24)        nikawekI u tommopI  
              nii-ka-wekih u tommo-pih  
              I-ka-wekih he year-PRED

He is older than I.

When one individual or group is asserted to be superior to all others (i.e., X is the best), sentences such as the following occur. The English sentences used in elicitation were of the nature: 'He/she has the nicest/best house/car (in town).' The notion of 'best' seems to be presented by -tsa.

- (25)        kehetsa kahni Cachekahti uhri kahnivetI  
              kehe-tsa kahni cache-kahti uhtii kahni-pe-ti  
              nobody-TOP house name-at them house-measure-PRED  
              PRED

There isn't a house in town that's nicer than theirs.

- (26)        kehetsa ukáhnikawekIti kahnikatI  
              kehe-tsa u-kahni-ka-wekih-ti kahni-ka-ti  
              nobody-TOP his-house-ka-measure-OBJ house-have

There's nobody (in town) that has a bigger house than he.

- (27)        suritakatsa tsati návukuwáakatI uriki  
              suti-taka-tsa tsaa-ti nápukuwáa-ka-ti utiki  
              that=one-just-TOP nice-PRED=OBJ car-have them=of

She's the only one in her family with a nice car.

The following sentences were elicited. The English sentences were, respectively, 'It's harder to dance than to sing.' and 'Cake is sweeter than bread.' For whatever reason, two sentences were needed to express these notions:

- (28)        taníhkanatsa kihtatI. tatínikwinase pinni  
              kenamaRahpaiYU  
              ta-niHka-na-tsa kihta-ti. ta-tinikwi-na-se pinni  
              kenamahtahpai-yu  
              INDEF=SUBJ-dance-NOM-TOP hard-PRED. INDEF=SUBJ-sing-  
              NOM-CONTR but easy-PRED

Singing is easy, but dancing is hard.

- (29) pihnanohkopitsa tsa pihnakamatf.  
 nohkopise pinni kee  
 pihna-noHko=<sup>pih</sup>-tsa tsaa=<sup>pihna</sup>-kama=<sup>ti</sup>  
 noHko=<sup>pih</sup>-se pinni kee  
 sweet, sugar-bake=bread-NOM-TOP good sweet-taste-  
 GEN:ASP bake=bread-NOM-CONTR however no

Cake is sweet, but bread isn't.

#### Be, become sentences

Various verbs, predicators and aspect suffixes are used to express notions of 'become' and 'be (in a location)'. The primary means of expressing 'become' are to use the verb naha<sup>4</sup> 'become, continue, happen', the temporary state aspect suffix -h/Hka<sup>ti</sup>, or, rarely, -piHka, a predicative suffix meaning 'become' (in an undesirable sense, as to become angry, or to become old and feeble). The predicative suffixes -yu and -ti<sup>ti</sup> are also used; they are discussed below. The absolutive/nominalizing suffix -<sup>pih</sup> also is used predicatively in some cases, as in Sentences 14 and 24 above.

- (30) ohato<sup>ikati</sup>  
 oha=<sup>to</sup>i-h/Hka<sup>ti</sup>  
 yellow-emerge-TEMP=STATE:ASP  
 (leaves) 'turning yellow'
- (31) tsukuvihkai u  
 tsuku-piHka-i u  
 old=man-become-COMPL:ASP he  
 He's getting up in age.
- (32) pietipivihkaih nii  
 pieti=<sup>pi</sup>-piHka-i nii  
 old=woman-ABS-become-COMPL:ASP I  
 I'm getting old, forgetful.



- (33) tuuhuvi u nahai  
 tuhu-pi u naha-i  
 black-ABS it become-COMPL:ASP  
 It turned black.
- (34) keta piinaha?eeti  
 keta pii=-naha-?e-ti=  
 NEG=IMPER its=own-become-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 You can't tell what's going to happen.
- (35) nasuan suri nahán  
 na-sua-n suti= naha-n  
 REFLEX-feel, think-? that=one become-COMPL:ASP  
 It got worse.
- (36) sikikama ma nahai  
 siki-kama= ma naha-i  
 sour-taste it become-COMPL:ASP  
 It's getting sour.
- Cf.  
 (37) sikikamati ma  
 siki-kama=-ti= ma  
 sour-taste-PRED it  
 It's gotten sour, is sour.
- naha is also used to mean 'be (in a place)'. Verbs of position and motion may also be used to mean either 'be, become' or 'happen':
- (38) keta ohki naharí  
 ke-ta o-kah naha-ti=  
 NEG-IMPER there-at become-GEN:ASP  
 Don't go over there.
- (39) . . . okí naharí . . .  
 . . . o-HkVh naha-ti= . . .  
 there become-GEN:ASP  
 . . . they're over there . . .
- (40) innha hakí nímíYU  
 inni-ha hakah nímí-yu  
 you-WH where walk(sg subj)-PROG:ASP  
 Where have you been?

- (41) sunni nayikwIvinniti  
 sunni na-yikwi-h/Epinni-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 that=way REFLEX-sit-(pl subj)-ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP

The same thing kept happening over and over.

naha is also used as a pro form for states and actions. sunni, in the examples directly above and below, is a manner demonstrative (Section 4.1.7.1). As the prefixed s- indicates, it represents an action previously described in the narrative:

- (42) "hāā nah nii sunni naharuʔi."  
 "hāā naH nii sunni naha-tuʔi  
 yes just I that=way become-UR:ASP

"Yes, I'll do it that way."

#### -yu and -ti<sup>=</sup>

-yu is a predicative suffix which verbalizes adjectives and postpositional constructions. It is also found in some compounds. Predicative -yu occurs with some of the final aspect suffixes, such as unrealized -tuʔi and generic -ti<sup>=</sup>, though not with progressive -yu. -ti<sup>=</sup> is also used to form verbs from adjectives and postpositions. It also occurs as the generic aspect suffix and as a nominalizing suffix, among other functions (see Section 4.3.6.1.2). The conditions under which -yu is chosen rather than -ti<sup>=</sup>, and vice-versa, are not known.

- (43) nahkiase suri haiarokweeYU  
 naHkia-se sutii<sup>=</sup> haiatokwee-yu  
 just-INFER-CONTR those=ones four-PRED

There were approximately four of them.

- (44) haiarokwetIse ninni  
 haiatokwe-ti<sup>=</sup>-se ninni  
 four-PRED-CONTR we=EXCL  
 There were four of us.
- (45) ukóvese nah tuhuvIYU  
 u-kopee-se nah tahu-pih-yu  
 his-face-CONTR just black-ABS-PRED  
 His face was black (i.e., bruised).
- (46) ohkatsa posa<sup>?</sup>a tenap<sup>?</sup>a kahni ekapItI  
 oHka<sup>=</sup>-tsa posa-<sup>?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> tena-<sup>=</sup>pi-<sup>?</sup>a<sup>=</sup> kahni eka-pih-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 that=POSS-TOP crazy-POSS man-ABS-POSS house  
 red-ABS-PRED  
 The crazy man's house is red.
- (47) pietsiku nii Cachekaiyutu<sup>?</sup>i  
 pietsVhku<sup>=</sup> nii Cache-ka-yu-tu<sup>?</sup>i  
 tomorrow I name-at-PRED-UR:ASP  
 I'll be in Cache tomorrow.
- (48) upianahuniwkItsah tikipa<sup>?</sup>atikwI  
 u<sup>=</sup>-pia-nahu-nikwih-tsa tiHka<sup>=</sup>-pa<sup>?</sup>a<sup>=</sup>-tikwih  
 his-big-knife-DL-TOP eat-on-PRED=DL  
 His butchering knives are on the table.
- (49) sitiise eveyutI hikituhketi<sup>5</sup>  
 puhánikwatu<sup>?</sup>i  
 siti<sup>=</sup>-se epe-yu-ti<sup>=</sup> hiki-tuHka-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 puha-hani-h/H/kwa<sup>=</sup>-tu<sup>?</sup>i  
 these=ones-CONTR other-PRED-GEN:ASP  
 arbor-under-PRED power-do MIN=TOWARD-UR:ASP  
 They're having (church) service outside,  
 under the arbor.
- (50) suRise paiyutI tiasi kanaviitsi  
 suti<sup>=</sup>-se paa-yu-ti<sup>=</sup> tiasi<sup>=</sup> kana-piitsi  
 that=one-CONTR down-BE-GEN:ASP also thin-EMPHAT  
 He will be short and skinny.

## Other intransitive sentences

- (51) ninse paakwavitɪ  
 ninni-se paa-kwapi-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 we=EXCL-CONTR water-lie(pl subj)-GEN:ASP  
 We swam.
- (52) oʔiti urikwɪ  
 oʔi-ti<sup>̄</sup> utikwih  
 vomit-GEN:ASP=PL they=DL  
 They vomited.
- (53) suRise wátsIhávin  
 suti<sup>̄</sup>-se watsi-hapi-n  
 that=one-CONTR secret-lie(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP  
 He hid.
- (54) orikwitsa waʔipiʔanikwɪ kimarikwɪ  
 otikwih-tsa waʔi-<sup>̄</sup>pi-ʔa-nikwih kima-tikwih  
 those=DL-TOP woman-a-DL come-GEN:ASP=DL  
 The two women are coming.
- (55) takwise návukuwáákɪ namsi kian  
 takwih-se nápukuwáá-ka namVsi kia-n  
 you=DL-CONTR car-in quickly go=in(pl subj)-COMPL:ASP  
 The two of you quickly got in the car.
- (56) tatsa u pahi  
 tatsa u pahi-i  
 summer he be=born(human)-COMPL:ASP  
 He was born in the summer.
- (57) itsátiitsa miʔaRɪ  
 i<sup>̄</sup>-tsaa<sup>̄</sup>-tii-tsa miʔa-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 your-good-friend(woman friend of a  
 woman)-TOP go-GEN:ASP  
 Your best friend is leaving.
- (58) oritsah pósasarinií nivehtu nurakitii  
 otii<sup>̄</sup>-tsa posa-satiʔi-nii ni-peHtu<sup>̄</sup> nuta-ki-tii<sup>̄</sup>  
 those-TOP crazy-dog-PL me-toward run-MTN=TOWARD-  
 GEN:ASP=PL  
 All those crazy dogs are running towards me.

An example of a sentence which uses a postposition as the basis of the predication is:

- (59)       sinaí kaawosa  
          si-nai kaawosa  
          this-direction name

Here comes Kaawos.

A transitive verb may be made intransitive by incorporating an object, eg:

- (60)       pukumakwI?eti urii<sup>6</sup>  
          puku-ma-kwi?e-tii<sup>=</sup> utii<sup>=</sup>  
          horse-INST(hand)-put=in??-GEN:ASP=PL they

They're chasing horses.

- (61)       pu?eyai u  
          pu?e-yaa-i u  
          road-find-COMPL:ASP he

He got saved (religious).

#### 5.2.3.2. Transitive sentences.

A transitive sentence involves a predicate and two or more nominals. The subject is in subjective case and the object or objects take objective case. The full range of aspectual suffixes is found.

- (62)       suRise muupitsha pehkán  
          suti<sup>=</sup>-se mu<sup>=</sup>pitsi-ha peHka-n  
          that=one-CONTR name-OBJ kill(sg obj)-COMPL:ASP

He killed that Muupits (monster)

- (63)       uróhtikwai?i nii  
          u-toH-tikwai-?i nii  
          him-INST(violent)-hit(sg obj)-COMPL:ASP I

I hit him.

- (64) niwaʔóse nii nasugwatsin  
ni-waʔó-se nii na-su<sup>=</sup>-watsi-n  
my-cat-CONTR I REFLEX/RECIP-INST(mind)-  
lose-COMPL:ASP  
  
I forgot my cat.
- (65) nise tammaku uhri makan  
ni-se tamma<sup>=</sup>-ku<sup>=</sup> uhti maka-n  
I-CONTR a=lot-ADVB them=OBJ feed,give-COMPL:ASP  
  
I fed them a lot.
- (66) tammaku-se nii uhri makan  
tamma<sup>=</sup>-ku<sup>=</sup>-se nii uhti maka-n  
a=lot-ADVB-CONTR I them=OBJ feed, give-COMPL:ASP  
  
I fed them a lot.
- (67) tuhtukanitsa písunií nimikóókoʔanii  
kihtokweʔeti  
tuH-tukani-tsa pisu-nii nimi-kookoʔa-nii  
kiH-tokweʔ-e-ti<sup>=</sup>  
REDUP-dark-TOP break=wind-NOM our=EXCL-chicken-PL=OBJ  
INST(teeth)-kill (pl obj)-DISTRIB:ASP-GEN:ASP  
  
When it gets dark the skunk gets in and kills  
(some of) our chickens.

Note the position of the first person pronoun in the two following sentences:

- (68) sihka mia wahamaneti moʔoveka havihka nii  
pui<sup>=</sup>puharaivoʔa punituʔi  
sihka mia wahamaneti moʔope-ka hapi-h/H/ka<sup>=</sup> nii  
pui<sup>=</sup>-puha-taipoc-ʔa puni-tuʔi  
this-OBJ month twenty five-at days-DS  
I eye-medicine-white=man-OBJ see-UR:ASP  
  
On the 25th of this month I'm going to see an  
eye doctor.
- (69) puipuharaivoʔa nii punituʔi  
pui<sup>=</sup>-puha-taipoc-ʔa nii puni-tuʔi  
eye-power, medicine-white=man-OBJ I see-UR:ASP  
  
I'm going to see an eye doctor.

- (70)       tsunipha nii Buffyʔa makai  
 tsuni-<sup>̄</sup>p̄ih-ha nii Buffy-ʔa maka-i  
 bone-OBJ I name-OBJ give,feed-COMPL:ASP

I gave the bone to Buffy.

- (71)       nirívopha nii niváviʔa uhtuʔi  
 ni-ti-po-<sup>̄</sup>p̄ih-ha nii ni-papi-ʔa uhtu-i  
 my-INDEF=OBJ-write-OBJ I my-older=brother-  
 OBJ give (sg obj)-COMPL:ASP

I gave my book to my brother.

#### Have sentences

The suffixes <sup>̄</sup>-pai and <sup>̄</sup>-ka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> are used to express the notion of 'have'. As a general statement, <sup>̄</sup>-pai indicates relatively permanent possession of nominal objects, while <sup>̄</sup>-ka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> is used for objects that are less permanently possessed, as well as for the possession/attribution of qualities. <sup>̄</sup>-h/ka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> is the final aspect suffix signalling temporary state (Section 4.3.6.1.2), while <sup>̄</sup>-pai is a non-verbal predicator. It functions much as a secondary verb, and may be followed by aspect suffixes. <sup>̄</sup>-ka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> is used with the negative <sup>̄</sup>ke- and <sup>̄</sup>-pai is used in questions.

- (72)       wahati nii monahpikatI. tiasise nii<sup>7</sup>  
 wahati huutsípiapivai.  
 waha<sup>̄</sup>-ti nii monah<sup>̄</sup>-pi-ka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> tiasi<sup>̄</sup>-se nii  
 waha<sup>̄</sup>-ti huutsípia<sup>̄</sup>-pi-pai  
 two-OBJ I son-in-law-ABS-ka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> also-CONTR I two-  
 OBJ daughter-in-law-ABS-pai (two Comanche sentences.)

I have two sons-in-law and two daughters-in-law.

- (73)       soʔoti u puhihwikatI  
 soʔo<sup>̄</sup>-ti u puhihwi-ka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 many-OBJ he monei-ka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>

He has plenty of money.

- (74) usúnni u soʔoti puhihwikatĩ  
 usúnni u soʔo<sup>-</sup>ti puhihwi-ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 that=way he many-OBJ money-ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 He always has plenty of money.
- (75) kehena u puhihwikatĩ  
 ke-hena u puhihwi-ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 NEG-something=OBJ he money-ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 He doesn't have any money.
- (76) suRha puhihwivai  
 suti<sup>=</sup>-ha puhihwi-pai  
 that-one-WH money-pai  
 Does he have any money?
- (77) kehéna nii nakihtavaʔikatĩ  
 ke-hena nii nakihtapaʔi-ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 NEG-something=OBJ I pecan-ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 I don't have any pecans.
- (78) innha nakihtavaʔivai  
 inni-ha nakihtapaʔi-pai  
 you-WH pecan-pai  
 Do you have any pecans?
- (79) suRise nikinu tammati sonipĩBai . . .  
 suti<sup>=</sup>-se ni-kinu tamma<sup>-</sup>ti soni<sup>-</sup>pih-pai . . .  
 that=one-CONTR my-father's=father a=lot-OBJ  
 grass, hay-pai  
 My grandfather had hay (for horses) . . .
- The aspectual nature of -ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup> is illustrated by the following pair of sentences. -ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup> is used in the present, but the completive -i is used for past:
- (80) amagwimhinakati nii  
 ama-wimhina-ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup> nii  
 ??-sick-ka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup> I  
 I have pneumonia.



- (81) nari?iyaaku nii amagwimhinai  
 nati?iyaa-ku<sup>u</sup> nii ama-wimhina-i  
 dangerous-ADVB I ??-sick-COMPL:ASP

I had a very bad case of pneumonia.

When the object of 'have' is an abstraction (i.e., either unattained or hypothetical, such as the example below of three ironing boards), -pai and -ka<sup>u</sup>ti<sup>u</sup> are prefixed with hi<sup>u</sup>pah, which is probably related to the indefinite-interrogative pronouns (see Section 4.2.7).

- (82) nise kinni noo uhka kwasu?i hipiBai  
 nii-se ki-nii noo uhka kwasu?u<sup>u</sup>-i hi<sup>u</sup>pah-pai  
 I-CONTR OPT-I just that-OBJ dress-OBJ  
 thing-pai

I wish I had that dress.

- (83) pahiti nii pipa?eti tatirakwi?ne?ena hipikati<sup>8</sup>  
 pahi-ti nii pi<sup>u</sup>-pa?e-ti<sup>u</sup> ta<sup>u</sup>-titakwi?ne?e-na  
 hipah-ka<sup>u</sup>ti  
 three-OBJ I its=own-on-PRED INDEF=SUBJ-??-NOM  
 thing-ka<sup>u</sup>ti

I have three ironing boards.

-tu 'marry'

-tu is a suffix meaning 'to get, acquire an affinal relative.'

- (84) inni kuhmarun  
 inni kuhma-tu-n  
 you male-tu-COMPL:ASP

Did you get married? (female addressee)

- (85) inni kwi?itu-n  
 inni kwi?i<sup>u</sup>-tu-n  
 you female-tu-COMPL:ASP

Did you get married? (male addressee)

- (86) orekwitsa nanakwitu?inikwĩ  
 otekwiĥ-tsa nana-kwi<sup>̄</sup>-tu-i-nikwiĥ  
 those=DL-TOP RECIP-female-tu-COMPL:ASP-DL

Those two got married.

- (87) kwasikĩ mia ma ukũmaRuRu?i<sup>9</sup>  
 kwasikĩ mia ma u-kuĥma-tu-tu?i  
 next month she him-male-tu-UR

She's getting married next month.

- (88) ke ma kwitugwaitĩ<sup>9</sup>  
 ke ma kwi-tu-wai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 NEG he female-tu-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP

They'll never get married.

- (89) ke ma kumahRugwaitĩ  
 ke ma kuĥma-tu-wai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 NEG she male-tu-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP

They'll never get married.

- (90) Brandy-tsa iki?áĥpiru?ai  
 Brandy-tsa iki?-aĥpi-tu-ai-i  
 name-TOP new-father-tu-do-COMPL:ASP

Brandy got a new stepfather

-tu seldom occurs with the unrealized suffix -tu?i. The following sentence demonstrates future usage with the temporary state suffix -h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>, which means that the event is in the planning stage and can also be translated as 'got engaged / is engaged.'

- (91) ohka ma renahpi?a kuhmarikati  
 oĥka ma tenaĥ<sup>̄</sup>pi?-a kuhma-ti<sup>̄</sup>-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 that=one-OBJ she man-ABS-OBJ male-ti-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>

She's going to marry that man. OR  
 She's engaged to that man.

Cf:

- (92) otsa ma rena-pi?a kumahRu?i<sup>9</sup>  
 o-tsa ma tena<sup>̄</sup>pi?-a kuhma-tu-i  
 that-TOP man-ABS-OBJ male-tu-COMPL:ASP

She married that man.

## Do sentences

The predicative suffix *-ʔai* and the verb *hani* are generally used to express the concept 'do, make'. The two can be used interchangeably, though *-ʔai* is more often used for making concrete objects, while *hani* is more generally used for an abstract 'do', as well as for 'fix'.<sup>10</sup> The object noun is often incorporated with *-ʔai*; note the difference between *sona* 'quilt' and the objective *soni* in the three sentences below:

- (93)        *sonaʔaituʔi nii*  
               *sona-ʔai-tuʔi nii*  
               quilt-ʔai-UR:ASP I  
  
               I'm going to make a quilt.
- (94)        *tiasi nii sonaʔaiʔetʔi*  
               *tiasi<sup>=</sup> nii sona-ʔai-ʔe-ti<sup>=</sup>*  
               also I quilt-ʔai-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP  
  
               I also do quilting.
- (95)        *ohnáʔa soni nii hannítʔi*  
               *ohnáʔ-a<sup>=</sup> sona-i nii hani-ti<sup>=</sup>*  
               baby-POSS quilt-OBJ I hani-GEN:ASP  
  
               I'm making a baby quilt.
- (96)        *Philtsa ihka hanni*  
               *Phil-tsa ihka hani-i*  
               name-TOP this-OBJ hani-COMPL:ASP  
  
               Look what Phil did.
- (97)        *Philtsa ni-rínowaikinha nihánnikiʔi*  
               *Phil-tsa ni-ti-no-waikin-ha ni-hani-ki<sup>=</sup>-i*  
               name-TOP my-INDEF=OBJ-carry-wagon-OBJ me-  
               hani-BEN-COMPL:ASP  
  
               Phil fixed my pickup.

- (98)       tavenni tanni ke hinna hannigwaitii  
 tapeni tanni ke hini-a hani-wai-tii=  
 today we=INCL NEG something-OBJ hani-  
 UR:ASP-GEN:ASP=PL

We're not going to do anything this afternoon.

- (99)       piesi nii tihkʔhanimai  
 piesi=  
 piesi=  
 already I eat-hani-FINISH-COMPL:ASP

I've finished cooking.

- (100)      nináʔnimini nii tikhanikiʔeetʔ  
 ni-na-nimi-nii nii tiHka-hani-ki=-ʔe-ti=  
 my-RECIP-Cm-PL=OBJ I eat-hani-BEN-  
 REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

I cook for my kin (i.e., habitually).

#### 5.2.4. Interrogation.

##### 5.2.4.1. Yes-no questions.

Yes-no questions are formed by placing the question particle -ha after the first constituent of the sentence (which is also the element being questioned). This may represent an inversion transformation, as in English, but note the parallel with the sentence markers -tsa and -se, which are also found on the first constituent of the sentence (see Section 5.2.1). The element haame, which is discussed below in the section on tag questions, may also be used to elicit a 'yes' or 'no' response, as in Sentence 106.

- (101)      innha piʔesi  
 inni-ha piʔesi=  
 you-ha ready

Are you ready to go?

Cf.

(102) piʔesi urii  
 piʔesiʰ utiiʰ  
 ready they

They are ready.

(103) mikwa mihisoni matimmiʔiYU  
 mikwih-ha mihiʰ-soni maʰ-timi-ʔi-yu  
 you=DL-ha your=DL-grass, hay=OBJ  
 your-buy, sell-REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP

Are you two selling your hay?

(104) soRha piakwisuʔuvaʔi  
 sotiʰ-ha piaʰ-kwisuʔuʰ-paʔi  
 that=one-ha big-shirt, dress-have

Does she have a coat?

(105) niha nakotsepha kwasuʔupai  
 nii-ha na-kotse-ʰpih-ha kwasuʔuʰ-pai  
 I-ha REFLEX-wash-ABS-OBJ shirt, dress-have

Do I have a clean dress?

(106) haame Francine ninímain  
 haame Francine ni-nimai-n  
 haame name me-call-COMPL:ASP

Did Francine call?

#### 5.2.4.2 Tag questions

Tag questions are made in one of two ways, with no apparent difference in meaning or context. One may end the sentence with *haame* ('say yes') /*haa-me/* (yes-QUOT/say) or with *hai*. The latter is, perhaps, a form of the question particle *ha*; I have not identified the *i* and there is no nasalization, as there would be with *hāā* 'yes'.<sup>11</sup> As noted above, *haame* may also be used in yes/no questions. With both *hai* and *haame* there is a pause before the tag, here indicated by a comma. In English, the most common tag used by the Comanche people I spoke with (including many non-Comanche

speakers) is "isn't it?"

- (107) naivi u haame?eti  
 naipi u haame-?e-ti=  
 pretty she haame-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

She's pretty, isn't she?

- (108) ke orii tiri?aiti, hai  
 ke otii= tiri?ai-tii= hai  
 NEG those=ones work-GEN=PL hai

They're not working, are they?

- (109) pikáhni u marikai, haame?eti  
 pi=-kahni u matika-i haame-?e-ti=  
 his=own-house he finish-COMPL:ASP  
 haame-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

He finished the house, didn't he?

- (110) kesi u pikáhni marikaRi haame?eti  
 kesi= u pi=-kahni matika-ti= haame-?e-ti=  
 yet he his=own-house finish-GEN:ASP  
 haame-REPET-GEN:ASP

He didn't finish the house yet, did he?

5.2.4.2. Alternative questions. Questions in which the addressee is expected to make a choice among two or more alternatives require the question-particle -ha.

- (111) innha huuve tiano puhihuve  
 inni-ha huupa-e tiano puhi-hupa-e  
 you-ha coffee-OBJ or leaf-coffee-OBJ

Do you want coffee or tea?

- (112) ". . . mikwa uhka tamma tinikwiri pinne mikwi  
 nakwisi?eeti pinne mikwi na eehka  
 kuutsutaibo?a"  
 . . .mikwih-ha uHka tamma tinikwi-ti pinne  
 mikwih na-kwVsi?eti pinne mikwih naH eHka  
 kuutsu-taipo-?a  
 you=DL-ha that=OBJ ?? musical-NOM=OBJ or  
 you=DL that-OBJ REFLEX-kill-REPET:ASP-NOM-OBJ or  
 you=DL just that-OBJ cow-white=man-OBJ

". . .would you two (like to see) a musical or an adventure or a western?"

## 5.2.4.3. WH-questions.

The basic WH-questions (who, what, where, when, why . . .) are a set of words beginning with ha- or hi- which are generally the first word of the sentence. The same forms function as indefinite pronouns. Many are inflected for case (subjective, objective and possessive) and number (singular, dual and plural); see Section 4.2.7 for these inflections.

haka	Who? Which? Whom? Whose?
hini <sup>̄</sup>	What?, What kind of?,
hii	How many?,
hi <sup>̄</sup> pe	When?,
hakah	Where?
hakani	How?, What?, What happened?, What kind of?,
hakaniyu <sup>̄</sup> tih	Why?
hakai	How?, What kind of?

haka

Who? Which? Whom? Whose?

The question 'Who is/are . . . ?' is often expressed as /osVhakati/ (the example is for singular subject; dual and plural are slightly different), which is phonetically [osákari]. osV is, I assume, the demonstrative o- plus the -si<sup>̄</sup> discussed in Section 5.4.

- (113) hakari iʔáranimati kimaiyu  
 hakati<sup>̄</sup> i<sup>̄</sup>-ata-nii-ma<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> kima-yu  
 hakati<sup>̄</sup> (SG SUBJ) your-uncle-PL-PART  
 come-PROG:ASP

Which one of your uncles is coming?

- (114) hakari yáhnepinnítí  
 hakati<sup>h</sup> yahne-h/Hpinni-ti<sup>h</sup>  
 hakati<sup>h</sup> (SG SUBJ) laugh-ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 Who is laughing?
- (115) osákarí okO winní  
 o-si<sup>h</sup>-hakati<sup>h</sup> o-HkVh winni /+n/  
 that-si<sup>h</sup>-hakati<sup>h</sup> (SG SUBJ) there-at stand+DUR:ASP  
 Who is that person over there?
- or:  
 hakari okO winní  
 hakati<sup>h</sup> o-HkVh winni /+n/  
 haka-ti<sup>h</sup>(SG SUBJ) there-at stand+DUR:ASP  
 Who is that person over there?
- (116) osákarí tihiyakaríhka  
 o-si<sup>h</sup>-hakati<sup>h</sup> tihiya-kari-h/Hka<sup>h</sup>  
 that-si<sup>h</sup>-hakati<sup>h</sup>(SG SUBJ) horse-sit-STAT:ASP  
 Who is riding a horse?
- (117) osákarikwi hivipinní  
 o-si<sup>h</sup>-hakatikwi<sup>h</sup> hipi-h/Hpinni  
 that-si<sup>h</sup>-hakatikwi<sup>h</sup>(DU SUBJ) drink-ONGO:ASP  
 Who are those two (people who are) drinking?
- (118) osákaríi hivipinní  
 o-si<sup>h</sup>-hakati<sup>h</sup> hipi-h/Hpinni  
 that-hakati<sup>h</sup>(PL SUBJ) drink-ONGO:ASP  
 Who are those (people who are) drinking?
- (119) osákarí ohka tihíye tsakíka  
 o-si<sup>h</sup>-hakati<sup>h</sup> oHka tihiya-e tsaka-h/Hka<sup>h</sup>  
 that-si<sup>h</sup>-hakati<sup>h</sup>(SG SUBJ) that-OBJ horse-OBJ lead-  
 STAT:ASP  
 Who was leading the horse?
- (120) hahka inni su<sup>h</sup>yuaipinní  
 haHka inni su<sup>h</sup>yuai-h/Hpinni  
 haHka (SG OBJ) you laugh=at-ONGO:ASP  
 Who are you laughing at?



- (121) usáhka tua  
u-si<sup>=</sup>-haHka<sup>=</sup> tua  
him-si<sup>=</sup>-haHka<sup>=</sup> (SG POSS) son  
Whose son is he?
- (122) hahka nakariva?a suri kaahti  
haHka<sup>=</sup> na-kati-pa?a suti<sup>=</sup> kahti /+H/  
haHka<sup>=</sup> (SG POSS) REFLEX-sit-on that=one sit+DUR:ASP  
Whose chair is he sitting on?
- (123) hahka suri haitsma?ai naRuiyU  
haHka<sup>=</sup> suti<sup>=</sup> haitsih-ma?ai nahtui-yu  
haHka<sup>=</sup> (SG POSS) that=one friend-with fight-PROG:ASP  
Whose friend is he fighting?
- (124) hakama?ai suri  
haka-with suti<sup>=</sup>  
haka (SG OBJ OF POSTPOSITION)-with that=one  
Who is he with?
- (125) hakava?atu siti parahpa?iyU  
haka-pa?a<sup>=</sup>-H/tu<sup>=</sup> siti<sup>=</sup> paa-taHpa?i-yu  
haka-(SG OBJ OF POSTPOSITION)-on this=one  
water-??-PROG:ASP  
Who is the rain falling on?

hini<sup>=</sup>

What?, What kind of?

- (126) hina mimi tireti  
hina mimi tire-ti<sup>=</sup>  
hina (SG OBJ) you=PL child-PRED:PL  
What kind of babies are you?
- (127) itsa hinni totsiyáá  
i-tsa hini<sup>=</sup> totsiyáá  
this-TOP hini<sup>=</sup>(SG SUBJ) flower  
What kind of flower is this?

- (128) osinni kahníva?a  
o-si=hini= kahni-pa?a  
that-EMPHAT hini=(SG SUBJ) house-on  
  
What is on the house?
- (129) hāā! hinatsa inni  
hāā! hina(SG OBJ)-tsa inni  
Hello; yes! hina-TOP you  
  
Hi! What do you want? (a common greeting)
- (130) hinituhka suri  
hini=-tuHka suti=  
hini=(SG OBJ OF POSTPOSITION)-under that=one  
  
What is he under?
- (131) hiniho?aikī suri mi?an  
hini=-ho?aikih suti= mi?a-n  
hini=(SG OBJ OF POSTPOSITION)-around  
that=one go-COMPL:ASP  
  
What did he go around?

hi?i or hi?i

How many?

'how many?' may also be expressed by hi-pe.

- (132) hi?iti sari?i Cachekaiyu  
hi?i=-ti= sati?i Cache-ka-yu  
hi?i=-ti=(SG SUBJ) dog name-at-PRED  
  
How many dogs are there in Cache?
- (133) hi?iti Cacheka nimina?ahka  
hi?i=ti= Cache-ka nimi-na?a-h/Hka=  
hi?i=ti= (SG SUBJ) name-at Comanche-  
be, become-STAT:ASP  
  
How many people live in Cache?
- (134) hi?i siti mia havi?iyu  
hi?i= siti= mia hapi-?i-yu  
hi?i=(SG SUBJ) this month ??-REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP  
  
How many days are in this month?

- (135) sitfa hii mia havin  
 siti<sup>-</sup>ha hii<sup>-</sup> mia hapi-n  
 this-WH hii<sup>-</sup> month ??-COMPL:ASP

What is today's date?

- (136) hiʔiti innha pímoróovai  
 hiʔi<sup>-</sup>ti inni-ha pímotóó-pai  
 hiʔi<sup>-</sup>ti(SG OBJ) you-WH cow-have

How many cows do you have?

hi<sup>-</sup>pe

When?

-pe is an affix which is used to express quantity (Section 4.1.7.1). hi<sup>-</sup>pe may be suffixed with -kai, with the meaning 'how big?'

- (137) hipe siti imin  
 hi<sup>-</sup>pe siti<sup>-</sup> imi-n  
 hi<sup>-</sup>pe it rain-COMPL:ASP

When did it rain?

- (138) surikwī sariʔinikwī hipekai  
 sutikwih satiʔi-nikwih hi<sup>-</sup>pe-kai  
 those=DL dog-DL hi<sup>-</sup>pe-kai

How big are those two dogs?

- (139) unávukuwááʔa hipekai  
 u<sup>-</sup>-nápukuwáá-ʔa hi<sup>-</sup>pe-kai  
 his-car-OBJ hi<sup>-</sup>pe-kai

How big is his car?

- (140) eti taʔwoʔi Fort Sillkahti hihípekai  
 etii<sup>-</sup> taʔwoʔi Fort Sill-h/Hka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>-</sup> hi-hi<sup>-</sup>pe-kai  
 those gun name-at-TEMP=STATE:ASP?? REDUP-hipe-kai

How big are the guns at Fort Sill?

When hi<sup>-</sup>pe is suffixed with -ti<sup>-</sup>, the translation is 'how many?', though this question is usually asked with hii.

- (141) hipeti sari?i Cachekaiyu  
 hi<sup>̄</sup>peti<sup>̄</sup> sati?i Cache-ka-yu  
 hi<sup>̄</sup>peti<sup>̄</sup> dog name-at-PRED  
 How many dogs live in Cache?
- (142) iti piakwisu?u hipeti naBihwipai  
 iti<sup>̄</sup> piakwasu?u<sup>̄</sup> hi<sup>̄</sup>peti nahpihwi-pai  
 this coat hi<sup>̄</sup>peti cost-have  
 How much does this coat cost?

### hakah

Where? Which direction?

hakah may be suffixed with at least two of the directional postpositions. In the examples below, -nai is used for motion towards the speaker and -h/Hpu<sup>̄</sup> for motion away, but this has not been systematically explored. -nai is a directional postposition (Section 4.1.6.2) and -h/Hpu<sup>̄</sup> is a postposition and an adverbial locative suffix (Section 4.1.7.1).

- (143) hakise itú?a  
 hakah-se i<sup>̄</sup>-tu?a  
 hakah-CONTR your-son  
 Where is your son?
- (144) innha haki nimiYU  
 inni-ha hakah nimi-yu  
 you-WH hakah go, walk-PROG:ASP  
 Where have you been?
- (145) hakanai inni kimaiYU  
 hakah-nai inni kima-yu  
 hakah-direction you come-PROG:ASP  
 Where are you coming from?
- (146) hakahpu inni mi?aiYU  
 haka-Hpu<sup>̄</sup> inni mi?ai?-yU  
 haka-to you go-PROG:ASP  
 Where are you going?

## hakani

How?, What?, What happened?, What kind of?

As can be inferred from the translations of this element, *hakani* is used to question manners of being and doing. *-ni* is an adverbial manner suffix (Sect. 5.4).

- (147) *hakani takwī nahahutu?i*  
*hakani takwih naha-hu<sup>=(2)</sup>-tu?i*  
*hakani we=DL be, become-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP*

What are we two going to do?

- (148) *hakani mimmi nahān*  
*hakani mimmi nahā-n*  
*hakani you=PL become-COMPL:ASP*

What's the matter with you-all?

- (149) *hakanihku inni sapihani?eYU*  
*hakani-Hku<sup>=</sup> inni saa<sup>=</sup>pih-hani-?e-yu*  
*hakani-H/ku<sup>=</sup> you stomach-do, fix-*  
*DISTRIB:ASP-PROG:ASP*

How do you fix bote (tripe)?

- (150) *hakaniti surikwī kahni<sup>vai</sup>*  
*hakaniti sutikwih kahni-pai*  
*hakaniti they=DL house-have*

What kind of house do they (2) live in?

*hakaniyu<sup>=</sup>tih<sup>13</sup>*

Why?

- (151) *hakaniyutī suri kimaiU*  
*hakaniyu<sup>=</sup>tih suti<sup>=</sup> kima-yu*  
*hakaniyu<sup>=</sup>tih that=one come-PROG:ASP*

Why is she coming?

- (152) hakaniyutI inni sunniku nimi ti?ahwekivinnI  
 hakaniyu<sup>-</sup>tih inni sunni-h/ku<sup>=</sup> nimi ti?ahwe-ki-h/Hpinni  
 hakaniyu<sup>-</sup>tih you that=way-to us=EXCL  
 tell-BEN-ONGO:ASP

Why are you telling us?

**hakai**

How?, What kind of?

hakai may be a variant of hakani (i.e., haka suffixed with an unanalyzed adverbial element).

- (153) hakai inni nisuka  
 hakai inni nisukaa  
 hakai you feel

How do you feel?

- (154) hakai iwówoki nahniaka  
 hakai i<sup>=</sup>-wowoki nahnia-h/Hka<sup>=</sup>  
 hakai your-dog REFLEX-name-STAT:ASP

What's your dog's name?

#### 5.2.5. Imperatives.

The simple, singular, non-negative imperative is the verb stem with no final or prefinal aspect suffixes. In the dual, the suffix *-pikwih* is appended; in the plural, *-ka* is added. Each is suffixed to the first constituent in the sentence. In a simple command, this constituent is the simple stem. The object of a transitive verb is in objective case.<sup>14</sup>

- (155) yukari  
 yu-kati  
 quiet-sit(sg subj)

Sit down and be quiet! (sg)

- (156) yuyikwivikwĩ  
yu-yikwi-pikwih  
quiet-sit(pl subj)-DL=IMPER  
Sit down and be quiet! (dl)
- (157) yuyikwiika  
yu-yikwii-ka  
quiet-sit(pl subj)-PL=IMPER  
Sit down and be quiet! (pl)
- (158) manamfsohitsika tihka  
manamVsohi-h/Htsi-ka tiHka  
hurry-SS-PL=IMPER eat  
You-all hurry up and eat!
- (159) simiʔoietika itsumiikitsi niihka  
simiʔoietika itsumiiki-h/H/tsi niiHka  
everyone-PL=IMPER close=eyes(pl subj)-SS dance  
Everybody close your eyes and dance!

The negative imperative is formed by beginning the command with keta, which is the negative ke- with the addition of ta, an element found only in this construction. The generic aspect marker -ti<sup>ʔ</sup> is almost always suffixed to the verb:

- (160) keta ohkĩ naharĩ  
keta o-HkVh naha-ti<sup>ʔ</sup>  
NEG=IMPER there-at happen, become-GEN:ASP  
Don't go over there! (sg)
- (161) ketavikwĩ ohkH naharihkwĩ  
keta-pikwih o-HkVh naha-tiHkwih  
NEG=IMPER-DL=IMPER there-at be-GEN=DL  
Don't go over there! (dl)
- (162) ketaka ohkĩ nahari  
keta-ka o-HkVh naha-tii<sup>ʔ</sup>  
NEG=IMPER-PL=IMPER there be-GEN:ASP  
Don't go over there! (pl)

- (163) keta Rerunha ti?iya  
keta Rerun-ha ti?iya  
NEG=IMPER name-OBJ scare  
  
Don't be afraid of Rerun (a dog).
- (164) taináhoviya  
tai-na-hopiya  
us=INCL-REFLEX-sing  
  
Lead us in a song.
- (165) nivía  
ni-pia  
me-leave  
  
Leave me alone!
- (166) miinahrunaka pia  
mii=-nahtu-na-ka pia  
your=PL-fight-NOM=PL:IMPER leave  
  
Quit your fighting!
- (167) ipiakwísu?i tsahkwe?ya  
i=-piakwasu?u=-i tsaH-kwe?ya  
your-coat-OBJ INST(hand)-remove(sg obj)  
  
Take off your coat!
- (168) miipiakwísu?ika tsahkwe?yu?i  
mii=-piakwasu?u=-i-ka tsaH-kwe?yu?i  
your=PL-coat-OBJ-PL=IMPER INST(hand)-  
remove(pl obj)  
  
You-all take off your coats!

When the addressee's name is used, it is sentence-initial and is in subject case.

- (169) Brandy taikúhni maka  
Brandy tai-kuhni-maka  
name us=PL=INCL-wood=OBJ?-give  
  
Brandy, go get us some wood.



Second person pronouns are optional:

(170) tuunehtsi  
tuneHtsi  
run

Run!

(171) inni tunehtsi  
inni tuneHtsi  
you run

Run!

(172) mimsuaka tunehtsi  
mimmi-su?a-ka tuneHtsi  
you=PL-also-PL=IMPER run

Y'all run too!

(173) nahwitsaka mimmi mii?ahpi?a petsitsi mi?an  
naH-witsa-ka mimmi mii<sup>?</sup>-aHpi?a petsi-h/H/tsi  
mi?a-n  
just-OBLIG-PL=IMPER you=PL your=PL-father-OBJ  
accompany-SS go-COMPL:ASP

Y'all had better take care of your dad  
(and then) leave.

If an indefinite object pronoun is used in a command *ma-*, rather than *ti-*, is used.

(174) marivitsi tuuhka  
ma-tipitsi tuuHka  
it-really dark

Make sure it's (fire) out.

(175) keta ma ria masuati  
keta ma tia ma-sua<sup>-</sup>-ti<sup>-</sup>  
NEG=IMPER it NARR=ONSET it-think-GEN:ASP

Just don't pay any attention to it.

#### 5.2.5.1. Hortatory.

In the hortatory, the verb stem is combined with the first plural or dual subject pronoun. Occasionally, a *-ma* is found suffixed to the verb in the hortatory. This *-ma* is not otherwise

identified.

(176) miʔa ranni  
miʔa tanni  
go we=INCL

Let's go.

(177) nohiʔai takwi  
nohi-ai takwih  
toy-make DL=INCL

Let's make toys. (dual)

Cf:

(178) nohiʔaivikwi  
nohi-ai-pikwih  
toy-make-DL=IMPER

Make toys! (dual)

(179) tanni witsa nah narimiʔaimaki  
tanni witsa nah na-timiʔ-ai-ma-ki=  
we=PL=INCL OBLIG just REFLEX/buy, sell-make-  
ma-BEN/CAUS

Let's build a town here.

#### 5.2.6. Negation.

A negative sentence contains the negative particle *ke*, which is related to *kee*, the word for 'no'. As discussed in Section 4.3.6.1.2, the unrealized suffix has a different shape in the negative. *ke* tends to occur either in first position or directly before the verb it negates. Negative imperatives are discussed in Section 5.2.5 and complements of the verb of negative ability are demonstrated in Section 5.6.4.3.

(180) ke nii tohtinkahtu miʔaRI  
ke nii tohtin-kahtu= miʔa-ti=  
NEG I name-toward go-GEN:ASP

I didn't go to Lawton.

Cf.

- (181) tohtinkahtu mi?ai  
toHtin-kaHtu<sup>̄</sup> mi?a-i  
name-toward go-COMPL:ASP

I went to Lawton.

- (182) ke nii tohtinkahtu mi?agwaiti  
ke nii toHtin-kaHtu<sup>̄</sup> mi?a-wai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
NEG I name-toward go-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP

I won't go to Lawton.

Cf.

- (183) tohtinkahtu nii mi?aru?i  
toHtin-kaHtu<sup>̄</sup> nii mi?a-tu?i  
name-toward I go-UR:ASP

I will go to Lawton.

- (184) sihka nii taveni ke tivopha suwaiti  
siHka nii tapeni ke ti-po-<sup>̄</sup>pih-ha su-wai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
this=OBJ I today NEG INDEF=OBJ-point-ABS-OBJ  
feel-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP

Today I don't feel like writing.

- (185) ke nii ri?asi itiahwekigwaiti  
ke nii ti?asi<sup>̄</sup> i<sup>̄</sup>-tiahwe-ki<sup>̄</sup>-wai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
NEG I again your-tell-BEN-UR-GEN:ASP

I'm not telling you any more! OR, idiomatically:  
I'm telling you for the last time!

When two objects or actions of opposing polarity are being compared, the positive usually appears first, and kee, 'no', replaces the negative:

- (186) nahkia urii pitiru?i tiano kee  
naH-kia utii<sup>̄</sup> piti-tu?i tiano kee  
just-INFER they come-UR:ASP or no

Maybe they'll come and maybe they won't.

- (187) pihnanohkopitsa tsa pihnakamati  
nohkopise pinni kee  
pihna-noHko-<sup>̄</sup>pih-tsa tsaa<sup>̄</sup> pihna-kama<sup>̄</sup>-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
noHko-<sup>̄</sup>pih-se pinni kee  
sweet, sugar-bake=bread-NOM-TOP good sweet-taste-  
GEN:ASP bake=bread-NOM-CONTR however no

Cake is sweet, but bread isn't.

## 5.3. Particles

## 5.3.1. Modals.

## noo and naH

The elements *noo* and *naH* are frequently (and apparently optionally) found with the modals. When they are translated, they are both translated as 'just', and this translation reflects the range of their meaning - from the vagueness of a phrase such as 'It's just an idea.' to the definite and emphatic nature of 'She's just perfect for the job.' I do not believe that *noo* and *naH* are interchangeable, but I cannot predict where one or the other will occur. *naH* seems to be more common than *noo*. In the two sections immediately following this section these elements are exemplified with the various modals. In this section, examples without modals are given. *noo* and *naH* are both stressed, and other elements - particularly pronominals - tend to cliticize to them. *noo* is also found as part of *tiano* 'or', and is the base of the idiomatic *nooʔo* 'Just let it be!'

- (188)      *nahnini nimipuki urahtsi miitátsaituʔi*  
*naH-ninni nimi<sup>2</sup>-puku-i uta-h/H/tsi mii-tatsai-tuʔi*  
*naH-we=EXCL our=EXCL-horse-OBJ find-SS you=PL=OBJ-*  
*catch=up-UR:ASP*

We'll just catch up with you after we find our horses.

- (189)      *nahnii isútagwimhinai*  
*naH-nii i-su<sup>2</sup>tawimVhina-i*  
*naH-I you-give=up=on-COMPL:ASP*

I just give up on you!

Cf.

- (190) suRse usútagwimhinatsi . . .  
 suti<sup>=</sup>-se u-su<sup>=</sup>tawimVhina-h/H/tsi  
 that=one-CONTR him-give=up=on-SS  
 He just gave up on him . . .
- (191) sitIse nah na?vunukIvinni  
 siti<sup>=</sup>-se naH napu-nuki-h/H/pinni  
 that=one-CONTR just ??-run=around=aimlessly-ONGO:ASP  
 She's just running around.
- (192) nahatsa pihiti OR pihiti hatsa  
 naH-hatsa pihiti<sup>=</sup> OR pihiti<sup>=</sup> hatsa  
 naH-anyway greedy OR greedy anyway  
 He's just greedy anyway.
- (193) nahma naakati itsi?i?eti  
 naH-ma naka-ti<sup>=</sup> itsi?i-?e-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 naH-it be, become-GEN:ASP cold-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 It's cold off and on.
- (194) kiyiwi?a nahri?ahwetI. nise ke urókwIsu?aki?i.  
 nahnií ohnaisi usúpana?itI. Ponka u.  
 kiyiwi-?a na-ti?ahwe-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 nii-se ke u-tokwisu?a-ki-i  
 naH-nii ohnai-si<sup>=</sup> u-su<sup>=</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>=</sup>.  
 Ponka u.  
 name-OBJ REFLEX-say-GEN:ASP  
 I-CONTR NEG him-believe-BEN-COMPL:ASP  
 naH-I that-DIRECT-si him-know-GEN:ASP  
 name he  
 He's saying he's a Kiowa, but I don't believe him.  
 I've known him a long time and he's a Ponka.
- (195) noonii ohnakwi tivitsi tuhka tipenika manáaka . . .  
 noo-nii o-nakwih tipitsi tuhka ti<sup>=</sup>peni-ka ma-naha-  
 h/H/ka<sup>=</sup>  
 noo-I that-direction real deep cliff-at his-live, be-  
 DS  
 Well, (I'll wait) till he gets to the steepest part  
 of the cliff. . .

- (196) suRse Tsaaya, "nooma nahma pikIBinitu?i"  
 suti<sup>-</sup>se tsaaya "noo-ma naH-ma piki-h/Hpinni-tu?i  
 that=one-CONTR name "noo-it naH-it  
 ring-ONGO:ASP-UR:ASP

Tsaaya (said), "Just let it go/be, let it ring."

- (197) mi?aru?i nii nah OR nah nii mi?aru?i  
 mi?a-tu?i nii naH / naH nii mi?a-tu?i  
 go-UR:ASP I naH / naH I go-UR:ASP

I'm going (despite what you say)!

#### witsa OBLIGATION

witsa 'should, ought,' generally occurs as witsaki; -ki may be the benefactive/causative suffix, but this has not been determined. witsa or witsaki generally occurs in second position, with a wide range of translations. Note, in the various contexts below, that this modal particle always has the function of keeping the speaker out of focus, and is thus deferential in nature.<sup>15</sup>

- (198) nah witsaki suri urivunnikwa  
 naH witsa-ki suti<sup>=</sup> utii-puni-h/H/kwa<sup>=</sup>  
 just witsa-ki that=one them-see-MTN=AWAY

He thought he'd better go see them.

Cf.

- (199) urinásutahmItsi u urivunnikwai  
 utii-nasu<sup>-</sup>tahmi-h/H/tsi u utii-puni-h/H/kwa<sup>=</sup>-i  
 them-remember-SS he them-see-MTN=AWAY-COMPL:ASP

He thought about them and went to see them.

Occasionally, witsa receives a hortatory or polite imperative

- (200) "tanni witsa nah narimi?aimaaki"  
 tanni witsa naH natimi-ai-maka  
 we=INCL witsa just town-make-give

Let's build a town here.

(201) "nawitsaki mimi namakamuki"  
 naH-witsaki mimmi na-makamuki  
 just-witsaky you=PL REFLEX-get=ready

"You-all had better get ready!"

(202) nawitsaki inni nirisunai  
 naHwitsa-ki inni ni-tisunai  
 just witsa-ki you me-forgive

Forgive me.

When I attempted to elicit witsa with first person singular subject, as in the sentence "I have to go to Lawton.", I was told that one wouldn't say that. The speaker would either give a reason, or simply say:

(203) so?okiniki nii rivitsimi?ai  
 soo-kahni-ka nii tipitsi-mi?a-i  
 many-house-to I really-go-COMPL:ASP

I'm really (i.e., definitely) going to Lawton.

Note the following sentence. The urgent need to escape from a perilous situation is expressed by the modal; it is not reflected in the English translation:

(204) "noh witsaki nikwif hakaniku nura watsinuran"  
 noo witsaki nikwih hakaniku nuta watsi-nuta-n  
 just witsaki we=DL=EXCL how run=away  
 hide-run=away-COMPL:ASP

"I wonder how we could get away."

#### kia INFERENTIAL

kia is translated as 'maybe'; its meaning ranges from doubtful to almost certain (as in, "I assume. . .") depending on context and possibly on the use of the particles noo and naH (see above).  
 kia is seldom independently stressed, and is usually postclitic to a

preceding element, though it can be proclitic as well. When proclitic, it receives a primary stress because it is then the first syllable of the word.

*kia* reflects speaker's judgement; the first person singular pronoun does not occur with it. It occurs in one of three positions. When modifying the sentence it is either in first position (with or without contrastive *-se*; I have not observed it with the topic-marking *-tsa*) or in second position. When modifying a predication within a sentence, it follows the doubted element. When found with a demonstrative, a previously-mentioned referent has the normal preceding *s-* (see Section 4.1.7.1). When the referent is vague, the form *usi* is used. This is a combination of *u-* demonstrative plus emphatic *-si* (see Section 4.1.7.1).

(205)      *nahkia u tsanakati*  
              *naH-kia u tsanaka<sup>-</sup>-ti<sup>-</sup>*  
              just-kia he rich-PRED

I think he's rich.

Cf.

(206)      *tsanakati u*  
              *tsanaka<sup>-</sup>-ti<sup>-</sup> u*  
              rich-PRED he

He is rich.

And cf.

(207)      *utsánakaiyuna nii supana?iti*  
              *u-tsanaka<sup>-</sup>-yu-na nii su<sup>-</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>-</sup>*  
              him/his-rich-PRED-NGM I know-GEN:ASP

I know he's rich.



- (208) nahkiase suri hayarokweeYU  
 naH-kia-se sutii<sup>=</sup> hayatokwe-yu  
 just-kia-CONTR those=ones four-PRED  
 There were approximately four of them.

Cf.

- (209) hayarokwetise nini  
 hayatokwe-ti<sup>=</sup>-se ninni  
 four-PRED-CONTR we=EXCL  
 There were four of us.
- (210) nahkiase suri urihkán  
 naH-kia-se suti<sup>=</sup> u-tiHka-n  
 just-kia-CONTR that=one it-eat-COMPL:ASP  
 No doubt he ate them.
- (211) "inni kianah tsihariyaihumi?a" me uniikwi  
 inni kia-naH tsiha-tiyai-hu<sup>=</sup>(1)-mi?a me uniikwi  
 you kia-just starve-die-ACCOMP:ASP-go  
 QUOT him-tell  
 "You must be starving to death," he said to him."
- (212) "hakanikukia siti mahrimakwitso?aihutu?i"  
 hakaniku-kia siti<sup>=</sup> mahti-makwitso?ai-hu<sup>=</sup>(2)-tu?i  
 how-kia this=one them=DL-save-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP  
 "How in the world is he going to save them?"

Examples of *kia* with negative *ke* include:

- (213) nahkia ma ke tsukupi  
 naH-kia ma ke tsuku-<sup>=</sup>pi  
 just-kia he NEG old=man-ABS  
 I doubt that he is old. (i.e., that he is an old man)  
 OR I don't know if he's old.
- (214) nahkia urii ke pitigwaiti  
 naH-kia utii<sup>=</sup> ke piti-wai-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 just-kia they NEG arrive-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 I doubt if they're coming.  
 OR They could be coming.

Cf:

- (215) nivítiru?iha urii ke supana?itĩ  
ni-piti-tu?i-ha utii= ke su=pana?i-ti=  
my-arrive-UR-NOM they NEG know-GEN:ASP

They doubt if I'm coming.  
OR They don't know if I'm coming.

- (216) nahkia urii pitiru?i ti?ano kee  
naH-kia utii= piti-tu?i ti?ano kee  
just-kia they arrive-UR:ASP or no

Maybe they'll come and maybe they won't.

The following sentences demonstrate *kia* applied to a phrase rather than a sentence:

- (217) inaikia u pitiru?i  
i-nai-kia u piti-tu?i  
this-direction-kia he arrive-UR:ASP

He could be coming from this direction.

- (218) mudyu?ane?inakwitsa soo eti kia na tihkapĩ  
pimoróo ti?anoo nimikutsuu naiyikwiitĩ  
mu-yu?ane?i-nakwi-tsa soo etii kia naH tiHka=pih  
pimotóo ti?ano nimikutsuu nayukwi-ti=  
front-warm-wind-direction-TOP a=lot those kia  
just eat-NOM cow or buffalo graze-GEN:ASP

To the south there could be a lot of meat; cows or buffalo grazing.

- (219) nomi?atsi kia usi nookia hahkapuhtu nomi?an  
nomi?a-h/H/tsi kia u-si= noo-kia haHkaHpu=-Htu=  
nomi?a-n  
move-SS kia that-EMPHAT just-kia where-to  
move-COMPL:ASP

They didn't know which way they moved.

When *kianoo* precedes *hiĩ*, 'how much', the combination demonstrates ignorance of exact quantity.

- (220) tukanitsah pisunii kiano hiiti nimikooko?a tihkán  
tukani-tsa pisunii kia-noo hiiti nimi-kooko-?a  
tiHka-n night-TOP skunk kia-noo how=much=OBJ  
Comanche-chicken-OBJ eat-COMPL:ASP

Last night the skunk killed some of our chickens.

- (221) surise kiano hii arika kwiitín  
 suti<sup>̄</sup>-se kia-noo hii atika kwiiti-n  
 that=one-CONTR kia-noo how=much deer=OBJ  
 shoot-COMPL:ASP

He shot repeatedly at the deer.

But cf:

- (222) nookia nii hiʔitii paiyitsiʔanii kwiʔiti  
 noo-kia nii hiʔitii payitsi-ʔa-nii kwiʔiti-i  
 just-kia I how=much=PL=OBJ duck-a-PL=OBJ  
 shoot-COMPL:ASP

I don't know how many ducks he shot.

### ki, kiki OPTATIVE

Speaker's wish is expressed with *ki*, usually reduplicated as *kiki*, optionally followed by *noo*. *kiki* is almost always the first element of the sentence. and the first person singular subject pronoun is usually not present. The object of the desire is in subjective case and the verb is non-finite. Examples are:

- (223) kiki ma tavetoʔi  
 kiki ma tape-toʔi  
 kiki it sun-emerge (sg subj)

I hope the sun will shine.

- (224) kiki ma noo taikwihne  
 kiki ma noo tai-kwihne  
 kiki it just us=PL=INCL-cold

I wish it was winter.

- (225) kiki ma noo ke ima  
 kiki ma noo ke ima  
 kiki it just NEG rain

I hope it doesn't rain.

- (226) kikitsa Tracy nigwaka piiti  
 kiki-tsa Tracy ni-waka piti  
 kiki-TOP name my-at arrive

I wish Tracy were here.  
 OR I wish Tracy would come.

- (227) kiki nii noo<sup>o</sup>  
 kiki nii noo<sup>o</sup>  
 kiki I just

I wish I could.

- (228) kiki nii umáku<sup>paa</sup>  
 kiki nii u-ma-ku<sup>pa</sup>  
 kiki I him-INST(hand)-kill(sg obj)

I wish I could just squeeze him to death!

The verb for 'wish, desire' is nasúyake /na-su<sup>=</sup>-yake/ (REFLEX-INST(mind)-cry). It may be used with first person, but the ki construction is preferred:

- (229) nise ukwásu<sup>o</sup>i nasúyake  
 nii-se u<sup>=</sup>-kwasu<sup>o</sup>u<sup>=</sup>-i na-su<sup>=</sup>-yake  
 I-CONTR her-dress-OBJ REFLEX-INST(mind)-cry

I wished for her dress.

- (230) nise kinni noo uhka kwasu<sup>o</sup>i hip<sup>i</sup>Bai  
 nii-se ki-nii noo uHka kwasu<sup>o</sup>u<sup>=</sup>-i hi<sup>=</sup>pah-pai  
 I-CONTR ki-I just that-OBJ dress-OBJ thing-have

I wish I had that dress.

#### kikati            EXPECTATIVE

kikati expresses the speaker's expectations about the outcome of the predication. It is always the first element of the sentence. The verb in a sentence with this modal often is marked with the prefinal aspect marker -hu<sup>=</sup>(2), INTENTIVE (Section 4.3.6.1.1). In combination with -hu<sup>=</sup>(2), the outcome of the event usually fails to meet the expressed expectation (i.e., 'I expected something to happen, but it didn't.')

- (231) kikarinoo nii soko taʔóaihutuʔi  
 kikati-noo nii soo-kuʔ taʔo-ai-huʔ(2)-tuʔi  
 kikati-just I a=lot-ADVB name  
 make-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP  
 I thought I was going to make a lot of pound meat.
- (232) "kikari siti piʔíhi tahpétin"  
 kikati siti piʔ-íhi-i taH-peti-n  
 kikati this=one her=own-blanket-OBJ  
 INST(foot)-throw-COMPL:ASP  
 "I thought she'd kicked (off) her covers."
- (232) kikari siti titaiyunihtuʔi  
 kikati sitiʔ tiʔta-yu-ni-huʔ(2)-tuʔi  
 kikati this=one small-PRED-like-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP  
 I expected her to be small.
- (233) kikari suri tehtenseeʔa mihihímhútuʔi  
 kikati sutiʔ teH-tensee-ʔa mihi-himi-huʔ(2)-tuʔi  
 kikati that=one REDUP-ten=cents-OBJ you=DL=OBJ-  
 give(pl obj)-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP  
 I thought he was going to give you-all ten cents  
 apiece.
- Cf.  
 (234) mikwise tehtenseeʔa mihi maʔúhturuʔiha suʔa  
 mikwih-se teH-tensee-ʔa mihiʔ ma-uhtu-tuʔi-ha suʔaʔ  
 you=DL-CONTR REDUP-ten=cents-OBJ your=DL him/his-  
 give(sg obj)-UR-NOM think  
 You two thought that he'd give you ten cents apiece.
- (235) kikari igwaʔó tuhuvIYU  
 kikati iʔ-waʔó tuhu-pih-yu  
 kikati your-cat black-ARS-BE  
 I thought your cat was black.  
 OR I expected your cat to be black.
- (236) kikari nii sookIniku miʔahutuʔi  
 kikati nii soo-kaHni-H/kuʔ miʔa-huʔ(2)-tuʔi  
 kikati I many-house-to go-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP  
 I thought I was going to Lawton (but probably didn't).

Cf:

(237) kikari nii sookIniku mi?aiyu  
 kikati nii soo-kahni-H/ku<sup>2</sup> mi?a-yu  
 kikati I many-house-to go-PROG:ASP

I thought I was going to Lawton (and probably did).

### 5.3.2. Narrative particles.

The narrative particles discussed in this section: (a) demonstrate that a sentence or group of sentences is a quotation (me); (b) mark the beginning of a narrative (tia); or (c) give information about the speaker's knowledge of the narrative; if it is not first-hand knowledge, the narrative particle -ki is used. -ki often occurs with me and tia. The other narrative markers in Comanche, -tsa and -se, introduce topics and highlight information. They are discussed in Section 5.2.1. The prefix s-, which denotes assumption of the hearer's prior knowledge of a referent, is discussed in Section 4.1.7.1.

tia      NARRATIVE ONSET<sup>16</sup>

The particle which is optionally used to signal the onset of narrative is the independently stressed tia. Its function is similar to English 'Well . . . ' It may be used to begin a sentence in elicitation. tia is the first element in tiasi 'again, and' and tiano 'or' (see Section 5.5).

The first sentence below begins a narrative of an event that happened in the speaker's childhood. The second, third and fourth sentences begin texts in which the speaker had no firsthand participation. Note that the third and fourth examples use the narrative

past marker *-ki*, and the stories begin with *soovesi /soo-pe-si/*, meaning 'much time'. Some combination of *soovesi* with *-ki*, *-tsa* (topic) and *tia* is the common beginning for a Comanche story, with the meaning 'long, long ago'; the English equivalent is 'once upon a time'. The order of the elements varies greatly, as the examples demonstrate. The fourth example, atypically, has *tia* without *-tsa* or *-ki*. The story, a Coyote tale, also (again, this is not typical) contains no examples of *-ki*. The fifth example demonstrates *-tia* within a narrative. It does not mark the beginning of the narrative, though it does introduce a list of possible choices (i.e., which kind of movie to choose).

- (238) *tia nini hayarokweti . . .*  
*tia ninni hayatokwe-tii*<sup>=</sup>  
*tia we=EXCL four-PRED=PL*

There were four of us . . .

- (239) *tiakitsa soovesi tirikuunii nipikaiyU*  
*tia-ki-tsa soo-pe-si*<sup>=</sup> *titikuu-nii ni*<sup>=</sup> *pika-yu*  
*tia-NARR-TOP much-time-EMPHAT prairie=dog-PL*  
*funeral-PROG:ASP*

Once upon a time some prairie dogs were having a funeral.

- (240) *soovesikitsa ria siti usi siki ehti taivoo,*  
*tirikIRaivoonii, sikIKi ka?win*  
*soo-pe-si-ki-tsa tia sitii*<sup>=</sup> *u-si*<sup>=</sup> *si-ki etii*<sup>=</sup> *taipo*  
*ti-tiHka-taipo-nii si-HkVh-ki ka?wi-n*  
*much-time-si-NARR:PAST-TOP tia these that-EMPHAT*  
*this-NARR:PAST those thief-PL this-at-NARR:PAST*  
*gather-COMPL:ASP*

Once upon a time some outlaws had a meeting.

- (241) *surise oha?ahnakatI tia sikI nahahupitI*  
*suti*<sup>=</sup> *-se ohaahnaka*<sup>=</sup> *ti tia si-HkVh naha-hu*<sup>=</sup> *(1)-piti*  
*that=one-CONTR coyote tia this-at*  
*become-ACCOMP:ASP-arrive*

That old Sly Fox, here he is again.

- (242) "taveeni tanni ke hinna hanniwaitii. tikftsi  
 mikwina hinna hannitu?i. mihisú?anni tia nookia  
 mikwina nunurawi?a tipunnipha sugwaiti"  
 me suri uhrinikwi  
 tapeni tanni ke hina hani-wai-tii=  
 tiHka-h/H/tsi mikwih-na hina hani-tu?i.  
 mihi-su?a-nni tia noo-kia mikwih-na  
 nunutawi?a ti-puni-<sup>=</sup>pih-a suwaiti=  
 me suti=<sup>=</sup>uhti-niikwi  
 afternoon we=INCL NEG something-OBJ do-UR-GEN=PL  
 eat-SS you=DL-? what-OBJ do-UR your=DL ?.  
 your-think, feel-NOM?  
 tia just-maybe you=DL-? movie-OBJ IND OBJ-see-NOM-OBJ  
 want-GEN  
 QUOT that=one them=DL-tell

"We're not going to do anything this afternoon.  
 After eating, we can do whatever you two want to do.  
 Maybe you want to see a movie," he said to them.

tia occurs in elicited sentences, but I am not sure of its meaning  
 in that context. Below are several examples to show something of  
 the range of tia in sentences which arose during elicitation.  
 Although tia is optional, if the sentence is repeated tia is also  
 repeated. All the sentences below report on first person experi-  
 ences or actions.

- (243) tia nii Marlenema?ai yuitihkan surise ninárimu?ikin  
 tia nii Marlene-ma?ai yui-tiHka-n. suti=<sup>=</sup>se  
 ni-natimu?i-ki-n  
 tia I name-with evening-eat-COMPL:ASP that=one-CONTR  
 me-tell, gossip-BEN-COMPL:ASP

Marlene and I had supper together and she brought me  
 up on a lot of things. (2 Comanche sentences)

- (244) tia nii tsihariyaihumi?a tihkán  
 tia nii tsiha-tiyai-hu<sup>=</sup>(1)-mi?a tiHka-n  
 tia I hunger-die(sg subj)-ACCOMP:ASP-go  
 eat-COMPL:ASP

I ate because I was hungry.

- (245) itékwahpinniku nii ria titsahkinibinni  
 i<sup>=</sup>-tekwa-h/Hpinni-ku nii tia titsaHkina-h/Hpinni  
 your-talk-ONGO:ASP-DS I tia sew-ONGO:ASP

I was sewing while you were talking.



- (246) uhka nii ria kanarenahpi?a punin  
 uHka nii tia kana-tenaH-pi-?a puni-n  
 that=OBJ I tia skinny-man-ABS-OBJ see-COMPL:ASP

I saw the thin man.

**-ki NARRATIVE PAST**

**-ki**, which is generally found in sentential second position, marks narrative which lies outside the speaker's personal knowledge - both folktales and events which the speaker learned of from others. It is postclitic to a previous element. Its occurrence with **tia** is illustrated above, and its frequent occurrence with the quotative **me** is shown in the following section. This section shows **-ki** with some other forms, always on the first element of the sentence. As this is often a demonstrative, **-ki** most often occurs following a demonstrative, though the frequency of that distribution is not reflected here.

- (247) sitikise níkihútu?i  
 siti=-ki-se níhka-hu=(2)-tu?i  
 these=ones-ki-CONTR dance-INTENT:ASP-UR:ASP

They were going to dance.

- (248) etikise inní uva?aikI mi?a?eti . . .  
 etii=-ki-se inní u-pa?ai-HkVh mi?a-?e-ti=  
 those=ones-ki-CONTR animal him-above-at  
 go-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

Those animals passed by him . . .

- (249) uháávikukise siti píara?ó . . .  
 u-hapi-ku-ki-se siti= pia-ta?ó  
 him-lie(sg subj)-DS-ki-CONTR this=one big-pound=meat

While he's lying down, that big Pound Meat . . .

- (250) weekitsiki siti popiki  
wee-h/H/ki-H/htsi-ki siti= poHpi-h/H/ki  
get=down-MTN=TOWARD-SS-ki this=one jump-MTN=TOWARD

Getting down (from his horse), he jumped.

- (251) urimatikise "nohi! timavi so'aiyukia . . ."  
utii-ma=ti=-ki-se nohi timapi so'aiyukia  
them-PART-ki-CONTR very no=good

One of them said, "He's just no good! . . ."

#### me QUOTATIVE

The quotative particle *me* occurs with and without verbs of speaking. It is independently stressed. It is also found in the tag question *haame* 'say yes', which is discussed in Section 5.2.4.1. The following are elicited forms. I gloss transitive verbs of speaking as 'tell' and intransitive verbs of speaking as 'say'.

- (252) nise sime unifikwin  
nii-se si-me u-niikwi-n  
I-CONTR si-me her-tell-COMPL

I said to her. OR I told her.

- (253) surise sime urinifikwi  
sutii=-se si-me utii-nikwi-n  
those=ones-CONTR si-me them-tell-COMPL

They said to them. OR They told them.

- (254) nise sime yiikwi  
nii-se si-me yikwi  
I-CONTR si-me say(sg subj)

I say.

- (255) nikwise sime yiikwi  
nikwih-se si-me yikwi  
they=DL si-me say(pl subj)

They (2) say.

Examples from texts include:

- (256) surikise weekitsi "keesika, keesika" meki  
 suti<sup>-</sup>ki-se wee-h/H/ki-h/H/tsi kesi-ka, kesi-ka me-ki  
 that=one-NARR:PAST-CONTR get=down-MTN=TOWARD-SS  
 wait-PL=IMPER wait-PL=IMPER me-NARR  
 Dismounting, he said, "Wait, wait!"
- (257) "inni kianah tsihariyaihumi?a" me uniiikwi. surise  
 "hāā" meki.  
 inni kia-naH tsiha-tiyai-hu<sup>-</sup>(1)-mi?a me u-niikwi.  
 suti<sup>-</sup>-se "yes" me-ki  
 you INFER-just hungry-die-ACCOMP:ASP-go me him-tell  
 that=one-CONTR yes me-NARR:PAST  
 "You must be starving to death," he (Pound Meat) said  
 to him. He (Coyote) said, "Yes."
- (258) "suRIsi tuhku ma" meki yikwiitf  
 suti<sup>-</sup>-si<sup>-</sup> tuHku ma meki yikwi-ti<sup>-</sup>  
 that=one-EMPHAT same he me-NARR say(pl subj)-GEN:ASP  
 "He's the same one," he said.
- (259) "simi?oyetika<sup>17</sup> itsumiikitsi niihka" me mariniikwi  
 simi?oyeti-ka itsu?umi-ki-h/H/tsi niHka me  
 matii-niikwi  
 all-PL=IMPER close=eyes-NARR=PAST-SS dance me them-say  
 "Everybody close your eyes and dance," he said  
 to them.
- (260) surise "hāā nahniī ivuhtu nii mi?ari suvuhtu" mekiise  
 suri piara?o  
 suti<sup>-</sup>-se hāā naH-nii i-H/pu<sup>-</sup>-H/tu<sup>-</sup> nii mi?a-ti<sup>-</sup>  
 su-H/pu<sup>-</sup>-H/tu<sup>-</sup> me-ki-se suti<sup>-</sup> pia-ta?o  
 that=one-CONTR yes just-I this-way-to I go-GEN  
 that-way-to me-NARR:PAST-CONTR that=one  
 big-pound=meat  
 "Yes, I'm going that way and I'll go by there,"  
 said that big Pound Meat.
- (261) "hāā" mese suri patsi  
 hāā me-se suti<sup>-</sup> patsi  
 yes me-CONTR that=one older=sister  
 The older sister said, "Yes."

The use of me is quite frequent, but quotation does occur

without it, as the following chain of quotes demonstrates:

- (262) "hinatsa inni."  
 "iʔáhpíʔa nii bunnípha sugwaiti."  
 uʔáhpí suku toʔIki.  
 "háā, hinatsa inni."  
 "kitseena, nahtsaki inni uhka ratihkiʔa tsatoʔitsi  
 írihkán."  
 hina-tsa inni  
 iʔ-aʔpí-ʔa nii puni-ʔpíh-ha suwai-tiʔ  
 uʔ-aʔpí su-h/kuʔ toʔi-h/h/ki  
 háā hina-tsa inni  
 kitseena, naH-tsa-ki inni uHka taaʔ-tiHki-ʔa  
 tsaH-toʔi-h/h/tsi i-tiHka-n  
 what=OBJ-TOP you  
 your-father-OBJ I see-NOM want-GEN:ASP  
 his-father there-at emerge-MTN=TOWARD  
 hi what-OBJ-TOP you.  
 Coyote, just-TOP-NARR=PAST you that=OBJ our=INCL-  
 put=away(sg obj)-OBJ INST(hand)-emerge-SS  
 you=OBJ-eat-COMPL:ASP
- "What do you want?"  
 "I want to see your father."  
 His father appeared.  
 "Hi, what do you want?"  
 "Coyote, did you (disinter and) eat the corpse  
 we just put away?"

In the following examples *me* functions as a verb with instrumental prefixes:

- (263) mahrikímehkiiti nii  
 mahti-ki-me-h/h/ki-tiʔ nii  
 them=DL INST(teeth)-me-MTN=TOWARD-GEN:ASP I  
 I'm coming to give them a tongue-lashing.
- (264) mahriníhnehkíti nii  
 mahti-niH-me-h/h/ki-tiʔ nii  
 them=DL INST(voice)-me-MTN=TOWARD-GEN:ASP I  
 I'm coming to tell them off.

#### 5.4. Adverbs

A number of elements are used adverbially, including post-positions (Section 4.1.6), instrumental prefixes (Section 4.3.3.1) and elements based on demonstrative stems (Section 4.1.7.1). There

are many languages - English is one - in which lexical items such as 'because,' 'while,' 'before,' 'since' and so forth are used as sentence adverbs. In Comanche these concepts are expressed by the subordinating suffixes described in Section 5.6.2. This section discusses affixes which function adverbially which are not discussed in the sections noted above, as well as a small sample of the many lexical items that are used adverbially in the language. The suffixes are -si, -ku<sup>̄</sup>, -ni and -tsi.

#### 5.4.1. Adverbial suffixes.

##### -si

-si occurs with adverbs of time, location and manner. It is emphatic, but the conditions governing its use have not been discovered. -si is also found with the demonstrative stems (Section 4.1.7.1) and is also used in reflexive constructions (Sections 4.2.5-4.2.6).

(265) mamárikaru?ih nii miitsisí  
ma-matika-tu?i nii niitsi-si  
it-fix-UR I soon-si

I'm going to fix it soon.

(266) ohnaisi simi pohiyahkawi  
o-hnai-si simi pohiya-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-i  
that-from-si someone walk-MTN=AWAY-COMPL:ASP

Someone is walking this way.

(267) surisu?ase nimiwaikusí<sup>18</sup> tihkapha tihkán  
sutii<sup>̄</sup>-su?a-se nimi-wai-ku<sup>̄</sup>-si tiHka<sup>̄</sup>-píh-ha tiHka-n  
those=ones-too, also-CONTR our=EXCL-like-ADVB-si  
eat-NOM-OBJ eat-COMPL:ASP

We had meat for dinner and they did, too.

-ku<sup>̄</sup>

The suffix -ku<sup>̄</sup> is frequently used to mark adverbs, generally those of manner. It is also found suffixed to the indefinite pronoun *hakani* 'how' (Section 4.2.7) and is used in forming oblique relatives (Section 5.6.3.2).

- (268) *nari?iyaiku nii amagwimhinai*  
*nari?iyai-ku<sup>̄</sup> nii ama-wimVhina-i*  
 dangerous-ku<sup>̄</sup> I ??-sick-COMPL:ASP

I had a very bad case of pneumonia.

- (269) *tuhkani ma kihtaku nietsi ehka huupihta tsahsáro?in*  
*tuHkani ma kiHta-ku<sup>̄</sup> nie-H/h/tsi eHka huu<sup>̄</sup>pi-Hta*  
*tsaH-sa-to?i-n*  
 night it strong-ku<sup>̄</sup> wind-SS those-OBJ limb-OBJ  
 INST(hand)-??-emerge-COMPL:ASP

Last night the wind was blowing so strongly it blew some limbs off.

The translation of the following sentence is adjectival, but *tsaaku<sup>̄</sup>* does not modify the noun 'house' because it is separated from it not only by the second-position subject pronoun but by the beneficiary of the action. A better translation would be something like, 'He built the house for Patty well.'

- (270) *tsaku u Patty?a kahni?ai ki?i*  
*tsaa-ku<sup>̄</sup> u Patty-?a kahni-ai-ki<sup>̄</sup>-i*  
 good-ku<sup>̄</sup> he name-OBJ house-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP

He built a nice house for Patty.

The form *tuku<sup>̄</sup>* has -ku<sup>̄</sup> as its final syllable. It is glossed as 'only'.

- (271) *nikéhewahku ruku inni ninimai*  
*ni-kehewa-h/H/ku tuku inni ni-nima-i*  
 me-gone-DS tuku you me-call-COMPL:ASP

I was gone when you called me.

- (272) suRise pimmi utsáhtiwahka suri tuku ainahapí  
 suti<sup>̄</sup>-se pimmi u-tsaH-tiwa-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> suti<sup>̄</sup> tuku  
 ai-naha-<sup>̄</sup>píh  
 that=one-CONTR it-INST(hand)-open-DS that=one-tuku  
 bad-become-PRED

When he opened it (a jar), it was spoiled.

-ni

-ni, 'like', does not occur frequently. It is also discussed in Sections 4.1.4.2 and 4.1.7.1.

- (273) nise utítaiyunina sua  
 nii-se u<sup>̄</sup>-titaa-yu-ni-na sua  
 I-CONTR hers-small-BE-ni-NOM think, feel

I expected her to be small.

-tsi

-tsi is an intensifying suffix which is probably related to the nominal suffix -tsi discussed in Section 4.1.5. It may not be synchronically segmentable as an adverbial suffix. It occurs as the final element of -pitsi and -titsi, which often occur as suffixes on modifiers (see below and Section 4.1.7.2). They are probably etymologically related to the Shoshoni absolutive suffixes discussed in Note 2, Chapter Four. Like the emphatic -si discussed above, the occurrence of -tsi is not predictable. -si can optionally occur after -pitsi and -titsi. Examples of adverbs which end in -tsi are found in the sections below.

- (274) tivitsi iri u  
tipitsi iti u  
tipitsi nice he

He's very nice.

#### 5.4.2. Temporal adverbs.

There are a large number of lexical items which are temporal adverbs. A few are: oʔotVsy 'every time', usúnni 'always', ke . . . uʔane 'never', pietsVku 'morning, tomorrow', tuukani 'night' ikihtsi or ikitsi 'now', miitsi 'soon' tipitsi 'real, very', tapeni 'day' and so forth. These elements usually are the first element in the sentence, and may be highlighted by -se or -tsa.

- (275) oʔoRisi nii ninaʔnininii nigwaka pitiʔeku uhri  
tihkanikiʔeti  
oʔotVsi nii ni-naʔ-nimi-nii ni-waka piti-ʔe-ku  
u-htii tiHka-hani-kiʔ-ʔe-tiʔ  
every=time I my-RECIP-Comanche-PL=OBJ me-at  
arrive-REPET:ASP-DS them eat-do-BEN-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

Every time my kinfolk come to visit me I  
cook for them.

- (276) ke nii uʔaneti tihya toʔiti  
ke nii uʔaneti tihya toʔi-tiʔ  
NEG I ever horse get=on(sg subj)-GEN:ASP

I never got on a horse before.

- (277) miitsi nii puhikahniku miʔatsi puhikahnaruʔi  
miitsi nii puhikahni-H/kuʔ miʔa-h/H/tsi  
puhikahni-tahna-tuʔi  
soon I metal, money-house-to go-SS  
metal, money-plant-UR:ASP

I'm going to the bank after a while to deposit  
some money.

- (278) miitsisivikwise vitin  
miitsi-si-pikwih-se piti-n  
soon-EMPHAT-DL=IMPER-CONTR return-COMPL:ASP

Return soon!



- (279) utúhkanikise siti tífretirikúúni evenaiki nohi?iYU  
 u<sup>=</sup>-tuHkani-ki-se siti<sup>=</sup> tite-titikúú-nii  
 epe-nai-HkVh nohi-?i-yu  
 its-night-NARR:FAST-CONTR those=ones small=child-  
 prairie=dog-PL other-direction-at  
 play-REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP  
 At night the prairie dog's small children were playing  
 outside.
- (280) Normankaiyutu?ih nii kwasiki pietsku  
 Norman-ka-yu-tu?i nii kwasiki pietsvhku  
 name-at-PRED-UR:ASP I after, following morning  
 I expect I'll be in Norman day after tomorrow.
- (281) ikitsi-se suri . . . mi?ava?aiti  
 ikitsi-se suti<sup>=</sup> . . . mia-pa?ai-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 now-CONTR that=one . . . moon-upon-GEN:ASP  
 And now, the one (who did the deed) . . .  
 is on the moon.
- (282) nikwase ikihtsi tiri?ai  
 nikwih-ha-se ikihtsi titi?ai  
 we=DL=EXCL-WH-CONTR now work  
 Are we to start work now?

#### 5.4.3. Locative adverbs.

Most locative adverbial notions are expressed through the use of postpositions and demonstratives. A few examples of other locatives are:

- (283) Larrytsa miititsi  
 Larry-tsa miititsi  
 name-TOP nearby  
 Larry is nearby.
- (284) sitise ke pa?ati punnití  
 sitii<sup>=</sup>-se ke pa?a<sup>=</sup>-ti puni-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 these=ones NEG up, on-PRED-OBJ look-GEN:ASP  
 They didn't look up.

The word pitsi<sup>=</sup> 'here, back here' is sometimes proclitic to the

verb, and at other times behaves as a separate unit:

- (285) pitsipiti?i urii  
pitsi-piti-i utii=  
back=here-arrive-COMPL:ASP they

They came back.

- (286) pitsi o viti?i  
pitsi o piti-i  
back=here he arrive-COMPL:ASP

He's back (here).

#### 5.4.4. Manner adverbs.

Adverbs of manner are formed in a variety of ways. Lexical items such as noha 'almost' and tibitsi 'real' are common:

- (287) noha suri ukwakúhka  
noha suti= u-kwaku-h/Hka=  
almost that=one him-beat-STAT:ASP

He almost beat him (in a race).

- (288) kwasiki miama ma tai tivitsi itsi?itu?i  
kwasiki mia-ma ma tai tipitsi itsi?i-tu?i  
next month-?? it us=INCL real cold-UR:ASP

Next month it will be real cold.

tiasi 'again, often, also, too, and' is basically an adverb.

It is frequently used as a coordinator, and is also discussed in

Section 5.5. Examples of tiasi when used adverbially include:

- (289) tiasi u  
tiasi u  
tiasi he

He's at it again.

- (290) paatsa ehki kunase tiasi  
paa-tsa e-EVh kuna-se tiasi  
water-TOP here-at wood-CONTR tiasi

There is water and wood here.

- (291)      kenii riasi itif?ahwekiwaiti  
ke-nii tiasi i<sup>-</sup>-ti?aHwe-ki-wai-ti<sup>=</sup>  
NEG-I tiasi your-tell-BEN-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP
- I'm telling your for the last time! (LIT: I'm not telling you again.)
- (292)      tiasi nii aati sona-?ai-tu?i  
tiasi nii a<sup>=</sup>ta-i sona-ai-tu?i  
tiasi I other-OBJ quilt-make-UR:ASP
- I'm going to make another quilt.
- (293)      tiasi nii sona?ai?eti  
tiasi nii sona-ai-e-ti<sup>=</sup>  
tiasi I quilt-make-DISTRIB:ASP-GEN:ASP
- I also do quilting.
- (294)      ". . . tiasi nininsutamakan" me suri yikwiti tiasi  
yaken  
tiasi ni-ninVsu<sup>=</sup>tamaka-n me suti<sup>=</sup> yikwi-ti<sup>=</sup> tiasi  
yake-n  
tiasi me/mi-forget-COMPL:ASP QUOT that=one  
say-GEN:ASP tiasi cry-COMPL:ASP
- ". . . just when I'm forgetting," he said, crying again.
- hatsa, 'anyway', is an adverbial element which seems to be used mainly in narrative, as a speaker's aside. It can occur postclitic to other items or as an unbound word. hatsa seems to modify states and not actions. One cannot say, for instance, \*nahatsa nii mi?aru?i 'I'm going anyway.' /naH-hatsa nii mi?a-tu?i/ (just-anyway I go-UR:ASP).
- (296)      piahipeti hatsa  
pia-hi<sup>=</sup>pe-ti<sup>=</sup> hatsa  
big-how=much-GEN hatsa
- He's big anyway.
- (297)      piara noohatsa kihkaku u natsitimihkaku  
pia-ta noo-hatsa kiHka-ku<sup>=</sup> u na-tsitimi-h/H/kaku  
big-?? just-hatsa hard-ADVB it REFLEX-lock-DS
- It's locked up real hard.

kesi 'yet; before' is probably a combination of negative ke and the emphatic suffix -si described in this section, as it often has a negative meaning:

- (298) kesi nii namakamuki  
kesi nii na-makamuki  
kesi I REFLEX-ready

I'm not ready yet.

- (299) nohkopitsa kesi kwasiRI  
OR kesitsa noHkopI kwasiRI  
noHko-<sup>̄</sup>pih-tsa kesi kwasi-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
OR kesi-tsa noHko-<sup>̄</sup>pih kwasi-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
bake=bread-ABS-TOP kesi cook-GEN:ASP  
OR kesi-TOP bake=bread-ABS cook-GEN:ASP

The bread is not done.

- (300) inávopha nii vunnipha sugwaiti kesi uhka  
inásuwatsi?iku  
i<sup>̄</sup>-napo-<sup>̄</sup>pih-ha ni-puni-<sup>̄</sup>pih-ha suwai?ti kesi  
uHka i-nasuwatsi?i-h/E/ku  
your-picture-NOM-OBJ I see-NOM-OBJ want-GEN:ASP kesi  
it=OBJ you=OBJ-forget-DS

I want to see that picture before you forget.

A number of modifiers, including "true adjectives" (see Section 4.1.7.2), are also used adverbially. They are often compounded with the verb (Section 4.3.3.4). When they are not compounded, the adverbial -ku<sup>̄</sup> is frequently suffixed to the modifying element.

- (301) piawa?akitu?i nii  
pia-wa?aki-tu?i nii  
big-yell, holler-UR:ASP I

I'm going to holler loud(ly).

- (302) ai urii nisukarii  
ai utii<sup>̄</sup> nisuka-tii<sup>̄</sup>  
bad those=ones feel-GEN:ASP=PL

They're sad.

- (303) nise nanʔsuyakeku uhri makan  
 nii-se nanʔsuyake-ku<sup>ʔ</sup> uhti maka-n  
 I-CONTR beautiful-ADVB them give, feed-COMPL:ASP  
 I sure fed them well. (i.e., "a delicious dinner")
- (304) sitʔse tammaku yahken  
 siti-se tamma-ku<sup>ʔ</sup> yake-n [+H]  
 that=one-CONTR a=lot-ADVB cry=DUR:ASP-COMPL:ASP  
 He cried a lot.
- (305) haʔwokaku nii uwʔtsikuna  
 haʔwoka-ku<sup>ʔ</sup> nii u-wʔtsvkuna  
 loose; hollow-ADVB I it-tie  
 I tied it (a horse) loosely.

### 5.5. Coordination

Coordinators and conjunctions in Comanche include the following:

No morphology

Use of postpositions

tiasi 'also', 'and'

wihnu 'And then. . .'

tianoo 'or'

pinne 'but', 'however'

#### No morphology

Nouns and clauses are linked in a variety of ways in Comanche. They may be simply juxtaposed without any postposition or particle, as in the following, which might be interpreted as two sentences. However, if it were two sentences the second would generally be topicalized in some fashion (i.e., the first word would probably be suffixed with with -tsa or -se) and third person 'he'

should be marked with s-, to mark it as having been previously mentioned:

- (306)      *nikinutsa tivehkaru?i pináhu?a u makima?aiti*  
*ni-kinu-tsa ti-pehka-tu?i pi=-nahu-?a u*  
*ma-kima-ai-ti=*  
 my-father's=father-TOP INDEF=OBJ-kill=and=eat-UR:ASP  
 his=OWN-knife-OBJ he INST(gen'l)-edge?-make-GEN:ASP

My grandfather's going to butcher; he's sharpening his knives.

The following may be two sentences, because of the appearance of -se on both interrogative pronouns:

- (307)      *hakarise mi?an sookiniku hakarise karin*  
*hakati=-se mi?a-n soo-kaHni-H/ku= hakati=-se kati-n*  
 who-CONTR go-COMPL:ASP many-house-to who-CONTR  
 sit(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP

Who went to Lawton and who stayed home?

The translation he/she did X and then Y, etc., is often found with the identical reference suffix -h/H/tsi (Section 5.6.2.1):

- (308)      *marivúnnitsi wiinitsi mari tíviniYU . . .*  
*matii-puni-h/H/tsi wini-h/H/tsi mari tipini-yu*  
 them-see-SS stop, stand-SS them-ask-PROG:ASP

He saw them and stopped and asked them. . .

#### Use of postpositions

The comitative postposition -ma?ai may be used to connect nominals:

- (309)      *Brandytza Miama?ai nahma?ai yikwikatikwi*  
*Brandy-tsa Mia-ma?ai naH-ma?ai yikwi-h/Hkatikwih*  
 name-TOP name-with REFLEX-with  
 sit(pl subj)-TEMP=STATE:ASP

Brandy and Mia are sitting together.

tiasi 'also,' 'and'

The particle most commonly used to connect words and clauses is tiasi (the narrative particle tia followed by -si) (cp. tianoo, 'or', below). -si is used with some adverbs and in a few other instances, with emphatic function.

tiasi has a range of translations, including 'again', 'often', 'also', 'too', 'and'. It may be topicalized with -se. The basic meaning seems to be 'again'. See Section 5.4.4 for tiasi when it is used adverbially.

- (310) hakari Norman-kahtu mi?an tiasi hakari sookiniku mi?an  
 hakati= Norman-kahtu= mi?a-n tiasi hakati=  
 soo-kahni-h/ku= mi?a-n  
 who name-towards go-COMPL:ASP tiasi who  
 many-house-to go-COMPL:ASP

Who went to Norman and who went to Lawton?

- (311) tiri?ai?eti nii tiasi nohi?eti  
 titi?ai-e-ti= nii tiasi nohi-e-ti=  
 work-REPET:ASP-SS I tiasi  
 play-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

I work and I play.

- (312) tiasi sunni uhrinahkaku riasi suri yitsin  
 tiasi sunni uhti-naha-h/h/kaku tiasi suti= yitsi-n  
 tiasi that=way them=DL-be-DS tiasi that=one  
 get=up(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP

They were all sleeping and then he got up again.

tiasi sustains (and connects) the action in sentences such as:

- (313) . . . eti kuhtsutaivonii tiasise sitii mahri yikwikaku  
 tiasi kunawaikin mahripehtu nuhkikin  
 etii= kuhtsu-taipo-nii tiasi-se sitii mahti yikwi-  
 h/h/kaku tiasi kunawaikin mahti-pehtu= nuhki-h/h/ki-n  
 those cow-white=man-PL tiasi-CONTR those=ones  
 them/their=DL sit (pl subj)-DS tiasi train  
 them=DL-toward run-MTN=TOWARD-COMPL:ASP

(Two women are watching a movie) . . . those cowboys (are shooting) and the two are sitting and the train is rushing towards them.

- (314) sitikise tiasikI siti yiitsikiitsi tiasI mamunakwi  
ohnai ma?anikwitikiku ohnai mamunakwi tiasI  
haavihuupi?iti. siki tiasI pikóhi eve wi?ikahkitsi  
siki haa?pi  
siti-ki-se tiasI-ki siti yitsi-h/Hki-Htsi tiasI  
ma-mu-nakwih o-Hnai ma-anikwiti-hki-Hku o-Hnai  
ma-mu-nakwih tiasI hapi-hu<sup>1</sup>(1)-piti si-ki tiasI  
pi<sup>1</sup>-kóhi e-pe wi-iHka-ki-tsi si-HkVh hapi[+H]  
this=one-NARR:PAST-CONTR tiasI-NARR:PAST this=one  
get=up(sg subj)-MTN=TOWARD-SS tiasI him-front  
-direction that-from him-roll-MTN=TOWARD-DS that-from  
him-front(nose)-direction tiasI lie(sg subj)-  
ACCOMP:ASP-arrive this-at tiasI his=OWN-guts=OBJ  
that-measure INST(gen'l)-go=in-CAUS-SS here-at  
lie=DUR:ASP

He (Coyote) got up and ran off and he (Pound Meat) is rolling along and he (C) is lying in front of him (PM) and he's making his stomach (LIT: intestines, guts) as flat as possible.

wihnu            And then . . .

wihnu is translated as 'and then', and connects sentences instead of clauses and nominals. It is frequently used in narrative. One individual's nickname was susegwihnu, a comment on this person's fondness for saying "and then he/she . . ." wihnu is generally found in first or second position, and may be topicalized with -se. Examples are:

- (315) surise wihnu pi?áhpia petsitsi pikáhnipehtu mi?an  
sutii<sup>1</sup>-se wihnu pi<sup>1</sup>-a?pi-?a petsi-h/H/tsi  
pi<sup>1</sup>-kahni-pehtu<sup>1</sup> mi?a-n  
they-se wihnu their=OWN-father-OBJ accompany-SS  
their=OWN-house-toward go-COMPL:ASP

And then they took their father and went home.



- (316) wihnu siti uwipititsi piananiookiyYU  
 wihnu siti= u-wiH-piti-h/H/tsi pia-nanioki-yu  
 wihnu this=one it/its-date, time-arrive-SS  
 big-meet-PROG:ASP

And then the date arrived and the big meeting is occurring.

- (317) sitise ihtsubmin wihnu siti mari nahoviaYU  
 sitii=-se iHtsu?umi-n wihnu siti= matii nahopia-yu  
 these=ones-CONTR close=eyes(pl subj)-COMPL wihnu  
 this=one them-REFLEX-sing-PROG:ASP

They closed their eyes and he's singing to them.

- (318) sitikwi titsahkini?ivinnI wihnuse mahri  
 puhihwitekwapI pihkán  
 sitikwih titsahkini?i-h/Hpinni wihnu-se mahtii=  
 puhihwi-tekwa-<sup>-</sup>pih piHka-n  
 these=ones-DL sew-ONGO wihnu-CONTR their=DL  
 iron-talk-NOM sound-COMPL:ASP

They were sewing and then their telephone rang.

tianoo<sup>19</sup> 'or'

'or' is expressed with tianoo, a combination of the narrative particle tia and noo, 'just' (see tiasi, 'and', above and Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.1, respectively). Examples are:

- (319) tohtiya?a tiano pihna?a nii timiru?i  
 toHtiya-?a tianoo pihna-?a nii timi-tu?i  
 bread-OBJ tianoo sweet-OBJ I buy-UR:ASP

I'm going to buy bread or sugar.

- (320) innha huuve tiano puhihuuve sugwai  
 inni-ha huup-e tianoo puhi-huup-e suwai  
 you coffee-OBJ tianoo leaf-coffee-OBJ want

Do you want coffee or tea?

'either-or' is expressed by using the modal particles such as kia 'maybe' and noo or nah 'just' in combination with tianoo:

- (321) pihna kianoo Cacheka tiano Indiahoma  
 pihna kia-noo Cache-ka tianoo Indiahoma  
 ?? INFER-just name-at tianoo name  
 It was either in Cache or Indiahoma.
- (323) nahrani tihkapha tiano?o pekwi tihkaru?i  
 naH-tanni tiHka-pih-ha tianoo pekwi tiHka-tu?i  
 just-we=INCL eat-ABS-OBJ tianoo fish=OBJ eat-UR:ASP  
 We can have meat or fish.
- (324) kianoo usitsa urii hinni usitsa urii pímoróó tiano  
 nimikutsu?a tivehkán  
 kia-noo u-si-tsa utii<sup>h</sup> hini usi-tsa utii<sup>h</sup> pímotóó  
 tiano nimi-kuHtsu-?a ti-peHka-n  
 INFER-just it-EMPHAT-TOP they what-OBJ cow tianoo  
 buffalo-OBJ INDEF=OBJ-kill-COMPL:ASP  
 (I'm) doubtful (don't remember) what it was that they  
 butchered - a cow or a buffalo.

## 'but'

'but' is frequently expressed simply by juxtaposing two clauses:

- (325) surikfse sunni yikwihpinnití su?ana tiyain  
 suti<sup>h</sup>-ki-se sunni yikwi-h/Hpinni-ti<sup>h</sup> su?ana tiyai-n  
 that=one-NARR-se that-way wiggle-ONGO:ASP-SS  
 ?? die(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP  
 He continued (trying to get out), but he died.

## pinni 'but,' 'however'

'but', 'however' is also expressed using -pinni (objective pinne), which is also occasionally translated as 'or'. Examples are:

- (326)      nitsa wia suRise vinni pikatammu  
 nii-tsa wia suti-se pinni pika-tammu  
 I-TOP wia that=one CONTR pinni pikatammu  
 (buckskin-thread)  
 I'm Wia, but he's Pikatammu. (the names of two  
 Comanche bands)
- (327)      pihnanohkopitsa tsaa pihnakamatī nonkopise pinni kee  
 pihna-noHko-pih-tsa tsaa pihna-kama-ti  
 noHko-pih-se pinni kee  
 sweet-bake=bread-ABS-TOP good sweet-taste-GEN:ASP  
 bake=bread-CONTR pinni no  
 Cake is sweet, but bread isn't.
- (328)      tanīhkanatsa kihtatī tatīnikwinase pinni  
 kenamarahpaiYU  
 ta-niHka-na-tsa kihta-ti ta-tinikwi-na-se pinni  
 kenamataHpa-yu  
 INDEF=SUBJ-dance-NOM-TOP hard-PRED  
 INDEF=SUBJ-sing-NOM-CONTR pinni easy-BE  
 Singing is easy, but dancing is hard.
- (329)      ". . . mikwiha uhka tamma tinikwiri pinne mikwi  
 ehka nakwisi?eeti pinne mikwi na?eehka kuutsutaivo?a"  
 mikwih-ha uhka tamma tinikwi-ti pinne mikwih ehka  
 nakwVsi-e-ti pinne mikwih naH ehka kuHtsu-taipo-?a  
 iou=DL-WH that-OBJ ?? sing-NOM=OBJ pinni you=DL  
 that-OBJ just kill(pl obj)-REPET:ASP-NOM=OBJ pinni  
 you=DL-WH just-those-OBJ cow-white=man-OBJ  
 "Would you two like to see a musical or a picture  
 where they kill or cowboys?"

## 5.6 Complex Sentences

### 5.6.1. Introduction.

Sentences with more than one predicate are handled in a variety of ways by Comanche speakers, from loosely-connected clauses to temporal clauses to relative clauses. Relative clauses and complements of verbs such as 'wish,' 'know' and 'say/tell' will be discussed in separate sections below. This section explores temporal clauses.

In Comanche, as in most Numic languages, the verb of a subordinate clause is marked with an affix which denotes that the clause has the same subject as the main verb (identical reference) or different (or overlapping) subject (switch reference). These suffixes - particularly the suffixes for switch reference - also mark whether the time of the two verbs is simultaneous or not. The subject of the main clause is in subjective case; the subject (and object) of the subordinate clause are in objective or possessive case when the subject is not identical with the subject of the main clause. (If it is identical, the verb has an identical reference marker and there is no nominal.) Subordinate clauses may occur in varying positions in the sentence, and they often interrupt other constituents. When a subordinate verb is sentence initial, it may be topicalized with the contrast marker *-se*. I have no examples of such a form with the topic marker *-tsa*. Examples have been chosen to demonstrate that the identical reference and switch reference suffixes occur with main verbs that have varying aspect markers and occur in main, declarative sentences as well as commands, negative sentences and questions.

For each subsection I give a schematic of the sentence which demonstrates the surface position of the clauses (i.e., this is not a deep structure). The words, although they parallel the meaning of the Comanche, are in highly idiomatic English which, I hope, will help demonstrate how reference is maintained in Comanche subordination.

## 5.6.2. Objective clauses.

## 5.6.2.1. Identical reference.

When the actions or events in the sentence are simultaneous and the subject of both clauses is the same, the subordinate verb is often marked with the generic aspect suffix *-ti*<sup>°</sup> or, optionally, as dual *-tikwih* and plural *-tii*<sup>°</sup>. Examples of same-subject simultaneous clauses include the following. The first example below demonstrates the variant word orders which are possible with subordinate clauses and is schematized as: [I sing [as=(I)=walk=along]]  
OR [I [as=(I)=walk=along] sing]

(330)      *nise tinikwami?a pohiyanoRi*    OR  
            *nise pohiyanoRi tinikwami?a*  
            *nii-se tinikwa-mi?a pohiya-no-ti*<sup>°</sup>  
            I-CONTR sing-go walk-MTN=AROUND-ti<sup>°</sup>  
            *nii-se pohiya-no-ti*<sup>°</sup> *tinikwa-mi?a*  
            I-CONTR walk-MTN=AROUND-ti<sup>°</sup> sing-go

I was singing as I was walking along.

(331)      *nise pohiyanoRi uvúnin*  
            *nii-se pohiya-no-ti*<sup>°</sup> *u-puni-n*  
            I-CONTR walk-MTN=AROUND-ti<sup>°</sup> him-see-COMPL:ASP

I walked along and saw him.

(332)      *tiri?aiti nii ke mi?aRi*  
            *titi?ai-ti*<sup>°</sup> *nii ke mi?a-ti*<sup>°</sup>  
            work-ti<sup>°</sup> I NEG go-GEN:ASP

I didn't go because I was working.    OR  
I was working and I didn't go.

(333)      *suRise ukítsikwe?eti umívo?oroki?eyu*  
            *suti*<sup>°</sup>-se *u-kítsakwe-e-ti*<sup>°</sup> *u-mu-po?otoki-?e-yu*  
            that=one-CONTR it-chew-REPET:ASP-ti<sup>°</sup> it-INST  
            (nose)-blow up-REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP

He's chewing (gum) and blowing a bubble.

- (334) sitise manámi, "haakise nivía" me yikwití  
 yaake?eyu  
 siti<sup>̄</sup>-se ma<sup>̄</sup>-nammi hakah-se ni-pia me yikwi-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 yake-?e-yu  
 this=one-CONTR her-younger=sister where-CONTR  
 my-mother QUOT say(sg subj)-ty<sup>̄</sup>  
 cry(sg subj)-REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP

The younger sister was saying, while crying,  
 "Where is my mother?"

- (335) tia nii tsihariyaihumi?aRí tihkán  
 tia nii tsiha-tiyai-hu<sup>̄</sup>(1)-mi?a-ti<sup>̄</sup> tiHka-n  
 NARR-ONSET I hunger-die(sg subj)-ACCOMP:ASP-go-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 eat-COMPL:ASP

I ate because I was hungry.

Same-subject subordinate clauses may also be marked with  
 -h/H/tsi. The actions of the verbs may or may not be simultaneous;  
 often they are not. A schematic of the first sentence below is:

[[after=doing=it] he got=up]

- (336) uví?atsi siti ni?ni?an  
 u-pi?a-h/H/tsi siti<sup>̄</sup> ni?ni?a-n  
 it-leave-h/H/tsi this=one get=up(from lying)-  
 COMPL:ASP

He quit what he was doing and got up.

- (337) uhántsi suri mi?an  
 u-háni-h/H/tsi suti<sup>̄</sup> mi?an  
 it-do-h/H/tsi that=one go-COMPL:ASP

He did it and went on.

- (338) pitsi nii mi?atsi utsíhtova?itu?i  
 pitsi nii mi?a-h/H/tsi u-tsiH-topai-tu?i  
 back I go-h/H/tsi it-INST(sharp  
 I'm going to go back and dig it up.

- (339) uvúnnitsise nii ke úmasúatí 20  
 u-puni-h/H/tsi-se nii ke u-ma-sua<sup>̄</sup>-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 him-see-h/H/tsi-CONTR I NEG him-INDEF=OBJ-think-  
 GEN:ASP

I saw him but I didn't pay any attention.

- (340) inni nah ikwási makítsi?inikítsi nah keta  
 tuhkatu matsinikaRi  
 inni naH i<sup>=</sup>-kwasu-i ma-kVtsi?iniki-h/H/tsi naH keta  
 tuHka-H/tu<sup>=</sup> matsinika-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 you just your-tail-OBJ  
 it-??-put=something=pointed=into-h/H/tsi just NEG-  
 IMPER deep-to it-put=something=pointed=into-GEN:ASP

Just stick your tail in - don't go down too far.

The average complex sentence contains one subordination, but in theory any number of subordinate verbs could occur. Attempts to elicit strings of subordinate verbs almost always result in multiple sentences. The following are from texts:

- (341) marivánnitsi wiinitsi maritívinihYU . . .  
 mati-puni-h/H/tsi wini[+n]-h/H/tsi  
 mati-tipini-yu . . .  
 them-see-h/H/tsi stand=DUR:ASP-h/H/tsi  
 them-ask-PROG:ASP

He saw them and stopped and asked them . . .

- (342) ihkina inni niho?iki pahi ko?ontsi nivúsi?akítsi  
 simi?a vusi?e urahtsi ukíhtiraatsi nii ke umuffinati  
 ihkina inni ni-ho?ikih pahi ko?oni-h/H/tsi  
 ni-pusi?a-ki-h/H/tsi simi-?a pusi?a-e uta-h/H/tsi  
 u-kiH-tita-h/H/tsi nii ke u-muH-pihna-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 first iou me-around three=OBJ turn-h/H/tsi  
 me-lice-BEN-htsi one-OBJ louse-OBJ find-h/H/tsi  
 it-INST(teeth)-pop-h/H/tsi  
 you NEG it-INST(mouth)-spit-GEN:ASP

First, go around me three times, look (in my hair)  
 for lice and find one louse and pop it, but don't  
 spit it out.

-h/H/tsi can be used in narrative to sustain the action from sentence to sentence. A schematic is: He/she did X. Having done X, he/she did Y . . . Examples are:

- (343) piipuki wipá?in. wipáitsi surii tunehtsin  
 pii<sup>=</sup>-puku-i wi-pá?in. wí-pai-h/H/tsi  
 sutii tunehtsi-n.  
 their=OWN-horse-OBJ INST(gen'l)-whip-COMPL:ASP.  
 whip-h/H/tsi those=ones run-COMPL:ASP.

They whipped their horses. Whipping their horses,  
 they ran.

- (344) niwaʔóʔase nii nasugwatsin. unásugwatitsi 21 miʔan  
 ni-waʔó-a-se nii na-suwatsi-n.  
 u-nasuwati-h/H/tsi miʔa-n  
 my-cat-OBJ-CONTR I REFLEX-mind-lose-COMPL:ASP.  
 it-REFLEX-forget-h/H/tsi go-COMPL:ASP

I forgot my cat. Having forgotten it, I went.

#### 5.6.2.2. Switch reference.

When the verb of the subordinate clause has a different subject from the verb of the main clause, and the time of the verbs is simultaneous, the subordinate verb is marked with -ku. The subject of the subordinate clause is in objective case. The following pair of elicited sentences demonstrates different word orders. The u of the suffix harmonizes to o when the preceding syllable contains an o. A representation of the first example is: [I [during=him-walking around] eat] OR [I eat [during=him-walking=around]]

- (345) nise mavóhiyanokO tikivinni OR  
 nise tikivinni ovóhiyanokO  
 nii-se ma-pohiya-no-ku tiHka-h/Hpinni  
 I-CONTR him-walk-MTN=AROUND-ku eat-ONGO:ASP  
 nii-se tiHki-pinni o-pohiya-no-ku  
 I-CONTR eat-ONGO:ASP him-walk-MTN=AROUND-ku

I was eating when he was walking along.

- (346) nihi ikihuuviʔa uraʔeku nini simiʔoyeti unihtóʔieeyu  
 nihi iki-huupiʔa uta-ʔe-ku ninni simiʔoyeti<sup>=</sup>  
 u-niH-toʔi-e-yu  
 us=DL=EXCL new-song=OBJ find-REPET:ASP-ku  
 we=PL=EXCL all it-INST(verbal)-  
 go=out-REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP

When the two of us learn a new song we all sing it.

- (347) uhka inni ninásugwatsimiʔahku inni ninínsutammakiʔi  
 uHka inni ni-nasuwatsi-miʔa-ku inni  
 ni-ninvsutama-ki<sup>-</sup>-i  
 that-OBJ you me-REFLEX-mind-lose-go-ku you  
 me-INST(voice)-remind-BEN-COMPL:ASP

I was just getting over it and you have to remind me again.



- (348) ninse wihnu uvása?eeku huhnupehtu nunura?eYU  
 nini-se wihnu u-pasa-?e-ku hunuH-pehtu<sup>̄</sup>  
 nu-nuta-?e-yu  
 we=EXCL-CONTR and=then it=OBJ-dry-REPET:ASP-ku  
 creek-toward REDUP-run-REPET:ASP-PROG:ASP  
 When it (mud) dried we ran for the creek.
- (349) o?oRsi nii niná?niminii nigwaka piti?eku uhri  
 tiHkhaniki?eti  
 o?ohtV-si nii ni-na?-nimi-nii ni-waka piti-?e-ku  
 uhtii tiHka-hani-ki<sup>̄</sup>-?e-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 every=time-EMPHAT I my-RECIP-Comanche-PL=OBJ  
 me-at arrive-REPET:ASP-ku them  
 eat-make-BEN-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 Every time my kinfolk come to visit me I cook  
 for them.
- (350) ke nii nie urimakaku ke umarikawaiti  
 ke nii nie u-timaka-ku ke u-matika-wai-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 NEG I me him-pay-ku NEG it-finish-UR:ASP-GEN:ASP  
 If he won't pay me, I won't finish (the job).
- (351) urinúra?mi?anokose surii úrikwtikúmi?a  
 utii-nuta-mi?a-no-ku-se sutii<sup>̄</sup> uti-kwihtiku-mi?a  
 them-run-away-go-ku-CONTR those=one  
 them-shoot=pl=obj-go  
 While they're running, they're being shot at.
- (352) "ke ni?e nimmi tokwísu?akiku tanni nah tihiyakiatsi  
 uvúnnikwatu?i" nii meki  
 ke nie nimmi tokwasu?aki-ku tanni nah  
 tihiya-kia-h/H/tsi u-puni-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>-tu?i nii me-ki  
 NEG me you=PL=OBJ believe-ku we=PL=INCL just  
 horse-get=on(pl subj)-SS him-see-MFN=AWAY-UR:ASP I  
 QUOT-NARR:PAST  
 "If y'all don't believe me, we'll get on our horses  
 and go see him," I said.

When the subjects of the two clauses are different and the time of the actions/events also differs, the subordinate verb is marked with -h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> or, sometimes, -h/H/kaku. The latter is used to indicate a longer duration for the subordinate verb, and is a combination of -h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> and -ku. -h/Hka<sup>̄</sup> also is found as a marker

of stative aspect (see Section 4.3.6.1.2). A schematic of the first sentence is: [you [when=me=look=at=you] stand=up]

- (354) *immi nivúnnihka winin*  
*immi ni-puni-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup> wini-n*  
 you=OBJ me-look-h/H/ka: stand(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP  
 Stand up when I look at you!
- (355) *igwínihka urii simi rovo?itu?i*  
*i-wini-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup> utii<sup>o</sup> simi topo?i-tu?i*  
 you=OBJ-stand(sg subj)-h/H/ka they all  
 stand(pl subj)-UR:ASP  
 If you stand, they'll all stand.
- (356) *umiakiti urii unámanukIka*  
*u-miaki<sup>o</sup>-tii<sup>o</sup> utii<sup>o</sup> u-namanuki-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup>*  
*him-chase-GEN:ASP=DL those=ones him-run=away-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup>*  
 They're after (i.e., chasing) him because he ran away.
- (357) *hakari nokarin pina?niminii sookíniku mi?aki*  
*hakati<sup>o</sup> nokati-n pi<sup>o</sup>-na?-nimi-nii soo-kahni-H/ku<sup>o</sup>*  
*mi?a-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup>*  
 who remain(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP his/her=OWN-RECIP-  
 Comanche-PL=OBJ many-house-to go-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup>  
 Who stayed home when the folks (i.e., other family members) went to Lawton?
- (358) *ni?wakase uhrivitihka nii uhripéti?a ra?oran*  
*ni-waka-se uhti-piti-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup> nii uhti<sup>o</sup>-peti-?a*  
*ta?ora-n*  
*me-at-CONTR them=DL-arrive-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup> I*  
*their=DL-daughter meet-COMPL:ASP*  
 When they came over I met their daughter.
- (359) *ninse uhiami?ahka upékwi simikihtsúman*  
*ninni-se u-hia-mi?a-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup> u<sup>o</sup>-pekwi*  
*simi-kiH-tsu?ma-n*  
*we=EXCL-CONTR him-to=fish-go-h/H/ka<sup>o</sup> his-fish=OBJ*  
*completely-INST(teeth)be=gone-COMPL:ASP*  
 After he went fishing, we ate up all his fish.

- (360) urikwīse uhri wekUpitika uki nahke tunnavunniyU  
 utikwih-se uhtii weekwi-hu(1)-piti-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> u-ka  
 naH-ke tuu-napuni-yu  
 those=DL-CONTR them=DL go=in(pl subj)-ACCOMP:ASP-  
 arrive-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> there-at just-NEG  
 dark-appear-PROG:ASP

When they got in, it was dark.

- (361) surikīse uviakisaahka eti taʔó utammaru ehtuhtu  
 utsán  
 suti<sup>̄</sup>-ki-se u-pia-kiH-saa-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> etii<sup>̄</sup> taʔó  
 u<sup>̄</sup>-tamma-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> e-H/tu<sup>̄</sup>-H/tu<sup>̄</sup> u-tsa-n  
 that=one-NARR=PAST-CONTR him-big-INSr(teeth)-open-  
 h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> that pound=meat his=tooth-on them-on-on  
 it-stick??-COMPL:ASP

When he opened his mouth wide, there was pound meat  
 all around it.

The following two sentences occur consecutively in a text:

- (362) "yaa, hakaniyuti mikwī mihi ninimaika mikwī simi ke  
 nimaʔai tehkwaiYU"  
 "yaa, hakaniyu<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup> mikwih mihi ni-nimai-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup>  
 mikwih simi ke nii-maʔai teHkwa-yu  
 hey, why you=DL you=DL=OBJ me-call-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> you=DL one  
 NEG me-with talk-PROG:ASP

"Hey, why didn't one of you talk to me when  
 I called you?" (on the telephone)

- (362b) uvihkīka nakwi nahke umasúa  
 u-piHka-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> nakwih naH-ke u-ma-sua  
 it=OBJ-ring-h/H/hka<sup>̄</sup> we=DL=EXCL just-NEG  
 it-INDEF=OBJ-think

When it rang, we just didn't pay any attention.

- (363) pinna uhka mahrivitihka sihki piamupits paʔarai  
 tidyaitsi suhkU paʔarai haahpi  
 pinna uHka mahti-piti-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> si-HkVh pia-mu<sup>̄</sup>pitsi  
 paʔatai tiyai-h/H/tsi su-HkVh paʔatai hapi /+H/  
 almost that=OBJ them=DL-arrive-Hka<sup>̄</sup> here-at big-name  
 flat=on=back, facing=up die-SS there-at flat=on=back,  
 facing=up lie(sg subj)+DUR:ASP

They almost got to (the place the couple had been  
 living) and here the big Muupits was lying spread  
 out on his back, cold dead.

Examples of -h/H/kaku are given below. The first sentence  
 is included here to demonstrate the difference in the elapsed times

of the action expressed by -h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> and -h/Hkaku, respectively. The parenthetical observations were volunteered by the Comanche speaker.

- (364) nise winin nie urivunnihka  
 nii-se wini-n nie uti-puni-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup>  
 I-CONTR stand(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP me  
 them-see, look-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup>  
 I stood up when they looked (i.e., glanced) at me.
- (365) nise winin nie urivunnihkaku  
 nii-se wini-n nie utii-puni-h/H/kaku  
 I-CONTR stand(sg subj)-COMPL me  
 them-see, look-h/H/kaku  
 I stood up when they were looking (i.e., staring) at me.
- (366) sihkI mahri tovo?ikaku mahrikwásu?u pasami?aRI  
 si-HkVh mahti topo?i-h/H/kaku mahti<sup>̄</sup>-kwasu?u<sup>̄</sup>  
 pasa-mi?a-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 here-at them-DL stand(pl subj)-h/H/kaku their-DL-dress  
 dry-go-GEN:ASP  
 While they're standing there, their dresses are drying.
- (367) sihkI marinoyikwIkaku sitikwi nananáminihá sari?i  
 tsome kwitahka  
 si-HkVh mati-noyikwi-h/H/kaku sitikwih  
 nana-nami-nihí<sup>̄</sup> sati?i tsomo-i kwita-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup>  
 here-at them-stay(pl subj)-h/H/kaku these=ones=DL  
 RECIP-younger=sister-DL=POSS dog bead-OBJ defecate-  
 STAT:ASP  
 While some people were camped there, two sisters' dog passed some beads (through its digestive tract).
- (368) sititsiha mahriyikwIka sitii nakwitIkuuyu eti  
 kutsutaibonii. tiasise sitii mahriyikwikaku  
 tiasi kunawaikin marivehtu nukihkin.  
 siti<sup>̄</sup>-tsi-ha mahtiyikwi-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> sitii<sup>̄</sup>  
 na-kwitIkuu-yu etii<sup>̄</sup> kutsutaipo-nii. tiasi-se sitii<sup>̄</sup>  
 mahtiyikwi-h/H/kaku tiasi kunawaikin matii-pehtu<sup>̄</sup>  
 nuki-h/H/ki-n  
 these-??-?? them=DL-sit(pl subj)-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> these  
 REFLEX-shoot=at(pl obj)-PROG:ASP those cowboy-PL.  
 and-CONTR these=ones them=DL-sit(pl subj)-h/H/kaku  
 and fire-wagon them=DL-towards  
 run-MTN=TOWARD-COMPL:ASP

After they get seated (in a movie theater) the cowboys are shooting. And while they're sitting a train is rushing toward them.

- (369)      sihkI marikwavihkaku (sinai kaawosa) marihku to?i<sup>22</sup>  
 si-HKVh mati-kwapi-h/H/kaku (sinai kaawosa)  
 mati-H/ku<sup>2</sup> to?i  
 here-at them-lie(pl subj)-h/H/kaku (here-DIRECT  
 name) them-at come=out(sg subj)

While they're lying here (here comes Coyote)  
 he appeared.

#### 5.6.2.3. Reflexive-possessive pronouns.

Reflexive-possessive pronouns in simple sentences are discussed in Section 4.2.6. These pronouns are also used in the formation of subordinate clauses, where they indicate either that the subject of the main clause is the object of the subordinate clause or that the subject of the main clause is coreferential with the subject of the subordinate clause. If the subjects are coreferential, the subject of the subordinate clause must be included in (i.e., be a part of) the subject of the main clause. The objective forms of the pronouns (singular *pi* or *pimmi*, dual *pihi*, plural *pai* or *pimmi*) are used in adverbial clauses. (The possessive forms of these pronouns are used in relative clauses, and are discussed in Section 5.6.3.1 below.)

The following sentences demonstrate the subject of the main clause as object of the subordinate clause. Schematics of the first sentence are: [[him=own] he [while-me=look=at=him] will=stand=up]]  
 OR [will=stand=up he [him=own during=me=look=at=him]].

- (370) pimi u nivunnihka winiru?i OR  
 winiru?i u pimmi nivunnihka  
 pimmi u ni-puni-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> wini-tu?i  
 him=OWN he me-look-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup> stand(sg subj)-UR:ASP  
 wini-tu?i u pimmi ni-puni-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup>  
 stand-UR he him=OWN me-look-Hka

He'll stand up when I look at him.

- (371) surise yaaken pimmi uhrisu?uya?ika  
 suti<sup>̄</sup>-se yake-n pimmi uhti-su?uya?i-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup>  
 that=one-CONTR cry(sg subj)-COMPL:ASP her=OWN  
 them-laugh(pl subj)-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup>

She cried because they laughed at her.

- (372) sukise pimmi wi?anukIkaku umiakin  
 suHka-se pimmi wi?anu-h/H/ki-h/H/kaku u-mi?aki-n  
 that=one=OBJ-CONTR his=OWN run=off-MTN=TOWARD-  
 h/H/kaku him-chase-COMPL:ASP

That very one (Coyote) ran off and he (Pound Meat) starts after him.

- (373) surise pimmi utsáhtiwahka surituku ainahapī  
 suti<sup>̄</sup>-se pimmi u-tsaH-tiwa-h/Hka<sup>̄</sup> suti<sup>̄</sup>-tuku<sup>̄</sup>  
 ai-naha-<sup>̄</sup>pih  
 that=one its-own it-INST(hand)-open-h/H/ka<sup>̄</sup>  
 that=one-only bad-become-PRED

When he opened it (a jar), it was spoiled.

The following sentences demonstrate overlapping subjects. Note, in the first example below, that there is no verb of speaking.

- (374) tiasi suri sunni vihinahkaku tiasi,  
 "tsihariyaihumi?ari nii"  
 tiasi suti<sup>̄</sup> sunni pihi-naHka-ku tiasi,  
 tsiha-tiyai-hu(1)-mi?a-ti<sup>̄</sup> nii  
 and=also that=one that=way them=OWN=DL-be,  
 become-ku and=also hunger-die-ACCOMP:ASP-  
 go-GEN:ASP I

And also while they're sitting there (she said),  
 "I'm starving to death."

- (375) surise pihinaravuni?iku umnakwi to?itsi uvianikwa  
 suti<sup>̄</sup>-se pihi-natapuni-i-ku u-mu-nakwi  
 to?i-h/H/tsi u-via-nv-h/H/kwa<sup>̄</sup>  
 that=one=CONTR them=OWN=DL-race-REPET:ASP-ku him-  
 front-direction go=out(sg subj)-SS  
 him-leave-??-MTN=AWAY

When the two of them were racing he got ahead and ran off from him.

(376) uídyá?imi?á suuri sitíse pímmi máídyá?imi?áku  
 u-íyá?i-mi?á suti<sup>7</sup> siti-se pímmi ma-íyá?i-mi?á-ku  
 him-watch=over-go that=one this=one-CONTR them=OWN  
 him-watch=over-go-ku

He (a prairie dog) was watching to see where he (Coyote) went; they (prairie dogs) kept on following him (Coyote).

#### 5.6.4. Possessive clauses.

##### 5.6.4.1. Relative clause.

The definition of a relative clause used here follows the semantically-based definition proposed in Comrie 1981: "A relative clause . . . consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause." This definition excludes from consideration non-restrictive relatives but includes, as Comrie notes, participial constructions and restrictive attributive adjectives. It is clear from a perusal of those clauses taken from texts (Sentence 403 and Sentences 409 - 412) that the line between participle and relative clause is tenuous at best.

Relative clauses differ morphologically depending on whether they modify the subject or the object of the main verb. A schematic of the subject relative is [SUBJ(-tsa) [REL=CL(-tsa)] MAIN=VERB] and, of the object relative, [OBJ SUBJ [REL=CL-NOM] MAIN=VERB]. Because word order can vary, the position of these elements can vary. The following three sentences demonstrate, first, a simple sentence and then subject and object relative clauses.

- (377) tenapitsa pímoróóʔa vehkai  
 tena-<sup>pi</sup>-tsa pímotóó-ʔa peHka-i  
 man-ABS-TOP cow-OBJ kill-COMPL:ASP

A/the man killed the cow.

- (378) oritsa pímoróóʔa vehkai tenapi yuupí  
 otii<sup>=</sup>-tsa pímotóó-a peHka-i tena-<sup>pi</sup> yuu-<sup>pih</sup>  
 that-TOP cow-POSS kill-COMPL man-ABS fat-PRED  
 -OR-  
 uritsa renapi pímorooʔa pehkai yuupí  
 uti<sup>=</sup>-tsa tena-<sup>pi</sup> pímotóó-a<sup>=</sup> peHka-i yuu-<sup>pih</sup>  
 that-TOP man-ABS cow-POSS kill-COMPL fat-PRED

The man who killed the cow is fat.

- (379) uhka nii tenapiʔa pímoróóʔa pehkaiha supanaʔiti  
 uHka nii tena-<sup>pi</sup>-ʔa<sup>=</sup> pímotóó-ʔa<sup>=</sup> peHka-i-ha  
 su<sup>=</sup>panaʔi-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 that-OBJ I man-ABS-POSS cow-POSS kill-COMPL-NOM=OBJ  
 know-GEN:ASP

I know the man who killed the cow.

The head noun of the relative clause is seldom present, especially in object clauses. When such a noun is present it has generally been encouraged in elicitation. The following is the most common way to express the sentence 'I know the man who killed the cow.'

- (380) uhka nii pímorooʔa pehkaiha supanaʔiti  
 uHka nii pímotóó-ʔa<sup>=</sup> peHka-i-ha su<sup>=</sup>panaʔi-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 that-OBJ I cow-POSS kill-NOM=OBJ know-GEN:ASP

I know the man who killed the cow.

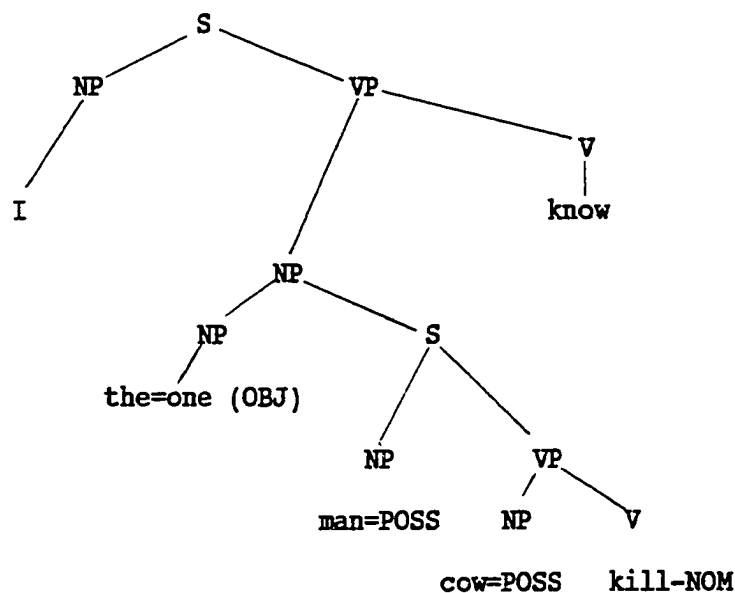
The following discussion generally uses elicited sentences as examples because the presence of the head noun is useful for demonstrating the morphology of the various elements of the sentence.

### Object relatives

When a relative clause modifies the object of the main verb, the subject of the clause is in possessive case and the verb of the clause is nominalized. As is discussed in Section 4.1.3.2, posses-



sive case is usually marked with the fortis final feature on the objective form of the noun or pronoun. The demonstrative objects in the sentences which exemplify object relatives, such as uŋka, above, are generally indeterminate for final feature, as they are followed by second-position subject pronouns, and those pronouns do not begin in /p/ or /t/. However, in a sentence such as 382 below, the pronoun is almost indisputably objective. Therefore I analyze the demonstratives as objectives; i.e., I believe that they are the object of the main verb. Sentence 381 may be counter-evidence, but I consider the initial fortis consonant of tena<sup>-</sup>p̄i in that sentence to be the result of slow speech. The subject of the relative clause can be followed by forms which begin in /p/ or /t/, as in 'cow' in the example two sentences above; note that the stop is fortis. The relationship of the objective pronoun and the subject of the relative clause is as follows:



Other sentences which demonstrate the object relative clause construction are:

- (381)      nise suhka tenapi?a siki nimiti supana?in  
             nii-se suhka tena-<sup>pi</sup>-?a<sup>ti</sup> si-HkVh nimiti-ti  
             su<sup>pana</sup>?i-n  
             I-CONTR that=one=OBJ man-ABS-POSS here-to move,  
             walk(sg subj)-NOM=OBJ know-GEN:ASP

I know the man who came here.

- (382)      suhri nii hiami?arii puni  
             suhti nii hia-mi?a-tii puni  
             those=ones=DL=OBJ I fish-go-OBJ=PL see

I saw the men who went fishing.

The verb of an object relative may be nominalized by a variety of different object markers depending on the aspect marker of the verb. For instance, future -tu?i and completive -i are followed by -ha, generic -ti<sup>ti</sup> is -ti and a verb stem with no final aspect marker is nominalized by -na. The suffixes used to nominalize verbs in complex sentences are listed and discussed in Section 4.1.4.3.

The table is repeated here:

Table 18. Nominalizing Suffixes in Complex Sentences

Subject	Object
-i	-i-ha
no examples	-na
no examples	- <sup>pi</sup> h-ha
-ti <sup>ti</sup>	-ti
-tu?i	-tu?i-ha

(383) ohka nii tenapi?a tihkaru?iha vunin  
 oHka nii tena-<sup>pi-?a</sup> tiHka-tu?i-ha puni-n  
 that=one-OBJ I man-ABS-OBJ eat-UR-NOM=OBJ  
 see-COMPL:ASP

I see the man who's going to eat.

(384) uhka nii ria tihye upéhkaiha vunnin  
 uHka nii tia tihya-e u<sup>-peHka-i-ha</sup> puni-n  
 that=one-OBJ I NARR=ONSET horse-OBJ his-kill-  
 COMPL:ASP-NOM=OBJ see-COMPL:ASP

I saw the horse that he killed.

### Subject relatives

When the relative clause modifies the subject of the main verb, the subject of the relative clause is in possessive form, the verb of the relative clause is nominalized and the clause is topicalized with *-tsa* (Section 5.2.1). In all simple sentences this topic marker must be affixed to the first word of the sentence. In the subject relative construction, *-tsa* may be affixed to the subject noun, the demonstrative which modifies that noun, or the verb of the relative clause and may optionally be affixed to more than one element within the sentence. The head noun is clearly the subject of the main verb. In the first example below the noun 'horse' is in subject case; the possessive case of 'horse' is [t<sup>ihye</sup>] (the objective case is [t<sup>ihye</sup>]). When *-tsa* is affixed to the verb of the relative clause it seems to be topicalizing the entire clause, as in the second example below. Compare, also, the presentative construction (Section 5.6.3.3) below, in which *-tsa* is used as a predicate.

- (385)      tihiyatsa upehkai tuhupIti  
 tihiya-tsa u<sup>-</sup>peHka-i tuhupi-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 horse-TOP his-kill-COMPL black-GEN  
 The horse that he killed was black.
- (386)      uri tenapi siki nimitsa nivavi  
 uti<sup>=</sup> tena=<sup>=</sup>pih siki nimi-tsa ni-papi  
 that=one man here come-TOP my-brother  
 The man who came here is my brother.
- (387)      nahutsa eve utiki tihkava?ati  
 nahu-tsa epe u<sup>-</sup>tiki tihka-pa?a-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 knife-TOP other his-take eat-on-GEN:ASP  
 The knife that he brought inside is on the table.

The following sentences are variations that were offered during elicitation. Note that the topicalizing suffix *-tsa* may be affixed to more than one element in these sentences. There is no apparent meaning difference between the sentences in each pair.

- (388)      nakihtava?itsa nirihkai aiti  
 nakihtapa?i-tsa ni-tiHa-i ai-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 pecan-TOP my-eat-COMPL bad-PRED  
 The pecans that I ate were rotten.
- (389)      oretsa nakihtava?i nirikatsa aiti  
 oti<sup>=</sup>-tsa nakihtapa?i ni-tiHka-tsa ai-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 those=ones-TOP pecan my-eat-TOP bad-PRED  
 The pecans that I ate were rotten.
- (390)      unohitsa eve uyaitsa huutuhkatI  
 u<sup>-</sup>nohi-tsa epe u<sup>-</sup>yaa-i-tsa huu<sup>-</sup>tuHka<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 her-toy-TOP out/in her-take(sg obj)-COMPL:ASP-  
 TOP tree-under-PRED  
 The toy she took outside is under the tree.

The following examples demonstrate that subject and object relatives can be marked for dual and plural (this marking is optional).

- (391) uritsa tenapi tihiyakari?eetii kimari  
 uti<sup>-</sup>-tsa tena-<sup>-</sup>pi tihiya-kati-?e-ti<sup>-</sup> kima-ti<sup>-</sup>  
 that=one-TOP man-ABS horse-sit(sg subj)-  
 REPET:ASP-NOM come-GEN:ASP  
 The man who rode the horse is coming.
- (392) uritsa tihiyayikwitu?inii kimarii  
 utii<sup>-</sup>-tsa tihiya-yikwi-tu?i-nii kima-tii<sup>-</sup>  
 those=ones-TOP horse-sit(pl subj)-UR:ASP-PL  
 come-GEN:ASP  
 The men who are going to ride the horses are coming.
- (393) suhka nii vuni tihiyaro?itu?iha  
 suHka nii puni tihiya-to?i-tu?i-ha  
 that=one-OBJ I see horse-get=on(sg subj)-UR:ASP-OBJ  
 I see the man who's going to ride the horse.
- (394) suri nii tihiyayikwitii vuni  
 sutii nii tihiya-yikwi-tii puni  
 those=ones-OBJ I horse-sit(pl subj)=PL=OBJ see  
 I see the men who rode the horses.

#### Indirect objects

The following sentences demonstrate relativization of an indirect object.

- (396) nise suhka renapi?a vunin Francineha ta?o?aikio?i  
 nii-se suHka tena-<sup>-</sup>pi-?a puni-n Francine-ha<sup>-</sup>  
 ta?o-ai-ki<sup>-</sup>-?i  
 I-CONTR that=one-OBJ man-ABS-OBJ see-COMPL:ASP  
 name-POSS pound=meat-make-BEN-COMPL:ASP=NOM  
 I saw the man Francine made the pound meat for.
- (397) uhka nii wa?i?pi?a supana?itI Patti?a kwasu?u makai  
 uHka nii wa?i-<sup>-</sup>pi-?a su<sup>-</sup>pana?i-ti Patty-?a<sup>-</sup>  
 kwasu?u maka-i  
 that-OBJ I woman-ABS-POSS know-GEN name-POSS  
 dress give-COMPL:ASP=NOM  
 I know the woman Patty gave the dress to.

An alternative construction involving relative clauses with two objects topicalizes the subject of the relative and nominalizes

the notional matrix verb. This construction is related to the affixation of the topic marker *-tsa* to either the subject of the main verb or to the nominalized portion of the relative clause, as discussed above in the section on subject relatives, and to the presentative construction discussed below in Section 5.6.3.3. An English equivalent of the following sentence would be something like: "Francine gave that man-of-my-knowing some pound meat." The requested English was: "I know the man Francine gave the pound meat to."

(398) Francinetsa ohka tenahpi?a nisúpana?ina ta?ó makai  
 Francine-tsa ohka tena-<sup>pi-?a</sup> ni-su<sup>!pana?i-na</sup>  
 ta?ó maka-i  
 name-TOP that=one-OBJ man-ABS-OBJ mi-know-NOM  
 pound=meat give, feed-COMPL:ASP

Francine gave the pound meat to the man that I know.

I was unable to elicit relative clauses based on oblique nominals other than indirect objects. In Comanche locative concepts such as "the rock it was under," instrumental concepts such as "the knives with which he will butcher" and so forth are expressed with oblique relatives, which are discussed in Section 5.6.3.2.

### Relative clauses in Yes/No Questions<sup>23</sup>

In questioning relatives, the typical structure of a transitive sentence contains the question particle *-ha* on the first word of the sentence, followed by the noun to be questioned, followed by a relative clause, with the main verb closing the sentence. In equative sentences the structure is similar, but there is no main verb to follow the relative clause. Note the variations in word order that are possible:

- (399) innha suhka hiami?aiha punnin  
 inni-ha suHka hia-mi?a-i-ha<sup>~</sup> puni-n  
 you-Q that=one=OBJ fish-go-COMPL:ASP-NOM=OBJ  
 see-COMPL:ASP

Do you see the man who went fishing?

- (400) innha uhka pímoróó?a upéhkaiha punnin  
 inni-ha uHka pímotóó-?a u<sup>~</sup>-peHka-i-ha puni-n  
 you-Q that=one=OBJ cow-OBJ his-kill-COMPL-NOM=OBJ  
 see-COMPL:ASP

Do you see the man who killed the cow?

- (401) suRha isámupi suhka pímoróó?a péhkán  
 suti<sup>~</sup>-ha i<sup>~</sup>-sahmu-<sup>~</sup>pi suHka<sup>~</sup> pímotóó-?a<sup>~</sup> peHka-n  
 that=one-Q your-brother-(female's)-PRED  
 that=one-POSS cow-OBJ kill-COMPL

Is the man who killed the cow your brother?

Cf.

- (402) suri tihanni suRha isámupi  
 suti<sup>~</sup> tihani suti<sup>~</sup>-ha i<sup>~</sup>-sahmu-<sup>~</sup>pi  
 that=one butcher that=one-Q your-brother  
 (female's)-PRED

The man who butchered; is he your brother?

- (403) "kitsena, natsaki inni uhka ratíkiha tsahto?itsi  
 irihkán"  
 kitsena, naH-tsa-ki inni uHka taa<sup>~</sup>-tiki-ha  
 tsaH-to?i-h/E/tsi i<sup>~</sup>-tiHka-n  
 name doubt-NARR:PAST you that=one-OBJ  
 our=INCL-put=away(sg obj)-NOM INST(hand)-go=in,  
 out-SS your-eat-COMPL:ASP

"Kitsena, did you eat (the corpse) we just put away?"

### Adjectival clauses

Adjectival clauses differ from relative clauses because the predicate adjective does not seem to become fully nominalized, and the subject of the relative clause is not in possessive case.

However, some sort of clause union takes place when the subject of the adjectival clause and the subject or object of the main verb are the same. The following sentences are typical. The first sentence

is given for comparative purposes.

- (404) ehkafIti u papikatI  
eHkaH-pih-ti u pa<sup>pi</sup>-ka<sup>ti</sup>  
red-ABS-PRED=OBJ she hair-have

She has red hair.

- (405) uritsa wa?ipi ehkafIti papikatI Cachekahtu mi?ai  
uti<sup>-tsa</sup> wa?i-<sup>pi</sup> eHkaH-pih-ti pa<sup>pi</sup>-ka<sup>ti</sup>  
Cache-kaHtu<sup>-</sup> mi?a-i  
that-TOP woman red-ABS-PRED=OBJ hair-have  
name-toward go-COMPL

The red-haired woman went to Cache.

- (406) uhka nii ria wa?ipi?a vunnin ehkafIti papikatI  
uHka nii tia wa?i-<sup>pi</sup>-a puni-n eHkaH-pih-ti  
pa<sup>pi</sup>-ka<sup>ti</sup>  
that=one-OBJ I NARR=ONSET woman-ABS-OBJ see-COMPL  
red-ABS-GEN-OBJ hair-have

I saw the woman who has red hair.

#### Spontaneously produced relative clauses

Up to this point, the discussion of relative clauses has generally utilized examples taken from elicitations. Such examples are readily formed when requested, but they are seldom encountered in texts. The relative clauses which are found in the texts or which arise spontaneously in discussion are much more tightly constructed nominalizations. In fact, it is difficult - perhaps impossible - to determine a boundary between relative and participial clauses in these cases.

- (407) nirikihphepha ma kihtsomEpinnitI  
ni-tiHka-pe-<sup>pi</sup>-ha ma kiH-tsome-h/Hpinni-ti<sup>-</sup>  
my-eat-?-NOM-OBJ it INST(teeth)-gather-  
ONGO:ASP-GEN:ASP

The (dog) is eating what I dropped from my mouth.



- (408) suRise pitírahwitu?iha tsimi?akin  
 suti<sup>-</sup>-se pi<sup>-</sup>-ti-tahwi-tu?i-ha tsimi?aki-n  
 that=one-CONTR his=OWN-INDEF=OBJ-win?-UR-NOM  
 lose=out-COMPL:ASP  
 He almost won some money, but he lost out.
- (409) upósakiaipíva?aikí suri mi?an  
 u<sup>-</sup>-posaki-ai-pih-pa?aikih sutii<sup>-</sup> mi?a-n  
 his-bridge-make-NOM-upon those=ones go-COMPL:ASP  
 They went on the bridge he made for them.
- (410) . . .urinátsahwi?a uvúnnihku uri uwíhtikiniha  
 uti<sup>-</sup>-natsahwi-?a u-puni-h/H/ku utii<sup>-</sup> u-wiH-tikini-ha  
 their-door, gate-OBJ him-look-DS those=ones=POSS  
 it-INST(gen'l)-tie-NOM=OBJ  
 . . . he's (Muupits) looking at their door  
 that's tied up.
- (411) sisimi pikáhni miinin . . . ehka sitii sisimi?a  
 pikáhnimini?a nah síhkusi wihtokwen  
 sisimi pi<sup>-</sup>-kahni miini-n . . . ehka sitii<sup>-</sup> sisimi-?a  
 pi<sup>-</sup>-kahni-mini-?a nah si-H/ku<sup>-</sup>-si<sup>-</sup> wiH-tokwe-n  
 some their=own-house=OBJ fail-COMPL:ASP . . .  
 them=OBJ these=ones some=OBJ their=OWN-house-  
 fail-NOM=OBJ just this-at-EMPHAT  
 INST(gen'l)-kill=and=eat-COMPL:ASP  
 Some of them couldn't get their doors open . . . He  
 just killed them there in their doorways.
- (412) "haame natsaki inni uhka ra?íkirikiha utsáhto?i"  
 háa-me natsa-ki inni uHka ta<sup>-</sup>-iki-tiki-ha u-tsaH-to?i  
 yes-QUOT doubt-NARR:PAST you that=one-OBJ  
 our=PL=INCL-new-put=away{sg obj}-NOM=OBJ  
 it-INST(hand)-go in/out{sg subj)  
 "Isn't it right that you took the body that we just  
 buried out of the grave?"

### 5.6.3.2. Oblique relatives.

Clauses that modify locatives and expressions of time and manner are formed by prefixing the singular possessive form of the reflexive-possessive prefix (pi<sup>-</sup>-) to an adverbial - most commonly, a postposition or one of the elements found suffixed to the demonstrative and indefinite-interrogative roots. The verb of the

adverbial clause is nominalized and the subject of the clause is in possessive form. A schematic of the first sentence below is:

[[its=own-when] they [their=own-arrival] not know]

- (413) pipe urii pipítiru?iha ke supana?itĩ  
 pi<sup>-</sup>-pe utii<sup>=</sup> pi<sup>-</sup>-piti-tu?i-ha ke su<sup>-</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 its=OWN-measure they their=OWN-arrive-UR-NOM:OBJ  
 NEG know-GEN:ASP

They don't know when they'll be ready.

- (414) pipe mimi miipítiru?iha supana?itii  
 pi<sup>-</sup>-pe mimmii mi<sup>-</sup>-piti-tu?i-ha su<sup>-</sup>pana?i-tii<sup>=</sup>  
 its=OWN-measure you=PL your=PL-arrive-UR-NOM=OBJ  
 know-GEN:ASP=PL

You-all know when you're coming.

- (415) pipehtu nii umiana punnihkatĩ  
 pi<sup>-</sup>-pe-h/tu<sup>=</sup> nii u-mi?a-na puni-h/hka<sup>=</sup>ti<sup>=</sup>  
 its=OWN-measure-to I his-go-NOM:OBJ  
 see-TEMP=STATE:ASP

I see where he is going.

- (416) pipehtu nii umiaha punni  
 pi<sup>-</sup>-pe-h/tu<sup>=</sup> nii u-mi?a-i-ha puni  
 its=OWN-measure-to I his-go-COMPL:ASP-NOM-OBJ see

I see the way he went.

- (417) pipehtu / pihtu nii umi?aru?iha supana?itĩ  
 pi<sup>-</sup>-pe-h/tu<sup>=</sup> / pi<sup>-</sup>-htu<sup>=</sup> nii u<sup>-</sup>-mi?a-tu?i-ha  
 su<sup>-</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 its=own-measure-to / its=OWN-to I his-go-  
 UR:ASP-NOM:OBJ know-GEN:ASP

I know where (the route) he's going to go.

- (418) pihtu nii umiaru?iha supana?itĩ  
 pi<sup>-</sup>-h/ku<sup>=</sup> nii u-mi?a-tu?i-ha su<sup>-</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 its=OWN-how I his-go-UR-NOM know-GEN:ASP

I know where (the destination) he's going to go.

- (419) pimátsa uhánnitu?i nahu tihkava?atĩ  
 pi<sup>-</sup>-ma-tsa u-hani-tu?i nahu tiHka-pa?a<sup>=</sup>-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 its=own-with-TOP his-do, make-UR knife  
 table-on-PRED

The knife he's going to use in on the table.

- (420) pikiku uHka tatóhtikwaise tuupiyu  
 pi<sup>h</sup>-ka-ku<sup>h</sup> uHka ta<sup>h</sup>-toH-tikwa-i-se tuu<sup>h</sup>-pih-yu  
 its=OWN-at-ADVB that=one-OBJ INDEF=SUBJ-  
 INST(violent)-hit-COMPL:ASP-CONTR black-ABS-PRED
- OR - pikikuse uhka tatóhtikwai tuunavoohka  
 pi<sup>h</sup>-ka-ku<sup>h</sup>-se uHka ta<sup>h</sup>-toH-tikwa-i tuu<sup>h</sup>-napo-h/Hka<sup>h</sup>  
 its=OWN-at-ADVB-CONTR that=one-OBJ INDEF=SUBJ-  
 INST(violent)-hit-COMPL=OBJ black-appear-STAT:ASP

Where he was hit looked black.

- (421) upituhkayunase surii tipihata uran  
 u<sup>h</sup>-pi<sup>h</sup>-tuHka-yu-na-se sutii<sup>h</sup> tipi-Hta uta-n  
 it-its=OWN-under-PRED-NOM-CONTR those=ones  
 rock-OBJ find-COMPL:ASP

They found the rock it was under.

- (422) Miatsa pinnihku tatívo?enna hannipha sugwaiti  
 Mia-tsa pi<sup>h</sup>-ni-H/ku<sup>h</sup> ta-tipo-e-na hani-pih-ha  
 suwai-ti<sup>h</sup>  
 name-TOP its=OWN-like-ADVB INDEF=SUBJ-INDEF=OBJ-  
 point-DISTRIB:ASP-NOM do-ABS-NOM want-GEN:ASP

Mia wants to learn (how) to write.

- (423) ehka pímoróó?a piki nahíivi?in mahoiki nini  
 mi?atsi. . .  
 eHka pímotóó-?a pi<sup>h</sup>-ki na-hiipi?i-n  
 ma-hoikih ninni mi?a-h/H/tsi . . .  
 those-OBJ cow-OBJ its=OWN-at REFLEX=drink-  
 COMPL:ASP it-around we=INCL go-SS

We went around (the pond) where the cows drink . . .

- (424) chnai suri nariminai piki naniminai nii nivíthka  
 o-Hnai suti<sup>h</sup> na-timi-nai pi<sup>h</sup>-kah na-nimi-nai nii  
 ni-piti-h/Hka<sup>h</sup>  
 that-direction that=one REFLEX=buy, sell-direction  
 its=OWN-at REFLEX=be-direction I my-arrive-STAT:ASP

I returned from where I had been, in town.

### 5.6.3.3. The presentative construction.

The topic marker *-tsa* is used as the predicating element in a construction which asserts the existence of an entity in the fashion, "This is the X that NP Y . . ." The NP in the schematic is in

possessive case and the verb which corresponds to Y is a nominalization.

- (425)      itsa návukuwáá nitsahani?enna  
 i-tsa návukuwáá ni-tsaH-hani-?e-na  
 this-TOP/PRED car my-INST(hand)-do-DISTRIB:ASP-NOM

This is the car I drive.

- (426)      itsa nivíakwísu?u tímipí  
 i-tsa ni-piakwasu?u<sup>í</sup> tími-<sup>í</sup>píh  
 this-TOP/PRED my-coat buy-NOM

This is the coat I bought.

- (427)      itsa tihíya pípa?a utó?i?enna  
 i-tsa tihíya pí<sup>í</sup>-pa?a<sup>í</sup> u<sup>í</sup>-to?i-?e-na  
 this-TOP/PRED horse its=own-on her-get=on  
 (sg subj)-REPET:ASP-NOM

This is the horse she rides.

- (428)      itsa víkí uríi nímínahkanní  
 i-tsa pí<sup>í</sup>-ka utíi<sup>í</sup> nímínahka-na  
 this-TOP/PRED its=own-at their live-NOM

This is where they live. OR This is the place they live in.

#### 5.6.4. Sentential complements.

Sentential objects of verbs such as tell, know, wish, etc., are nominalized clauses. If the subject of the complement is expressed and it is the same as (i.e., coreferential with) the subject of the main verb, a reflexive-possessive pronoun is used. If the subject of the complement clause is different from the subject of the main verb and it is expressed, it is in possessive case. If the subject is different from the subject of the main clause but it is not expressed, or if the complement is an abstract concept such as 'singing', the indefinite subject prefix ta<sup>í</sup> is used.

The verb stem is nominalized in one of the following ways:  
 A verb stem is suffixed with either -na or -<sup>í</sup>píh-ha unless it is

suffixed with an aspect marker. The aspect markers -i (completive) and -tuʔi (unrealized) are nominalized with -ha. (See Section 4.1.4.2 for a discussion of the differences between -na and -p̄i in simple nominalizations and Section 5.6.3.1 for a list of the nominalizing suffixes found with complex sentences.)

As far as I have been able to determine, the choice of whether -na or -p̄ih-ha is affixed to the verb is determined by the main verb of the sentence. All verbs but suwai 'want, try' have -na nominalizing the complement clause. An example of this difference is:

(429) ukimana nii supanaʔit̄  
 u-kima-na nii su<sup>p̄</sup>anaʔi-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 his-come-NOM I know-GEN:ASP

I know he's coming.

(430) kimapha u sugwait̄  
 kima-p̄ih-ha u suwai-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 come-NOM-OBJ he want-GEN:ASP

He wants to come.

#### 5.6.4.1. Complements of 'tell, say'.

Several verbs are used to express the notion of say/tell. This section deals with two of them. The verb tiʔahwe is transitive, and sentential objects are as described above. The suppletive verb yikwi (sg subj) / niwini (pl subj) only occurs with the narrative particle me and is, according to Canonge, intransitive. Note, below, that it may have a sentential object, but the verb in such a clause is finite.

- (431) Philnikwitsa Missy?a kwe?YUkana ti?ahwetikwi  
 Phil-nikwih-tsa Missy-?a<sup>=</sup> kwe?yu-h/H/ka<sup>=</sup>-na  
 ti?aHwe-tikwih  
 name-DL-TOP name-POSS tired-STAT:ASP-NOM  
 say-GEN:ASP=DL  
 Phil and Francine said that Missy was tired.
- (432) pikimana urii niri?ahweki?i  
 pi<sup>=</sup>-kima-na utii<sup>=</sup> ni-ti?aHwe-ki<sup>=</sup>-?i  
 their-OWN-come-ECM they me-tell-BEN-COMPL:ASP  
 They told me they were coming.
- (433) oretitsa Kiowanii tapoposa ti?ahweti  
 ori-ti<sup>=</sup>-tsa Kiowa-nii ta<sup>=</sup>-po-posa ti?ahweti<sup>=</sup>  
 those=ones-??-TOP name-PL our-INCL-REDUP-crazy  
 say-GEN:ASP  
 Those Kiowas said that we were crazy.
- (434) sime urii nigwin? urii utsanakati  
 si-me utii<sup>=</sup> niwini utii<sup>=</sup> u<sup>=</sup>-tsaa-naka<sup>=</sup>-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 si-QUOT those=ones say those=ones  
 his-good-live-PRED  
 They are saying that he is rich.

#### 5.6.4.2. Complements of 'know'.

- (435) utsanakaiyuna nii supana?iti  
 u<sup>=</sup>-tsaa-naka<sup>=</sup>-yu-na nii su<sup>=</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 his-good-live-PRED-NOM I know-GEN:ASP  
 I know he's rich.
- (436) tasaphannina nii tsaa supana?iti  
 ta<sup>=</sup>-sa<sup>=</sup>pih-hani-na nii tsaa su<sup>=</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 INDEF-SUBJ-stomach-fix-NOM I good, well know-GEN:ASP  
 I know how to fix tripe.
- (437) pipe urii pipitiru?iha ke supana?iti  
 pi<sup>=</sup>-pe utii<sup>=</sup> pi<sup>=</sup>-piti-tu?i-ha ke su<sup>=</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>=</sup>  
 its=own-measure they their=own-arrive-UR-NOM  
 NEG know-GEN:ASP  
 They don't know when they'll be ready.

5.6.4.3. Complements of *minni*, 'negative ability'.

The verb *miini*, 'fail to do', etc., takes nominalized verbal complements.

- (438) *narimiki urii pimí?aru?iha minnin*  
*na-timi-ka utii pi-mi?a-tu?i-ha minni-n*  
 REFLEX/RECIP-buy, sell-to they their=own-go-  
 UR:ASP-NOM fail-COMPL:ASP

They weren't able to go to town.

- (439) *ninóhkosugwaina nii miini*  
*ni-noHko-suwai-na nii miini*  
 my-bake=bread-try-NOM I fail

I can't (failed to) make bread.

- (440) *suhka pikwási uhka utsíhnikitsi uhka*  
*pitsáhto?itu?iha umíinin*  
*suHka pi=-kwasi uHka u-tsiH-niki-h/H/tsi uHka*  
*pi=-tsaH-to?i-tu?i-ha u-miini-n*  
 that=one=OBJ his=OWN-tail-OBJ that=OBJ it-  
 INST(sharp)-put-in-SS that=OBJ his=OWN-INST  
 (hand)-go=out-UR-ha him/it-fail-COMPL:ASP

He's trying to get his tail cut and he can't.

## 5.6.4.4. Complements of 'want'.

- (441) *tiriaipa urii sugwaití*  
*títiai-<sup>-</sup>pih-ha utii<sup>-</sup> suwai-ti<sup>-</sup>*  
 work-NOM-OBJ those=ones want-GEN:ASP

They want to work.

- (442) *narimaku nii mi?apa sugwaití*  
*natiwa-H/ku<sup>-</sup> nii mi?a-<sup>-</sup>pih-ha suwai-ti<sup>-</sup>*  
 REFLEX/RECIP-buy, sell-to I go-NOM-OBJ  
 want-GEN:ASP

I want to go to town.

- (443) *i?ah!pi?a nii vunnipha sugwaití*  
*i<sup>-</sup>-ah<sup>-</sup>pi-?a nii puni-<sup>-</sup>pih-ha suwai-ti<sup>-</sup>*  
 your-father-OBJ I see-NOM-OBJ want-GEN:ASP

I want to see your father.

- (444) Miatsa pinnihku tativo?enna hannipha  
sugwaiti  
Mia-tsa pi<sup>=</sup>-niHku<sup>=</sup> ta<sup>=</sup>-tipo-?e-na hani-<sup>=</sup>pih-ha  
suwai-ti<sup>=</sup>  
name-TOP its=own-ADVB INDEF-SUBJ-INDEF=OBJ-point-  
REPET:ASP-NOM do-NOM-OBJ want-GEN:ASP

Mia wants to learn (how) to write.

#### 5.6.4.5. Miscellaneous.

Following are examples of complements of several other

verbs:

- (445) tatinikwina nii tsa nakisu?ati  
ta<sup>=</sup>-tinikwi-na nii tsa naka-su?a<sup>=</sup>-ti<sup>=</sup>  
INDEF-SUBJ-sing-NOM I good, well hear-like-GEN:ASP

I like (to hear) singing.

- (446) keta ni?e inimatu?iha nasuwatsi?iti  
keta ni?e i<sup>=</sup>-nima-tu?i-ha na-su-watsi-?i-ti<sup>=</sup>  
NEG=IMPER me your-call-UR:ASP-NOM=OBJ  
REFLEX-mind-lose-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

Don't forget to call me.

- (447) tasóna?ainitsa kiihtati  
ta-sona-?ai-na-tsa kiihta<sup>=</sup>-ti<sup>=</sup>  
INDEF-SUBJ-quilt-make-NOM-TOP hard-PRED

It's hard to make a quilt.

- (448) piyáke?ena suri ke nihpi?ai?yU  
pi<sup>=</sup>-yake-?e-na suti<sup>=</sup> ke niH-pi?a-yu  
his=own-cry-REPET:ASP-NOM that=one NEG INST-  
(voice)-leave-PROG:ASP

He wouldn't quit his crying.

- (449) pikwasu?aiyuna u marikai  
pi<sup>=</sup>-kwasu?u-ai-yu-na u matika-i  
her=own-dress-make-BE-PRED she finish-COMPL:ASP

She finished the dress.



- (450) pikáhniku u pinárimakami?ana viai  
 pi<sup>h</sup>-kahni-H/ku<sup>h</sup> u pi<sup>h</sup>-na-timaka-mi?a-na pia-i  
 his=own-house-for he-REFLEX-pay=for-go-NOM stop,  
 quit-COMPL:ASP

He stopped paying rent.

When the complement contains information which seemingly cannot be compressed into a nominalization, the main verb is prefixed with a third-person object marker which refers to the complement clause. The complement clause is tensed, and it completes the sentence. I have very few examples of this construction:

- (451) usúpana?iti nii pásagwíyotsa tipiva?a kariRi  
 u-su<sup>h</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>h</sup> nii pásawíyo-tsa tipi<sup>h</sup>-pa?a<sup>h</sup>  
 kati-ti<sup>h</sup>  
 it-know-GEN:ASP I frog-TOP rock-on sit-GEN:ASP

I know the frog is on the rock.

- (452) usúpana?iti nii uhka upunikwai?en  
 u-su<sup>h</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>h</sup> nii uHka u<sup>h</sup>-puni-kwa-?e-n  
 it-know-GEN:ASP I that=one-OBJ his-see-MTN=AWAY-  
 REPET:ASP-COMPL:ASP

I know who he went to visit.

## Notes

## Chapter Five

<sup>1</sup> See Armagost 1979; 1982b; 1987 and McLaughlin n.d.b. for discussions of this affix, especially as it functions within Comanche narrative.

<sup>2</sup> The references in Note 1 also deal with -se.

<sup>3</sup> This example contains two Comanche sentences.

<sup>4</sup> naha, when nominalized, is used to mean 'unspecified event':

ninse unáharu?iha ke supana?in  
 ninni-se u-naha-tu?i-ha ke su<sup>̄</sup>pana?i-n  
 we=EXCL-CONTR it-naha-UR-NOM NEG know-COMPL:ASP

We wondered what happened.

tanáharu?itsah ke nasúpana?iti  
 ta<sup>̄</sup>-naha-tu?i-tsa ke na-su<sup>̄</sup>pana?i-ti<sup>̄</sup>  
 INDEF-SUBJ-naha-UR:ASP-TOP NEG  
 REFLEX-know-GEN:ASP

You can't tell what's going to happen.

<sup>5</sup> Sic; this should be tuHka.

<sup>6</sup> The underlying form of the verb in this sentence is not understood; see Note 24, Chapter Four.

<sup>7</sup> Note the cultural implications of this sentence. Sons-in-law are relatively impermanent, and the term is suffixed with -ka<sup>̄</sup>ti<sup>̄</sup>, whereas daughters-in-law, because the grandchildren remain with them, are relatively permanent "possessions" and thus the -pai suffix.

<sup>8</sup> The e in pa?e is unexplained. I once obtained the form as p<sup>̄</sup>ipa?eyuti, with predicative -yu. It may be that the e is raised by the y, or this may represent a very old i which predicates being.

<sup>9</sup> In these forms the aspiration of /kuhma/ seems to have migrated rightward one syllable to create the form /kumah/.

<sup>10</sup> The lexical item for 'work' is tiri?ai, which probably represents two layers of ti- (indefinite object) plus -?ai:

tiriʔaiʔeti nii tiasi nohiʔeeti  
 tiriʔaiʔ-e-ti= nii tiasi= nohi-ʔe-ti=  
 work-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP I and  
 play-REPET:ASP-GEN:ASP

I work and I play.

11 The primary speaker I worked with reported that she would choose haame rather than hai in speech with, for instance, her grandchildren, to encourage them to use Comanche, because the expected response is hāā 'Yes'.

12 The expression kiano hii (objective kiano hiiti) (DOUBT-just hii-ti= /ti) means 'several times'.

13 This form does not have a corresponding indefinite pronoun. Note that 'because of' is hakani, as in:

nahrise mariki hakani huuku navuniiyu  
 nah-ti-se matii-ka hakani huuku na-puni-yu  
 just-??-CONTR their-at hakani dust REFLEX-  
 see-PROG:ASP

You couldn't see because of the dust.

14 In many Uto-Aztecan languages the object of the imperative is not marked as objective. (Langacker 1977b;56)

15 I am grateful to David Rood for this insight.

16 See McLaughlin 1983 for a discussion of tia.

17 The voicelessness in the first word is unexplained.

18 This form of the first person pronoun is unexplained. It should be ninni, the form of the first person plural exclusive used with postpositions, rather than the possessive form found here.

19 In Shoshoni the form is nootia (Miller n.d.a.;103).

20 Sic; primary stress on the object is unexplained.

21 Sic; this form should be . . . watsItsi.

22 I assume that sinai kaawosa is parenthetical. It was said and received with a great deal of humor, and Coyote had been expected by the audience.

23 I am grateful to Allan Taylor for defining this construction.

## CHAPTER SIX

### TEXT ANALYSIS

The following is an episode from a folk tale in which two sisters who were accidentally left behind when their group moved camp are fleeing a monster (Muupits). The younger sister is not much older than a toddler, and the burden of responsibility for their safety is very much on the older sister.

The numbered line (for instance, 1) gives the Comanche in a semi-phonetic transcription.

Line a. is an English translation of 1.

Line b. is a phonemic, morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of 1.

Line c. contains morpheme-by-morpheme English glosses of b.

Line d. gives section numbers from the grammar in which the various grammatical morphemes are discussed.

Line e. is a schematic of the syntax of 1, followed by a brief exposition of interesting features of the sentence.

The sentences are:

1. sinni manáhanohko sitikwí na?nanaminikwí síhkI kwe?yíhupitítsi síhkI sití síhka piahuutsu?a ta?oran.

a. While (Mupits) is on his way (after them), the two sisters become tired and meet a big bird.

2. suRíse upátsi, "piahuutsuu nihitíitua.

a. Her big sister (said), "Big Bird, help us.

3. uritsa piampits nihi ugwekIkiti nihináhpu u kimari."
- a. That big Mupits is following our footsteps, coming after us."
4. "hāā, mihitiituaru?i nii.
- a. "Yes, I'll help you.
5. ihkina inni niho?ikI pahi ko?onitsi nivúsi?akitsi simi?a vusi?e urahtsi ukíhtirahtsi nii ke umúffneti.
- a. First, go around me three times, look me over for bugs, find one louse, crush it with your teeth but don't spit it out.
6. una?anaakwu nii umúffnen" me suri uníkwí.
- a. Spit it out on the other side," he said.
4. surise "hāā" me yikwití uvúsi?akitsi upúse uráhtsi urónikitsi ukíhtirahtsi.
- a. She said, "Yes" and looked him over for lice, found a louse, put it in her mouth and crushed it.
8. sitikwí sihka pinámmi?a nohRí.
- a. He carried them on his back.
9. sitikwí manápeva?aikí pihi upósaki?aikíva?aikí sitikwí mi?aiyU mi?anoHRí mi?anoHRí
- a. The two went, and kept going, on his leg, on the bridge he made for them.
10. sitikwí onakwu sitikwí onakwu rovo?ihupiitii.
- a. They made it across to the other side.
11. surise gwihnu piáhuutsúú pinápe yaan.
- a. And then the big bird drew his leg back.
1. sinni manáhanohko sitikwí na?nanaminikwí sihki kwe?yihupititsi sihki siti sihka pihuutsu?a ta?oran.
- a. While he (Mupits) is on his way (after them), the two sisters

become tired and meet a big bird.

- |    |                 |                          |                |
|----|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| b. | s-i-ni          | ma-naha-noo-h/H/ka       | s-itikwih      |
| c. | known-here-like | him-be-MTN=AROUND-DS     | known-these=DL |
| d. | 4.1.7.1         | 4.2.2, 4.3.5,<br>5.6.2.2 | 4.1.7.1        |

- |    |                         |                     |                    |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| b. | nana-nami-nikwih        | s-i-HkVh            | sitii <sup>2</sup> |
| c. | RECIP-younger=sister-DL | known-this-at       | these=ones         |
| d. | 4.1.5, 4.1.2            | 4.1.7.1,<br>4.1.6.1 | 4.1.7.1            |

- |    |                                     |                    |
|----|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| b. | kwe <sup>2</sup> yi-hu-piti-h/H/tsi | s-i-HkVh           |
| c. | tired-ACCOMP:ASP-arrive-SS          | known-this-at      |
| d. | 4.3.6.1.1, 5.6.2.1                  | 4.1.7.1<br>4.1.6.1 |

- |    |  |                            |                |
|----|--|----------------------------|----------------|
| b. | s-ihka   | pía-huutsú- <sup>2</sup> a | taora-n        |
| c. | known-this=OBJ   | big-bird-OBJ               | meet-COMPL:ASP |
| d. | 4.1.7.1  | 4.1.7.2, 4.1.3.1           | 4.3.6.1.2      |
| e. | [ [ADVB VERB-DS] SUBJ [ADVB VB-SS] ADVB SUBJ OBJ VERB] |                            |                |

sinni manáhanohko literally means something like, 'while he is doing this . . .' and it refers to the preceding sentence, in which the Muupits is described as continuing with his chase of the sisters.

2. suRise upátsi, "piahuutsuu nihitáitua.

- |    |  |                       |            |
|----|--|-----------------------|------------|
| a. | Her big sister (said), "Big Bird, help us. |                       |            |
| b. | s-uti <sup>2</sup> -se                     | u <sup>2</sup> -patsi | pia-huutsu |
| c. | known-that-CONTR                           | her-older=sister      | big-bird   |
| d. | 4.1.7.1, 5.2.1                             | 4.2.3                 | 4.1.7.2    |
| b. | nihi-tiitua                                |                       |            |
| c. | us=EXCL=DL-help                            |                       |            |
| d. | 4.2.2                                      |                       |            |

## e. [SUBJ [SUBJ OBJ-VERB] (verb)]

This sentence is a request. I assume that it is dominated by an abstract verb of saying, though no such verb or narrative particle occurs with this or with the following sentence, which completes the utterance. See sentences 4-6 for an utterance with a narrative particle and a verb of saying. Quotes regularly occur with and without such particles and verbs.

## 3. uritsa piampits nihi ugwekIkiti nihináhpu u kimari."

a. That big Mupits is following our footsteps, coming after us."

b. uti<sup>=</sup>-tsa      pia-mupitsI      nihi      u-weki-h/H/ki-ti<sup>=</sup>

c. that-TOP      big-Mupits      us=DL=EXCL      him-follow-MTN=TOWARD-GEN:ASP

d. 4.1.7.1      4.1.7.2      4.2.1      4.2.1, 4.3.5, 5.6.2.2  
5.2.1b. nihi<sup>=</sup>-nahpu      u      kima-ti<sup>=</sup>

c. our=DL=EXCL-footstep      he      come-GEN:ASP

d. 4.2.3      4.2.1      4.3.6.2.2

## e. [(SUBJ) [SUBJ OBJ VERB-SS] [ADVB SUBJ VB] (say)]

Further evidence that the verb of saying in the utterance which makes up sentences 2 and 3 is the fact that the same subject suffix of follow indicates that 'come' is the main verb of the sentence.

'footsteps' is a puzzling form. I would expect a postposition if it were truly adverbial. nahpu mi<sup>2</sup>a may be idiomatic; I have recorded similar forms with the meaning 'follow'. However, the forms are consistently separated by the subject pronoun, as in this sentence.

4. "hāā, mihitiituaru?i nii.

a. "yes, I'll help you.

b. hāā                  mihi-tiitua-tui                  nii

c. yes                  you=DL-help-UR:ASP                  I

d. 5.                  4.2.2, 4.3.6.1.2                  4.2.1, 5.2.2

e. EXCLAM [ [OBJ-VB SUBJ] (verb)]

hāā is the only word in Comanche with a nasal vowel.

The subject of the NP has been moved to sentential second position and is evidence that 'yes' functions as an exclamation and is thus outside the sentence. This and sentences 5 and 6 are part of an utterance which is completed by a verb of saying.

5. ihkina inni niho?iki pahi ko?ontsi nivúsi?akítsi simi?a vusi?e  
urahtsi ukíhtirahtsi nii ke umífineti

a. First, go around me three times, look me over for bugs, find one louse, crush it with your teeth, but don't spit it out.

b. ihkina inni ni-ho?ikih pahi ko?oni-h/H/tsi

c. first you me-around three=OBJ turn-SS

d. 5.4.      4.2.1, 4.2.4, 4.1.7.2      5.6.2.1  
            5.2.2      4.1.2.2

b. ni-pusi?a-ki<sup>=</sup>-h/H/tsi simi-a      pusi?a-e      uta-h/H/tsi

c. me-lice-BEN-SS      one-OBJ      lice-OBJ      find-SS

d. 4.2.2, 4.3.4.4,      4.1.7.4      4.1.3.1      5.6.2.1  
5.6.2.1

b. u-kiH-tira-h/H/tsi      nii      ke      u-mu-pahne-ti<sup>=</sup>

c. it-TEETH-pop-SS      you      NEG      it-MOUTH-spit=out-  
GEN:ASP

d. 4.2.2, 4.3.3.1,      4.2.2      5.2.6      4.3.3.1, 4.3.6.1.2  
5.6.2.1



- e. [[SUBJ [ADVB SUBJ MODIFIER VERB-SS] [OBJ-VERB-SS]  
[MODIFIER OBJ VERB-SS][OBJ-VB-SS] SUBJ NEG VERB] (verb)]

The addressee of this command is the older sister, because the second person objective pronoun is used rather than the dual imperative suffix. The verb of speaking which dominates this sentence and Sentence 4 is expressed in Sentence 6.

6. una?anaakwu nii umúffinen" me suri uníkwí

a. Spit it out on the other side," he said.

b. una?a-nakwi-??                      nii                      u-muH-pahne-n

c. other=side-direction-??              you                      it-MOUTH-EJECT-  
COMPL:ASP

d. 4.1.6.2                                      4.2.1,                      4.2.2, 4.3.3.1,  
5.2.2    4.3.6.1

b. me              s-uti<sup>=</sup>                      u-nikwi

c. QUOT              known-that=one              her-say

d. 5.2.3              4.1.7.1                      4.2.2

e. [ [ADVB SUBJ OBJ-VERB] QUOT SUBJ VERB]

In this sentence, which completes the quote begun in Sentence 4, a verb of speaking is used. The u on the end of the postposition -nakwi is unexplained. It also occurs in Sentence 10.

7.. suRise "háā" me yikwití uvúsi?akítsi upúse urahtsi urónikítsi ukíhtirahtsi.

a. She said, "yes" and looked him over for lice, found a louse, put it in her mouth and crushed it.

b. s-uti<sup>=</sup>-se                                      "háā"                      me                      yikwi-ti<sup>=</sup>

c. known-that=one-CONTR                      "yes"                      QUOT                      say-GEN:ASP

d. 4.1.7.1, 5.2.1                                      5.                      5.2.3                      4.3.6.1.2

b. u-pusi?a-ki<sup>=</sup>-h/H/tsi                      u<sup>=</sup>-pusi?a-e                      uta-h/H/tsi

- c. him-lice-BEN-SS                      his-louse                      find-SS
- d. 4.2.2, 4.3.4.4,                      4.2.3                      5.6.2.1  
5.6.2.1
- b. u-toni-ki<sup>h</sup>-h/H/tsi                      u-ki<sup>h</sup>-tita-h/H/tsi
- c. it-put=in=mouth-BEN-SS                      it-TEETH-pop-SS
- d. 4.2.2, 4.3.4.4, 5.6.2.1                      4.2.2, 4.3.3.1, 5.6.2.1
- e. [SUBJ [OBJ-VB-SS] [OBJ VB-SS] [OBJ-VB-SS] [OBJ-VB-SS] VERB]  
EXCLAM

Note that *pusi<sup>h</sup>e* can, in fast speech, be pronounced as *puse*.

I assume that the verb of speaking is the main verb of the sentence, and I have placed it sentence-finally.

8. sitikwī sihka pinámmi<sup>h</sup>a nohRī.
- a. He carried them on his back.
- b. s-itikwih                      s-iHka                      pi<sup>h</sup>-nami-a
- c. known-these=DL                      known-this=one=OBJ                      her=own-younger=  
sister=OBJ
- d. 4.1.7.1                      4.1.7.1                      4.2.6, 4.1.3.1
- b. noo-ti<sup>h</sup>
- c. carry, pack-GEN:ASP
- d. 4.3.6.1.2
- e. [SUBJ? LOC? OBJ VERB]

This sentence is puzzling because (a) the dual demonstrative is in subject case, but the two sisters are clearly the object of the actions and (2) the reflexive-possessive pronoun is unusual; the regular way to express the reciprocal expression 'two sisters' is with the reflexive-reciprocal prefix *na-*.

9. sitikwī manápeva<sup>h</sup>aikī pihi upósaki<sup>h</sup>aipīva<sup>h</sup>aikī sitikwī mi<sup>h</sup>aiyU



d. 4.3.2.1, 4.3.6.2

e. [SUBJ LOC SUBJ LOC VB]

The u which ends -nakwi is not understood. It also occurs in Sentence 6.

11. suRise gwihnu piáhuutsúú pinápe yaan.

a. And then the big bird drew his leg back.

b. s-uti<sup>=</sup>-se                      wihnu                      pia-huutsuu

c. known-that=one-CONTR      and=then              big-bird

d. 4.1.4.1, 5.2.1                      5.5.                      4.1.4.2

b. pi<sup>=</sup>-na<sup>=</sup>pe                      yaa-n

c. his=own-leg                      take(sg obj)-COMPL:ASP

d. 4.2.6, 4.1.3.1                      4.3.2.1, 4.3.6.2

e. [SUBJ ADVB SUBJ OBJ VB]

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