CORA

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INTRODUCTION

Cora is a Southern Uto-Aztecan language spoken by approximately 15,000 people in the northeastern part of the state of Nayarit, Mexico. There are five principal dialect areas. The data in this sketch come from the dialect of El Nayar, which is spoken in the town of Jesús María and in numerous rancherías scattered southwards along the Río Jesús María to the ranchería Los Gavilanes. The second main dialect, that of Mesa del Nayar, is spoken to the southwest of Jesús María, beginning with the rancherías around Mesa del Nayar and extending on to the foothills near San Pedro Ixcatan. The third principal dialect area consists of the towns of Dolores and Santa Teresa, along with various rancherías between them in the northern section of the Cora area. The other two dialects are fairly small: San Juan Corapan, near San Pedro Ixcatan, and San Francisco, near Jesús María.

The first published linguistic description of Cora consisted of a Cora-Spanish vocabulary and an introduction to various characteristics of Cora pronunciation. This was written by the Jesuit priest Joseph de Ortega in 1732; it was later reprinted in Tepic in 1888. Pimentel (1874-75) included some Cora data in his three volume Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de Las Lenguas Indígenas de México. The best-known materials on Cora are those from Jesús María published by Preuss. They include a collection of religious texts (1912), a grammar (1932), and a dictionary (1935).

Additional published studies include some notes on grammatical patterns by Gomez (1935) and a short book of texts written by Raymundo Díaz Flores, published by the Escuela Nacional de Antropología in México City (1945). Studies of Cora carried out by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics include a Cora-Spanish vocabulary compiled by McMahon and McMahon (1959). McMahon also published a phonemic analysis of Cora in IJAL (1967). These latter two studies are based on materials collected from speakers in the area of Presidio de Los Reyes, San Pedro Ixcatan.

Under auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, we initiated further studies of Cora in 1971. We have spent approximately two years residing in the village of Jesús María. We have spent another two years with various language consultants at SIL workshop centers in Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo and Mitla, Oaxaca. Thus we have had fairly close contact with Cora speakers during a considerable part of the time since 1971. I have also collected a large body of tape recorded materials which have been invaluable both for learning to speak Cora and for doing continuing linguistic analysis.

Many Cora friends have contributed in various ways to our learning Cora and collecting data about it. Fidel de Jesús Serrano, Matías de Jesús Bernabé, Juan Celestino Laureano, Profesor Eusebio Zeferino Enriquez, Profesor Aurelio Canaré Medina, Santos de Jesús Rosas, and Justo Flores have all provided me with text materials and numerous insights into the semantics of their language. I would like to thank them very much; I would not have been able to learn Cora without them. I trust that the publishing of data related to their language will directly feed into the ability of SIL to make a substantive and positive contribution to the Cora community, which is under increasing strain as it faces head-on an ever advancing technological society. Finally, the inconsistencies and erroneous analyses found in the grammar are due to my own human foibles.*

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*Special abbreviations used in this sketch include the following: CAP = capacitative; CONCR = concrete; DEIC = deictic; DO = direct object; EXT = extensive; PREV REF = previous reference; PS = pausal; SEQ = sequential; SIMUL = simultaneous mode; SUPP = supplicative mode.

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PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

Consonant phonemes:

p	**t^y**	**t**		**k**	**'**
		c			
	$\check{c}^y$		**č**		
		s	**š**		
m	**n^y**	**n**			
			r		
			l		**h**
w			**y**		

Vowel phonemes:

i	**ɨ**	**u**
e	**a**	

Vowel length is contrastive.

Tone is phonemic and operates partly independently of stress, which can be analyzed into primary and secondary degrees.

Major Phonological Processes

Vowel Epenthesis

Alternations involving **t^{y}í'**-DISTR and **wá-** 'their' illustrate a vowel epenthesis rule that inserts an "echo" vowel between a glottal stop and the initial consonant of the following syllable:

t^{y}í'i-n^{y}a-kana DISTR-my-guitar 'my guitars'	**t^{y}í'-a-kana** DISTR-your-guitar 'your guitars'
wá'a-kana their-guitar 'their guitar'	**wá'-ana** their-feather 'their feather'

A second vowel epenthesis rule copies a high-toned vowel after a following **h** and preceding the non-apical (?) consonant of a following post-tonic syllable.

kɨ́h^{ɨ}ve 'road runner'	**kɨhvé-t^{y}e** -PL 'road runners'
vúh^{u}ra'i 'wilota bird'	**híh^{i}wa** 'He is yelling.'

Vowel Harmony

The prefix **t^{y}í-** harmonizes to the vowel of the reflexive possessor prefix **uh-**.

ru-kaná his-guitar 'his own guitar'	**t^{y}ú'-uh-kana** DISTR-his-guitar 'his own guitars'

It also harmonizes with the locative prefixes **an-** 'on top of', **ah-** 'out in the slope', and **a-** 'outside'.

an-tá-mɨɨ-mɨ on-straight-be-RDP top close 'It has a sharp edge.'	**t^{y}a'-an-tá-mɨɨ-mɨ** DISTR-on-straight-be-RDP top close 'They have sharp edges.'

Various suffixes show other forms of vowel harmony. When the applicative **-e** is affixed to the causative **-ta**, the resultant configuration is **-t^{y}e'e**:

n^{y}e-t^{y}í'i-kɨša'uh-ta I-DISTR-gourd-make 'I am making a gourd canteen.'	**n^{y}e-t^{y}í'i-m^{w}a-kɨša'uh-t^{y}e-'e** I-DISTR-you-gourd-make-APPLIC 'I am making you a gourd canteen.'

The stative **-i** ablauts a stem-final vowel to **i**.

t^{y}ē'-e-yu'uša DISTR-outside-write 'He is writing.'	**t^{y}ē'-e-yu'usi-'i** DISTR-outside-write-STAT 'It is written down.'

The non-reflexive third person singular possessor **-ara'an/-hra'an** ablauts a stem-final vowel to **a**.

kanāri 'guitar'	**kanarā-ara'an** guitar-POSSR 'his guitar'

The postposition **-e** 'at a particular location' changes a stem-final vowel to **e**.

n^{y}a-wāri my-back 'my back'	**yēh n^{y}a-ware-'e** here my-back-on along slope 'right here in the middle of my back'

Laryngeal Deletion

Glottal stops that otherwise occur at various morpheme boundaries fail to appear in the environment of a high tone, as seen in the following pairs of contrasting examples.

With **-'i** STAT:

t^{y}ē'-e-yu'usi-'i DISTR-outside-write-STAT 'The things are written down.'	**tɨ'ɨsī-i-wa-ka-n** grind-STAT-PASS-PRTC 'Having been ground up...'

With **-kɨ'** 'deceased':

ya'ak^{w}āh-kɨ'ɨ'-ta'a-n grandmother-deceased-POSSR-ABS 'his deceased grandmother'	**ya'up^{w}a-kɨɨ-ta'an** father-deceased-POSSR-ABS 'his deceased father'

With tone attraction to DISTR or ART:

n^{y}é-it^{y}a'ɨh my-fruit tree 'my fruit tree'	**t^{y}ī'i-n^{y}e-'it^{y}a'ɨh** DISTR-my-fruit tree 'my fruit trees'
n^{y}ē-ɨm^{w}e'e my-seed 'my planting seed'	**ɨ n^{y}e-'im^{w}e'e** ART my-seed 'the planting seed of mine'

Vowel Deletion

There are two main categories of vowel deletion in Cora. The most general case involves prefixes with the canonical shape CV, such as **n^{y}a-** 'me', losing their vowel before a vowel-initial morpheme which is followed by a glottal stop:

n^{y}-â-'ɨ-ri-'iri-'i
me-outside-carry-make-APPLIC-STAT
'Take my hat off of me.'

The second class involves the loss of low-toned **a** and **i** following nasals in word-final position:

hīya'a wā-kɨ'i-mā
here COMPL-teeth-chew
'Here it is. Eat it up!'

mā-h-kɨ'ɨ-ma-ka
they-UNSPEC-teeth-chew-HAB
OBJ
'They eat it.'

mā-h-kɨ'ɨ-n
they-UNSPEC-teeth-chew
OBJ
'They are eating it.'

This process also seems to affect **a** word-medially in post-tonic syllables, for example in **n^{y}a-** 'myself':

nu-'urī n^{y}a-sa'upe-'e
I-now REFL-rest-APPLIC
'Now I'm resting myself.'

n^{y}a-wā-n-sa'upe
I-COMPL-REFL-rest:PAST
'I rested myself.'

n^{y}á-n-sa'upe-'e
I-REFL-rest-APPLIC
'I'm resting myself.'

r-Metathesis

The reflexive possessor **ru-** is realized as **-ur** before vowel-initial noun stems whenever **t^{y}i'-** DISTR occurs to indicate plurality of possessed noun:

t^{y}ī'i-n^{y}a-'ana
DISTR-my-feather
'my feathers'

t^{y}ú'-ur-ana
DISTR-REFL-feather
POSSR
'his own feathers'

The distributive singular **ra-** undergoes vowel deletion and metathesizes with stem-initial **h**.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī'i-m^{w}a-hašu'u-t^{y}e-'e
I-DISTR-you-wall-make-APPLIC
'I'm building you a wall.'

nʸe-tʸĭ'i-h-rašu'u-tʸe-'e
I-DISTR-DISTR-wall-make-APPLIC
SG
'I'm building a wall for him.'

r-Softening

Syllable-final **r** becomes **h** when it precedes a consonant. The **-uh** form of reflexive **ru-** before consonant-initial stems shows that **r**-softening must follow metathesis.

ru-'ană
REFL-feather
POSSR
'his own feather'

tʸŭ'-ur-ana
DISTR-REFL-feather
POSSR
'his own feathers'

ru-kană
REFL-guitar
POSSR
'his own guitar'

tʸŭ'-uh-kana
DISTR-REFL-guitar
POSSR
'his own guitars'

Vowel Shortening

Open-syllable long vowels of various lexical items shorten when other rules render these syllables closed; they remain slightly longer than regular short vowels in word final position.

an-hăana mɨ visaaru'u
on-carry ART calf
top
'Take the calf away.'

nʸa-rā-'a-han mɨ visaaru'u
I-DISTR-outside-carry ART calf
SG
'I'm leading the calf away.'

A word-final V_1'V_1 sequence shortens to a laryngealized vowel slightly longer than an ordinary short vowel.

kŭcapa'a-ra'an
gourd-POSSR
bowl
'his gourd bowl'

kŭcapẻ
'gourd bowl'

Word-final sequences of unlike vowels are shortened to diphthongs.

an-ta-yăuu-kan
on -straight-be-PRTC
top ahead wide
'being wide and long'

an-ta-yăw
on -straight-be
top ahead wide
'It is wide and long.'

Vowel Spirantization

In a few nouns long vowels are shortened and partially replaced by a word-final **h**.

karíi-ra'an	**daríh**
bone-POSSR	'bone'
'its bone'	

t-Flapping

In fast speech, both apical **t** and laminal **t**^{y} are subject to a flapping rule which converts them into **r**:

mahtáwa'a	**mahráwa'a**	'again'
wat^{y}ásku'iwa	**warásku'iwa**	'Yes, indeed!'

Diphthongization

Diphthongization occurs when two unlike short vowels come together across morpheme boundaries.

ta-ít^{y}a'ɨh	**táit^{y}a'ɨh**	'our fruit tree'
our-fruit tree		

As noted earlier, diphthongs are also formed in word-final position following final vowel (or syllable nucleus) shortening.

haračúíi-se	**harač^{w}í**
fox-PL	'fox'
'foxes'	

i-Lowering

The vowel **i** changes to **a** preceding a high-toned **a**.

t^{y}í'-a-kana	**t^{y}á-há'am^{w}a-kana**
DISTR-your-guitar	DISTR-your:PL-guitar
'your guitars'	'you people's guitars'

ɛ-Raising

For some speakers, ɛ (/**e**/) can be raised to **e** before **i** or in word-final closed syllables preceding **n**.

t^{y}í'i-n^{y}ɛ'ɛ-va-ka	**t^{y}í'i-n^{y}e'i-mɨ'ɨ**
DISTR-dance-HAB-HAB	DISTR-dance-DESID
'He knows how to dance.'	'He wants to dance.'

ya=va'a=k-áa-n^{y}ɛ
here:outside=coming=down-COMPL-pass
over by
'He came down by here.'

n^{y}a-tɨ'ɨh u-vɛ'ɛ-n^{y}e-n
I-when:SUBJ inside-coming-pass-ABS
over by
'...when I get back from over there.'

Modifications of **a**

The possessor prefix vowel **α** (/**a**/) becomes slightly raised and fronted to **a** following the laminal **n^{y}**- of the 'my' form:

n^{y}α-kũcαpe'e ⟶ **n^{y}a-kúcαpe'e**
'my gourd bowl'

The prefix **n^{y}a-** becomes **n^{y}e-** preceding consonant-initial stems whose first vowel is **i** or whose initial consonant is palatal.

n^{y}e-sīiku'u my-shirt 'my shirt'	**n^{y}e-t^{y}ap^{w}ḗih** my-axe 'my axe'

Also note the following alternations:

n^{y}-eyā́n I-thus 'in this way'	**ayā́n** thus 'in this way'
p-erī you-already '(when) you now...'	**arī** already '(when) he already...'

The vowel **a** is generally raised slightly to an open, tense variant when followed by **i** in vowel-initial morphemes.

ta-itā́ ⟶ **tʌ-'itā́**
our-mat
'our mat'

Before stems beginning with **ɨ**, the prefix vowel **a** is raised to a schwa-like vowel **ə**.

n^{y}a-ɨp^{w}ā́ ⟶ **n^{y}ə-'ɨp^{w}ā́**
my-chair
'my chair'

This also happens before syllable-final **n**.

ka'anā́kan ⟶ **ka'anā́kən**
'rapidly, quickly'

Before **u**, **a** is rounded and slightly backed to an o-like quality.

wā́'-kʷa'a → **wā́'akʷa'a**
them-eat
'He is eating them.'

wā́'-*u*-kʷa → **wṓ'ukʷa**
them-COMPL-eat
'He ate them.'

u-Lowering

The vowel **u** is lowered to **o** when followed by (')**a**.

hī́tu'ah → **hī́to'ah**
'bird nest'

an-čuā́ → **ančoā́**
on-carry
top
'Carry it off.' (long, rigid object)

Neutralization of m

The consonant **m** neutralizes to **n** in word-final position.

nʸe-tʸī-čuumi
I-UNSPEC-machete
  OBJ
'I have a machete.'

nʸe-čū́n
my-machete
'my machete'

Allophonics of n

Word-final *nasals* that follow *non-front* vowels (also **e** for some speakers) assimilate to ŋ.

nʸe-čū́n → **nʸečū́ŋ**
my-machete
'my machete'

Word-medially, syllable-final **n** assimilates to **m** before the consonants **p** and **v**.

an-pīi → **ampī́i**
on-carry
top
'Take it away.'

It is realized as ŋ before nasals and back consonants.

an-hā́ana → **aŋhā́ana**
on-carry
top
'Take it away.' (an animal on a rope)

It is realized phonetically as **n** word-medially before apical consonants.

an-tɨ̄ɨ ⟶ **antɨ̄ɨ**
on-carry
top
'Take it away.'
(small, round things)

It is palatalized word-medially before vowel-initial stems, resulting from a rule of glide insertion.

an-ɨ̄'ɨ ⟶ **an^{y}ɨ̄'ɨ**
on-carry
top
'Take it away.' (a flat thing)

Alternations

s and **š**:

t^{y}ē'-e-yu'uša	**t^{y}ē'-e-yu'usɨ-'i**
DISTR-outside-write	DISTR-outside-write-STAT
'He is writing.'	'It is written down.'

š and **h**:

n^{y}e-t^{y}ā'-a-we'iška-n	**ɨ tɨ̄ wē'ihči-'i**
I-DISTR-outside-fry-PRTC	ART SUBR fry-STAT
'I am frying something.'	'that which is fried'

s and **h**:

pɨs-t^{y}ī	**pɨh-čī-ra-'a**
be-mass	be-(?)-make-DUR(?)
hot	hot
'It is hot.' (liquid)	'It is hot.' (discrete object)

A few stems illustrate an alternation between **w** and **v**:

čī'i pū=taawa	**taavī-hwa**
house SUBJ=make	make-PASS:COMPL
'He is building a house.'	'It is made.'

Vowel Nasalization

Before nasals in closed syllables, vowels (especially non-front ones) are somewhat nasalized.

pe-t^{y}ī'i-n^{y}e-mi-n ⟶ **pet^{y}ī'in^{y}emįn**	**kɨ̄n** ⟶ **kɨ̨̄ŋ**
you-DISTR-me-feed-DUR(?)	'with' (pre-verbal position)
'You are going to feed me supper.'	

The vowels of long-high-toned syllables are nasalized following syllable-initial **m** and **n**.

nʸa-mɨ̄ɨsi → nʸamɨ̨̄ɨ̨si	**nʸūuka-ri → nʸų̄ųkari**
my-beard	word-ABS
'my beard'	'word, language'

Vowel Laryngealization

Vowels are laryngealized both before and after glottal stop. As noted earlier, word-final sequences of V_1'V_1 tend to become shortened to a laryngealized vowel.

hā'akɨ'ɨ → hā'ảkɨ̉	**kū'uku'u-se → kū'ủkủ'ủse**
'fresh water lobster'	snake-PL
	'snakes'

tʸakʷāara'i → tʸakwāarả'ỉ
'chicken'

Vowel Retroflexion

Vowels are slightly retroflexed before the retroflexed flap **r**.

hitá-ri → hitạ́ri
mat-ABS
'straw mat'

With long vowels there is a perceptible glide into the retroflexed (or rounded) phonetic quality:

see-ri → seẹri
cold-ABS
'frost'

Vowel Devoicing

Short, low-toned vowels optionally become breathy to voiceless word-finally following (generally) voiceless consonants.

kāica → kʌīicA
'bule tree'

Vowels are also optionally devoiced following voiced consonants when there is an intervening low-toned syllable between the low-toned syllable they occur in and a high-toned syllable earlier in the word.

tāi-šɨ'ɨ-me → tʌ̄išɨ'ɨmE
burn-disperse-PRTC
'perspiration'

Tone

Tone Attraction

Nouns and many other lexical items pronounced in isolation with a single high tone lose this high tone when various grammatical elements are preposed to the noun to form a noun phrase. Such elements include definite articles, locative particles, and the distributive plural morpheme **t^{y}ī'-**:

cɨ̄'ɨ 'dog'	**mɨ̄ cɨ'i** ART dog 'that dog over there'
čāhta'a 'town'	**ū čahta'a** LOC town PRTC 'there in town'
wā'ap^{w}a 'two/twice'	**t^{y}ɨ̄'i=wa'ap^{w}a** DISTR=two 'There are two things.'

Morphophonemic Functions of Tone

Morphophonemically, tone signals several kinds of distinctions in the grammar of Cora. For a small class of animate nouns, singular and plural forms are distinguished by tone placement.

SG	PL	
cē'epe	**ce'epē**	'gnat'

There is another class of animate nouns for which the tone shifts from the initial syllable in the singular form to the second syllable in the plural form. (This is related to rules of Uto-Aztecan. See Nancy Woo, 'Tone in Northern Tepehuan', IJAL 36:18-30, 1970, and Jeffrey Heath, 'Uto-Aztecan Morphophonemics', IJAL 43:27-36, 1977).

SG	PL	
m^{w}áhye	**m^{w}ahyēt^{y}e**	'mountain lion'

It is likely that the first class of nouns has been derived from the second one by the loss of the final syllable. In fact, Jesūs Marīa speakers differ among themselves as to whether they use a shortened form or long one for certain examples, e.g. **tu'ukā** ~ **tu'ukāhce**, 'spiders'.

Tone placement in a few other cases signals grammatical class.

mɨ̄'ɨči 'He's dead.'	**mɨ'ɨčī** 'A dead person.'

In a few forms tone is used to maintain semantic distinctions.

há'ɨh	**ha'ɨ́h**
'kind of ant'	'your wife'

Finally, tone functions in stem formation processes, helping to distinguish perfective and imperfective stems for numerous verbs.

kanúraseih	**kanúraaséih**
'I don't see him.'	'I didn't see him.'

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

A simple sentence in Cora can consist of a sentence introducer, various kinds of particles, one of a set of quotative morphemes, as well as a main verb with several kinds of noun phrases and an adverb. This is probably their most neutral linear order in single simple sentences:

INTR	PRT	QUOT	V	NP	NP	NP	NP	ADV
				(SUBJ)	(IOBJ)	(OBJ)	(LOC)	

The introducer can be a procomplement, locative particle, main or subordinating conjunction, question morpheme, or dubitative particle:

ayâa pú nú'u t^{y}ú--hu'-u-rɨ́h
thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do
'This, they say, is what happened.'

áh=tú=wa-rá'a-kɨ
in=we=EXT-around-leave
slope corner
'We came back from off there in the slope.'

ahtá šâa hí-(y)á'-u-raa ɨ hɨita'a
CNJ AFF NARR-away-COMPL-leave ART woman
'And indeed, the woman went away.'

tɨ p^{w}â-'a p-á'-u-ra'a-n^{y}i
SUBR ASSR-then you-away-COMPL-leave-FUT
COND SUBR
'If you go...'

nʸí ma-kái=ya=rá'a
Q they-IRR=here=arrive
'Haven't they arrived here?'

tʸí pe-nʸú'u-ka-mɨ'ɨ
DUB you-respond-HAB-DESID
'It seems as though you are angry.'

The particle element includes such things as subject particles, a sequential/resultative morpheme, the evidential particle, a group of tightly-knit morpheme sequences I will call **an** 'auxiliary', and some affirmative elements.

nacári pú=nu'u ántʸawaa
earring SUBJ=QUOT be
named
'Its name is Earring.'

ma-tɨ́'ɨh nú'u m-í šúušu'u
they-then QUOT they-RSLTV flower
CNJ

ra-ta-píi-tʸa-'a
DISTR-PERF-carry-make-APPLIC
SG PAST
'And then, they say, they were giving him a flower.'

a'anáh nʸáh kú=tʸú-hú'-u-vaɨ mʷayahtúumʷa'a
once SUBR:I EV=DISTR-NARR-COMPL-help majordomo

kɨme'e ta-yá'u hemi
as our-father with
'...that once, as you all know, I performed
as a majordomo in service to our Father.'

nu-'urí=tʸi'i-kʷa'a
I-already=DISTR-eat
AUX
'I'm now eating.'

tʸíh p-aučán=tʸú'-u-kʷa
DUB you-hardly=DISTR-COMPL-eat
AUX
'It seems that you've just eaten.'

ka=mú=nʸá'u wáapʷa'a
NEG=they=AFF endure
"Well, they couldn't take it.'

ahtá šáa á'-u-raa ɨ hɨita'a
CNJ AFF away-COMPL-leave ART woman
'And, indeed, the woman went away.'

This and previous examples illustrate the quotative morphemes:

ha'in^{y}ī wī pa-na'a
how QUOT you-be
'How are you?'

In neutral word order verbs (and adjectives) precede their nominal arguments and agree with these arguments by means of prefixes:

hīiwah-ve ɨ puuru'u
bray-HAB ART donkey
'The donkey is braying.'

t^{y}ē-het^{y}ē-hme īt^{y}an
we-heavy-COLL we
'We are heavy.'

ra-a-hē'ika ɨ fidel ɨ t^{y}aska
DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill ART PN ART scorpion
'Fidel killed the scorpion.'

se-t^{y}ī-ta-a-mi īt^{y}ehmi
you:PL-DISTR-us-COMPL-feed us
'You all fed us.'

Numerous factors lead to non-neutral word order both in ordinary conversation and in narrative text. Foregrounding processes such as topicalization and focus explain most of these. Sentences with pre-verbal nominal constituents are marked differently from sentences with post-verbal constituents in various ways. For one, various elements of noun phrases and free pronominal forms are truncated when these constituents occur pre-verbally. For example, the definite article deletes from noun phrases in pre-verbal position:

wā-ye'i-ve ɨ n^{y}i-yauh
EXT-walk-HAB ART my-son
'My son walks.'

n^{y}i-yáuh pū=wā-ye'i-ve
my-son SUBJ=EXT-walk-HAB
'My son walks.'

Demonstratives serving as third person pronouns truncate, and initial **i** drops from first person pronouns:

k^{w}ēina-ra-'a āɨhna ɨ kuaašu
white-make-DUR DEM ART heron
'That heron is white.'

āɨ pū=k^{w}eina-ra-'a ɨ kuaašu
DEM SUBJ=white-make-DUR ART heron
'As for that heron, he is white.'

má-ta-a-séih āɨme
they-us-COMPL-see DEM
'They saw us.'

aɨ̄ mū=ta-a-séih
DEM they=us-COMPL-see
'Those people, they (are the ones who) saw us.'

nʸa-sɨɨ-či-ra-'a īnʸaa
I-striped-ABS-make-DUR I
'I am striped.'

nʸāa nū=sɨɨ-či-ra'a
I I=striped-ABS-make-DUR
'I am striped.'

Verbs in Cora can be marked to agree with the subject with either a subject prefix or a subject particle:

	PREFIX		PARTICLE	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1P	**nʸa-**	**ta-**	**nu**	**tu**
2P	**pa-**	**sa-/ša-**	**pa**	**šu**
3P	**0**	**ma-**	**pu**	**mu**

A prefix marks agreement when the verb precedes its nominal arguments; when a nominal argument precedes the verb (even a non-subject), a particle is used.

se-yăana mʷān
you:PL-smoke you:PL
'You are all smoking.'

mʷān šū=yaana
you:PL you:PL=smoke
'You all are smoking.'

nʸā-h-kʷa'a-ka ɨ maanku
I-UNSPEC-eat-HAB ART mango
OBJ
'I (like to) eat mangos.'

măanku nū=kʷa'a-ka
mango I=eat-HAB
'Mangos I do eat.'

Subject particles also appear when constituents such as quantifiers and adverbs are preposed to the verb in main clauses.

nʸa-wăči hĕiwa
I-skinny lots
'I'm very skinny.'

hĕiwa nū=wači
lots I=skinny
'I'm really skinny!'

Free subject, direct object, and indirect object nominals can all occur together in a single sentence, as in the following example:

na-a-ta-tɨh īnʸeeci ɨ ha'atɨ ɨ čuaašari
me-COMPL-PERF-give me ART someone ART pipe
'Someone gave me the pipe.'

Usually, however, if there are three overt nominals in a simple sentence, one of them will be preposed to the verb.

čuăašari pū=na-a-ta-tɨh ɨ ha'atɨ īnʸeeci
pipe he=me-COMPL-PERF-give ART someone me
'A pipe (is what) someone gave to me.'

Topic

There are three kinds of topicalization processes: they can be termed subject fronting, object fronting, and dislocation. As noted in the previous section, subject fronting is accompanied by various other changes. In addition, the fronted nominal becomes part of a single intonation contour that includes at least the subject particle along with the nominal.

t^{y}ī'i-šaɨri-p^{w}a mɨ n^{y}a-huu
DISTR-trash-break ART my-younger
brother
'My kid brother is thrashing around in the brush pile.'

n^{y}a-huu pū=t^{y}ī'i-šaɨri-p^{w}a
my-younger SUBJ=DISTR-trash-break
brother
'My kid brother is thrashing around in the brush pile.'

Object fronting is characterized by the same things as subject fronting, with the additional factor that verb-object agreement is suspended when an explicit object nominal immediately precedes the main verb.

n^{y}e-y-ā'-u-raii ɨ n^{y}e-čun
I-it-away-COMPL-lose ART my-machete
'I lost my machete.'

n^{y}e-čūn nū=hā'-u-raii
my-machete I=away-COMPL-lose
'My machete (is what) I lost.'

hā'am^{w}a-seih ɨ ha'atɨ m^{w}éhmi
you:PL-see ART someone you:PL
'Someone sees you all.'

m^{w}éhmi pū=seih ɨ ha'atɨ
you:PL SUBJ=see ART someone
'You all are (what) someone sees.'

The third topicalization process, dislocation, is highly marked and does not show the changes associated with subject and object fronting. Topicalized elements, which can include subject, direct object, and indirect object noun phrases, as well as pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, relative clauses, and participles, may be preposed to CNJ, usually a sentence introducer. In such cases, the topicalized element always signals a major structural break in the discourse, such as shifts from strict narration to a stretch of explanatory material, change of setting, or the introduction of a new participant.

áɨ-n ahtá nú'u puéerta het^{y}e a'-a-r-áhka
DEM-ABS CNJ QUOT door under away-outside-facing-be
out sitting
'And that one, they say, was sitting in a hole beneath the door.'

These examples show that a dislocated noun phrase does not lose its definite article, carries an intonation contour of its own, and fails to suspend verb-object agreement:

ɨ rodriigu, síiku'u-rí pú=t^{y}í-ča'ɨ
ART PN shirt-ABS SUBJ=UNSPEC-have
OBJ
'As for Rodrigo, a shirt (is what) he has.'

mɨ́ siiku'u-ri rodriigu pú=rá-a-ŋana-i
ART shirt-ABS PN SUBJ=DISTR:SG-COMPL-buy-STAT
'As for the shirt, Rodrigo is the one who bought it.'

Focus

In Cora, focus has an identifying function, and presents new information as though it were only one of a set of possible comments that could have been chosen. It is associated with several distinct grammatical structures, frequently involving discontinuous elements. One construction includes a sentence-initial pronoun or demonstrative (the topic), some form of the verb **pɨrɨkɨ** 'be', and a nominalized clause following **pɨrɨkɨ** (the) comment). The nominalized clause is introduced by a sequence consisting of the article **ɨ** plus a subordinating particle that agrees with the subject.

áɨh pɨ́=hí'i-rɨkɨ ɨ́ tɨ́ ra-m^{w}a'a-t^{y}-e
DEM ASSR=NARR-be ART SUBR DISTR:SG-know-make-APPLIC
'That one is the one whom she knows.'

Sometimes the idea in focus is stated negatively. In this case the AUX sequence occurs sentence-initially.

ka-pú=čé'e=tá áɨ-n pɨ́=hí'i-rɨkɨ
NEG-SUBJ=CONT=afterwards DEM-ABS ASSR=NARR-be

ɨ́ tɨ́ ra-m^{w}a'a-t^{y}-e
ART SUBR DISTR:SG-know-make-APPLIC
'She is no longer (like) that one that she knows.'

Sometimes the comment precedes **pɨrɨkɨ**:

n^{y}áa nú šú'um^{w}avi'ika n^{y}-áɨ-n pɨ=rɨkɨ
I I black:one I-DEM-ABS ASSR=be
'I am the one painted black (you were talking about).'

There is a pre-verbal focus position for nominals that contrasts with a pre-verbal topic position. The pre-verbal topic position is further removed from the verb than the pre-verbal focus position is, and with dislocation, the topicalized noun phrase does not undergo article deletion, as noted earlier. In the first example, the subject has undergone dislocation, while the object is in pre-verbal focus position:

ɨ	**dioniisiya**	**icá-ri**	**pú=t^{y}ī-ča'ɨ**
ART	PN	loom-ABS	SUBJ=UNSPEC-have OBJ

'As for Dionisia, a loom (is what) she has.'

In the next example, the object nominal has undergone dislocation, while the subject occurs in pre-verbal focus position:

mɨ	**īca-ri**	**dionīisiya**	**pú=rá-h-ča'ɨ**
ART	loom-ABS	PN	SUBJ=DISTR:SG-(?)-have

'As for the loom, Dionisia (is who) owns it.'

The final example shows subject fronting, in which the subject noun phrase does undergo article deletion in pre-verbal position. The object nominal is in pre-verbal focus position. In contrast to the earlier examples, focus position follows the subject clitic, and there can be a slight pause between the subject clitic and the focused nominal:

dionīisiya=pú	**icá-ri**	**t^{y}ī-ča'ɨ**
PN=SUBJ	loom-ABS	UNSPEC-have OBJ

'Dionisia has a loom.'

Presumptive and Resumptive Pronoun Constructions

One resumptive construction consists of a topicalized element and an enumerated elaboration on the topic. The topic occurs first, followed by the focused elaboration, which may consist entirely of a numeral or be a full noun phrase of the form NUMR + N. The topic always occurs in pre-verbal position while the focused phrase may occur either pre- or post-verbally. Commonly, the verb is deleted from such sentences, which may follow each other as though they were presenting items in a list.

t^{y}ám^{w}a'a	**t^{y}ū-hú'-u-k^{w}aa**	**k^{w}ašp^{w}á**	**séih**
lots	DISTR-NARR-COMPL-eat	plum	one

pú=r-a-'i-tā-k^{w}aa	**ahtá**	**pɨst^{y}e'e**
SUBJ=DISTR-outside-across-PERF-eat SG trajectory	CNJ	atole

sḗih ahtā́ wḗ'ira'a wa'apʷā́
one CNJ meat two
'And he really ate a lot. As for plums, he ate one bowl. And atole, one. And meat, two.'

nʸ-ahtā́-wa'a nū́=tʸ-a-'u-pɨstʸe sēi šā́'ari
I-CNJ-beyond I=DISTR-outside-COMPL-atole one jar

nu'u šā́a nʸ-i=ku ahtā́ hā́mʷe'i sēi sikɨri
I:PS indeed I-be=EV CNJ tortilla one basket

ahtā́ mū́hme sēi kasueela ahtā́ arrṓs sēi kasuella
CNJ beans one bowl CNJ rice one bowl
'And I also made corn gruel. One large jar, as you well know. And tortillas, one basket. And beans, one large bowl. And rice, one large bowl.'

Discontinuous presumptive pronoun constructions can involve locative particles, demonstratives, and quantifiers.

ū́=a'-u-rē'e-nʸā́ ru-čē
there=away-inside-around-arrive REFL-house
horiz corner
'He returned back there to his own house.'

amɨ pū́=hu'-u-tā́-nʸuu-sin ɨ tʸaaku
DEM SUBJ=NARR-COMPL-PERF-respond-DUR ART toad
'This toad will be responding.'

m-ahtā́-wa'a sēih wa-tā́-itʸ-a-ka'a
they-CNJ-beyond one COMPL-PERF-send-APPLIC-PERF
PAST

kū́'uku'u tɨ ahtā́ wā́-ye'i-ve
snake SUBR CNJ COMPL-walk-HAB
'Once again they sent another snake to go.'

Focused quantifiers apparently can also occur in pre-verbal position. In such cases, preposing the quantifier foregrounds the degree of intensity or quantity implied by the particular quantifier used.

haru šā́'iču'i nū́=wa-rū́h
but barely I=COMPL-get
well
'But I just barely got well.'

The distinction between topic and focus is not always clear. As the next example shows, a focused quantifier can even be preposed to the sentential conjunction, which is usually a sentence-initial constituent.

ka'anakan mu=m-ahta=ra-a-ta-he'ika
quickly they=they-CNJ=DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-kill
'And right away they killed him, too.'

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions

Conjunctions typically occur in sentence- or clause-initial position. Several of them are marked for person and number of the subject of the sentence. Some can occur as either main or subordinate clause introducers.

One set of coordinate conjunctions groups together around semantic notions such as sequential, resultative, and additional or repeated activity (see COORDINATION):

ãh=pū́=nu'u=hī́ ayā́n t^{y}ī́-ra-a-ta-hḗ
CNJ=he=QUOT=SEQ thus DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say

tɨkɨn ka-pā́ yḗe a-yein^{y}-a
QUOT NEG-you QUOT REFL-cry-PRTC
'And then he said to her, "Don't fret about it."'

n^{y}-ahtã taī́šɨ'ɨ
I-CNJ sweat
'And I was sweating also.'

n^{y}a-tɨ'ɨh=n^{y}-i ra-a-hī́-st^{y}e
I-CNJ=I-SEQ DISTR-COMPL-wake-APPLIC:PAST
SG
'Then I woke him up.'

tɨ'ɨh=tā́='i a=va'a-kā́a-n^{y}e
CNJ=afterward=SEQ away=coming-down-pass
across by
'Then he went down there.'

tɨ'ɨ-kī wa-tā́-ur-a'a
CNJ-INDF COMPL-PERF-REFL-give
in
'And then he gave in to them.'

m-ah=tā́=wa'a sḗih wa-tā́-it^{y}a-ka'a kū́'uku'u
they-CNJ=and=beyond another COMPL-PERF-sent-PAST snake
PERF
'Again they sent another snake (off to do it).'

One class of subordinating conjunction marks temporal relations between subordinate and main clauses (cf. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Temporal Clauses):

aɨhná hu'-u-tā́-ur-ɨika-t^ya-'a
that NARR-COMPL-PERF-REFL-load-make:APPLIC-PRTC

tɨ'ɨ-ri ra-a-hē'ika
SIMUL-already DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill
'She was loading up for herself that thing she had already killed.'

ma-tɨ'ɨh nū'u m-erī hē'ita'a u-hū'u-n mu'u-ri
they-CNJ QUOT they-now halfway inside-go:PL-PRTC they-now

ra-tā́-'asi ha'u-tɨ̄
DISTR:SG-straight-reach where-SUBR

a'-a-vâ'a-namɨ'i
away-outside-covering-be
enclosed
'When they are now about halfway through, they are already reaching the place where she is hidden.'

The subordinators **tɨkɨ̄n** and **yee** are used to introduce either direct or indirect discourse (cf. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES, Marking):

tɨ̄'ɨh=nū'u=hī ayán t^yī-wa'-u-tā́-'ɨ-ša
CNJ=QUOT=SEQ thus DISTR-them-COMPL-REFL-towards-say

tɨkɨ̄n pu'u-rī 'i-ku
QUOT SUBJ:PS-now be-EV
'Then, they say, he thus spoke to them, "Clearly, it's all over now."'

ka-mū́ m-ahtá a'ih t^yī-ta-a-tā́-'iša
NEG-them they-CNJ something DISTR-us-COMPL-PERF-tell

yee t^yā̃ɨt^ye mū=seih-re-'e siluu animaalis
QUOT people they=see-make-APPLIC rather animals

t^y-ah nu'u ú=a'-u-sē̃ih
we-SUBR QUOT there=away-COMPL-see
'And they did not say anything to us about people being seen there, only that we would see animals there.'

Several conjunctions are used to convey notions related to 'or'; see COORDINATION, Conjunctions:

siluu	'but rather'
na'arii	'or otherwise...'
o	'or'
ka'ɨn	'or maybe(?)'
nusuu	'or'

Polarity

The basic affirmative particle is **hée**. It may be made emphatic by adding either the clitic **šāa** or **wī'i**.

tɨkɨn hee
QUOT yes
INTR
'Yes.'

hée šāa nʸā'u ayéh tʸī'-ayáhna
yes EMPH AFF thus DISTR-be
correct
'Yes, indeed, now, that's the way it is.'

hée wī'i nʸē-'ikʷa nʸā'u
yes EMPH I-be AFF
hungry
'Yes, indeed, I am hungry, to be sure.'

Three morphemes can be labelled interjections: **hawīi**, a nonemphatic sentence introducer; **húumpi** (cf. Spanish **hombre**), an emphatic introducer; and **ēpāɨ**, an exclamation of surprise.

huumpi šāa ka-nū ā'ih rɨ-nʸi
man AFF NEG-I something do-FUT
'Man I'm really serious. I can't do a thing.'

hawīi tɨ nú'u ayán tʸū-hū'-u-rɨh
INTR SUBR QUOT thus DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do
'Well, this is what they say took place.'

ēpāɨ a'inʸī p-i-htā tʸī'i-nʸe-nʸeeče
hey why you-SEQ DISTR-me-threaten
'Hey! Why are you threatening to shoot me?'

The morphemes **nʸā'u** FINAL ASSENT and **pɨ-** ASSERTIVE MODE link sentences uttered by speaker A back to an earlier sentence uttered by speaker B. **nʸā'u** can either be a mild affirmation of another person's statement, or it can mean that the present speaker is finished speaking for the moment.

tɨkɨn nʸe-tʸī-hī'i-kʷi'i nʸā'u
QUOT I-DISTR-NARR-be well
INTR sick
'He said, "I'm sick, that's all."'

Negation is marked by the first position clitic **ka** in main clauses or in fully sentential finite complement clauses.

ka-nú wāpɨ'ɨ wa-nāšua nʸī ka-nú wāpɨ'ɨ
NEG-I lots COMPL-salivate nor NEG-I lots

wa-tʸá-'ah-kase
EXT-in-vertically-be
middle swollen
'I did not salivate a lot, nor was I swelled up a lot all over my body.'

Negation is also marked by the bimorphemic sequence **kâi** to indicate contrary-to-fact situations.

čé'e yée kâi á'-a-taa-ka
EXHRT QUOT IRR away-outside-burn-HAB
'Don't let that fire keep burning off over there.'

Several particles are used to indicate whether the speaker is the immediate source of the material being recounted. Secondhand events are marked by **nu'u**, whereas secondhand direct discourse is marked by **yée**, **wí**, or **yêewi**.

ayāa pú nú'u tʸú-hu'-u-rɨh
thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do
'This is, they say, what took place.'

ša-a-tá-uh-ka'anʸe yée hêice'e
you:PL-COMPL-PERF-REFL-exert QUOT more
'Pour on the coals, you all, harder!'

ka-nú wí kú-'i á'ih tʸí-mʷa-tʸá-va'ɨr-i
NEG-I QUOT EV-SEQ something DISTR-you-UNSPEC(?)-help-STAT
OBJ
'I really cannot do you any good.'

The clitic **ku**, the sequence **iku**, and the variant **kú'i** are all used by the speaker to emphasize the veracity of the content of his utterances.

a'ačú ku rɨ'ɨ na-a-rɨh
somewhat EV well me-COMPL-do
'It made me a little better.'

pu-'urí 'i-ku
SUBJ-already be-EV
'Obviously, that's all.'

kú-'i šáa mɨ pʷaari
EV-SEQ AFF ART priest
'Oh, man! That poor priest!'

Finally, the clitics **tá'uh** and **cāa** are used to convey an element of surprise or irony.

aíi tá'uh p-ih-tá tʸí'i-šah-ta-ve
DEM DUB you-SEQ-PERF DISTR-say-make-HAB
'How is it that you can talk this way?'

nʸī cāa pe-rī waa-yé'i pā'arɨ'ɨ
Q no you-now EXT-walk child
fooling
'And, on top of everything else, are you now walking, child?'

Modal

Yes/no questions are marked by the first position particle **nʸī**.

nʸī sā-uh-sa'upe'e
Q you:PL-REFL-rest
'Are you all resting?'

Exhortative mode is also marked by a first position clitic **če'e** (or **iče'e**), which can be further marked for subject-verb agreement.

nʸi-čē'e hā'-u-ra'a-nʸi
me-EXHRT away-COMPL-leave-FUT
'Let me leave. I'm going now.'

čē'e yēe kāī hā'-a-taa-ka
EXHRT QUOT IRR away-outside-burn-HAB
'Don't let the fire over there be burning.'

Conditional mode is marked by the sentence-initial clitic complex **tɨ pʷa'a**.

tɨ pʷa'a ma-kāi tʸī-nʸu-'u-tʸā-waa-tʸe-'e-n-če'e
SUBR COND they-IRR DISTR-me-inside-in-cure-make-APPLIC
middle -PRTC
-COND

ayēh nʸa-'ase nʸa-mɨ'ɨ-nʸīi-če'e nū
thus me-seem I-die-FUT-COND I
'If they had not have given me medicine, it seems
to me that I would have died.'

Dubitative mode is marked by another clause-initial particle, **tʸi**.

tʸi yēe ū=p=ā'-u-ye'i-mɨ péh
DUB QUOT there=you=away-COMPL-go-DESID you:SUBR

tʸa-ha'-u-tā-vaɨɨ-re-'e-n
DISTR-away-COMPL-PERF-help-make-APPLIC-FUT(?)
'...if you want to go help off there.'

ya'akʷéii yēewi ɨ hamʷe'i tʸih yēewi p-āu-hi-'ikʷa
here:PS QUOT ART tortilla DUB QUOT you-LOC-NARR-be
BASE hungry
'Here, take these tortillas, if by chance you are still hungry.'

Optative mode is marked by the sentence-initial complex consisting of a subject prefix and two locative prefixes **a** and **uu** ('away' and DIRECTIONAL), which I refer to as the locative base.

nʸ-âuh mĩ'i wá-n-sá'upe'e-n
I-LOC first COMPL-REFL-rest-PRTC
BASE
'First, I would like to rest myself.'

Two modal particles can occur in sentence-final position. Both **sêin** EV and **čɨ̃tʸe'e** AFF are at least related to main verbs.

ah pũ-'i há'a=hi-(y)a'-a-kãa-va-cɨ
then SUBJ-SEQ be=NARR-away-outside-down-fall-PAST
LOC

sêin ɨ tʸaška
EV ART scorpion
'Apparently the scorpion dropped down from there.'

hẽe-cɨ̃-tʸe-'e
yes-be-make-APPLIC
certain
'That's for sure.'

ka-pũ cɨ̃-tʸe-'e
NEG-SUBJ be-make-APPLIC
certain
'That's for sure not the case.'

yã'ušu pũ nʸã'u pɨ̃=hĩ'i-rɨh-kaa cɨ̃-tʸe-'e
possum SUBJ well ASSR=NARR-do-HAB be-make-APPLIC
certain
'Sure enough, a possum is responsible.'

Pronominal

There are four classes of subject markers in Cora. They include a series of bound prefixes, a semi-independent series of particles, a series of pausal forms, and a series of emphatic independent pronouns.

In many constructions that include an auxiliary sequence, both a tightly bound subject prefix and a more loosely bound subject particle can occur. The subject particles tend to occur when various nominal and adjectival and adverbial elements become preposed to the verb.

The pausal forms consist of a subject particle plus a following glottal stop and a copy of the particle vowel, which (except for second person singular) is always **u**. Pausal forms are always pronounced with final intonation.

Finally, for the first person forms of the free pronouns, there is an alternation between **i**-initial and **C**-initial stems. The **i**-initial forms tend to occur utterance-finally, as objects of postpositions and in reduced constructions of the form CNJ-PRON. The C-initial stems tend to occur pre-verbally.

The series of SUBJ markers are as follows:

PF		PRT	
n^{y}a-	**ta-**	**nu**	**tu**
pa-	**sa-/ša-**	**pa**	**šu**
0	**ma-**	**pu**	**mu**

Pausal Forms		Independent Forms	
nu'u	**tu'u**	**(i)n^{y}aa**	**(i)t^{y}an**
papu'u	**šu'u**	**m^{w}aa**	**m^{w}aan**
pu'u	**mu'u**	DEMONSTRATIVE	

n^{y}a-wā́či
I-be
skinny
'I'm skinny.'

ḗiwa nū́=wači
lots I=be
skinny
'I'm very skinny.'

ka-nū́=wači
NEG-I=skinny
'I'm not skinny.'

ka-nu=t^{y}í'i-k^{w}i'í n^{y}a-wā́či nu'u
NEG-I=DISTR-be I-be I:PS
sick skinny
I'm not sick. I'm just skinny, that's all.'

Clitic Sequences

There are several tight-knit sequences of clitics that are only loosely tied to the main verb in a clause. Frequently constituents such as LOC noun phrases, OBJ noun phrases, SUBJ noun phrases, quantifiers, and adverbs occur between a clitic sequence and the verb. Some of these clitic sequences can be post-posed to the verb or even be used as free forms, especially in answer to a question. Finally, in subordinate constructions it is possible to find two distinct clitic sequences occurring together. It is convenient to classify all such clitic sequences under the category AUXILIARY.

The various elements that can occur in auxiliary clitic sequences include subject prefixes and particles, the locative base **ā́ū́**, negative and modal clitics, adverbial subordinators, and certain conjunctions.

The following examples illustrate various tight-knit clitic sequences. Usually, the sequence occurs sentence-initially and contributes some adverbial meaning to the entire clause. Additional ideas include that of realized versus non-realized activity.

n^{y}-ā́uu=če'e=šaamɨ'ɨ
I-LOC=CONT=be
BASE cold
'I'm still cold.'

nu'u-rī=šaamɨ'ɨ
I:PS-now=be
cold
'I'm already cold.'

ka-nū́=(čḗ'e=)šaamɨ'ɨ
NEG-I=(CONT-)be
cold
'I'm not cold (any longer).'

ka-šɨ̄ɨ-nū́=šaamɨ'ɨ
NEG-IMPOT-I=be
cold
'I'm not yet cold.'

ma-tɨ'ɨh-tā́=m-ī mā́ɨh-nā́ ɨ̄ t^{y}aakū́
they-when-afterwards=they-be they-DEM ART toad

a-u-tā́-m^{w}a'aree-ri-'i
away-horizontal-PERF-know-APPLIC-STAT
'Then they thought to call on toad.'

Question formation, subject and object topicalization, and other things related to the formation of complex sentences frequently put clitic sequences into a non-initial position within a sentence.

rum^{w}á pú ari-'i-tā́ hi-rā́-'a-k^{w}a'a
zapote SUBJ now-SEQ-afterwards NARR-DISTR:SG-away-eat

ā́ɨhna ɨ̄ ya'ušu
DEM ART possum
'And so it is that that possum is now eating a zapote.'

tɨ=p^{w}ā́'ah p-eri-'i-tā́=mḗ'e=(y)a'-u-sêɨh
SUBR=COND you-now-SEQ-afterwards=LOC=away-COMPL-see
PS
'Whenever you now see him anywhere around...'

me=n^{y}-ahtā́ yée n^{y}-erī hī-'ik^{w}a
as=I-CNJ QUOT I-now NARR-be
for hungry
'And as for me, I am now hungry.'

n^{y}ī pa-kā́i-čḗ'e=šaamɨ'ɨ
Q you-IRR-CONT=be:cold
'Are you not cold any longer?'

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

Cora has several basic uses of verbs that mean 'be'. Existential sentences may consist of a nominal subject and a zero predicate. Other existential constructions use either some form of the stem **héen^{y}a** or the stem **pɨrɨkɨ**.

hḗiwa	**mū́=šahčeh**
many	they=dung beetles

'There are lots of dung beetles.'

cankā́	**pū́=pū́-een**
sugar	SUBJ=ASSR-be

'It's crude brown sugar.'

n^{y}ī	**a-yɨ̄'ɨ**	**pɨ̄rɨkɨ**
Q	your-skirt	be

'Is this your skirt?'

The notion 'be' is closely tied to ideas about location and position. Both the verbs **héen^{y}a** and **šuaavi** are used to express the occurrence of something in a general area.

utā́n	**hece**	**mū́=hā́'a**	**hê'ita'a**	**héen**
other side	at	they=be located	in middle	be

'They are off yonder on the far side of the river.'

n^{y}í	**wā́-šuaa**	**ɨ̄**	**yuuri**	**hā́'u**	**pḗ-hḗ'e-če**
Q	EXT-be	ART	corn	where:SUBR	you-be-live located

'Is there any corn off there where you live?'

The stem **pɨrɨkɨ** also names a location when it is marked by the seventh position prefix **ā'** 'away', which is related (historically, at least) to the stem **he'e.**

tu-'urī	**akatlan**	**pɨ-hā́'a-rɨkɨ**
we-now	PN	ASSR-away-be

'We're *now* in Acatlān.'

The stem **hḗ'e** (or **hā́'a**) also appears to indicate generalized locality.

ha'un^{y}ĩ p-ũh-me-'en hẽ'e meehiku
where ASSR-REFL(?)-go-PRTC be PN
located
'Mexico City is located off in which direction?'

ka=pú mẽ'e=hé'e t^{y}i'iti
NEG=SUBJ there=be something
PS located
'There was nothing off there outside.'

Another stem, **wã'a** 'later on, beyond' is used to reinforce the meaning of **he'e** 'be located'. This construction apparently only occurs in negative sentences.

ka=pú=ya-kã'a=hã'a-wa'a
NEG=SUBJ=here-lay=be-beyond
located
'There is nothing down here.'

A set of posture verbs is used for describing particular locations in which particular kinds of objects are found. The stems of this set and their meanings are given below.

vee (SG)/**uu** (PL)	'to be standing' (tall object)
ka (SG)/**t^{y}i** (PL)	'to be seated' (equidimensional object)
pĩi	'to be lying down' (flat but flexible object)
kã'a	'to be lying down' (long, rigid object)
m^{w}aa	'to cover an area' (flat, rigid object)

The following are typical examples:

wa-t^y-ẽh-vee
EXT-up-along-be
edge standing
'He is standing up.'

m^{w}a-a-t^{y}ã-uu
they-EXT-in -be
middle standing
'They are standing up.'

yã=nũ=wã-ka
here=I=EXT-be:seated
'I am here.'

yã=mũ=wa-t^{y}ĩ
here=they=EXT-be:seated
'They are here.'

na'a is not restricted to locative predications:

ayãa mũ=če'e-tã
thus they=CONT-afterwards

ma-na'a wã-uh-ruu
they-be COMPL-REFL-alive

t^{y}a-tɨ̄h	**īt^{y}an**
we-like	we

'They are of the same race as us.'

The existential stem **héen^{y}a** 'be' takes both sentential and verbal complements.

yāa	**pū=heen**	**kumu**	**m^{w}ašā**	**hɨ'ɨsi**
thus	SUBJ=be	like	deer	eyes

'It is like the eyes of a deer.'

n^{y}ī	**me-yān**	**hē'en^{y}a-'a**	**wā-šuaa**	**ɨ**	**kawaayu'u**
Q	they-thus	be-DUR:PRTC	EXT-exist	ART	horse

'Are there really horses like this in some place?'

The suppletive tense stems of the verb 'go' occur as complements to **héen^{y}a.** Semantically, they add an aspectual sense to the meaning of the entire sentence; i.e. they are auxiliary verbs.

ayāa	**pū=hē'en^{y}a-'a**	**hā'a-raa**
thus	SUBJ=be-DUR	be-leave
	PRTC	located

'And this is how it came out.'

ayāa	**pū=hē'en^{y}a-'a**	**hā'a-ye'i**
thus	SUBJ=be-DUR	be -walk
	PRTC	located around

'And this is how it has come out.'

ayāa	**pū=hē'en^{y}a-'a**	**hā'a-me**
thus	SUBJ=be-DUR	be-go
	PRTC	located

'And this is how it will come out.'

HAVE

Both individual verb stems and incorporated possessed object nouns figure among the various locutions used to express the notion 'have' in Cora. One such construction consists of a possessed nominal as the subject of the verb **pɨrɨkɨ** 'be'.

n^{y}i-yauh	**pū=pɨ̄rɨkɨ**
my-son	SUBJ=be

'He is my son.'

ā-'ara'a-n	**pū=pɨrɨkɨ**	**amɨ̄hna**
inanimate -NONREFL-ABS	SUBJ=be	DEM
possession POSSR		

'This thing is his.'

Possessed nouns can be used as the predicate in a clause.

ha'atáanʸí ra-yauu-ka
who DISTR:SG-son-HAB
'Whose son is it?'

nʸe-tʸí'i-h-yuurí
I-DISTR-DISTR:SG-corn
'I have corn.'

In some incorporated possessed object constructions, the possessor is marked by direct object pronouns or by an accusative form of the third person demonstrative pronoun.

nʸéeci pú=nʸa-'a
me SUBJ=my-inanimate possession
'It's mine.'

The suppletive forms **kɨi** (SG) and **ya'amʷa** (PL) mark possession of domestic animals. (See POSSESSIVES for discussion of the classification of possessed nouns.)

nʸéeci pú=nʸa-kɨi ɨ waaka
me SUBJ=my-animal ART cow
'It's my cow.'

nʸéeci mú=nʸi-yá'amʷaa ɨ waaka-si
me they=my-animal:PL ART cow-PL
'They are my cows.'

With inanimate possessed objects, distributive **tʸí'-** is used to mark plural.

nʸéeci pū=tʸí'i-nʸa-'a
me SUBJ=DISTR-my-inanimate possession
'They are my things.'

Cora has an overt main verb **ča'ɨ**, which means roughly 'to possess X'. It frequently occurs with a preceding derivative element **ăh**, which is probably a locative particle.

ha'atăanʸí ta'u-tʸé mě=hě'e=ča'ɨh
who egg-PL there=be=have located
'Who anywhere around would have eggs (to sell)?'

Possessive constructions distinguish between definite possessed objects and indefinite possessed objects.

kūko pū=ra-kana
PN SUBJ=DISTR:SG-guitar
'Cuco owns the guitar.'

ɨ kuko séih pú=tʸɨ́-kana
ART PN one SUBJ=UNSPEC-guitar
OBJ
'Cuco owns a guitar.'

ka-nú=r-áh-ča'ɨ sápun
NEG-I=DISTR:SG-(?)-have soap
'I don't have the soap.'

fidél pán pú=tʸɨ́-ča'ɨ
PN bread SUBJ=UNSPEC-have
OBJ
'Fidel has bread.'

Specific locations may be mentioned regarding the position of the possessed object.

nʸɨ́ pu-'an-tá-tameh
Q you-on-across-teeth
top
'Do you have a lot of teeth?'

ru-'u-k-áh-ča'ɨh ɨ ru-ka'anʸɨ́ cahta'a
DISTR:SG-inside-down-(?)-have ART his-bag inside
'He has it in his shoulder bag.'

háh mʷaa áh-na
water be there-PREV
spread REF
out
'There was a pool of water there.'

púuru'u ha-uu-ká'a
donkey away-horizontally-be:laying
'A donkey was stretched out on the ground.'

Finally, the main verb **na'a** 'be' indicates the idea of being in a particular condition or of a given quality.

ha'inʸɨ́ ma-na'a
how they-be
'How are they?' or
'What are they like?'

kú šuêe hɨríh na'a
EV seem hill be
'It looks like a mountain.'

nʸɨ́ amɨ́ɨ na'a
Q DEM be
'Is that all of it?'

The existential stem **na'a** 'be' can occur with an adverbial and an embedded sentential complement in a structure that can be paraphrased 'It is there in X location that Y nominal occurs in a given posture'.

má'a=na'a ūh-vee mɨ kɨša'uri mɨ méesa hapʷa
there:PS=be inside-stand ART bottle ART table on
slope
'The thermos bottle is standing up there on top
of the table.'

mā'a=na'a ūh-ka mɨ teleefono mɨ méesa hapʷa
there:PS=be inside-sit ART telephone ART table on
slope
'The telephone is sitting there up on top of the table.'

The stem **he'e** 'be located' can be used in the above construction, substituting for **na'a**:

nʸɨ́ ya=hā'a vēhli'i ha'-u-tʸ-ēh-vee
Q here=be nearby away-EXT-up-along-be
located edge standing
'Is he standing around somewhere close to here?'

r-a-'i-r-āh-ča'ɨh ɨ tʸasta'a
DISTR-outside-across -facing-(?)-have ART cave
SG trajectory out
'He has it in the cave.'

wa-tʸée-či'i
EXT-be-house
extended
'He has a house.'

DO

Cora has several main verbs that express ideas related to 'do'. One stem **taawa** has an alternate form **taav-** when occurring with the applicative suffix **-e**. It means, variously, 'make', 'fabricate', or 'build'.

tʸɨ́'i-taawa šāhmʷa'ari
DISTR-make net
'He's making a fish net.'

séih pá-na-a-tʸā-taav-e-hsin ɨ turuumpʷa'a
one you-me-COMPL-UNSPEC-make-APPLIC-DUR ART drum
OBJ(?)
'You will make me a drum.'

The stem **rɨ** can mean either 'do' or 'happen'.

ayāa pú=tʸɨ'i-rɨ-nʸa-ka
thus SUBJ=DISTR-do-come-HAB
around
'This is what happens.'

pu-'urī́ é'ih p^{w}ā́'a wa-rɨ̄h
SUBJ-now something bad COMPL-do
'It broke down.'

ha'in^{y}ī́ t^{y}a-rɨ-n^{y}i
what we-do-FUT
'What will we do?'

The stem **ruura** means to do something to someone, to fashion something out of something else, or to happen to someone.

ayā́a pū́=t^{y}i-na-ā́-ruu
thus SUBJ=DISTR-me-COMPL-happen
'This is what happened to me.'

ayā́a nū́=ra-ruu-re
thus I=DISTR:SG-do-CAUS:APPLIC
'This is what I'm doing to it.'

Cora has several derivative suffixes that can be glossed as 'make' or 'become'. They have the phonological shapes **-ta**, **-ra**, **-ca**, and **-ri**, respectively. With some verb stems they have become fused with the applicative suffix **-e**, and thus show additional shapes such as **-t^{y}e'e**, **-re'e**, and **-ce'e** (see **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Causative).

t^{y}ī'i-hata'uh-ta
DISTR-bag-CAUS
'She is making a woven shoulder bag.'

t^{y}apɨ̄-ce'e mɨ̄ cɨ'ɨ
fleas-CAUS:APPLIC ART dog
'The dog has fleas.'

wa-t^{y}ê-yu'uša-ra
COMPL-PERF-various-CAUS
colors
'It's going to turn all sorts of colors.'

n^{y}ī=kī́ wâ-ye'i-ri
Q=INDF EXT-walk-IMPRF
CAUS
'Is it becoming walkable on?'

NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Passive

Cora has a true passive suffix with three forms: **-i**, **-hwa**, and **-iwa**. It is possible that the longer form is really bimorphemic. Stem-final vowels ablaut to **-i** when the passive suffix is added.

t^yī'i-was-t^ye-'e	**t^yī'i-was-t^yi-'i**
DISTR-sow-make-APPLIC	DISTR-sow-make-STAT
'He is sowing seed.'	'It is sown.'

an-t^yi-šīici-'iwa-hmee mɨ našai-ra'a-n mɨ puuru'u
on-up-slice-PASS-COLL ART ear-NONREFL-ABS ART donkey
top POSSR
'This donkey's ears are cut short.'

t^yé'-e-yaaca	**t^yī'i-yeecī-hwa**
DISTR-outside-cook stew	DISTR-cook-PASS stew
'She's cooking.'	'The things are cooked.'
(cf. **yāacari** 'stew')	

All of the active examples above involve unspecified objects. From the following example, it might seem that an agentive phrase can occur with a passive verb.

an-kā-cu'u-ta'i-ri-'i ɨ it^{y}a'ɨh ɨ tāih kɨme'e
on-down-break-burn-make-STAT ART spoon ART fire with
top
'The edge of the head of the spoon is burned off by a fire.'

However, animate nouns cannot be the object of the postposition in such constructions.

***kɨst^{y}īhwa ɨ bērta kɨme'e**
be ART PN with
braided
'It was braided by Betty.'

(This last phrase is taken to mean that Betty is braided along with the other materials that the braided object consists of.)

Finally, there is a passive causative morpheme **-re**.

wa-mḗ'e-re
COMPL-kill-make:PASS:APPLIC
'He got killed.'

Reflexive

There are four reflexive verb prefixes. Third person singular and second and third person plural have all merged to **ru-**. The **r-**initial forms occur word-initially and at stress group boundaries. Before vowel-initial stems, **ru** metathesizes to **ur**. The first person singular form shows up as **-n-** when it follows certain prefixes such as **wa-** COMPL and **tʸī'-** DISTR.

nʸa-	**ta-**
a-	**ru-**
ru-	**ru-**

These reflexive prefixes, for one, serve to indicate the simple case where subject and object are coreferential, as the following examples show.

***nu-*'urī=*nʸ*a-pɨs-te-'e**
I-now=myself-warm-make-APPLIC
'Now I'm warming myself.'

pa-pu'urī=a-pɨs-te-'e
you-now=yourself-warm-make-APPLIC
'Now you are warming yourself.'

pu-'urī=ru-pɨs-te-'e
he-now=himself-warm-make-APPLIC
'Now he is warming himself.'

nʸa-wā́-n-pɨs-teh
I-COMPL-myself-warm-make:APPLIC
'I warmed myself.'

wā́-uh-pɨs-teh
COMPL-REFL-warm-make:APPLIC
'He warmed himself.'

The **h** associated with the **u**-forms results from consonant softening (see **PHONOLOGY.**)

The reflexive prefixes may be reinforced by either the reflexive pronoun (**sā́ɨh** SG; **hɨ̄ɨmʷa'a** PL) or the reciprocal pronoun **-šā́'a.** *The reflexive pronoun conveys the idea of the participants* involved doing something without the intervention of anybody else. It also has an emphatic use.

nʸa-wā́-n-pɨs-tʸeh **nʸa-sā́ɨh**
I-COMPL-myself-warm-make:APPLIC I-self
'I warmed myself up all by myself.'

ma-wā́-uh-tʸa'ašɨh	**ru-hɨ́ɨmʷa'a**
they-COMPL-themselves-quarrel	REFL-selves

'They quarreled among themselves.'

The reciprocal pronoun reinforces the notion that the action participant A had on B is the same as B had on A.

me-tʸ-uh-tʸā́'ašɨh	**ru-šā́'ah**
they-up-REFL-rebuke	REFL-equally

'They rebuked each other equally.'

An additional use of the plural reflexive in Cora is to express the notion of reciprocal activity among participants.

tʸē-tʸa-ta-va'ara	**ma-wā́-ur-ɨ-ša**
we-in-REFL-beat middle	they-COMPL-REFL-facing-talk
'We're beating each other up.'	'They talked it over among themselves.'

The reflexives also can appear as the objects of postpositions, usually resulting in a reciprocal meaning.

ru-cā́hta'a	**pū́=nʸee-re-'i**
REFL-inside	SUBJ=be-make-STAT light

'It is lighted up within itself.'

tʸ-ahtā́	**hḗ'eyan**	**ta-wā́rɨta'a**
we-CNJ	subsequently	REFL-behind

'And, subsequently, back we go by the way we came.'

ru-hece	**šu=rā́-a-wauu-nʸɨ**
REFL-in	you=DISTR-COMPL-look-FUT PL SG for

'Look for it within your very own selves.'

Reflexives also appear on certain verb-like forms that have an adverbial function in a sentence.

se-yaana	**ru-šā́awa**
you-smoke PL	yourselves-contentedly

'You all are smoking to your heart's content.'

Unspecified Arguments

There are several constructions in Cora that use affixes that indicate an underlying unspecified object. The distributive plural morpheme **tʸi'-** has this as one of its functions. Note the following contrasting sentences:

nʸe-tʸī'i-kʷa'a
I-DISTR-eat
'I am eating.'

maangū nū=kʷa'a
mango I=eat
'I am eating a mango.'

Certain possessive constructions of the form N_1 POSSESSES N_2 illustrate the contrast between specified possessed objects and unspecified possessed objects. These constructions basically consist of a prefix and an incorporated possessed noun. In the case of a specified possessed noun, the prefix selected is **ra-**. For unspecified (or indefinite) possessed nouns, the prefix is **tʸi-** in the singular and either **tʸ-** or **h-** in distributive plural forms. (**tʸ-** occurs preceding vowel-initial stems and **h-** before consonant-initial stems.)

ra-sīiku'u ɨ rodriigu
DISTR:SG-shirt ART PN
'Rodrigo owns the shirt.'

tʸī-siiku'u ɨ rodriigu
UNSPEC-shirt ART PN
OBJ
'Rodrigo owns a shirt.'

The following examples show the alternation between **tʸ-** and **h-** in distributive plural possessed forms.

tʸī'i-tʸ-ɨrɨh hēiwa
DISTR-UNSPEC-feather lots
OBJ shaft
'He has lots of feather shafts.'

tʸī'i-h-tʸapʷeih héiwa
DISTR-UNSPEC-hatchet lots
OBJ
'He has lots of hatchets.'

There are certain derived adjective forms which also reflect an unspecified object. Most of these forms involve the distributive plural prefix **tʸi-** (see **SYNTACTIC MARKING**). They also may include the reflexive **ru-**. The identification of **u-** in these forms is questionable since there is a **u-** allomorph of **wa-** COMPLETIVE, which is more likely present in these forms.

tʸū'-u-kuhmɨ-stʸe'-e
DISTR-COMPL-be-make-APPLIC
sleepy
'sleep-inducing'

ru-ča-cá
REFL-bite-(?)
'It really has a bite to it.' (strong distilled drink)

tʸū'-u-če'e-va-ka
DISTR-COMPL(?)-bite-HAB-HAB
'It bites.' (an insect)

rū-'ik^{w}a-ta-ve-'e
REFL-be-make-HAB-APPLIC
hungry
'One gets hungry.'

t^{y}-ū-'ik^{w}a-ste-'e
DISTR-COMPL-be-make-APPLIC
hungry
'hunger-inducing'

QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

The usual yes/no question marker is **n^{y}i**, which occurs first in a sentence unless another constituent is topicalized. It may be followed by the morpheme **ki** to indicate doubt on the speaker's part in asking the question.

n^{y}ī pé-'īk^{w}a
Q you-be
hungry
'Are you hungry?'

hari m^{w}āa n^{y}í p-erī-hī'īk^{w}a
CNJ you Q you-now-be
hungry
'As for you, are you hungry now?'

n^{y}ī kī wá-ye'i-ri
Q INDF EXT-walk-IMPRF
CAUS
'Is it becoming walkable on?'

A simple yes/no question can be answered by a single affirmative particle or some auxiliary sequence; the verb or a synonym can optionally be included in the response. There also may be some explanation of or qualification to the original question along with the response particle, or another question seeking some clarification of the original.

Q: **n^{y}ī hée**	A: **hée wīi**
Q AFF	AFF EMPH
'Is it really so?'	'It sure is!'

Q: **n^{y}ī pē-'ik^{w}a m^{w}āa**
Q you-be hungry you
'Are you hungry?'

A: **ka-nú**
NEG-I
'No.'

Q: **n^{y}ī p-erí hêekan án-pit^{y}i**
Q you-now very on top -be pointed
'Do you now have a long, pointed nose?' (=Are you hungry?)

A: **hée wíi nu-'urí a-uu-pīp^{w}a**
AFF EMPH I-now on-horizontally-be edge skinny
'I sure am. Now I'm good and skinny around the waistline.' (=I'm really hungry.)

A declarative sentence, used as a conversation opener, is often understood as a simple yes/no question. There does not seem to be any special intonation attached to its use.

pe-t^{y}ī'i-m^{w}are'e p-āuu-če'e
you-DISTR-work you-LOC-CONT BASE
'You are working still.'

Negative questions are formed by attaching **kai** IRR to the subject prefix.

n^{y}ī pa-kâi=hi'ik^{w}a
Q you-IRR=be hungry
'Are you not hungry?'

Negative questions, when answered with a positive response, mean the addressee is affirming the positive form of the question. A negative response means the addressee is denying the positive form of the question.

Q: **n^{y}ī pa-kâi=tā-k^{w}a'ana-šɨh**
Q you-IRR=PERF-be tired-PAST
'Did you not get tired?'

A: **ka-nū**
NEG-I
'No (I did not get tired)!'

A: **hēe ha'in^{y}í n^{y}-ɨh-tā n^{y}á'u**
AFF why I-SEQ-PERF well
'Why, yes. I sure did (get tired)!'

Negative questions themselves can form all or part of the denial of negative statements. The verb may be deleted from the negative question.

Q: **n^{y}ī pē-ik^{w}a m^{w}áa**
Q you-be hungry you
'Are you hungry?'

A: **ka-nū**
NEG-I
'No.'

Q: **ãii n^{y}ã'u pa-kãi pē-ik^{w}a**
DEM well you-IRR you-be hungry
'How can you not be? You are hungry.
(I know you haven't eaten for days.)'

Cora also has a pair of alternative yes/no questions. In one case, a pair of yes/no alternatives follows an initial WH question.

he'in^{y}ī a-m^{w}ari amɨhna n^{y}ī a-yáuh ka'ɨn a-n^{y}áuh
what you-call DEM Q your-son or your-uncle

na'arii a-'iwáara'a nusuu a-hã'a
or your-cousin or your-older brother
'What relation is he to you? Is he your son, or your uncle, or your cousin, or your older brother?'

The other case involves the contrast between a positive yes/no question and a reduced negative form of the same question in which the verb is deleted.

n^{y}ī pē-ik^{w}a ka'ɨn pa-kãi
Q you-be hungry or you-IRR
'Are you hungry or not?'

An alternative question can pair a yes/no question with a WH question.

n^{y}ī pe-t^{y}ī'i-k^{w}i'i ka'ɨn he'in^{y}ī p-e'en
Q you-DISTR-be sick or how you-be
'Are you sick, or what is the matter with you?'

Cora also has a true tag-question, which also involves the use of IRR.

pa-ná-a-k^{w}anam^{w}a n^{y}ī pa-kãi
you-me-COMPL-lie Q you-IRR
'You fed me a line, didn't you?'

Finally, as some of the examples of negative questions have shown, Cora used reduced questions in which the verb is left unsaid. The expressed constituents include both nominal and auxiliary elements, as well as postpositional phrases. Sometimes even Q is deleted.

harí ɨ tɨ á-ham^{w}án
CNJ ART SUBR you-with
'And (where is) your husband?' (Lit., the one who accompanies you.)

harí kí wí ɨ n^{y}a-múuku'u hece
CNJ INDF QUOT ART my-hat in
'Or, (how about catching it) in my hat?'

n^{y}í p-áúu-če'e
Q you-LOC-CONT
BASE
'Do you want any more?'

WH Questions

The WH question words of Cora all include the basic question marker **n^{y}i** or the indefinite ending -**ki**, which has a subjunctive or dubitative meaning. These WH words normally come first in a sentence unless some constituent other than WH is topicalized. Indefinite pronouns differ in form from the WH words only by the final **-n^{y}i** or -**ki**. The two WH words **ha'atán^{y}í** 'who' and **t^{y}i'itán^{y}í** 'what AN/INAN' have distinct forms for subject and object when they are singular. These two WH words also have distinct plural forms for which the subject/object distinction is not made.

ha'atán^{y}í	'who'	(DEF, SG, SUBJ)
ha'atákí	'who'	(INDF, SG, SUBJ)
ha'atáhn^{y}í	'who'	(DEF, SG, OBJ)
ha'atáhkí	'who'	(INDF, SG, OBJ)
ha'at^{y}ánn^{y}í	'who'	(DEF, PL, SUBJ/OBJ)
ha'at^{y}ánkí	'who'	(INDF, PL, SUBJ/OBJ)
t^{y}i'itán^{y}í	'what'	(DEF, SG, SUBJ)
t^{y}i'itákí	'what'	(INDF, SG, SUBJ)
t^{y}i'itáhn^{y}í	'what'	(DEF, SG, OBJ)
t^{y}i'itáhkí	'what'	(INDF, SG, OBJ)
t^{y}i'it^{y}ánn^{y}í	'what'	(DEF, AN, PL, SUBJ/OBJ)
t^{y}i'it^{y}ánkí	'what'	(INDF, AN, PL, SUBJ/OBJ)
ha'anáhn^{y}í	'when'	(DEF, REM)
ha'anáhkí	'when'	(INDF, REM)
ha'acáhn^{y}í	'when'	(DEF, DIST)
ha'acáhkí	'when'	(INDF, DIST)
ha'un^{y}í	'where'	(DEF)
ha'ukí	'where'	(INDF)
ha'in^{y}í/he'in^{y}í	'how'	(DEF)
ha'ikí/he'ikí	'how'	(INDF)
ha'ačún^{y}í	'how much'	(DEF)
ha'ačúki	'how much'	(INDF)

ha'atán^{y}í ra-a-hé'ika
who:DEF   DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill
'Who killed him?'

ha'atáhkí wa-hé'ika
whom:INDF COMPL-kill
'Whom might he have killed?'

ha'at^{y}ánkí ma-ra-a-tá-'išaa
who:PL:INDF they-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell
'Who might they have been who told him?'

t^{y}i'itán^{y}í pɨ-rɨkɨ
what:DEF   ASSR-be
'What is it?'

t^{y}i'itáhkí wá-maara-ka'a
what:INDF COMPL-dream-PAST
'What might he have dreamed?'

t^{y}i'it^{y}ánn^{y}í mah   pɨ-rɨkɨ
what:PL:DEF they   ASSR-be
             SUBR(?)
'What are those bugs called?'

ha'anáhn^{y}í pa-n-úu-m^{w}aari-n
when:DEF   you-me-horizontally-visit-FUT(?)
'When are you going there to visit me?'

ha'un^{y}í   p-é'e-če   m^{w}áa
where:DEF you-be-home you
              located
'Where do you live?'

ha'ačúkí ra-nahči
how   DISTR:SG-cost
much:INDF
'How much might it cost?'

There are a number of complex WH forms. These involve combinations such as demonstrative + affix, WH word + predicate, and WH word + postpositional phrase.

aíi tá'uh	'What on earth...?'
ha'ačún^{y}í ma-p^{w}a'am^{w}a	'How many?' (AN)
ha'ačún^{y}í t^{y}í'i-p^{w}a'an	'How many?' (INAN)
ha'in^{y}í éen kɨn	'For what reason...?'
ha'in^{y}í t^{y}i'itɨh kɨn	'For what reason...?'

aíi tá'uh t^{y}i'itɨh t^{y}a-ruu-re-n
DEM EXCL what:OBJ we-do-make-FUT(?)
'What on earth shall we do?'

ha'ačū́n^{y}ī́ ma=p^{w}a'a-m^{w}á m^{w}a-a-raa-t^{y}ā́h-turaa
how they=amount-AN they-COMPL-facing-in-stay
many:DEF to away middle
'How many people were they that stayed behind?'

ha'in^{y}ī́ ē̂en kɨ̄n pa-kā́i ā'ih
how be with you-IRR something

t^{y}i-na-a-tā́-'išaa
DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-say
'Why did you not tell me anything about that (in the first place)?'

ha'in^{y}ī́ t^{y}i'itɨ̄h kɨ̄n m^{w}ā-a-k^{w}anam^{w}a
how thing:OBJ with you-COMPL-lie
'For what purpose did he feed you a line?'

Some WH words occur in combination with postpositions. The objective forms of **t^{y}i'itan^{y}ī́** 'what' and **ha'atan^{y}i** 'who' appear in these combinations, and the postpositions retain their high tone.

ha'un^{y}ī́ hecḗ
where at
'In what direction...?'

t^{y}i'itā́hn^{y}ī́ hap^{w}ā́
what:OBJ on
'On top of what thing...?'

ha'atā́hn^{y}ī́ hemī́
whom:OBJ with
'Where who is...?'

t^{y}i'itā́hn^{y}ī́ het^{y}ḗ
what:OBJ below
'Below what thing...?'

t^{y}i'itā́hn^{y}ī wārita'a
what:OBJ behind
'Behind what...?'

A postposition can be moved with its question-word object to clause-initial position.

ra-'an-t^{y}-ḗ-iča'ah-rā́'a ɨ̄ t^{y}et^{y}ḗ het^{y}e
DISTR-on-up-away-excavate-REM ART rock beneath
SG top PAST
'He had dug the hole beneath the rock.'

ha'un^{y}ī́ hecḗ y-e'-en-t^{y}-ḗ-iča'ah-raa
where at it-away-on-up-at-excavate-REM
top edge PAST
'Where at did he dig a hole?'

ā́n=nū́=hā́-'asa-ka ɨ̄ sā̂antos hemi
on=I=away-stay-HAB ART PN with
top
'I generally stay up there at Santos' place.'

ha'atā́hn^{y}ī́ hemī́ p-ā́'-asa-ka
who:OBJ with you-away-stay-HAB
'With whom do you generally stay?'

The following examples also show material being advanced along with the question word.

tʸi'itāhnʸī	**puēerta-ra'a**	**hetʸē**	**ha-'a-r-ăh-ka**
what:OBJ	door-NONREFL POSSR(?)	beneath	there-outside-facing-in-sit away slope

'Under which door was he sitting?'

tʸi'itāhnʸī	**wāatari-ra'a**	**an-tʸɨ̄-'i**
what:OBJ	medicine-NONREFL POSSR(?)	on-up-drink top

'What medicine did he take?'

IMPERATIVES

Positive Imperatives

Subject Marking

The singular forms of positive imperatives are unmarked for subject. The plural forms, however, are marked with a subject particle or prefix.

wā-wau-wau
COMPL-RDP-look
for
'Look for it.'

se-tʸū'-u-wau-či
you:PL-DISTR-COMPL-look-IMP
for
'Look around, you all.'

Subject pronouns can occur with positive imperative forms for emphasis.

haisɨ	**mʷāa**	**waa-ta-vāh**
look	you	COMPL-PERF-follow

'Let's see, you follow her.'

Stem Marking

The simplest imperative forms are those with a singular subject that consist only of **wa-** COMPL plus a verb stem.

wa-kʷā'a
COMPL-eat
'Eat!'

Frequently, the stem is also marked by the participial suffix **-a**, which ablauts the stem vowel.

wa-yā́'-a
COMPL-drink-PRTC
'Drink the water.'

wa-čū́'eva'-a
COMPL-wait-PRTC
'Leave it sit a while.'

Numerous other affixes occur in the imperative forms of verbs, but for the most part it is not necessary to illustrate them here. The perfective prefix **ta-**, however, often occurs with **wa-** COMPL and seems to be an integral part of imperative verb forms.

wa-ta-šā́h
COMPL-PERF-say
'Speak up.'

wa-ta-pī́'i-st^{y}e-'e
COMPL-PERF-branch-make-APPLIC
'Flog him.'

There are several stems for which the imperative form ends with the morpheme -**či** or -**si**.

wa-tā́-n^{y}uu-či
COMPL-PERF-respond-IMP
'Answer him.'

ah-če-si
outside-move-IMP
'Get up.'

Two morpheme sequences that occur clause-initially in imperative clauses indicate the subject's movement either toward or away from the location where the activity is to take place. The adverb **ī́ya'a** 'here' summons the subject's (addressee's) movement to the speaker's location; the locative base **hauu** 'straight off to there' indicates that the addressee is to leave the speaker's location and perform an activity elsewhere. The final example shows that the two notions can be combined in the same sentence, i.e. the speaker calls an addressee to his own location and sends the addressee off somewhere else.

ī́ya'a an-t^{y}ī-yā́'-a
here on-up-drink-PRTC
top
'Come and have a drink of water.'

ā́ū́u-na'ara
LOC -make
BASE fire
'Go and build a fire.'

ī́ya'a ū́=t^{y}ā́-a'-u-k^{w}ā́'-a
here there=DISTR-away-COMPL-eat-PRTC
'Come on (so you can) go off there to eat.'

A numeral can be discontinuous from its head in an imperative.

séi na-a-t^yá-taav-e ɨ turuump^{w}a'a
one me-COMPL-UNSPEC-make-APPLIC ART drum
OBJ(?)
'Make me one drum.'

Note also this discontinuous appositive with deleted article:

ăuuh vīit^{y}e a'-u-ta-hêe-va ta-vâuhsi-m^{w}a'a
LOC rains away-COMPL-PERF-call-HAB our-elder-PL
BASE
'Go off and call back here our elders, The Rains.'

Negative Imperatives

Negative imperatives mark both singular and plural subject. The negative prefix appears as the first member in negative imperative verb words. As with positive imperatives, the negative imperatives can carry numerous combinations of affixes.

ka-péh-t^yī'i-šah-ta
NEG-you-DISTR-say-make
'Don't speak up.'

ka-šū-ra-vī'itɨ
NEG-you:PL-DISTR:SG-carry
off
'Don't take him away,
you all.'

The emphatic negative imperative is formed by attaching **-n** SUPP (supplicative mode) to the negative particle and inserting **pɨ** ASSR (strong assertion) between subject and object in the verb word.

ka-n=pí=n^{y}e-seih
NEG-SUPP=ASSR=me-see
'Don't be staring at me, for crying out loud!'

ka-n=sá=pɨ́=ta-tu'a-ša
NEG-SUPP=you=ASSR=us-hit-PAST
PL DISTR(?)
'For crying in the beer, don't you all be stoning us!'

Object Marking

Transitive verbs, with respect to direct object, can be marked for all the non-reflexive possibilities for number and person. In positive imperative sentences, third person singular direct object is typically left unmarked, i.e. 3P SG = 0:

nu-'u-t^yá-muuku'us-t^ye-'e
me-inside-in-hat-make-APPLIC
middle
'Put my hat on me.'

u-t^yá-muuku'us-t^ye-'e
inside-in-hat-make-APPLIC
middle
'Put his hat on him.'

Verbs which can be reflexivized take the appropriate singular or plural form.

wâ-'a-sa'upe-'e
COMPL-REFL-rest-APPLIC
'Rest yourself.'

ša-wâ-uh-sa'upe-'e
you:PL-COMPL-REFL-rest-APPLIC
'Rest yourselves.'

As the following examples show, third person singular direct object is marked by **ra-** DISTR SG in negative imperative sentences. Following the distributive plural prefix **t^yi'-**, third singular direct object is marked by **h-**.

ka-pah-rã-'an-vi'itɨ-či-wa-'an
NEG-you-DISTR-carry-IMP-PASS-PRTC
SG off
'Don't take him$_1$ away for him$_2$.'

ka-peh-t^yī'i-h-tui-ra
NEG-you-DISTR-DISTR:SG-carry-make
'Don't sell them to him.'

Stem and Suffix Changes

There are numerous stem and suffix differences between positive and negative imperative forms. In the data I have collected thus far, the positive imperative forms can take the applicative suffix **-e** and the aspectual past distributive suffix **-šɨ'ɨ**, neither of which appears to occur in negative imperative forms. As for negative imperatives, they are frequently marked by the participial suffix **-an**. The participial suffix may be accompanied by the habitual morphemes **-ka** and **-ve**, by the passive **-wa**, by the causative **-ra**, or by the remote past sequences **-kara'a** and **-awa'a**. Except for the causative **-ra**, none of these suffixes seem to appear on positive imperative forms. These differences are illustrated by the following pairs of verb forms.

-t^ye'e and **-awa'an**

u-t^yâ-muuku'us-t^ye-'e
inside-in-hat-make-APPLIC
middle
'Put his$_1$ hat on him$_1$.'

ka-pah-ru-'u-t^yâ-mu'uku'us-t^ya-wa-'an
NEG-you-DISTR-inside-in-hat-make-PASS-PRTC
SG middle
'Don't put his$_1$ hat on him$_1$.'

-šɨ'ɨ and **-awa'an**

tu-'u-t^{y}ā-muuku'us-t^{y}a-'a-šɨ'ɨ
us-inside-in-hat-make-APPLIC-PAST
middle DISTR
'Put our hats on us.'

ka-pah-tu-'u-t^{y}ā-mu'uku'us-t^{y}a-wa-'an
NEG-you-us-inside-in-hat-make-PASS-PRTC
middle
'Don't put our hats on us.'

-e and -**awa'an**

ná-'an-vi'itɨ-če-'e	**ka-pâh-ná-'an-vi'itɨ-či-wa-'an**
me-on -carry-IMP-APPLIC	NEG-you-me-on -carry-IMP-PASS-PRTC
top off	top off
'Take him away for me.'	'Don't take him away for me.'

-i and Ø

na-á-tui-ri-'i	**ka-pâh-n^{y}a-tui-ra**
me-COMPL-carry-make-STAT(?)	NEG-you-me-carry-make(?)
'Sell it to me.'	'Don't sell it to me.'

-i and **-an**

n-ā'-a-pih-ri-'i
me-away-outside-carry-make-STAT
'Take my jacket off me.'

ka-pâh-n-a'-a-pi'i-ra-'an
NEG-you-me-away-outside-carry-make-PRTC
'Don't take my jacket off me.'

-šɨ'ɨ and -**kare'en**

t^{y}i-t-ā'-a-pih-ri-'ira-šɨ'ɨ
DISTR-us-away-outside-carry-make-APPLIC(?)-PAST:DISTR
'Take our jackets off us, one by one.'

ka-pêh-t^{y}i-t-á'-a-pi'i-ra-ka-re-'en
NEG-you-DISTR-us-away-on-carry-make-HAB-REM-PRTC
edge PAST(?)
'Don't take our jackets off us.'

In short, a comparison of these pairs of examples shows that the positive imperative forms are most similar to perfective aspect forms while the negative imperative forms are most similar to imperfective aspect forms in the Cora verb system.

Vowel alternations between declarative forms and their corresponding imperative forms may affect either a stem or suffix vowel and they show up in both positive and negative imperative forms. They are due to the marking of imperative stems with the ablauting active participial suffix -**a**.

nʸe-yḗ'e
I-drink
'I am drinking.'

wa-yā́'-a
COMPL-drink-PRTC
'Drink up.'

pu-'urí nʸe-hê-'e-ču'eve'e ɨ nʸi-nâana
SUBJ-now me-away-outside-wait ART my-mother
for
'My mother is already off there waiting for me.'

na-a-čū́'eva'-a
me-COMPL-wait-PRTC
for
'Wait for me.'

Modal Imperatives

The modal imperatives of Cora include both exhortative and optative constructions. In addition there is a use of an auxiliary sequence that results in a continuative imperative construction. Finally, there is a periphrastic use of the future for the imperative.

Exhortative is expressed by a morpheme **če'e**. It is also inflected for person and number of the subject. The subject prefix vowel is **ɨ**. Although a complete paradigm is possible, some speakers object to the use of 2P SG and 2P PL subject forms. The exhortative mode is marked for perfective aspect.

nʸi-čḗ'e-wā́-n-pɨs-tʸe-'e-n
I-EXHRT-COMPL-REFL-warm-make-APPLIC-PRTC
'Let me warm myself up.'

čḗ'e-wā́-uh-pɨs-tʸe-'en-n
EXHRT-COMPL-REFL-warm-make-APPLIC-PRTC
'Let him warm himself up.'

Optative is expressed by inflecting, for person and number of subject, the basic locative base of the auxiliary element. The tone shift on the verb stem in the following paradigm shows that it is marked for imperfective aspect stem in contrast to exhortative, which is marked for perfective aspect stem.

nʸ-âuh=mí'i=wā́-n-pɨ́s-tʸe-'e-n
I-LOC=first=COMPL-REFL-warm-make-APPLIC-PRTC
BASE
'First, I would like to warm myself.'

č-âuh=mī'i=wá-uh-pɨs-t^{y}e-'e-n
EXHRT-LOC=first=COMPL-REFL-warm-make-APPLIC-PRTC
BASE
'...he would first like to go warm himself.'

The continuous imperative construction inflects locative base for person and number and pairs it with **če'e** CONT.

p-âuu-če'e=t^{y}ī'-a-m^{w}a'a-t^{y}e
you-LOC-CONT=DISTR-REFL-know-make
BASE APPLIC
'Keep on studying.'

The periphrastic future construction is limited to second person subjects.

p^{w}a-a-mê'e-n
you-COMPL-go-PRTC
'Get on your way.'

The periphrastic future may include the use of the SUBR **ta'a** 'purpose'. In this case the imperative sentence is cast as a purpose clause, which takes the future tense.

haisɨ́ pa-ta'a n^{y}â'u yêe t^{y}û'-u-ka-n hêiwa
let's see you-so:that well QUOT DISTR-COMPL-cut-PRTC lots wood
'Well, let's see, you should cut a lot of firewood.'

(In this example, **haisɨ** INTR conveys a performative notion in its own right, and this may carry some of the impact of an imperative idea.)

īih peh yéewi râ-h-kɨ'ɨ-ci ka'anâkan
now you SUBR QUOT DISTR-SG(?) in-slope(?) finish-PAST quickly
'Right now, finish this quickly.'

The final example both shows a probable instance of the periphrastic future as a modal imperative and illustrates the use of **če'e** in a subordinate clause.

pă-ra-a-tā-'i-šaa-t^{y}e-'e-n
you-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-facing-tell-make-APPLIC-PRTC

ɨ n^{y}i-tāata če'e m^{w}a-'an^{y}-ɨ́'ɨ-re-'e-n
ART my-father EXHRT you-on-top-carry-make-APPLIC-PRTC
'You will tell my father that he should take it for you.'

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-kɨ'ɨ	'deceased'
-ta'a	'place where N is'
-ša'a	'like'
-(a)na	'those from LOC'
-(a)ka	'one from LOC'/'those from LOC'
-si(?)	'those from LOC'
-ci	DIM (remnant from honorific system)
-si	HON
-(ri)st^{y}a	HON

N + **-kɨ'ɨ**

n^yi-yā́'up^{w}a my-father 'my father'	**n^yi-yā́'up^{w}a-kɨ'ɨ** my-father-deceased 'my deceased father'
n^ya-hū́u my-younger brother 'my kid brother'	**n^ya-hū́u-ci-kɨ'ɨ** my-younger-DIM-deceased brother 'my deceased younger brother'

N + **-ta'a**

seh 'sand'	**sā́a-ta'a** 'sandy place'
čeh 'place of residence'	**čā́h-ta'a** 'town'

N + **-ša'a**

hā́'ɨ 'ant'	**hā́'ɨ-ša'a** ant-like 'large wasp'
n^yi-yā́uh my-son 'my son'	**n^yi-yā́uh-ša'a** my-son-like 'my adopted son'

N + **-(a)na** (SG/PL)

yā́uhke'e
'Mesa del Nayar' (town)

yáuhka'a-na
'Meseño' (one from Mesa del Nayar)

k^{w}éimaruuse'e
'Santa Teresa' (town)

k^{w}éimaruusa'a-na
'Tereseño' (one from Sta. Teresa)

čuíset^{y}e
'Jesús María' (town)

čuiset^{y}á-ana
'Mariteco' (one from Jesús María)

martin čah-na
PN home-those
from
'Martin's household'

n^{y}i a-čé-na pa-ra-a-tá-it^{y}i-'i
Q your-home-those you-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-send-STAT
from
'Do you not write home to your family?'

N + -**(a)ka** (PL)

yáuhka'a-ka 'Meseños'	**čuiset^{y}á-aka** 'Maritecos'

N + -**si** (PL)

k^{w}éimaruu-si
'Tereseños'

Honorific

Certain forms that show up in the plurals of nouns that indicate kinship, ritual, or social ties are part of an honorific system. These include **-si**, **-ci**, **-rist^{y}a**, and **-st^{y}a**. There is a definite connection between some of these forms and their (former?) use as absolutives.

n^{y}i-n^{y}áuh my-uncle 'my uncle'	**n^{y}i-n^{y}áuu-si-m^{w}a'a** my-uncle-HON-PL 'my uncles'
n^{y}a-kuum^{w}áa my-child's godmother 'my child's godmother'	**n^{y}a-kuum^{w}áa-rist^{y}a-m^{w}a'a** my-child's-HON-PL godmother 'my children's godmothers'

Other

A few nouns are derived by suffixing an element to a verb or to an adjective stem. The most productive of these suffixes is **-ra'a/-hra'a.**

me-t^{y}ɨ̄'i-n^{y}e'i-sin they-DISTR-dance-DUR 'They are going to dance the mitote.'	**n^{y}ḗ'i-ra'a** dance-NR 'dance of the mitote'
n^{y}ḗ-h-še'eve-'e I-DISTR:SG-want-APPLIC 'I want it.'	**ru-šḗ'evi'i-ra'a** REFL-want-NR POSSR 'his will'
ru-ka'an^{y}ḗ REFL-be strong 'He is strong.'	**ka'an^{y}īh-ra'a** be-NR strong 'strength'

The active participial suffix **-kan** (which may be bimorphemic) is a fairly productive nominalizing suffix which derives nouns from adjectives or noun stems. The following are typical noun forms derived with the suffix complex **-kan.**

hā́hk^{w}a 'new' (ADJ)	**hā́hk^{w}a-kan** new-PRTC 'a new one'
t^{y}am^{w}ḗih 'youth'	**t^{y}am^{w}ḗis-ta-kan** youth-make-PRTC 'a youthful one'
rū́'i 'uncooked/green'	**rū́'i-kan** raw-PRTC 'uncooked stuff'
k^{w}āpe'est^{y}i 'watered-down'	**k^{w}āpe'est^{y}i-kan** watery-PRTC 'watered-down stuff'

Derived nominal forms with **-kan** cannot be used as subject in a sentence.

***tɨ'ɨsī-iwa-kan pū́=pɨ̄rɨkɨ**
grind-PASS-PRTC SUBJ=be
'It's a ground-up thing.'

These derived forms are used as objects in a sentence, however.

na-'a-rāa-nahči	**kʷasī-kan**
me-on -facing-meet	cook-PRTC
edge away	

'I like cooked ones.'

kʷasī-kan	**nū**	**Ø-wā-kʷaa**	**ɨ**	**muhme**
cooked-PRTC	I	DO:Ø-COMPL-eat	ART	beans

'I ate cooked beans.'

In the last example, the participle functions as direct object (this is shown by the zero verb agreement, characteristic of objects immediately preposed to the verb), and the noun phrase following the verb is appositional.

A suffix **tɨ** is used on a few adjectives and quantifiers to derive nouns that function as the subjects of their sentences.

mu'u-rī	**mʷi'i-tɨ̄**	**wā-kʷii**	**tɨ'ɨrīi**
they-already	many-PRTC	COMPL-die	children
PS	SUBJ	PL	

'Many children have already died.'

There is another participial suffix **-vi'i** that also forms derived nouns from adjective stems. It can occur when the derived nominal functions as either subject or non-subject, taking **-n** in the latter case.

čī'i	**ā=a'-u-ta-kā'a**	**va'a-tɨ̄**	**tʸēe-vi'i**
house	there=away-EXT-across-lay	big-PRTC	extended-PRTC
		SUBJ	

'A house was standing there, a big long one.'

rū'aara-vi'i-n	**pú=tʸā-šamʷe'i**
green-PRTC-ABS	SUBJ=in-leaves
(mass)	middle

'It has green leaves.'

kʷēiina-vi'i-n	**pú=tʸi'i-tʸ-ēe-ča-n**
white-PRTC-ABS	SUBJ=DISTR-up-EXT(?)-cover-PRTC

'She dressed in white.'

Syntactically, **-vi'i** is probably nothing more than a suppletive variant of **-kan**.

In the final example, a noun is derived from an adjective by the process of tone shift.

mɨ̄'ɨ-či	**mɨ'ɨ-čī**
dead-ABS	dead-ABS
'He is dead'.	'He is a spirit of the dead.' or 'It is a cadaver.'

VERB MORPHOLOGY

ADJ + X = V

Ø	'be ADJ'
-re'e (CAUS + APPLIC)	'make something into ADJ'
-ri	'be becoming ADJ'
-ra	'make to become ADJ'

ADJ + Ø

sáɨh-ta'a pû tʸî'i-hetʸe
one-at SUBJ DISTR-be heavy
'It is heavy on one side.'

yáa pú=yau
thus SUBJ=be round
'It is this big in diameter.'

nʸe-yâuh-ka'a
I-be round -PERF PAST
'I was round.'

ADJ + **-re'e**

pá'u 'red'	**m-î'i-wá-uh-pá'u-re-'e-n** they-NARR-COMPL-REFL-red-make-APPLIC-PRTC 'They paint themselves red.'
hâhkʷa 'new'	**m-î'i-wá-u-hâhkʷa-re-'e-n** they-NARR-COMPL-REFL-new-make-APPLIC-PRTC 'They make themselves new.'

ADJ + **-ri**

vê'e 'big'	**tʸé-ve'e-ri** in-big-make:IMPRF middle 'He's making himself big (i.e. ruffling up his feathers).'
hû'ura 'round'	**tʸá-ur-u'ura-ri** in-REFL-round-make:IMPRF middle 'He keeps curling up in a ball.'

ADJ + **-ra**

yu'uša 'be painted'	**wa-t^{y}ĕ-yu'uša-ra** COMPL-in -be-make middle painted 'It's going to turn many colors.'
sũhca'an^{y}i 'be torn'	**t^{y}ī'i-n^{y}a-suhca'an^{y}i-ra-n** DISTR-me-tear-make-PRTC 'My shirt pocket is tearing off.'

N + X = V

-e	APPLIC ('be affected by something')
-ce'e	'have a case of N'
-pe'e	'remove N from something'
-ta	'become N'
-t^{y}a'a (CAUS + APPLIC)	'write down' (belongs in compounds)
-t^{y}e'e (CAUS + APPLIC)	'apply X for me'
-Ø	'possesses N/do with N/become N'

N + **-e**

hīča'urɨ 'leaf-cutter ant'	**n^{y}e-hīča'ure-'e** I-ant-APPLIC 'I'm bitten up by leaf-cutter ants.'

t^{y}ašu'aari
'large bedbug'

n-u-'i-t^{y}ē-t^{y}ašu'aare-'e
I-inside-facing-in-bedbug-APPLIC
middle
'I've got welts on my side from big bedbug bites.'

N + **-ce'e**

k^{w}īin^{y}i 'scabies bug'	**k^{w}īin^{y}i-ce-'e** scabies-CAUS-APPLIC bug 'He has a case of the scabies.'
čā'ahka 'tree with allergenic sap'	**čā'ahka-ce-'e** tree-CAUS-APPLIC sap 'He has a skin irritation from **ča'ahka** sap.'

N + **-pe'e**

kʷasí
'tail'

tʸa-rā́-a-kʷasi-pe ɨ cɨ'ɨ
we-DISTR-COMPL-tail-PRIV ART dog
SG PAST
'We chopped off the dog's tail.'

atʸḗh
'louse'

ra-'atʸḗh-pe'-e
DISTR:SG-louse-remove-APPLIC
'He's plucking lice from the other's hair.'

N + **-ta**

nʸaapʷéih
'mestizo'

wa-tā-uh-nʸaapʷeih-ta-ka'a
COMPL-PERF-REFL-mestizo-make-PAST
PERF
'He turned mestizo.'

čuḗh
'dirt'

wa-tā-uh-čueh-ta
COMPL-PERF-REFL-dirt-make
'It becomes dirt.'

N + **tʸa'a**

pʷḗerta
'door'

pa-r-a-'u-pʷḗerta-tʸa-'a-šɨ'ɨ-n
you-DISTR-away-COMPL-door-make-APPLIC-PAST-PRTC
SG DISTR
'Make a drawing on the ground like a door.'

N + **tʸe'e**

ka'akai
'sandals'

na-'ah-tā-n-ka'akaii-tʸe-'e-sin
I-edge -straight-REFL-sandal-make-APPLIC-DUR
slope up
'I'm going to put on my sandals.'

kɨyé
'stick, wooden sword'

nʸe-tʸī'i-n-kɨye-tʸ-e
I-DISTR-REFL-stick-make-APPLIC
'I'm making my wooden sword.'

šú'uwa'a
'spines of prickly pear'

tʸú'-u-šu'uwa'a-tʸ-e ɨ naka
DISTR-COMPL-thorn-make-APPLIC ART cactus
'The cactus apple pricks you when you touch it.'

N + Ø

čí'i 'house'	**wa-tʸée-či'i** EXT-in-house middle 'He has a house.'
hɨ́'ɨ 'eye'	**wa-tá-hɨ** COMPL-PERF-open eyes 'He woke up.'
kúhca'ana 'kind of plant bark'	**r-a-ká-kuhca'an** DISTR:SG-on-down-skin edge 'He's skinning an animal.'
sáutari 'kind of flower'	**ka-nu=tʸe'-en-tʸí-sa'uta** NEG-I=DISTR-on-up-flower top 'I am not going to make an offering of flowers.'
kʷé'icɨ'ɨpʷa 'fishhook'	**nʸ-áuu-če'e=kʷé'icɨ'ɨpʷa** I-LOC-CONT=fishhook BASE 'I'm still fishing with hook and line.'

Other

tɨ́ka'a
'night'

pu-'urí=wa-tʸá-tɨka'a-ri
SUBJ-now=COMPL-in-night-make:IMPERF
middle
'Now it's getting dark.'

čuitá 'excrement'	**čú'ita** 'He's defecating.'

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

-'i	'be' (STAT)
-či	APPLIC (?)
-ra'a	APPLIC/ABS (?)
-n^{y}i	PL (?)
-t^{y}i	PL/MASS NOUN
ø	PL
RDP	PL
t^{y}i'i-	DISTR
-mee	COLL

The morpheme **-'i** 'be' (STAT) is very productive in deriving adjectives from verbs. A comparison of verbal forms with corresponding stative adjectives shows that **-'i** ablauts the stem-final vowel to which it is attached.

t^{y}ḗ'-e-yu'uša	**t^{y}ḗ'-e-yu'usi-'i**
DISTR-on-write edge	DISTR-on-write-STAT edge
'He is writing.'	'It is written down.'
t^{y}ī'i-was-t^{y}e-'e	**t^{y}ī'i-was-t^{y}i-'i**
DISTR-be-make-APPLIC scattered	DISTR-be-make-STAT scattered
'He is planting.'	'The things are planted.'

There are several other derivational processes that affect ADJ. They mainly involve the morphemes **-či**, **-ra'a**, **-n^{y}i**, and **-t^{y}i**. The meaning of **-či** is not clear. In some cases it is used to derive an adjective from a verb.

mɨ'ɨ-či	**m^{w}ā́h-či-'i**
die-ABS(?)	hand-(?)-STAT
'He is dead.'	'He is greedy.'

Most commonly, **-či** appears in combination with **-ra'a** on the singular forms of adjectives that refer to count-nouns. The combination appears to be frozen. The morpheme **-ra'a/-re'e** also appears on ADJ in the same contexts as the **-čira'a** series. The morphemes **-n^{y}i** and **-t^{y}i** each mark either plural or mass nouns. **t^{y}i'i-** DISTR marks inanimate plural and frequently occurs in combination with **-mee** COLL. Finally, reduplication appears in two ways. For a few adjectives, a verb stem is reduplicated to derive an adjective stem. For a few others an adjective stem in the singular form is reduplicated to form the plural. Adjectives can thus be arranged in classes based roughly on the kind of elements that mark singular and plural.

Adjective class 1 is marked by **-čira'a** in the singular and by **-t^{y}i** in the mass and plural forms.

ta'ah-čī-ra'a
flat-(?)-SG
'It is thin and flat.'

t^{y}ī'i-ta'as-t^{y}ī
DISTR-flat-PL
'The things are thin and flat.'

ma-ta'as-t^{y}ī
they-flat-PL
'They are thin and flat.' (mojarra fish)

Adjective class 2 is marked by **-čira'a** in the singular and by **-n^{y}i** in the mass and plural forms.

pe'e-čī-ra'a
rotten-(?)-SG
'It is rotten.'
(count noun)

t^{y}ī'i-pe'e-n^{y}ī
DISTR-rotten-PL
'They are rotten.'
(count noun)

pe'e-n^{y}ī
rotten-PL
'It is rotten.' (mass noun)

Adjective class 3 is marked by either **-ra'a** or **-re'e** in the singular forms and is unmarked in the mass and plural forms.

yū'uša-re'e
variegated-SG
coloring
'It has variegated coloring.' (count noun)

yū'uša
'It has a printed flower design.' (mass noun)

t^{y}i'i-yū'uša
DISTR-variegated
coloring
'They have a printed flower pattern.' (count noun)

me-yū'uša
they-variegated
coloring
'They have a variegated coloring.' (animate)

Adjective class 4 is unmarked for number.

hâhkʷa
'It is new.'
(count/mass noun)

tʸi'i-hâhkʷa
DISTR-new
'They are new.'
(count noun)

ma-hâhkʷa
they-new
'They are initiates.' (animate)

Adjective class 5 is unmarked in the singular and is reduplicated for mass and plural forms. Plural forms may also be marked with the collective morpheme.

vé'e
'It is big.'
(count noun)

tʸi'i-vi-vêh-mee
DISTR-RDP-big-COLL
'The things are big.'
(count noun)

me-vi-vêh-mee
they-RDP-big-COLL
'They are big.' (animate)

Adjective class 6 is marked by the reduplicated stem of a verb in the singular forms. Plural forms are marked by the collective suffix.

tɨ́-tɨ'ɨh
RDP-long
'It is long and upright.' (count noun)

tʸi'i-tɨ́-tɨ'ɨ-hmee ɨ́ kɨye
DISTR-RDP-long-COLL ART pole
'The bunch of poles is long and upright.' (count noun)

ma-'ah-tɨ́-tɨ'ɨ-hmee
they-edge-RDP-long-COLL
slope
'The bunch of people are tall.' (animate)

Adjective class 7 is unmarked in the singular forms. It is marked for plural by the collective suffix.

w-íh-pitʸi
inside-facing-be
toward pointed
'It has a neck like a bottle.' (count noun)

tʸ-e-'ih-pitʸíi-hmee ɨ́ kɨša'u-ri
DISTR-inside-facing-be-COLL ART gourd-ABS
toward pointed
'The gourds have bottle-like necks.' (count nouns)

Adjective class 8 consists of a hodge-podge of forms.

mʷāri-se'e-e
run-(?)-APPLIC
off
'It is frightened.'

capʷātun
'He is short and stocky.'

ma-capʷātuu-nʸi
they-be-PL(?)
short
'They are short and stocky.'

cɨɨnʸi-'i-si-'i
afraid-(?)-DUR-STAT
'fearful/afraid'

cɨɨnʸi-'ɨre-'e
afraid-APPLIC-APPLIC
'frightening'

nā'anāi-si-'i
laugh-DUR-STAT
'It's funny.'

COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds

There are at least three classes of noun compounds in Cora. The first class is fairly small and consists of tightly-knit sequences such as noun + verb + absolutive or noun + absolutive + postposition. These compounds consist of a single stress group. Noun + verb compounds usually mean 'N is for X purpose'.

kɨci-ve'e-ri
smoke-hang-ABS
'incense burner'

mūu-ku'u-ci
head-(?)-ABS
'hat'

cu'u-mēh
nose-go(?)
'It leaves the nose.'/'mucous'

There can be layerings that consist of a derived noun + postposition.

mū'u
'head'

mū'u-ci
head-ABS
'pillow'

mu'u-cɨ-ta'a
head-ABS-in
'the high mountain country'

The second class of noun compounds consists of noun + noun sequences. Each noun constitutes a single stress group, but the high tone of the first noun attracts the high tone of the second. In addition, the second noun takes the ending **-ra'a**. The sequence $N_1 + N_2$ has the general meaning 'N_1 is the material from which N_2 is fashioned'.

m^{w}éiiša'a ipurih-ra'a
maguey   ball-(?)
fiber
'a ball of ixtle'

navīh ka'an^{y}i-ra'a
leather bag-(?)
'a leather shoulder bag'

kɨyēh čuumi-ra'a
wood machete-(?)
'wooden sword'

The third class of noun compounds consists of $N_1 + N_2$ sequences that mean 'N_2 pertains to, or is part of, N_1'. These sequences are bound together phonologically in the same way that items in the previous compound class are; i.e. the second noun in the sequence loses its high tone.

vēh k^{w}asi
jay tail
    feather
'tail feather of a jay-type bird' (urraca)

m^{w}ašāh čuita
deer excrement
'excrement of a deer'
(Holy Week song)

In some cases the stem of N_2 is marked by a suffix, which may or may not ablaut the final stem vowel. Frequently, the suffix is **-e** 'in, on'; sometimes it is **-i**.

kɨyé
'tree trunk'

nakāh kɨye'e
cactus trunk
'trunk of the nopal cactus'

šam^{w}á
'leaf'

ɨ̄cāh šam^{w}e'i
brazil leaf
'leaf of the brazil tree'

šaɨ̄ɨri
'trash'

kū'uku'u šaɨɨre'e
snake   skin
'dried out snakeskin'

Verb Compounds

Verbal compounds fall into three broad classes: modifier + verb = verb; noun + verb = verb; and verb$_1$ + verb$_2$ = verb. Although my data are rather limited, there appear to be modifier-verb compounds in which the modifier can be either locative noun, quantifier, or adjective.

n^{y}e-hē'iwa=hē'ika
me-hurt=kill
'It hurts and ends up killing me.'

ma-ra-a-vē'-esi-hri-'i
they-DISTR:SG-COMPL-big-arrive-APPLIC-STAT
'They raised him up to an adult.'

me-čī'i-ve'e
they-house-cover
'They are putting a roof on the house.'

Commonly, noun + verb compounds are those in which the noun is instrument/source of the verb.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ã-m^{w}aarīh-ré'e
I-in-turtle-produce
middle
'I smell like a turtle.'

wa-ra'a-hãa-tu'a-n
EXT-around-water-hit-PRTC
corner
'Having sprinkled all around ...'

Object nouns also occur productively in compounds with verbs.

ru-'u-wa-rã'a-hašu'u-m^{w}a'a-sin
DISTR:SG-inside-EXT-around-wall-lay-DUR
corner flat
'He is plastering all the walls inside the house.'

t^{y}ī'i-šaɨɨri-p^{w}a
DISTR-trash-flatten
'He's thrashing around in the dry leaves.'

The most productive category of verb compounds consists of verb$_1$ + verb$_2$ sequences. These sequences represent several semantic relations, including the following: 'V$_2$ is an aspect of V$_1$'; 'V$_1$ is simultaneous with V$_2$'; and 'V$_2$ precedes V$_1$'.

The class of aspect compounds basically view the central verb in terms of either starting point, ongoing activity, or finishing point. Starting point is marked by **-(tɨ)-raa** 'CONN-left', ongoing activity by **-tɨ-ye'i** 'CONN-walk:around', and finishing point by **-šɨ/-šɨ'ɨ** 'finish, disperse'.

tʸī-hi'i-h-kʷa'a-tɨ̄-raa
DISTR-NARR-UNSPEC-eat-CONN-left
OBJ
'He began to eat.'

a-kā-uh-mʷa'arīi-tʸa-'a-hraa
on-down-REFL-frighten-make-APPLIC-left
edge
'She became pallid with fright all over her body.'

ān pū nū'u tʸā-ha'a-ka-nʸā'a-tɨ-ye'i
there SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-down-dance-CONN-go
around
'He was up there on top of the thing, dancing around.'

tɨ'ɨh nu'u hi aɨhna ɨ̄ kauhnari
CNJ QUOT SEQ DEM ART rope

hi-r-a-'i-rā'a-wa'a-šɨh
NARR-DISTR:SG-on -facing-around-toss-PAST
edge toward corner
'Then he threw the rope over the limb.'

tʸāmʷa'a tʸū-hu'-u-hāra'a-šɨ'ɨ
lots DISTR-NARR-COMPL-vomit-finish
'He really vomited.'

Compounds formed with **šɨ/šɨ'ɨ** frequently contribute a distributive-like meaning to the main verb in the compound.

nʸa-ru-'u-kā-kalsetine-tʸa-'a-šɨ'ɨ-sin
I-DISTR:SG-inside-down-sock-make-APPLIC-DISTR-DUR
'I am going to put his socks on him.'

In some $V_1 + V_2$ compounds, V_1 has adverbial force and is simultaneous with V_2.

mu=w-ī-(y)a'-a-ra-saɨ̄ɨ-ra-'a-hrā'a
there=they-NARR-there-on -facing-one-make-APPLIC-arrive
edge away

ɨ̄ ru-yauh-mʷa'a
ART REFL-son-PL
POSSR
'She came along, gathering up all of her sons.'

a'-u-tāīiča-hraa
away-COMPL-run-leave
'He left out of there running.'

Examples where V_2 precedes V_1:

ahtá nũ'u aɨhná a'-u-tũ'as-tɨ-rã'a
CNJ QUOT DEM away-COMPL-hit-CONN-arrive
'Getting there, he chased it off with stones.'

wa'a-nʸi-nʸê-ihkah-tʸ-a-wa'-an
them-RDP-arrive-load-CAUS-HAB-REM-PRTC
back up PAST
'He would show up back home with them all packed up.'

The final set of examples shows a few combinations of **ankurã'a** 'receive' + verb. The derived meaning is likely to be idiosyncratic.

ra-'ankũrẽ'e-ví'ira
DISTR:SG-receive-grab
'Receiving it, he took it.' = 'He snatched it up.'

ãa nu=wí=hã'a nʸ-ẽyan kãh
there I=QUOT=there:PS I-thus ACC

tʸâ-ha'-ankurã'a-namʷa-hri-'i
DISTR-away-receive-hear-APPLIC-STAT
'There off yonder, receiving something, I heard it.'
= 'I overheard it.'

ka-nũ=ra-'ankũrã'a-rɨ́'ɨ-re
NEG-I=DISTR:SG-receive-right-make:PASS
'I can't pronounce it.'

These last examples show another instance of the piling up of compounding processes on top of derivational ones. The verb 'receive' consists of **an-** 'LOC-on top of' + **ku-** 'LOC-around' + **rã'a** 'LOC-back and forth'. The verb **rɨ'ɨre** 'learn' consists of **rɨ'ɨ** 'ADV-well' plus **-re** 'CAUS/make', i.e. 'I can't make it be received right'.

BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

There are four ABS suffixes that appear on nouns: **-ri**, **-ci**, **-či**, and **-i**. the first, **-ri**, is by far the most productive. There does not seem to be any consistent semantic basis for the choice or lack of ABS.

N + ABS

čuīika-ri song-ABS 'song'	**kɨ̄ɨru'u-ci** backbone-ABS 'backbone'
yɨ̄'ɨ-či skirt-ABS 'skirt'	**tū'unʸ-i** pants-ABS 'pants'

N + 0

hūre'e 'slingshot'	**ka'anʸī** 'carrying bag'
tʸetʸē 'rock'	

The absolutive drops out with a non-third person possessor prefix:

kɨša'u-ri gourd-ABS 'gourd canteen'	**nʸa-kɨ̄ša'uh** my-gourd 'my gourd canteen'
kɨstā-ri braid-ABS 'braided thing'	**a-kɨ̄sta** your-braid 'your braided thing'

For a number of nouns the absolutive suffix has been reanalyzed by Cora speakers to become part of the noun stem itself, as seen from the fact that the absolutive suffix does not delete when possessor prefixes are added. This is most commonly the case with nouns that refer to religious paraphernalia, but as the following examples show, it affects a much broader class.

hū'u-ri shuttle-ABS 'shuttle of a loom'	**nʸa-hū'u-ri** my-shuttle-ABS 'my shuttle'
takʷā-ci ball-ABS 'ball'	**nʸa-takʷâ-ci** my-ball-ABS 'my ball'

In possessive constructions with the third-person singular non-reflexive possessor marker -(**a**)**ra'an** the absolutive suffix is dropped with some forms and retained with others. The statistical preference seems to be to retain it.

ít^{y}a'ɨ-ri
fruit-ABS
tree
'fruit tree'

ít^{y}a'ɨ-ra'an ɨ́ saantos
fruit-NONREFL ART PN
tree POSSR
'Santos's fruit tree'

ayaɨ́ɨ-ri
jawbone-ABS
'a jawbone'

ayaɨ́ɨ-ra'an ɨ́ waaka
jawbone-NONREFL ART cow
POSSR
'cow's jawbone'

ɨp^{w}á-ri
chair-ABS
'chair'

ɨp^{w}a-rá-ara'an ɨ́ saantos
chair-ABS-NONREFL ART PN
POSSR
'Santos's chair'

híina-ri
spindle-ABS
'spindle'

híina-ra-'ara'an ɨ́ dioniisia
spindle-ABS-NONREFL ART PN
POSSR
'Dionisia's spindle'

The absolutive suffix universally drops from possessed nouns when the possessor noun immediately precedes.

ɨ́ wáaka ica'ap^{w}a
ART cow rib
'the cow's rib'

sáantos ɨp^{w}áh pú=p^{w}éen
PN chair SUBJ=be
'It is Santos's chair.'

If an absolutive occurs on the possessor noun of such phrases, it is retained; only the absolutive on the possessed noun drops out. In addition, in isolation or in phrase-final position the second noun in the sequence loses its high tone.

kɨ́ša'u-ri hítu'up^{w}a
gourd-ABS cork
'a corncob cork of a gourd canteen'

The deletion of absolutive allows speakers to properly distinguish between equative statements of the form possessor noun + possessed noun (be) and noun$_1$ (be) noun$_2$, respectively. Note the following pair of examples.

ɨ́ dioníísia híina pú=pɨ́rɨkɨ
ART PN spindle SUBJ=be
'It is Dionisia's spindle whorl.'

ɨ dioniisia híina-ri pú=pɨ́rɨkɨ
ART PN spindle-ABS SUBJ=be
'Dionisia is a spindle whorl.'

The absolutive suffix deletes from possessive sentences of the form noun$_1$ possesses noun$_2$.

dioníisia pú=ra-híina
PN SUBJ=DISTR:SG-spindle
'Dionisia owns the spindle whorl.'

saantos pú=ra-'ata'uh
PN SUBJ=DISTR:SG-bag
'Santos owns the small carrying bag.'

There is a strong statistical preference for the absolutive to delete from nouns when they combine with various prefixes or suffixes to form verbs.

t^{y}í'i-hata'uh-ta ɨ dioniisia
DISTR-bag-make ART PN
'Dionisia is weaving a small hand bag for somebody.'

t^{y}í'i-hiina ɨ dioniisia
DISTR-spindle ART PN
'Dionisia is weaving.'

There are occasional compounds in which the absolutive is retained, probably because were it not there, there would be too much ambiguity with similar sounding verb stems.

t^{y}ɨ-'ɨp^{w}a-ri-ta ɨ́ saantos
DISTR-chair-ABS-make ART PN
'Santos is making a chair.'

t^{y}í'i-yɨ'ɨ-či-ta ɨ dioniisia
DISTR-skirt-ABS-make ART PN
'Dionisia is making a dress.'

For those nouns that enter into noun$_1$ + noun$_2$ + derivational suffix compounds which mean 'N$_2$ + DER SF is the object made from the material specified by N$_1$', the absolutive suffix is retained, regardless of whether it appears on N$_1$ or N$_2$.

karíh ayaɨ́ɨ-rih-ra'a
bone jaw-ABS-DER SF
'a jaw made of bone'

takɨ́h kɨsta-rih-ra'a
palm braid-ABS-DER SF
'a thing braided from palm'

Absolutive is retained in postpositional phrases, which, in the simplest case, are of the form noun + postposition.

kɨ́ša'u-ri cahta'a
gourd-ABS inside
'inside the gourd'

kɨstá-ri hece
braid-ABS on
'(tied onto) on the braided thing'

Plural

Plural marking per se is restricted to animate nouns. Non-human animate nouns can be marked for plural by any one of the following suffixes: **-t^{y}e**, **-ci**, **-se**, **-si**, **-ri**, **-ce**, **-kɨ**, **-šɨ**, **-ka**, **-h**, tone.

Of the above suffixes, the first three are the most productive. Concomitant with the multiplicity of plural suffixes is the fact that speakers from the same dialect area frequently differ among themselves as to which plural suffix goes with which noun. I have recorded the following forms of the word 'spider', for example. Other plural forms follow.

tū́'uka **tu'ukā̂** 'spider'	**tu'ukā̂** **tu'ukā̂hci** **tu'ukaī́se** 'spiders'
cā́ap^{w}a-t^{y}e mojarra-PL 'mojarra fishes'	**unā́-ci** mosquito-PL 'mosquitos'
kū́'uku'u-se snake-PL 'snakes'	**hɨ̄́'ɨ-si** eye-PL 'eyes'
wâave'e-ri coyote-PL 'coyotes'	**veh-cē̂** jay-PL 'urraca jays'
cɨ'ɨ-kɨ̄́ dog-PL 'dogs'	**nā́wa'ari-h** robber-PL 'robbers'

Usually the high tone on a noun occurs on the same syllable in the plural form as it does in the singular. There is a class of animate nouns, however, for which the high tone shifts from the first or second syllable of a singular form to a more right-hand syllable in the plural. As noted earlier (**PHONOLOGY**), this probably reflects a penultimate stress rule from an earlier stage of Cora.

t^{y}ā́ška 'scorpion'	**t^{y}aškā́-t^{y}e** scorpion-PL 'scorpions'

Some movable stress nouns have apparently lost the word-final syllable from the plural forms, giving rise to an occasional pair of nouns whose plural form is distinguished from the singular only by tone placement.

šã'iru	**ša'irũ**
'fly'	'flies'

Some of these nouns have alternate pronunciations that contain some other overt marking for plural. For the Jesũs Marĩa and San Francisco dialects, I have recorded the following forms, respectively, of 'fly'.

ša'irũ-h	**ša'irũ-ci**
fly-PL	fly-PL
'flies' (Jesũs Marĩa)	'flies' (San Francisco)

As for human nouns, there are two main ways for marking plural. There is a small set of 'people' nouns for which plural is marked by partial or full suppletion of the noun stems. In some cases the marking appears to be a form of reduplication.

SG	PL	
pã'arɨ'ɨ	**tɨ'ɨrii**	'child'
t^{y}am^{w}êih	**t^{y}ãam^{w}a**	'young person'
t^{y}ãata'a	**t^{y}ẽt^{y}aka**	'man'
hɨĩta'a	**hũuka**	'woman'
vãsta'a	**vãuhsi**	'elder'
vãstakɨra'i	**vâuhsikɨra'i**	'old man'

The other plural marker is **-m^{w}a'a**, which is restricted to kinship nouns. I am using this term to apply both to natural and ritual kinship terms.

n^{y}i-yaašũh-m^{w}a'a	**n^{y}i-yãuh-m^{w}a'a**
my-grandfather-PL	my-son-PL
'my grandfathers'	'my sons'

While the *normal kinship plural* suffix is **-m^{w}a'a** (which both loses the glottal stop and gets shortened in a high-toned word-final syllable), there are other complications. In a number of cases there is multiple marking on the plural form. In addition to **-m^{w}a'a**, these forms may include **-st^{y}a**, **-ri**(ABS)+**st^{y}a**, **-ta'a**, **-ta**, and **-ci**. The **-ri** of **-rist^{y}a** sequences is the absolutive marker being retained for plural, as examples below illustrate.

n^{y}i-yã'uve'e-ri-st^{y}a-m^{w}a'a	**n^{y}a-wãakɨša'ah-t^{y}a-m^{w}a'a**
my-brother-ABS-CAUS-PL in-law	my-ancestor-CAUS-PL
'my brothers-in-law'	'my great-grandfathers'

In almost every case the relationship signalled by a kinship noun term that takes some form of **-t^{y}a** signals a relationship that at one point or another was sealed by an overt ritual in the Cora system. This sequence is related to some form of the causative suffix **-ta** 'make.' It turns out, moreover, that some of the kin terms that take **-st^{y}a** in the plural also form verb compounds with **-ta** 'make' in deriving the verbs that express the establishing of ritual ties.

t^{y}iih ku-'i pẽ-n^{y}a-mu'un^{y}i-ta-mɨ'ɨ
DUB EV-be you-me-father-make-DESID
in-law
'It seems evident to me that you want to make
me your father-in-law.'

The morpheme **-ci** (historically DIM/HON in character) appears only in the plurals of terms that refer to siblings of ego.

n^{y}a-ha'a-ci-m^{w}ã	**n^{y}a-ku'u-ci-m^{w}ã**
my-older-ABS-PL brother	my-older-ABS-PL sister
'my older brothers'	'my older sisters'

n^{y}a-hũu-ci-m^{w}a'a
my-younger sibling-ABS-PL
'my younger siblings' (male or female)

The quirks of Cora kinship term pluralization thus turn out to be analyzable as the elements of an honorific system, albeit a rather simplified one.

Although inanimate nouns are not marked for plural as such, Cora does have two devices, the distributive morpheme **t^{y}ī'i-** and the collective morpheme **-mee**, which indicate plurality for the inanimate subject of a verb, the inanimate head noun in a modifier + noun phrase and the possessed noun in possessor noun phrases.

t^{y}ī'i=wa'ap^{w}a ɨ yu'uša-ri
DISTR=two ART book-ABS
'There are two books.'

ɨ ru-vãuhsi-m^{w}a'a t^{y}ī'i-karih
ART his-parent-PL DISTR-bone
'his parents' bones'

an-t^{y}i-vẽiiči-'iwa-hmee mɨ našaii-ra'an mɨ puuru'u
on-up-cut-PASS-COLL ART ear-NONREFL ART donkey
top POSSR
'The donkey's ears are lopped off.'

nu-'ũh-kũ-ku'un^{y}i-hmee
I-inside-RDP-be-COLL
slope hollow
'I've got upwards-going holes
in my head' (i.e. my nostrils).

t^yī'i-n^ye-či'i
DISTR-my-house
'my houses'

Accusative

Cora retains only a trace of accusative marking. The accusative morpheme **-ka** appears as a suffix on numerals, quantifiers, and a single verb stem meaning 'amount to'. It also occurs in a comparative construction.

Numerals (except for 'one' and 'ten') are marked for accusative when they occur as direct objects (or accompanying direct objects) in a sentence.

wā-'u-nanai	**m^{w}āk^{w}a-ka**	**ɨ**	**waaka-si**
them-COMPL-buy:PAST	four-ACC	ART	cow-PL

'He bought four cows.'

Numerals are also marked accusative when they occur in objective participial constructions.

pa-ra-'u-yū'uša	**anšɨvi-kah-mḗ'-en**
you-DISTR:SG-COMPL-write	five-ACC-COLL-PRTC

'You will write it down, five times each.'

Accusative marking with numerals occurs in possessive constructions also.

m^{w}āak^{w}a-ka	**pū=hē-'i-h-tameh**
four-ACC	SUBJ=be-facing-slope-teeth
	toward

'He has four teeth.'

Finally, numerals are marked for accusative when they occur as objects of postpositions.

pu-'urī-'i	**wa'ap^{w}ā́-ka**	**kɨn**	**hí-rā́-'a-vi'i-ta**
SUBJ-now-be	two-ACC	by	NARR-DISTR-on-grab-make
			SG edge

ɨ	**ru-m^{w}ahka'a**
ART	REFL-hand
	POSSR

'Now he is caught by both hands.'

The next pair of examples shows the contrast between the presence and absence of accusative marking on the verb stem **p^{w}a'am^{w}a** 'amount to'.

ha'ačũnʸī ma-pʷa'amʷa mʷa-a-raa-tʸāh-turaa
how many they-amount to they-COMPL-facing-(?)-be away left
'How many people stayed behind?'

ha'ačũnʸī pʷa'amʷā-ka w-ī-h-mu'u
how many amount-ACC to inside-facing-UNSPEC-head OBJ
'How many heads does it have?'

Accusative is less consistently marked on other kinds of modifiers, but it still occurs with such ones as **he'ikah** 'a few', **mu'i** 'many', and **naihmi'i** 'all'. Note the following contrastive sentences.

mu'u-rī mu'i-tɨ m-āu-n
they-now many-PRTC SUBJ they-there-ABS

ā'-u-kɨ'ɨ-mi-hwa-ka'a
away-COMPL-teeth-chew-PASS-PAST DUR
'There had already been many who had been devoured in that place.'

pu'u-rī mu'i-kā-ka wā-kʷii tɨ'ɨrīi
SUBJ-now many-(?)-ACC COMPL-kill children
'It has already killed a lot of the children.'

Finally, a quantifier comparison construction is marked for accusative in the second clause of the construction when the direct objects of both clauses are coreferential.

nʸe-tʸī-wā'-u-ta-pʷeihve ha'ačũ nʸah kāh
I-DISTR-them-COMPL-PERF-give however much I:SUBR ACC

tʸi-wā'-u-kupi
DISTR-them-COMPL-photograph:PAST
'I gave them just as many pictures as I had taken of them.'

Vocative

The only vocative marking I have found thus far on nouns consists of a tone shift from the neutral position in a kin term to the possessor prefix.

nʸi-nʸāuh 'my uncle' (neutral form)	**nʸī-nʸauh** 'Oh, my Uncle!' (VOC)
nʸe-'iwāara'a 'my relative' (neutral form)	**nʸē-'iwaara'a** 'Oh, my Brother!' (VOC)

POSSESSIVES

Morphology

The following paradigms show the basic form of possessor elements: non-reflexive possessor affixes, reflexive possessor affixes (which are the same as the reflexive prefixes on verbs), and the possessor pronouns. All of the bound forms except for third person singular non-reflexive possessor are prefixes. There are two non-reflexive possessor suffixes, **-ra'an**, for non-human possessed nouns, and **-me'en** for plural human possessed nouns. The second and third person plural forms of the non-reflexive possessor affixes carry high tone, the other non-reflexive possessor affixes and all of the reflexive possessor affixes have low tone (or are inherently unstressed).

	POSSESSOR AFFIXES		REFLEXIVE POSSESSOR AFFIXES	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1P	**n^{y}a-**	**ta-**	**n^{y}a-**	**ta-**
2P	**a-**	**hã'am^{w}a-**	**a-**	**ru-**
3P	**-ra'an**	**wá'-**	**ru-**	**ru-**

POSSESSOR PRONOUN
(actually OBJ PRON)

	SG	PL
1P	**(ɨ)n^{y}eeci**	**(ɨ)t^{y}ehmi**
2P	**m^{w}éeci**	**m^{w}éhmi**
3P	**DEMONSTRATIVE**	

The first two paradigms illustrate the forms of the non-reflexive possessor affixes.

ka'an^{y}í
'shoulder bag'

	SG	PL
1P	**n^{y}a-ka'an^{y}í**	**ta-ka'an^{y}í**
2P	**a-ka'an^{y}í**	**hã'am^{w}a-ka'an^{y}i**
3P	**ka'an^{y}í-hra'an**	**wá'a-ka'an^{y}i**

yauh
'son'

	SG	PL
1P	**nʸɨ-yâuh**	**ta-yâuh**
2P	**a-yâuh**	**hā'amʷa-yauh**
3P	**yâuh-ra'an**	**wā'a-yauh**

The following examples show the use of **ru-** reflexive possessor prefixes.

y-ā'-u-raii ɨ ru-čun
it-away-COMPL-lose ART REFL-machete
'He lost his own machete.'

se-y-ā'-u-raii ɨ ru-čun
you:PL-it-away-COMPL-lose ART REFL:PL-machete
'You all lost your machete.'

me-y-ā'-u-raii ɨ ru-čun
they-it-away-COMPL-lose ART REFL-machete
'They lost their own machete.'

The reflexive possessor examples above contrast with the following non-reflexive possessor sentences.

y-ā'-u-raii ɨ čuuma-hra'a-n
it-away-COMPL-lose ART machete-NONREFL-ABS
POSSR
'He$_1$ lost his$_2$ machete.'

me-y-ā'-u-raii ɨ wā'a-čun
they-it-away-COMPL-lose ART their-machete
'They$_1$ lost their$_2$ machete.'

Syntax

The possessed noun can be pluralized in one of two ways, either by prefixing **tʸɨ'-** DISTR to the sequence possessor affix + possessed noun in the case of inanimate nouns, or by suffixing **-mʷa'a** (or the appropriate honorific/plural combination) to a kin term. The unspecified third person possessor for plural human noun is **-me'en**.

tʸɨ'i-nʸa-ka'anʸi
DISTR-my-bag
'my shoulder bags'

tʸɨ'i-ka'anʸi-ira'a-n
DISTR-bag-NONREFL-ABS
POSSR
'his shoulder bags'

yâuh-mʷa'a-me'e-n
son-PL-NONREFL-ABS
POSSR
'someone's sons'

ru-yâuh-mʷa'a
REFL-son-PL
'his own sons'

The absolutive suffix interacts with the possessed forms of nominals in various ways; see **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS,** Absolutive.

A possessed noun can appear in a sentence as a full noun phrase.

kɨ́na-'ara'a-n	**pũ=pɨ́rɨkɨ**
husband-NONREFL-ABS POSSR	SUBJ=be

'It is her husband.'

nʸe-sĩiku'u	**pũ=pɨ́rɨkɨ**
my-shirt	SUBJ=be

'It's my shirt.'

The third person possessor suffix does not occur when a possessor nominal appears as modifier to a possessed noun in a full noun phrase. The second nominal loses its high tone when the entire noun phrase occurs either as a single phonological phrase or as the last stress group in such a phrase.

ɨ́	**kũuko**	**kucape'e**
ART	PN	bowl

'Cuco's gourd bowl'

ãɨ	**pũ=pʷẽen**	**ɨ́**	**wãakah**	**ica'apʷa**
DEM	SUBJ=be	ART	cow	rib

'That is the rib of a cow.'

In these possessor noun + possessed noun noun phrases, the distributive suffix stays on the possessed noun to indicate the plural of the possessed item.

ɨ́	**kũuko**	**tʸɨ́'i-vi'ika**
ART	PN	DISTR-planting stick

'Cuco's planting sticks'

There is an inverted possessed noun + possessor noun noun phrase that occurs at least with third person singular nonreflexive possessor.

ãɨ	**pũ=pʷẽen**	**ɨpʷa-rã-ara'a-n**	**ɨ́**	**saantos**
DEM	SUBJ=be	chair-ABS-NONREFL-ABS POSSR	ART	PN

'That is Santos's chair.'

The possessed noun of the inverted noun phrase can be topicalized, thus leading to a discontinuous construction.

ɨpʷa-rã-ara'a-n	**pũ=pɨ́rɨkɨ**	**ɨ́**	**saantos**
chair-ABS-NONREFL-ABS POSSR	SUBJ=be	ART	PN

'The chair is Santos's.'

There are two be + possessed noun constructions in Cora, one in which 'be', per se, is unrealized, and the other in which the narrative mode prefix occurs between the possessor prefix and the possessed noun stem. The following examples, taken from a couple of prayers, show both these constructions and an honorific use of absolutive in vocative expressions.

dios	**pâh**	**ta-yá'u-p^{w}a**	**dios**	**pâh**	**ta-hâ'a-ci**
God	you SUBR	our-father-HON	God	you SUBR	our-older-HON brother

pâh	**ta-nâana**
you SUBR	our-mother

'God, you who are our father, God, you who are our older brother, you who are our mother ...'

ɨ	**tɨ**	**tā-'i-ya'u-p^{w}a**
ART	SUBR	us-NARR-father-HON

'the one who is our father', i.e. 'the one who is father to us'

īn^{y}aa	**wā-'i-ya'u**
I	them-be-father

'I, who am their father'

There are various possessive constructions of the form noun$_1$ possesses noun$_2$. They may signal a specific possessed object by the use of the morpheme **ra-** plus an incorporated noun. They may also signal a nonspecific possessed object by the use of the morpheme **t^{y}i-** plus an incorporated noun. The use of the distributive **t^{y}i'-** signals a plurality of possessed objects in this construction. When it co-occurs with the distributive, the unspecified possessed object marker **t^{y}i-** has an allomorph **h-** which occurs preceding consonant-initial stems.

To begin, in the first sentence below, an overt verb stem appears as 'have' and the possessed noun appears as the topic in pre-verbal position. The next sentences show the incorporated noun with the prefixes that mark either definite or indefinite possessed object.

mɨ	**siiku'u-ri**	**rodriigu**	**pű=rǎ-h-ča'ɨ**
ART	shirt-ABS	PN	SUBJ=facing-DISTR-have out SG

'As for the shirt, Rodrigo owns it.'

ra-sīiku'u	**ɨ**	**rodriigu**
facing-shirt out	ART	PN

'Rodrigo owns the shirt.'

t^{y}ī-siiku'u	**ɨ**	**rodriigu**
UNSPEC-shirt OBJ	ART	PN

'Rodrigo has a shirt.'

The following examples show the distributive plural variant of the incorporated possessed noun construction. This particular construction seems to be ambiguous between definite and indefinite meanings.

t^{y}í'i-h-t^{y}ap^{w}eih héiwa
DISTR-UNSPEC-hatchet lots
OBJ
'He has lots of hatchets.'

t^{y}í'i-t^{y}-ita héiwa
DISTR-UNSPEC-straw lots
OBJ mat
'He has lots of straw mats.'

The next pair of examples shows the contrast between possessed nouns functioning as full noun phrases and possessed nouns that are incorporated into a noun$_1$ possesses noun$_2$ construction.

n^{y}e-'iwáa-m^{w}a'a mú p^{w}-éen
my-relative-PL SUBJ ASSR-be
'They are my brothers and sisters.'

wáiika-ka nú t^{y}í-'iwaa-m^{w}a'a
three-ACC I UNSPEC-relative-PL
OBJ
'I have three brothers and sisters.'

There is a kind of classification to the items that are incorporated into noun$_1$ possesses noun$_2$ constructions. The incorporated items can be classified into human, animate, and inanimate possessed object categories. The next pair of examples illustrates possessed animate objects both as full noun phrases and as incorporated nouns. It also illustrates the suppletive noun stem **kɨi/ya'am^{w}a** 'domestic animal'.

n^{y}a-kɨ́i pú pɨ́rɨkɨ ín^{y}eeci
POSSR-animal SUBJ be mine
'It's my animal.'

n^{y}éeci pú n^{y}a-kɨi
mine SUBJ POSSR-animal
'It's my animal.'

ha-yá'am^{w}a mú pɨ́rɨkɨ m^{w}éeci
POSSR-animals they be yours
'They are your animals.'

m^{w}éeci mú a-ya'am^{w}a
yours they your-animals
'They are your animals.'

The last category of possessed object is that of inanimate possessed object. It turns out that the marker for inanimate possessed object is **-a**. The following pair of sentences shows that **-a** is pronominal in nature. By comparing the second sentence with the first, it can be seen that **-a** in the second sentence corresponds to an incorporated noun in the first. In addition, in the second sentence, **-a** replaces a topicalized noun.

ra-tasī ɨ saantos
SPEC-blanket ART PN
OBJ
'Santos owns the blanket.'

mɨ tasi sā́antos pū́=ra-'a
ART blanket PN SUBJ=SPEC-it
OBJ
'As for the blanket, Santos owns it.'

In the next set of examples, **-a** occurs by itself in a topicalized possessor construction. The topicalized possessor is a pronoun copy of the bound possessor.

nʸêeci pū́ nʸa-'a
mine SUBJ mine-possession
'It's mine.'

mʷêeci pū́ a-'a
yours SUBJ yours-possession
'It's yours.'

amɨɨ pū́ ra-'a
his SUBJ OBJ-possession
'It's his.'

tʸêhmi pū́ ta-'a
ours SUBJ ours-possession
'It's ours.'

mʷéhmi pū́ hā́'amʷa-'a
yours:PL SUBJ yours:PL-possession
'It's you all's.'

ā́ɨme pū́ wā́-'a
theirs SUBJ theirs-possession
'It's theirs.'

nʸêeci pū́ tʸī'i-nʸa-'a
mine SUBJ DISTR-mine-possession
'They are my things.'

Finally, **-a** also shows up as a pronoun in an inverted possessor construction.

hā́-'ara'an ɨ rodriigu
it-NONREFL ART PN
POSSR
'Rodrigo's thing'

tʸī'-a-ra'an ɨ rodriigu
DISTR-it-NONREFL ART PN
POSSR
'Rodrigo's belongings'

POSTPOSITIONS

Forms

Cora postpositions fall into three classes. There is a fairly small class of 'free' forms that productively occur with either a prefix base, a pronoun base, or a nominal base. There is a smaller class of bound postpositions that suffix to nouns and that are generally not very productive. Finally, there are a few forms that in some contexts function as though they were postpositional elements, but in other contexts function more like verbs or adverbs.

Free Forms

hecḗ	'in, against, towards, into, to, at, within'
hapʷā́	'on, above, in behalf of'
hetʸḗ	'below'
hemī́	'where X is, pertaining to, with'
hamʷā́n	'together with, accompanying'
kɨme'e	'INSTR, by means of, of (objective genitive)'
kū́hta'a	'following right behind'
cā́hta'a	'inside of, among, mixed among'
wā́rita'a	'behind, in back of, backwards'

The postposition **kɨme'e** has three phonological shapes: **kɨme'e** (post-verbally), **kɨn** (pre-verbally), and **kɨme'en** (in an absolutive sense).

kā́uhna-ri kɨme'e
rope-ABS with
'with a rope'

pu-'urī́-'i wa'apʷā́-kah kɨn hī́-rā́-'a-vɨ́'i-ta
SUBJ-ADV-SEQ two-ACC with NARR-DISTR-outside-grab-make
'Now he is caught by both hands.'

hḗekan pū́ tʸī́-ru-'u-tā́-kʷe'i-sin ɨ pá'arɨ'ɨ
really SUBJ DISTR-DISTR-inside-PERF-eat-DUR ART child
SG

kɨme'e
with
'She is really going to make herself a meal of that child.'

ma-tɨ'ɨh tʸī-ra-'an-ta-ku kɨme'e-n
they-CNJ DISTR-DISTR:SG-on-across-hollow with-ABS
top

mu'u w-ii-raa-kɨ
they:PS inside-trajectory-face-leave:PL
'Just as soon as they opened the door, they all came pouring out of the house.'

Three forms are analyzable as X + -**ta'a** 'place of', but the meanings of the X constituent for the first two are not yet clear to me. The third is derived from the noun **warɨ** 'back'.

aɨ́ pū́ wa-mḗh ɨ̄ pū́uru'u kuhta'a
DEM SUBJ EXT-go ART donkey following
'He was going along, following after the donkey.'

kɨ́ša'u-ri cahta'a
gourd-ABS inside
'inside the gourd canteen'

yâ-h a-uu-rā'a-ka'a nʸa-wārita'a
here-vertical away-inside -around-be me-behind
horizontally corner
'He's stretched out behind me back around the corner.'

Bound Forms

The bound postpositions, with the exception of those meaning 'inside of' and 'in the area of', are not nearly as productive as the free forms.

-ta'a	'inside of, the place of'
-ta	'inside of'
-ce'e	'at, in'
-e	'in'
=remi	'with' (INAN OBJ)
=rece	'at' (NUMR OBJ)

ru-'u-rā́-h-ča'ɨ ū́ kurah-ta'a
DISTR-inside-facing-vertical-have there corral-inside
SG away inside
'He has it penned up inside the corral.'

r-u-'i-rā́-h-ča'ɨ ū́
DISTR-inside-across -facing-vertical-have there
SG trajectory away inside

ru-či'i-ta
REFL-house-inside
'He has it in his house.'

ha'inʸī́ pa-rɨkɨ nʸa-huyḗe-ce-'e
how you-do my-path-ABS-in
'What are you doing in my way?'

m-ān	**a-tʸenʸe-'e**
there-on top	your-mouth-in

'there in your mouth'

hā'anah=remi
elephant=with ears

'place of the elephant-ear plants'

anšɨ-vi-kah=recé
five-ABS-ACC=times

'five times'

Syntax

Base Elements of Postpositional Phrases

A postpositional phrase can take either a pronominal prefix, an independent pronoun, or a noun phrase for its base. One set of prefix bases, except for third person singular, is identical to the set of non-reflexive possessor prefixes (see **POSSESSIVES**). The other is identical to both the reflexive possessor prefixes on nouns and the reflexive object prefixes on verbs (see **POSSESSIVES** and **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**).

ka-pū	**wā'a-hecé**	**ru-še'eve'e**
NEG-SUBJ	them-to	REFL-want

'It doesn't matter to them.'

ru-hecé	**šu=rā-a-wau-nʸi**
REFL-in	you=DISTR-COMPL-look-FUT PL SG for

'Look for it right within your own selves.'

ā'-u-ye'i-mɨ	**mʷēeci**	**hamʷan**
away-COMPL-go-DESID	you	with

'He wants to go with you.'

The unmarked order of postpositional phrases with a nominal as head is noun + postposition. Absolutive does not drop from the noun in this construction. The neutral position of postpositional phrases in a sentence is post-verbal.

hi-ra-'a-tʸāara	**ɨ**	**cāakuri**	**hece**
NARR-DISTR:SG-outside-stuff	ART	basket	in

'She stuffed him into the conical carrying basket.'

mā'a=na'a	**ūh-vee**	**mɨ**	**kɨša'u-ri**	**mɨ**	**mēesa**	**hapʷa**
there=be	LOC-stand	ART	gourd-ABS	ART	table	on

'The thermos bottle is standing there on the table.'

ra-'an-tʸ-ē-ii-ča'ah-rā'a	**ɨ**	**tʸetʸē**	**hetʸe**
DISTR-on-up-outside-facing-dig-PAST SG top	ART	rock	beneath

'Having gotten there, she dug a hole beneath the rock.'

a'anāh nʸâh kû tʸû-hû'-u-vaɨ mʷayahtūumʷa'a
once I:SUBR EV DISTR-NARR-COMPL-help majordomo

kɨme'e ta-yá'u hemi
as our-father with
'...that I once surely helped as a majordomo
in service to our father.'

wá'a hamʷân mū tʸɨ̄'i-ša ɨ nawa'ari
them with SUBJ DISTR-talk ART bandits
'They talk together with the bandits.'

Third person postpositional object is marked by a suffix **-n** in the nonreflexive postpositional object paradigm. I analyze this **-n** as an absolutive synchronically.

ka-pū hecê-n ru-še'eve'e
NEG-SUBJ to-ABS REFL-want
'It doesn't matter to him.'

Third person postpositional object may also be marked by a demonstrative pronoun.

aɨhná hapʷa ɨ̄ ku'uku'u
DEM:DIST on ART serpent
'on top of it, the serpent'

amɨ̄hná hemi ɨ̄ saantos
DEM with ART PN
'where he is, Santos'

There is an inverted construction in which the postposition + **-n** precedes a noun phrase of the form ART + N.

hapʷa-n ɨ̄ ku'uku'u
on-ABS ART serpent
top
'on top of the serpent,
upon the serpent's back'

hemī-n ɨ̄ saantos
with-ABS ART PN
'where Santos is'

hetʸê-n ɨ kaana-ri
under-ABS ART clothes-ABS
'under the dress'

wārita'a-n ɨ̄ či'i
behind-ABS ART house
'in back of the house'

Postpositions and Locative Particle

A postpositional phrase may combine with a locative particle in a construction of the form locative particle + object prefix + postposition. The high tone of the postposition is attracted to the locative particle.

yū nʸa-warita'a
here me-behind
'right here behind me'

yū warita'a-n
here behind-ABS
'right here behind him'

yú há'amʷa-warita'a
here you:PL-behind
'right here behind all of you'

The following example shows that a postposition may take a locative particle base, however. Thus there is a contrast between postpositional phrases that take a locative particle base and those that occur with locative particles that are constituents of a higher-level phrase.

yú-hece p-úh-me'e-n
here-towards ASSR-there-go-PRTC
'coming off to this side'

hú wárita'a-n e'-e-vé'e-vee
there behind-ABS away-outside-covering-stand

aɨhna ɨ pa'arɨ'ɨ
DEM ART child
'That boy was standing there right behind her.'

The locative particle + object prefix + postpositional phrase shows up post-verbally in the neutral position. It can be followed by a free object pronoun of which the object prefix of the postpositional phrase is a copy.

n-ú-'u-kʷi'i yú nʸa-cahta'a ínʸeeci
me-inside-EXT-hurt here me-inside me:ACC
inside
'It hurts me right here on the inside.'

Postpositions also play a role in forming oblique relative clauses. In the simplest case, an oblique relative clause consists of the sequence HEAD NP + SUBORDINATOR + POSTPOSITION **-n** + PREDICATE. (See **RELATIVE CLAUSES**, Oblique Relatives.)

ɨ čaanaka tʸa hapʷá-n y-en hí'i-vauhse-'e
ART world we:SUBR on-ABS here-on NARR-grow:PL-APPLIC
top
'this world on which we have grown up'

Discontinuity

Postpositional phrases can be discontinuous in complex sentences. Assuming that the neutral order for postpositional phrase is post-verbal, discontinuous constructions suggest the possibility of certain kinds of movement rules.

To begin, the neutral order of constituents in an oblique relative clause is HEAD NOUN PHRASE + SUBORDINATOR + POSTPOSITION **-n** + PREDICATE.

č-áu	**ra-a-há'usi-n**	**ɨ́**	**tuša'a**
EXHRT-LOC BASE	DISTR-COMPL-wash-PRTC SG	ART	plate

tɨ́	**hecé-n**	**tʸ-e-'i-tá-kʷaa**
SUBR	on-ABS	DISTR-outside-across-PERF-eat trajectory

'...may someone wash the dish from which she ate.'

One movement rule promotes the postposition to clause-initial position. The promotion may be attended by concomitant changes in the morphology of the oblique relative. For example, the subordinating particle, which is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the embedded verb, may be replaced by a subject particle. Thus the following oblique relative is introduced by the sequence POSTPOSITION + SUBJECT PARTICLE.

ayáa	**mú**	**ra-tɨ́h**	**m-í**
thus	they	DISTR:SG-carry	they-SEQ

rá-'a-hu'u-n-če'e	**kɨ́n**	**tú**	**nu'u**
DISTR:SG-away-go-FUT-IMPOT	with	we	QUOT

hi'i-ta-váɨɨ-ra-'a	**t-á-'a-hu'u-n-če'e**
NARR-REFL-follow-CAUS-DUR	we-away-outside-go-FUT-IMPOT

'And so they would have been coming here to carry off that with which we would have been sustaining ourselves.'

A more common pattern of discontinuity involves a promoted postposition and its demonstrative pronominal base. The entire postpositional phrase is usually the instrument (or means) of the main clause. The demonstrative pronoun gets preposed to clause-initial position, whereas the postposition is moved to pre-verbal position and a subject particle ends up separating the postposition from its pronominal base.

tɨ	**pʷá-'ah**	**ha'atɨ́**	**wá-yana-mʷa-n**	**áɨh**	**pú**
SUBR	ASSR-CNJ	someone	COMPL-tobacco-put-PRTC	DEM	SUBJ

kɨ́n	**káh**	**tʸí-ru-'u-tá-kʷe'i-sin**
with	ACC	DISTR-DISTR:SG-inside-PERF-eat-DUR

'If he cures somebody, by means of this (having cured him) he shall be obtaining his sustenance.'

aɨ́me	**tú**	**tʸ-íh**	**kɨ́n**	**tɨ́n**	**hu'-u-tʸáa-ta'aru**
DEM	we	we-SEQ	with	almost	NARR-COMPL-RDP-be drunk

'We just about got stoned on those things.'

The shortening of the postposition **kɨme'e** to **kɨn** is an additional side-effect of movement rules that prepose postpositional phrases to verbs.

ka-pu	**ra-a-hḗ'ika**	**nā́waa**	**kɨme'e**
NEG-SUBJ	DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill	knife	with

'He did not kill him with a knife.'

ka-pu	**nā́waa**	**kɨn**	**ra-a-hḗ'ika**
NEG-SUBJ	knife	with	DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill

'It was not with a knife that he killed him.'

Quasi-Postpositions

A few adverbial items behave partly like postpositions and partly like something else. These include **vḗhli'i** 'near', **ɨmɨ** 'far', and **hḗ'ita'a** 'in the middle'.

ā́	**nū́**	**vḗhli'i**	**ū́-ča-šɨh-sin**
there	I	close by	inside-stand-PAST-DUR

'I'm going to stop close by there.'

ru-vḗhli'i	**pū́**	**t^y-ū́h-tutā́h-mee**
REFL-close by	SUBJ	up-REFL-curve-COLL

'Going up the hill, the road winds back and forth close to itself.'

ahtā́	**ā́n**	**he'ita'a**	**wa-yē̃ih-šɨ**
CNJ	on top	in middle	COMPL-sit-PAST

'And then it came to a rest, off there on top in the middle of the lake.'

The adverb **ɨmɨ** acts like a postposition to a locative head. It also enters into locative compounds.

hā́-'ɨmɨ
there-far off

'a long ways off, out there'

áa-t^{y}e-ɨmɨ ⟶ **ā́at^{y}ā́'ɨmɨ**	
off there	-down-far river

'way off there down river'

There are two stems **-n^{y}ee** 'face/be visible' and **kɨca** 'backside of (buttocks)' that can be inflected for location and used similarly to postpositions.

t^{y}éyuh	**t-ā́'-ih-n^{y}ee**
church	SUBR-away-trajectory-be visible

'out there in front of the church' (visible location)

a-čī'i t-a'-i-kãa-kɨca
your-house SUBR-away-trajectory-down-backside
'coming down from the backside of your house'

DEMONSTRATIVES

Forms

The demonstratives show systematic differences in shape depending on considerations such as number, case, and position in a clause with respect to the main verb. They are arranged according to a quasi-distance scale of three points whose meanings are roughly 'right here where speaker is', 'off there at speaker's reference point', and 'off there out of sight'. The eight sets of forms are as follows below. In the cases of inflected forms I have selected **p-** 2P SG and **m-** 3P PL to illustrate particular combinations of elements, except for SUBJ + ... ABS, where I show the full set.

	ART	SUBJ Copy +	...ABS
'here'	**i**	**n^y-aɨn**	**t^y-aɨn**
'there'	**mɨ**	**p-aɨn**	**s-aɨn**
'unseen'	**ɨ**	**aɨn**	**m-aɨn**

	SUBJ SG (Pre-Verbal)	OBJ SG (Pre-Verbal)	OBJ PL (Pre-Verbal/OBJ P)
'here'	**ai**	**aih**	**aime(h)**
'there'	**amɨ**	**amɨh**	**amɨme(h)**
'unseen'	**aɨ**	**aɨh**	**aɨme(h)**

	SUBJ SG (Post-Verbal)	OBJ SG (OBJ P/Post-Verbal)	SUBJ PL/OBJ PL (Post-Verbal)
'here'	**aihna**	**paihna**	**maihna**
'there'	**amɨhna**	**pamɨhna**	**mamɨhna**
'unseen'	**aɨhna**	**paɨhna**	**maɨhna**

As suggested above, the three definite articles indicate relative position of an object to the speaker. The form **i** is generally interpreted to mean 'the one right here in speaker's hand' or 'right by speaker's side'. The form **mɨ** means 'the one right there at speaker's point of reference', which roughly includes the speaker's range of vision. The third form **ɨ** means 'the one out of sight'.

ī n^{y}a-laapi
ART my-pencil
'my pencil'
(here in my hand)

mɨ n^{y}a-laapi
ART my-pencil
'my pencil'
(the one on the desk)

ɨ n^{y}a-laapi
ART my-pencil
'my pencil' (the one back in the house)

There are two sets of forms related to the definite articles. The first set is formed by inserting a glottal stop + copy vowel following the vowel of the article. I refer to these as pausal forms. They stand alone as a single constituent in a phrase, and are thus somewhat like a pronoun. A corresponding set of emphatic forms is derived by suffixing **-k^{w}i** 'EV + be(?)' to the pausal forms. These also stand alone in a clause.

	ART	PS	EMPH
'here'	**i**	**hi'i**	**hi'ik^{w}i**
'there'	**mɨ**	**mɨ'ɨ**	**mɨ'ɨk^{w}i**
'gone'	**ɨ**	**hɨ'ɨ**	**hɨ'ɨk^{w}i**

na-a-ta-n^{y}āɨh-t^{y}e-'e hī'i
me-COMPL-PERF-loan-make-APPLIC this one
'Loan me this one here.'

wa-ta-pī'ist-e mɨ'ɨ
COMPL-PERF-flog-APPLIC that one
'Give that guy there a flogging.'

n^{y}é-h-še'eve'e hi'i-k^{w}ī
SUBJ-UNSPEC-want this-EMPH
OBJ one
'I want this one right here.'

ru-m^{w}á'aye-ta hɨ'ɨ-k^{w}ī
REFL-mountain-make that-EMPH
lion one
'That person turns himself into the form of a mountain lion.'

Syntax

The unmarked position of demonstrative is preceding both the article and noun in an article + noun phrase.

āihna ī t^{y}aata'a
DEM ART man
'this man right here'

m-amɨhna mɨ t^{y}et^{y}aka
SUBJ-DEM ART men
'those men right there'

The following patterns of permitted and non-permitted sequences show that there is agreement between a demonstrative and an article in noun phrases consisting of DEM + ART + N.

ãihna ĩ yu'uša-ri ***ãihna ɨ yu'ušari**
DEM ART book-ABS
'this book right here'

m-amɨhna mɨ naayeri ***mamɨhna ɨ naayeri**
SUBJ-DEM ART Cora
'those Coras right there'

***mamɨhna ɨ naayeri**

In Cora, all third person free pronouns are demonstratives. In the role of pronouns, then, demonstratives show up as subjects, direct objects, and objects of postpositions. There is an 'absolutive' use of demonstratives in which they are the subjects of reduced sentences.

amɨ pu n^{y}ã'u tã-'i-ča'ɨ
DEM SUBJ AFF us-facing-care
toward for
'He (that one there) is taking care of us, then.'

aɨ 'that one' is sometimes used in an interpretive sense, meaning something like 'this means X' or 'this is the X group that...'. Thus, it retains its singular form even though it refers to a plural subject.

aɨ pû t^{y}ɨ-wã'a-karih
that SUBJ DISTR-their-bone
'Those are their bones (of the ancient people).'

aɨ mũ hêice'e wa-t^{y}ãa-ta'aru ɨ mah
DEM SUBJ more COMPL-RDP-be ART they:SUBR
drunk

t^{y}ɨ-t^{y}e'-en-t^y-ãh-ru-pɨ ãɨme kɨme'e ɨ waatari
RDP-DISTR-on-up-along-enter-PAST DEM:PL with ART peyote
'This is the group of those who got the most drunk from those peyotes, those who received religious cargos.'

In the following examples, the demonstrative is marked for accusative. In the first two examples, the accusative form of the demonstrative pronoun is coreferential with the possessor prefix on a possessed noun. In the other example, the demonstrative is coreferential to the nominal surface object.

amɨmeh mũ wã'a-yauh-m^{w}a'a
DEM:ACC SUBJ their-offspring-PL
'They are the sons of those people there.'

ā́imeh	**pū́**	**wā́'a-yauh**
DEM:ACC	ASSR	their-son

'He is the son of those people right there.'

ā́ɨh	**pū́**	**nū́'u**	**hí**	**t^{y}i-čū́'eve'e**	**ɨ**
DEM:ACC	SUBJ	QUOT	SEQ	DISTR-wait for	ART

šaihn^{y}u'uka-ra-'ara'a-n
heart-ABS-NONREFL-ABS
POSSR
'That is what he is waiting for, its heart.'

An objective demonstrative can be marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the sentence.

nu'u-rí	**r-a-'u-t^{y}é-yu'uša-ka'a**	**n^{y}-ā́ɨhna**
I-now	DISTR-outside-COMPL-PERF-write-PAST	I-DEM
	SG PERF	

'I already wrote that down.'

šu'u-rí	**ra-a-'u-t^{y}é-yu'uša-ka'a**	**s-ā́ɨhna**
you-now	DISTR-outside-COMPL-PERF-write-PAST	you-DEM
PL	SG PERF	PL

'You all already wrote that down.'

The final example shows a full DEM + ART + N phrase occurring as the direct object of a verb.

ahtá	**ā́ɨ-n**	**ɨ**	**pa'arɨ'ɨ**	**t^{y}ū́-hu'-u-hū́ura**	**ā́ɨhna**
CNJ	DEM-ABS	ART	child	DISTR-NARR-COMPL-pick	DEM

ɨ	**haiici**	**ahtá**	**ā́ɨhna**	**ɨ**	**rum^{w}a**
ART	yellow zapote	CNJ	DEM	ART	black zapote

'And he, that boy, is picking that yellow zapote (fruit), and also that black zapote.'

The following examples show various demonstrative forms occurring as objects of postpositions.

me-t^{y}í-hí-r-u-'u-tā́-k^{w}a
they-DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-COMPL-PERF-eat

ā́ɨhna	**kɨme'e**	**ɨ**	**caap^{w}a**
DEM	with	ART	mojarra fish

'Then they made a meal of that old mojarra fish.'

ā́n-vi'itɨ-či	**ā́ɨme**	**hemi**
on-carry-APPLIC top	DEM	with

'Take him off to them.'

The following paradigm shows that the demonstrative object of a postposition can be marked to agree in person and number with the subject of a sentence.

(SG)	1P	**ka-nū́**	**nʸ-ā́ɨhná**	
	2P	**ka-pâh**	**p-áɨhná**	
	3P	**ka-pū́**	**ā́ɨhná**	**kɨ̄n ye-vē'e-me**
(PL)	1P	**ka-tū́**	**tʸ-ā́ɨhná**	
	2P	**ka-šū́**	**s-áɨhná**	
	3P	**ka-mū́**	**m-ā́ɨhná**	
		NEG-SUBJ	SUBJ-DEM	with here-coming-go across

'I (etc.) have not come for that reason.'

A demonstrative pronoun can serve as a topic, followed by an appositive noun phrase which is in focus. In one such construction, the demonstrative is head of a relator phrase with a conjunction. As the following examples illustrate, the conjunction is marked to agree with the demonstrative for number of subject.

ahtā́ amɨ-n mɨ caapʷa tʸāmʷa'a tʸa-'u-tā́-huka
CNJ DEM-ABS ART mojarra really in-COMPL-PERF-stomach
fish middle
'As for that one there, the mojarra fish is well puffed up in her stomach with eggs.'

m-ahtā́ m-amɨ-n mɨ caapʷa-tʸe
they-CNJ they-DEM-ABS ART mojarra-PL

mū́=hɨ̄-ra-'ah-tā́-uh-vā́arah-ye'i
they=NARR-DISTR-along-straight-REFL-follow-walk
SG slope
'As for those there, the mojarra fishes, they are following one another, swimming along towards the edge of the river.'

Demonstratives are involved in various kinds of discontinuous constructions. These are of the form DEM ... ART + N and DEM ... P. They also include constructions with repeated demonstratives. All discontinuous constructions involve a topicalized element.

amɨ́ pū́ hu'-u-tā́-nʸuu-sin ɨ tʸaaku
DEM SUBJ NARR-COMPL-PERF-respond-DUR ART toad
'She will be responding, the toad will.'

aɨ́ pū́ hɨ̄'i-h-kʷa'a ɨ tuišu
DEM SUBJ NARR-DISTR:SG-eat ART pig
'He is eating something, the pig is.'

Notice that in these examples, there is no agreement between the demonstrative element and the article of the noun phrase. This probably means that the noun phrase is in apposition to the topicalized demonstrative.

In discontinuous constructions involving a demonstrative and a postposition, the final **-na** of a singular demonstrative object of the postposition is truncated and the truncated form gets put into sentence-initial position.

amɨ̄h nú hecẽ r-a-'u-vī'ih-tʸ-e
DEM I on DISTR-outside-inside-grab-make-APPLIC
ACC SG horizontally PAST
'I stuck it to that door over there.'

âih šu'u wī kɨ̄n wa-tâ-uh-vaɨɨ-re-'e-n
DEM you QUOT with COMPL-PERF-REFL-follow-make-APPLIC-PRTC
ACC PL

mʷán náayeri
you:PL Coras
'You Coras can maintain yourselves on this thing I've got in my hand.'

Plural demonstrative objects of postpositions do not get truncated when they are preposed to the verb.

amɨ̄meh pú hemī wã-ka
DEM:ACC SUBJ with COMPL-be
sitting
'He stays with those people there.'

aɨ̄meh pú nʸá'u hecẽ hi-ra-'u-tá-uh-mʷa'aree-ri-'i
DEM:ACC SUBJ AFF about NARR-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-REFL-know-
SG

APPLIC-STAT
'He thought of them (as though they were his parents).'

There are demonstrative topicalized copy constructions in which a sentence-initial free pronoun or demonstrative is singled out as the referent of an absolutive form of a demonstrative. In one type, there is no relative position agreement between a particular sentence-initial demonstrative and the absolutive subject demonstrative. In addition, the sentence-initial demonstrative can be singular even though the subject of the clause is plural.

aí pú ãɨ-n pɨ̄rɨkɨ
DEM SUBJ DEM-ABS be
'This one here is the one.'

amɨ̄ pũ ãɨ-n pɨ̄rɨkɨ
DEM SUBJ DEM-ABS be
'That one there is the one.'

aɨ́ pú aɨ́-n pɨ́rɨkɨ
DEM SUBJ DEM-ABS be
'That one is the one.'

In the second kind of construction, there is person and number agreement between the subject of the sentence and the absolutive form of the demonstrative.

mʷāa pā p-āɨ-n pɨ́rɨkɨ
you SUBJ you-DEM-ABS be
'You are the one.'

mʷān šū s-āɨ-n pɨ́rɨkɨ
you:PL SUBJ you:PL-DEM-ABS be
'You all are the ones.'

amɨ́ mú m-âɨ-n pɨ́rɨkɨ
they SUBJ they-DEM-ABS be
'They are the ones.'

The examples below show that the topicalized copy construction actually includes a subordinate clause. The examples given above are thus reduced versions of sentences similar to these next ones.

nʸāa nū nʸ-āɨ-n pɨ́rɨkɨ nʸah mʷa-a-nāwe'-iri-'i
I SUBJ I-DEM-ABS be I:SUBR you-COMPL-rob-APPLIC-STAT
'I am the one who robbed you.'

amɨ́ pú āɨ-n pɨ́rɨkɨ tɨ́ mʷa-a-náwe-iri-'i
he SUBJ DEM-ABS be SUBR you-COMPL-rob-APPLIC-STAT
'He is the one who robbed you.'

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Forms

Clitic locative elements in Cora reflect three basic orientations: boundary, distance, and slope. With reference to a boundary area, an object may be either inside or outside of it. There are three degrees of 'distance': here, 'speaker's location'; there, 'speaker's point of visual reference'; and off there, 'out of range of speaker's vision'. Slope orientation breaks down into 'horizontally at the foot of the slope', 'in the slope', and 'at the head of the slope'.

The following paradigms show the full set of locative particles that reflect this system. They are given in contrastive inside/outside sets which are further categorized under basic vs. slope orientation.

	Basic		Foot of Slope	
	Inside	Outside	Inside	Outside
'here'	**yu**	**ya**	**yuu**	**yaa**
'there'	**mu**	**ma**	**muu**	**maa**
'off there'	**u**	**a**	**uu**	**aa**

	In Slope		Head of Slope
	Inside	Outside	Outside
'here'	**yuh**	**yah**	**yan**
'there'	**muh**	**mah**	**man**
'off there'	**uh**	**ah**	**an**

yā p^{w}a'ake
here outside
'here outside'

yú či'i-ta
here house-inside
'here inside this house'

Many of these particles have come to acquire secondary meanings from discourse and thus no longer function as pure spatial locatives, but rather as conjunctions of various sorts. This is especially true of the particle series for 'outside, foot of the slope.'

yâa pú nú'u t^{y}ū-hu'-u-rɨh
thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do
'This is what happened, so they say.'

The following are typical examples of sentence-initial locative particles.

yū pū wā-uh-sa'upeh yū či'i-ta
here SUBJ COMPL-REFL-rest:PAST here house-inside
'He rested himself here inside the house.'

yā pū wā-uh-sa'upeh yā p^{w}a'ake
here SUBJ COMPL-REFL-rest here outside
'He rested himself outside here.'

The locative particle elements combine with a set of six suffixes or complexes of suffixes to derive a set of locative adverbs which I usually refer to as 'river-oriented' adverbs. These adverbs have additional applications to other spheres of reference such as location on a human or animal body or location within a house. The suffixes and their meanings are as follows:

-t^{y}e	'downstream'
-kɨ	'downslope'
-t^{y}i(yi)	'upslope'
-t^{y}ap^{w}a	'upstream'
-ka'i(wa)	'over the ridge'
-ta(va)-n	'across the river'

The longer forms (indicated within parentheses) seem to represent synonymous variants of the shorter adverbial forms.

The following sets of forms are some of the actual sequences that occur. Each series of three forms is labelled to correlate with the sets of locative particles that are given above.

yuu-t^{y}e	'inside, foot of slope, downstream'
muu-t^{y}e	
uu-t^{y}e	
yee-t^{y}e	'outside, foot of slope, downstream'
mee-t^{y}e	
aa-t^{y}e	
yen-t^{y}e	'outside, on top, downstream'
men-t^{y}e	
an-t^{y}e	
yeh-t^{y}e	'outside, in slope, downstream'
meh-t^{y}e	
ah-t^{y}e	
yeh-t^{y}ap^{w}a	'outside, in slope, upstream'
meh-t^{y}ap^{w}a	
ah-t^{y}ap^{w}a	

yen-t^{y}ap^{w}a
men-t^{y}ap^{w}a 'outside, on top, upstream'
an-t^{y}ap^{w}a

yuh-t^{y}ap^{w}a
muh-t^{y}ap^{w}a 'inside, in slope, upstream'
uh-t^{y}ap^{w}a

The **a/e** alternation in these forms is morphophonemically determined.

There is a third class of adverbial demonstratives that, for want of a better term, I call locative demonstratives. These are formed from combining the locative base **a** 'outside' with the locative particle **y**- or **m-** on either an **a** vowel or **u** vowel base. Additional elements include the sequence -**h** + -**na**, -**n** (absolutive), and the subject prefix series.

The locative demonstratives can be divided into several pairs of 'outside' versus 'inside' paradigms. Each paradigm reflects the 'here/there/out-of-sight' parameters. The pairs of paradigms are further divided into 'up on top' versus 'not up on top' groups. Finally, initial reference forms are divided into 'non-absolutive' versus 'absolutive'. The non-absolutive forms are pro forms which cannot be inflected for person and number of the subject, while the absolutive forms can be so inflected. The first person singular subject marker is shown for the forms that can be inflected. Nonpermissible forms are shown with an asterisk.

INITIAL REFERENCE

	Non-Absolutive (Non-Inflected)		Absolutive	
	Inside	Outside	Inside	Outside
'here'	**ayu**	**aya**	**n^y-eyu-n**	**n^y-eya-n**
'there'	**amu**	**ama**	***n^y-amu-n**	**n^y-ama-n**
'off there'	**au**	**aa**	**n^y-au-n**	**n^y-a-n**

PREVIOUS REFERENCE

Not on Top

	Inside	Outside
'here'	**n^y-eyu-h-na**	**n^y-eya-h-na**
'there'	**n^y-amu-h-na**	**n^y-ama-h-na**
'off there'	**n^y-au-h-na**	**n^y-a-h-na**

Up on Top

	Inside	Outside
'here'	***n^y-eyun-na**	**n^y-eyan-na**
'there'	***n^y-amun-na**	**n^y-aman-na**
'off there'	***n^y-aun-na**	**n^y-an-na**

The following examples illustrate the locative demonstratives.

a-y-âa tū
LOC-here-outside we
BASE
'We will be seeing each other back here again.'

a-ū pū t^{y}ī-'ih-taavi-hwa ah-t^{y}ée-vi'i
LOC-inside SUBJ DISTR-UNSPEC-make-PASS along-long-PRTC
BASE OBJ slope
'Inside there was a thing constructed that was very tall and skinny.'

ka-nū n^{y}-eyū-n ha'-u-rê'e-n^{y}e y-ūh-ka'iwa
NEG-I I-back-ABS away-COMPL-around-pass here-inside-over
here corner by slope hill
'I did not come back up around this way from over the hill.'

n^{y}ah nū'u w-ii-rā-h-ra'a-n^{y}i
I:SUBR QUOT inside-trajectory-facing-vertical-leave-FUT

n^{y}-eyūh-na t^{y}ásta'a
I-inside-PREV cave
here REF
'He says that I should get out of this cave.'

pāh nū'u t^{y}ī-če-n^{y}i p-eyán-na hɨri hap^{w}a
you:SUBR QUOT up-move-FUT you-here-PREV hill on
REF
'He says you should get off from here up on top of this hill.'

p-ahta p-ān-ná ha'-a-rá'a
you-CNJ you-up- PREV away-outside-arrive
there REF
'And you also went there.'

There is a fourth class of adverbial demonstratives that I call deictic locatives. These adverbs have a performative function with respect to the addressee in a speech situation, in contrast to the basically pronominal type function of most of the locative adverbs discussed above. The deictic locatives make use of the basic **y-**, **m-**, and **Ø** distance orientation and the **a/u** boundary orientation systems. All the deictic locative forms include a glottal stop plus a copy of either **a** or **u**, giving what might be called a pausal form of the deictic, analogous to the pausal forms of both the definite article and the subject pronouns. One more paradigm can be formed by suffixing **-k^{w}i** EMPH to either the **a** or **u** forms given below.

$$\begin{matrix}\text{DEICTIC}\\ \text{LOC}\end{matrix} \; = \; \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{y-}\\ \text{m-}\\ \emptyset\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{a}\\ \text{u}\end{matrix}\right\} + \text{-'V}_{x} + (\text{-k}^{w}\text{i})$$

The following paradigms are presented as contrastive inside/ outside pairs for pausal and emphatic deictic categories.

	PAUSAL DEICTIC		EMPHATIC DEICTIC	
	Inside	Outside	Inside	Outside
'here'	**yu'u**	**ya'a**	**yu'u-kʷi**	**ya'a-kʷi**
'there'	**mu'u**	**ma'a**	**mu'u-kʷi**	**ma'a-kʷi**
'off there'	**u'u**	**a'a**	**u'u-kʷi**	**a'a-kʷi**

The following examples illustrate typical uses of the deictic locatives.

yũ'u	**ũh-mʷaa**	**či'i-tā́**	**â-'a-muuku'u**
here inside	inside-lay slope	house-inside flat	ART(?)-your-hat

pā́h	**ra-wau-wau**
you:SUBR	DISTR:SG-RDP-look for

'Your hat that you are going around looking for is sitting on the floor right here inside the house.'

mā'a	**máh**	**wa-tʸā́-uu**	**mɨ**	**kaura-si**	**pah**
there outside	they:SUBR	EXT-in-be middle	ART	goat-PL	you:SUBR

wa-hā́'-u-rai
them-away-COMPL-lose
'Right off over yonder is where the goats are clustered, the ones you lost way off somewhere.'

yu'u-kʷī	**wa-tā́-mʷaa**	**ɨ**	**tuša'a**	**tʸeh**
here-EMPH inside	EXT-across-lay	ART	plate	we:SUBR

y-ā́'-u-raii-ka'a
it-away-COMPL-lose-PAST
PERF
'The plate which we had lost is sitting right here inside on top of the table.'

u'u-kʷɨ	**či'i-ta**	**ū**	**wa-tɨka'a**
there-EMPH inside	house-inside	there inside	EXT-be dark

'It is dark all over off there inside that house.'

ma'a-kʷɨ	**mɨ**	**tʸɨ-'a-ya'amʷa**
there-EMPH outside	ART	DISTR-your-domestic animals

'Right there are your animals.'

There is another small class of adverbial demonstratives that is based on two forms of the definite article: **i** 'the one right here' and **mɨ** 'the one right there'.

$$\begin{array}{lcccccc} & \text{ART} & & \text{LOC PRT} & & \text{EMPH} \\ \text{(a)} & \mathbf{ii} & + & \left\{\begin{matrix}\mathbf{yah}\\ \mathbf{yan}\\ \mathbf{ya}\\ \mathbf{yu}\end{matrix}\right\} & + & (\mathbf{-k^{w}i}) \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{lcccccc} & \text{ART} & & \text{LOC PRT} & & \text{EMPH} \\ \text{(b)} & \mathbf{m}\text{ɨɨ} & + & \left\{\begin{matrix}\mathbf{ma}\\ \mathbf{man}\end{matrix}\right\} & + & (\mathbf{-k^{w}i}) \end{array}$$

Several of these forms will appear among the examples used to illustrate the syntax of adverbial demonstratives.

Syntax

Adverbial demonstratives enter into various constructions with postpositions, postpositional phrases, adverbs, possessed nouns, and even with an existential predicate.

The following sets of examples show various locative particle constructions. The locative particle is the initial member in all these constructions. Locative particles can be the head of postpositional phrases.

yu	**hecē**	**p-ūh-me'e-n**
here inside	toward	SUBJ-inside-come-ABS

'coming off to this side'

ma-	**-'ɨmɨ**
there	-far
outside	off

'a bit removed from off there'

Locative particles combine with postpositions that have overt objects also.

mḗ	**čuaa-ta'a**
there	ground-in
outside	area

'right there on the ground'

yū́	**či'i-ta**
here	house-inside
inside	

'right here inside the house'

Locative particles can enter into complex adverbial clauses with a second, more specific adverb.

ū́	**ā̄t^ye'e**
there	along
inside	river

'off there along the river'

Finally, locative particles can be in apposition to possessed noun forms which are themselves bound to a postposition.

yū́	**n^ya-hɨ'ɨ-sīi-ta'a**
here	my-eye-PL-place-of
inside	

'right here in my eyes'

yēh	**n^yé-ica'ap^{w}a**	**hece**
in	my-rib	against
slope		

'right here in my ribs'

There are two constructions in which a locative particle appears to be the head of a phrase that is the subject complement to a verb meaning 'be'. In one case, the main verb is **he'e/ha'a** 'be located somewhere'.

n^yī	**yā́**	**=hā́'a**	**vēhli'i**	**a'-u-t^y-ēh-vee**
Q	here	=be	close	away-EXT-up-along-be
	outside	located	by	slope standing

'Is it standing up anywhere close by around here?'

In the second construction, *non-emphatic deictic locatives* become prefixed to the existential stem **-na'a** to form a deictic element that takes a subject complement clause.

mā́'a=na'a	**ũh-vee**	**mɨ**	**kɨša'u-ri**	**mɨ**	**mẽesa**	**hap^{w}a**
there=be	inside-be	ART	gourd-ABS	ART	table	on
outside	slope standing		canteen			

'The gourd canteen is standing up right over there on top of that table.'

ā'a=na'a	**uh-kā'a**	**ɨ**	**t^{y}et^{y}ā**	**hap^{w}a**	**ɨ**	**n^{y}e-čun**
there=be	inside-lay	ART	rock	on	ART	my-machete
outside	slope					

'My machete is lying off yonder there on top of the rock.'

These last examples show locative agreement between the deictic elements, the articles of the postpositional phrases, and the articles of the subject noun phrase. In addition, these examples show no overt subordinator for the third person singular subject complement clauses.

As suggested earlier, locative elements can be strung together, possibly recursively. Such strings range in complexity from simple locative particle + postposition phrases to sequences of adverb + adverb, postposition phrase + postposition phrase, and even adverb + subordinate clause.

māh-kɨ	**hece**	**t^{y}ā-kun**
in-downhill	at	in -be
slope		middle hollow

'There is a cave downslope off there in the gully.'

īi-ya	**čāh-ta'a**
ART-here	houses-place
outside	of

'right here around town'

āh-na	**huéevis**	**hece**
along-PREV	Thursday	on
slope REF		

'on that particular Thursday'

mũu-t^{y}e	**hāt^{y}e'e**
there -down	along
inside river	river

'way off inside there along the river'

m-ahtā	**ɨ**	**kurapẽeno**	**a'-u-kɨh**	**hāa-kɨ**
they-CNJ	ART	Corapeños	away-inside-went	outside-downslope
			off	horizontally

ru-čē	**kurā́apa**
REFL-home	San Juan Corapan

'And the Corapeños also went off to their homes on the coastal plain in San Juan Corapan.'

māh	**nū'u**	**t^{y}ī-wii-n^{y}i**	**m-eyāh-na**
they:SUBR	QUOT	DISTR-move-FUT	they-here -PREV
			outside REF

ĩi-ya t-a'-u-pã́'aca
ART-here SUBR-outside-EXT(?)-be
flat
'He says that they should remove themselves
from here in the flat.'

Some adverbial demonstratives are inflected to agree in person and number with the subject of the main clause, as the following schema shows.

n^{y}-aun
'I'

p-aun
'you'

0-aun
'he'

t^{y}-aun
'we'

s-aun
'you:PL'

m-aun
'they'

hi'i-rã́'a
NARR-arrive
PAST
'X arrived right here.'

Locative particles and demonstratives can serve as procomplements of various sorts. The possibilities include procomplement of location in space, location in time, manner, and content of quote. Some sentences even have double procomplements.

ha'ačú a'-a-t^{y}ée-vi'i-ka âh nú n^{y}-ĩ
somewhat away-outside-extend-PRTC-SIMUL along I I-SEQ
slope

ah-tá-n^{y}-ɨ'ɨ
along-across-on-carry
slope top
'A little while went by, then I took my sandal off.'

aú pú hi-ru-'u-wa-t^{y}e-vĩ-'ira
there SUBJ NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-COMPL-PERF-grab-APPLIC
horizontally
'Right there inside he grabbed hold of it.'

yã́a pú yau
thus SUBJ be
round
'It's this big around.'

ayã́a pú nú'u hĩ t^{y}ĩ'i-kɨ'ɨšɨ ru-'ɨ̃
thus SUBJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-sing REFL-wife
out

ra-kʷá'a-n yēewi
DISTR:SG-eat-PRTC QUOT
'This is what he sang out: "He's eating his own wife".'

The next two examples illustrate a double procomplement structure that occurs in some sentences. In both cases, one of the procomplements refers to the location of an event while the other refers to the content of a (sometimes implied) quotation.

ka-pá ayá-n p-aū́-n tʸā-há'-u-ye'i-kan
NEG-you thus-ABS you-there-ABS DISTR-away-COMPL-walk-PRTC
inside around
'Don't you be so poking your nose around in that place.'

āa pēh nʸá'u ayá-n wā'a hamʷán
there you:SUBR AFF thus-ABS them with

tʸé-he'-e-seira-'ah=pʷ-a'a-me
DISTR-away-outside-see-DUR=you-be-go
'Off there you will thus be seen residing with them.'

Locative phrases of various sorts can become discontinuous as the result of topicalization processes and various raising rules associated with the formation of complex sentences. For the most part, a discontinuous construction consists of one element in pre-verbal position and another in post-verbal position.

Locative particles may be discontinuous with postpositional phrases.

y-ā́h pū́ nʸe-hḗ'e=tʸauunʸe y-ēh nʸa-ware-'e
here-along SUBJ me-be=itch here-along my-back-in
slope slope
'It itches me right here in my back.'

ū hī-(y)a'-u-rā́'a-ru-pi čī'i wari-ta'a
there NARR-away-EXT-around-enter-PAST house back-inside
corner
'She went around there in back of the house.'

Locative particles may also be discontinuous with postposition-like adverbials. Both elements in the discontinuity may be pre-verbal.

á nū́ vḗhli'i ú-ča-šɨh-sin
there I close inside-stand-PAST-DUR
by
'I'm going to stop close by over there.'

yā́ pū́ nʸe-vḗhli'i wa-mɨ́'ɨ ínʸeeci
here SUBJ me-close COMPL-die me
by
'He died right here real close to me.'

The post-verbal element of the discontinuity can be an entire relative clause.

āa	**pú**	**ɨmɨ**	**a'-a-rá'a**	**má**
there horizontally	SUBJ	far off	away-outside-arrive	there outside

t-u-ās-tɨ-mee	**ɨ**	**t^{y}aɨt^{y}e**
SUBR-EXT-reach-CONN-COLL	ART	people

'He arrived way off there out at the edge of town.'

There may even be several post-verbal elements in the discontinuous construction.

y-ān	**pú**	**wá-uh-sa'upeh**	**īi-yan**	**hɨrī**	**hap^{w}a**
here-on top	SUBJ	COMPL-REFL-rest	ART-up here	hill	on

'He took himself a rest right here on top of the hill.'

The sentence-initial locative element may also be a river-oriented adverb or a procomplement.

m-āh-ka'i	**hi-'i-r-āh-veh**
there-along-over slope hill	NARR-along trajectory -facing-along-fall out slope

hāa-ta'a
water-inside

'She dove headfirst into the water.'

ān-ná	**t^{y}é-he'e=t^{y}-ée-n^{y}e'e-ve**
on -PREV top REF	in-be=up-COMPL(?)-dance-HAB middle

hap^{w}ān	**ɨ**	**ku'uku'u**
on	ART	serpent

'There he was up on top of the serpent dancing around on it.'

In the following sentence, the initial constituent is an introducer element. The locative phrase is broken up into two parts, one of which is pre-verbal and follows the introducer; the other part occurs post-verbally.

n^{y}ī	**yá'a**	**a'-u-t^{y}-ēh-vee**	**vēhli'i**
Q	here:PS	away-EXT-up-along-be slope standing	close by

'Is it standing up close by anywhere around here?'

tɨ'ɨh=tá-'ih	**ɨ**	**ukarih**	**ān**	**a'-uh-yēih-šɨ**
CNJ=and-SEQ	ART	old woman	on top	away-inside-sit-PAST slope down

ɨ kɨyé hap^{w}a
ART board on
'Then afterwards the old woman sat down on the board.'

The preverbal part of a discontinuous construction is often a procomplement that can be inflected to mark the subject of the sentence.

n^{y}i p-eyũn a'-uh-n^{y}éh y-ũh-t^{y}ivi
Q you-back away-inside-pass here-inside-uphill
here slope by slope
'Did you not come by through here on top of this hill?'

tɨ'ɨ-kí ayãn-nã hĩ-(y)ẽ'-eh-veh
CNJ-INDF thus-REV NARR-away-along-fall
REF slope

mũu-ce-'e-n
head-ABS-in-ABS
'Then it fell right straight down on top of her head.'

QUANTIFIERS

Forms

The following are the most common quantifiers that occur in Cora.

sãɨh	'a/one/the other one'
sẽika	'some (OBJ)/other ones (SUBJ)'
kɨ̃h	'a little bit'
kãh	'something'
ha'acũ	'somewhat'
hẽiwa	'much/many'
m^{w}ĩ'i	'many'
nãin	'all (OBJ/OBJ P)'
nãihmi'i	'all together (STAT)'
nãihmi	'all together (PRED)'
nãihmi'ika	'all (ACC)'
he'ikãh	'some'
he'ikãka	'some of them (ACC)'
m^{w}i'ikãka	'many of them (ACC)'
saɨkẽ	'distinct/different'
tɨ̃n/tɨ̃m^{w}a'a	'almost/just about'
t^{y}ãm^{w}a'a	'a lot of'
hẽ'ita'a	'half of'
hẽice'e	'more'

šá'iču'i	'barely'
héekan	'a lot'
ā'ih	'something (?)'

sáɨh	**pú**	**šāa**	**yēewi**	**ah-nʸēh**
one	SUBJ	AFF	QUOT	in-arrive slope

'To be sure, one did come up out of the water.'

kantīira	**tɨ**	**kɨ̄h**	**tʸee**
candle	SUBR	little bit	long

'a short candle'

hēiwa	**pū**	**tʸī'i-h-navih**
lots	SUBJ	DISTR-UNSPEC-animal OBJ hides

'He has lots of animal hides.'

nāihmi-'i	**tū**	**nʸā'u**	**haleluuya**
all-STAT	we	AFF	halleluyah

'We're all a bunch of "Halleluyahs".'

mʷi'ikā-ka	**pū**	**tʸī'i-h-čuumi**
many-ACC	SUBJ	DISTR-UNSPEC-machete OBJ

'He has a lot of the machetes.'

nu-'urī	**hēekan**	**kuh-mɨ**
I-already	very much	sleep-DESID

'I'*m* *really* *sleepy* *now.*'

ka-nū	**ā'ih**	**rɨ-nʸīi-če'e**
NEG-I	anything	do-FUT-IMPOT

'I would not have made it at all.'

Syntax

Quantifiers normally precede both the article and noun in a noun phrase. The normal order of constituents is thus QNT + ART + N.

yā'a=ka'a	**sāɨh**	**i**	**soobre**
here:PS=be laying	one	ART	envelope

'Right here lying on the table is an envelope.'

mu-'urī	**tʸī'i-kʷa'a**	**sēika**	**ɨ**	**tɨ'ɨrii**
they-already	DISTR-eat	others	ART	children

'Other children are already eating.'

Some of the quantifiers can be used as full noun phrases. As such they can function either as the subject or direct object of a sentence or as the object of a postposition.

sā́ɨh pū t^{y}ɨ̄'i-k^{w}i'i
one SUBJ DISTR-sick
'Another one is sick.'

mḗ-t^{y}i-t^y-ā́a-nana-ī m^{w}i'ikā́-ka
they-RDP-DISTR-COMPL-buy-STAT many-ACC
'They bought up many of the animals.'

pu-'urī-'i nain kɨ̄n hi-rā́-'u-vi'i-ta-ka-'a
SUBJ-already-be all with NARR-DISTR-COMPL-grab-make-PAST-DUR
SG
'Now he was caught by all of his hands and feet.'

Quantifiers can be split off from the noun phrase they occur in and preposed to the main verb, thus giving rise to a discontinuous construction.

sḗika pā́h t^{y}u'-u-tā́-wauu-n^{y}i ɨ wahkari
others you:SUBR DISTR-COMPL-PERF-look-FUT ART toy
'You ought to ask for some other/more toys.'

mu-'urī sḗika a'-u-kɨ̄h ɨ t^{y}aɨt^{y}e
they-already others away-COMPL-leave ART people
'Other people have already left.'

The quantifiers **saɨh** 'one/another one' and **seika** 'some/other ones' are not inflected in any way to distinguish between subject and object. Thus, the sequence QNT + ART + N can correspond either to the sequence SUBJ + SUBJ or SUBJ + OBJ.

pu-'urī wa-mɨ̄'ɨ sā́ɨh ɨ kauura
SUBJ-already COMPL-die one ART goat
'Another goat has now died.'

pu-'urī rā́-'a-tɨ-n^{y}i sā́ɨh ɨ yuuri
SUBJ-already DISTR-outside-carry-FUT one ART corn
SG
'The other guy will take the corn away.'

The quantifiers **he'ikaka** 'a few of them' and **m^{w}i'ikaka** 'many of them' perform a true partitive function in that they point to a particular subclass of a set of items. The two examples below illustrate the contrast between a partitive and a non-partitive quantifier.

hḗiwa pū́ wa-tā́-wauu ɨ waaka-si
many SUBJ COMPL(?)-PERF-ask ART cow-PL
for
'He asked for lots of cows.'

m^{w}i'iká-ka pū wa-tā-wauu ɨ waaka-si
many-ACC SUBJ COMPL-PERF-ask ART cow-PL
for
'He asked for lots of those cows.'

Other quantifiers can also enter into partitive constructions. The following example shows a partitive construction that consists of **saɨh** 'a/one' plus an independent pronoun.

yāa pú wī ahtā t^{y}ī'i-h-še'eve'e āihna ī maeestra
thus SUBJ QUOT also DISTR-UNSPEC-want DEM ART teacher
OBJ

tɨ wí saɨh m^{w}an ɨ sah wi wa'ap^{w}a naayeri
SUBR QUOT one you:PL ART you:PL QUOT two Cora
SUBR

tɨ wi saɨh ú ā'-u-me-'en ā-hā'a=wa'a
SUBR QUOT one there away-COMPL-go-PRTC there-be=beyond
located

nū'u t^{y}apūusti'i tɨ a'-a-tá-n^{y}i-n^{y}ei
QUOT metal SUBR away-outside-across-RDP-appear
'This is the way this teacher here wants it, that one of you Coras, who are two, that one go off yonder there to where the metal thing shows up.'

Various quantifiers are used as predicates to indicate the quantity that is to be attributed to a given noun phrase.

pu-'urī naihmi
SUBJ-already be
all
'Now it's all gone.'

t^{y}ī'i-m^{w}i'i mɨ kɨyeh
DISTR-many ART pole
'There are a lot of poles.'

ma-m^{w}ī'i mɨ waaka-si
they-many ART cow-PL
'There are a lot of cows.'

m-ī'i-m^{w}ī'i tɨ mā-'a
they-NARR-many SUBR go-PRTC
'They were separated out into distinct groups, each of which contained a lot of them.'

seika 'some' occurs in construction with the existential predicate **Ø-na'a** 'be'. Note the following example.

ka-pū k^{w}ī-'i t^{y}ī'i-seikah=na'a
NEG-SUBJ EV-be DISTR-some=be
'Really, it isn't just a few things (that we saw).'

The following forms are related in part to the quantifier **saɨh** 'another one/a'.

ru-sâɨh
REFL-one
'by himself'

ru-hɨ́ɨmʷa'a
REFL-ones
'by themselves'

ru-sêe-n-ta-ka-n
REFL-one-ABS-make-HAB-ABS
'being set apart by himself'

ru-sā-šui
REFL-one-individual
'by themselves individually'

NUMERALS

Forms

There are distinct basic forms for the first five numerals and for 'ten'. All the other numerical forms are compounds. Numbers from 'six' to 'nine' are formed by prefixing a locative base **ha-ra** 'there outside-facing frontwards'/'in the face of' to each of the basic numerals 1-4. Although the indigenous numeral system has been largely replaced by the Spanish system, some people still remember certain forms of the indigenous pattern, so that most of the main points are clear. Multiples of twenty were formed by prefixing each of the first ten numerals to **-tʸe** 'twenty'. Terms for multiples of one hundred are hardly used anymore. The first two numerals can each be prefixed to the stem **-vɨ'ira'a** 'thousand' to give the numbers 'one thousand' and 'two thousand'. There are two postpositional phrases that are used for the numbers 'twenty-five' and 'fifty'. They are based on the 'bits' system of counting introduced under Colonial Spanish rule.

The following list gives the inventory of cardinal number words I have found thus far.

saɨtɨ	'one'	**seitʸé**	'twenty'
wā'apʷa	'two'	**wā'apʷa hece**	'twenty-five'
wāika	'three'	**wā'apʷatʸe**	'forty'
mʷākʷa	'four'	**mʷākʷa hece**	'fifty'
anšɨvi	'five'	**wāikatʸe**	'sixty'
arâhsevi	'six'	**mʷākʷatʸe**	'eighty'
arāawa'apʷa	'seven'	**anšɨtʸe**	'one hundred'
arāawaiika	'eight'	**sei-vɨ'ira'a**	'one thousand'
arâmʷakʷa	'nine'	**wā'apʷa-vi'ira'a**	'two thousand'
tamʷâamʷata'a	'ten'		

The ordinal numbers are expressed in terms of a nominal phrase that consists of the sequence article + subordinator + cardinal numeral. The ordinals for the first ten numbers are as follows:

ɨ̄ tɨ̄ saɨ̄tɨ ART SUBR one	'the first one'
ɨ̄ tɨ̄ wā'ap^{w}a	'the second one'
ɨ̄ tɨ̄ wāika	'the third one'
ɨ̄ tɨ̄ m^{w}āk^{w}a	'the fourth one'
ɨ̄ ta'anšɨvi	'the fifth one'
ɨ̄ ta'arāsevi	'the sixth one'
ɨ̄ ta'arāwa'ap^{w}a	'the seventh one'
ɨ̄ ta'arāwaika	'the eighth one'
ɨ̄ ta'arām^{w}ak^{w}a	'the ninth one'
ɨ̄ tɨ̄ tam^{w}āam^{w}ata'a	'the tenth one'

Syntax

In noun phrases, the numeral ordinarily precedes the noun it modifies. Subject noun phrases of the form numeral + noun are infrequent. Except for 'one' and 'ten', when number words occur in object noun phrases they are inflected with the accusative marker **-ka.**

wā'-u-nana-i m^{w}āk^{w}a-ka ɨ̄ waaka-si
them-COMPL-buy-STAT four-ACC ART cow-PL
'He bought four cows.'

Number words can sometimes occur as modifiers to a noun that is object of a postposition. The word **anšɨ̄vi** 'five' loses its final syllable in this construction.

anšɨ̄h n^{y}ín^{y}e'ira'a cahta'a
five year inside
'within five years'

Number words can also occur in inverted constructions of the form noun + numeral. This is a result of putting primary focus on the head noun.

k^{w}asp^{w}ā sēih pū r-a-'i-tā-k^{w}aa
plum one SUBR DISTR:SG-outside-facing-PERF-eat
back
'He ate one bowl full of plums.'

ahtā pɨ̄ste'e sēih
CNJ gruel one
'And one (cup) of corn gruel.'

ahtā wē'ira'a wa'ap^{w}ā
CNJ meat two
'And two (bowls) of meat.'

Notice that **wā'ap^{w}a** 'two' is not marked for accusative in the example above. This shows that the numeral is actually the clause predicate.

The inverted construction with postposition is the mechanism for deriving numeric phrases, which constitute the vast majority of 'number words'.

seit^{y}ē	**hap^{w}ā́n**	**tam^{w}ā́am^{w}ata'a**	**hap^{w}ā́n**	**anšɨvi**
twenty	above	ten	above	five

'thirty-five'

tam^{w}ā́am^{w}ata'a	**hap^{w}ā́n**	**harā̆hsevi**
ten	above	six

'sixteen'

Numeric phrases of the form numeral + noun are commonly adverbial in character, specifying a limit on a particular activity. The number words, except for 'five', are not marked in any way in these constructions. The morpheme **-vi** drops from **anšɨvi** 'five' in this environment.

anšɨh	**šɨkā**	**pa-pu'u**	**p-ī**	**yā́a**	**rūuri**	**p^{w}-ā'a-me**
five	day	you-SUBJ	you-SEQ	thus	wet	you-LOC-go be

'For five more days you will thus remain alive.'

Numerals can function by themselves as full noun phrases, either as direct objects or as objects of postpositions. Number words except for 'one' and 'ten' are inflected for accusative case in these constructions. Subject noun phrases do not appear to occur in this context.

sêih	**nā́-a-tui-iri-'i**
one	me-COMPL-sell-APPLIC-STAT

'Sell me one.'

t^{y}ī-nā́-a-tui-iri-'i	**wa'ap^{w}ā́-ka**
DISTR-me-COMPL-sell-APPLIC-STAT	two-ACC

'Sell me two.'

pu-'urī'i	**wa'ap^{w}ā́-ka**	**kɨn**	**hī-rā́-'a-vi'i-ta**
SUBJ-already be	two-ACC	with	NARR-DISTR-outside-stick-make SG

'He is now caught by both hands.'

wā̆ika-kā̆h-recē	**mu=wa-m^{w}ē'itɨ-če**
three-ACC-at	they=COMPL-gain-PASS CAUS

'After three times they poop out.'

The following examples also show that while the sequence numeral + accusative + postposition + article + noun is permitted, *numeral + accusative + article + noun + postposition is not.

ā́'-u-raa	**mʷākʷa-ka**	**hamʷan**	**ɨ**	**tʸetʸaka**
away-COMPL-leave	four-ACC	with	ART	men

'He went off with four men.'

***ā̂'-u-raa**	**mʷākʷa-ka**	**ɨ**	**tʸḗtʸaka**	**hamʷan**
away-COMPL-leave	four-ACC	ART	men	with

Numerals are also involved in discontinuous constructions. They may be the preposed (or postposed) member in either a discontinuous possessor construction or a direct object noun phrase.

sêih	**pú**	**tʸí=navih**
one	SUBJ	UNSPEC=animal OBJ hide

'He has a single animal hide.'

mʷākʷa-ka	**pú**	**ā-'ih=tameh**
four-ACC	SUBJ	outside-facing=teeth

'He has four teeth.'

nu-'urí	**séih**	**tʸé-vi'itɨ-n**	**hɨ̄ita'a**
I-already	one	in-carry-PRTC middle	woman

'I already have a woman.'

tɨ'ɨ=kī	**ru-yāuh-mʷa'a**	**wa-ta-hē**	**harāhsevī-ka**
CNJ=INDF	REFL-son-PL	COMPL-PERF-call	six-ACC

'Then she called her six sons.'

Numerals have a predicate use in which they can take subject pronoun clitics, the distributive prefix, and even be preceded by an auxiliary sequence. They also can appear as the predicate in a nominalized clause. The normal order of constituents in these phrases is numeral + article + noun, or numeral + subject pronoun.

tʸa=wā'apʷa	**ītʸan**
we=two	we

'We are two people.'

tʸī'i-waika	**ɨ**	**kɨyeh**
DISTR-three	ART	pole

'There are three poles.'

pu-'urī	**nū'u**	**hī'i=wa'apʷa**
SUBJ-already	QUOT	NARR=two

'Already, they say, there are two of them.'

In one predicate use, numerals may occur as the predicate of relative clauses.

ɨ	**tɨ**	**wa'apʷa**
ART	SUBR	two

'the two things'

ɨ	**ma**	**wā'apʷa**
ART	they:SUBR	two

'the two people'

There is another predicate use of numerals in which the noun for which a given quantity is predicated is the head of a relative clause.

sēih ɨ t^{y}et^{y}e tɨ vê'e
one ART rock SUBR big
'There is one rock that is big.'
'The rock that is big is one.'

There is an adverbial use of numerals which indicates the number of times that an event takes place. As in the use of numerals as subject noun phrases, the numerals here are not inflected. **anšɨvi** 'five' retains the word-final syllable **-vi**.

wā'ap^{w}a pū a-ii-tā-veh
two SUBJ outside-trajectory-PERF-fall
'He fell on his back twice.'

anšɨvi pū ra-a-ta-tū'a
five SUBJ DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-hit
'He hit him five times.'

The use of a numeral with the postposition **-recê** 'at' indicates the point in a number of repetitions of one event at which a second event takes place, i.e. 'after'.

wāika-kah-recê mū wa-m^{w}ā'itɨ-če
three-ACC-at they COMPL-gain-PASS
CAUS
'At three times around they pooped out.'

There is a postposition **-e**, which means 'position on an object'. It occurs in such phrases as the following two.

m-ān	**a-t^{y}en^{y}e-'e**	**yēh**	**n^{y}a-ware-'e**
there-on top	your-mouth-at	here-along slope	my-back-at
'right there into your mouth'		'right here on my back'	

Forms such as **t^{y}en^{y}i** 'mouth' and **wari** 'back' show that the stem-final vowel of the word that **-e** is suffixed to harmonizes with it. It turns out that there are combinations of numeral + **ke'e** which mean 'in X number of places'. Since numerals are inflected for the accusative case when they occur with a postposition, it is reasonable to analyze **-ke'e** into the sequence **-ka** ACC plus the harmonizing postposition **-e** 'position at X location'.

n^{y}e-t^{y}u'-u-wās-t^{y}-e wāika-ke-'e
I-DISTR-COMPL-plant-make-APPLIC three-ACC-at
'I planted in three different places.'

There are three constructions that are used to indicate that the repeated occurrence of an event involves all of the members of a group individually or that it repeatedly involves groups of identical size. The first construction connects two occurrences of **seih** 'one' by means of a conjunction in a phrase of the form **seih** + CNJ + **seih**. The phrase itself refers to either the object or indirect object of the main verb. The conjunction is inflected to agree in person and number with the subject of the main clause.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī-wa'-u-rā́'-ɨ-t^{y}-e	**sêih**	**n^{y}-ahtā́**	**seih**
I-DISTR-them-COMPL-around-carry-make-APPLIC	one	I-CNJ	one

'I divided the things among them individually.'

Plurality of object is marked on some verbs by reduplication of the verb stem. When used with the **seih** + CNJ + **seih** phrase, this means that each member of a group is affected in some way by an unspecified number of objects.

t^{y}ɨ̄-wa'-u-rā́'a-tu'u-tu'i-t^{y}-e	**séih**	**ahtā́**	**seih**
DISTR-them-COMPL-around-RDP-carry-make-APPLIC corner	one	CNJ	one

'He gave out several small things to each one of them.'

Individual participation as subject in a repeated event that affects all the members of a group is expressed by some form of the predicate **sâšu'i** 'individually among themselves'. In its simplest use, with or without the reflexive object prefix, **sâšu'i** is used as an adverb to express the notion 'subject (plural) does X one by one'.

m-u-'i-ráa-kɨ'ɨka	**sâšu'i**	**ɨ̄**	**sara-t^{y}e**
they-inside-trajectory-facing-leave away	individually	ART	bee-PL

'The bees leave the hive one by one.'

má	**mū́**	**ā́-ū́u-rut^{y}i-šɨh**	**ru-sā́šu'i**
there	they	away-horizontally-enter-DISTR PAST	REFL-individually

'They went off each one in his own way.'

The predicate **šāsu'i** has an additional use with the suffix **-ma'a** COLL + PRTC. The semantics of this construction are not clear to me. The resulting forms **sā́šu'ihmā́'a** 'individually within the group, subject' and **sā́šu'ihmē'en** 'individually within a group, object' seem to act as a non-finite adverbial subordinate clause. When **me** is marked with a final participial **-an**, the vowel of the latter is raised to **e**.

pu-'urī	**nu-nu'iwa**	**sā́šu'ih-mā́-'a**
SUBJ-already	RDP-be born	individually-COLL-PRTC

'Now there are small squashes coming out here
and there on the vines.'

t^yī-wa'-u-rā'-ɨ-t^y-e
DISTR-them-COMPL-around-carry-make-APPLIC

sā́šu'ih-mē-'en
individually-COLL-PRTC
'Give them out one apiece to each of them.'

Numerals can also be used in participial constructions with **-mā'a**. When the construction refers to the subject of the main clause, it indicates that the subjects carry out a particular event in equally-sized and distinct groups that consist of a particular number.

m-a'-u-kɨ́h **me-t^yā́-wa'ap^{w}ah-mā́-'a**
they-away-COMPL-leave they-DISTR-two-COLL-PRTC
'They left in individual groups of two.'

When the participial construction with **-mā'a** refers to the direct object, the numeral that appears at the predicate of the participial clause is marked for accusative case. In addition, the participial **-an** is suffixed to **-me**. The construction means that the direct object of the main clause is affected in distinct and equally-sized groups that consist of a particular number of members.

pa-r-a-'u-yū'uša **m^{w}āk^{w}a-kah-mē-'en**
you-DISTR-outside-inside-write four-ACC-COLL-PRTC
SG horizontally
'You will write it down, four times in each group.'

ADJECTIVES

Predicative

In their predicative use, adjectives can be marked for many of the categories that are marked on regular verbs. They can be inflected for person and number of subject by means of the same series of subject prefixes that occur on verbs.

pé-het^{y}é m^{w}āa
you-heavy you
'You are heavy.'

sē-het^{y}ē-hmee m^{w}ān
you:PL-heavy-COLL you:PL
'You all are heavy.'

sɨ́ɨ-či-ra'a áɨhna
striped-ABS-make DEM
'That guy is striped.'

t^ya-sɨ́ɨ-n^{y}ī īt^yan
we-striped-PL we
'We are striped.'

They are marked with the distributive prefix to indicate plural for inanimate subjects.

t^{y}i'i-k^{w}atúm^{w}a aɨhna ɨ t^{y}ī'i-n^{y}a-paan^{y}u
DISTR-purple DEM ART DISTR-my-handkerchief
'My handkerchiefs are purple.'

t^{y}i'i-sikɨ̄ɨra aɨhna ɨ tutah
DISTR-disc DEM ART cheese
shaped
'Those cakes of cheese are disc-shaped.'

Adjective stems commonly incorporate locative prefixes that describe the location, direction, or position of a characteristic described by the stem.

na-'a-vã'a-pa'u
I-outside-covering-red
'I'm red on the top of my head.'

n-u-'i-t^y-ãa-pa'u
I-inside-facing-up-EXT(?)-red
'I'm red in my cheek.'

n-a-'i-t^y-ãa-pa'u
I-outside-facing-up-EXT(?)-red
'I'm red all over my back.'

Various suffixes and sequences of suffixes occur with adjectives. For count nouns, singular is often marked by **-ra'a** 'make + (?)' or by **-či** + **-ra'a** 'ABS + make + (?)'.

pɨh-čī-ra-'a ɨ čun
hot-ABS-make-(?) ART machete
'The machete blade is hot.'

pe'e-čī-ra-'a aɨhna ɨ kɨye
rotten-ABS-make-(?) DEM ART pole
'That pole is rotten.'

The **-či** + **-ra'a** or **-ra'a** sequences that appear on the singular forms of adjectives are replaced by Ø, **-n^{y}i**, or -t^{y}i for non-singular forms.

pe'e-n^{y}ī ɨ yuuri
rotten-PL ART corn
'The corn is rotten.'

pɨs-t^{y}ī mɨ hah
hot-PL ART water
'The water is hot.'

Adjective stems sometimes occur with the stative suffix **-i**.

tɨ́ɨpu-ri-'i aɨhna ɨ́ kɨša'u-ri
dumbbell-make-STAT DEM ART gourd-ABS
shaped
'That gourd is dumbbell-shaped.'

yū'usi-'i
be-STAT
printed
'It is written down.'

In their use as predicates, adjectives can take the past perfective tense suffix.

ta'a-čí-ra'a-ka'a
light-ABS-make-PAST
PERF
'It was light (to carry).'

tăca-ka'a ɨ́ hah
clear-PAST ART water
PERF
'The water was clear.'

Some adjective forms suggest that an absolutive suffix can occur on adjective stems. These two examples show forms of the adjective 'be dead' which is derived from the verb **-mɨ'ɨ** 'to die' by suffixing **-či** to the verb stem.

mɨ́'ɨ-či ăɨhna ɨ́ kaura
die-ABS DEM ART goat
'That goat is dead.'

ma-mɨ́'ɨ-či măɨhna ɨ́ kaura-si
they-die-ABS DEM:PL ART goat-PL
'Those goats are dead.'

Adjectives can also take the collective morpheme **-mee**, which means that a number of objects are viewed as a single group. The adjective stem may or may not be reduplicated.

me-vi-vê-hmee
they-RDP-big-COLL
'They are big.'

t^{y}ihet^{y}é-hmee
heavy-COLL
'The things are all heavy.'

Reduplication can serve as an intensifier, contributing the notion 'very' to the meaning of the adjective stem.

a-uu-pí-p^{w}a
outside-horizontally-RDP-skinny
'He is very skinny around the waist.'

tɨ́-tɨ'ɨh ăɨhna ɨ́ kauhna-ri
RDP-long DEM ART rope-ABS
'That rope is very long.'

Reduplication of adjective stems correlates with plural subjects. Note that **-mee** COLL is not always obligatorily suffixed to a reduplicated stem.

vi-vā-a	**āɨhna**	**ɨ**	**kɨye**
RDP-big-PRTC	DEM	ART	tree

'That tree is very big.'

me-vi-vé-hmee	**māɨhna**	**ɨ**	**m^{w}aacu**
they-RDP-big-COLL	DEM:PL	ART	mule

'Those mules are all big.'

m^{w}a-'an-t^{y}i-m^{w}ā-m^{w}a'avi	**maɨhna**
they-on-up-RDP-bare top	DEM:PL

'Those people are bare-headed.'

In their predicative use, adjectives may occur with an auxiliary sequence. Note the following example.

pu-'urī	**yau**	**ɨ**	**yak^{w}ah**
SUBJ-already	wide	ART	mushroom

'The mushroom is now really big in diameter.'

Adjectives also occur as the predicates of relative clauses (see below). Finally, adjective stems can be marked with the participial suffixes.

āa	**pū**	**t^{y}apūust^{y}i'i**	**t^{y}ā'-u-pu'u**
there	SUBJ	iron	DISTR-EXT-planted

ah-tɨ-tɨ'ɨ-hmā-'a
along-RDP-long-COLL-PRTC slope

'Off there were a bunch of metal things planted in the ground. They were tall ones.'

čī'i	**pū**	**nū'u**	**a=a'-u-t^{y}a-kā'a**	**t^{y}ēe-vi'i**
house	SUBJ	QUOT	there=away-EXT-in:middle-lay	be-PRTC extended

'They say there was a house situated there, it being a long one.'

t^{y}i-yāuh	**t^{y}am^{w}ēis-ta-kan**	**hɨita-kan**
UNSPEC-offspring OBJ	youth-make-PRTC	woman-PRTC

'He has a child, a teenage one, who is a female.'

Attributive

Cora does have a noun modifier construction with the word order article + attributive + noun. In all cases, however, the attributive element is a possessor noun and the noun phrase of which it is a part has the meaning 'N_1 possesses N_2'.

n^{y}a-ra-'an-t^{y}i-vêihča-ka'a	**ɨ**	**nakâh**	**naana'a**
I-DISTR:SG-on-up-cut-DUR	ART	prickly	root
top		pear	
		cactus	

'I chopped off the root of the prickly pear cactus.'

kah	**me-t^{y}î'i-tua**	**m^{w}ašâh**	**navi**
some	they-DISTR-sell	deer	hide

'They were selling a few deerskins.'

However, adjectives cannot occur in such a sequence. The normal attributive use of an adjective is as the predicate element of a relative clause. Such relative clauses may either be the subject or direct object of a sentence, or even be the modifier in a postpositional phrase.

ra-a-ta-pî	**ɨ**	**kauhna-ri**	**tɨ**	**tut^{y}î-hwa**
DISTR-COMPL-PERF-carry	ART	rope-ABS	SUBR	roll-PASS
				up

'He gave him the rope that was rolled up.'

n^{y}a-ra-'an-t^{y}i-věihča-ka'a	**čún**	**kɨme'e**	**tɨ**	**t^{y}ée**
I-DISTR-on-up-cut-PAST	machete	with	SUBR	be
SG top PERF				extended

'I cut it off with a long machete.'

wāika	**ɨ**	**šuci**	**tɨ**	**vi-vēh-mee**
three	ART	squash	SUBR	RDP-big-COLL

'The squashes that are big are three.'

Adjectives and attributives can be strung together by combining in various ways the grammatical structures described above. For example, a relative clause whose main verb is a predicate adjective may be an attributive to an object noun phrase of the form article + attributive + noun in which the attributive element is a possessor noun.

an-t^{y}i-nă'aka-ka'a	**ɨ**	**n^{y}a-hă'a**	**čun**	**tɨ**	**hāhk^{w}a**
on-up-break-PAST	ART	my-older	machete	SUBR	new
top PERF		brother			

'My older brother's new machete broke.'

Long strings of adjectives can be formed by selecting one as the main verb of a clause and stringing out sequences of attributive relative predicate adjective clauses behind the main predicate adjective.

t^{y}i'i-sikɨɨra	**ɨ**	**tuša'a**	**tɨ**	**t^{y}i'i-pă'u**	**tɨ**
DISTR-disc	ART	dish	SUBR	DISTR-red	SUBR
shaped					

tʸi'i-vi-vê-hmee
DISTR-RDP-big-COLL
'The big, red plates are disc-shaped.'

Adjective stems combine with the suffixes **-vi'i**, **-kan**, and **-n** to form participles which have their own uses. They may function as subject and direct object nominals. Thus, in the following two examples, a participle in pre-verbal position triggers the suspension of verb-object agreement.

tɨ'ɨsī-i-wa-kan	**pū=Ø-ā'-u-tɨɨ**	**ɨ̄**	**nasimʷa**
ground-STAT-PASS-PRTC up	SUBJ=DO-away-COMPL-carry off	ART	corn meal

'She carried off the corn meal now ground up.'

ancinā-kan	**pū=Ø-wā-kʷaa**	**ɨ̄**	**muhme**
sour-PRTC	SUBJ=DO-COMPL-eat	ART	beans

'He ate the beans sour.'

Participles have an attributive function in a possessor construction that incorporates the possessed object into the verb.

kʷēina-vi'i-n	**pū=k-āh-kɨpʷa**	**ɨ̄**	**vasta'a**
white-PRTC-PRTC	SUBJ=down-along-scalp slope hair	ART	old man

'The old man has a headful of gray hairs.'

hāhkʷa-kan	**pū=tʸī=siiku'u**	**ɨ̄**	**donaldo**
new-PRTC	SUBJ=UNSPEC=shirt OBJ	ART	PN

'Don has a new shirt.'

COMPARATIVES

Comparisons of Equality

There are several comparative constructions that indicate some kind of equality between a constituent of clause X and one of clause Y. Most comparisons of equality include the subordinator **tɨh** 'like' as part of their marking. Comparisons of equality may also include the procomplement **ayaa** 'thus' as an additional marking in the sentence-initial clause. The second clause in the construction may include the conjunction **ahta** 'and' as part of its marking.

ayáa pú t^{y}i'i-cú-cui ɨ šaami tɨh ahtá ɨ čeesu'u
thus SUBJ DISTR-RDP-thick ART brick SUBR CNJ ART cheese
'The mud brick is as thick as the cake of cheese.'

The conjunction **ahtá** can be optionally omitted from the comparative construction shown above.

ayáa pú t^{y}i'i-vé'e ú teepi tɨh ú wahaaka
thus SUBJ DISTR-big inside Tepic SUBR inside Oaxaca
'Tepic is as big as Oaxaca.'

The examples above show that the adjective element in the comparative construction is normally deleted from the second clause of the construction. The following example shows that it is possible to repeat the adjective in the second clause of an 'as...as' comparative construction.

ayáa pú t^{y}i'i-cú-cui ɨ šaami tɨh
thus SUBJ DISTR-RDP-thick ART brick SUBR

t^{y}i'i-cú-cui ɨ čeesu'u
DISTR-RDP-thick ART cheese
'The mud brick is thick in this way as the cheese is thick.'

Under rather stringent conditions it is possible to conjoin non-identical adjective stems in 'X is as adjective as Y is adjective' constructions.

ayáa pú=t^{y}ee ɨ čun tɨh an-ta-yáu ɨ meesa
thus SUBJ=long ART machete SUBR on-across-wide ART table
top
'The machete is as long as the table is wide.'

The comparison of relative ages of people is accomplished by using the distributive morpheme **t^{y}i'i** plus the proper noun stem in a predicate sense.

ayáa pú=t^{y}i'i-vasta'a ɨ n^{y}i-taata tɨh ahtá ɨ vitooriu
thus SUBJ=DISTR-old ART my-father SUBR CNJ ART PN
man
'My father is as old as Victor.'

Objects can be compared with respect to color and luster.

ayáa pú=t^{y}i'i-n^{y}ánɨ ɨ liibru tɨh ahtá ɨ šahm^{w}a'a-ri
thus SUBJ=DISTR-bright ART book SUBR CNJ ART thread-ABS
colored
'The book is as brightly colored as the embroidery.'

ayâa pû=t^{y}i'i-tâɨhra-ra'a ɨ kɨša'u-ri
thus SUBJ=DISTR-subdued-SG ART gourd-ABS
color

tɨh ahtā ɨ vaasu
SUBR CNJ ART cup
'The thermos bottle is as subdued a color as the cup is.'

Verbs can be productively employed for comparisons of the form 'A does C as B does C'. The comparison may mean (at least) either 'A does C in the same way as B does C' or 'A does C just as much as B does C'. Verbs differ as to whether they only allow one or the other of the two readings or whether they are ambiguous between them.

ayāa pū=t^{y}a'-a-kā-n^{y}ee ɨ vitooriu
thus SUBJ=DISTR-outside-down-see ART PN

tɨh ahtā ɨ huuliu
SUBR CNJ ART PN
'Victorio looks just like Julio.' (manner)

ayāa pū=t^{y}i'i-t^{y}ā-nanaa-ve ɨ yuht^{y}ivii-na
thus SUBJ=DISTR-UNSPEC-buy-HAB ART upland-place
OBJ of

tɨh ahtā ɨ wadaluupi
SUBR CNJ ART PN
'The Highlander buys up things just like Guadalupe does.' (manner)

ayāa pū=t^{y}i'i-wast^y-a ɨ ambroosiu
thus SUBJ=DISTR-plant-HAB ART PN

tɨh ahtā ɨ paanču
SUBR CNJ ART PN
'Ambrose plants crops in the same way as Pancho does.' (manner)/ 'Ambrose plants just as many measures of corn as Pancho plants.' (quantity)

Deletion of adjective from the second clause of a comparative construction may result in the pronominal subject of that clause being left as the only surface constituent of that clause, apart from the subordinator. The subordinator is marked with a pronoun copy of the pronominal subject.

ayāa nū=t^{y}i'i-cap^{w}ātun pa-tɨh m^{w}āa
thus I=DISTR-be you-SUBR you
short
'I am as short as you are.'

ayā́a nū́=t^{y}ī́'i-k^{w}a'a-ka ma-tɨh mamɨhna
thus I=DISTR-eat-HAB they-SUBR those ones
'I eat just like those people there.' (i.e. with fork, knife, and spoon)

ayā́a nū́=t^{y}ī́'i-ša-ša'a ma-tɨh māɨhna
thus I=DISTR-RDP-talk they-SUBR those ones
'I talk just like those people.' (i.e. in the same language)

The subordinator of the second clause in the comparison takes a pronoun copy even when the subject of that clause is a full noun phrase. Certain kinds of verbs require number agreement between the subject of the first clause and the subject of the second one; both subjects must be either singular or plural.

ayā́a pū́=seih-re-'e tɨh m^{w}ā́hye
thus SUBJ=see-make-APPLIC SUBR lion
'It looks just like a lion.'

***ayā́a pū́=seih-re-'e ma-tɨh m^{w}ahyḗ-t^{y}e**
thus SUBJ=see-make-APPLIC they-SUBR lion-PL
'He looks just like lions do.'

In some cases, the verb associated with the second clause can appear on the surface.

ayā́a pū́=seih-re-'e ɨ m^{w}ā́hye m^{w}ahka'a tɨh hen
thus SUBJ=see-make-APPLIC ART lion hand SUBR be

ɨ t^{y}ḗvi m^{w}ahka'a tɨ t^{y}ā́-ruu
ART person hand SUBR in middle -be fat
'The lion's paw looks as if it were a fat human hand.'

There is another construction in which the direct object of the first clause is compared to the subject of the deleted verb in the second clause. In this construction the subordinator **tɨh** does not carry a pronoun copy corresponding to the subject of the second clause.

ayá-n rā́-a-ruu-rá tɨh kawā́ayu'u
thus-ABS DISTR:SG-COMPL-do-APPLIC SUBR horse
'He had made it to look like a horse.'

ayā́a pū́=wā́'-u-ruu-rā́ tɨh wáaka-si
thus SUBJ=them-COMPL-do-APPLIC SUBR cow-PL
'He made them all look like a bunch of cows.'

The following construction actually does have a verb associated with the second clause. The example also shows that the noun phrase which follows the subordinator **tɨh** is subject of the second verb.

ayáa pú=rá-a-ruu tɨh hen ɨ kawaayu'u
thus SUBJ=DISTR:SG-COMPL-do SUBR be ART horse
'He made it like a horse is.'

A variant manner comparison construction includes an auxiliary sequence **če'e-ta** CONT-PERF(?) along with the procomplement. This construction, like all the others treated so far, normally appears in an abbreviated form in which certain elements have been deleted from the second clause. Since the comparison involves an entire clause, rather than a single constituent of a clause, the subordinator **tɨh** is also deleted from the construction. The following example shows this manner comparison construction in its abbreviated form.

ayā́a pū́=če'e-tā́ t^{y}u'-u-šā́h-ta-ka'a
thus SUBJ=CONT-PERF DISTR-COMPL-say-make-DUR
'He said the same thing (as the first guy said).'

The next example shows this construction in its expanded version.

ayā́a pū́=če'e-tā́ t^{y}u'-u-šā́h-ta-ka'a tɨ̄h arī
thus SUBJ=CONT-PERF DISTR-COMPL-say-make-PAST SUBR already
DUR

t^{y}i-ra-a-šā́h-ta-ka'a ɨ̄ saɨh
DISTR-DISTR-COMPL-say-make-DUR ART other
SG one
'He said the same things as the other guy had said.'

It is not possible to conjoin distinct verb stems in this particular comparative construction. Thus, the first example below is well-formed while the second is not.

ayā́a tu=če'e-tā́ t^{y}ī́'i-ye'est^{y}-a ma-tɨ̄h m-ahtā́
thus we=CONT-PERF DISTR-fiesta-HAB they-SUBR they-CNJ

t^{y}ī́'i-ye'est^{y}-a
DISTR-fiesta-HAB
'We celebrate fiestas in the same way as they also celebrate fiestas.'

***ayā́a tū́=če'e-tā́ t^{y}ī́'i-h-rɨ'ɨ-re ma-tɨ̄h**
thus we=CONT-PERF DISTR-UNSPEC-good-make they-SUBR
OBJ

m-ahtā́ t^{y}ī́'i-ye'est^{y}-a
they-CNJ DISTR-fiesta-HAB
'We do it as a custom the same way as they observe the fiesta.'

The final variant of the manner comparative construction shows that the auxiliary sequence **če'e-tâ** CONT-PERF can occur cliticized to the existential stem **na'a** 'be'.

ayáa	**pū́=če'e-tá=na'a**	**ra-ruu-re-n**	**tɨh**
thus	SUBJ=CONT-PERF=be	DISTR:SG-do-make-PRTC	SUBR

wā'-u-ruu	**âɨme**
they-COMPL-do	them

'The same thing is going to happen to him as happened to them.'

There are four ways to form quantifier comparative constructions. The first uses a combination of the indefinite quantifier **ha'aču** 'as many as' and a quantifier predicate **p^{w}a'am^{w}a** 'be many'. The indefinite quantifier precedes the subordinate pronoun, which agrees in person and number with the subject of the second clause.

se-t^{y}ī'i-mɨhwa-ka	**ha'aču**	**sāh**	**p^{w}a'a-m^{w}a**
you:PL-DISTR-work-HAB	INDF QNT	you:PL:SUBR	be-AN many

'You all know how to work, just as many as you all are.'

me-t^{y}u'-u-ta-šāh-ta	**ha'ačū́**	**máh**	**p^{w}a'a-m^{w}a**
they-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-make	INDF QNT	they-SUBR	be-AN many

'They all spoke, just as many as they were.'

When the direct object of the first clause is coreferential with the direct object of the second clause, the quantifier comparison construction is marked by the sequence indefinite quantifier + subordinating pronoun + accusative particle.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī-wa'-u-ta-p^{w}êihve	**ha'ačū́**	**n^{y}ah**
I-DISTR-them-COMPL-PERF-give:PAST	INDF QNT	I:SUBR

kāh	**t^{y}ī-wā́'-u-kupi**
ACC	DISTR-them-COMPL-photograph

'I gave them just as many pictures as I had taken of them.'

me-t^{y}ī-nā́-a-tui-iri-'i	**ha'ačū́**	**mah**
they-DISTR-me-COMPL-sell-APPLIC-STAT	INDF QNT	they:SUBR

kāh	**t^{y}ū́'-u-taawa-ka'a**	**ɨ**	**ka'an^{y}i**
ACC	DISTR-COMPL-make-DUR	ART	bag

'They sold me as many shoulder bags as they had made.'

Another kind of comparative quantifier construction is marked by the subordinator **tɨh** 'like' and the numerative predicate **p^{w}a'a-m^{w}â** 'be:many-AN(?)'. The subordinator is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the first clause in the construction. This construction carries the notion 'however many as', which contrasts with the more specific 'just as many as' meaning of the **ha'aču** construction discussed above.

se-tʸí'i-mɨhwa-ka	**sa-tɨ́h**	**pʷa'a-mʷa**
you:PL-DISTR-work-HAB	you:PL-SUBR	be-AN
		many

'You all know how to work, however many you are.'

sá-uh-šu'umʷa-ri	**sa-tɨ́h**	**pʷa'a-mʷa**
you:PL-REFL-black-make	you:PL-SUBR	be-AN
become		many

'You all paint yourselves up, however many you all are.'

The final 'as many as' quantifier construction is marked by the subordinator **tɨ́h** 'like', the existential stem **na'a** 'be', and the numerative predicate **pʷa'a-mʷa** 'be:many-AN'. Both **na'a** and **pʷa'a-mʷa** occur in the second clause of the construction. Both the subordinator **tɨ́h** and the existential **na'a** are marked with pronoun copies that agree in person and number with the coreferential subjects of the clauses. The meaning of the entire structure seems to be 'however many it is that they amount to...'

se-tʸí'i-mɨhwa-ka	**sa-tɨ́h**	**sa-na'a**	**pʷa'a-mʷa**
you:PL-DISTR-work-HAB	you:PL-SUBR	you:PL-be	be-AN
			many

'You all know how to work, however many it is that you all add up to.'

tʸe-tʸí'i-h-ča'ɨ	**tʸa-tɨ́h**	**tʸa-na'a**	**pʷa'a-mʷa**
we-DISTR-UNSPEC-have	we-SUBR	we-be	be-AN
OBJ			many

'We all possess things, however many it is that we add up to.'

Comparisons of Inequality

There are also several syntactic ways to express comparisons of inequality. The constituents being compared include adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and quantifiers. Comparisons of inequality can be classified as positive, negative, and superlative comparisons.

Positive comparisons are marked by the quantifier **héice'e** 'more' in the first clause and by the modal **kai** IRR in the second clause. The overall structure carries the meaning 'X is more PRED than Y is'.

héice'e	**pú=yauh**	**ɨ**	**šɨka**	**kâi**	**ɨ**	**maškɨra'i**
more	SUBJ=be	ART	sun	IRR	ART	moon
	round					

'The sun is bigger in diameter than the moon is.'

The modal **kai**, which occurs as the first constituent of the second clause, takes a pronoun copy which agrees in person and number with the subject of the second clause. For a third person singular subject this pronoun copy is **Ø**.

hẽice'e	**nũ=cap^{w}ãtun**	**pa-kãi**	**m^{w}ãa**
more	I=be short	you:SUBR-IRR	you

'I am shorter than you are.'

The comparison of inequality construction can be used for comparing the degree of color or luster predicated of an object.

hẽice'e	**pũ=n^{y}anɨ**	**ɨ**	**yu'uša-ri**	**tɨ**	**nakãm^{w}a-ra'a**	**kãi**
more	SUBJ=brightly colored	ART	book-ABS	SUBR	violet-SG	IRR

ɨ	**kɨša'u-ri**	**tɨ**	**hãm^{w}a'ara-ra'a**
ART	gourd-ABS	SUBR	gray-SG

'The violet book is more brightly colored than the blue-gray thermos bottle.'

Nouns such as **pa'arɨ'ɨ** 'child', **vasta'a** 'adult', and **vastakɨra'i** 'old man' can be used in a comparison of inequality statement to indicate that X is younger or older than Y.

hẽice'e	**nũ=vasta'a**	**kãi**	**ɨ**	**seleriina**
more	I=adult	IRR	ART	PN

'I am older than Celerino is.'

Another comparison of inequality expresses the inequality of quantity of possession.

hẽice'e	**pẽh**	**t^{y}i-yãuh-m^{w}a'a**	**ma-kãi**	**mãɨhna**
more	you	UNSPEC-son-PL OBJ(?)	they-IRR	DEM

'You have more children than they do.'

Numerous verbs figure in an adverbial comparison of inequality. The construction is frequently ambiguous between at least two meanings: 'X does something to a greater extent than Y does', or 'X does something with a greater number of things than Y does it'.

héice'e	**pú=t^{y}ĩ'i-was-t^{y}-a**	**ɨ**	**naayeri**	**kãi**
more	SUBJ=DISTR-plant-make-HAB	ART	Cora	IRR

ɨ	**n^{y}aap^{w}eih**
ART	mestizo

'The Cora plants more than the mestizo does.' (extent)
'The Cora plants more kinds of things than the mestizo does.' (quantity)

It is possible to quantify the degree of inequality between the items being compared. The quantifiers that are used in addition to **heice'e** (which makes the basic inequality) include **kɨh kāh** 'a little', **ha'acū** 'somewhat', **hēiwa** 'a lot', and **wāpɨ'ɨ** 'really a lot'.

hēice'e	**pū**	**kɨh=kāh**	**t^{y}ē'-e-veh**	**ɨ**	**sikɨ-ri**
more	SUBJ	small amount	DISTR-outside-fall	ART	basket-ABS

hece	**kāi**	**ɨ**	**šā'arih**	**cahta'a**
in	IRR	ART	pot	inside

'A little bit more fits inside the basket than fits inside the cooking pot.'

hēice'e	**pū**	**ha'acū**	**āh-t^{y}ee**	**ɨ**	**donaaldu**	**kāi**
more	SUBJ	somewhat	along-long slope	ART	PN	IRR

ɨ	**alviinu**
ART	PN

'Don is somewhat taller than Alvino.'

hēice'e	**pū**	**hēiwa**	**t^{y}ī'i-h-nahči**	**ɨ**	**tuuru'u**
more	SUBJ	lots	DISTR-UNSPEC-cost OBJ	ART	bull

kāi	**ɨ**	**waaka**
IRR	ART	cow

'A bull costs a lot *more than* a *cow does.*'

hēice'e	**pū**	**wápɨ'ɨ**	**āh-t^{y}ee**	**ɨ**	**donaaldu**	**kāi**	**ɨ**	**eheenyu**
more	SUBJ	really lots	along-long slope	ART	PN	IRR	ART	PN

'Don is really a lot taller than Gene.'

The quantifier that indicates the degree of inequality between the compared items can occur in various positions within the first clause of the comparative construction. It can occur clause-initially, apparently as the main predicate in focus. This construction seems to mean 'It is by X amount that Y is more predicate than Z.'

ha'acū	**pū**	**hēice'e**	**rā-t^{y}-ɨ-cɨ**	**ɨ**	**alviinu**
somewhat	SUBJ	more	DISTR:SG-up-RDP-carry	ART	PN

kāi	**ɨ**	**donaaldu**
IRR	ART	PN

'It is by a significant amount that Alvino can carry a heavier load of that than Don can.'

wāpɨ'ɨ	**pū**	**hêice'e**	**âh-t^yee**	**ɨ**	**donaaldu**	**kāi**	**ɨ**	**eheenyu**
really lots	SUBJ	more	along-long slope	ART	PN	IRR	ART	PN

'It is by really lots that Don is taller than Gene.'

The most neutral order semantically is for the quantifier to immediately precede the predicate of the first clause.

hĕice'e	**pū**	**kɨh=kāh**	**t^yī-rā-t^y-ɨ-cɨ**	**ɨ**
more	SUBJ	little bit	DISTR-DISTR:SG-up-RDP-carry	ART

donaaldu	**kāi**	**ɨ**	**alviinu**
PN	IRR	ART	PN

'Don can carry a few more things than Alvino.'

The quantifier may also occur immediately following the predicate of the first clause. The quantifier seems to be emphatic in meaning when it occurs in this position.

hĕice'e	**pū=t^y-ā'-u-veh**	**hêiwa**	**ɨ**	**kɨša'u-ri**
more	SUBJ=DISTR-away(?)-inside-fall	lots	ART	gourd-ABS

cahta'a	**kāi**	**ɨ**	**limĕeta**	**cahta'a**
inside	IRR	ART	bottle	inside

'More things, that is, a lot more things, fit inside of a gourd than fit inside a medicine bottle.'

There is a kind of comparison that involves conjoining distinct predicates with **kai** IRR. The inequality is expressed by means of **heice'e** 'more', which occurs as the initial constituent of the first clause. In all cases, the predicate of the second clause is expressed in the punctiliar unrealized mode. In the following examples, the predicate of the first clause is expressed in the present habitual aspect. Some of these examples show that **kai** IRR may be optionally marked with a pronoun copy that agrees in person and number with the subject of the second predicate.

hĕice'e	**pā=ta-sa'awa-ka**	**kāi**	**pah**
more	you=straight-plow-HAB	IRR	you:SUBR

wā-'a-vi'i-re-'e-n
COMPL-REFL-grab-make-APPLIC-PRTC

'You plow the soil more than you burn off a corn patch.'

hēice'e	**pā=p^wasa'aruv-i**	**pa-kāi**	**pāh**	**wā-wahka**
more	you=go-HAB walking	you-IRR	you:SUBR	COMPL-play

'You stroll around more than you play.'

hēice'e pā=ha-wi'i-ve kāi pāh wā-sinuure
more you=REFL-lying-HAB IRR you:SUBR COMPL-slide
down sitting
'You come down the slide more lying on your stomach than you do sitting up.'

The first predicate in the following example is expressed in the past durative habitual mode.

hēice'e mū=ru-vi'i-r-i-wa'a ma-kāi mah
more they=REFL-grab-make-HAB-REM they-IRR they:SUBR

wā-ta-saawa
COMPL-straight-plow
'They used to burn for making a corn patch more than they used to plow the soil.'

The first predicate in the next example is expressed in the present desiderative mode. There is no trace of **-mɨ'ɨ** DESID SG in the second clause of the construction. Instead, the second predicate is expressed in the punctiliar unrealized aspect.

hēice'e nū=wahka-mɨ'ɨ nʸa-kāi nʸēh
more I=play-DESID I-IRR I:SUBR

tʸi-wā-n-mʷa'a-tʸ-e-n
DISTR-COMPL-REFL-know-make-APPLIC-PRTC
'I want to play more than I want to study.'

It turns out that the notion 'want to do X' can be expressed periphrastically through the verb stem **-še'eve'e** 'want' in addition to being expressed through the desiderative suffix just illustrated. Comparative constructions with the verb stem **-še'eve'e** show an interesting parallel to those with the desiderative suffix: both **-mɨ'ɨ** and **-še'eve'e** are deleted from the clause that follows **kai** IRR.

hēice'e nū=ra-še'eve'e nʸēh tʸɨ̂'i-tuaa-va-'a
more I=DISTR:SG-want I:SUBR DISTR-find-HAB-PRTC

nʸa-kāi nʸāh wā-tawa-n
I-IRR I:SUBR COMPL-get-PRTC
drunk
'I want more to have money in my pocket than to get drunk.'

There are three comparison of inequality constructions that express the contrast between compared items. For particular predicates, these negative comparative constructions are semantically ambiguous between the meanings 'contrastive comparison of manner' and 'contrastive comparison of quantity'. The first construction is marked, in the first clause, by the negative particle plus the appropriate subject clitic and by the procomplement plus the absolutive suffix. The second clause is introduced by the subordinator **tɨh** 'like'.

ka-pū	**ayā-n**	**t^{y}ū'-u-see**	**ayāhna**	**tɨh**
NEG-SUBJ	thus-ABS	DISTR-COMPL-be cold	right here	SUBR

ū	**meehiku**
inside	Mexico City

'It does not get cold here like it does in Mexico City.' (manner/quantity)

ka-pū	**ayā-n**	**t^{y}i'i-wā-uh-kɨh-me-'en**	**ū**	**čuiset^{y}e**
NEG-SUBJ	thus-ABS	DISTR-EXT-REFL-down-hill-go-PRTC	there	Jesús María

tɨh	**ū**	**ha'anahremi**
SUBR	there	Elephant Ears

'The terrain around Jesús María does not go downhill like it does at the ranch of Elephant Ear plants.' (manner)

The next negative comparative construction includes the indefinite quantifier **ha'ačū** 'however much' along with the negative particle in its markings within its first clause. The second clause is introduced by the subordinator **tɨh** 'like', to which is attached a pronoun copy which agrees in person and number with the subject of the second clause. The construction has the meaning 'X does not PRED as much as Y'; i.e. 'X possesses less NP, is less PRED, or does less PRED than Y'.

ka-mū	**ha'aču**	**t^{y}ɨ̄'i-was-t^{y}-a**	**ɨ**	**n^{y}aap^{w}eih-se**
NEG-they	as much	DISTR-plant-make-HAB	ART	mestizo-PL

ma-tɨ̄h	**ɨ**	**naayeri**
they-SUBR	ART	Cora

'The mestizos do not plant as much as the Coras do.'

ka-šū	**ha'ačū**	**ru-na'anai-ve-'e**	**t^{y}a-tɨ̄h**	**ɨ̄t^{y}an**
NEG-you:PL	so much	REFL-laugh-HAB-APPLIC	we-SUBR	we

'You all do not laugh as much as we do.'

The third negative comparison construction is marked in its first clause by the negative particle plus the appropriate subject clitic. Its other marking in the first clause consists of an adverb + quantifier sequence **rɨ'ɨ wāpɨ'ɨ** 'well-superlative'. This construction is semantically ambiguous between the readings 'X is not so very much PRED as Y' and 'X is not so very many PRED in number as Y'. The second clause is introduced by the subordinator **tɨh** 'like'.

ka-pū́ rɨ́'ɨ wā́pɨ'ɨ tʸī-tʸ-ēh-ya'amʷa
NEG-SUBJ well really DISTR-in -UNSPEC-domestic
lots middle OBJ animal

ɨ́ fidel tɨ́h ɨ́ agapiitu
ART PN SUBR ART PN
'Fidel does not have so very many animals as Agapito does.'

ka-pū́ rɨ́'ɨ wā́pɨ'ɨ vasta'a ɨ́ nʸi-tā́ata tɨ́h ɨ́ mʷatiiya
NEG-SUBJ well really old ART my-father SUBR ART PN
lots man
'My father is not nearly as old as Matías is.'

The superlative notion in Cora can be expressed by a nominalized clause which includes the sequence **heice'e** + predicate. The clause is introduced by the sequence **ɨ tɨ́** ART-SUBR. The overall construction means 'the one who is the most PRED'.

aɨ́h pɨ́rɨkɨ ɨ́ tɨ́ héice'e wā́-ye'i-ve ɨ́ a'aristʸau
DEM be ART SUBR more EXT-walk-HAB ART PN
'Aristeo is the one who runs the fastest.'

aɨ́h pɨ́rɨkɨ ɨ́ tɨ́ héice'e ru-ka'anʸe ɨ́ agapiitu
DEM be ART SUBR more REFL-be ART PN
strong
'Agapito is the guy who is strongest.'

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

Indefinite pronouns are the base to which the question particles **-nʸi** and **-ki** are added to form WH-question words. The indefinite animate pronouns have distinct singular and plural forms. In their singular forms, these two indefinite pronouns have independent and embedded forms. The singular forms are also marked for subject (Ø) or object (**h**).

ha'atɨ́	'somebody'	(unembedded)
ha'atā́	'somebody'	(embedded, subject)
ha'atā́h	'somebody'	(embedded, object)
ha'atʸā́n	'some people'	
tʸi'itɨ́	'something'	(subject)
tʸi'itɨ́h	'something'	(object)
tʸi'itā́	'something'	(embedded, subject)
tʸi'itā́h	'something'	(embedded, object)

tʸi'itʸā́n	'some animals'
a'anā́h	'sometime'
a'acâh	'at some hour'
a'utɨ	'wherever'
á'ih	'however'
a'ačū́	'however much'

Indefinite pronouns occur as either subject or direct object in simple sentences.

ha'atɨ pū â'-u-ra
someone SUBJ away-inside-leave
'Someone left.'

aɨ pú ha'atɨh a'-u-vī'itɨ
DEM SUBJ somebody away-inside-take
'He took somebody along with him.'

Indefinite pronouns are also used as the head nominals for relative clauses. They may have distinct forms depending on whether the relative clause is subject or object of the main clause.

ka-nú ra-mʷa'a-tʸ-e ha'atā tɨ
NEG-I DISTR:SG-know-make-APPLIC someone SUBR

y-a'-u-vī'itɨ
him-away-inside-take
'I do not know who the person is who led him away.'

ka-nú ra-mʷa'a-tʸ-e ha'atâh tɨ
NEG-I DISTR:SG-know-make-APPLIC someone SUBR (ACC)

Ø-a'-u-vī'itɨ
DO:Ø-away-inside-take
'I do not know who the person is that he led away.'

Indefinite pronouns can occur as the head of ART + N constructions.

ma-nā́-a-nana-ɨrɨ-'i ɨ ha'atʸan ɨ we'i-tʸe
they-me-COMPL-buy-APPLIC-STAT ART some people ART fish-PL
'Some people bought the fish from me.'

šú'umʷa-ra'a ɨ tʸi'itɨ
black-SG(?) ART thing
'This thing here is black.'

Indefinite pronouns can also occur in more complex noun phrases such as possessor noun phrases.

nʸa-ra-a-mʷā́'a	**ɨ̄**	**ka'anʸi-ira'a-n**	**mɨ̄**	**ha'atɨ**
I-it-COMPL-recognized	ART	bag-UNSPEC-ABS POSSR	ART	person

'I recognized that person's shoulder bag.'

The notion indefinite location is expressed by a sentence-initial locative particle and a locative verb stem **ha'a** 'be located'.

ā́a	**tū́-hā́'a**	**a'-a-rā́'a**
outside far	we-be located	away-outside-arrive

'We arrived in some place way off yonder.'

Indefinite time is expressed by the indefinite temporal adverbs **a'anā́h** and **a'acā́h.**

a'anā́h	***nū́***	**tʸī-rā́-'i-šaa**
once	I	INCEPT-him-facing-talk over shoulder

'I talked with him one time.'

wa-mɨ̄'ɨ	**a'acā́h**	**takʷarīšpʷa**
COMPL-die	whatever hour	noontime

'He died sometime right around mid-day.'

The indefinite quantifier **ha'aču** 'as much as' occurs with **kumu** 'about' (Sp. **como**) to specify quantities associated with subjects or direct objects. The two subordinating elements may be contiguous. On the other hand, **ha'acu** may be preposed to the main verb.

yā́a	**pū́**	**tʸī-rā́-tʸ-ɨcɨ**	**ɨ̄**	**kɨyeh**	**ha'aču**	**kumu**
thus	SUBJ	DISTR-DISTR:SG-up-carry	ART	pole	as much as	about

seitʸe	**pʷa'amʷa-ka**
twenty	be-ACC many

'This is how many poles he can drag along, about twenty of them.'

ha'aču	**pū́**	**rā́-tʸ-ɨcɨ**	**ɨ̄**	**kɨyeh**	**kumu**	**seitʸe**
however much	SUBJ	DISTR:SG-up-carry	ART	pole	about	twenty

pʷa'amʷā-ka
be-ACC many

'He can carry off as many as twenty poles.'

The indefinite pronoun **ā́'ih** 'however' is used, along with the subordinator **tɨ**, to indicate the indefinite complement of verbs such as 'know' and 'be'.

nʸā-h-mʷa'a-ree a'ih tɨ tʸī'i-mʷa'ace
I-UNSPEC-know-make however SUBR DISTR-think
  OBJ
'I know what he is thinking about it.'

The manner demonstrative **yḗ'i** 'like this' is used in combination with **ā́'ih** 'however' to indicate the indefinite manner in which something is done.

ka-nū́ ra-a-yɨ́'ɨtɨ a'ih tɨ́ yḗ'i
NEG-I DISTR:SG-COMPL-understand however SUBR manner
tʸī́-hī́-rā́-'ah-taawa
DISTR-PRSNTV-DISTR:SG-in-make
                    slope
'I do not know how it is done in order to build a house.'

The following examples show the contrast between indefinite manner clauses whose subjects are coreferential with the subject of the main clause and those whose subjects are not.

ka-nū́ ra-mʷa'a-ree ā́'ih nʸḗh yḗ'i
NEG-I DISTR:SG-know-APPLIC however I:SUBR manner
wā́-rɨ-nʸi
COMPL-do-FUT
'I do not know in what way I should do it.'

ka-nū́ ra-mʷa'a-ree a'ih tɨ́ yḗ'i
NEG-I DISTR:SG-know-APPLIC however SUBR manner
hū́'-u-rɨ-nʸi
NARR-COMPL-do-FUT
'I do not know how it is done.'

Negative

Negative forms are derived by adding the negative particle **ka-** and the appropriate subject clitic to the positive forms of the indefinite pronouns. Accusative marking apparently is added for the indefinite 'something', but not for the indefinite 'someone'.

ka-pū̂ ha'atɨ̄ wa-mɨ̄'ɨ
NEG-SUBJ someone COMPL-die
'Nobody died.'

ka-tū́ ha'atɨ̄ mʷa'a-tʸ-e
NEG-we somebody know-make-APPLIC
'We do not know anybody.'

ka-pú	**tʸi'itɨ**	**ra-a-ta-mʷári**
NEG-SUBJ	something	DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-scare

'Nothing scared it.'

ka-páh	**tʸi'itɨh**	**wá-tuaa**
NEG-you	something ACC	COMPL-sell

'You did not sell a thing.'

ka-pú	**á'ih**	**tʸí'i-mʷa'ace**
NEG-SUBJ	however	DISTR-think

'He is thinking about nothing whatever.'

ka-pú	**tʸi'itɨh**	**á'ih**	**tʸú'-u-maara-ka'a**
NEG-SUBJ	something ACC	however	DISTR-inside-dream-PAST DUR

'He did not dream about a single thing.'

Negative indefinite quantities and temporal notions are also expressed by the sequence negative particle + subject particle + indefinite.

ka-pú	**ha'acú**	**tʸɨ-ka**
NEG-SUBJ	so much	up-sit down

'It is not such a big pile.'

ka-tú	**a'anáh**	**ra-mʷaare**
NEG-we	sometime	DISTR:SG-visit

'We never visit him.'

ka-pú	**ya'a**	**há'a-wa'a**
NEG-SUBJ	DEIC	be-beyond located

'There is nothing around anywhere outside here.'

ANY

Indefinite pronouns that carry the notion 'any' or 'ever' consist of the proper positive indefinite pronoun which is the head of a relative clause whose main verb is the existential **-na'a** 'be'. Constructions that use the indefinite **a'atá** 'someone' contribute a partitive meaning to the overall sentence when they are a constituent of a main clause whose subject is plural.

ayáa	**tú**	**tʸí'i-h-rɨ'ɨ-re**	**a'atá**	**tɨ**	**na'a**
thus	we	DISTR-DISTR:SG-do-APPLIC	someone	SUBR	be

'This is how anyone of us does it.'

tʸi'itá	**tɨ**	**na'a**	**pú**	**tʸí'i-kʷi'inʸi-ra-'a**
something	SUBR	be	SUBJ	DISTR-be-APPLIC-PRTC sick

'Any animal can get sick.'

The 'any' indefinites of time, location, and quantity seem to automatically exclude partitive interpretations.

wa-yē'ih	**ha'u**	**tɨ**	**na'a**	**ɨ**	**tuiišu**
EXT-walk around	somewhere	SUBR	be	ART	pig

'The pig wanders all over creation.'

t^{y}ī'i-mɨhwa-ka	**a'acáh**	**tɨ**	**na'a**
DISTR-work-HAB	some hour	SUBR	be

'He works at any hour of the day or night.'

t^{y}ī'i-mɨhwa-ka	**a'anāh**	**tɨ**	**na'a**
DISTR-work-HAB	sometime	SUBR	be

'He works anytime, Sundays, too.'

ū	**pū**	**ya-'a-r-āh-tɨ-n^{y}i**	**a'ačū**	**pāh**
inside	you	here-outside-facing-in-carry-FUT	as	you:SUBR
		out slope	much	

pa-na'a	**rā-t^y-ɨcɨ**
you-be	DISTR:SG-up-carry

'You will bring however much it is that you can carry.'

t^{y}ū'-uh-čeh-ve'e	**a'ih**	**tɨ**	**na'a**
DISTR-REFL-put-cover on	however	SUBR	be

'He puts on just any old shirt.'

If the subject of the subordinate clause of any construction is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, the existential verb takes a pronoun copy that agrees in person and number with the subject of the sentence. The subordinator also is selected to agree in person and number with the subject.

se-t^{y}ī'i-nanaa-ve	**a'ih**	**sāh**	**sa-na'a**
you:PL-DISTR-buy-HAB	however	you:PL:SUBR	you:PL-be

t^{y}ī'i-h-viik^{w}e'i
DISTR-DISTR:SG-last out

'You all buy up whatever it is that you all have money for.'

The indefinite manner construction includes the exhortative particle with the existential **-na'a**, which receives a pronoun copy that agrees in person and number with the subject of the main clause.

se-t^{y}ī'i-was-t^y-e	**ča'a**	**sa-na'a**
you:PL-DISTR-plant-make-APPLIC	EXHRT	you:PL-be

'You all plant in just any old way you please.'

Several of the indefinite pronouns can be used with the morpheme **mā́ah** 'other' (possibly from Sp. **más** 'more') to mean 'any other'. The combination **mā́ah ha'atɨ** means 'any other person'.

hḗice'e	**pā́h**	**t^{y}ī́-t^{y}ḗ-h-ya'am^{w}a**	**kā́i**	**mā́ah**	**ha'atɨ**
more	you	DISTR-in-DISTR:SG-domestic middle animals	IRR	other	somebody

'You have more animals than any other person around.'

The combination **mā́ah t^{y}i'itɨ / t^{y}i'it^{y}an** means 'any other thing/animals'.

hḗice'e	**mū́**	**ah-tɨ̄-tɨ'ɨ-hmee**	**ma-kā́i**	**mā́ah**	**t^{y}i'it^{y}an**
more	they	in-RDP-long-COLL slope	they-IRR	other	animals

'They are taller than any other animals around.'

The combination **mā́ah a'anah** means 'any other time'.

hḗice'e	**mū́**	**t^{y}ī́'i-ye'est^{y}a**	**ɨ**	**dicieembre**	**hece**	**ma-kā́i**
more	they	DISTR-make fiesta	ART	December	in	they-IRR

mā́ah	**a'anah**
other	sometime

'They observe more fiestas in December than they do in any other month of the year.'

The combination **(mā́ah) mā́ hā́'a-yee** (other-off:there-DEIC-here) means 'any other place'.

hḗice'e	**pū́**	**wā́-'aaka**	**ayā́hna**	**kā́i**	**mā́**	**hā́'a=yee**
more	SUBJ	EXT-wind	here	IRR	off there	be located =from here

'The wind blows more here than anywhere else.'

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

SUBJ PF

	SG	PL
1P	**nʸa-**	**ta-**
2P	**pa-**	**sa-/ša-**
3P	**Ø**	**ma-**

SUBJ PRT

	SG	PL
1P	**nu**	**tu**
2P	**pa**	**su**
3P	**pu**	**mu**

PAUSAL SUBJ

	SG	PL
1P	**nu'u**	**tu'u**
2P	**papu'u**	**šu'u**
3P	**pu'u**	**mu'u**

INDEPENDENT SUBJ

	SG	PL
1P	**(ɨ)nʸaa**	**(ɨ)tʸan**
2P	**mʷáa**	**mʷán**
3P	**DEMONSTRATIVE**	

OBJ PF

	SG	PL
1P	**nʸa-/na-**	**ta-**
2P	**mʷa-**	**hámʷa-**
3P	**y-/Ø**	**wá'-**

REFL OBJ/POSSR/P OBJ

	SG	PL
1P	**nʸa-**	**ta-**
2P	**a-**	**ru-**
3P	**ru-**	**ru-**

NONREFL POSSR

	SG	PL
1P	**nʸa-**	**ta-**
2P	**a-**	**há'amʷa-**
3P	**-ra'an**	**wa'a-**

NONREFL P OBJ

	SG	PL
1P	**nʸa-**	**ta-**
2P	**a-**	**há'amʷa-**
3P	**-n**	**wá'a-**

INDEPENDENT OBJ/IOBJ/POSSR

	SG	PL
1P	**(ɨ)nʸeeci**	**(ɨ)tʸehmi**
2P	**mʷéeci**	**mʷéhmi**
3P	**DEMONSTRATIVE**	

STEMS

Suppletion

Stems can be suppletive for number of subject, number of object, or tense/aspect. The following intransitive stems are suppletive (or at least partially so) depending on whether the subject is singular or plural.

SG	PL	
tā́iče	**ruā́ače**	'run'
t^{y}ḗče	**t^{y}ā́wih**	'begin'
ík^{w}a	**tā́hku**	'be hungry'
imɨ'ɨ	**iku**	'be thirsty'
če	**wíi**	'change location'
wí'i	**hí'**	'lie down'
ye'i	**kɨɨn^{y}e**	'walk'
tawā́h	**ta'arū́**	'be drunk'
yeíša	**ra'ase**	'sit down'
vee	**u**	'be standing'
raa	**kɨ**	'leave'
ka	**t^{y}i**	'be seated'
me	**hu'u**	'go'
ča'akana	**wa'ana**	'walk around'
cuku	**cuna**	'jump'
vḗ'ese	**vā́uhse**	'grow'
wakā́i	**wat^{y}ḗ'en**	'pass by'
mɨ'ɨ	**ku'i**	'die'

The following transitive stems are suppletive depending on whether the object is singular or plural.

SG	PL	
hā́ana	**hā́hp^{w}a**	'lead away an animal'
čui	**ɨ**	'carry a slender, rigid object'
tɨs	**tu'utu'u**	'carry an equi-dimensional-shaped object'
ɨ'ɨ	**ɨ'ɨpɨ'ɨ**	'carry a flat thing'
he'ika	**ku'i**	'kill'
vḗ'esihra	**vā́uhsihra**	'raise a child'
kɨici	**ya'am^{w}a**	'possess an animal'

Some stems are suppletive for tense/aspect.

REPET	**wa-rḗ'e-ye'ɨh** EXT-around-walk corner	'He keeps coming back.'
UNR	**wa-rḗ'e-me** EXT-around-go corner	'He is going to come back.'
PAST	**wa-rā́'a-raa** EXT-around-leave corner	'He came back.'
PRES	**nʸe-tʸī'i-mʷa-re-'e** I-DISTR-put-ABSTR-APPLIC flat	'I am working.'
HAB	**nʸe-tʸī'i-mɨhwa-ka** I-DISTR-work-HAB	'I work.'
PRES	**nʸe-yē'e** I-drink	'I am drinking water.'
PAST	**na-'ī** I-drink:PAST	'I drank water.'

Reduplication

Stems become reduplicated for several syntactic and semantic purposes. Reduplication may mark either repetitive or habitual mode, plural subject or object, or even past durative tense. In addition, some stems become reduplicated because the meaning of the stem itself carries a repetitive notion. Phonologically, reduplication may operate either leftward or rightward. It usually involves the initial syllable of the stem, although occasionally only the stem vowel is reduplicated. The reduplicated consonant is usually the same as the stem-initial one. The reduplicated vowel is also often identical to the stem vowel; at the very least it always agrees in rounding with the stem vowel.

The following data illustrate the various phonological patterns that reduplication follows when it marks either repetitive or habitual mode. Reduplication may be accompanied by other modification of the stem.

Leftward Operating: CV... ⟶ CV + CV...

nʸe-tʸī'i-šɨh-tʸe-'e-sin
I-DISTR-finish-CONCR-APPLIC-DUR
CAUS
'I'm getting rid of them.'

nʸe-tʸī'i-šɨ-šɨɨ-tʸ-a
I-DISTR-RDP-finish-CONCR-HAB
CAUS
'I always get rid of them.'

Leftward Operating: CV' ⟶ CVh + CV'V

t^yî'i-kɨɨ-ri
DISTR-crop- IMPRF
yield CAUS
'It is yielding a crop.'

t^yî'i-kɨh-kɨ'ɨ-re
DISTR-RDP-yield-PERF
crop CAUS
'It habitually produces a crop.'

Leftward Operating: $CV_1V_2 \longrightarrow CV_1V_2 + CV_1V_2$

n^ya-râ-a-wau
I-DISTR:SG-COMPL-look
for
'I looked for it.'

n^yâ-h-wau-wau
I-DISTR:SG-RDP-look
for
'I am going around looking for it.'

Leftward Operating: CV... ⟶ CVV + CV...

n^ya-ra-a-t^y-êe-vi'i
I-DISTR-COMPL-up-horizontal-grab
SG
'I grabbed it with my hand.'

n^yê-h-vii-vi'i
I-DISTR:SG-RDP-grab
'I grab it repeatedly.'

Leftward Operating: CV ⟶ CV'V + CV

t^yâ-h-šɨka
in-DISTR:SG-sun
middle
'It is hot.' (weather)

t^yâ-šɨ'ɨ-šɨ-re
in-RDP-finish(?)-PASS
middle CAUS
'It gets hot (in these parts).'

Rightward Operating: CV'V ⟶ CV'V + CV

â'-a-mɨ'ɨ-n^yi
away-outside-die-FUT
out
'The fire is going to die out.'

â'-a-mɨ'ɨ-mɨ-kɨ
away-outside-die-RDP-HAB
out
'The fire is always going out.'

The following examples illustrate three patterns of reduplication that are used to signal plural subject.

Leftward Operating: CV... ⟶ CV + CV...

nʸe-tʸī'i-ku'i
I-DISTR-be
sick
'I am sick.'

tʸe-tʸī'i-ku-ku'i
we-DISTR-RDP-be
sick
'We are sick.'

Leftward Operating: CV ⟶ CV'V + CV

na-'a-nă-nʸ-ih-šɨ
I-outside-on-REFL-trajectory-finish
boundary
'I washed my hands off.'

ta-'a-nă-ta-'ih-šɨ'ɨ-šɨ
we-outside-on-REFL-trajectory-RDP-finish
boundary
'We washed off our hands.'

Rightward Operating: ...CVh ⟶ ...CV' + V

nʸa-kastʸāh-wa
I-have-PASS
cough
'I have a cough.'

nʸa-kastʸā'-a-wa-ka
I-have-RDP-PASS-HAB
cough
'I always have a cough.'

I have found only one pattern of reduplication for plural object so far. It is a leftwards operating process of the form CV... ⟶ CV + CV....

nʸa-ra-a-tʸ-êe-vi'i
I-DISTR:SG-COMPL-up-horizontally-grab
'I grabbed it in my hand.'

nʸa-wa'-u-vī-vi'i
I-them-inside-RDP-grab
'I grabbed them.'

There are some verbs whose semantics include a repetitive notion. A few of these are also reduplicated. The examples I have found so far are all leftward reduplicating processes of the form CV... ⟶ CV + CV....

ra-a-tă-vi-vaa-ra
DISTR:SG-COMPL-across-RDP-big-ABSTR
CAUS
'He is making an outline sketch.'

Repetitive

There is a large class of verbs whose stems exhibit various kinds of alternations between laryngealized and non-laryngealized vocalic sequences or between short and long vocalic sequences. The alternations occur between repetitive or habitual forms of the verbs and forms that express most any other tense, aspect, or mode. The processes responsible for forming the stem alternates may insert glottal stops or delete them. These processes may also make a long sequence short or a short one long. Verb stems thus fall into eight distinct classes, depending on the particular way a habitual or repetitive stem is related to a non-habitual one. The following examples illustrate verbs that fall into these classes. Statistically, members of the first four classes are by far the most numerous.

Class 1: Well-Behaved Stems

t^{y}ɨ-'ihka-ta DISTR-load-make 'He is loading up.'	**t^{y}ɨ-'ihka-ta-ka** DISTR-load-make-HAB 'He is always loading up.'

Class 2: $V_1V_1 \longrightarrow V_1{}'V_1$

t^{y}ɨ'i-caa-ra DISTR-put-make 'She is ironing.'	**t^{y}ɨ'i-ca'a-ra-ka** DISTR-put-make-HAB 'She does the ironing.'

The alternation between V_1V_1 and $V_1{}'V_1$ can occur within a syllable of an incorporated noun. As the next example shows, such incorporated nouns include loan words.

t^{y}ɨ'i-taampuri-t^{y}e-'e DISTR-drum-make-APPLIC 'He is playing a drum.'	**t^{y}ɨ'i-ta'ampuri-t^y-a** DISTR-drum-make-HAB 'He plays the drum.'

There are some stems in which both the stem form and tone placement are distinct for habitual/repetitive forms.

t^{y}a-rá-'an-caawa-t^{y}e-'e-sin
we-DISTR:SG-on -be-make-APPLIC-DUR
            top fulfilled
'We are going to do what we are told.'

t^{y}a-ra-'an-cá'awa-t^y-a
we-DISTR:SG-on -be-make-HAB
            top fulfilled
'We always do what we are told.'

Class 3: $V_1V_2 \longrightarrow V_1'V_2$

tʸa-r-a-'u-ráuuna
we-DISTR:SG-outside-horizontally-erase
'We are going to erase it.'

tʸa-r-a-'u-rá'una-ka
we-DISTR:SG-outside-horizontally-erase-HAB
'We erase it every so often.'

mu-ráii-pʷa	**mu-rá'i-pʷa-ka**
inside-toss-flat	inside-toss-flat-HAB
boundary	boundary
'He is snoring.'	'He snores.'

There are three classes of alternations in which a process seems to be operating that takes a short segment and lengthens it.

Class 4: $Vh \longrightarrow V_1V_1$

nʸe-tʸ-e-'i-tʸ-á-nah-si-n
I-INCEPT-away-trajectory-DISTR:SG-outside-boundary-DUR-UNR
'I am going to close the door.'

nʸe-tʸ-e-'i-tʸá-naa-mɨ
I-INCEPT-away-trajectory-in-boundary-(?)
middle
'I keep on closing the door.'

Class 5: $V_1 \longrightarrow V_1'V_1$

tʸí-hɨs-ti	**tʸí-hɨ'ɨs-tʸa-ka**
up-be -STAT	up-be -STAT-HAB
full CAUS	full CAUS
'It (river) is going to rise.'	'It rises every so often.'

Class 6: $V \longrightarrow VV$

nʸé-h-yamɨ	**nʸé-h-yaamɨ-ka**
I-DISTR:SG-scissor	I-DISTR:SG-scissor-HAB
'I am cutting it with scissors.'	'I am cutting it repeatedly with scissors.'

There are three small classes of stems with various kinds of long vocalic segments which are all made short. These segments are of the form VV, $V_1'V_1$, and Vh. In all cases they become a single short vowel. This class provides the evidence for a rule of glottal deletion that follows a rule of vowel deletion.

Class 7: $\left\{\begin{matrix}VV\\ V'V\\ Vh\end{matrix}\right\}\longrightarrow V$

t^{y}ī́'i-čuiika DISTR-song 'He is singing.'	**t^{y}ī́'i-čuika-ka** DISTR-song-HAB 'He sings.'
kɨ̄́'ɨšɨ chirp 'The bird is singing.'	**kɨšɨ̄́-ka** chirp-HAB 'The bird sings.'

m-ā́h-ka'i hu-ta-vɨ̄́hwa
there-across-over inside-across-hang
slope hill
'Hang it up there on the nail.'

m-ā́h nū́ yā́'a=vɨwa-ka
there-across I DEIC=hang-HAB
slope
'I hang it up here on this nail.'

Class 8: $V_1{}'V_{\left\{\begin{smallmatrix}1\\ 2\end{smallmatrix}\right\}}\longrightarrow V_1V_{\left\{\begin{smallmatrix}1\\ 2\end{smallmatrix}\right\}}$

t^{y}e-'e-n-t^{y}ā́-hɨ'ɨka-'a-šɨh
DISTR-outside-on -in-bind-PRTC-PAST
top middle DISTR
'He tied them all up in a bundle.'

n^{y}a-ra-'an-t^{y}ā́-hɨɨk-i
I-DISTR:SG-on -in-bind-STAT
top middle
'Every few minutes I'm tying it up again.'

ta-čā́'ɨh us-watch over 'He is taking care of us.'	**ta-čā́ɨ-va-ka** us-watch-HAB-HAB over 'He takes care of us.'

Tone

Tone placement on verb stems commonly varies according to how those stems are marked for tense and aspect. Thus, many Cora verbs fall into the class that Heath has labelled 'mobile stress' stems.*

Various prefixes induce prefix tone placement on 'mobile stress' stems. They include subject prefixes, the distributive plural **t^{y}ī́'-**, the completive **wā́-**, the perfective **ta-**, the ablative **ā-** 'away', and the directional **uu-** 'horizontally', among others.

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*Heath, Jeffrey. 1977. 'Uto-Aztecan Morphophonemics'. IJAL 43:27-36.

nʸé-h-ču'eve'e
I-DISTR:SG-wait
for
'I am waiting for him.'

ka-nu=wá-mʷaša-pʷa-ka'a
NEG-I=COMPL-deer-break-PAST
PERF
'I did not hunt for deer.'

á'-a-mɨ'ɨ-nʸi
away-outside-die-FUT
'The fire is dying out.'

me-tʸí'i-nʸe'e
they-DISTR-dance
'They are dancing.'

na-a-tá-kastʸahwa
I-COMPL-PERF-have
cough
'I am going to catch a cough.'

m-úu-ta'aru-n
they-horizontally-be-PRTC
drunk
'They are going off to get drunk.'

Mobile stress stems often carry high tone on the stem for habitual mode and for past perfective tense.

ru-mʷá-'a-ye-ta
REFL-RDP-ACT
CAUS
lion
'He turns himself into a mountain lion.'

nʸe-tʸ-a-'u-yú'uša-ka'a
I-DISTR-outside-horizontally-write-PAST
PERF
'I wrote something down.'

Various stems show final high tone. As the following examples show, they may be on a single-syllable stem, on a suffix, or on the final stem in a compound.

a-u-mɨ́'ɨ
away-horizontally-die
'The fire died out.'

me-ce'e-nʸí
they-nurse-UNR
'They are going to suckle.'

ra-yana-mʷá
DISTR:SG-tobacco-put
flat
'He is treating him with tobacco.'

tʸí-ra-a-mí
DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-feed
'He fed him.'

nʸa-tu'i-tʸ-á
me-carry-ACT-HAB
CAUS
'He always gives it to me.'

In some cases, word-final high tone is a secondary result of word-final syllable truncation.

nʸe-tʸu'-u-kʷī
I-DISTR-COMPL-play
music
'I played the violin.'

nʸe-čʸawẽi
me-bewitch
'He is bewitching me.'

Non-final high tone may occur on a suffix.

mu'i-rī-ve
be -PASS-CAP
many CAUS
'It increases itself in quantity.'

ra-h-tɨ-nʸīi-če'e
DISTR-along-carry-FUT-COND
SG slope
'He was going to pick it up in his arms.'

In some cases, tone shift may be a reflection of penultimate stress.

nʸa-nã'ana
I-laugh
'I am laughing.'

nʸa-na'anãa-ka
I-laugh-HAB
'I am always laughing.'

Finally, high tone on a stem may signal durative action, as opposed to *punctiliar action which is signalled by the absence of* high tone on the stem.

ka-pẽh=tʸī'i-ruah-tʸa-'a
NEG-you=DISTR-clang-CAUS-PRTC
'Don't crunch on dry tortillas.'

ka-peh=tʸī'i-ruãh-tʸa-'a
NEG-you=DISTR-clang-CAUS-PRTC
'Don't keep crunching dry tortillas.'

Word-final syllables truncate to form both perfective stems and imperfective stems. The situation is complex. Causative verbs and **-na** verbs consistently undergo truncation.

nʸe-tʸī'i-kʷiina
I-DISTR-play
music
'I am playing the violin.'

nʸe-tʸu'-u-kʷī
I-DISTR-COMPL-play
music
'I played the violin.'

na-a-ta-nãɨh-tʸe-'e ɨ grabadora
me-COMPL-PERF-borrow-CAUS-APPLIC ART tape
recorder
'Loan me the tape recorder.'

na-a-tã-naɨh ɨ grabadora
me-COMPL-PERF-borrow ART tape
recorder
'He loaned me the tape recorder.'

INCORPORATION

Instrumental

Nouns used prefixually to indicate the instrument that is employed in carrying out some act are, for the most part, names of body parts which are still used productively as independent nouns. The following are typical examples, some of which may actually be N + V compounds.

n-a-'i-kã-mu'u-vahra
I-outside-along-down-head-follow
trajectory
'I am nodding my head up and down.'

ka-nu-čẽ'e=kũ-'i ha-t^{y}a-sã'akɨ-va'ara-'a
NEG-I-CONT=EV-be outside-in-eyelid-follow-PRTC
middle
'I was no longer blinking my eyes.'

t^{y}ī'i-hɨ'ɨ-ce-'eh-vee
DISTR-eye-ABS-slope-be
standing
'He is keeping watch over him with his eye.'

a-rã-uh-ayaɨh-na-šɨ
outside-facing-REFL-jawbone-point-PAST
out out
'He pointed it out with his lower jaw.'

Adverbial

Adverbial elements are the most productive lexical items which have been incorporated into the Cora verb. Some of these elements are loosely incorporated into the verb as clitics; others are more tightly incorporated as prefixes. [More extensive discussion of these adverbial elements can be found in Casad, Cora Locationals and Structured Imagery, San Diego, UCSD doctoral dissertation, 1982; and in Casad and Langacker, '"Inside" and "Outside" in Cora Grammar', to appear in IJAL.]

In the first place, a verb may have a loosely incorporated locative particle.

ka-nũ yẽewi in^{y}áa šɨ yã=m^{w}aa-taih-t^{y}a-ka'a
NEG-I QUOT I IMPOT here=you-send-make-PAST
for PERF
'I did not send for you to come yet.'

ka-nű mű=m^{w}aa-sêih
NEG-I there=you-see:PAST
inside
'I did not see you right there in the corner.'

Verbs may also have a loosely incorporated pausal deictic.

n^y-ân-nâ hi'i=rā'a ân-tan
I-on -PREV PS=arrive on-across
top REF DEIC top
'I arrived right there on top across the river.'

ka-pű mê'e=t^{y}â-ha'-u-kai
NEG-SUBJ PS=DISTR-away-COMPL-cut
DEIC wood
'He did not cut firewood anywhere.'

There are seventeen locative prefixes which combine with one another in various ways. The following list presents these morphemes and their glosses.

a'-	'away'
a-	'outside'
u-	'inside'
uu-	'inside, horizontally'
i-	'in trajectory, facing toward'
h-	'in the slope'
an-	'on top of'
t^{y}i-	'up'
ta-	'straight ahead, across'
t^{y}a-	'in the middle, intersecting plane'
ra-	'facing away'
ka-	'down'
na-	'along the edge, at the perimeter'
ku-	'around the perimeter'
wa-	'all over, within an area'
ra'a-	'around a corner, back and forth'
va'a-	'coming this way, covering a surface'

The prefix **a'-** 'away' is the leftmost occurring tightly-bound locative prefix. Generally, **a'-** indicates that an event took place outside of the range of the speaker's vision. Note the following contrastive pair.

nu-'urí t^{y}û'-u-kai
I-already DISTR-COMPL-cut
firewood
'I have already cut the firewood (see it over there).'

ka-pū   mé'e=tʸā-hā'-u-kai
NEG-SUBJ PS=DISTR-away-COMPL-cut
         DEIC   firewood
'He did not cut firewood anywhere.'

The meaning of the sequence **a'**- plus **āh**- 'outside in the slope' is approximately 'somewhere off there to one side in the slope'.

ū=pū=ē'-eh-nʸee-ri-'i
there=SUBJ=away-along-be   -ABSTR-STAT
inside   slope visible CAUS
'The sky over there above the town is all lit up.'

The sequence **a'**- plus **uh**- 'inside the slope' means 'off there going upwards in the middle of the slope'.

ā=pū=ā'-uh-nʸee-ri-'i
outside=SUBJ=away-inside-be   -ABSTR-STAT
                     slope visible CAUS
'It is all lit up there going upwards in the slope.'

The directional **a**- 'outside, along the edge' may co-occur with **a'**- 'away'. It generally refers to location on the outer surface of an object visible to the speaker. The sequence **a**- plus **tʸa**- 'in the middle' has the approximate meaning 'out in the middle of an exterior surface'.

a-tʸā-kun
outside-in   -be
        middle hollow
'There is a wide-mouthed well dug into the ground there.'

The sequence **a**- plus **ra**- 'facing away' refers to the front of the face when applied to human beings or animals. With verbs of motion and position, it refers to direction downstream or to some surface of an object that the speaker conceives of as being the front of that object.

a-rā-kuun
outside-facing-be
        away   hollow
'He has a hole in his eye.' (i.e. 'He is blind.')

ū=pū=a'-a-rā-nʸee-ri-'i
there=SUBJ=away-outside-facing-be   -ABSTR-STAT
inside   away   visible CAUS
'The morning light is lighting up the mountains
 reaching downriver to here.'

The sequence **a**- plus **ka**- 'downwards' can be glossed 'facing downwards' or 'covering the exterior surface of something'.

na-'a-ká-'aca yé nʸe-nʸéerime hece
I-outside-down-have here my-face on
ulcer
'I have sores all over my face.'

a-ká-uh-re-'i-ye
outside-down-REFL-away-across-go
middle straight
'The slope is perfectly level along its upper edge from its top to the foot of the hill.'

The sequence **a-** plus **na-** 'on the perimeter' refers to locations like the hands and feet on a human body, the lead position in a group of men walking single file, or a point on the sill of a window.

na-'a-ná-se'e-ri yén nʸa-mʷáhka'a hece
I-outside-on -be -STAT here my-hand at
perimeter frozen CAUS on
top
'My hand freezes up.'

a-na-ká-i
outside-on -be-STAT
perimeter sitting
'He is out in front.'

The sequence **a-** plus **va'a-** 'covering, coming this way' can be glossed 'extending over a flat surface'. The locations to which this sequence is applied include the top of the head, the back of a four footed animal, and the roof of a house. With verbs of motion, this sequence can be glossed 'coming this way'.

a-vá'a-pa'u
outside-covering-be
red
'The top of his head is red.'

na-'a-vé'e-yeih-šɨ
I-outside-covering-sit-finish
'I mounted the animal.'

The prefix **u-** 'inside' is preceded only by **a'-** 'away'. The combination of **u-** plus **h-** 'in the slope' can be glossed 'straight up in the slope'. It contrasts with **a-** 'outside' plus **h-** 'in the slope'.

u-h-kɨ-tʸa-pu'u
inside-in -be -intersect-be
slope short plane planted
'His tail is chopped short.' (dog, seen from behind)

a-h-kɨ-tʸa-pu'u
outside-in -be -intersect-be
slope short plane planted
'His tail is chopped off.' (dog, seen from the side)

The sequence **u-** plus **h-** can be glossed 'going upwards'.

ŭ-h-kuun
inside-in   -be
      slope hollow
'He has an upwards going hole (in the nostril, pubic,
 or anal area).'

The sequence **u-** plus **t^{y}a-** 'intersecting a plane' can be glossed 'there inside a bounded area via an extensive opening'.

u-t^{y}á-suuna   šá'ari cahta'a
inside-in-pour pot   inside
      middle
'The water is pouring into the water jar.'

The sequence **u-** plus **ra-** 'facing away' can be glossed 'situated facing outwards from within a bounded area'.

u-rá-hace-'e   ɨ̄   naka
inside-facing-see-APPLIC ART cactus
      away   apple
'The cactus apple is full of seeds.'

The sequence **u-** plus **ka-** 'down' can be glossed 'going downwards inside a bounded area'.

u-kắ-haa   ɨ̄   ru-šɨt^{y}ê   hece
inside-down-be   ART REFL-finger on
          swollen   POSSR
'His finger is all swollen.'

The sequence **u-** plus **wa-** 'all over' can be glossed 'covering the entire outer surface of a bounded area'.

u-wá-n^{y}ee-ri-'ɨ   ŭ=čah-ta'a
inside-area-be   -ABSTR-STAT there =living-inside
          visible CAUS   inside area
'The whole town is lit up.'

The sequence **u-** plus **va'a-** 'covering a surface' can be variously glossed 'covering a back surface' or 'coming this way from a specific location' depending upon whether the verb is one of position or motion.

nu-'u-vắ-'aca   yŭ=n^{y}a-katu'uh-ta'a
me-inside-covering-be   here=my-neck-in
                ulcerated inside
'I have sores right back here on the nape of my neck.'

u-vâ'a-suuna
inside-covering-pour
'The cow is urinating.'

The prefix **uu**- 'inside, horizontally' is preceded by **a-** 'outside, away' and immediately precedes **t^{y}a-** 'intersecting a plane'. With reference to the human body this prefix applies to the armpit and external ear canal. It also appears to apply to the finger tips. In other areas of application it refers to direction straight off towards the edge of an area.

n-u-'aca **yū=n^{y}a-našai-ta'a**
I-horizontally-be here=my-ear-inside
ulcerated inside
'I have a sore here in the external channel of my ear.'

n-ūu-se'e-ri **yên=n^{y}a-šɨt^{y}ē hece**
I-horizontally-be -STAT up=my-fingers on
frozen CAUS here
'The tips of my fingers freeze.'

The sequence **a-** plus **uu-** can be variously glossed 'going away horizontally to the edge', 'being horizontally outside', or 'going horizontally across the middle', depending upon the semantics of the stems it occurs with.

ā-ūu-c^{w}am^{w}a **mɨ mēesa hap^{w}a**
away-horizontally-be ART table on
dirty
'The top of the desk is dusty.'

mū **ă-ūu-kuun**
there away-horizontally-be
inside hollow
'There is a hole there in the corner that goes off somewhere horizontally.'

The combination **u-** plus **t^{y}a-** 'intersecting a plane' can be glossed 'going off horizontally into a large cavity'.

u-t^{y}ā-kuun
inside -intersecting-be
horizontally plane hollow
'There is an entrance horizontally into a large cavity.'
(i.e. the doorway of a house)

The prefix **i**- 'in trajectory' is immediately preceded by **a'**- 'away'. The sequence **a'**- plus **i**- plus **ħ**- 'in the slope' can be glossed variously as 'following along the vertical axis of a tall standing object' or 'following along an uphill trajectory'.

ē'-i-h-mʷē'itɨč-e
away-trajectory-in   -give-APPLIC
slope out
'Way off there in the middle of the road he pooped out.'

hakãh mũ=ũ=e'-i-h-vẽihč-e
bamboo they=there=away-along   -in-cut-APPLIC
trajectory slope
'They went off there to cut down bamboo.'

The sequence **i-** plus **ta-** 'straight' can be glossed 'going straight ahead in the middle of a pathway'.

nu-'urí=e'-i-ta-méh
I-already=away-trajectory-straight-go
'Now I am going along in the middle of a straight road.'

The sequence **ī-** plus **tʸa-** 'intersecting a plane' can be roughly glossed 'blocking a trajectory'.

e'-i-tʸée-yeih-šɨ **huyé hece**
away-along   -in-sit-finish road in
trajectory middle
'He sat down in the path.'

The sequence **ī-** plus **ka-** 'down' can be glossed as 'downward along the pathway'.

e'-i-kã-kʷa'ana-šɨ
away-along-down-become-finish
trajectory tired
'Way off there in the path downslope from here he got tired.'

There are a few lexical items in which the sequence **u-** plus **i-** plus **h-** occurs. It can be glossed 'coming out of a trajectory and going off into a slope'.

w-ī-h-suuna
inside-along
trajectory-slope-pour
'The water is pouring out of the end of a hose/pipe.'

w-ī-h-pitʸi
inside-along   -be
trajectory-slope pointed
'It is shaped like the neck of a bottle.'

The locative prefix **i-** is preceded by both **a-** 'outside' and **u-** 'inside'. The sequence **u-** plus **ī-** plus **h-** can be glossed as 'going crossways within a slope'.

n^ya-ru-'i-h-cāh
I-inside-across- -tear
trajectory slope off
'I pulled the chicken's head off.'

The sequence **u**- plus **i**- plus **t^yi**- 'up' can be glossed more or less as 'movement upwards with respect to the boundary of an enclosed area'.

n-u-'i-t^yī-n-čui ɨ n^ye-siiku'u
I-inside-across-up-REFL-carry ART my-shirt
trajectory
'I took my shirt off.'

The sequence **u**- plus **i**- plus **t^ya-** 'in the middle' can be roughly glossed as 'facing against an inner surface'.

w-i-t^yā-kuun
inside-across -in -be
trajectory middle hollow
'He has a hole in his cheek.'

The sequence u- plus **i**- plus **ra-** 'facing away' can be glossed as 'movement from within a bounded area to a location outside of that area'.

w-ii-rāa-me
inside-trajectory-facing-go
away
'He is going to leave the house.'

The sequence **u**- plus **i**- plus **ka-** 'down' indicates motion downward from or position beneath a bounded area.

w-ii-kā-pā'u-vih-mee
inside-trajectory-down-red-PRTC-COLL
'He is red all over his chin.'

nu-'urī=w-ii-kāa-n^ye
I-already=inside-trajectory-down-come
'I have already left from the house and moved down here.'

Sequences of **a-** 'outside' plus **i-** 'across trajectory' commonly include the semantic notion 'facing toward observer'. For verbs of position such sequences frequently apply to a location on the lower back of a human body. The sequence **a**- plus **i**- plus **h**- 'in the slope' refers to position at or motion from the foot of a slope facing upwards to the observer's position at the head of the slope.

ā́-i-h-n^{y}ee-ri-'i
outside-facing-slope-be -ABSTR-STAT
toward visible CAUS
'From a source at the foot of the slope it is lit
up all along the slope towards the observer's position
at the head of the slope.'

The sequence **a-** plus **i-** plus **ta-** 'straight, across' refers to position at or motion from one side of a boundary facing across to the observer's position at the other side of the boundary.

a-ii-tā́-n^{y}ee-ri-'i
outside-facing-across-be -ABSTR-STAT
toward visible CAUS
'From a source on the far side of the river it is lit up
coming across the water towards the observer's position.'

The sequence **a-** plus **i-** plus **t^{y}a-** 'intersecting plane' refers to a position on a person's back.

n-a-'i-t^{y}ā́-'aca **yēh** **n^{y}a-ware-'e**
I-outside-facing-intersecting-be here my-back-on
toward plane ulcerated in
slope
'I have sores back here on my lower back.'

The sequence **a-** plus i- plus **ra-** 'facing away' refers to something that projects out from a surface that faces the observer, such as a mask hanging on a wall, for example.

a-ii-rā́-t^{y}ee
outside-trajectory-facing-be
away long
'It really sticks out a long ways horizontally from
the surface of the wall.'

The sequence **a-** plus **i-** plus **ka-** 'down' refers to position downward or motion downward on a surface that faces the observer.

a-ii-kā́-n^{y}ee-ri-'i
outside-facing-down-be -ABSTR-STAT
toward visible CAUS
'From a point up in the slope it is all lit up coming
down towards observer's point at foot of slope.'

The prefix **h-** 'in the slope' is preceded by **a-** 'outside', **u-** 'inside', and **i-** 'along trajectory towards speaker'. The prefix combination **a-** 'outside' plus **h-** can be glossed as 'there outside in the slope'.

a-h-kɨt^yapu'u
outside-in -amputated
slope appendage
'The dog has a chopped short tail.' (as seen from the side)

The sequence **a**- plus **h**- plus **t^yi**- 'up' can be glossed as 'up there in the edge of the slope'. As applied to the human body this includes the forehead and the knee.

na-'a-h-t^yi-tũ'a yé-h n^ya-k^waace-'e
me-outside-in-up-hit here-in my-forehead-on
slope slope
'It hit me right here in the forehead.'

The sequence **a-** plus **h**- plus **ta**- 'straight ahead, across' can be glossed variously as 'straight up the slope', or 'straight across the slope', depending upon the situation it is applied to. On the human body this can refer to the sole of the foot or one side of the head.

na-'a-h-tã́-'aca yê-h
I-outside-in -straight-be here-in
slope across ulcerated slope

n^ye-čap^{w}aace-'e
my-sole-on
'I have a sore right here on the bottom of my foot.'

The sequence **a**- plus **h**- plus **t^ya**- 'intersecting a plane' can be glossed approximately 'out there in the middle of the edge of the slope'.

a-h-t^yá-haa ɨ ru-m^{w}ãhka'a hece
outside-in -intersecting-be ART REFL-arm on
slope plane swollen POSSR
'The outer surface of his upper arm is swollen.'

The prefix combination **a**- plus **h**- plus **ka**- 'down' can be glossed as 'going downwards from a line running along a point in the edge of the slope'.

ra-'a-h-ka-vêičah-raa
DISTR:SG-outside-in-down-cut-leave
slope
'Going from top to bottom he cut flat one side of the pole.'

The locative prefix **n-** 'on top' is immediately preceded by **a-** 'outside'. The prefix sequence **a**- plus **n**- plus **t^yi**- 'up' can be glossed as 'there at the highest point on top' or 'at the tip of'.

na-'a-n-t^{y}ī-n^y-ɨ'ɨ ɨ̄ n^{y}a-muuku'u
I-outside-on-up-REFL-carry ART my-hat
top
'I took my hat off.'

The sequence **a-** plus **n-** plus **ta-** 'straight, across' can be glossed as 'going across the top of'.

a-n-tă-t^{y}ee
outside-on-across-be
top long
'It is a long ways from here to up on top of the far bank of the river.'

The sequence **a-** plus **n-** plus **t^{y}a-** 'in the middle' can be glossed as 'extended area up on top within a flat surface'.

a-n-t^{y}ă-kuun ɨ kana-ri
outside-on -intersecting-be ART guitar-ABS
top plane hollow
'There is a hole in the upper surface of the guitar.'

The prefix sequence **a-** plus **n-** plus **ka-** 'down' can be roughly glossed as 'dropping downwards from up on top'.

na-'a-n-kă-hraa kâuhna-ri=hece
I-outside-on-down-leave rope-ABS=on
top
'I descended on a rope.'

a-n-kă-suuna
outside-on-down-pour
top
'From observer's position at the top of a cliff, water is pouring over the edge to the base of the cliff.'

The prefix **t^{y}i-** 'up' is preceded immediately by **u-** 'inside', **n-** 'on top', and **h-** 'in the slope'. It is a third position locative affix and immediately precedes the set of reflexive affixes.

t^y-ũh-tută-hmee
up-REFL-curve-COLL
'The road curves back and forth on itself going uphill.'

The locative prefix **ta-** 'straight ahead, across' follows **a-** 'outside', **u-** 'inside', **uu-** 'inside horizontally', **n-** 'on top', **h-** 'in the slope', and **i-** 'in trajectory'.

a-n-kā́-ta-p^{w}a   ɨ   ša'ari
outside-on-down-across-break ART pot
      top
'The cooking pot is broken from top to bottom going down
 along its side.'

The prefix sequence **a'**- plus **u**- plus **ta**- can usually be glossed 'off somewhere out of sight upriver or across the river from here'.

ā́=a'-u-tā́-ru-pí
outside=away-inside-across/straight-enter-PAST
'He entered an area across the river/upstream from
 his original location.'

The prefix sequence **a**- plus **uu**- plus **ta**- can be glossed as 'horizontally across the middle'. As applied to the human body it refers to joints such as the elbow or knee. It also refers to something that has the effect of going across any part of the body, such as the beltline of a pair of pants or a pair of glasses. In a topological sense this sequence can be glossed as 'going off horizontally to the edge of an area out of sight'.

a-uu-tā́-haa   ɨ   ru-tunū́uce-'e
away-inside-across-be   ART REFL-knee-on
    horizontally swollen   POSSR
'He is swelled up all around his knee.'

The prefix **t^{y}a**- 'in the middle' (or extensive part of a surface) follows the prefixes **a**- 'outside', **u**- 'inside', **uu**- 'inside horizontally', **wa**- 'extending throughout an area', **h**- 'in the slope', **n**- 'on top', and **i**- 'in trajectory'.

t^{y}ā́-šu'uwa'a ɨ   naka
in-spines   ART cactus
middle   apple
'The prickly pear has spines all over it.'

r-a'-u-t^{y}e-sīiča
DISTR:SG-away-inside   -in-slice
            horizontally middle
'He cut it in two.' (rope tied around a tree)

The prefix **ra**- 'facing away' is a third order locative prefix. It is preceded by **a**- 'outside', **u**- 'inside', **uu**- 'inside horizontally', i- 'in trajectory', and **wa**- 'extensive, within an area'.

rā́-ku-ku'un   mɨ t^{y}i'itɨ mā́-h   tɨ
facing-RDP-be   ART thing   right-in   SUBR
away   hollow   there slope

u-ta-vẽ'e
inside-across-hang
flat
'The flat thing hanging on the wall right there has holes all over its outside surface.'

In its topological use, **ra-** can be glossed as 'downriver'.

a'-u-rã-tʸee
away-horizontally-facing-be
away long
'It is a long ways from here to a distal point downstream.'

The prefix **ka-** 'downward' is a third position locative. It follows **a-** 'outside', **u-** 'inside', **i-** 'in trajectory', **h-** 'in the slope', and **n-** 'up on top'.

ru-'u-ka-vẽiča-hraa
DISTR:SG-inside-down-cut-leave
'He split the stake that was stuck into the ground.'

The prefix **na-** 'at the perimeter' occurs only following **a-** 'outside'.

na-'a-nã-haa ĩ nʸa-mʷãhka'a hece
I-outside-on -be ART my-hand on
perimeter swollen
'My hand is swollen.'

The prefix **ku-** 'around' follows either **n-** 'on top' or **h-** 'in the slope'. It is followed only by **ra'a-** 'around the corner'.

a-h-ku-rẽ'e-me
outside-in-around-around-go
slope corner
'He went crawling over someone's shoulder.'

The sequence **a-** plus **n-** plus **ku-** plus **ra'a-** can be glossed 'going all the way around the perimeter'.

ra-'a-n-ku-re'e-vẽiča-hraa
DISTR:SG-outside-on-around-around-cut-leave
top corner
'He chopped a ring around the trunk of a big tree.'

The prefix **wa-** 'extensive, within an area' is preceded by **u-** 'inside'. It is followed by **ta-** 'straight ahead', **tʸa-** 'intersecting a plane', and **ra-** 'facing away'. It has a derived meaning 'completive' with many verbs and it is not always clear which meaning, the primary locative one or the derived aspectual one, is in focus.

seh	**pū**	**wā-**	**ka**	**ū**	**hatʸe-'e**
sand	SUBJ	extensive area-	sit	inside	water-at

'There is sand all over along by the river.'

wā-	**nʸee-**	**ri-**	**'i**	**māškɨra'i**	**kɨme'e**
within area-	be visible	-ABSTR CAUS	-STAT	moon	with

'It is lit up all over from the light of the moon.'

The sequence **u-** plus **wa-** plus **ta-** 'straight', as applied to the human body, can be glossed 'going all the way across the (back of) the neck'.

nu-	**'u-**	**wa-**	**tā-**	**'aca**	**yū**	**nʸa-**	**kɨhpii-**	**ta'a**
me-	inside-	extensive-	across-	be ulcerated	here inside	my-	scruff of neck	-in

'I have sores all across the back of my neck.'

The sequence **u-** plus **wa-** plus **tʸa-** 'intersecting plane' can be glossed 'back there in the middle of the shoulder(s)'.

kɨyē	**pū=**	**u-**	**wa-**	**tʸēe-**	**čui**
firewood	SUBJ=	inside horizontally	-extensive	-within plane	-carry

'He is carrying the pole across his shoulders.'

The sequence **wa-** plus **ta-** 'straight' can be glossed 'right straight ahead to an indefinite distal point'.

wa-	**tā-**	**uh-**	**re-**	**'i-**	**ye**
extensive-	straight-	REFL-	away-	along trajectory-	go

'The road goes right straight ahead.'

The sequence **wa-** plus **tʸa-** 'in the middle' can be glossed 'out in the middle of an extended area'.

wa-	**tʸē-**	**tʸee**	**ɨ**	**see-**	**ri**
extensive-	in middle	-be long	ART	cold-	ABS

'The layer of snow is deep.'

The sequence **wa-** plus **ra-** can be glossed 'all over the external surface of a bounded area'.

nʸah	**kɨn**	**wa-**	**rē-**	**'iča'u-**	**ta**
I:SUBR	with	extensive-	facing away-	broom-	make

'I use it to sweep out in there.'

The second position prefix **ra'a-** 'back and forth, around corner' follows **u-** 'inside', **uu-** 'inside horizontally', **i-** 'in trajectory', **wa-** 'extensive, within an area', **ku-** 'around', and **ve'e-** 'coming this way'. The sequence **u-** plus **ra'a-** can be glossed variously as 'back and forth inside there', 'back there around the corner', or 'all the way around inside', depending on semantic characteristics of the stem it occurs with.

nu-'u-rắ'a-kɨm^{w}ahra yú n^{y}e-t^{y}en^{y}i-ta'a
I-inside-around-be here my-mouth-inside
corner cool inside
'The inside of my mouth is cold all over.'

u-rê'e-ye'i
inside-around-walk
corner
'He is going back and forth there inside the trap.'

ru-'u-râ'a-ruurah-šɨ
DISTR:SG-inside-around-stir-finish
corner
'She stirred the soup with a spoon.'

The sequence **u-** plus **wa-** plus **rắ'a-** can be glossed 'all over from side to side within a bounded area'.

ru-'u-wa-rā'a-hašu'u-m^{w}a'a-sin
DISTR-inside-extensive-around-plaster-put-DUR
SG corner flat
'He is plastering all over the entire interior of the house.'

The sequence **a-** plus u- 'inside horizontally' plus **ra'a-** can be glossed as 'from side to side on the external surface of a restricted area'.

r-a-'u-rắ'a-hašu'u-m^{w}a'a-sin
DISTR-outside-horizontally-around-plaster-put-DUR
SG corner flat
'He is plastering the upper surface of the stove table with mud.'

The sequence **a-** 'outside' plus **uu-** 'inside horizontally' plus **wa-** 'extensive, within an area' plus **ra'a-** can be glossed as 'going from side to side throughout an extended bounded area'.

n^{y}-ău-če'e=t^{y}-a-'u-wa-rắ'a-pɨta
I-LOC-CONT=DISTR-outside-horizontally-extensive-around-muddy
BASE corner up
'I am in the process of smearing mud on the floor (to make a hard surface).'

The sequence **a'-** 'away' plus **i-** 'in trajectory' plus **ra'a-** 'around corner' can be glossed 'coming back along the path'.

ā=e'-i-rē'e-n^{y}ā
there=away-along   -around-arrive
                trajectory corner
'He arrived back at the primary center of activity.'

The sequence **a-** 'outside' plus **i-** 'in trajectory' plus **ra'a-** 'around corner' can be glossed 'crossing the middle from back around the corner'.

a-i-rē'e-n^{y}ee-ri-'i
outside-trajectory-around-be   -ABSTR-STAT
        toward   visible CAUS
'It is all lit up at the corner of the house from a light coming from off back of the house.' (Also: 'It is still daylight even though the sun has set.')

The sequence **a'-** 'away' plus **u-** 'inside' plus **ra'a-** 'around corner' can be glossed 'off yonder around the corner'.

a'-u-rē'e-t^{y}ee
away-inside-around-be
            corner long
'It is a long ways from observer's position to a point behind the hill.'

The sequence **wa-** plus **ra'a-** also occurs:

wa-rā'a-pɨs-te-'e   **ɨ**   **čamarra**
extensive-around-be-make-APPLIC ART jacket
          corner hot
'The jacket keeps one warm all over (i.e., his whole upper body feels warm).'

The fourth position prefix **va'a-** 'covering an area, coming this way' follows **a-** 'outside' and **u-** 'inside'.

na-'a-vā'a-tu'ā   **y-ēn**   **n^{y}a-muuce-'e**
me-outside-covering-hit here-on my head-on
                                top
'It hit me here on the top of the head.'

nu-'u-vā'a-tu'a   **y-ū**   **n^{y}a-katu'uh-ta'a**
me-inside-covering-hit here-inside my-nape-in
'It hit me right here in the back of the head.'

The sequence **a-** 'outside' plus **uu-** 'inside horizontally' plus **va'a-** 'this way' can be glossed 'coming this way from off over there'. It is frequently used in an aspectual sense of 'having gone off to do something and come back'.

n^{y}í p-erí=t^{y}ắ-ha'-u-vắ'a-ha'usi
Q you-already=DISTR-away-inside-this-wash
way clothes
'Have you already gone and washed the clothes?'

ū=mū=a'-u-vḗ'e-hei
there=they=away-inside-this-fetch
way water
'They went and got water.'

There are a few verb stems that are phonetically identical to various of the locative prefixes discussed in this section. It is possible that these are the source from which particular locative prefixes have been incorporated into other verbs.

wa-hāu
within-float
area
'The river carried it off.'

n^{y}e-t^{y}i'i-rắ-'ana
I-DISTR-DISTR:SG-surround
'I built a fence around it.'

ya=vắ'a-šɨ
here=come-PAST
'Come over here!'

ū-h-ka
inside-in -be
slope seated
'It is sitting on top of the table.'

me-čí'i-ve'e
they-house-cover
'They are putting a roof on a house.'

SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal

Pronominal elements in the verb include prefixes for marking subject, direct object, and reflexive object. In addition, in certain types of constructions, subjects are marked by either a particle or by a pausal clitic in lieu of a prefix. Subject prefixes are tightly bound to the verb complex. They usually carry low tone and their phonological shape is affected by characteristics of the morphemes they become attached to. There is no overt prefix to mark third person singular subject.

Subject Marking

The subject prefixes have a basic CV canonical shape. The neutral vowel quality is **a**, as shown by the following paradigm.

n^ya-kuh-mɨ
I-sleep-DESID
'I am sleepy.'

pa-kuh-mɨ
you-sleep-DESID
'You are sleepy.'

kuh-mɨ
sleep-DESID
'He is sleepy.'

t^ya-kû'uci-ku
we-sleep:RDP-DESID:PL
'We are sleepy.'

sa-kũ'uci-ku
you:PL-sleep:RDP-DESID:PL
'You all are sleepy.'

ma-kũ'uci-ku
they-sleep:RDP-DESID:PL
'They are sleepy.'

Second person singular **pa-** and third person plural **ma-** are realized as **p^wa-** and **m^wa-**, respectively, preceding **'a** or **'i**. Second person plural **sa-** alternates with **ša-** also; the pairing of allomorph with stem is apparently arbitrary.

p^wa-'a-râ-kun
you-along-facing-be
edge out hollow
'You're blind.'

m^wa-'a-rã-ku-ku'un
they-along-facing-RDP-be
edge out hollow
'They are blind.'

Before **y**-initial stems, or consonant-initial stems whose first vowel is **i**, subject prefix vowels are realized as ɛ.

n^yɛ-yãana
I-smoke
'I'm smoking.'

The subject prefix vowel becomes **u** when it precedes the fifth position locative **u** 'inside:horizontally'. The entire vocalic sequence merges to **uu**.

nũ-u-kun
I-inside -be
horizontally hollow
'I have a hole in my ear.'

When the subject prefix immediately precedes the fourth position locative **u** 'inside', the prefix vowel is also ablauted to **u**. In this case, the entire vocalic sequence merges to **u'u**.

nu-'u-vã'a-kun
I-inside-coming-be
across hollow
'I have a hole in the back of my head.'

The subject prefix vowel deletes under certain conditions when the prefix is attached to a following vowel-initial morpheme. This may be due to a constraint on the maximal length of vowel clusters in Cora. In the following example the subject prefix precedes the locative **u** 'inside:horizontally' which is in turn prefixed to the vowel-initial stem **ɨ'ɨwa** 'to bathe'. The deletion of the prefix vowel leads to a simple syllable structure. Phonetically, the locative prefix vowel forms a diphthong with the preglottal vowel of the verb stem.

n-ū́-ɨ'ɨwa-n
I-there-bathe-PRTC(?)
  inside
'I'm going off to bathe.'

The subject prefix also merges with a following completive prefix **wa-**. The resultant sequence is of the form **Caa**.

n-aa-mē̂h   ka'anā̂kan
I-COMPL-go quickly
'I left quickly.'

ta ham^{w}ā̂n waa-mḗ   susteniē̂ente kintin
us with   COMPL-go lieutenant   PN
'Lieutenant Quintin went along with us.'

There is a full set of subject clitics which mark verbs for all three persons in both the singular and plural. With the exception of second person singular, the subject clitic vowel is **u** and is not affected by the morphological shape of a following word or morpheme. The subject clitics also carry high tone.

ayā̂a nū́=ra-ruu-re
thus I=DISTR:SG-do-make
                    APPLIC
'That is what I am doing to him.'

ayā̂a pā́=ra-ruu-re
thus you=DISTR-do-make
          SG   APPLIC
'That is what you are doing to him.'

ayē̂h pe=t^{y}ī'i-n^{y}e-he
thus you=DISTR-me-address
'That is what you are saying to me.'

The subject particles and clitic sequences are loosely bound to the verb stem complex. In fact, sequences of nominals, particles, and adverbs can occur between the subject particles and the verb stem complex.

ruíhm^{w}a'a nu=wí pu-êen kɨn ya=ta-n^{y}éh-sín
tomorrow I=QUOT ASSR-be with here=straight-arrive-DUR
'Tomorrow I am coming for this express purpose.'

Subject clitics may occur either pre-verbally or post-verbally. In either case, they may co-occur with a subject prefix.

hêiwa nú=wači
lots I=be
skinny
'I'm very skinny.'

m-i-r-aa-šá'apɨ'ɨn-ta-ra-'a mú=mí
they-NARR-DISTR-COMPL-good-CAUS-CAUS-PRTC they=they
SG
'They have it well decided on, they do.'

Object Marking

Object prefixes also have a canonical CV shape. In this case, also, the neutral prefix vowel is **a**.

na-'ah-tã-'ɨpɨ
me-along-straight-carry
slope
'He took my shoes off me.'

m^{w}a-'ah-tã-'ɨpɨ
you-along-straight-carry
slope
'He took your shoes off you.'

ra-'ah-tã-'ɨpɨ
DISTR-along-straight-carry
SG slope
'He$_1$ took his$_2$ shoes off him$_2$.'

ta-'ah-tã-'ɨpɨ'ɨ-šɨ
us-along-straight-carry-DISTR
slope
He took our shoes off of us, one by one.'

ham^{w}a-'ah-tã-'ɨpɨ'ɨ-šɨ
you:PL-along-straight-carry-DISTR
slope
'He took your shoes off of each one of you.'

wa'-ah-tã-'ɨpɨ'ɨ-šɨ
them-along-straight-carry-DISTR
slope
'One by one, he took their shoes off them.'

The changes that affect the direct object prefix vowels when they are prefixed to certain following morphemes are very similar to those that occur when subject prefixes merge with following morphemes. Therefore I do not illustrate most of them here.

The fifth position locative prefix **u-** 'inside' becomes **w** when it occurs word-initially and is followed by the fourth position locative **i-** 'in trajectory'.

n^ya-r-u-'i-t^y-ãa-tu'a
I-DISTR-inside-across-up-COMPL-hit
  SG   trajectory
'I hit him on the cheek.'

ha'atɨh nũ=w-ii-t^y-āa-tu'a
someone I=inside-across-up-COMPL-hit
                    trajectory
'I hit a certain guy on the cheek.'

For third person plural forms of the direct object, the following completive morpheme is realized as **u**.

wa'-u-tui-iri-'i
them-COMPL-sell-APPLIC-STAT
'Sell it to them.'

The fifth position locative **u** 'inside' merges with the third person plural direct object **wa'-** when u is followed by the fourth position locative **ii** 'across trajectory'. In this case, the overall configuration is **we'i-**.

n^ya-w-e'-i-h-kut^{y}ī-hra-šɨ   mɨ
I-them-inside-across   -UNSPEC-pluck-APPLIC-DISTR ART
      RESTR trajectory OBJ(?) off

wa'a-m^wacɨ'ɨ
their-necklace
'I took their necklaces off them.'

Third Person Singular Direct Object

Third person singular direct object is variously marked by the phonologically unrelated allomorphs **ra-**, **y-**, **h-**, and zero (**Ø**).

The eighth position allomorph **ra-** can actually occur throughout the entire range from the pre-stem position one to prefix position eight.

n^ya-ta'ah=rā-a-rɨ'ɨ-r-e-n
I-so=DISTR:SG-COMPL-well-make-APPLIC-PRTC
  that
'...so that I may learn it.'

ka-pah=ra-tui-ira
NEG-you=DISTR:SG-sell-APPLIC
'Don't sell it to him.'

In present tense forms, **ra-** marks third person singular direct object if there is a third person singular subject.

Ø-ra-sḗih
SUBJ:Ø-DISTR:SG-see
'He sees him.'

Internally to the verb word, **ra-** marks third person singular direct object preceding various locative prefixes in present tense and almost universally for non-present tenses.

nʸa-ru-'u-rḗ-iimʷa
I-DISTR-inside-facing-clean
SG out
'I'm cleaning the inside surface of it.'

pa-ra-a-mʷareh
you-DISTR-COMPL-handle
SG PAST
'You handled it (some object).'

The allomorph **h-** is entirely restricted to prefix position one, right next to the verb stem. It occurs with non-third person singular subjects in the present indicative mode and in imperfective or potential modes like the desiderative and impotentive.

nʸé-h-če'e
I-DISTR-bite
SG SG
'I'm biting him.'

pa-h-mʷare-'e
you-DISTR-handle-APPLIC

'You're handling it (some object).'

nʸa-h-kʷa'a-ka
I-DISTR-eat-HAB
SG
'I *habitually* eat it.'

The allomorph **y-** is restricted solely to the eighth prefix position from the verb stem. It is always followed by the sixth locative **a** ‘away’. It does not co-occur with the distributive plural **tʸi'-**, and thus must be restricted semantically to a single object only.

ā=pū́=y-a'-a-vā́'a-tɨ-sin
there=SUBJ=it-away-outside-coming-carry-DUR
along
'He is *bringing* it *off over there.*'

a=pū́=tʸā-ha'-a-vā'a-tu'utu'i-sin
there=SUBJ=DISTR-away-outside-coming-carry-DUR
along
'He is bringing them off over there.'

In positive imperatives, there is no overt marker for a third person singular direct object. Compare the following pair of imperative forms.

na-a-čũ'eva-'a
me-COMPL-wait-DUR
for
'Wait for me.'

wa-čũ'eva-'a
COMPL-wait-DUR
for
'Wait a while.'

Marking with Overt Object Nominals

Verb-object agreement is suspended when an explicit object nominal immediately precedes the verb.

nʸá-h-kʷa'a ɨ maanku
I-UNSPEC-eat ART mango
OBJ
'I am eating the mango.'

mãanku nu=Ø-kʷa'a
mango I=DO:Ø-eat
'I am eating the mango.'

Direct object prefix deletion affects the direct object for all three persons, both singular and plural.

nʸe-séih ɨ ha'atɨ ĩnʸeeci
me-see ART someone me
'Somebody sees me.'

nʸẽeci pũ=Ø-seih ɨ ha'atɨ
me SUBJ=DO:Ø-see ART someone
'Somebody sees me!'

há'amʷa-seih ɨ ha'atɨ mʷẽhmi
you:PL-see ART someone you:PL
'Someone sees you folks.'

mʷẽhmi pũ=Ø-seih ɨ ha'atɨ
you:PL SUBJ=DO:Ø-see ART someone
'You folks (are who) someone sees.'

Direct object prefixes also serve to mark indirect objects. In sentences where there is both a direct object nominal and an indirect object nominal, verb-object agreement is suspended when the indirect object nominal precedes the verb, but not when the direct object nominal is in pre-verbal position.

mʷéeci pũ=Ø-wa-ta-tɨh ɨ ha'atɨ ɨ čuaašari
you SUBJ=DO:Ø-COMPL-PERF-give ART someone ART pipe
'To you, someone gave a pipe.'

čuãašari pũ=mʷa-a-ta-tɨh ɨ ha'atɨ mʷéèci
pipe SUBJ=you-COMPL-PERF-give ART someone you
'A pipe (is what) someone gave to you.'

Subject prefixes precede object prefixes in the left-to-right ordering of prefixes.

nʸá-mʷa-seih
I-you-see
'I see you.'

Double Object Marking

When both subject and object are singular, Cora does not allow two object markers to occur in a single word. In clauses that contain an overt direct object nominal, an indirect object nominal or pronoun takes priority over the direct object in being cross-referenced to a verb prefix.

hā́m^{w}a-a-ta-tɨh m^{w}éhmi ɨ ha'atɨ ɨ čuaaša-ri
you:PL-COMPL-PERF-give you:PL ART someone ART pipe-ABS
'A certain man gave the pipe to you folks.'

ka-tū yēewī t^{y}ī'itɨ-h ra-a-tā́'a-sin
NEG-we QUOT something-ACC DISTR:SG-COMPL-give-DUR
'We're not going to give her anything.'

Note that the distributive singular **ra-** occurs on the verb in the last example even though a direct object nominal directly precedes the verb. That nominal does not cross-reference to the prefix.

When an overt singular direct object nominal occurs in the same clause with a reflexive object, the reflexive object takes priority over the direct object in cross-referencing to the verb.

n-u-'i-t^{y}ī-n-čui-sin mɨ n^{y}e-siiku
I-inside-across-up-REFL-carry-DUR ART my-shirt
trajectory
'I'm taking off my shirt.'

There are three cases, in the plural, of double object marking. They all include at least one occurrence of the distributive morpheme. The distributive precedes the direct object prefix when they occur together.

t^{y}ī-t-ă'-a-pihri-'ira-šɨ'ɨ-sin
DISTR-us-away-outside-remove-APPLIC-DISTR-DUR
'One by one, he is going to take our jackets off of us.'

The distributive prefix also precedes the reflexive prefix.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī'i-n-caan^{y}e-'e
I-DISTR-REFL-tear-APPLIC
'I'm picking myself some corn.'

Finally, the distributive plural can occur together with the distributive singular **ra-** or **h-**. Again the distributive plural occurs first.

pe-t^{y}ī'i-r-it^{y}i-'i
you-DISTR-DISTR-correspond-STAT
SG
'You are writing a letter to him.'

me-t^{y}ɨ'ɨ-h-yɨ'ɨči-t^{y}e-'e
they-DISTR-DISTR-skirt-make-APPLIC
SG
'They are making a skirt for her.'

Before stems which are **h**-initial in their underlying forms, the distributive singular **r-** metathesizes with the stem-initial **h-**.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ɨ'ɨ-hašu'u-ta
I-DISTR-wall-make
'I am building a wall.'

n^{y}e-t^{y}ɨ'ɨ-h-rašu'u-t^{y}e-'e
I-DISTR-DISTR-wall-make-APPLIC
SG
'I am building a wall for him.'

Non-Distinct Argument Phenomena

Reflexives

There are four distinct shapes of reflexive verb prefixes. They always immediately precede the verb stem. Morphological and phonological processes do affect some of the reflexive prefixes. First person singular **na-** has an allomorph **n-** which follows a high-toned vowel. The third person singular and second and third person plural forms have all merged to **ru-**, which has the additional allomorphs **ur-** and **uh-**; the **r**-initial allomorph occurs word-initially and at stress group boundaries, while the **u**-initial forms occur word-internally, with the allomorph **ur-** preceding vowel-initial stems and **uh-** preceding consonant-initial stems.

	SG	PL
1P	**na-**	**ta-**
2P	**a-**	**ru-**
3P	**ru-**	**ru-**

nu'u-rɨ́=n^{y}a-pɨs-t^{y}e-'e
I:PS-now=REFL-be-make-APPLIC
warm
'Now I'm warming myself.'

n^{y}a-wá-n-pɨs-t-eh
I-COMPL-REFL-be-make-APPLIC:PAST
warm
'I warmed myself.'

wá-uh-pɨs-t-eh
COMPL-REFL-be-make-APPLIC:PAST
warm
'He warmed himself.'

ma-wā-ur-iša
they-COMPL-REFL-discuss
'They discussed it among themselves.'

Reflexive object prefixes occur closer to the verb stem than direct object prefixes do.

n^{y}a-ra-'ah-tā-ka'akay-t^{y}e-'e-sin
I-DISTR:SG-along-straight-shoe-make-APPLIC-DUR
slope
'I'm going to put his shoe on him.'

na-'ah-tā-n-ka'akay-t^{y}e-'e-sin
I-along-straight-REFL-shoe-make-APPLIC-DUR
slope
'I'm going to put my shoe on.'

Unspecified Argument Prefixes

Cora shows only traces of prefixes that clearly mark either the subject or object role of unspecified arguments. In one case, what may have originally marked an unspecified object now probably marks only an indefinite one, since both the prefix and an overt nominal that cross-references to it can always occur in the same sentence. In another case, the function of marking an unspecified subject or object has been taken over by the distributive morpheme.

To begin, there are three allomorphs of a first position prefix that appear to mark an unspecified or indefinite object, in some cases, at least.

hī'i-h-wahka
NARR-UNSPEC-play
OBJ(?)
'He's playing with something.'

t^{y}e-t^{y}ī'i-t^{y}-icâh-raa
we-DISTR-UNSPEC-loom-INCEPT
OBJ(?)
'We began to weave.'

t^{y}ī'i-t^{y}a-k^{w}i'i-ka
DISTR-UNSPEC-kill-HAB
OBJ
'He kills people.'

Possessive constructions show additional traces of an unspecified object prefix. Both the **h-** allomorph illustrated above and a morpheme **t^{y}i-** occur with the possessive stem **čā'ɨ** 'have'.

ru-'u-kā-h-ča'ɨ **ɨ** **ru-ka'an^{y}ɨ** **cahta'a**
DISTR-inside-down-UNSPEC-have ART his-bag inside
SG OBJ
'He has it in his shoulder bag.'

The following form shows that the **h-** which precedes the stem **ča'ɨ** in the examples above is not really part of the verb stem.

ha'atăan^{y}ī ta'u-t^{y}ē mé-hē'e=ča'ɨ
who egg-PL there-be=have
'Who anywhere around here could have eggs to sell?'

Finally, there is a contrast between **h-** and another morpheme **t^{y}i-**, which may be a suppletive allomorph.

ka-nu=rā-h-ča'ɨ sapun
NEG-I=facing-UNSPEC-have soap
out OBJ
'I don't have (the) soap.' (?)

fidel pan pú=t^{y}ī-ča'ɨ
PN bread SUBJ=UNSPEC-have
OBJ
'Fidel has bread.'

Possessive constructions of the form $\underline{\text{NP}_1}$ $\underline{\text{possess}}$ $\underline{\text{NP}_2}$ which make use of incorporated nouns show the clearest traces of unspecified object prefixes and also provide the most solid evidence that the meaning of those prefixes has changed. In the following examples, the prefix **ra-** signals a definite, specific object, while the prefix **t^{y}ī-** signals an indefinite but still specific object.

ra-sīiku'u ɨ rodriigu
DISTR:SG-shirt ART PN
'Roger owns the shirt.'

t^{y}ī-siiku'u ɨ rodriigu
UNSPEC:OBJ-shirt ART PN
'Roger has a shirt.'

The distributive plural **t^{y}ī'-** marks inanimate plural for possessed objects. In this construction, the allomorph **h-** occurs before consonant-initial stems while the allomorph **t^{y}-** occurs before vowel-initial stems.

t^{y}ī'i-h-t^{y}ap^{w}eih héiwa
DISTR-UNSPEC-hatchet lots
OBJ
'He has lots of hatchets.'

t^{y}ī'i-t^{y}-ita hĕiwa
DISTR-UNSPEC-straw lots
OBJ mat
'He has lots of straw mats.'

The distributive morpheme **t^{y}ī'-** marks plurality for either a subject or an object left unidentified within a clause. With intransitive verbs in particular, it may mark plurality for an unelaborated subject (usually inanimate).

pu'u-rī=wa-šɨh
SUBJ-now=COMPL-be
finished
'It's all gone now.'

pu'u-rī=t^{y}u'-u-šɨh
SUBJ-now=DISTR-COMPL-be
finished
'They're all gone now.'

In relation to the object, specified or unspecified, **t^yɨ'-** often marks plural (inanimate) object. As the following examples show, the distributive prefix precedes the direct object prefix.

na-a-ta-hãn-t^y-e
me-COMPL-PERF-carry-make-APPLIC
PAST
'He gave it to me.'

t^yi-na-a-ta-hãhp^{w}a-t^y-e
DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-carry-make-APPLIC
PAST
'He gave them to me.'

t^yɨ'- also behaves like an unspecified object marker in that it replaces overt nominals such as occur in sentences like the following.

ka-nu=t^yɨ'i-m^{w}a'a-c-e
NEG-I=DISTR-know-make-APPLIC
'I'm not thinking.'

ka-nu t^yɨ'itɨ-h m^{w}a'a-c-e
NEG-I something-ACC know-make-APPLIC
'I'm not thinking anything.'

The distributive **t^yi'-** may even indicate a generalized activity of some sort.

n^ye-t^yɨ'i-m^{w}are'e
I-DISTR-work
'I'm working.'

With certain stems, the distributive **t^yi'-** seems to be used to indicate iterative action.

t^yɨ'i-taawa šãhm^{w}a'a-rɨ
DISTR-make fish-ABS
net
'He's weaving a fishnet.'

A number of morphological and phonological processes affect the shape of the distributive **t^yi'-** (see **PHONOLOGY**).

Distributive Singular and Plural

The eighth position prefix **ra-**, in many cases, marks third person singular direct object. The reason I have called it distributive singular instead of direct object is that in certain kinds of verbs it does not mark a specific single object but rather an entire class of identical objects. Thus there is a three-way contrast between specific singular object, class of identical ob- jects, and class of distinct objects, as shown in the following triplet of words. That the second member of the triplet must refer to a multiplicity of objects is shown by the plural form of the verb stem. (The verb selected is suppletive based on the number of the direct object.)

rā́-'a-tɨ-mɨ'ɨ
DISTR-away-carry-DESID
SG SG
'He wants to carry it off.'

rā́-'a-tu'utu'i-mɨ'ɨ
DISTR-away-carry:PL-DESID
SG
'He wants to carry off the whole bunch.'

tʸā́-'a-tu'utu'i-mɨ'ɨ
DISTR-away-carry:PL-DESID
'He wants to carry off all those distinct things.'

The following examples illustrate additional contrasts between the distributive singular **ra-** and the distributive plural **tʸi'-**. The first contrast is between specified inanimate singular object and inanimate plural object.

nʸ-ā́u-če'e=ra-caara-n mɨ nʸe-yɨ'ɨ
I-LOC-CONT=DISTR-iron-PRTC ART my-skirt
BASE SG
'I'm going to iron my skirt.'

nʸ-ā́u-če'e=tʸī'i-caara-n mɨ tʸī'i-nʸe-yɨ'ɨ
I-LOC-CONT=DISTR-iron-PRTC ART DISTR-my-skirt
BASE
'I'm going to iron my skirts.'

The second contrast is between definite animate singular object and unspecified animate singular object.

r-a-'u-tā́-huka-tʸ-e
DISTR-outside-horizontal-across-stomach-make-APPLIC
SG
'He got her (his wife) pregnant.'

tʸ-a-'u-tā́-huka-tʸ-e
DISTR-outside-horizontal-across-stomach-make-APPLIC
'He got someone pregnant.'

The third contrast is between a specific singular object and a generalized activity.

nʸi pa-rā́-'a-yaaca
Q you-DISTR:SG-outside-stew
'Are you stewing it?'

nʸi pe=tʸḗ'-e-yaaca
Q you=DISTR:PL-outside-stew
'Are you cooking stew?'

Sentence Type

Interrogative marking is by way of the clitic **nʸi** and various question words. In any case, the marking of questions is outside of the scope of the verb word itself.

nʸī arī wa-šɨh
Q now COMPL-end
'Is it all gone, already?'

nʸī	**kī**	**ahtā́**	**amɨ-n**	**hi'ikʷa**
Q	INDF	CNJ	DEM-ABS	be hungry

'And is that guy also hungry?'

There is no consistent marking of verbs as imperatives, although a small set of verbs are marked, in the imperative, by a suffix **-či**.

ā́ sa-'a-vā́'a-tɨ-či
there you:PL-outside-coming-carry-IMP
'Go on, you all, and bring it back!'

There may be several allomorphs of the imperative morpheme.

a-uu-tā́-ku-ci	**ā́h-če-si**
away-horizontal-PERF-sleep-IMP	along-move-IMP slope
'Go off and sleep.'	'Get up!'

Other imperative forms show a change in stem vowel quality. This is due to the effect of marking imperative forms with the ablauting active participial suffix **-a**.

me-yḗ'e	**wa-yā́'-a**
they-drink	COMPL-drink-PRTC
'They are drinking water.'	'Drink it up!'

Negative marking is registered in a clitic complex which is also outside of the nuclear verb. The complex consists of the negative morpheme **ka-** and a subject clitic.

ka-pū́	**rɨ'ɨ**	**wā́pɨ'ɨ**	**ancihvi**
NEG-SUBJ	really	lots	bitter

'It isn't really terrifically bitter.'

ka-mú nú'u hi'i-h-sê'eva'a=mʷ-ā'a-raa
NEG-they QUOT NARR-DISTR-want=they-be-PAST
SG
'They didn't want to receive her.'

Number Agreement

Cora has several devices for marking the agreement of verbs with either their subject or their object. The first device, of course, is the system of subject and object clitics and prefixes. The following tables summarize these prefixes and clitics.

SUBJECT

	Prefix		Clitic	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1P	**nʸa-**	**tʸa-**	**nu**	**tu**
2P	**pa-**	**sa-/ša-**	**pa**	**šu**
3P	**0**	**ma-**	**pu**	**mu**

DIRECT OBJECT

	SG	PL
1P	**na-**	**ta-**
2P	**mʷa-**	**hā'amʷa-**
3P	**y-/0**	**wā'a-**
DISTR	**ra-/h-**	**tʸi'i-**

Reduplication is another device used for number agreement. In the following example, the verb stem is reduplicated to mark plural subject.

nʸe-tʸī'i-kʷi'i	**tʸe-tʸī'i-ku-kʷi'i**
I-DISTR-hurt	we-DISTR-RDP-hurt
'I am sick.'	'We are sick.'

Numerous stems are partially or fully suppletive. For intransitive stems, suppletion correlates with a plural subject.

mɨ'ɨ-nʸī	**ma-kʷi'i-nʸí**
die-FUT they-die-FUT	
'He's going to die.'	'They are going to die.'

Suppletive stems of transitive verbs correlate with the number of the direct object of the verb.

ma-ra-a-vé'esi-hri-'i
they-DISTR-COMPL-rear-APPLIC-STAT
SG
'They reared him (as their own child).'

ma-wã'-u-vauhsi-hri-'i
they-them-COMPL-rear-APPLIC-STAT
'They reared them (as their own children).'

The desiderative morpheme has suppletive allomorphs which also correlate with the distinction between singular and plural subject.

nʸĩ pa-kãi dũulse kɨ'ɨ-mɨ'ɨ
Q you-IRR candy suck-DESID
'Don't you want to suck on some candy?'

nʸĩ sa-kãi dũulse kɨ'ɨm-iku
Q you:PL-IRR candy suck-DESID
'Don't you all want to suck on some candy?'

Cora also has two suffixes that indicate the multiplicity of either an object or an event. The collective morpheme **-mee/-hmee** can refer to either subject or object.

ahtā nũ'u ari ɨ hāka ah-ka'iwã-'ɨmɨ
CNJ QUOT already ART bamboo along-over-far
slope hill

hɨ-(y)a-uu-rũtʸɨ-hmee
NARR-away-horizontally-enter-COLL
'And already, they say, the bamboo is sending shoots
way out in all directions.'

ā mũ=wa-vāa-tɨ-mee seika
there they=COMPL-be-CONN-COLL others
'Others are standing around over there.'

The collective morpheme **-mee** signals multiplicity of object primarily in constructions where the noun appears as an incorporated possessed object.

tɨ-tɨ'ɨh-mé-'en pũ a-va'-awãh-mee
RDP-long-COLL-PRTC SUBJ outside-covering-horn-COLL
'He has long horns.'

The distributive suffix **-šɨ'ɨ** is used to indicate that a multiplicity of people are involved in a single action that applies to them as a class. It can also be used to indicate that a multiplicity of identical objects is applied to a single individual or individually to the members of a class of participants. Note the following contrastive examples.

nʸa-ru-'u-kã-kalsetiinʸe-tʸe'e-sin
I-DISTR:SG-inside-down-sock-make-APPLIC-DUR
'I'm going to put his sock on him.'

nʸa-ru-'u-kâ-kalsetiine-tʸa-'a-šɨ'ɨ-sin
I-DISTR:SG-inside-down-sock-make-APPLIC-DISTR-DUR
'I'm going to put his socks on him.'

Number on Clitics and Auxiliary Verbs

A complex verb word in Cora may consist of a clitic prefix complex plus the main verb stem, a main verb plus an auxiliary suffix complex, or all three elements together. Subject-verb agreement can therefore be complex in verbal constructions.

Frequently, the only subject marking in the verb occurs within a clitic prefix complex.

nu'u-rí=wa-ta-huša-i
I-now=COMPL-PERF-stomach-STAT
'Now I'm full.'

Various kinds of incorporated items can occur between the clitic complex and the verb stem which carries no marking for subject.

nʸ-âu	**hilóotʸi**	**ú**	**ah-tâ-'ɨ-šɨ'ɨ-n**
I-LOC BASE	corn	there	along-straight-carry-DISTR-PRTC slope

'I'm going off to pick corn.'

Clitic complexes may occur either preceding or following the verb stem. When they precede the verb, subject agreement is registered on the clitic complex and an additional subject clitic may occur between the clitic complex and the verb stem.

nʸ-âu-če'e=nû=tʸí'i-kʷa'a-nʸi
I-LOC-CONT=I=DISTR-eat-FUT
BASE
'I'm still going to eat.'

Subject marking occurs on both the verb stem and the clitic complex if the latter follows the verb.

na-a-tâ-huša-i	**nʸ-erí**
I-COMPL-PERF-stomach-STAT	I-now

'Now I'm full.'

In constructions involving the auxiliary verb complex, subject-verb agreement may be indicated both on the main verb and on the auxiliary verb, as well as by a subject clitic that occurs between these two elements.

pa-wa-'ɨcíi-tʸa-'a	**pâh**	**pʷ-â'a-me**
you-them-disturb-make:APPLIC-PRTC	you	you-be-FUT

'You will be pestering them.'

Frequently in complex verb phrases the main verb is not marked for subject itself, but rather subject-verb agreement shows up in preverbal clitics and in the auxiliary verb complex.

ayāa	**mū́=hi'i-h-tɨ̄h**	**m^w-ā́'a-hu'u-n-če'e**
thus	they=NARR-UNSPEC-carry OBJ	they-be-FUT-PRTC-IMPOT

'They would have been carrying it away from here.'

The combination clitic prefix complex + subject clitic also leads to a triple subject marking in auxiliary verb constructions.

n^y-āu-če'e	**nū́**	**wḗerta**	**a-'u-mā́'ah**	**n-ā́'a-me**
I-LOC-CONT BASE	I	orchard	away-COMPL-go	I-be-FUT

'I'm still going to go to my orchard.'

Finally, a free subject pronoun may follow a clitic prefix complex or a subordinator in these auxiliary verb constructions.

papu'u-rī́	**m^wāa**	**a-ra-'astɨ̄**	**p^w-ā́'a-raa**
you-now	you	outside-facing-arrive out	you-be-PAST

'You have now filled the bill.'

vale	**mas**	**pā́h**	**m^wā́a**	**ta-čā́ɨh**	**p^w-ā'a-ra'a-n^yi**	**nāin**
be	better	you SUBR	you	us-care for	you-be-INCEPT(?)-FUT	every

šɨkā́h	**cahta'a**	**nā́in**	**tɨ̄ka'a-ri**	**cahta'a**
day	in	every	night-ABS	in

'It's worth much more for you to be watching over us day and night.'

Subordination

For the most part, subordinators in Cora are clitics that occur in clause-initial position. They are consistently marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the embedded verb. These clitics are discussed and illustrated in later sections on complex sentences and thus are not dealt with here.

One subordinator, a participipial morpheme with several allomorphs, does occur as a suffix on verbs, adjectives, and even nouns. Its most common shape is **-n**, and as a clause subordinator it usually has the meaning 'having'.

yāa	**mū́=u-ve'e-n^yḗ-n**	**m-ahtā́**	**wa-tā́-ku'ucī**
thus	they=RESTR-coming-pass-PRTC by	they-CNJ	COMPL-PERF-SLEEP

'And, thus, having come back, they went to sleep.'

The participial form **-n** also serves to mark a 'present tense' category which includes both the historical present and immediate future.

m-ɨ'i-wā-u-hahk^{w}a-re-'e-n
they-NARR-COMPL-REFL-new-make-APPLIC-PRTC
'They are renewing themselves.'

n^{y}á-h-p^{w}ata'ata-n
I-UNSPEC-change-PRTC
  OBJ
'I'm going to exchange it.'

The allomorph **-kan** also marks a kind of neutral tense.

pwéeblo pú=ma'a-kan
town   SUBJ=go:IMPRF-PRTC
'It belongs to the entire community.'

The participle **-n** also occurs in imperatives and in other subordinate constructions such as conditional and purpose clauses.

p^{w}a-a-mē'-en   n^{y}a'u
you-COMPL-go-PRTC AFF
'Get going then.'

tɨ   p^{w}á'ah ma-na-a-tā-'a-ka-re-'e-n
SUBR COND   they-me-COMPL-PERF-permit-HAB-REM-APPLIC-PRTC
'...if they give me permission.'

ta'ah ra-a-t^{y}é-'iwa'-an
so   DISTR-COMPL-in-paint-PRTC
that SG   middle
'...in order to paint it.'

Subordinate participial relative clauses may be marked by the morpheme **-vi'i** in conjunction with **-n**.

rú'ara-vi'i-n pú   t^{y}ā-šam^{w}e'i
green-(?)-PRTC SUBJ in-leaf
                    middle
'It has green leaves.'

The participial **-kan** also marks subordinate participial relative (?) clauses.

ka-šú   s-ahtá   t^{y}ī'i-k^{w}a'a-ka rú'i-kan
NEG-you:PL you:PL-CNJ DISTR-eat-HAB raw-PRTC
'And also, don't you all eat raw ones.'

Finally, **-kan** and **-n** function to change verbs into nouns.

hau'eit^{y}ɨ̂-iri-kɨ-kân kɨme'e	**ka'an^{y}ɨ̂-n kɨme'e**
understand-NR-(?)-PRTC with	strong-PRTC with
'with understanding'	'with speed/strength'

NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

There are five distinct suffixes in Cora that, in many cases at least, have a clear causative meaning: **-ta**, **-ca**, **-ra**, **-re**, and **-ri**.

The suffix **-ta** can be glossed as 'concrete causative'. In construction with a noun stem$_1$, it frequently means 'X is fabricating concrete object$_1$'.

t^{y}ɨ́'ɨ-hata'uh-ta
DISTR-bag-CAUS
'She is making a woven shoulder bag.'

When it occurs in construction with a verb stem, it often has the meaning 'cause someone to engage in the activity specified by the verb stem'.

t^{y}ɨ́'ɨ-m^{w}a'a-ta
DISTR-know-CAUS
'He is teaching.'

In construction with some noun stems, **-ta** contributes to the meaning 'X makes Y to function in the role specified by the noun stem$_1$'.

pă-'a-m^{w}akɨrih-ta
you-REFL-departed-CAUS
spirit
'You are assuming the ritual role of a departed spirit.'

Sometimes **-ta** is in construction with a noun stem that represents the instrument or means by which an activity is realized.

t^{y}ɨ́'-íča'u-ta
DISTR-brush-CAUS
broom
'He is sweeping the ground.'

The suffix **-ca** most commonly occurs in construction with noun stems that are the immediate cause of a condition attributed to the subject of the causative verb phrase.

t^{y}apɨ-ce-'e mɨ cɨ'ɨ
flea-CAUS-APPLIC ART dog
'The dog has fleas.'

Frequently, the semantic force of **-ca** is obscure. In such cases it may be functioning as a thematic suffix.

ãɨ mû=ra-a-t^{y}ê-'it^{y}ɨi-ce-'e
DEM they=DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-order-CAUS-APPLIC
'They measured out for him his assigned area.'

The suffix **-ra** can be glossed 'abstract causative'. In constructions with adjective stems, **-ra** contributes the meaning 'X is acquiring a quality or state specified by adjective stem$_{1}$'.

wa-t^{y}ê-yu'uša-ra
COMPL-PERF-various-CAUS
colored
'It's going to turn all sorts of colors.'

In some cases, the animate noun stem that **-ra** suffixes to represents the source of a particular condition.

n-u-'i-t^{y}ê-t^{y}ašu'a-re-'e
I-inside-facing-in-bedbug-CAUS-APPLIC
toward middle
'I have welts on my side from bites of big bedbugs.'

A few verb stems seem to include an incorporated **-ra** as a stem formative which contrasts with **-šɨ** 'simple past'. These two formatives, therefore, apparently serve to distinguish imperfective stem forms from perfective stem forms.

na-'an-kã-n-si-saa-ra	**na-'an-kã-n-si-saa-šɨ**
I-on-down-REFL-RDP-slice-CAUS top	I-on-down-REFL-RDP-slice-PAST top
'I'm shaving my chin whiskers.'	'I shaved my chin whiskers.'

The causative suffix **-re** can be glossed 'perfective abstract causative'. In many cases it corresponds to English verb and adjective phrases formed with the auxiliary 'get'.

tɨ'ɨh=wa-t^{y}ã-tɨka'a-re
CNJ=EXT-in-night-PERF
middle CAUS
'...when it gets dark.'

The suffix **-ri** can be glossed 'imperfective abstract causative'. Usually, **-ri** contributes to a verb phrase a meaning such as 'X is causing predicate Y to occur'.

tʸā-taa-ri ɨ̄ šɨkā kɨme'e ɨ̄ ša'ari
in-break-CAUS ART sun with ART pot
middle
'The pot is crumbling into pieces from the heat of the sun.'

There are two basic applicative morphemes in Cora, **-e** and **-ɨra**. Semantically, they convey notions such as benefactive, affective, and privative.

The morpheme **-e** usually occurs as an ablauting suffix that changes to **e** the final vowels of stems it attaches to, as can be seen in the following pair of examples.

nʸe-tʸɨ̄'i-hata'uh-ta	**nʸe-tʸɨ̄'i-mʷa-hata'uh-tʸe-'e**
I-DISTR-bag-CAUS	I-DISTR-you-bag-CAUS-APPLIC
'I'm weaving a shoulder bag.'	'I'm weaving a shoulder bag for you.'

There is a fairly large class of stems with which -**e** APPLIC occurs as a replacive morpheme, substituting for the stem-final vowel. As the following examples show, the final vowel that is replaced may be that of a preceding suffix.

tʸā'-a-kʷeihci-ta
DISTR-outside-mixture-CAUS
'She's making corn dough.'

tʸ-ā-'uh-kʷeihci-tʸ-e
DISTR-outside-REFL-mixture-CAUS-APPLIC
'She's making herself a batch of corn dough.'

In various cases, the vowel that is replaced is that of the stem itself.

nʸa-kʷā'ana	**tʸū'-u-kʷa'anʸ-e**
I-tired	DISTR-COMPL-tired-APPLIC
'I'm tired.'	'One gets tired from it.' (i.e., it makes one tired.)

(The causative and applicative notions get mixed in the above example.)

The applicative morpheme -**ɨra** ablauts to **ɨ** the final suffix or stem vowel it attaches to. Frequently, **-ɨra** carries the meaning 'privative', rather than 'applicative' or 'benefactive'.

ru-ka'an^{y}ê
REFL-strong
'He's strong.'

na-a-tâ-ka'an^{y}es-t^{y}i-'ira
me-COMPL-PERF-strong-CAUS-APPLIC
'It's animating me.'

The applicative **-ira** alternates with the form **-hra**. The allomorph that occurs is probably particular to given stems.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī'i-k^{w}a'an^{y}i-hra-'a
me-DISTR-tired-APPLIC-PRTC
'It was making me very tired.'

Various observations relate to causatives as a class or to the entire class of causatives and applicatives. For one, causative morphemes frequently serve as derivative elements, turning various kinds of stems into transitive ones.

n^y-ī'i-na'ana n^y-ahtá īn^{y}aa
I-NARR-laugh I-CNJ I
'I'm also laughing.'

me-t^{y}ū'-u-na'anai-t^{y}e-'e mɨ pina'a-se
they-DISTR-COMPL-laugh-CAUS-APPLIC ART bird-PL
'Those birds there cause one to laugh.'

Several stems display double causative marking. In most cases, the causative suffix closer to the stem seems to have been reanalyzed as part of the stem it occurs with. Occasionally this reanalysis leads to contradictory position class orders for particular tokens of the causative morphemes.

ka-nű=ra-seih-ra-ve
NEG-I=DISTR-see-CAUS-CAP
SG
'I cannot see him.'

rɨ'ɨ-rī
do-CAUS
'It can be done.'

na-a-ta-sêih-ra-t^{y}e-'e
me-COMPL-PERF-see-CAUS-CAUS-APPLIC
'Show it to me.'

ohalâ ku=wa-tâ-rɨ'ɨ-ris-ta-ri
would that=COMPL-PERF-do-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS
'(I hope) that it becomes possible to do it.'

In some stems, causative morphemes have been reanalyzed as thematic stem suffixes. This results in idiosyncratic semantic differences between pairs of words that are formed on a single stem by way of distinct causative morphemes.

ka-nũ=ra-m^{w}a'a-t^{y}e
NEG-I=DISTR:SG-know-CONCR:APPLIC
CAUS
'I don't know who he is.'

ka-nũ=ra-m^{w}a'a-ree
NEG-I=DISTR:SG-know-ABSTR:APPLIC
CAUS
'I don't know what it is.'

The following pairs of words show that differential causative thematic suffixes are used to derive distinct lexical items with distinct meanings such as 'ask for' and 'get', respectively.

ma-r-ãh-wavii-ri-'i
they-DISTR-across-grab-CAUS-STAT
SG slope
'They asked him to hand her over to them.'

vatéeyu nã-a-wavii-ce-'e
basin me-COMPL-grab-CAUS-APPLIC
'Get me a wooden basin.'

A sequence of causative suffix + applicative suffix may become fused and form a single derivative element. For example, 'give' verb stems are derived from 'carry' verb stems by suffixing the fused causative-applicative sequence **-t^{y}e'e.**

an-háana	**na-a-ta-hãn-t^{y}e'e**
on-carry	me-COMPL-PERF-carry-CAUS
top	APPLIC
'Take it!'	'Give it to me!'
(cow, goat, etc.)	

The last examples in this section are given to cite a morpheme **-pe** PRIV which occurs in construction with nouns to form verb stems meaning 'remove X corporeally from Y'. Formally, it is equivalent to some of the causative constructions given above.

t^{y}a-r-ã-'ana-pe ɨ t^{y}ak^{w}aara'i
we-DISTR-COMPL-wing-PRIV:APPLIC ART rooster
SG PAST
'We clipped the rooster's wings.'

pu'u-rĩ=ru-waaška'i-pe-'e-n
SUBJ-now=REFL-white-PRIV-APPLIC-PRTC
louse
'Now he's ridding himself of lice.'

Adverbial

Various adverbial categories relate to the general sphere within which an event takes place, the orientation being with reference to the speaker and hearer.

Two adverbial suffixes can be glossed roughly as 'peripatetic'. One, **-me**, generally means 'go along doing X' or 'come along doing X'.

t^yū́'-u-k^wi'in^yi-me-'e
DISTR-COMPL-sickness-go-APPLIC
'A lot of sickness is going around.'

The second adverbial, **-n^ye**, can be glossed as 'come around' or 'go from door to door doing X'.

amɨ-h nū́=yēewí=kɨn=wā́'a-k^wi'i-ka mɨ nasi pā́h
DEM-ACC I=QUOT=with=them-kill-HAB ART ashes you:SUBR

ra-t^yā́-tɨ-n^ye-n
DISTR:SG-in-carry-come-PRTC
middle
'I kill them with those ashes that you come bringing to my door.'

The sixth locative **ā́'-** 'away' is used to indicate that the action of a given verb takes place in a sphere geographically removed from both speaker and addressee.

táhtūwan pū=n^ya-ha'-u-ta-čū́'eve
governor SUBJ=me-away-COMPL-PERF-wait
for
'The governor of the tribe has sent out a call for me (to come).'

The following pair contrasts the presence versus absence of **ā́'-** in a sentence.

n^yi pe-t^yū́'-u-nanai
Q you-DISTR-COMPL-buy
'Did you buy them?'

ha'un^yi pē-t^yā-hā́'-u-nanai
where you-DISTR-away-COMPL-buy
'Where did you buy it/them?'

The presence versus absence of **ā'-** frequently correlates with tense distinctions in motion verbs; i.e., the result of motion away from a given point is simply to wind up in a location distinct from where the motion began. In some cases, the differential marking seems to be lexicalized, leading to contrastive meanings such as 'leave' versus 'go', for example.

wa-méh	**a'-u-mēh**
COMPL-go	away-COMPL-go
'He's leaving.' (right now)	'He's going to go.'

The fourth locative **uu-** 'horizontally' frequently combines with verb stems to mean something like 'go off and do X'.

nű-u-m^{w}aša-p^{w}a
I-horizontally-deer-PRIV(?)
'I'm going off to hunt deer.'

The sequence **ha'uvā'a-** combines with verb stems to mean 'go to do X and come back again'. It always contributes a perfective or past tense meaning to the verb word it occurs in.

ű=nű=t^{y}a-ha'-u-vā'a-wast^{y}e
there=I=DISTR-away-horizontally-coming-plant
back
'I went off and planted a crop.'

Volitional

In this category, Cora has only two classes of suffixes, the desiderative and capacitative. The desiderative morphemes are based on the suppletive verb stems for 'die'. Thus, desiderative singular has the phonological shapes **-mɨ'ɨ/-mɨ/-imɨ**, the alternation being partly phonologically determined.

n^{y}e-yāana-mɨ'ɨ	**n^{y}a-h-nanāi-imɨ'ɨ-ka**
I-smoke-DESID	I-DISTR:SG-buy-DESID-SIMUL
'I want to smoke.'	'I was desirous of buying it.'

Desiderative plural has the suppletive allomorphs -**ku** and -**iku**.

se-yāana-ku	**t-ā'-u-kɨɨn^{y}-iku**
you:PL-smoke-DESID:PL	we-away-COMPL-walk-DESID:PL
'You all want to smoke.'	'We want to go.'

As the following examples show, the desiderative suffixes ablaut stem-final **-e** to **a**.

n^{y}á-n-sa'upe-'e	**n^{y}á-n-sa'upa-'a-mɨ'ɨ**
I-REFL-rest-APPLIC	I-REFL-rest-APPLIC-DESID
'I'm resting myself.'	'I want to rest myself.'

t^{y}ā́-ta-sa'upa-'a-ku
we-REFL-rest-APPLIC-DESID
'We want to rest ourselves.'

There are various stems in which the desiderative morphemes act as derivative elements that lead to various kinds of meaning differences between pairs of stems.

n^{y}a-kucū́ I-sleep 'I'm asleep.'	**n^{y}a-kuh-mɨ** I-sleep-DESID 'I'm sleepy.'
wā́-see EXT-ice 'It's cold.' (weather)	**n^{y}a-šāa-mɨ'ɨ** I-ice-DESID 'I'm cold.'

Stems containing desiderative morphemes as thematic suffixes are subject to further derivational processes, such as causative affixation. This results in contradictory positional orderings between the causative (a first position suffix) and the desiderative (a fourth position suffix).

t^{y}ū'-u-kuh-mɨs-t^{y}e-'e
DISTR-COMPL-sleep-DESID-CAUS-APPLIC
'It makes one sleepy.'

(The source of **s** in the example above is problematical.)

The other category treated in this section is capacitative, which is marked by the suffix **-ve**. This suffix contributes the meaning 'be able to do X' to the verbs it suffixes to.

n^{y}ē-h-seihra-ve
I-DISTR:SG-see-CAP
'I can see him.'

Modal

Affixes are used with varying consistency to mark several distinct modal categories, namely the narrative, assertive, imperative, and conditional modes. Other categories such as exhortative, optative, and supplicative mode are marked by various clitic complexes that are less tightly bound to the verb stem than the modal affixes.

Narrative mode is marked by the prefix **hī'-**. It commonly occurs in narrative texts. In such cases, there does not seem to be any difference semantically between verb words that contain **hī'-** and corresponding ones that do not.

pu'u-rī́ hĕiwa t^{y}ū́-hu'-u-m^{w}ā́'a
SUBJ-now lots DISTR-NARR-COMPL-think
'He had already thought about it a lot.'

pu'u-rī́ hḗiwa t^{y}u'-u-m^{w}ā́'a
SUBJ-now lots DISTR-COMPL-think
'He had already thought about it a lot.'

The narrative marker **hī'-** frequently occurs prefixed to noun stems and adjective stems in copulative main sentences and in relative clauses.

amɨ pū́ yḗewi ɨ wắre šuure'e hī́'i=waatari
DEM SUBJ QUOT ART fig sap NARR=medicine
'That stuff, the fig sap, is real medicine.'

m-i'i=rū́uri
they-NARR=wet
'They are alive!'

Assertive mode is marked by the prefix **pɨ-**. Usually, **pɨ-** is used for making contrapositive statements that assert something by speaker X in the face of some previous assertion made by speaker Y. This is a special kind of negation.

āɨ pu n^{y}ā́'u wa'a-tɨhči pɨ-t^{y}ī-hī-ra-'an-
DEM SUBJ AFF their-thigh ASSR-DISTR-NARR-DISTR-on-
SG top

kā́-a-he'e-st^y-e
down-COMPL-lay-make-APPLIC:PAST
'Those things laid out across the mouths of the jars are their thighs.' (Implication: 'They are not maguey stalks, as you say.')

Frequently, **pɨ-** co-occurs with overt negatives. In some cases, the overt negative belongs to a distinct clause, whereas in others, both the negative and **pɨ-** occur in the same verb phrase.

ka-pū pu'u-rī=pɨ-t^{y}i'i-wā-uh-ša'apɨ'ɨn-ta-re
NEG-SUBJ SUBJ-now=ASSR-DISTR-COMPL-REFL-good-CAUS-CAUS

ū pa ā́'-u-mā́-'ah=p^w-ā́'a-me
there you:SUBR away-COMPL-go-PRTC=you-be-go
'No. It's already been settled that you will be going there.'

ka-nū yēe n^y-āɨhnā pɨ-t^{y}ī'i-k^{w}a'a-ka
NEG-I QUOT I-DEM ASSR-DISTR-eat-HAB
'I don't eat that!'

In some cases, **pɨ** carries the more neutral force of conveying an unexpected result.

hãwíi áɨh nʸá'u yéewi pɨ-tʸí-a 'a-yaasu
INTR DEM AFF QUOT ASSR-DISTR-be your-grandfather
'That (bird that you saw) really is your grandfather.'

Frequently, **pɨ** is used to make straightforward emphatic statements.

papu'u-rí=pɨ-tʸá-hã'-u-ve
you-now=ASSR-DISTR-away-COMPL-fall
'You are now irrevocably lost (and beyond help)!'

Finally, the assertive mode comes into play as part of the marking for strong negative imperatives (cf. **IMPERATIVES**).

kã-n=pɨ-tʸí'i-sa
NEG-SUPP=ASSR-DISTR-say
'Please be quiet!'

Imperative mode is marked in various ways, including the systematic choice of perfective verb stem. Various stems contain an overt marking for imperative mode, the suffix **-či**.

se-tʸū'-u-wau-ci
you:PL-DISTR-COMP-look-IMP
for
'Look around, you all!'

A few stems illustrate phonological shapes other than **-či**.

tʸí-ce-si
up-move-IMP
'Go away!'

wa-tã-kuc-i
COMPL-PERF-sleep-IMP
'Go to sleep!'

Numerous stems have no overt imperative suffix, but are instead marked by one or more prefixes, including **wa-** COMPL, and by a participial suffix. The most common participial suffix appears to be **-a**.

wa-yã'-a
COMPL-drink-PRTC
'Drink the water.'

The participial suffixes **-n** and **-kan** also occur on certain stems in the imperative mode.

wā-yana-m^{w}a-n
COMPL-tobacco-put-PRTC
'Cure him!'

ka-pēh=yée=hū=há'-u-ye'i-kan
NEG-you=QUOT=there=away-COMPL-walk-PRTC
around
'Don't go there!'

Finally, there is a class of stems for which the imperative mode affixation includes neither an imperative suffix nor a participle. Instead, the combination of **wa-** COMPL plus an optional **ta-** PERF and the perfective or repetitive form of the verb stem all occur together.

wā-caara
COMPL-make
flat
'Iron it!'

wa-t^{y}ē-ca-sɨ
COMPL-in-move-PAST
middle
'Stand up!'

The suffix **-ce'e** can be variously glossed as frustrative, conditional, or subjunctive mode. In some cases it contributes the meaning 'to be on the point of X' to the verb phrase it attaches to.

pu'u-rí tɨn mɨ'ɨ-n^{y}īi-ce'e
SUBJ-now almost die-FUT-COND
'He was at the point of death.'
(i.e. he very nearly died.)

Frequently, **-ce'e** is used to express unfulfilled intent, e.g. 'I was going to do X, but I didn't'.

n^{y}a-tasáawa-ce'e=nū
I-plow-COND=I
'I was going to plow the field.'

Closely related to the notion of 'unfulfilled intent' is the notion 'past subjunctive', which is also marked by **-ce'e**. In this case, it can be glossed as 'would have been X'.

ayáa mū=hi'i-h-tɨh=m^{w}-ā'a-hu'u-n-ce'e
thus they=NARR-DISTR:SG-carry=they-be-go-PRTC-COND
'They would have been carrying it away from here.'

In contrary-to-fact conditional sentences, the verbs of both the main and subordinate clauses may be marked with **-ce'e**.

tɨ p^{w}a-'ah ma-kāi=t^{y}ɨ-n^{y}u-'u-t^{y}á-
SUBR ASSR-CNJ they:SUBR-IRR=DISTR-me-inside-in-
middle

waat^{y}e-'e-n-ce'e ayeh n^{y}a-'ase n^{y}a-mɨ'ɨ-n^{y}íi-ce'e
give-APPLIC-PRTC-COND thus me-seem I-die-FUT-COND
medicine
'If they had not have given me an injection, it seems to me that I would have died.'

The verbs in contrary-to-fact conditional sentences may also be marked with the active participial -**a**, rather than with **-ce'e**.

ahtá nú'u tɨ p^{w}a-'a kái=hí'i-m^{w}e'itɨca-'a átɨhna ɨ
CNJ QUOT SUBR ASSR-CNJ IRR=NARR-fail-PRTC DEM ART

ta-ha'a t^{y}ám^{w}a'a pú nú'u kɨn
our-older really SUBJ QUOT with
brother

n^{y}e-t^{y}í-ra-'a-vá'a-n-hɨ'ɨka-'a
I-DISTR-DISTR-outside-coming-REFL-tie-PRTC
SG back
'And also, they say, if our Older Brother had not failed back then, then I would have been walking around with that thing well tied up around my beltline.'

The final example in this section shows that verbs in relative clauses can be marked for subjunctive mode. In these cases, **-ce'e** contributes the meaning 'would have been X' to the clause.

náayeri pú=nú'u=wa-ta-p^{w}éiva-'a átɨhna ɨ unah
Cora SUBJ=QUOT=COMPL-PERF-give-PRTC DEM ART salt

t^{y}ah nú'u kɨn wa-t^{y}á-ta-vaɨɨre'e-n-ce'e
we:SUBR QUOT with COMPL-in-REFL-help-PRTC-COND
middle
'We Coras were being offered that salt by means of which we would have been maintaining ourselves.'

Aspectual

The semantic distinction between 'repetitive' aspect and 'habitual' aspect is not always clear from the form of Cora verbs. Either notion may be signalled by the perfective form of the verb word.

n^{y}-a'-u-yé'i
I-away-COMPL-walk
around
'I customarily go there.'

ra-tá-hee
DISTR:SG-PERF-call
'He calls out to him every so often.'

The use of the perfective form of the verb stem to indicate repetitive or habitual aspect is shown clearly by the following example chosen from a class of verbs whose imperfective forms are derived by truncating the final syllable of the stem. Thus, the following habitual verb includes the full stem form.

me-t^{y}ī'i-nawa'ara
they-DISTR-rob
'They habitually steal things.'

The perfective stems are reduplicated to form repetitive/habitual aspect for another class of verbs. The following are typical examples.

n^{y}ê-n-si-saara
I-REFL-RDP-shave
'I always shave.'

a-i-kâ-suh-su'una
outside-trajectory-down-RDP-jump
'Every so often, it comes pouring off the
edge of the cliff.'

Habitual aspect per se is marked by one of the following four suffixes: **-ve**, **-ka**, **-i**, and **-a**. Stems that take **-ve** do not appear to reduplicate for marking habitual aspect.

m^{w}i'i-rī-ve
many-CAUS-HAB
'It yields a lot.'

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī'i-kaa-ve
I-DISTR-cut-HAB
wood
'I habitually cut wood.'

The suffix **-ka** is statistically the most common marker of habitual aspect.

n^{y}a-wâ'a-kuna-ka
I-them-take-HAB
pictures
'I habitually take pictures of them.'

Stems marked with **-ka** are usually reduplicated to indicate habitual aspect.

n^{y}e-yâ-'a-na-ka
I-smoke-RDP-STEM-HAB
'I habitually smoke.'

ra-a-tâ-vi-vaa-ka
DISTR-COMPL-PERF-RDP-stretch-HAB
SG out
'He makes outline sketches of it.'

Some stems are marked for habitual aspect by the suffix **-i**, which replaces the final **-e** or **-a** of stems to which it is suffixed. These stems apparently do not undergo reduplication.

n^yê-m-vi'ir-i
I-REFL-make-HAB
patch
'I always prepare a corn patch.'

The replacive morpheme **-a** occurs only on stems that, in their present tense forms, take both the causative **-ta** and the applicative **-e**. Stems that take **-a** do undergo reduplication to form the habitual aspect.

rū-'u-k^wa'an-t^y-a
DISTR:SG-inside-boil-CAUS-HAB
'She boils it.'

It turns out that there are several stems which allow double marking for habitual aspect. In most cases this involves the sequence **-ve** + **-ka**.

n^ye-t^yí'i-kaa-va-ka
I-DISTR-cut-HAB-HAB
wood
'I habitually cut firewood.'

In several stems, the replacive morpheme **-i** follows **-ve**.

n^yé-h-ču'e-v-i
I-UNSPEC-wait-HAB-HAB
OBJ for
'I always wait for him.'

The fact that **-ve** occurs closer to the stem than **-ka** and **-i** suggests that it is older historically than these other two suffixes; I think that this can be shown quite clearly from comparative Uto-Aztecan. Thus I analyze **-ve** as part of the verb stem in cases of double habitual marking.

Two semantically related sets of morphemes fall together under the aspectual rubric 'distributive'. The first consists of the suffix **-šɨ'ɨ**, which truncates to **-šɨ** for forming the past tense of verbs it attaches to. For most stems, the use of this suffix means that either a multiplicity of participants engages in a single event or that the action of a given verb affects a multiplicity of people or objects.

n^ya-ru-'u-kā-kalsetiine-t^ya-'a-šɨ'ɨ-n
I-DISTR:SG-inside-down-sock-CAUS-APPLIC-DISTR-PRTC
'I'm going to put his socks on him.'

harí t^yi'i-t^y-ūh-vi'ira-šɨh āɨhna ɨ́ kari
now DISTR-up-REFL-stick-DISTR DEM ART bone
together
'Those bones already had become stuck together.'

Distributive **-šɨ'ɨ**, in its truncated form, occurs as a stem formative in the perfective forms of a certain set of verb stems (cf. Causative).

n^{y}a-kã-n-si-saašɨ
I-down-REFL-RDP-shave:PAST
'I shaved myself.'

The second suffix of the distributive aspect is **-mee** 'collective'. It has the additional allomorphs **-hmee** and **-tɨmee**. It can refer to a multiplicity of items that are either the subject or the direct object of a verb. The members of the set that **-mee** refers to are conceived of as being identical, or at least alike, in some way. One might want to say that **-mee** is participant oriented, whereas **-šɨ'ɨ** is event oriented.

wãaču'i-se	**ma-na'a**	**an-t^{y}-ũh-kɨstá-hmee**	**ɨ́**	**pi'istá**	**hece**
caterpillar-PL	they-be	on-up-REFL-be-COLL top braided	ART	branch	on

'Caterpillars had fastened themselves on the branches.'

t^{y}a'-ah-ta-m^{w}ãaka-hmee	**tɨh**	**sĩiku'u-ri**
DISTR-slope-straight-arm-COLL	SUBR	shirt-ABS

'It had arms, like a long-sleeved shirt.'

Frequently, **-mee** follows the connector morpheme **-tɨ**, which is actually a subordinator that has been reanalyzed as part of a suffix complex along with **-mee**.

a=mũ=wa-vãa-tɨ-mee	**sẽika**
there=they=EXT-be-CONN-COLL	others

'Others are standing around off over there.'

nain	**mú**	**m-âun**	**t^{y}ã-a-wa'a-šɨ**	**ɨ́**	**šã'ari**
all	they	they-DEM	DISTR-COMPL-toss-PAST	ART	pot

cãhta'a	**tu-'u-rá-'a-tɨ-me**
inside	SUBR-inside-facing-POSSR-CONN-COLL out

'They tossed off inside there everything that was contained inside of the pots.'

The imperfective participle **-a** occurs with **-mee** in subordinate clauses.

m-i'i=m^{w}ĩ'i	**tɨ́**	**má-'a**
they-NARR=many	SUBR	COLL-PRTC

'They were in separate groups of many in each group.'

Durative aspect is marked by the suffix **-sima**, which has the additional allomorphs **-sin** and **-hma**. The former is a truncated form related to imperfective stem formation, whereas the latter is peculiar to particular stems. With motion verbs, **-sima** can be glossed as 'go walking along doing X'.

rã-tɨ-sima-'a
DISTR:SG-carry-DUR-PRTC
'He was carrying it along.'

Most generally, **-sima** can be glossed as 'be in the process of doing X'.

tu-'u-tʸá-ta-muuku'us-tʸa-'a-šɨ'ɨ-sin
we-inside-in-REFL-hat-CAUS-APPLIC-DISTR-DUR
middle
'We are putting our hats on.'

The inceptive domain represents a mixed tense-aspect category that can be further subdivided into inceptive future, inceptive present, and inceptive past. The future inceptive category is marked by the sequences **-tɨra'anʸi/-hra'anʸi**.

he'eyan	**šu'u=wĩ**	**s-ahtã**	**tʸĩ-tʸa-ha'-u-**
next	you:PL=QUOT	you:PL-CONJ	RDP-DISTR-away-COMPL-

kʷi'i-tɨ-ra'a-nʸi
kill-CONN-INCEPT-FUT
'Immediately, then, you will also go off and begin to kill the animals.'

tɨ'ɨh=nũ'u=hĩ	**nasimʷã**	**wau-wãuh**	**ta'ah=tɨ'ɨšɨ-hra'a-nʸi**
CNJ=QUOT=SEQ	wet corn	RDP-look for	so=grind-INCEPT-FUT that

'Then she looked around for the soaked corn so that she could grind it up.'

The present inceptive category is marked by the sequence **-tɨra'asin**, which alternates with the variant **-hra'asin.**

ahtã	**nũ'u**	**tʸĩ-tʸ-e-'ih-kũura-hra'a-sin**
CNJ	QUOT	RDP-DISTR-COMPL-trajectory-kill-INCEPT-DUR

'And then, they say, he begins to kill them (by pulling their heads off).'

m-ahtã=tʸĩ-hi'i-kʷa'a-tɨ-ra'a-sin
they-CNJ=DISTR-NARR-eat-CONN-INCEPT-DUR
'And then they begin eating.'

The past inceptive category is realized by the sequences **-tɨraa/-hraa**.

t^{y}ī-hī'i-k^{w}a'a-tɨ-raa
DISTR-NARR-eat-CONN-INCEPT:PAST
'He began to eat.'

a-kâ-uh-m^{w}a'arīi-t^{y}a-'a-hraa
outside-down-REFL-be-CAUS-APPLIC-INCEPT:PAST
fearful
'She turned pallid from fright.'

Tense/Aspect

Present Tense

Present tense in Cora is commonly marked by zero. This is very general for predicate adjectives in copulative sentences.

šū'um^{w}a mɨ muhme
black ART bean
'The beans are black.'

Intransitive verbs, including those with unexpressed objects, are usually unmarked in present tense.

a-iɨ-kâ-suuna
outside-trajectory-down-jump
'It's flowing off the edge of the cliff.'

n^{y}e-yáana
I-tobacco
'I'm smoking.'

Various classes of transitive verbs are also unmarked for present tense. The following, for example, illustrate 'basic' transitive stems.

n^{y}á-h-taawa
I-DISTR:SG-make
'I'm making it.'

The following example illustrates a derived compound verb stem whose present tense form is probably unmarked.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī'i-ku'un^{y}a-'ap^{w}a
I-DISTR-make-over
hole
'I'm sewing up holes (in my pants).'

Verb compounds consisting of a noun and a causative suffix are typically unmarked in present tense.

t^{y}ī'i-hašu'u-ta
DISTR-wall-CAUS
'He's building a wall.'

Verbs marked with the stative causative **-ri** and those that contain the abstract causative **-ra** as either a thematic suffix or as part of the stem are also marked by zero in their present tense forms.

t^{y}ā-tɨka'a-ri
in-night-CAUS
middle
'It's getting dark.'

wā'a-ku'ura
them-kill:PL
'He's killing them.'

Verbs marked in either habitual aspect or capacitative aspect are also unmarked in their present tense forms.

m^{w}i'i-rī-ve
much-CAUS-HAB
'It turns itself into a large quantity of itself.'

n^{y}a-tâiči-ve
I-run-CAP
'I can run.'

Verbs that take the applicative suffix **-e** form an important and large class of items that are marked by zero for present tense. A main subclass of such verbs consists of those in which the applicative suffix occurs either in productive combination with a causative suffix or as part of a frozen form along with that causative.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī'i-h-rašu'u-t^{y}e-'e
I-DISTR-DISTR:SG-wall-CAUS-APPLIC
'I'm building a wall for him.'

Noncausative verbs make up the other subclass of applicative verbs marked by zero for the present tense.

n^{y}é-h-ču'eve-'e
I-DISTR:SG-wait-APPLIC
for
'I'm waiting for him.'

Present tense is not a monolithic category in Cora. Several different manners of marking present tense have been innovated by the language. The participle **-n** appears to mark a kind of historical present in some stems.

m-ī'i-wā́-uh-pâ'u-re-'e-n
they-NARR-COMPL-REFL-red-CAUS-APPLIC-PRTC
'They are painting themselves red.'

Some verbs show suppletive stems that correlate with tense/aspect distinctions roughly along the parameters present/future/past. The following example is typical. (See also **STEMS**.)

wa-rḗ'e-ye'i
COMPL-around-walk
corner around
'He is coming back.'

wa-rḗ'e-me
COMPL-around-go
corner
'He is going to come back.'

wa-rā́'a-raa
COMPL-around-leave
corner
'He came back.'

Imperfective aspect is marked by the sequence **-tɨye'i** or by its alternate **-hye'i**. It can be glossed variously as 'keep on doing X' or simply 'present tense', depending on either the stem it suffixes to or the context in which it appears.

tʸi'itāhnʸi yḗewī pʷa-'a-ra'a-wā́u-tɨ-ye'i
what QUOT you-outside-around-look-CONN-IMPRF
corner for
'What is it that you're looking around for?'

Numerous stems show a correlation between present tense and a truncated form of the verb stem. The following examples are given to show both truncated and nontruncated forms. For some stems, the truncated element may simply be the stem-final syllable or vowel.

wā́-tai-n
COMPL-run-PRTC
'He's running.'

nʸa-tā́iči-ve
I-run-CAP
'I am able to run.'

The truncated item that correlates with present tense may be a causative suffix. The causative element may be either a productive suffix or a reanalyzed stem formative of some sort.

wā́-see
EXT-be
cold
'It's cold.' (weather)

wā́-seera-ka'a
EXT-be -PAST
cold PERF
'It got cold.'

The truncated syllable may be the final syllable of the applicative suffix **-ira**.

pe-tʸī'i-waci-'i
you-DISTR-dry-APPLIC
'You are drying things out.'

pe-tʸī'i-waci-'ira-n
you-DISTR-dry-APPLIC-PRTC
'You will dry things out.'

Nouns that take an absolutive suffix generally lose it when incorporated as part of a compound verb stem.

hīina-ri
spindle-ABS
'weaver's spindle'

tʸī'i-hiina
DISTR-spindle
'She's spinning thread.'

A truncated form of the durative aspect suffix **-sima** occurs in present tense (and in 'future' tense) forms of process verbs.

r-ā-'ɨ-sin
DISTR:SG-COMPL-carry-DUR
'He's carrying it along.'

Future Tense

The most straight-forward marker of future tense is the suffix **-nʸi**.

nʸe-tʸɨ'i-kʷa'a-nʸi
I-DISTR-eat-FUT
'I am going to eat.'

Numerous verbs have future forms which are distinguished from their present tense forms only by a word-final **-n**. I am tentatively identifying this **-n** as the fifth position participial suffix.

tāiče	**tāiče-n**
run	run-FUT/PRTC
'He's running.'	'He's going to run.'

Motion verbs and process verbs show a clear contrast between present tense forms that are marked for durative aspect by the suffix **-sima** and future tense forms that are marked with **-n**.

tʸu'-u-tū'utu'i-sin
DISTR-COMPL-carry:PL-DUR
OBJ
'He is carrying the small round objects.'

tʸā-'a-tu'utu'u-n
DISTR-outside-carry-PRTC
'He is going to take the small round objects.'

The semantics of future tense are at least compatible with the notions completive and perfective, since some future tense forms differ from corresponding present tense forms only by the presence of **wa-** 'completive'.

tʸā-tɨka'a-ri	**wa-tʸā-tɨka'a-ri**
in-night-CAUS	COMPL-in-night-CAUS
middle	middle
'It's getting dark.'	'It's going to get dark.'

Both the present and future tense of process verbs are marked in the durative aspect by the suffix **-sima** in its truncated form. Again, the only difference between present and future tense is the completive prefix **wa-**.

ra-t^{y}ē-'iwa'a-sin DISTR:SG-PERF-paint-DUR 'He's painting it.'	**ra-a-t^{y}ē-'iwa'a-sin** DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-paint-DUR 'He's going to paint it.'

The completive **wa-** and perfective **ta-** frequently occur together. In some cases the two of them together distinguish future tense from present tense in some aspect or another.

n^{y}a-kast^{y}āhwa I-have cold 'I have a cold.'	**na-a-tā-kast^{y}ahwa** I-COMPL-PERF-have cold 'I'm going to catch cold.'

Forms marked with the suffix **-sin** that are obviously future tense are generally also marked with the completive and perfective prefixes.

me-t^{y}ī'i-n^{y}e'e
they-DISTR-dance
'They are dancing.'

me-t^{y}u'-u-t^{y}ē-n^{y}e'i-sin
they-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-dance-DUR
'They are going to be dancing.'

Past Tense

The rubric 'past tense' in Cora includes simple past, durative past, perfective past, habitual past, and remote past. Each of these categories can be marked in several distinct ways.

Occasionally, past tense appears to be marked by zero.

n^{y}a-ra-h-rū'un^{y}e
I-facing-DISTR:SG-to
out wet
'I wet it down.'

More commonly, simple past is marked by the suffix **-šɨ**.

ma-ra-'an-tū'asī-šɨ
they-DISTR-on-hit-PAST
SG top
'They pounded him on his back.'

The suffix **wa-** 'completive' also is a common marker of simple past tense.

wa-mɨ̄'ɨ
COMPL-die
'He died.'

In some stems, past tense is marked by both **wa-** 'completive' and **ta-** 'perfective'.

nʸa-ra-a-ta-kă'anʸe
I-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-be
  SG   strong
'I stretched it out.'

Truncation processes frequently mark past tense also, oftentimes operating along with completive and perfective prefixation to give a complex marking for past tense. Truncation affects the word-final vowel or syllable; thus the truncated elements represent several distinct syntactic categories. For one, the stem-final syllable or vowel may be truncated, as the following pair of words illustrates.

ka=peh nʸéecɨ heeva
NEG=you me speak
'Don't speak to me!'

ra-a-ta-hě
DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-speak
'He called out to him.'

Truncation also affects sequences of causative + applicative suffixes. As the following examples show, the **V'V** nucleus of such sequences gets shortened to **V** or **Vh**.

me-tʸɨ'i-mʷare'e
they-DISTR-work
'They are working.'

me-tʸu'-u-mʷăreh
they-DISTR-COMPL-work
'They worked.'

nʸe-tʸɨ'i-h-rašu'u-tʸe-'e
I-DISTR-DISTR:SG-wall-CAUS-APPLIC
'I'm building a wall for him.'

nʸe-tʸɨ-ra-a-hăšu'u-tʸe
I-DISTR-DISTR-COMPL-wall-CAUS
        SG   APPLIC
'I built a wall for him.'

For one class of verbs, the entire causative + applicative sequence gets truncated in past tense.

nʸe-čúiɨ-tʸe-'e
me-carry-CAUS-APPLIC
'He's giving it to me.'

na-a-tă-čuɨ
me-COMPL-PERF-carry
'He gave it to me.'

Truncation also operates on the distributive suffix **-šɨ'ɨ**, shortening it to **-šɨ**.

šă-'ah-wiɨ-šɨ'ɨ-sin
you:PL-along-move-DISTR-DUR
        slope
'You all are going to get up.'

šă-'ah-wiɨ-šɨ
you:PL-along-move-DISTR
        slope
'You all got up.'

The final example of truncation involves the sequence habitual suffix + applicative suffix.

ru-t^{y}ā́m^{w}a'a-ve-'e
REFL-be-HAB-APPLIC
    fine
'He is rejoicing.'

wā́-uh-t^{y}am^{w}a'a-ve
COMPL-REFL-be-HAB:APPLIC
    fine
'He rejoiced.'

Numerous stems show suppletive stems or stem formatives in the past tense. Several of these have been discussed earlier in the sections on present tense and causatives; therefore, I do not discuss them further here.

Verbs show several markings for a perfective past. Frequently this is marked by the suffix **-tɨrā́'a,** which has an allomorph **-hrā́'a**. The alternation is dependent on the stem it attaches to.

a'-u-tū́'as-tɨ-rā́'a
away-COMPL-hit-CONN-PERF
'He went and ran it off by throwing rocks at it.'

ra-'a-t^{y}ḗ-iča'a-hrā́'a
DISTR-outside-in-dig-PERF
SG   middle
'She has dug a hole in the ground.'

Change of state verbs, including non-applicative forms of causative verbs, are marked for past tense by the suffix **-ka'a.** Usually, there is a clear notion of a new state of nature arising from the event the verb represents. Finally, there is often a complex configuration of elements that occur together in marking past perfect along with **-ka'a**. This typically includes **wa-** 'completive' and **ta-** 'perfective'.

na-a-tā́-kast^{y}ā̂hwa-ka'a
me-COMPL-PERF-cold-PAST
                    PERF
'I caught cold.'

a-ii-kā́-suuna-ka'a
across-trajectory-down-jump-PAST
                            PERF
'It poured over the edge of the cliff.'

Some change of state verbs are marked for perfective aspect by the 'stative' suffix **-i**. In most cases, these are applicative stems that select the **-ira** variant of the applicative.

nā̂-a-č^{y}awe-iri-'i
me-COMPL-bewitch-APPLIC-STAT
'He bewitched me.'

n^{y}e-t^{y}ū̂'-u-nana-i
I-DISTR-COMPL-buy-STAT
'I bought them.'

Tone placement distinguishes the present tense form from the perfective form in the following pair of words. This may well reflect a stem-formation rule, rather than perfective aspect marking per se.

t^{y}ā-ra-'ana-pe	**t^{y}a-rā-'ana-pe**
we-DISTR:SG-wing-PRIV	we-DISTR:SG-wing-PRIV
'We are clipping his wings.'	'We clipped his wings.'

A non-truncated form of the distributive **-šɨ'ɨ** marks past perfect in a subordinate clause. In the example below, it functions as though it were a subordinating participle.

ti'i-kī wa-ta-uh-vāra'as-t^{y}a-'a-šɨ'ɨ ū
CNJ-INDF COMPL-PERF-REFL-beat-CAUS-APPLIC-DISTR there

hī=(y)ā'-u-me
NARR=away-COMPL-go
'And then, having flapped his wings wildly, off he went.'

Past durative is sort of an amalgamation, semantically, between imperfective and perfective aspect. It is used to describe an on-going activity in the past, and thus has its imperfective force. However, past durative also carries the implication that the former durative state of affairs being described no longer exists; e.g., 'I was doing X once upon a time, but I am not doing it now'. Thus, past durative also has perfective force.

The suffix **-ka'a** is the most frequent marker of past durative. It ablauts stem-final vowel **e** to **a**. It occurs rather freely with both intransitive and transitive verb stems, including non-applicative causatives as well as non-causative applicatives.

n^{y}e-čā'a-ka'a
me-bite-PAST
PERF
'It was biting me.'

The following examples show that **-ka'a** may occur with a stem that is either a causative or an applicative.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī'i-r-icaa-ka'a
I-DISTR-DISTR-weave -PAST
SG APPLIC PERF
'I was weaving it for him.'

mā-h-m^{w}ari-ta-ka'a
they-DISTR-be-CAUS-PAST
SG known PERF
'They were giving him a name.'

The imperfective participle **-a** marks past durative on a large set of verbs, many of which refer to actions that are inherently repetitive. The following are typical examples.

m^{w}a-a-rá'a-kɨ'ɨka-'a
they-EXT-around-walk-PRTC
corner
'They were milling about.'

A few stems are marked by the suffix **-kaa** in past durative aspect, while in others, the participle **-a** seems to have merged with the stem-final vowel of the word it attaches to.

ma-ca'a-káa
they-nurse-PAST
PERF
'They were nursing.'

n^{y}a-ra-ká-ím^{w}a-a
I-DISTR-down-clean-PRTC
SG off
'I was washing it off.'

Motion verbs and process verbs are marked with both the suffix **-sima** 'durative aspect' and **-a** 'participle' to indicate past durative aspect.

t^y-ú-'ɨ-sima-'a
DISTR-COMPL-carry-DUR-PRTC
'He was carrying them along.'

The distinction between present habituative and past habituative is clearly marked in Cora. The ubiquitous participial **-a** occurs as an ablauting suffix on some stems and as a replacive morph on others.

t^{y}í'i-č^{y}awaara-'a
DISTR-bewitch-PRTC
'He used to bewitch people.'

n^{y}a-wá'a-kuna-a
I-them-take-PRTC
pictures
'I used to take pictures.'

The analysis of the suffixes which mark past habituative aspect is not entirely clear. Data cited previously in this paper show that there are four habituative suffixes, **-ve**, **-ka**, **-i**, and **-a**. Some stems can be doubly marked for present habitual by the suffix sequence **-va-ka** (**-ka** ablauts stem-final vowels). Two of the habituative morphemes, **-a** and **-i**, are replacive. It turns out that past habituative is marked by three additional suffix sequences: **-kara'a**, **-awa'a**, and **-iwa'a**. Although they can be treated as single units, such an analysis obscures the parallelism between the distributions of **-ve**, **-ka**, **-a**, and **-i** in the present habituative forms and that of **-ka**, **-a**, and **-i** in past habituative forms. As the following examples show, both **-ka** and **-kara'a** occur with nonapplicative verb forms.

nʸe-yá'ana-ka	**nʸe-yá'ana-ka-ra'a**
I-smoke-HAB	I-smoke-HAB-REM
	PAST
'I smoke.'	'I used to smoke.'

Both **-ka** and **-kara'a** also occur on causative stems that are marked by **-ta** 'concrete causative'.

me-tʸí'i-mʷari-ta-ka	**me-tʸí'i-mʷari-ta-ka-ra'a**
they-DISTR-be-CAUS-HAB	they-DISTR-be-CAUS-HAB-REM
known	known PAST
'They tell stories.'	'They used to tell stories.'

Finally, both **-ka** and **-kara'a** occur along with **-ve** in doubly marked habituative forms.

ta-čáɨɨ-va-ka	**ta-čáɨɨ-va-ka-ra'a**
us-care-HAB-HAB	us-care-HAB-HAB-REM
for	for PAST
'He takes care of us.'	'He used to watch over us.'

Both the replacive habituative suffix **-a** and the past habituative sequence **-awa'a** occur with causative + applicative stems built on the sequence **-ta** 'concrete causative' + **-e** 'applicative'.

rū-'u-kʷa'an-tʸ-a
DISTR-inside-boil-CAUS-HAB
SG APPLIC
'She boils it in a small pot.'

rū-'u-kʷa'an-tʸ-a-wa'a
DISTR-inside-boil-CAUS-HAB-REM
SG APPLIC PAST
'She used to boil it in a small pot.'

Both the replacive habituative suffix **-i** and the past habituative sequence **-iwa'a** occur on causative-applicative stems built on the abstract causative **-ra**.

nʸé-h-sikɨ'ɨra-r-i
I-DISTR:SG-disc-CAUS-HAB
shaped
'I always make it disc-shaped.'

nʸé-h-sikɨ'ɨra-r-i-wa'a
I-DISTR-disc-CAUS-HAB-REM
SG shaped PAST
'I used to make it disc-shaped.'

Both **-i** and **-iwa'a** occur on doubly marked habituative stems that take the habituative suffix **-ve**.

mă-ur-ici'i-v-i
they-REFL-fast-HAB-HAB
'They fast as a customary activity.'

mă-ur-ici'i-v-i-wa'a
they-REFL-fast-HAB-HAB-REM
PAST
'They used to fast ritually.'

Finally, both **-i** and **-iwa'a** occur on certain simple stems as well as on stems that include the privative suffix **-pa**.

nʸa-ră-h-ru'unʸ-i
I-facing-DISTR-wet-HAB
out SG
'I repeatedly wet it down.'

nʸa-ră-h-ru'unʸ-i-wa'a
I-facing-DISTR-wet-HAB-REM
out SG PAST
'I used to wet it down repeatedly.'

tʸi'i-h-vi'i-p-i
DISTR-DISTR:SG-grasp-PRIV-HAB
'She sews it for him.'

tʸi'i-h-vi'i-p-i-wa'a
DISTR-DISTR-grasp-PRIV-HAB-REM
SG PAST
'She used to sew it for him.'

To summarize, the remote past morpheme, used to mark past habituative, has two allomorphs, **-ra'a** and **-wa'a**. The former only follows **-ka** 'habitual', while the latter follows the replacive morphemes -a and **-i**. The underlying forms of **-ra'a** and **-wa'a** are not entirely clear to me. I assume, on the basis of scanty evidence, that these suffixes are bi-morphemic and consist of the sequence 'remote past' + **a** 'participle'. On the other hand, they could be underlyingly **-ra'** and **-wa'**, respectively, with the final **a** being inserted as an echo vowel, by a general rule of Cora phonology. I also am uncertain about the underlying shape of **-ka'a** 'past perfective', which I am assuming has the underlying shape **-ka'**. Finally, there are a few scattered forms in my data that suggest that the semantic component 'past' is really not integral to **-ra'** and **-wa'**, but rather some more general term like 'disjunctive' might be a more accurate semantic characterization. Note the following forms, to which the notion past is inapplicable to their interpretation.

a vee si nʸa-r-aa-yɨ'ɨtɨ-wa'a-n
to see if I-DISTR:SG-COMPL-understand-REM-PRTC
'...well, let's see if I know how to do it.'

ru-šê'eve'e nʸāh nʸe-vi'ir-i-wa'a-n
REFL-want I:SUBR I-make-HAB-REM-PRTC
patch
'It is necessary for me to prepare myself a corn patch.'

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

General

To summarize the overall structure of the verb in Cora, it is necessary to distinguish between complex verb words and the tightly-knit inner verbal complex.

There are two kinds of complex verb words. The first embraces combinations of members of a class of clitic complexes with a following tightly-knit verbal complex that lacks a subject prefix. The second type of complex verb word consists of a set of incorporated secondary verbs which are linked to imperfective forms of the main verb and signal various notions of tense and aspect.

Finally, the tightly-knit inner verbal complex consists minimally of a subject prefix and a stem. This inner complex includes thirteen position classes of prefixes and seven position classes of suffixes. A given verb word may have nine or ten prefixes and four or five suffixes. Numerous morphological processes and phonological rules apply to give the final surface forms.

The Clitic Complexes

The clitic complexes always include a subject prefix, clitic, or both and refer to semantic categories such as negation, to adverbial notions such as 'now', 'just now', 'later on', 'still', or to modal categories such as exhortative and optative. (See **PARTICLES AND CLITICS**.) The following are typical examples:

n^{y}-ãuu=če'e=šaamɨ'ɨ	**ka=nú=šaamɨ'ɨ**
I-LOC=CONT=be	NEG=I=be
BASE cold	cold
'I'm still cold.'	'I'm not cold.'

nu'=i-rã-n=ra-a-tã-'išaa-t^{y}e-'e-sin
I=facing-arrive-PRTC=DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-make-APPLIC-DUR
toward SG
'Later on I am going to tell him.'

The clitic complex Subject Prefix + **a'**- 'away' + **uu**- 'horizontally' signals optative mode. The verb stem occurs in an imperfective (durative) form and is also marked by a word-final participle **-n**.

n^{y}-ã-u=a-kã-n-si-sãa-šɨ'ɨ-n
I-away-horizontally=outside-down-REFL-RDP-slice-DISTR-PRTC
'I would like to go off and shave.'

The supplicative mode occurs as a strong negative imperative. It is marked both by the clitic complex Negative + Participle and the contrapositive assertion prefix **pɨ**.

kā=n=pɨ-n^{y}e-seih
NEG=PRTC=ASSR-me-see
'Please, don't be staring at me!'

Adverbial clitics occur in sentence-initial position and can be analyzed as complexes of locative elements. (See **ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES.**) The following example is typical:

y-ah=pũ=n^{y}ẽ-hẽ'e=t^{y}auun^{y}e y-ẽh n^{y}a-ware-'e
here-along=SUBJ=me-be=itch here-along my-back-in
slope located slope
'It itches me right here in my back.'

The Prefix Classes

The main verb complex consists of thirteen ordered prefix position classes, a stem which may be morphemically complex, and seven ordered suffix position classes.

Table 1 (next page) gives an overall view of the position classes of prefixes and the individual morphemes that manifest these classes. Naturally, not every class will be represented on every verb.

Position 13 prefixes mark person and number agreement with the subject nominal.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī'i-k^{w}i'i
I-DISTR-be
sick
'I'm sick.'

m-ī'i-wahka
they-NARR-play
'They are playing.'

Class 12, assertive mode, contains a single morpheme, **pɨ**. Usually **pɨ** marks an assertion by speaker X in the face of some previous assertion made by speaker Y. This is a special kind of negation. (See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**)

aɨ pu nũ'u wa'a-tɨhči pɨ-t^{y}ī-hī-ra-
DEM SUBJ QUOT their-thigh ASSR-DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-

'an-kā-a-he'e-st^y-e
on-down-COMPL-lay-make-APPLIC
top PAST
'Those things laid out across the mouths of the jars are their thighs.' (Implication: 'They are not maguey stalks, as you say.')

TABLE 1. The Inner Verbal Core: Prefixes

13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
						LOCATIVE COMPLEX						Reflexive
Subject	Assertive Mode	Distributive Plural	Direct Object	Narrative Mode	Distributive Singular	Ablative	Allocative	Directional	Topographical	Attitudinal	Path	Distributive Singular
nʸa- 'I'	**pɨ-**	**tʸɨ'-**	**nʸa-** 'me'	**ī'-**	**ra-**	**ā'-** 'away'	**a-** 'outside'	**i-** 'along line'	**h-** 'along edge'	**ra-** 'facing away'	**rā'a-** 'back and forth/ around corner'	**na-** 'myself'
pa- 'you'			**mʷa-** 'you'		**y-**		**u-** 'inside'	**uu-** 'horizontally'	**an-** 'on top'	**ka-** 'down'		**a-** 'yourself'
Ø 'he'			**Ø** 'he'						**wa-** 'extensive'	**ta-** 'across'	'himself'	**ru-**
ta- 'we'			**ta-** 'us'						**vā'a-** 'covering over/come across'	**tʸa-** 'in middle'		**ta-** 'ourselves'
sa-/ša- 'you all'			**hā'amʷa-** 'you all'							**tʸi-** 'up'		**ru-** 'yourselves'
ma- 'they'			**wā'-** 'them'							**na-** 'at boundary'		**ru-** 'themselves'
										ku- 'in a circle'		**h-** **tʸi-** **tʸa-** 'it/something'
									wa- COMPL	**ta-** PERF		

Class 11, distributive plural, consists of the morpheme **tʸī'-**, which has several functions. (See **SYNTACTIC MARKING.**)

pu'u-rī=tʸu'-u-šɨ̄h
SUBJ-now=DISTR-COMPL-be
finished
'They're all gone now.'

nʸe-tʸī'i-mʷare'e
I-DISTR-work:PRES
'I'm working.'

The narrative mode prefix in position 9, **ī'-**, commonly occurs in narrative texts. There seems to be no difference semantically between verbs containing **ī'-** and those lacking it.

m-ī'i-rūuri
they-NARR-be
wet
'They are alive!'

hɨ̄ita'a pú=pɨ-hī'i-rɨkɨ
woman SUBJ=ASSR-NARR-be
'It's a woman.'

The prefixes of 8 and 10 mark agreement with the direct object. For semantic reasons, the third person singular marker **ra-** is classified as one of the distributive morphemes rather than as one of the direct object morphemes per se. (See **SYNTACTIC MARKING.**)

The position 7 class prefix **ā'-** 'out of sight, away' represents the first of six position classes of locative prefixes that form a sub-system within the Cora verb; see **INCORPORATION. ā'-** usually establishes a general locative orientation for the entire event, indicating that it takes place or ends up in a location remote from the speaker's present location.

ha'atānʸī wā'-u-kʷii
who them-COMPL-kill
'Who killed them?' (looking at the bodies)

ha'atānʸī wā-ha'-u-kʷii
who them-away-COMPL-kill
'Who killed them off there?'

Position class 6 consists of two morphemes: **a-** 'outside/along the edge' and **u-** 'inside'.

ha'atɨ̄h nú=a-vá'a-tu'a
someone I=outside-coming-hit
'I hit someone on the top of his head.'

ha'atɨ̄h nú=u-vá'a-tu'a
someone I=inside-coming-hit
'I hit a certain guy on the back of the head.'

Position class 5 consists of the morphemes **i-** 'in trajectory/facing toward', and **uu-** 'inside horizontally'.

e'-i-tʸé-e-yeih-šɨ
away-trajectory-in-COMPL-sit-PAST
middle
'He sat down in the middle of the road.'

a-ii-tʸé-e-yeih-šɨ
outside-trajectory-in-COMPL-sit-PAST
middle
'He straddled the back of the animal.'

nú-u-mʷaša-pʷa-n
I-horizontally-deer-end-PRTC
'I'm going off to hunt deer.'

Position class 4 consists of **h-** 'in slope', **n-** 'on top of slope', **wa-** 'extensive/completive', and **vá'a-** 'coming back'.

na-'a-h-tʸi-tú'a
me-outside-in-up-hit
slope
'He hit me in the forehead.'

na-'a-n-ká-kun
I-outside-on-down-be
top hollow
'I have a downwards-going hole (i.e. my mouth).'

wa-tá-tʸee
EXT-straight-be
across long
'It's a long way off.'

ú=nú=a'-u-vé'e-hei
there=I=away-NONRESTR-coming-get
inside back water
'I went and got water.'

Position class 3 consists of the morphemes **ra-** 'facing away', **ka-** 'down', **ta-** 'straight ahead/across', **tʸa-** 'in the middle', **tʸi-** 'up', **na-** 'at the perimeter', and **ku-** 'going around'.

a-ii-rá-suuna
outside-trajectory-facing-spurt
away
'Water is spurting from a hole in the side of the bucket.'

a-ii-ká-suuna
outside-trajectory-down-spurt
'Water is pouring over the edge of the cliff.'

a-ii-tá-tʸee
outside-trajectory-straight-be
across long
'It's a long way from the far side of the river to back over here.'

a-t^{y}á-kun
along-in -be
edge middle hollow
'There's a hole in the ground (i.e. a well).'

na-'a-n-t^{y}ī-n^y-ɨ'ɨ ɨ̄ n^{y}a-muuku'u
I-outside-on-up-REFL-carry ART my-hat
top
'I took my hat off.'

a-nā-huka
outside-at-stomach
perimeter
'He has a pot belly.'

na-a-h-ku-rā'a-n-tu'a
I-outside-in-around-back-REFL-hit
slope and
forth
'I kicked myself in the ankle with my other foot.'

Prefix class 2 consists of the morpheme **-ra'a** 'around the corner/back and forth', illustrated just above.

Prefix class 1 consists of two distinct semantic classes: (a) reflexive, which is marked for person and number of reflexive object; and (b) unspecified object/distributive singular. These are discussed in **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA** and **SYNTACTIC MARKING.**

The Suffix Classes

The seven distinguishable position classes of suffixes in Cora are given in Table 2. Two additional suffix subsystems that are restricted to occurring with stems of a particular tense or aspect category are discussed at the end of this section.

The first position suffix class consists of several semantically distinct subclasses: causative, imperative, participle (stative), and peripatetic. Most of these are discussed under **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**

Position class 1 includes the participle **-vi'i**, which forms a distribution class with the fourth position class suffix **-kan**. These are treated in **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS** and **SYNTACTIC MARKING.**

The group labeled 'peripatetic' consists of two morphemes, **-me** 'to go around doing X' and **-n^{y}e** 'to come around doing X'. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**

Position class 2 'applicative' consists of two morphemes, **-e** and **-ira**, both of which ablaut the final vowel of the stems they attach to. Semantically, these morphemes convey notions such as benefactive, affective, and privative. In some cases, **-e** replaces the final vowel of a preceding stem. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**

TABLE 2. Suffix Position Classes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Causative	Stative	Passive	Durative	Participle	Second Aspect	Conditional
-ta	**-i**	**-iwa**	**-sima**	**-a**	**-n^{y}i**	**-če'**
CONCR				ACT	FUT	
		-hwa	**-hma**			
-ra				**-an**	**-ka'a**	
ABSTR		**-wa**	**-sin**		PAST DUR	
				-n		
				PERF		
-re						
PERF					**-ka**	
					SIMUL	
-ri						
STAT						
-pa						
PRIV						
Imperative	Applicative	Distributive	Desiderative			
-či	**-e/-ira**	**-šɨ'ɨ**	**-mɨ'ɨ**			
			SG			
			-ku			
			PL			
	Capacitative	Remote Past				
	-ve	**-ra'**				
		-wa'				

1	2	3	4
Participle			
-vi'i			**-kan**
SUBJ			OBJ/ASP, etc.
-tɨ			
SUBJ			
Peripatetic	Habitual	First Aspect	Collective
-me	**-ka**	**-tɨrá'a**	**-tɨmee**
'go around'			
	-ve	**-hrá'a**	**-hmee**
		PERF	
-n^{y}e	**-a**		
'come around'			
	-i	**-tɨye'i**	
		-hye'i	
		IMPRF	
		-tɨra'a	
		-hra'a	
		INCEPT	

Suffix position class 2 'stative' consists of a single morpheme **-i** which ablauts the final vowel of the stem it is suffixed to. It occurs in both first and second suffix positions. Some forms suggest it may also occur as a third position suffix.

taí-iri-'i
burn-APPLIC-STAT
'It's burned.'

n^{y}i căa-ri-'i
Q put-CAUS-STAT
flat
'Is it ironed?'

Additional examples are given in **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.**

Suffix position class 2 'habitual' consists of four morphemes, **-ve**, **-ka**, **-i**, and **-a**. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**

Suffix position class 2 'capacitative' consists of a single morpheme **-ve**, which commonly occurs as a first position suffix. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**

Suffix position class 3 'passive' consists of the morpheme **-wa** and several allomorphs. The following pair of forms shows a clear contrast between the stative morpheme **-i** and the passive **-wa** (or **-iwa**, a possible alternate morphemic analysis):

n^{y}e-čăɨɨ-ri-'i
me-have-CAUS-STAT
'He has me hanging in
this matter.'

me-čăɨɨ-ri-'i-wa
they-have-CAUS-STAT-PASS
'They are being protected.'

See **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.**

Class 3 'distributive/past' consists of the morpheme **-šɨ'ɨ.** For most stems, the use of this suffix means that either a multiplicity of participants engaged in a single event or that the action of a given verb affects a multiplicity of objects. See **SYNTACTIC MARKING**, Number Agreement, and **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION,** Aspectual.

Class 4 contains a participial morpheme **-kan**, which occurs throughout the entire range of the first four suffix positions. It forms a distribution class with **-vi'i**; see **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS**, Accusative, and **ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY.**

Class 4 'durative' (or 'progressive aspect') consists of **-sima**, with allomorphs **-sin** and **-hma**. This suffix also can occur throughout all the first four suffix positions. See Aspectual and Tense-Aspect under **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**

Suffix position class 4 'desiderative' consists of singular **-mɨ('ɨ)/-mɨ** and plural **-ku**. These morphemes can occur freely within the first four suffix positions, and ablaut stem-final **-e** to **-a**. They are discussed under Number Agreement in **SYNTACTIC MARKING** and Volitional in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**

Class 4 includes the collective morpheme **-mee/-hmee/-tɨmee**. As with all fourth order suffixes, **-mee** can occur freely within the range of the first four suffix positions. See **ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY**, Accusative in **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS**, and Number Agreement in **SYNTACTIC MARKING**.

The fifth position suffix class consists of the participial forms **-a** (imperfective) and **-an/-n** (perfective). The imperfective **-a** marks things like past durative, past habitual, and durative conjunct of main clause. See Tense-Aspect under **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Subordination under **SYNTACTIC MARKING**, Accusative under **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS**, and **IMPERATIVES**.

The sixth suffix position class 'tense/aspect' consists of at least the following three morphemes: future punctiliar **-nʸi**, past perfective **-ka'a**, and the simultaneous mode suffix **-ka**. The future tense **-nʸi** has a peculiarly restricted distribution. It freely occurs in initial suffix position immediately following the verb stem.

nʸe-tʸɨ'i-kʷa'a-nʸi
I-DISTR-eat-FUT
'I'm going to eat.'

The only suffix **-nʸi** seems to follow is the imperfective participial **-a**.

wa-re'e-mē-'e-nʸi-če'e
EXT-around-go-PRTC-FUT-IMPOT
corner
'He was going to return.'

The only suffix that follows **-nʸi** is the impotentive/frustrative **-če'e**.

ra-'a-tɨ-nʸii-če'e
DISTR-outside-carry-FUT-IMPOT
SG
'He was going to carry it off.'

The suffix **-nʸi** is further discussed under Tense/Aspect in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

The past perfective **-ka'a** probably has the underlying form **-ka'**. It marks both an on-going activity in the past and a resultant change of state due to an event in the past and occurs freely throughout the first six suffix positions.

The other sixth position suffix is **-ka**, marking 'simultaneous mode'. As with **-ka'a**, **-ka** expresses a durative event or state in relation to some other event. The difference may be that with **-ka** the two events are simultaneous, while with **-ka'a**, one event is remotely prior to the other.

harā́'apʷa'a mū́=nu'u=m-ī=ū́=ḗ'-i-n-
next they=QUOT=they-SEQ=there=away-along -on-
morning trajectory top

tʸī-nʸé ta-pʷā́'a-ri-hma-'a-ka
up-arrive PERF-end-STAT-DUR-PRTC-SIMUL
CAUS
'The next morning they got up there just as it was getting light.'

ah=pū́=nū́'u=a'-u-h-mấ-'a-ka tɨ'ɨh
along=SUBJ=QUOT=away-inside-slope-go-PRTC-SIMUL CNJ
slope

nū́'u=hí=tʸā́mʷa'a āɨhnā tʸapʷeih kɨ̄n tʸī-r-
QUOT=SEQ=really DEM axe with DISTR-DISTR:SG-

a-'i-tʸē-veihča-ka'a āh ware-'e-n
outside-along -in-cut-PAST along back-in-ABS
trajectory middle PERF slope
'As he was climbing upward, she gave him a good chop in the back with the axe.'

nʸī āuh=wa-čuīiša-vi'i-ka p-wā-'ah-čee
Q LOC=EXT-be-PRTC-SIMUL you-COMPL-along-move
BASE dark slope
'Was it still dark when you got up?'

-ka appears to be the final suffix in all the words where it occurs, and it occurs rather freely throughout the first six suffix positions. These sixth position suffixes are treated in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Tense/Aspect.

Class 7 consists of a single morpheme, the conditional/frustrative **-če'e**. It follows numerous suffixes, occurring freely throughout the range of suffix positions. No other suffixes follow it. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Modal.

The analysis of the suffixes which mark past habituative aspect is not entirely clear. They appear to be third position class suffixes. Details of their segmentation into the allomorphs **-wa'** and **-ra'** are given under the heading Tense/Aspect in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**

One subclass of suffixes, 'first aspect', consists of a set of tense/aspect markers that show identical alternations between a polysyllabic variant that begins with the connective element **-tɨ** and a shorter variant that begins with **-h**. These suffixes mark the categories perfective, imperfective, inceptive future, inceptive past, and collective. They all frequently occur in first suffix position and seem to range throughout the first three suffix positions, except for **-mee** COLL, which is a fourth position suffix. Some of them are discussed under the heading Aspectual and others under Tense/Aspect in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.**

PERF

a'-u-tú'as-tɨ-rá'a
away-COMPL-stone-CONN-PERF
'He went and threw stones
at it.'

ra-'a-tʸé-iča'a-hrā'a
DISTR-outside-in-dig-PERF
SG middle
'She had dug a hole in
the ground.'

IMPRF

ān=pū=nū'u=tʸā-a'-a-ka-nʸā'a-tɨ-ye'i
on=SUBJ=QUOT=DISTR-away-outside-down-dance-CONN-IMPRF
top
'He is going around dancing up there on top of it.'

ān=mú=m-ī=a'-a-tʸa-ruáače-hye'i
on=they=they-SEQ=away-outside-in-run-IMPRF
top middle
'Off up there they are running around and around
(that boulder).'

INCEPT FUT

he'eyan šu'u=wī s-ahtā tʸī-tʸa-a'-u-
next you:PL=QUOT you:PL-CNJ RDP-DISTR-away-COMPL-

kʷi'i-tɨ̄-ra'a-nʸi
kill-CONN-INCEPT-FUT
'Immediately, then, you will also go off and begin
to kill the animals.'

nāihmi'i šū=wa-tʸā-kɨ'ɨšɨ̄-hra'a-nʸi
all you:PL=EXT-in-chirp-INCEPT-FUT
together middle
'You will all begin to chirp together.'

INCEPT FUT DUR

m-ahtā=tʸī-hī'i-kʷa'a-tɨ̄-ra'a-sin
they-CNJ=DISTR-NARR-eat-CONN-INCEPT-DUR
'And later they are going to begin eating.'

INCEPT PAST

tʸī-hī'i-kʷa'a-tɨ̄-raa
DISTR-NARR-eat-CONN-INCEPT:PAST
'He began to eat.'

a-kā-uh-mʷa'arīi-tʸa-'a-hraa
outside-down-REFL-be-CAUS-APPLIC-INCEPT:PAST
fearful
'She turned pallid from fright.'

COLL

nʸa-kʷī'i-tɨ-mee ɨ nʸa-ɨɨka
me-hurt-CONN-COLL ART my-feet
'My feet hurt me.'

tʸa-'ah-ta-mʷā́aka-hmee tɨh sīiku'u-ri
DISTR-along-straight-hand-COLL CNJ shirt-ABS
slope
'It had arms just like a long-sleeved shirt.'

Historically, the **tɨ**-X suffixes have been derived by incorporating into the verb a clause of the form subordinator + non-finite verb. The third person singular general subordinator has the phonological shape **tɨ**, and there still exist non-finite verbs of the form collective + participle which occur in subordinate clauses introduced by **tɨ**.

m-ī'i-mʷī'i tɨ mā́-'a
they-NARR-be SUBR COLL-PRTC
many
'They occur in big bunches, one big bunch in each (cage).'

m-i'i-mʷā́akʷa tɨ mā́-'a
they-be-four SUBR COLL-PRTC
'There are four of them in each distinct group.'

Forms corresponding to **-rā'a** PERF, **-ye'i** IMPRF, **-ra'a** INCEPT FUT, and **-raa** INCEPT PAST still occur as main verbs in Cora.

nʸī ma=kā́i=(y)a-rā́'a Q they=IRR=outside-arrive 'Didn't they get here?'	**ū=pū́=ā́'-u-ye'i** there=SUBJ=away-COMPL-walk around 'He's off over there.'
nʸī-čḗ'e=ā́'-u-ra'a-nʸi me-EXHRT=away-COMPL-leave-FUT 'Let me be on my way.'	**nʸ-ā́'-u-raa** I-away-COMPL-leave:PAST 'I've left.'

All the suffixes in this class exhibit the alternation **-tɨ/-h**. Although I cannot yet present a convincing case, there are some bits of evidence to suggest that rules of consonant softening and vowel syncope work together to derive **-h** from **-tɨ**.

Clitic-Suffix Complexes

In addition to the tightly-bound suffix position class system, there is a system of clitic-suffix complexes that are restricted to occurring with imperfective forms of main verbs, but are nevertheless loosely bound to these main verbs both phonologically and grammatically. These clitic complexes involve many of the same suffixes as the **tɨ-** complexes and signal some of the same tense/aspect distinctions. All of these complexes are built on the predicate **ā'a** 'be'. In addition, they are all marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the main verb. Finally, the subject marking on a clitic-suffix complex may be reinforced by a subject clitic which occurs between the auxiliary suffix complex and the main verb.

Future inceptive/punctiliar is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE + -ra'anʸi.

vale mas pah mʷāa ta-čāɨh=pʷ-a'a-ra'a-nʸi
worth more you:SUBR you us-care=you-be-INCEPT-FUT
for
'It's better for you to start taking care of us.'

če'e ayān antʸawáa=ā'a-ra'a-nʸi šɨkā
EXHRT thus have=be-INCEPT-FUT sun
name
'Let him be named "The Sun".'

Future durative is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE + **-me** for singular subjects and by SUBJ + BE + **-hu'un** for plural subjects. This parallels the suppletive variants of the main verb **-me/hu'u** 'go'.

āh=hī-(y)e'-e-hêeveh-văa=hī-r-ā'a-me
there=NARR-away-outside-call-come(?)=NARR-DISTR-be-FUT
SG DUR
'From off there he will be coming along, calling out to him.'

sa-tāakuh=šu=š-ā'a-hu'u-n
you:PL-be=you:PL=you:PL-be-FUT-PRTC
hungry DUR
'You all are going to be hungry.'

Present imperfective is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE + **ye'i**.

nʸe-tʸī'i-ra-câah=nû=n-ā'a-ye'i
I-DISTR-facing-put=I=I-be-IMPRF
away
'I go around piling them up.'

tʸe-tʸī-tʸe-'e-rê'e-pī'ih-tʸ-a-wa-'a=tu=
we-RDP-DISTR-EXT-back-carry-CAUS-APPLIC-REM-PRTC=we=
and PAST
forth

t-ā'a-ye'i ɨ takɨh
we-be-IMPRF ART palm
'We customarily have been distributing leaves of the palm tree.'

Past perfective/resultative is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE + **-raa**.

hɨita'a pũ=pɨ-hī-ěen^{y}a-'a=ã'a-raa
woman   SUBJ=ASSR-NARR-be-PRTC=be-INCEPT:PAST
'It turned out to be a woman.'

ãɨh mũ   kɨn kāh t^{y}u'-uh-vãɨɨra-'a=m^w-ã'a-raa
DEM they with ACC DISTR-REFL-help-PRTC=they-be-INCEPT:PAST
'They wound up sustaining themselves on that.'

Past subjunctive/frustrative is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE/GO + PRTC/SIMUL + **če'e**.

n^{y}a-a-na'ahcɨh=ã'-u-ma-'a-ka-če'e
me-COMPL-benefit=away-COMPL-go-PRTC-SIMUL-IMPOT
'I ought to have gone (for my own good).'

wa-t^{y}a-vãa=pũ=ã'a-me-'en-če'e
EXT-in-be=SUBJ=be-FUT-PRTC-IMPOT
    middle
'He was going to stand up.'/'He might have stood up.'

yã=mũ=wa-t^{y}ã-'a=m^w-ã'a-hu'u-n-če'e
here=they=EXT-be-PRTC=they-be-FUT-PRTC-IMPOT
'They were going to be here.'

COORDINATION

Conjunctions

Conjunctions in Cora can be roughly divided into the major semantic categories 'and', 'but', and 'or'.

And

The category 'and' corresponds to various surface forms. In many cases, conjoined structures are simply juxtaposed, with no overt conjunction appearing on the surface.

ka-nũ=an-t^{y}i-yãa ka-nũ=t^{y}a'-an-ka-k^{w}ãa
NEG-I=on-up-drink NEG-I=DISTR-on-down-eat
      top   top

ka-nũ=t^{y}e'-en-t^{y}ī-sã'uta'a
NEG-I=DISTR-on-up-offer
            top   flowers
'I'm not going to drink and I'm not going to provide food
 and I'm not going to offer flowers.'

Rarely, a postposition may be used to conjoin constituents.

ā̀ɨh pū́='i a-i-tā́-kʷaa hā́mʷe'i hamʷā́n kāh
DEM SUBJ=SEQ away-trajectory-PERF-eat tortilla with ACC
'She ate that and some tortillas.'

The most common form of 'and' consists of some form of the conjunction ahtā́. This conjunction has several different shades of meaning. The following example illustrates the most neutral meaning of 'and'.

ma-we'-i-h-nā́ ɨ̄ tʸaɨtʸe m-ahtā́
they-them-trajectory-in-surround ART people they-CNJ
slope

ɨ̄ cɨ'ɨ-kɨ
ART dog-PL
'The people and the dogs surrounded them.'

ahtā́ frequently carries the sequential sense 'and then'.

ā̀a pu'u nū́'u ɨmɨ kāh tʸī-(y)ā́-ū́u-tui-iri-'i
there SUBJ QUOT far ACC DISTR-away-inside-leave-APPLIC-STAT
PS horizontal

ɨ̄ hā́mʷe'i ahtā́ ā́n tʸū́'-u-kʷā́'a ahtā́
ART tortilla CNJ on DISTR-COMPL-eat CNJ
top

hi'i-tʸ-ū́h-ka-tʸe m-ahtā́ hī-(y)a'-u-kɨh
NARR-DISTR-REFL-sit-make they-CNJ NARR-away-COMPL-leave
'He went and left him some tortillas a little ways off. And then up there he ate. And then he got himself ready. And then they went off.'

Sometimes **ahtā́** carries an anaphorical sense 'and thus'.

yā́a mū́ u-ve'e-nʸé-n m-ahtā́ wa-tā́-ku'uci
thus they inside-come-arrive-PRTC they-CNJ COMPL-PERF-SLEEP
'And thus, having come back, they went to sleep (just as they had been instructed to do).'

A related conjunction **tɨ'ɨhtā́** also has the sequential sense 'and then'.

ma-tɨ'ɨh-tā m-ī mū́=a'-a-rā́a-kɨ
they-then-and they-SEQ they=away-outside-around-go:PL
corner
'And then they returned from there.'

Even without a following morpheme **-tā́**, the conjunction **tɨ'ɨh** may carry a sequential sense.

tɨ'ɨh	**nú'u**	**hí**	**wa'-i-wa-tá-'iša**	**lo**	**demás**
CNJ	QUOT	SEQ	them-NARR-COMPL-PERF-tell	the	rest

'And then she told the rest of them.'

In its third person singular form, **tɨ'ɨh** may form a compound with the indefinite particle **-kí**. The resultant form retains a sequential sense.

tɨ'ɨkí	**ru-sáɨh**	**ũ=ã'-u-me**	**ãɨhna**	**ɨ**	**ta-ha'a**
CNJ	REFL-self	there=away-COMPL-go	DEM	ART	our-older brother

'And then Older Brother went there himself.'

Another conjunction **ah** is frequently used with the sense 'and then'.

ãh	**pú=nũ'u**	**šãa**	**t^{y}ãm^{w}a'a**	**t^{y}e-h-n^{y}ũ'uka-hraa**	**ɨ**	**yana**
CNJ	SUBJ=QUOT	AFF	really	DISTR-DISTR-be-PAST SG angry	ART	tobacco

'And then, indeed, Tobacco really got mad at her.'

In other contexts **ah** simply means 'then'.

tɨ	**p^{w}ã'a**	**wí**	**yãa**	**nu'u**	**p-erí**
SUBR	COND	QUOT	thus	I:PS	you-now

t^{y}a'-a-vã'ɨs-t^{y}e-'e-n	**ãh**	**pã**	**wí**	**p-i**
DISTR-outside-fill-make-APPLIC-PRTC	then	you	QUOT	ASSR-SEQ

yãa	**na-a-tã-'i-šaa-t^{y}e-'e-n**
thus	me-COMPL-PERF-face-talk-make-APPLIC-PRTC to face

'I'll just tell you this, by when you have finally filled it up, then you can tell me so.'

In its simple inflected form, **ahtá** may mean 'also'.

ãih	**nũ**	**n^{y}-ahtã**	**wa-ta-šãh-ta**
DEM	I	I-CNJ	COMPL-PERF-say-make

'I'm going to tell this one also.'

ahtã also occurs in compounds with the adverbial element **wã'a** 'beyond'. The resultant meanings include 'again', 'once again', and 'furthermore'.

ahtã-wa'a	**mɨ**	**saɨh**	**antá**	**ũ**	**a'-a-rã-h-veh**
CNJ-beyond	ART	other	CNJ	there	away-outside-facing-in-fall away slope

'And again, as for the other one, he also fell flat on his face.'

The conjunction **arí**, in some contexts, has the simple sense of 'and'. It may also occur with the clitic **ki**.

t^yú-hu'-u-tái-wau tɨkɨn arí ɨ n^ya-kump^{w}aa
DISTR-NARR-COMPL-order-look QUOT CNJ ART my-compadre
for
'He asked about him, "And (where is) my compadre?"'

More generally, **arí** means 'now'. It may be used with, or even without, **ahtá** to mean 'and now'.

ahtá nú'u arí an-t^yɨ-'ɨmɨ a'-a-ta-hí'iwa
CNJ QUOT now on-uphill-far away-outside-up-screech
top off

mu'ucí-ta'a ɨ ru'ari'i i-ku
mountain-in ART guacamaya be-EV
'And the guacamaya (parrot), to be sure, was already
screeching from way up on top of the ridge.'

But

Several conjunctions in Cora that mean 'but' have been borrowed from Spanish. The conjunction **síluu** (Sp. **sino**) means 'rather' and expresses in a second conjunct some alternative to a negated sentence which occurs as the first conjunct of a coordinate structure.

púh ka-mú nú'u t^yí'i-we'i ma-na'a siluu ayáa mú
well NEG-they QUOT DISTR-lie they-be rather thus they

nú'u wa-séɨhra
QUOT COMPL-see
'Well, they indeed weren't fibbing, rather, that's what
they really looked like.'

The entire conjoined structure may occur embedded within a complex NP.

ma-tɨ'ɨh nu'u m-í m-áɨhná u'-u-t^yá-h-kɨ'ɨ-kɨ
they-CNJ QUOT they-SEQ they-DEM NARR-COMPL-in-(?)-chew-RDP
middle

pá'arɨ'ɨ tɨ k^{w}a'ačíra'a tɨ kái šɨ máa vasta'a
child SUBR tender SUBR IRR IMPOT more be
grown

siluu k^{w}a'ačíra'a n^yáu
rather tender AFF
'And then they devoured that little kid who hadn't yet
grown big, but rather who was still nice and tender.'

In some cases, the entire sequence **síno que** 'rather that' has been borrowed from Spanish. It has been modified to **siluu kí** in Cora.

ka=pú=čé'e	**á'ih**	**tʸí'i-šaa**	**yee**	**pueere**	**yée**	**má**	**mú**
NEG=SUBJ=CONT	something	DISTR-say	QUOT	may	be	there	they

há'-u-tʸauu	**siluu**	**ki**	**mu'u-rí**	**há'-u-ve**	**nʸá'u**
away-COMPL-be found	rather	that	they-now PS	away-COMPL-fall	AFF

ma-tɨh	**tʸī-ra-a-šáh-ta-ka'a**
they-as	DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-say-make-PAST PERF

'He no longer said anything like, "They are off yonder there somewhere", but rather, "Now indeed they are lost just like they said".'

Spanish **pero** 'but' has also been adopted into Cora. In most cases, it has become modified to **haru** phonetically.

haru	**kúmu**	**rá-mʷa'aree**	**tɨkɨn**	**pu-'urí**	**vástakɨra'i**
but	since	DISTR-know SG	QUOT	SUBJ-now	old man

'But it was because he knew that he was already an old man.'

An occasional example shows that **ahtá** can be used in the adversative sense of **siluu**.

ayán	**rá-ruu-rá**	**tɨh**	**tʸevi**	**ká**	**pu'u**	**nʸá'u**	**ahtá**
thus	DISTR-make-APPLIC SG	like	person	NEG	SUBJ PS	AFF	CNJ

rɨ'ɨ	**ayán**
indeed(?)	thus

'He fashioned it just like it were a person. It wasn't really, but it surely looked like one.'

The conjunction **má** 'contrapositive' functions in narrative discourse to contrast the information of the sentence it occurs in with the content of the immediately preceding paragraph.

mé	**nʸ-ahtá**	**yée**	**nʸ-erí**	**hī-'ikʷa**
but	I-CNJ	QUOT	I-now	NARR-be hungry

'But, as for me, I'm now hungry.'

The sequence **na'arí kai** is a kind of conditional 'but' construction.

nʸi-čé'e	**yéewi**	**íye'e-hí**	**mú**	**á'-u-me-'en**	**na'arí**
I-EXHRT	QUOT	here-SEQ	there	away-COMPL-go-PRTC	but

kāi	**nʸā-mʷa-he'ika**	**yēewī**
IRR	I-you-kill	QUOT

'Let me be on my way, but, if not, I'm going to kill you.'

Or

Alternative constructions include both indigenous conjunctions and borrowings from Spanish.

The conjunction **na'arɨ** by itself simply means 'either X or Y'.

tʸīh	**mu=hā'a**	**tʸi'itɨh**	**s-a-'u-vē'e-mee**
DUB	right=there there PS	something ACC	you-away-inside-come-kill PL

mʷašā	**na'arīi**	**tʸi'itɨh**	**tuīšu**
deer	or	something:ACC	pig

'It seems that you all went off and slaughtered some animal, a deer or something like a pig.'

Another conjunction **ka'ɨn** is often used in alternative questions. This sequence may be analyzable as the sequence negative particle + article + absolutive.

nʸī	**pe-tʸī'i-kʷi'i**	**ka'ɨn**	**e'inʸī**	**p-ē'en**
Q	you-DISTR-be sick	or	how	you-be

'Are you sick? Or how are you doing?'

The adversative conjunction **nusuu** occurs only rarely.

nʸi	**a-yāuh**	**ka'ɨn**	**a-nʸāuh**	**na'arīi**	**a-'iwāara'a**
Q	your-son	or	your-uncle	or	your-relative

nusuu	**a-ha'a**
or	your-older brother

'Is he your son, or your uncle, or your relative, or your older brother?'

The conjunction **u** has been borrowed into Cora from the Spanish **o**.

pā'arɨ'ɨ	**mē=hī-ra-'an-ta-yē'i**	**čuāmʷara'a**
child	there=NARR-DISTR-on-ahead-walk SG top	dirty

tʸī'i-h-šana'ave-'e	**u**	**cɨ'ɨ**	**tʸi'itɨ**	**nʸa'u**
DISTR-UNSPEC-be-APPLIC OBJ nauseous	or	dog	something	AFF

'A dirty, snot-nosed kid walking around, or a dog, (or) any dirty old thing nauseates one.'

The Spanish conjunction **ni** has also been incorporated into Cora grammar. It occurs as the second negative in neither-nor constructions.

ka-tū́ t^{y}i'itɨh m^{w}are-'e n^{y}i ka-tū́ t^{y}i'itɨh k^{w}a'a
NEG-we thing:ACC handle-APPLIC nor NEG-we thing:ACC eat
'We don't do any work nor do we eat anything.'

The 'or' relationship can also be expressed by juxtaposed elements.

āh tū́ t^y-ī t^{y}u'-u-t^{y}ē-seihra tɨ p^{w}a'a yēewī́ sā́ɨh
then we we-SEQ DISTR-COMPL-PERF-see SUBR COND QUOT one

ra-a-šā́'ah-ta-re sā́ɨh ra-'a-ráa-nahči
DISTR-COMPL-fit-make-APPLIC one DISTR-outside-facing-meet
SG SG away
'Then we will see whether one fits him or if one pleases him.'

Syntax

Conjunctions frequently serve as sentence introducers. As such, they are normally the left-most constituent of a sentence.

m-ahtā́ ra-a-ta-vā́hra
they-CNJ DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-follow
'And they followed him.'

In conjoined sentences, conjunctions often appear as sentence introducers to the second conjunct.

tɨ p-auu-čā́-n nū́'u ān (y)ā́-uh-če arī nū́'u
SUBR ASSR-LOC-CONT-PRTC QUOT on away-REFL-stop now QUOT
BASE top

ā́=ā'-ah-mu'u-vā́hra hū́u-t^{y}ē hece ɨ
there=away-along-head-follow inside-downstream at ART
slope horizontally

kump^{w}aa-ra-'ara'a-n
compadre-ABS-NONREFL-ABS
POSSR
'Just as he stopped to rest, his compadre's head was bobbing up and down off there downstream.'

Conjunctions may even occur within both conjuncts of a coordinate sentence.

tɨ'ɨh-tā́ u'-u-ta-p^{w}ā́'a-re-n ahtā́ ū́
CNJ-after NARR-COMPL-PERF-end-make-ABS CNJ there

hī-(y)ā'-u-má-'a há'a-me
NARR-away-COMPL-go-DUR be-go
'And whenever morning breaks, he also goes off there.'

Expletives and procomplements may precede a sentential conjunction.

hūumpi m-ahtā nū'u m-eyān hi'i-h-rɨ́s-tɨ-raa āɨme
EXCL they-CNJ QUOT they-thus NARR-UNSPEC-do-CONN-PAST DEM
OBJ
'Man alive! And then they began to do thus to it.'

Locative, temporal, degree, and manner adverbials may also precede a sentential conjunction.

anšɨ́vi-ka=hrece ahtā ra-a-mʷā'itɨ
five-ACC=times CNJ DISTR:SG-COMPL-beat
'And at the fifth time, she got the best of him.'

ka-mū nū'u ru-'ɨkā-n m-ahtā
NEG-they QUOT REFL-foot-PRTC they-CNJ

yū='a-rā-iiša kumu nū'u
back=outside-facing-arrive since QUOT
here away

mē-tʸu'-u-yɨ'ɨtɨ nʸā'u
they-DISTR-COMPL-understand AFF
how
'And they didn't get there on foot since they really knew how to travel (in the air).'

Sentential conjunctions commonly serve to introduce topicalized constituents.

arī mʷáa a'inʸī pa-na'a
CNJ you how you-be
'And as for you, how are you?'

mā ahtā wī'i arī sāɨ tʸī'i-h-mīkʷa-ka'a
but CNJ QUOT now another DISTR-UNSPEC-feed-PERF
OBJ PAST
'But, on the other hand, someone else already has fed him.'

Several of the conjunctions are marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the sentence. Third person singular subject is not marked.

p-ahtā wī p-āɨhnā pūuwa'a mū
you-CNJ QUOT you-DEM geranium(?) there

he'-i-ká-h-raii-nʸi
away-trajectory-down-along-throw-FUT
slope away
'And you must also throw that **puuwa'a** flower down
there (onto the table).'

aɨ m-ahtá m-eyán u'-u-rɨh
DEM they-CNJ they-thus NARR-COMPL-do
'And they, as for themselves, they did thus.'

Various kinds of elements can be conjoined. The following example illustrates conjoined noun phrases.

tɨ'ɨh nú'u hī áɨhná cáhta'a
CNJ QUOT SEQ DEM inside

hī-ru-'u-ká-ra-cɨ ɨ ka'anʸɨ ahtá
NARR-DISTR-inside-down-facing-put ART bag CNJ
SG away

ɨ kustaa
ART gunny
sack
'And then he stuffed it inside of those bags and inside
the gunny sacks.'

The following sentence suggests that some form of verb phrase deletion is responsible for why there are strings of conjoined noun phrases on the surface.

m-ahtá siempre m-áɨhná meh čé'e
they-CNJ always they-DEM they CONT
SUBR

tʸ-ú-'ur-iwa'u a'ih=tɨ
DISTR-COMPL-REFL-interrogate what=SUBR

tʸī-rā-'amitʸeh-tʸe-'e ahtá sēih ahtá
DISTR-DISTR-seem-make-APPLIC CNJ another CNJ
SG befitting

seih kumu m-ī'i mú'i
another since they-NARR many
'And they still keep on with it, that they ask one another
what seems befitting to him, and another, and another,
for there are many of them.'

The head noun of a second conjunct relative clause may be deleted if it is identical to the head noun of the first conjunct relative clause.

a'anah mah nú'u m-eyán wa-rɨh ɨ ta-ha'a
once they QUOT they-thus COMPL-do ART our-older
SUBR brother

tɨ	**vasta'a**	**ahtã**	**ɨ**	**tɨ**	**pa'arɨ'ɨ**
SUBR	adult	CNJ	ART	SUBR	youngster

'That once upon a time our older brother and our younger (brother) did thus and so.'

Simple clauses can also be joined by a conjunction.

â	**pu'u**	**nũ'u**	**ih-tã-'ih**	**hɨmɨ́**	**y-a'-u-ta-m^{w}ãh**
there	SUBJ PS	QUOT	SEQ-CNJ-be	far	it-away-COMPL-PERF-lay flat

ahtã	**ãa**	**w-ĩ-(y)a-u-tãũt^{y}a-'a**	**ahtã**
CNJ	from there	them-NARR-away-horizontal-greet-PRTC	CNJ

hí-(y)ã'-u-raa
NARR-away-COMPL-leave

'And then she set it down on the ground a little ways off. And then she took leave of them. And then she went away.'

Various conjunctions that serve as introducers to main clauses also function as introducers to subordinate clauses. Generally, there is some kind of overt difference between a main clause introduced by a conjunction and a subordinate clause introduced by that conjunction.

m-ahtã	**m-ãɨhnã**	**wa-tãi-wa'u-ri-'i**	**tɨkɨn**	**arí**
they-CNJ	they-DEM	COMPL-order-look-APPLIC-STAT for	QUOT	CNJ

m^{w}éeci	**a'in^{y}ĩ**	**'ih-ta**	**m^{w}éeci**	**t^{y}ĩ-m^{w}ã-'amit^{y}eh-t^{y}e-'e**
you	how	SEQ-CNJ	you	DISTR-you-seem-make-APPLIC

'And then they asked that one, "And you, how is it that you view things?"'

tɨ'ɨh-tã	**hí-ra-a-vêiiče-n**	**ahtã**
CNJ-and	NARR-DISTR-COMPL-cut-ABS SG down	CNJ

hí-rã-'a-tɨ-n^{y}i	**ɨ**	**ha'atɨ**
NARR-DISTR:SG-away-carry-FUT	ART	someone

'And having chopped it down, then this person would carry it off.'

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Position

Complement clauses normally occur in post-verbal position, which is also the neutral position for subject and object nominals in Cora (cf. **BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE**).

mʷā́re'e-ri tɨ ū́'-u-ra'a-nʸi
work-CAUS SUBR NARR-COMPL-leave-FUT
PASS
'It's hard to travel.'

ka-mū́=hī-ra-a-tā́'a tu-'u-vé'e-nʸé-n
NEG-they=NARR-DISTR-COMPL-give SUBR-there-come-pass-PRTC
SG by
'They didn't let him come back.'

A complement clause can however be topicalized and moved to the front of a sentence.

ahora tʸah wā-ta-čeh-tʸa-'a-šɨ'ɨ-n
now we:SUBR COMPL-REFL-live-make-APPLIC-DISTR-PRTC

ka-pū́=rɨ'ɨrīi-sta-hmee
NEG-SUBJ=be-make-COLL
possible
'As for right now, it isn't possible for us to stand on the hillsides.'

Marking

Complement clauses vary along a continuum from the sentential to the nominal. In some cases, there is no overt subordinating particle to mark the complement. Such complements are marked exactly like independent clauses, both in terms of subject markers and tense/aspect.

ayḗh nʸa-'ase ha'atɨ pū́ yḗe ta-namʷa
thus *me-approach someone* SUBJ QUOT *across-hear*
'It seems to me that someone is listening.'

pu'u-rī ra-mʷa'aree š-ā́a-kʷi-iwa-ka'a
SUBJ-now DISTR-know you:PL-COMPL-kill-PASS-PERF
SG PAST
'He now knows that you all have been killed.'

Finite complement clauses may also be introduced by a subordinating particle.

pu'u-rí wí tɨn nʸe-čueeh-tʸe-'e tɨ
SUBJ-now QUOT almost me-feel-make-APPLIC SUBR

n-a-'u-ta-kʷí'i-nʸ-e
me-outside-horizontally-across-hurt-FUT-APPLIC
'It seems to me that I'm about to go into labor.'

Although the distinction between finite and non-finite clauses is not strikingly clear, there are at least two types of constructions that show the distinction to be a real one for Cora complement clauses. The verb **na'a** 'be' serves as a main verb in simple sentences such as (a) and as a higher verb in sentences like (b). Note that in (b) the second verb of the construction does not carry an overt second person subject marker as occurs in (c). This is because the verb **na'a** is acting as an auxiliary to **tʸí'imʷa'ace** and thus receives the person and number marking for the clause. Also note that (b) and (c) are equivalent semantically.

(a) **ari mʷā́a a'inʸí pa=na'a**
CNJ you how you=be
'And as for you, how are you?'

(b) **a'inʸí pa=na'a tʸí'i-mʷa'ac-e**
how you=be DISTR-know-APPLIC
'What are you thinking about?'

(c) **a'inʸí pe-tʸí'i-mʷa'ac-e**
how you-DISTR-know-APPLIC
'What are you thinking about?'

On the other hand, the forms of the verb **-me** 'go' combine with the verb stem **hā́'a** 'be located' to form a complex verb 'will be'.

amɨ pū́ ta-'i-yā́'u hā́'a-me
DEM SUBJ us-be-father be-go
located
'That one will be our father.'

It turns out that **hā́'ame** 'will be' and its related suppletive forms **hā́'aye'i** 'is' and **hā'araa** 'was' function as aspectual auxiliaries in certain double verb constructions in which one of two verbs is non-finite. The following are typical examples.

ayā́a pū́ hḗ'enʸa-'a hā'a-ye'i
thus SUBJ be-PRTC be -walk
located around
'This is how it has been.'

ayâa	**pú**	**hé'en^{y}a-'a**	**hã'a-raa**
thus	SUBJ	be-PRTC	be-leave located

'This is how it came out.'

These aspectual auxiliaries can occur with any verb and are marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the main clause.

n^{y}e-'ik^{w}atãh	**nũ**	**n-â'a-ye'i**
I-be hungry	I	I-be -walk located around

'I always go around hungry.'

pa-pu'u-rí	**m^{w}áa**	**a-ra-'as-tɨ**	**p^w-â'a-raa**
you-SUBJ-now	you	outside-facing-reach-PRTC	you-be-leave located

'You have already come out, fulfilling the role.'

In the verb + **hã'ame** type construction, the initial verb is always non-finite. This is shown by its being typically marked with a participial suffix, either **-'a** or **-tɨ** (as in the previous examples). The force of the participial suffix is to nominalize in some way the verb it attaches to and thus allow it to function in roles other than that of the main verb. In the double verb constructions above, the participial clause is subordinate in some way to the **hã'ame** verb and functions as an adverbial. This can be seen from the glosses of the examples above and from that of the first of the following two. These next examples illustrate another effect of the nominalizing influence of the participial suffix: it removes the temporal grounding of the verb it attaches to. Thus the non-finite form is tenseless. The following pair of sentences contrasts the tenseless form of a verb stem in a verb + aspectual auxiliary construction with a finite form of that verb in a simple sentence.

hũuka	**mũ**	**rã-a-tɨ-sĩma-'a**	**m^w-â'a-hu'u-n**
women	they	DISTR-COMPL-carry-DUR-PRTC	they-be-go:PL-PRTC located

'The women will be going along carrying her.'

t^{y}i'itáhn^{y}í	**p^{w}á-a-tɨ-sin**
what	you-COMPL-carry-DUR

'What are you carrying?'

Double verb constructions are loosely bound together, as one example above shows, since a subject clitic may occur between the initial verb and the second one. Some double verb constructions can be found with a non-finite verb as an additional element in second position. The result is a kind of triple verb construction in which the aspectual auxiliary verb has two subordinate manner adverbials modifying it.

ū'u t^{y}e-hī-ra-'an-kāī-tɨ-mā́-'a t^{y}ī'i-ku'ucu
there we-NARR-DISTR-on -be-CONN-COLL-PRTC DISTR-be
inside top seated asleep

t^{y}-ī-r-ā́'a-hu'u-n
we-NARR-DISTR-be-go:PL-PRTC
located
'There we all are inside sitting around with our heads bowed, passing the night asleep.'

The verb stem **heen/he'en** 'be' has two common non-finite forms. For one, it can occur in its participial form. However, it takes a full non-aspectual complement sentence embedded to it. As shown by the following example, subject marking occurs neither on it nor on its embedded complement verb, so there turn out to be sentences with two non-finite verbs in sequence in Cora.

n^{y}ī m-eyān hḗ'en^{y}a-'a wā́-suaa ɨ kawaayu'u
Q they-thus be-PRTC EXT-exist ART horses
'Are there horses like this off over in those parts?'

In another construction, **heen** 'be' is marked with both the suffix **-aka** 'simultaneous mode' and the ablauting suffix -e 'applicative'. Neither it nor the verb embedded to it is marked for subject agreement.

ayāa tū t^{y}a-tɨ̄h wī hḗene-'eke-'e hām^{w}a-a-ta-sḗihra
thus we we-like QUOT be-SIMUL-APPLIC you:PL-COMPL-PERF-see
'In nature we are just like we have shown you.'

Complements of a small set of verbs of naming illustrate the nominal end of the spectrum.

a pū́ hi-rā́-'a-če t^{y}eh t^{y}-ī ayān
there SUBJ NARR-DISTR-outside-live SUBR SEQ thus
SG

ra-ta-m^{w}ā́'a-m^{w}a tɨkɨn čā́hcan pū́ pɨ̄rɨkɨ
DISTR-PERF-know-RDP QUOT spirit SUBJ be
SG
'There he has made a home, the one to whom we refer saying, it is a spirit.'

t^{y}ī āɨhnā ta-'a-na-kāi a-wā́-uh-ka'an^{y}e
DUB DEM SUBR-outside-on -sit there-COMPL-REFL-volunteer
edge DUR

ā́ɨhnā ɨ cīm^{w}akɨ'ɨ ma ayā́n ra-ta-m^{w}ā́'a-m^{w}a tɨkɨn
DEM ART woodpecker they thus DISTR-PERF-know-RDP QUOT
SUBR SG

karpinteeru	**nũ'u**	**kɨyẽ**	**tɨ**	**nãa**	**wã-ca-caa-ve**
carpenter	QUOT	tree trunk	SUBR	really	EXT-RDP-perforate-HAB

'It seems that the first one to volunteer was the woodpecker who they know as "the carpenter who fills tree trunks full of holes".'

Reduced complements include some which serve an explanatory or interpretive function. They may consist of a phrase or of a single possessed noun.

harasẽi	**šɨka**	**aɨ**	**pũ**	**pɨ=wa-tã-uh-m^{w}a'a**	**sẽis**	**meesis**
six	days	DEM	SUBJ	ASSR=COMPL-PERF-REFL-know	six	months

'Six days--that phrase is understood as meaning six months.'

aɨ	**pũ**	**pɨ̃rɨkɨ**	**ɨ̃**	**ha'atɨ**	**tɨ**	**ra-m^{w}a'atye**
DEM	SUBJ	be	ART	someone	SUBR	DISTR:SG-know

iwãara'a-ra'a-n
brother-NONREFL-ABS POSSR

'That is the one who he considers to be his brother.'

Other reduced complements consist of a single noun and an optional quotative marker. Such clauses are introduced by the quotative complementizer **tɨkɨn**.

aɨ	**pũ**	**nũ'u**	**t^{y}i'itɨ**	**wẽ'-i-k^{w}i'i-n^{y}i**	**tɨ**	**nũ'u**
DEM	SUBJ	QUOT	something	them-NARR-kill-FUT	SUBR	QUOT

ayāna	**ãn-t^{y}awaa**	**tɨkɨn**	**cɨ̃hvi'i**
thus	on -be top named	QUOT	yellow fever

'That thing is going to kill them which is thusly named "Yellow Fever".'

Reduced complements can be topicalized and appear in pre-verbal position.

sãaku	**mũ**	**nũ'u**	**ãn-t^{y}a'aru**
ogres	they	QUOT	on -be top named

'They are named "**saaku**".'

Complements in Cora are marked in various ways. The complement markings include **0** (zero), the particle **tɨ**, the quotative complementizer **tɨkɨn**, the quotative **yee**, and the introducer sequence **yee puẽere/puẽere yẽe** (probably from Spanish **puede ser que**).

ku šuẽe tʸã-na'ana
EV seem UNSPEC-laugh
OBJ(?)
'It appeared to be laughing.'

ka=pũ rɨ'ɨri tɨ̃ ra-a-tá-šɨh-ta
NEG=SUBJ do/able SUBR DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-finish-make
'It is not possible for him to remove it.'

yaa tũ tʸ-ĩ tʸe-rĩ tʸĩ'i-h-mʷa'aree tɨkɨn
thus we we-SEQ we-now DISTR-DISTR:SG-know QUOT

mã-ta-kʷi'i-nʸi
they-us-kill-FUT
'We already know thusly that they are going to kill us.'

ka-mũ nũ'u ra-a-tã-'i-šaa yee hũumpi
NEG-they QUOT DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-facing-say QUOT man!
toward

tʸãn tũ=ra-a-hẽ'ika-ta
we we=DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill-make
'They didn't tell him, "Man, we killed it".'

ka-pũ ku rɨ̃'ɨ yee puẽere mũ'u
NEG-SUBJ EV really QUOT INTR there:PS

mẽ-nʸ-ĩ-(y)a'-u-tã-'asi
they-me-NARR-away-COMPL-PERF-reach
'He didn't really think they would catch him off over there.'

Non-quotative subject complements are marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the complement clause. A third person singular subject complement clause is marked with the general subordinating particle **tɨ**.

mʷãre'e-ri nʸah rã-a-taawa ɨ̃ ladriiyu
work-CAUS I:SUBR DISTR-COMPL-make ART brick
SG
'It's hard for me to make burned brick.'

mʷãre'e-ri tɨ̃ ayán rá-a-ruu-re-n
work-CAUS SUBR thus DISTR:SG-COMPL-do-CAUS-PRTC
'It's hard to do it like that.'

rɨ'ɨ-rĩ sah a'-u-vã'a-pʷasaaruve-'en
good-be you:SUBR away-horizontally-coming-take-PRTC
made all walk

ũ teepi
there Tepic
'You guys can make a trip to Tepic.'

The subordinating particle of object complement clauses is also marked for agreement in person and number with its subject.

ka-nú yêewí čê'e ra-še'eve'e peh yá
NEG-I QUOT CONT DISTR:SG-want you:SUBR here

wa-tá-ka-t^{y}i n^{y}i-čêh
COMPL-PERF-be-UNR my-house
'I no longer want you to stay here in my house.'

m-í'i-h-n^{y}eeče mah nû'u ra-a-t^{y}á-kɨ'ɨ-me
they-NARR-DISTR-threaten they QUOT DISTR-COMPL-in-chew-eat
SG SUBR SG middle
'They were threatening to eat her up.'

A complement clause may be marked by a modal particle. The modals involved include **če'e** 'exhortative' and **č-auh** 'exhortative + optative'. These modal complements are restricted to verbs such as 'say', 'think', 'decide', etc. In some cases, the modal particle occurs by itself and thus performs a subordinating function.

pa-r-aa-tá-'i-šaa-t^{y}e-'e-n ɨ́
you-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-facing-say-make-APPLIC-PRTC ART
SG toward

n^{y}i-táata če'e m^{w}a-'an^{y}-ɨ́'ɨ-re-'e-n
my-father EXHRT you-on-carry-make-APPLIC-PRTC
top
'You will tell my father that he should take it for you.'

In other cases, the modal particles occur with the quotative complementizer **tɨkɨn**. This is one way that Cora marks indirect quotation.

pu'u-rí héiwa t^{y}ú-hu'-u-m^{w}á'a tɨkɨn če'e n^{y}á'u
SUBJ-now lots DISTR-NARR-COMPL-think QUOT EXHRT AFF

hí-ra-a-t^{y}ee-vi'i áɨhna ɨ́ cɨ'ɨ
NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-in-grab DEM ART dog
'He thought a real lot about grabbing hold of that dog.'

There are several additional ways to express indirect quotations, most of which involve a change in number agreement between subject and verb or between possessor and possessed noun. In the first example, a possessed noun is marked for third person singular non-reflexive possessor. This noun would be marked for first person singular possessor were the complement giving a direct quote.

bueeno áɨh pú hecê hí-ra-'u-tá-uh-
well DEM SUBJ about NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-REFL-

m^{w}a'a-ree-ri-'i tɨkɨn aɨ́ n^{y}á'u hi'i
know-CAUS-APPLIC-STAT QUOT DEM AFF NARR

nãanah-ra'a-n
mother-NONREFL-ABS
POSSR

'But, anyway, he thought of her as though she were his mother.'

A frequent substitution of a third person singular marking for a first person singular marking on some morpheme shows that a complement is giving an indirect quotation. In the following example, two instances of the general subordinator **tɨ** replace the first person singular **nʸah** that would occur were the complement to be a direct quotation. In addition, the auxiliary element **aučan** 'just recently' would be marked with **nʸ-** for a first person singular subject.

pu'u-rɨ́	**ahtã**	**hi'i-h-mʷa'aree**	**tɨkɨn**	**aɨ**	**pú**	**nʸa'u**
SUBJ-now	CNJ	NARR-DISTR:SG-know	QUOT	DEM	SUBJ	AFF

pɨ́=hi'i-rɨkɨ	**ãa**	**tɨ**	**(y)e'-e-tʸ-ãh-raii**
ASSR=NARR-be	there	SUBR	away-outside-up-along-toss
			slope

tɨ	**au-čã-n**	**r-a-'i-ta-tɨ̃h**	**ɨ̃**
SUBR	LOC-CONT-PRTC	DISTR-outside-facing-up-carry	ART
	BASE	SG	

ukãa-ra'a-n	**hece**
stomach-NONREFL-ABS	from
POSSR	

'Now she knows that he is the one that she tossed into the river just after she extracted him out of his mother's stomach.'

A third person singular subject particle **pu** replaces the first person singular particle **nu** in the complement of the following sentence, which expresses indirect quotation. In addition, the occurrences of the general subordinator **tɨ** would be marked by **nʸah** 1P SG SUBR were these sentences giving direct quotations.

ka-pú	**kãi**	**ayãn**	**tɨkɨn**	**tʸạmʷa'a**	**pú**
NEG-SUBJ	IRR	thus	QUOT	really	SUBJ

tʸɨ́-hɨ́-ru-'u-rã-h-ka'anʸe	**tɨ́**
DISTR-NARR-DISTR-inside-facing-(?)-be	SUBR
SG out strong	

hu'-u-ta-rá'a-ra'a-n
NARR-COMPL-PERF-around-leave-PRTC

'It wasn't like he had said that he really could cut loose flying like a bat out of hell.'

In the following example, the second person singular object pronoun shows that the complement is expressing an indirect quotation. A direct quotation would have used the first person singular object pronoun **nʸéeci**.

ayáa	**pa**	**yée**	**tʸí-hí'i-ša**	**tɨkɨn**	**mʷéeci**	**pú**
thus	you	QUOT	DISTR-NARR-say	QUOT	you:ACC	SUBJ

mu=há'a	**tʸí-hí-(y)á'-a-hamʷe'i**
there=be located	DISTR-NARR-away-outside-make tortillas

'Thus you say that she is off there making tortillas for you.'

The final example shows an indirect quotative complement in which the first person plural subject marking of a direct quotation corresponds to a third person plural marking in the indirect quotation.

ma-tɨ'ɨh	**nú'u**	**m-í**	**tʸú'-u-mʷa'a-ree-ri-'i**
they-CNJ	QUOT	they-SUBR	DISTR-COMPL-know-CAUS-APPLIC-STAT

tɨkɨn	**ma-kʷi'i-nʸi**
QUOT	they-die-FUT

'And then they learned that they would die.'

Modification

Regardless of whether main and subordinate clause subjects are the same or different, an overt subordinator of non-quotative clauses is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the complement clause.

ayáa	**mú**	**mu'u-rí**	**hi'i-tá-kʷa'ana-šɨ**	**meh**
thus	they	they-now PS	NARR-PERF-be-PAST tired	they SUBR

hí'i-h-wau-wau
NARR-DISTR:SG-RDP-look for

'Thus it was that by now they got tired of looking for him.'

ayáa	**tú**	**tʸí'i-h-še'eve'e**	**méh**	**m-eyán**
thus	we	DISTR-DISTR-want SG	they SUBR	they-thus

tʸí-ta-a-tʸá-vaɨɨre-'e-n
DISTR-us-COMPL-PERF-help-APPLIC-PRTC

'Thus we want them to help us.'

There is a certain amount of evidence to show that some rule of subject-raising operates in complex sentences in Cora. In the following sentence, the noun phrase **ɨ hah** 'ART water' occurs as the direct object of the verb **wau** 'request'. This noun phrase is also subject of the lower complement clause which it precedes. It is also separated from the general subordinator by the topicalized object noun phrase of the complement.

ayũu ma p-ũh-me'e-n m-ih-tá
back they ASSR-REFL-go-PRTC they-SEQ-CNJ
here

(y)a'-u-tʸã-wauu-sin ɨ hah tɨ'ɨrĩi
away-COMPL-UNSPEC-look-DUR ART water children
OBJ(?)

māh nũ'u wĩ tʸĩ-hĩ'i-pʷan
they QUOT QUOT DISTR-NARR-irrigate
SUBR
'And back off towards this way, the people are going to beseech the Rains to sprinkle water over the children (they have presented to them).'

Certain pairs of grammatical markers occur in one order when they appear in simple sentences, but in an opposite order when they are used in a complement clause. For example, the emphatic sequence of subject pronoun + subject particle occurs in independent sentences. In complement clauses the sequence becomes subordinating subject + subject pronoun.

mʷáa pã=hu'-u-tá-nʸuu-sin
you you=NARR-COMPL-PERF-respond-DUR
'You will be giving the response.'

vale mãs páh mʷáa ta-čáɨh pʷ-á'a-ra'a-nʸi
worth more you you us-care you-be -leave-FUT
SUBR for located

nāin šɨkā cahta'a nāin tɨka'a-ri cahta'a
every day throughout every night-ABS throughout
'It's much better for you to be watching over us, both all day long as well as all night long.'

In independent clauses, the negative clitic precedes the subject particle. In complement clauses, however, the subject subordinating particle precedes the negative (which also differs in shape from the main clause negative).

ka-nũ=šaamɨ'ɨ	**ayêh nʸa-'ase nʸa=kãi=šaamɨ'ɨ**
NEG-I=be cold	thus me-seem I=IRR=be cold
'I'm not cold.'	'I don't feel cold.'

A kind of subject raising (or fronting) may follow passive formation. The examples below show a complement of the verb **m^{w}a'a** 'to call X' in both an active and a passive sentence. In the active sentence the lowest complement occurs post-verbally and the upper complementizer is marked for first person plural subject. In the passive sentence, the complementizer **tɨkɨn** does not appear with its complement **viit^{y}e** 'rains'. Instead, **viit^{y}e** precedes both the verb and the subordinator which is marked for third person plural to agree with **viit^{y}e.**

m-ī-(y)a'-a-wārit^{y}ah-ka'a ha'ačū p^{w}a'am^{w}ā
they-NARR-away-outside-communicate-PERF however amount
PAST much to

t^{y}âh ayān wa'a-ta-m^{w}ā'a-m^{w}a tɨkɨn animāalis
we thus them-PERF-know-RDP QUOT animals
SUBR
'All those things that we call animals used to communicate verbally among themselves.'

âɨ pū nū'u cī pɨ=hī'i-rɨkɨ ɨ hāh i-ku
DEM SUBJ QUOT SEQ ASSR=NARR-be ART water be-EV

vīit^{y}e māh wa-tā-uh-m^{w}a'a
rains they:SUBR COMPL-PERF-REFL-know
'That is what the rain really is, those who are known as **viit^{y}e.**'

Finally, there are some data related to the partial Spanish loan impersonal verb **puêere yee** 'it seems' that suggest some kind of subject raising. In positive main clauses, the order of elements seems to be **puêere yêe.**

puéeré yée mīit^{y}u
seem QUOT cat
'He has a face like a cat.'

In negative main clauses the order is **yee puêere**. The negative clause often falls within the semantic scope of **puêere**.

ka-mū yee puêere mā-'uh-ka'an^{y}e mēh ya
NEG-they QUOT seem they-REFL-volunteer they:SUBR here

a-kāa-n^{y}e-n yān čāanaka hap^{w}a
outside-down-pass-PRTC here world on
by
'They did not seem willing to descend down here to the earth.'

In embedded negative clauses the order is **yee puêere.** Again there may be a clause whose subject marking occurs with a negative particle that precedes the impersonal verb **puḗere** even though that clause falls within the semantic scope of **puḗere**.

tu'u-rí yā́a pʷā́'an šɨka tʸī-čū́mʷe'i-re tʸah
we-now now so many days DISTR-evening-CAUS we:SUBR

kā́i če'e yee puḗere tʸe-yḗ'e
IRR CONT QUOT seem we-drink
'Now we have passed so many days that we no longer appear to drink water.'

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

General

Generally, embedded questions in Cora occur as a type of objective complement and almost always occur in post-verbal position.

haisɨ̄ nʸā́'u rɨ̄'ɨ wa-tʸḗ-'i-še'e-re-'e
let's see AFF well COMPL-PERF-facing-see-CAUS-APPLIC toward

tʸī́ nʸā́'u ayā́n tʸī='ayā́hna
DUB AFF thus DISTR=thus
'Well, let's see now, look real good to see whether it is actually that way.'

Various subordinators are used for marking embedded questions. These include the regular question marker **nʸī**, the dubitative particle **tʸi** (illustrated above), and the conditional subordinating conjunction **tɨ pʷā́'a**.

yā́a pū́ nū́'u yēewɨ nʸī́ yēewɨ pa-kā́i sḗih
thus SUBJ QUOT QUOT Q QUOT you-IRR one

ā́-'a-čau ɨ̄ siiku'u-ri peh yēewɨ
away-outside-let go ART shirt-ABS you SUBR QUOT

ta-a-ta-pīh-tʸe-'e-n
us-COMPL-PERF-carry-make-APPLIC-PRTC
'What he is wondering is whether you'll not sell one of those shirts, or give us one.'

ãh tú t^{y}-í t^{y}u'-u-t^{y}ê-seih-ra tɨ
then we we-SEQ DISTR-COMPL-PERF-see-APPLIC/CAUS SUBR

p^{w}a'a yẽewi sãɨh ra-a-šã'ah-ta-re sãɨh
COND QUOT one DISTR:SG-COMPL-fit-make-APPLIC one

ra-'a-ráa-nahči
DISTR:SG-outside-facing-meet
away
'Then we will see whether one fits him or if one
pleases him.'

Finite embedded questions are marked just like independent interrogative clauses. Thus they may take either the interrogative clitic **n^{y}i** or an indefinite pronoun plus the indefinite clitic **-ki**. In addition, subjects are marked on the verb in finite embedded questions the same way as they are marked for independent questions. Furthermore, the quotative complement **tɨkɨn** never appears in embedded questions. (This is one way to distinguish between direct quotation and embedded questions. Thus the first example below represents an embedded question, whereas the second one is a direct quote.)

wa'-u-tã-iwa'u-ri-'i ãa méh če n^{y}i=kí
them-COMPL-PERF-ask-APPLIC-STAT there they:SUBR live Q=INDF

yẽe ma-kãi m^{w}a-ã-tui-ira ɨ yuuri
QUOT them-IRR you-COMPL-sell-APPLIC ART corn
'Ask those people who live off yonder if
they'll not sell you some corn.'

ãɨn ɨ tɨ pá'arɨ'ɨ t^{y}ã-hã'-ah-m^{w}a'acii-t^{y}-e
DEM ART SUBR child DISTR-away-(?)-thought-make-APPLIC

tɨkɨn n^{y}í=kí kãi ã'ih t^{y}í'i-rɨ'ɨ-ri t^{y}ah
QUOT Q=INDF IRR something DISTR-do-PASS we:SUBR
CAUS

wa'-u-t^{y}-ẽe-seih ɨ máh tã-'i-vauhsi-m^{w}a'a
them-inside-in-ĊOMPL-see ART they our-be-elder-PL
middle SUBR
'As for that younger one, he wondered to himself, "Is
it not at all possible that we can go visit those
who are our parents?"'

The following two examples, then, illustrate the difference between a finite embedded question and a non-finite one.

t^{y}í-čẽ'e n^{y}ã'u t^{y}-í aɨhnã wa-šãh-ta a'i=kí
us-EXHRT AFF we-SEQ DEM COMPL-say-make what=INDF

t^{y}í-h-rɨ-n^{y}i t^{y}-í kíhii
we-UNSPEC-do-FUT we-SEQ now
OBJ
'Let's discuss what we ought to do now.'

tɨ pʷā́'a m-erī ā́ɨhnā́ hu'-u-ta-šā́h a'ih tɨ
SUBR COND they-now DEM NARR-COMPL-PERF-say what SUBR

ā́n-tʸawā́a=hā́'a-me ā́h pū́
on -be =DEIC-go CNJ SUBJ
top named PS

hī-r-a-'i-rā́-nʸeh-sin
NARR-DISTR:SG-outside-trajectory-facing-pass-DUR
over
'Were they now to say what its name would be,
then it would come out bright and shining.'

Yes/No Questions

Embedded finite yes/no questions are marked just like independent clauses. Thus the interrogative clause of the following sentence could stand alone as an independent sentence.

wa-tʸā́-h-mʷa'a-ci nʸī=kī arī
COMPL-in -UNSPEC-know-APPLIC Q=INDF now
middle OBJ

ā́-'a-če-si
away-outside-stand-(?)
'Test it to see if you can now stand on it.'

Non-finite embedded yes/no questions include those introduced by the dubitative particle, which roughly corresponds to the English word 'whether'. In the first of the following examples, the first procomplement of the finite declarative clause occurs in a non-absolutive form. That same procomplement occurs in its absolutive form when the clause occurs as an embedded question introduced by the dubitative particle.

ayḗh tʸī=ayā́hna
thus DISTR=thus
'That's the way it is.'

haisɨ nʸā́'u rɨ'ɨ wa-tʸḗ-'i-še'e-re-'e
let's AFF well COMPL-PERF-facing-see-make-APPLIC
see

tʸī nʸā́'u ayā́-n tʸī=ayā́hna
DUB AFF thus-ABS DISTR=thus
'Well, let's see now, look real good to see
whether it is actually that way.'

The main verb may be absent from the higher clause to which a yes/no question is embedded. The predicate function may be handled by the quotative particle **nu'u.**

yā́a pū́ nū́'u yḗewi nʸi yḗewi pa-kā́i sêih
thus SUBJ QUOT QUOT Q QUOT you-IRR one

ā́-'a-čau ɨ siiku'u-ri peh yḗewi
away-outside-let ART shirt-ABS you QUOT
go SUBR

ta-a-ta-pī́h-tʸe-'e-n
us-COMPL-PERF-carry-make-APPLIC-PRTC
'What he is wondering is whether *you'll* sell
one of those shirts, or give us one.'

Both alternative yes/no questions and tag questions can be embedded to verbs of perception.

ā́ɨh tū́ tʸ-ī́h kā́i hī'i-mʷa'aree tʸī ayā́n tʸī=ayāhna nusuu
DEM we we-SEQ IRR NARR-know DUB thus DISTR=be or
so

kā́i ru-hɨɨmʷa'ah ma-na'a hī-r-ā́h-tʸau
IRR REFL-self:PL they-be NARR-DISTR:SG-along-find
slope
'We do not know whether it is really so or
whether they made it up themselves.'

ā́ɨ pū́ ih kā́i ā́'ih hī-rā́-'am-i-tʸee-re
DEM SUBJ SEQ IRR what NARR-DISTR-on-facing-be-CAUS
SG top long

tʸī ayā́n tʸu'-u-rɨh u kā́i
DUB thus DISTR-COMPL-do or IRR
'It is not known whether it happened like that or not.'

WH Questions

The finite versus non-finite distinction applies as well to embedded WH questions as it does to embedded yes/no questions. Thus, both the interrogative particle **nʸi** and the indefinite particle **ki** occur as clitics on WH words in finite embedded questions.

ša-īše'ere-'e ha'unʸī ā́'ih hḗen
you:PL-look-APPLIC where what be
'Go look and see where he is, you all!'

ma-h-wā́u m-i-ku ha'u=kī kā́h
they-UNSPEC-look they-be-EV where=INDF some
OBJ for

tʸā́-hā́'ah=mʷaa
DISTR-be =lay
located flat
'They looked for where there was a pool of water.'

tɨ'ɨh nu'u hí tʸi'i-wá-uh-mʷa'acii-tʸa-'a ɨ
CNJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-COMPL-REFL-thought-make-PAST ART
DUR

kumpʷaa-ra-'ara'a-n ayán tɨ kɨme'e-n yée
compadre-ABS-NONREFL-ABS thus SUBR with-ABS QUOT
POSSR

haisɨ nʸi-čé'e yée ra-a-tá-iwa'u ɨ
let's I-EXHRT QUOT DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-ask ART
see

nʸa-kumpʷaa tʸi'itāh-kí yēe ru-še'eve'e ú santiaago
my-compadre what-INDF QUOT REFL-want there PN
ACC
'Then his compadre was thinking to himself, "Well,
let's see, let me ask my compadre what it is that
is needed down there in Santiago Ixcuintla."'

Although finite embedded WH questions are identical in form to independent WH questions, there are several differences between non-finite embedded WH questions, independent questions, and quotative complement questions. For one, the quotative complementizer **tɨkɨn** does not occur. The following examples show the contrast between a quotative complement WH question with **tɨkɨn** and an embedded question without it.

m-âɨhnâ m-í=hi'i-šah-ta tɨkɨn a'i=kí
they-DEM they-SEQ=NARR-say-make QUOT what=INDF

ân-tʸawâa=hâ'a-me
on -be =be-go
top named located
'They were discussing that subject, thusly,
"What shall it be called?"'

âwíi yâa nû ha'acû kʷéentu wa-ta-šâh-ta
INTR thus I somewhat story COMPL-PERF-tell-make

sa-ta'ah rá-a-mʷa'aree a'ih tɨ a'anâh
you:PL-so DISTR:SG-COMPL-know what SUBR once
that

tʸú-hu'-u-rɨh
DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do
'Well, now I'm going to tell a little story so that
you all may know what happened once upon a time.'

In form, non-finite embedded questions are like headless relative clauses. They are marked by some form of an indefinite pronoun and by the usual subordinating particle, which agrees in person and number with the subject of the embedded clause.

ka-nú=ra-m^{w}a'a-ree á'ih n^{y}áh wí wá-rɨ-n^{y}i
NEG-I=DISTR:SG-know-make something I:SUBR QUOT COMPL-do-FUT
'I do not know what I will do.'

ka-páh=ra-m^{w}a'a-ree á'ih páh yé'i
NEG-you=DISTR-know-make what you:SUBR manner
SG

t^{y}í-rá-'a-yaaca
DISTR-DISTR-outside-stew
SG
'You do not know how you ought to stew it.'

áh nú wí n^{y}-í m^{w}a-a-tá-'išaat^{y}e-'e-sin a'anáh
CNJ I QUOT I-SEQ you-COMPL-PERF-tell-APPLIC-DUR when

t^{y}e a'-u-hú'u t-á'a-hu'un ú santiaago
we away-COMPL-go:PL we-be-FUT there PN
SUBR located
'Then I will tell you when we will be going off
to Santiago Ixcuintla.'

The general subordinator **tɨ** marks third person singular subjects of embedded WH questions.

áa=ná'a hí-(y)a'-u-ré'e-n^{y}á a'u=tɨ
there=be NARR-away-inside-around-arrive where=SUBR
corner

hí-(y)é'-e-če ɨ k^{w}aašu
NARR-away-outside-live ART heron
'He arrived back there where Heron lived.'

The indefinite WH words **ha'atá** 'someone' and **t^{y}i'itá** 'something' are marked for accusative if they refer to the direct object of an embedded question.

ka-nú=ra-m^{w}a'a-t^{y}-e ha'atá tɨ
NEG-I=DISTR-know-make-APPLIC someone SUBR
SG

y-a'-u-ví'itɨ
it-away-COMPL-carry
'I don't know who led him away.'

ka-nú=ra-m^{w}a'a-t^{y}-e ha'atá-h tɨ
NEG-I=DISTR-know-make-APPLIC someone-ACC SUBR
SG

a'-u-ví'itɨ
away-COMPL-carry
'I don't know who he led away.'

haru m-i-rá-a-m^{w}a'a-ree-ri-'i
CNJ they-NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-know-CAUS-APPLIC-STAT

t^{y}i'itɨ-h tɨ̄ ā'ih we'-i-wâ-ruu ɨ̄
what-ACC SUBR what them-NARR-COMPL-do ART

vauhsi-m^{w}a'a-me'e-n
elders-PL-NONREFL-ABS
POSSR
'But they knew what had happened to his parents.'

Non-finite embedded WH questions may be strung together in a rather long series as the complex complement of given verbs. This does not seem to be true for finite embedded questions.

t^{y}ɨ̄-we'-i-t^{y}ɨ-šáa-t^{y}a-'a-hraa ha'u tɨ̄
DISTR-them-NARR-up-say-make-APPLIC-INCEPT where SUBR

hī-(y)a'-a-ta-n^{y}ĕh a'ih tɨ̄
NARR-away-outside-across-pass what SUBR
by

t^{y}ū-hu'-u-t^{y}ā-m^{w}a'ariive a'ih tɨ̄ ɨ hēen^{y}e-'eke-'e
DISTR-NARR-COMPL-in-visit what SUBR SEQ be-SIMUL-APPLIC
middle

hū'-u-raa a'acáh tɨ̄ p^{w}á'a hī-(y)ā'-u-raa
NARR-COMPL-leave what SUBR COND NARR-away-COMPL-leave
time

t^{y}i'itɨ̄ tɨ̄ hī-y-a'-u-vī'itɨ
something SUBR NARR-it-away-COMPL-carry
'She told them where she had gone, what she had observed, what it was like where she went, what the thing was that carried her off.'

One variant of non-finite embedded WH questions embeds a non-finite predicate to a higher non-finite predicate 'be'.

n^{y}á-h-m^{w}a'a-ree a'ih tɨ̄ hēen^{y}e-'en hī-rá-'ah-taawa
I-UNSPEC-know-make what SUBR be-PRTC NARR-DISTR-along-make
OBJ SG slope
'I know what it is like to build a house.'

mu-'urī r-áa-m^{w}a'a-ree-ri-'i a'ih
they-now DISTR:SG-COMPL-know-CAUS(?)-APPLIC-STAT what

mā hēen^{y}a-'aka t^{y}u'-u-t^{y}á-vaɨre'e-sin
they:SUBR be-SIMUL DISTR-COMPL-PERF(?)-serve-DUR
'Now they knew in what capacity they would be serving.'

In a kind of modal embedded WH question, the embedded WH word is preceded by the particle **če'e** 'exhortative', which gives the sense of 'ever' to the complement clause.

se-t^{y}i-h-čū'eva-'a čā'a a'acāh n^y-ih
you:PL-DISTR-UNSPEC-wait-PRTC EXHRT when I-SEQ
OBJ

yū-'a-kā-n^{y}eh-sime-'en
back-outside-down-pass-DUR-PRTC
here by
'Wait, you all, until whichever hour it be
that I get back.'

The tendency for WH embedded questions to occur in postverbal position is very strong. Thus far I have found none in preverbal position.

ka-mū ra-šâa-ta a'ih tɨ êen kɨme'e
NEG-they DISTR:SG-say-make what SUBR be with
'They weren't saying why.'

ka-tū=ra-m^{w}a'a-ree a'ih tɨ ā
NEG-we=DISTR:SG-know-make what SUBR there

t^{y}ā-ha-uu-mā-'a hā'a-me
DISTR-away-inside-go-PRTC be:located-go
horizontally
'We do not know what will be happening in the future.'

tɨ'ɨh=tā-'i we'-i-wa-tā-'iša a'ih tɨ
CNJ=and-SEQ them-NARR-COMPL-PERF-explain what SUBR

t^{y}i'itɨh hū'-u-ruu ha'u tɨ w-ī-(y)ā'-u-t^{y}au
something NARR-COMPL-do where SUBR them-NARR-away-COMPL-find

ɨ ru-vauhsi-m^{w}a'a
ART REFL-elders-PL
'And then he told what he had done and where he had
found his parents.'

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

The neutral position of relative clauses is in post-verbal position, just like it is for other nominal elements (cf. **BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE**). In addition, relative clauses typically follow their head noun phrase. As the following example shows, the head noun phrase may consist of the sequence DEM + ART + N.

harā́'apʷa'a	**nú'u**	**ahtā́**	**hu'-u-hɨ**	**ā́ɨhná**	**ɨ**	**ha'atɨ**
morning	QUOT	CNJ	NARR-COMPL-awaken	DEM	ART	person

tɨ	**hi'i-h-waste-'e**	**ɨ**	**wiinʸi**
SUBR	NARR-UNSPEC-plant-APPLIC OBJ	ART	sugar cane

'The next morning that man who plants sugar cane woke up.'

Normally, the subordinating particle is the initial member of a relative clause. However, the direct object of a relative clause verb, or the complement of that verb, may become preposed to both the verb and the subordinating particle. Such preposed elements are still constituents of the relative clause. This is shown by the fact that when an overt direct object of a relative clause verb is preposed to both the relative clause main verb and to the subordinating particle, the main verb is not marked with any form of an object prefix. (Cf. **SYNTACTIC MARKING**, Pronominal.)

ayāa	**pu'u**	**nú'u**	**tʸu'-u-mʷá'a**	**ā́ɨhna**	**ɨ**
thus	SUBJ:PS	QUOT	DISTR-COMPL-know	DEM	ART

ha'atɨ	**ɨ**	**wiinʸi**	**tɨ**	**waste-'e**
someone	ART	sugar cane	SUBR	plant-APPLIC

'And thus it was that the man who plants sugar cane made up a plan.'

Relative clauses may precede the head noun. In some cases the head noun seems to function as an appositive phrase.

ā́ɨ	**pú**	**nʸâ'u**	**pʷ-êenʸa-'a**	**ā́a**	**tɨ**
DEM	SUBJ	AFF	ASSR-be-PRTC	there	SUBR

e-'i-tʸā́-vaa-ka'a	**ɨ**	**vastakɨra'i**
away-trajectory-in-stand-PAST middle DUR	ART	old man

'That is him--that old man who was back there.'

ayāa	**na'a**	**īhii**	**seh**	**t^{y}ī-hī'i-še'eve'e**	**ɨ**	**siiku'u-ri**
thus	be	now	you:SUBR all	DISTR-NARR-want	ART	shirt-ABS

'This is how it now shall be as regards the shirt which you all want.'

t^{y}-ahtā	**cicarũn**	**ha-'a-tā́awa**	**t^{y}eh**
we-CNJ	chitlings	there-outside-make	we:SUBR

t^{y}ɨ-t^{y}-é-'i-ku'ura	**meh**	**t^{y}a-rũuri-hmee**
DISTR-up-inside-trajectory-kill	they SUBR	in -be-COLL middle wet

ɨ	**tuiišu**
ART	pigs

'And we also made chitlings out of those fat pigs that we killed.'

Like nominals in general, relative clauses can be topicalized and thus be preposed to the main verb of the sentence.

ħaisɨ	**čé'e**	**ã́ɨhnã́**	**ɨ**	**tɨ**	**hi'i=tawah**	**hu'-u-ye'i-ve**
let's see	EXHRT	DEM	ART	SUBR	NARR=drunk	NARR-COMPL-walk-HAB

tɨ	**hí-(y)a'-u-tā́iča-ħra'a-n^{y}i**
SUBR	NARR-away-COMPL-run-leave-FUT

'Well, let's see. Let that one who is drunk go off to run her down.'

pẽh	**(y)ã́'-u-wau-n^{y}e-n**	**papu'u-rí**	**rá-a-t^{y}au**
you SUBR	away-COMPL-ask-pass-PRTC for by	you-now PS	DISTR:SG-COMPL-find

'You have now found that which you came looking for.'

The distinction in Cora between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses apparently is not marked overtly. Non-restrictive clauses specify some kind of redundant and non-essential information related to participants or objects named by the head noun:

ka-pṹ	**hī'i-we'ici=na'a**	**ã́ɨme-h**	**nṹ**	**hṹ'-u-maara-ka'a**
NEG-SUBJ	NARR-lie=be	DEM-ACC	I	NARR-COMPL-dream-PAST PERF

ɨ	**šu'um^{w}avi'ika**	**ah**	**mã**	**hu'-uh-šṹ'um^{w}a-ri**	**semana**
ART	Judíos	there	they SUBR	NARR-REFL-black-STAT CAUS	week

santa	**hecé**
holy	on

'It's no lie that I dreamed about those Judíos that blacken themselves there by the river at Holy Week.'

nʸí yéewí sê-h-yaana-ku āɨhna ɨ́ yana
Q QUOT you-UNSPEC-smoke-DESID DEM ART tobacco
PL OBJ PL

sāh wí ra-še'eve'e
you:PL QUOT DISTR:SG-want
'Do you all feel like smoking that tobacco that you wanted to obtain?'

Demonstratives relate in various ways to relative clauses. They can either occur as a constituent within the head noun phrase or they can serve in place of a head noun. In addition, they may be preposed to various elements in the sentence, resulting in a discontinuous construction.

aímeh nu'u wí tʸí-hí'i-kʷa'i-tʸ-e meh
DEM:ACC I:PS QUOT DISTR-NARR-eat-make-APPLIC they
PL SUBR

nʸa=hamʷān tʸi-hí'i-yestʸe
me=with DISTR-NARR-make
fiesta
'I just provide meals for those who participate in the fiesta with me.'

The main verb between the presumptive demonstrative and the relative clause may be deleted if the identity of the subject of the relative clause verb is in focus.

me-tʸí'i-nʸe'e-va-ka nʸā'u hêiwa pero aɨ́ mu'u
they-DISTR-dance-HAB-HAB AFF lots CNJ DEM they:PS

kū meh tʸ-a-'u-ta-šâayaka-hmee
EV they:SUBR up-away-horizontally-across-mask-COLL
'They really dance a lot, but it's only those who have masks over their faces.'

The definite article that usually precedes the head noun is normally absent from a discontinuous construction with a presumptive demonstrative.

ăɨh mű wí r-űu-tuí-íra-n tɨ́
DEM they QUOT DISTR-horizontally-leave-APPLIC-PRTC SUBR
SG

kɨ́len tɨ́ kăi čé'e ca'a-ka pá'arɨ'ɨ tɨ kăi
little SUBR IRR CONT suck-HAB child SUBR IRR

tʸí=ya'u-pʷa
UNSPEC=father-HON
OBJ
'That is what they will go deliver up to him, a little one who no longer nurses, a child who does not have a father.'

The definite article does occur sometimes, however.

ahtá	**aɨ**	**hí-ra-a-ta-vén**	**ɨ**	**tɨ**	**tawah**
CNJ	DEM	NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-follow	ART	SUBR	drunk

'And then that drunk followed after her.'

Constructions also occur with a presumptive demonstrative pre-verbally and a relative clause with a head noun phrase of the form DEM + ART + N in focus position post-verbally.

peru	**aɨ**	**pú**	**pɨ-hu'-u-rɨh**	**áɨhna**	**ɨ**	**ta-ha'a**
CNJ	DEM	SUBJ	ASSR-NARR-COMPL-do	DEM	ART	our-older brother

ɨ	**šu'ura'ave**	**tɨ**	**vé'e**
ART	star	SUBR	big

'But he was the one who failed, that older brother of ours, the big star.'

In other discontinuous constructions, a non-pronominal head noun occurs in pre-verbal position while the relative clause occurs post-verbally.

n^{y}e-t^{y}ī-hi'i-kāa	**nū**	**n^{y}-ī**	**n^{y}a-tɨ'ɨh**	**ɨ**	**kɨyé**
I-DISTR-NARR-cut wood	I	I-SEQ	I-when	ART	pole

a-i-t^{y}-āa-tu'a	**tɨ**	**kā-kun^{y}e-'ere-'e**
outside-trajectory-up-COMPL-hit	SUBR	down-be-make-APPLIC hollow

'I was making firewood when I chopped that rotten log.'

Direct Relatives

The basic marking of direct relatives is the same whether it is the subject or direct object of the relative clause that is co-referential to the head. Direct relatives, whether finite or non-finite, are marked by an introducer element which is the same particle series used for subordinating numerous kinds of clauses. This is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the relative clause. The verb of a relative clause agrees with its direct object in the usual way, by means of either the appropriate form of the direct object prefix or by the distributive prefix.

ru-yāuh	**pú**	**yéewī**	**n^{y}a-tuiire-'e**	**áihná**	**tɨ**
REFL-child	SUBJ	QUOT	me-present-APPLIC	DEM	SUBR

yéewī	**yé=če**
QUOT	here=live

'That fellow who lives here is giving his daughter to me.'

ka-pû ha'atɨ mã'a pɨ a'-u-ta-rɨh ɨ
NEG-SUBJ someone there ASSR away-COMPL-PERF-do ART
PS

tɨ hī'i-k^{w}a
SUBR NARR-eat
'No one anywhere would take care of the person who
was hungry.'

hẽekan pũ yéewī tá-m^{w}a'a-ree ɨ t^{y}i'itɨ n^{y}eh
lots SUBJ QUOT PERF-know-(?) ART thing I:SUBR

yẽewi ra-t^{y}ã-tɨ-n^{y}e-n
QUOT DISTR:SG-in-carry-come-PRTC
middle
'That thing which I go around carrying on my shoulder
is exceedingly perceptive.'

Direct relatives cover the full range from near nominal-like structures to near fully sentential structures. At the nominal end of the spectrum, the relative clause predicate may consist of a full nominal.

hawīi a'ih cãa ku-'i-wa dios pãh ta-ya'u-p^{w}a
INTR what later EV-STAT-PASS God you:SUBR our-father-HON

pãh ta-hã'a-ci pãh ta-nãana
you:SUBR our-older-HON you:SUBR our-mother
brother
'Well, thus it stands, God, you who are our father,
you who are our older brother, you who are our mother.'

Here are other examples of relative clauses with nominal predicates:

tɨ'ɨh nu'u kī ru-'u-k-ãa-čeh-t-e
CNJ QUOT SEQ DISTR:SG-inside-down-COMPL-cover-make-APPLIC

ãɨhna ɨ tɨ vásta'a
DEM ART SUBR elder
'And then he put it on the older one.'

haisɨ tɨ p^{w}a'a yêe pa-kái wa'a-n^{y}a-'a ɨ
let's SUBR COND QUOT you-IRR them-dance-PRTC ART
see

mah kãi m^{w}aarih-se
they:SUBR IRR turtle-PL
'Well, let's see now if you can't dance (like)
those who are not turtles.'

ma-tɨ'ɨh nũ'u m-ī m-ãɨhnã hu'-u-t^{y}á-h-kɨ'ɨ-kɨ
they-CNJ QUOT they-SEQ they-DEM NARR-COMPL-in-(?)-chew-RDP
middle

pā'arɨ'ɨ tɨ̄ k^{w}a'ačīra'a tɨ̄ kāi šɨ māa vasta'a
child SUBR tender SUBR IRR IMPOT more be grown
'And then they devoured that little kid who hadn't yet grown big.'

One type of near-nominal relative clause consists of a possessed human noun in which the prefix **i-** 'be' occurs between the possessor prefix and the noun stem. This prefix and the subordinating particle together signal a relative clause which contrasts with a simple possessed noun phrase of the form ART + N.

ɨ̄ ta-vauhsi-m^{w}a'a
ART our-elders-PL
'our parents'

ɨ̄ mah tā-'i-vauhsi-m^{w}a'a
ART they:SUBR our-be-elders-PL
'they who are our parents'

ɨ pāh tā-'i-vasta-ra-'a
ART you:SUBR our-be-elder-make-PRTC
'you who are our elder'

The narrative mode **hī'i** occurs with the meaning 'be' to also make relative clauses that are basically nominal in form.

mu'u-rī nū'u hū'-uh-yein mah hī'i=vauhsi-m^{w}a'a-me'en
they-now QUOT NARR-REFL-cry they:SUBR NARR=elders-PL-NONREFL POSSR
'Now, those who are their parents are crying.'

At the sentential end of the spectrum, the predicate of a relative clause may be identical to a verb form that can be uttered as an independent sentence.

ha'u-kī ē'-e-ma-'a-kan mɨ t^{y}evi tɨ̄
where-INDF away-outside-go-PRTC-PRTC ART person SUBR

wa-mɨ̄'ɨ
COMPL-die
'Where might this person who died have come from?'

ka-nū hī'i-h-seih ɨ t^{y}i'itɨ n^{y}ah
NEG-I NARR-DISTR:SG-see ART thing I:SUBR

rā-a-maara-ka'a
DISTR:SG-COMPL-dream-PAST PERF
'I didn't actually see the thing that I dreamed about.'

Quotative particles, which may occur in either main or subordinate clauses, may also occur in relative clauses, as can the embedded form of the negative and strings of non-finite verbs.

ayã́a tɨ nṹ'u a'anã́h tʸṹ-hu'-u-rɨh-ka'a
thus SUBR QUOT once DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do-PAST
PERF

ta-váuhsi-mʷa'a mah nṹ'u hu'-u-sêihra-'a-ka'a
our-elders-PL they QUOT NARR-COMPL-see-PRTC-PAST
SUBR PERF
'...that which our ancestors who appeared on the scene did once upon a time.'

tɨ'ɨh nṹ'u kī r-a-'u-tʸ-ā́h-tuaa ɨ hā́h
CNJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-outside-EXT-up-along-leave ART water
SG slope

hapʷa anšɨvi-ka nṹ'u ɨ hakā́h tɨ ta'atʸī nu'u
on five-ACC QUOT ART bamboo SUBR young QUOT
'And then he placed five young bamboo stalks on the surface of the water.'

aī nʸã́'u ih-tā́ amɨhna tʸī-hī'i-še'eve'e tɨ kā́i nã́a
DEM AFF SEQ-CNJ DEM DISTR-NARR-want SUBR IRR nice

heen tɨ kā́i nã́a hé'enʸe-'en tʸī'i-tʸ-ée-ča-n
be SUBR IRR nice be-PRTC DISTR-up-COMPL-cover-PRTC
'How on earth is it that she loves that guy who isn't nice to look at, who doesn't dress up nicely?'

Accusative marking on nominals containing relative clauses is largely confined to the demonstrative of the head noun phrase. In some cases, the objective form of the demonstrative appears to be marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the main clause.

ā́ɨ-h nṹ nʸ-ī'i-h-namʷa nʸã́'u tʸi'itɨ tɨ
DEM-ACC I I-NARR-DISTR:SG-hear AFF something SUBR

hī'i-ša
NARR-say
'I understand that which he is saying.'

m-ahtā́ nṹ'u m-ā́ɨhnā́ hu'-u-sêih tɨ hā́
they-CNJ QUOT they-DEM NARR-COMPL-see SUBR there

hī-(y)e'-e-vḗ'e-me
NARR-away-outside-come-go
towards
'And then they saw the one who is coming along there.'

kɨh=kâh	**p^{w}a'am^{w}ā-ka**	**n^{y}ah**	**kāh**	**t^{y}ā-hāu'et^{y}e**
somewhat=a	amount-ACC	I:SUBR	a	DISTR-understand
bit	to		bit	

'I understand a little bit of what's being said.'

Oblique Relatives

With oblique relative clauses, the subordinating particle is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the relative clause, in just the same way as it is for direct relatives.

aɨ	**pū**	**wī**	**ra-še'eve'e**	**ɨ**	**mušah**	**ahtā**	**wī**	**m^{w}ātɨ'ɨsi**
DEM	SUBJ	QUOT	DISTR-want	ART	cotton	CNJ	QUOT	corn
			SG					gruel

ahtā	**wī**	**āɨhnā**	**ɨ**	**kucape'e**	**pah**	**cahta'a-n**	**wā'a-sāɨɨ-ra**
CNJ	QUOT	DEM	ART	gourd	you	inside-ABS	them-one-make
				bowl	SUBR		

p^{w}-ā'a-me
you-be-go
located

'He wants the cotton and the corn gruel and also that gourd inside of which you will be collecting (the honey).'

t^{y}apūusti'i	**pū**	**ā**	**t^{y}ā-ha'-u-t^{y}ā-'u-pu'u**
iron	SUBR	there	DISTR-away-inside-in-EXT-place
			middle

āɨhnā	**ɨ**	**papēh**	**t^{y}i'itɨ**	**lēeci**	**mah**	**cāhta'a-n**	**tu'a-ka**
DEM	ART	paper	thing	milk	they:SUBR	inside-ABS	put-HAB

'A machine was setting in place those paper cartons inside of which they pour milk.'

The postposition that indicates the semantic content of the particular oblique relationship of a relative clause is marked by a suffix **-n**. I analyze this suffix as an absolutive. The sequence postposition + **-n** is invariably preposed to the verb of the relative clause.

hu'-u-tā-uh-p^{w}a'a-ra-ka'a	**ɨ**	**čaanaka**	**t^{y}a**
NARR-COMPL-PERF-REFL-end-make-PAST	ART	world	we
PERF			SUBR

hap^{w}ā-*n*	***y-ēn***	**hī'i-vauh-se-'e**
on-ABS	here-on	NARR-big-attain-APPLIC
	top	

'The present world which we grow up on was destroyed.'

aɨ	**pū**	**hī-t^{y}a-'ah-tā-vi-vɨ-hmee**	**ɨ**	**tūmin**
DEM	SUBJ	NARR-DISTR-along-across-RDP-hand-COLL	ART	money
		slope		

tɨ câhta'a-n kā'a-tɨ-ma-'a-kaa
SUBR inside-ABS lay-CONN-COLL-PRTC-SIMUL
'Those things were hanging on the sides of each
one inside of which the money was piled up.'

The sequence postposition + -**n** normally immediately follows the subordinator. It may be separated from the subordinator by the quotative morpheme, however.

sũura-vi'i ɨ t^{y}i'itɨ mah nũ'u kɨn wã'a-haači
long-PRTC ART thing they:SUBR QUOT with them-milk
'The thing that they say they milk them with is long
and tubular.'

The head noun phrase of an oblique relative clause may precede an indefinite pronoun that occurs between it and the subordinator. The indefinite pronoun may be internal to the relative clause.

ayáa pu'u nũ'u šáa t^{y}ī-hī-ra'a-rá'a ɨ
thus SUBJ QUOT AFF DISTR-NARR-around-arrive ART
PS corner

šɨka a'anāh mẽ hecé-n k^{w}ɨ'ī-n^{y}i
day when they:SUBR on-ABS die-FUT
'And thus indeed the day arrived on which they would die.'

An appositive noun phrase may follow an oblique relative.

ahtā ân hu'-u-t^y-âh-raa āɨhnâ hecê tɨ
CNJ on NARR-inside-up-along-leave DEM in SUBR
top slope

hé'ita'a wīit^{y}uu āɨhna ɨ ware
in stand DEM ART olive
middle
'And then he climbed up that olive tree which was
planted there in the middle of things.'

Headless Relatives

Headless relative clauses either may be completely unmarked in the pre-subordinator position which is normally filled by the head noun phrase or they may have that pre-subordinator slot filled by some kind of demonstrative element. These demonstrative elements may be considered the head of their relative clauses. As the following examples show, headless relative clauses can function as either subjects or objects.

hāku'u tɨ t^{y}e-'en-t^{y}ī-pit^{y}īi-hmee áɨh mũ m-ī
bamboo SUBR DISTR-on-up-be-COLL DEM they they-SEQ
top pointed

t^y-e-'i-t^yā-'ɨ-tɨ-mā-'a	**māh**	**wauu-ka**
DISTR-away-trajectory-in-carry-CONN-COLL-PRTC	they	look-HAB
middle	SUBR	for

'Sharp-pointed bamboo spears, that is what those who were looking for him were carrying in their hands.'

tɨ'ɨh	**nū'u**	**hī**	**ra-'a-rā-sihča-ka'a**	**tɨ**
CNJ	QUOT	SEQ	DISTR-outside-facing-cut-PAST	SUBR
			SG away DUR(?)	

cāhta'a-n	**sa'ara-ka**
inside-ABS	urinate-HAB

'Then he lopped off the urinator which was on the inside.'

an	**pū**	**hī-ra-ta-wīit^{y}e-'eh-ye'i**	**tɨ**
on	SUBJ	NARR-DISTR-across-place-APPLIC-go	SUBR
top		SG inside along	

cāhta'a-n	**u-rā-m^{w}a-m^{w}āan^{y}i**	**hā'a-ye'i**	**lēeci**
inside-ABS	inside-facing-RDP-put	be -go	milk
	away flat	located along	

'It places up there on top those things inside of which milk is being put.'

Various demonstrative elements occur in the pre-subordinator position of headless relatives. This commonly turns out to be some form of the definite article.

ma-ra-'u-t^{y}ā-tai-ira	**ɨ**	**tɨ**	**hī'i**	**vasta'a**
they-DISTR-COMPL-in-burn-CAUS:APPLIC	ART	SUBR	NARR	big
SG middle(?)				

'They are going to burn the big one at the stake.'

peru	**tɨ**	**p^{w}ā'a**	**yēe**	**amɨn**	**ū**	**ha'-u-me-'en**	**mɨ**	**tɨ**
CNJ	SUBR	COND	QUOT	DEM	there	away-COMPL-go-PRTC	ART	SUBR

n^y-ī-'iwaara'a	**ma**	**tɨ**	**yēe**	**ha'-u-čā'a-kan**
my-be-relative	there	SUBR	QUOT	away-COMPL-walk-PRTC

'But, how would it be if my little sister over there were to go off with me?'

Demonstrative pronouns may also occur in pre-subordinator position.

ru-yāuh	**pū**	**yēewi**	**n^{y}a-tuiire-'e**	**āihnā**
REFL-child	SUBJ	QUOT	me-present-APPLIC	DEM

tɨ	**yēewi**	**yé=če**
SUBR	QUOT	here=live

'This guy who lives right here is giving his daughter to me.'

A demonstrative pronoun in pre-subordinator position may stand in cross-reference to the direct object of the verb in the relative clause. This cross-referencing is marked on the verb by the appropriate form of the direct object prefix or by some form of the distributive prefix. The cross-referencing shows that the demonstrative pronoun in pre-subordinator position is not syntactically a constituent of the relative clause in pre-verbal position; as the second example below shows, there is no overt direct object marking on the verb if an overt direct object nominal precedes it within a clause.

puh	**sāɨh**	**pū=nū'u**	**ahtā**	**wa-m^{w}ā'itɨ**	**āɨhna**	**māh**
well	another	SUBJ=QUOT	CNJ	COMPL-lose	DEM	they:SUBR

ra-a-tā-īit^y-a-ka'a
DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-send-APPLIC-PAST PERF

'Well, another one of those that they had sent also failed.'

n^{y}ī	**sa=kāi=šɨ**	**ha'atɨh**	**n^{y}ā'u**	**wa-tāih**
Q	you:PL=IRR=IMPOT	someone	AFF	COMPL-order

'Have you all not sent anyone yet?'

A headless relative clause with a demonstrative pronoun may precede an appositive noun phrase of the form ART + N.

ka-pū	**nū'u**	**a'acū**	**aɨhnā**	**tɨ**	**hī'i**	**vasta'a**	**ɨ**
NEG-SUBJ	QUOT	somewhat	DEM	SUBR	NARR	elder	ART

ta-ha'a
our-older brother

'That older brother of ours was not willing to give an inch.'

An adverbial demonstrative may also occur in pre-subordinator position. This adverbial demonstrative may or may not itself be preceded by the head noun phrase.

hūumpi	**nāa**	**kū**	**yēewi**	**t^{y}ī-ē'en**	**ī**	**siiku'u-ri**	**ān**	**tɨ**
man	really	EV	QUOT	DISTR-be	ART	shirt-ABS	on top	SUBR

yēewi	**hɨmɨ**	**t^{y}i-'i-vā-kāa-t^{y}e'e-t^y-e**
QUOT	far off	DISTR-facing-come-down-be-make-APPLIC toward long

'Man, those shirts hanging down from up there are really pretty.'

As with other kinds of relative clauses, the subordinating particle of a headless clause is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the main verb of that relative clause.

ka-šú wí á=tʸa-hu-ás-tʸ-a-wa-'an
NEG-you QUOT away=DISTR-inside-reach-make-APPLIC-REM-PRTC
PL

ɨ ru-če nʸáh tʸá-hámʷa-a-ta-
ART REFL-house I:SUBR DISTR-you:PL-COMPL-PERF-

píh-tʸe-'e-sin
carry-make-APPLIC-DUR
'Don't take that which I am going to give you all off to your house.'

True headless relative clauses, i.e. those that have no overt element in pre-subordinator position, seem to arise from several different sources. For one, since relative clauses function like any regular nominal, they can be topicalized and thus become subject to the rule that deletes definite articles from noun phrases that occur in pre-verbal position. Thus the absence of the article from the following relative clause does not necessarily mean that it is indefinite.

nʸah wí we'-i-wê-'inʸee aímeh nú
I:SUBR QUOT them-NARR-COMPL-invite DEM:ACC:PL I

tʸí-hí'i-mi-kʷa
DISTR-NARR-feed-eat
'Those who I invite are the very ones that I feed.'

Other examples show that the definite article may occur with only the first relative clause in a string of such clauses.

pu'u-rí 'i-ku ɨ pah kɨme'e-n
SUBJ-now be-EV ART you:SUBR with-ABS

na-'u-tá-mʷa'aree-ri-'i pah kɨme'e-n wa-tá'a
me-COMPL-PERF-know-APPLIC-STAT you:SUBR with-ABS COMPL-give

pah kɨme'e-n wa-tá-'ikʷa-ta-ka'a pah kɨme'e-n
you with-ABS COMPL-PERF-be-make-PAST you with-ABS
SUBR hungry PERF SUBR

wa-tá-kuhmɨh-ta-ka'a
COMPL-PERF-be-make-PAST
sleepy PERF
'Now there it is--that for which you desired me, that which you longed for, that for which you hungered, that for which you daydreamed.'

On the other hand, examples of fully headless relative clauses do correlate with indefiniteness.

āh nú'u t^{y}ī-hi'i-kâ-vi-vɨɨ tɨ sa'amúura
along QUOT DISTR-NARR-down-RDP-hang SUBR speckled
slope

tɨ šú'um^{w}a tɨ yú'uša
SUBR black SUBR striped
'Speckled ones, black ones, and striped ones were
hanging down from there.'

Headless relative clauses sometimes make use of indefinite pronouns such as **t^{y}i'itɨ(h)** 'something/anything' and **a'ih** 'what/whatever'. These indefinite pronouns seem to be external to the clause when they occur in pre-subordinator position.

ah pú 'ih aɨhnā hecê ā'-u-me ā'ih tɨ
CNJ SUBJ SEQ DEM on away-COMPL-go what SUBR

t^{y}ī-rá-'i-šaa ɨ yauh-ra'a-n ā'ih tɨ
DISTR-DISTR-facing-say ART son-NONREFL-ABS what SUBR
SG away POSSR

t^{y}ī-r-aa-tă-n^{y}uu-č-e ɨ
DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-respond-IMP-APPLIC ART

tɨ hemí-n y-a'-a-ráa-vi'itɨ
SUBR with-ABS it-away-outside-facing-carry
away
'And then she set out (to work) on that which her
son told her, on that which the one who he had
brought with himself had instructed her.'

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Locational Clauses

Where-clauses may occasionally be fully headless. Sometimes they are not even marked by a subordinating particle.

meentʸi	**nú'u**	**âɨn**	**ɨ**	**wáave'e**	**âa=há'a**	**víci'i-kɨ**
meanwhile	QUOT	DEM	ART	coyote	there=be located	grasshopper-PL

ê'-e-vi-vi'i	**ɨmɨ́**	**wa-pá'aca**
away-outside-RDP-catch	far off	EXT-be flat

'Meanwhile, that coyote was catching grasshoppers way off where it was flat.'

Locative adverbial clauses may also be marked by a postposition external to the locative clause and the general subordinating particle series. The postposition is marked with the absolutive suffix and may be discontinuous with the subordinate clause.

á	**pú**	**nú'u**	**hí**	**há'a-wa'a**	**hecé-n**
there	SUBJ	QUOT	SEQ	be-beyond located	at-ABS

a'-u-rá'a-raa	**tɨ́**	**nú'u**	**hêiwa**
away-COMPL-arrive-INCEPT PAST	SUBR	QUOT	much

tʸá-ha'-u-váa-tɨ-mee
DISTR-away-EXT-big-CONN-COLL
'He arrived at a place off there where there were a lot of trees standing.'

Frequently the indefinite pronoun **ha'u** 'where' is used along with the general subordinating particle series to introduce where-clauses. As with other kinds of clauses, the subordinating particle is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the subordinate clause.

ča'a	**wí**	**sáɨh**	**pu'u**	**tʸámʷa'a**	**čʸapʷari-hta-n**
EXHRT	QUOT	one	SUBJ:PS	well	footprint-make-PRTC

ha'u	**tʸa**	**a-uu-hū'u-n**
where	we SUBR	away-there-go:PL-PRTC horizontal

'Let there be only one set of tracks left there where we will be going along.'

m-ā́ū=nā'a	**hī-(y)a'-u-kā́-nʸā́a**	**ha'u**	**māh**
they-LOC=be BASE	NARR-away-inside-down-arrive	where	they SUBR

tʸī-hī-(y)e'-e-ye'estʸe
DISTR-NARR-away-outside-make fiesta

'That was the place they descended to, there where they were celebrating a fiesta.'

Adverbial relative clauses may have an overt nominal head that names either a particular person or a physical object.

m-ahtā́	**hē'eyan**	**hī-(y)a'-u-kɨh**	**ah-tʸapʷā́**
they-CNJ	next	NARR-away-COMPL-leave	along-upstream slope

hecē	**mēhči**	**tɨ**	**ku**	**a'-a-tā́-vee**	**huliā́ana'a**
at	mesquite	SUBR	EV	away-outside-up-be	PN

tɨ	**kū**	**e'-e-če**
SUBR	EV	away-outside-live

'And next they left for a place upriver where a mesquite tree stands, where Juliana lives.'

The head of a 'where' clause may also consist of a sentential locative particle and an overt nominal which immediately precedes the subordinating particle.

mé	**nʸa**	**kā́h**	**tʸe=yéewī=vēhri'i**	**če**	**m-ā́h**
right	I:SUBR	ACC(?)	us=QUOT=close	live	right-along there slope

šāpʷa'a	**tʸ-a'-u-tʸā́uu**
chachalate tree	SUBR-away-EXT-be found

'It's close to us where I live, right off there where a chachalate tree is in the slope.'

A locative adverb may also occur as the head of an adverbial relative clause.

tʸ-ahtā́	**hī-(y)ā́'-u-hū'u-n**	**ā́n-tʸī**	**tɨ**
we-CNJ	NARR-away-COMPL-go:PL-PRTC	on-uphill	SUBR

hī-(y)ē'-e-če	**ta-tā́ata**
NARR-away-outside-live	our-father

'And we will go on up there where our father lives.'

A complex locative phrase consisting of an adverbial demonstrative and the locative predicate **hā'a=wa'a** 'be:located=beyond' may also function as the head of an adverbial relative clause.

me-tʸī-tʸ-é-'i-ku'ura	**áuhna**	**hā'a=wa'a**
they-RDP-DISTR-away-trajectory-slaughter	there	be=beyond
		located

tɨ̄	**tʸī-hí'i-ye'este-n**
SUBR	DISTR-NARR-make-PRTC
	fiesta

'They are slaughtering animals over there where they are celebrating a fiesta.'

Adverbial demonstratives may occur in pre-verbal position, discontinuously from the adverbial relative clauses for which they function as the head. The subject of the adverbial relative clause may also precede the subordinating particle.

apenas	**mu**	**nú'u**	**cɨ'ɨ-kɨ̄**	**ān**	**a'-i-ré'e-nʸe**
scarcely	they	QUOT	dog-PL	on	away-facing-around-arrive
				top	toward corner

tʸetʸé	**tɨ̄**	**á-úu-mʷaa**
rock	SUBR	there-EXT-lay
		flat

'The dogs had just gotten up there where the rock lay.'

Indefinite adverbial relative clauses are introduced by a subordinator **tɨ̄h** 'as, like' followed by the verb **na'a** 'be'. These relative clauses have the sense of 'wherever'.

húumpi	**tɨ̄h**	**na'a**	**nú'u**	**ān=tʸā-ha'-u-tʸé-e-me-mee**
EXCLM	like	be	QUOT	on=DISTR-away-EXT-in-outside-go-COLL
				top middle

tʸetʸé	**hetʸe**	**w=ī-r-e-'i-rā-**
rock	beneath	there=NARR-DISTR-away-facing-facing-
		inside SG toward away

'ɨ-va-'a	**ɨ̄**	**tuukɨ-si**
carry-HAB-DUR	ART	shrimp-PL

'Man, wherever it was that he would poke his hand underneath a rock, from there he would pull out the shrimps!'

Temporal Clauses

As do other Uto-Aztecan languages, Cora distinguishes between sequential temporal adverbial clauses and simultaneous temporal clauses.

Sequential Temporal Clauses

Sequential temporal clauses describe an event whose realization precedes that of some event described by the main clause of the sentence. The introductions to such clauses can often be rendered by words such as 'having, after, once that, when'. Temporal clauses usually precede the main clause in a sentence.

ma-tɨ'ɨh nű'u m-ī
they-CNJ QUOT they-SEQ

t^yī-r-a-'ī-kãa-tu'i-šɨ'ɨ-n
DISTR-DISTR-outside-facing-down-carry-DISTR-PRTC
SG toward PAST

m-ī-r-aa-t^yā-šaa-pɨ-t^y-e
they-NARR-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-fit-rub-make-APPLIC
SG (?) PAST

āɨhna ɨ pa'arɨ'ɨ
DEM ART child
'And then, having gotten them down, they fit the child up with one of them.'

The verbs in sequential temporal clauses meaning 'having X' are marked by the participial suffix **-an/-n**.

ãh pű (y)a'-u-pɨrip^{w}a-šɨ'ɨ-n ahtā
then SUBJ away-COMPL-roll-PAST-PRTC CNJ
DISTR

u-t^ya-uh-šɨh-ta-ka'a
inside-in-REFL-finish-make-PAST
middle PERF
'Then, having rolled over on the floor, he took the shirt off.'

yãa mű u-ve'e-n^yé-n m-ahtā wa-tá-ku'uci
thus they inside-coming-arrive-PRTC they-CNJ COMPL-PERF-sleep
back
'And thus, having come back, they went to sleep.'

hī-r-a-'u-sá'a-ra-'an nű'u sēi
NARR-DISTR-outside-horizontally-urinate-make-PRTC QUOT one
SG

it^yēeri pű kɨn t^ya-'a-vã'ɨs-t^ye
week SUBJ with DISTR-outside-fill-make:APPLIC
PAST
'Urinating in it, he filled it in a week's time.'

The conjunction **tɨ'ɨh** 'when' marks both subordinate temporal clauses as well as main clauses. It may be glossed as either 'when' or 'after' and may occur together with the indefinite morpheme **-kī**. Subordinate clauses introduced by **tɨ'ɨh** typically precede the main clause.

tɨ'ɨh rá-a-mʷa'a-ree mʷ-aa-ta-vâhra
CNJ DISTR-COMPL-think-make you-COMPL-PERF-follow
SG
'When he learns about it he will follow you.'

tɨ'ɨ-kī wa-tʸa-uh-vāra-'astʸa-'a-šɨ'ɨ
CNJ-INDF COMPL-PERF-REFL-beat-reach-APPLIC-PAST

ū hī-(y)ā'-u-me
there NARR-away-COMPL-go
'And then he flapped his wings against his sides
and took off.'

A subordinate temporal clause may be introduced by a procomplement and a pausal form of the subject particle. The subordinate clause is simply juxtaposed to a following main clause.

ayáa pu'u ū m-ī (y)a'-u-vā'a-tɨɨ
thus SUBJ:PS there they-SEQ away-inside-coming-carry

m-ī-ra-a-tʸā-a-kʷa'a
they-NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-in-outside-eat
middle
'Thus it was that having gone and brought it back,
they were eating it.'

The quantifier **séih** 'one' can also subordinate a non-finite temporal clause juxtaposed to a following main clause.

séih pú ayān wa-rɨ́h pu'u-rī nū'u tɨ́n
once SUBJ thus COMPL-do SUBJ:PS-now QUOT almost

ma-ūu-nʸee-ri-'i
there-inside-light-make-STAT
horizontal
'Once that he had done so, he now could almost
see (again).'

Simultaneous Temporal Clauses

Some simultaneous clauses are merely juxtaposed to either a preceding or a following main clause. Those that are both juxtaposed to and follow the main clause tend to be non-finite.

ái tá'uh tʸ-ih-tá tʸī'i-tʸa-ku'ucu nʸéeri-ste-'e
DEM EXCLM we-be-CNJ DISTR-in -be day-make-APPLIC
middle asleep
'How in the world is it that we were asleep during the
day time?'

mã'a   a'-u-tʸavãa   ta-namʷa
there:PS away-COMPL-be across-hear
'He's off there somewhere listening.'

hī-râ-'a-va'a-kãi   pũ   hã
NARR-DISTR-outside-covering-be   SUBJ there
SG   seated

hī-(y)e'-i-tã-tai-n
NARR-away-face-straight-run-PRTC
to
face
'He was galloping toward him on horseback.'

a   mũ   hé'e=e'-i-kâh   wa-ta-pʷá'a-ri
there they be=away-facing-lay COMPL-PERF-break-CAUS
located toward   PASS

ha'u=māh   a'-u-tʸē-hi   ɨ   čumʷa'an
where=they away-COMPL-PERF-lay ART evening
SUBR   down
'The next morning when it got light, they would still
be lying there where they lay down to sleep the
night before.'

The verb in a juxtaposed simultaneous temporal clause is frequently marked for durative aspect. The relevant suffixes include **-a** PRTC, **-ka** 'simultaneous mode', and the past perfective suffix **-ka'a**.

mu'u-htã m-ãɨhnã mũ'u
they-CNJ they-DEM there
PS   PS

hī-(y)a'-a-vã'a-hamɨ-st-e   ɨ   tɨɨcika'i
NARR-away-outside-come-drown-make-APPLIC ART hummingbird

tɨ   pʷ-ēen kɨn mũ   ã'-u-me
SUBR ASSR-be with there away-COMPL-go

ã'-u-caawa-tʸ-a-'a   tɨkɨn hēekan pũ
away-REFL-believe-make-APPLIC-PRTC QUOT lots   SUBJ

u-rã-h-ka'anʸe
inside-facing-DISTR:SG-be
out   strong
'Off there somewhere they simply drowned that hummingbird
who, like this, went off believing that he was really
strong enough to outrun them.'

ayãa mũ   hēenʸa-'aka-'a hu'-u-ta-pʷã'a-ra-ka'a
thus they be-SIMUL-PRTC NARR-COMPL-PERF-end-make-PAST
PERF
'This is how they were when it got light.'

t^{y}í'i-k^{w}a'a-kâ	**ma-rá-a-t^{y}au**
DISTR-eat-SIMUL	they-DISTR:SG-COMPL-find

'They located him while he was eating.'

Simultaneous temporal clauses may be introduced by the general subordinator **tɨ**.

n^{y}í	**cá**	**sa-kái**	**ra-nam^{w}ah**	**tɨ**	**wí**	**t^{y}á-tɨ'ɨ́rahnah-má-'a**
Q	EMPH	you-IRR	DISTR-here	SUBR	QUOT	in-tremble-go-PRTC
		PL	SG			middle

'Did you all not hear it while the ground was trembling?'

The conjunction **tɨ'ɨ́h** also marks simultaneous temporal clauses. As with main clauses and sequential clauses, **tɨ'ɨ́h** is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the subordinate clause. The subordinate clause may either precede or follow the main clause.

mookí	**ka-pú**	**t^{y}í-n^{y}-ɨ́'i-kɨ'ɨ́-p^{w}a**	**pa-tɨ'ɨ́h**	**a'anáh**
only	NEG-SUBJ	DISTR-me-NARR-finish-end	you-CNJ	once
m^{w}áa	**wá-mɨ'ɨ́-n^{y}i**			
you	COMPL-die-FUT			

'Moreover, nothing is left over for me whenever you die off.'

ma-tɨ'ɨ́h	**nú'u**	**m-erí**	**hé'ita'a**	**u-hú'u-n**	**mu'u-rí**
they-CNJ	QUOT	they-now	halfway	inside-go-PRTC	they-now
				PL	PS
ra-tá-'as-i	**ha'u-tɨ́**	**a'-a-vá'a-nami-'i**			
DISTR-ahead-reach-STAT	where-SUBR	away-outside-come-be-STAT			
SG		enclosed			

'When they are now going along about halfway through,
they are already about to reach where she is hidden.'

Simultaneous subordinate clauses may also be marked by the sequence **tɨ p^{w}á'a** SUBR + COND. In this construction, the subordinate clause typically follows the main clause.

ma-tɨ'ɨ́h	**nú'u**	**m-í**	**ra-'an-t^{y}í-raii**	**tɨ**	**p^{w}á'a**	**nú'u**
they-then	QUOT	they-SEQ	DISTR-on-up-turn	SUBR	COND	QUOT
			SG top over			
m-án	**a'-a-ráa-t^{y}i**	**t^{y}áɨt^{y}e**				
they-on	away-outside-facing-be	people				
top	away sitting					

'And then, when they turned the rock over, there
were some people sitting there.'

The conjunction **asta** (Sp. **hasta** 'until') has been borrowed for use in subordinate clauses in Cora. In the following example, **kái** is a phonetic modification of the Spanish subordinator **que**.

wa-méh asta kái mú=he'-eh-n^{y}éh ah-t^{y}ap^{w}á-'ɨmɨ
COMPL-go until there=away-along-arrive along-upstream-far
slope slope
'He went until he passed by a point a long ways upstream.'

The adverbial **arī** 'now, already' occurs in second position with various subordinators in temporal clauses.

ka-nū nyāa t^{y}ī'i-ve'e-si-hra-mɨ'ɨ pā'arɨ'ɨ kɨme'e
NEG-I I DISTR-big-reach-make-DESID child with

tɨ p^{w}á'a arī wa-nu'iwa
SUBR COND now COMPL-born
'I don't want to raise her and the child after he is already born.'

The postposition **kɨme'e** 'with' also marks simultaneous subordinate clauses. It is marked with the absolutive suffix **-n**, occurs in sentence-initial position, and may be glossed as 'as soon as'.

kɨ̄me'e-n pu'u áɨhná wá-nam^{w}ah-r-i tɨ'ɨh
with-ABS SUBJ:PS DEM:ACC COMPL-hear-make-STAT CNJ

nú'u séi an-ta-cāana
QUOT one on-across-tear
top off
'As soon as he heard that, then he tore one off.'

The subordinating sequence **tɨh na'a** 'SUBR be' may also be glossed as 'as soon as'. In sentences with subordinate **tɨh na'a** clauses, the main clause may refer to an unrealized event.

tɨh na'a wī ahtá t^{y}a-tɨh t^{y}a-na'a wī t^{y}-ahtá
like be QUOT CNJ we-live we-be QUOT we-CNJ

t^{y}ā-ha'-a-rā-iiša hé'eyan šu'u wī
DISTR-away-outside-facing-arrive immediately you QUOT
away PL

s-ahtā t^{y}ī-t^{y}ā-há'-u-k^{w}i'i-tɨ̄-ra'a-n^{y}i
you-CNJ RDP-DISTR-away-COMPL-kill-CONN-leave-FUT
PL
'And just as soon as we get there, you all will immediately begin killing animals.'

The notion of simultaneity is also expressed by the sentential conjunction **meent^{y}i** 'while/meanwhile' (Sp. **mientras** 'meanwhile'). In narrative text, this conjunction serves as a pivot to change scenes or to introduce a new character.

méentʸī	**nú'u**	**ku-rá'a-nami'i**	**áɨhna**	**ɨ**	**yana**	**tɨh**
meanwhile	QUOT	around-back-be and enclosed forth	DEM	ART	tobacco	like

na'a	**nú'u**	**tʸu-hú'-u-še'eve'e**	**ayán**	**má=há'a=wa'a**
be	QUOT	DISTR-NARR-REFL-want	thus	they=be=beyond located

tʸī-(y)á'-a-was-tʸe-'e
DISTR-away-outside-be-make-APPLIC planted

'Meanwhile, off around there that crop of tobacco was all fenced in, just like it is necessary for them to plant it off yonder (on the coastal plain).'

If-Clauses

Rarely, conditional clauses may be marked by a form of the temporal conjunction **tɨ'ɨh.**

tɨ'ɨ-kɨ	**ɨ**	**ruīhmʷa'a**	**tɨ'ɨ-kɨ**	**áaruihmʷa'a**	**tahtúwan**
CNJ-(?)	ART	tomorrow	CNJ-(?)	following tomorrow	governor

mʷa-'i-wa-tá-'išaa	**tu'uh-tá**	**tʸ-eyán**
you-facing-COMPL-PERF-advise toward	we-CNJ PS	we-thus

tʸī-hī'i-h-še'eve'e	**para**	**huunʸiu**	**hece**	**méh**	**m-ih-tá**
DISTR-NARR-UNSPEC-want OBJ	by	June	around	they SUBR	they-SEQ-CNJ

hu'-u-tʸé-viiye	**nʸáa**	**nú**	**nʸá'u**	**wī**
NARR-COMPL-PERF-rain	I	I	AFF	QUOT

hī'i-h-mʷa'aree-ra-n
NARR-UNSPEC-know-APPLIC-PRTC OBJ

'Should the governor advise you in the future sometime that all we want is for it to rain sometime around June, I will indeed know about it.'

The most common marker of conditional clauses is the sequence **tɨ pʷa'a** SUBR + COND. Conditional clauses introduced by **tɨ pʷa'a** contrast with temporal clauses introduced by **tɨ pʷa'a** in that the conditional clauses typically precede the main clause of a sentence while the temporal clauses typically follow the main clause.

tɨ	**pʷa'a**	**rú'i-kan**	**se-tʸú'-u-kʷa'a-nʸi**	**amɨmeh**	**sú**
SUBR	COND	raw-PRTC	you-DISTR-COMPL-eat-FUT all	DEM ACC	you PL

nʸā'u ya'amʷā́a-tʸe hí'i-h-kʷi'i-tɨ-ra'a-sin
AFF animal-PL NARR-UNSPEC-kill-CONN-INCEPT-DUR
OBJ

tuíišu wā́aka-si káū́ra-si kā́nʸa'a-šɨ nā́ihmi'i-ka
pigs cow-PL goat-PL sheep-PL everything-ACC
'If you eat things raw, you will begin to kill all of those domesticated animals--pigs, cows, goats, sheep.'

Conditional clauses may also be marked by the particle **tʸí** 'dubitative'. Again the conditional clause usually precedes the main verb.

tʸi tʸi'itɨ me=hī-ra-'an-ta-yḗ'i
DUB something there=NARR-DISTR:SG-on-straight-walk
top

nʸ-ī'i-h-šana'ave-'e
I-NARR-UNSPEC-be-APPLIC
OBJ nauseous
'If some smelly animal comes walking around, I become nauseous from it.'

The introducer **na'arī** 'on the other hand, if' marks a sort of contrapositive conditional relationship in that the conditional clause refers to some hypothetical event which is set up in opposition to the event described by a preceding clause. The main verb of the conditional clause may be deleted, especially if the modal used in it is **kā́i** 'irrealis'.

na'arí wí yā́a nū́'u šā́a mā́-mʷe-'i-wā́-ta-še'eve'e
but QUOT thus I:PS AFF they-you-facing-COMPL-PERF-want
toward

māhna čuísetʸe āa pēh nʸā́'u ayā́n wā́'a=hamʷā́n
there Jesū́s there you AFF thus them=with
Marīa SUBR

tʸḗ-he-'e-sḗíra-'a pʷ-ā'a-me
DISTR-NARR-away-see-PRTC you-be-go
located
'But, on the other hand, I am instructing you to remain there with them if they really do want you there in Jesū́s Marīa.'

na-a-tā́-tuā́ yḗewī na'arí kā́i
me-COMPL-PERF-leave QUOT but IRR

nʸā́-mu-'u-rā́-čeci'ina yḗewi nʸ-ahtā́-wa'a y-u
I-you-inside-facing-kick QUOT I-CNJ-beyond here-inside
away

hecē séih kɨme'e ɨ n^{y}a-ɨɨka
at one with ART my-foot
'Let me go! But if not, I'm going to kick you in the
shins with my other foot.'

Simple conditional clauses contrast with contrafactual ones. Contrafactual sentences usually include the modal marker **kai** 'irrealis' in the conditional clause and may have tenseless participial markings on the main verbs of both clauses.

ahtá nú'u ahnâ tɨ p^{w}â'a kâi hĩ'i-m^{w}e'itɨ-ča-'a âɨhna ɨ
CNJ QUOT then SUBR COND IRR NARR-win-move-PRTC DEM ART

ta-ha'a t^{y}âm^{w}a'a pũ nú'u kɨ̃n
our-elder brother well SUBJ QUOT with

n^{y}e-t^{y}ĩ-ra-'a-vâ'a-n-hɨ̃'ɨka-'a
I-DISTR-DISTR:SG-outside-come-REFL-bind-PRTC
'And also, they say, that if at that time our elder
brother had not violated the commandment, I would
have been going around with that thing wrapped
around my beltline.'

A conditional clause may follow the result or reason clause.

náa pũ yéewi t^{y}ĩ-ê'en ĩ siiku'u-ri tɨ
really SUBJ QUOT DISTR-be ART shirt-ABS SUBR

p^{w}a'a yẽewĩ t^{y}e-t^{y}u'-u-tá-wauu-n^{y}i
COND QUOT we-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-ask-FUT
'Those shirts are really nice, if only
we were to ask for one.'

amɨ̃ pũ yẽewĩ ɨ waré šuure'e hĩ'i waatari tɨ yéewĩ
DEM SUBJ QUOT ART olive sap NARR medicine SUBR QUOT

hi-ra-'an-tá-šam^{w}e'i-pe-'e-n
NARR-DISTR:SG-on-across-leaf-remove-APPLIC-PRTC
top
'Well, that fig tree sap is good medicine, if one
plucks off a leaf (so it can run out).'

Other

Because-Clauses

Several distinct markings are used to signal subordinate clause relations such as 'because', 'since', and 'therefore'. Commonly, because-clauses are introduced by the question word **ha'in^{y}ĩ** 'how, since'.

m-ī'i-h-šana'ave-'e	**nū́'u**	**ha'inʸī**	**tʸā́mʷa'a**
they-NARR-DISTR:SG-become-APPLIC nauseous	QUOT	since	really

nū́'u	**tʸi'i-pétʸi**
QUOT	DISTR-smelly

'They were revolted by it since it really smelled awful.'

The morpheme **i** 'be' sometimes appears as a clitic on the subordinator **ha'anʸī**.

ka-mū́=hī-rā́-uh-ka'anʸe	**ha'inʸī='i**	**tʸāmʷa'a**
NEG-they=NARR-DISTR-REFL-be SG disposed	since=be	really

ā́	**tʸā́-ha-uu-kā́'a**	**va'a-tɨ**
there	DISTR-away-horizontally-lay	big-PRTC

'They weren't disposed to come close since it was really stretched out on the ground for a long ways.'

Because-clauses may also be marked by the preposition **kɨn** 'with' and a demonstrative pronoun which is its object. These two elements may occur in a discontinuous construction.

ma-tɨ'ɨh-ta	**nū́'u**	**m-ī**	**aɨhnā́**	**kɨn**
they-then-CNJ	QUOT	they-SEQ	DEM	with

hī-r-a-'u-tʸahwii	**ɨ**	**máh**
NARR-DISTR-outside-horizontally-begin SG	ART	they SUBR

a-r-a-vā́'a-tuaa-šɨ	**ɨ**	**tū́min**
away-DISTR:SG-outside-come-leave-DISTR PAST	ART	money

'Because of this, they began to throw the money over the fence.'

The subordinator **porqué** 'because' has been adopted from Spanish and thus provides an additional option for marking because-clauses.

ka-šū́	**s-ahtā́**	**tʸī'i-kʷa'a-ka**	**rū́'i-kan**	**siluu**	**kʷasí-kan**
NEG-you all	you-CNJ all	DISTR-eat-HAB	raw-PRTC	rather	cook-PRTC

šu'u	**tʸū́'-u-kʷa'a-nʸi**	**porque**	**tɨ**	**pʷa'a**	**rū́'i-kan**
you:PS all	DISTR-COMPL-eat-FUT	because	SUBR	COND	raw-PRTC

se-tʸū́'-u-kʷa'a-nʸi	**amɨmeh**	**su**	**nʸā́'u**
you:PL-DISTR-COMPL-eat-FUT	DEM:ACC	you:PL	AFF

ya'amʷā́a-tʸe	**hī'i-h-kʷi'i-tɨ-ra'a-sin**	**tuíišu**
animal-PL	NARR-UNSPEC-kill-CONN-INCEPT-DUR OBJ	pigs

wáaka-sí káúra-sí kánʸa'a-šɨ náihmi'i-ka
cow-PL goat-PL sheep-PL everything-ACC
'And don't you all eat them raw, but rather you will eat them cooked, because if you eat them raw, you will begin killing all kinds of domesticated animals like pigs and cows and goats and sheep.'

Spanish **como** 'since' has also been borrowed as a marking for because-clauses.

ka-nú šáa nʸá'u há=hamʷán yá=hu'-u-tá-ka
NEG-I AFF AFF you=with here=NARR-COMPL-PERF-be
kumu nʸ-erí nʸa-hɨme'e-n hí'i-če
since I-now I-apart-PRTC NARR-live
'Indeed, I really will not stay here with you since I now live apart, all by myself.'

Purpose Clauses

The general subordinating particle series can be used to mark purpose clauses. Clauses marked in this way typically can be translated as infinitival complements and 'for-to' complements in English. Some may also be glossed as 'in order to'.

mʷáre'e-ri nʸeh tʸú'-u-tɨ-nʸi
work-CAUS I:SUBR DISTR-COMPL-carry-FUT
'It's hard for me to bring a lot of things.'

ka-nú wá-ye'i-ve nʸáh má'a ta-mé-'en
NEG-I COMPL-walk-CAP I:SUBR there:PS straight-go-PRTC
'I am not able to travel anywhere.'

ahtá nú'u áɨn tʸí-ra-'an-tʸi-mʷá-reh áɨhna tɨ
CNJ QUOT DEM DISTR-DISTR-on-up-put-make:APPLIC DEM SUBR
SG top PAST

hí-r-á-'i-h-tɨ-či-iri-'i
NARR-DISTR-outside-trajectory-(?)-carry-move-APPLIC-STAT
SG

áɨhna ɨ rumʷa
DEM ART zapote
'And then he worked on him in order to extract that zapote fruit from his throat.'

Purpose clauses may also be marked by the combination of a general subordinating particle and a following particle **i**, which I gloss as either sequential or 'be', depending on the context. Both the general subordinator and the sequential particle are marked for subject-verb agreement.

yāa tū wī t^{y}i'i-má-'u-m^{w}a'aree pah wī āihná
thus we QUOT DISTR-you-COMPL-know you:SUBR QUOT DEM

t^{y}a-'an-ku-rā'a-n pah wī p-īh kāi čē'e
DISTR-on-around-arrive-PRTC you QUOT you-SEQ IRR CONT
top (?) SUBR

wāap^{w}a'a ā'ih t^{y}ī'i-šah-ta tɨ p^{w}ā'a wī t^{y}a=kāi
feel like what DISTR-say-make SUBR COND QUOT we=IRR SUBR

čē'e u-vē'e-n^{y}e-n ruīhm^{w}a'a āaruihm^{w}a'a
CONT inside-coming-arrive-PRTC tomorrow following tomorrow

'Thus we are showing you consideration so that you receive this, so that you will no longer feel like complaining in case we don't show up tomorrow or the day after.'

Negative purpose clauses are marked by a general subordinating particle, an optional sequential particle, and the embedded negative.

tɨ-'ih kāi ha'atɨ wā'a-seihra me-t^{y}a'-an-ta-kūuna-n
SUBR-SEQ IRR someone them-see they-DISTR-on-across-be-PRTC
top hollow

'So that no one could see them, they closed the door.'

Purpose clauses may also be formed on a postpositional base. The postposition **kɨn** usually has a demonstrative pronominal object and occurs in a discontinuous construction as a kind of presumptive oblique pronominal element.

tɨ'ɨh-tā nu'u hī aɨhnā kɨn mē
CNJ-and QUOT SEQ DEM with there

hī-(y)ā-ūu-ru-pi tɨ
NARR-away-inside-enter-PAST SUBR
horizontal

t^{y}ī-hi'i-wās-t^{y}a-'a-hraa tāka'i tɨh p^{w}a'am^{w}ā
DISTR-NARR-plant-make-APPLIC-PAST fruit SUBR amount to

yēn t^{y}ī-hī'i-seihre-'e t^{y}eh t^{y}ī'i-k^{w}a'a-ka
here DISTR-NARR-see-APPLIC we SUBR DISTR-eat-HAB

'And then, he went off somewhere in order to plant fruit or whatever appears around here of those things that we eat.'

The object of the postpositional base **kɨn** may consist of the verb **heen** 'be' and its subject complement clause.

ayãa	**nú**	**ẽen**	**kɨn**	**hãmʷa-a-tʸã'ɨ-ce-e**	**tʸeh**	**yẽewĩ**
thus	I	be	with	you-COMPL-bother-make-APPLIC	we	QUOT
				PL	SUBR	

tʸ-ãuh	**tʸ-ĩ**	**ra-tʸa-mʷãar-en**	**ãɨhnã**	**ɨ**	**we'ira'a**
we-LOC	we-SEQ	DISTR-PERF-visit-PRTC	DEM	ART	meat
BASE		SG			

tɨ	**kãi**	**hãm-a-'u-tã-čauu-c-e**
SUBR	IRR	you:PL-away-COMPL-PERF-sell-make-APPLIC

'It is for this reason that I bothered you all, that we ought to go visit the one who wouldn't sell you all the meat.'

The subordinator **ta'ah** also marks purpose clauses. It can be uniformly glossed by the expression 'so that', and it is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the subordinate clause. Clauses marked by **ta'ah** also typically follow the main clause of the sentence they occur in.

nʸe-če'e	**yẽewĩ**	**ĩnʸãa**	**kɨyê**	**wa-rã'a-wau-nʸi**	**tʸa-ta'ah**
I-EXHRT	QUOT	I	pole	EXT-around-look-FUT	we-so
				corner for	that

yêewĩ	**kɨn**	**ru-'u-tʸ-ɨci-ce-'en**
QUOT	with	DISTR-inside-up-lift-make-PRTC
		SG

'Let me go around looking for a pole with which we can prop it up.'

hĩ-(y)e'e	**hĩi**	**se-tʸũ'-u-ka'a**	**sa-ta'ah**	**wĩ**	**tʸãmʷa'a**
NARR-there	now	you-DISTR-COMPL-cut	you-so	QUOT	really
PS		PL wood	PL that		

tʸi-ra-'u-tʸã-tai-ira	**ɨ**	**tɨ**	**hĩ'i**	**vasta'a**
DISTR-DISTR-COMPL-in-burn-APPLIC	ART	SUBR	NARR	grown
SG middle				

'Come on and cut firewood, you all, so that you can burn the elder one into cinders.'

Several purpose clauses may occur in the same sentence.

mã	**tu'u**	**tʸ-ĩ**	**yẽewĩ**	**čãhta'a**	**a'-u-rã-nʸẽ-n**
there	we	we-SEQ	QUOT	town	away-EXT-down-arrive-PRTC
	PS				river

tʸa-ta'ah	**tʸu'-u-mʷa'arĩive-'en**	**tʸa-ta'ah**	**wã-pʷasaaruve-'en**
we-so	DISTR-COMPL-visit-PRTC	we-so	COMPL-wander-PRTC
that		that	around

'We just ought to go back downriver to town so that we can visit and walk around.'

Like-Clauses

The subordinator **tɨh** marks most subordinate clauses that are related semantically to main clauses by some notion of similarity. As with other subordinators, **tɨh** is marked for person and number agreement with the subject of the subordinate clause. Like-clauses usually follow a main clause.

ayáa nú wí hí'i-rɨkɨ sa-tɨh wí s-erí
thus I QUOT NARR-do you:PL-like QUOT you:PL-now
tʸí-ta-a-séih
DISTR-us-COMPL-see
'I am doing thus, just like you already saw us doing.'

Like-clauses frequently include a pair of verbs strung together. The first is always **na'a** and is marked for the subject of the entire clause; the second verb is always non-finite.

kɨme'e-n mu'u nú'u ān-nā (y)ā'-u-raii
with-ABS they QUOT on -PREV away-COMPL-toss
PS top REF
m-í-ra'a-tʸ-áa-šɨ'ɨ vēhri'i nú'u ma-tɨh
they-SEQ-around-up-arrive-DISTR close QUOT they-like
corner PAST
ma-na'a nú'u tʸí'i-h-rɨ'ɨre ɨ santaaru'u
they-be QUOT DISTR-DISTR-learn ART soldiers
SG
'They no sooner had tossed him into the fire than they all clustered really closely around it like soldiers do.'

Like-clauses are usually sentential in nature, as the previous examples illustrate. They may also tend toward the nominal end of the spectrum. The predicate of the following examples consists of a relative clause in one case and a simple noun in the other case.

ayáa pú nú'u hu'-u-rɨh tɨh nú'u ta'u tɨ
thus SUBJ QUOT NARR-COMPL-do like QUOT egg SUBR
a-uu-tá-caan-e
outside-EXT-straight-burst-APPLIC
'Thus he did just like an egg that is splattering.'

ayán rá-ruu-rá tɨh tʸevi
thus DISTR:SG-make-APPLIC like person
'He formed it just like a person.'

When the modal complex **če'e-tá** 'CONT + and' occurs in the main clause of a sentence that contains a like-clause, the meaning of the subordinate clause appears to be 'just as/in the same way as'.

ā́ɨhnā́ ɨ̄ n^{y}a-kump^{w}aa ayéh če'e-tā́=na'a n^{y}a-ruu-re-n
DEM ART my-compadre thus CONT-and=be I-do-APPLIC-PRTC

tɨh nā́-a-ruu
like me-COMPL-do
'I'm going to treat that compadre of mine just exactly like he treated me.'

Without-Clauses

Clauses that express the notion 'X does Y without Z' seem to always involve negation in one way or another. In the following example, the without-clause includes the embedded negative **kāi** 'irrealis' and precedes the main verb.

n^{y}ī kāi t^{y}i'i-tuāa-va-'a ā́'-u-me
Q IRR DISTR-find-CAP-DUR away-COMPL-go
'Did he go without taking any money along?'

Without-clauses may also utilize the main sentence negative **ka**. In this case the subordinate clause follows the main verb.

me-t^{y}ī-hī-(y)ā́'-a-nawa-'a ka-mū́
they-DISTR-NARR-away-outside(?)-steal-DUR NEG-they
PAST

a'ih ma-na'a t^{y}apū́usti'i tū́min kā́ana-ri tɨ̄h
what they-be rifles money clothing-ABS SUBR

p^{w}a'am^{w}ā ye-n t^{y}ī'i-seih-re-'e
be here-on DISTR-see-make-APPLIC
many top
'They were stealing anything without regarding what it was, rifles or money or clothing, whatever was in sight.'

Manner Clauses

One kind of manner subordinating clause consists of participial constructions which usually precede the main clause. They may be marked by **-kan**, **-vi'i**, or by **-ame**, **-en**, or **-n**.

ayā́a mū̂ nū́'u rū́uri-kan t^{y}ām^{w}a'a ā́n
thus they QUOT alive-PRTC really on
top

t^{y}ā-ha'-a-rā́-h-raii ā́ɨhna ɨ̄ t^{y}evi
DISTR-away-outside-facing-in-toss DEM ART person
away slope
'Thus they forcibly tossed that person alive into the fire.'

ka-mú nú'u ru-'ɨká-n m-ahtá
NEG-they QUOT REFL-foot-ABS they-CNJ

yú-'a-rá-iiša kumu nú'u
back-outside-facing-arrive since QUOT
here away

mé-t^{y}u'-u-yɨ'ɨtɨ n^{y}á'u
they-DISTR-COMPL-know AFF
how
'And they didn't get there on foot since they
really knew (how to travel in the air).'

náa mú nú'u šú'um^{w}a-vi'i-n t^{y}u'-u-čá-n
really they QUOT black-HAB-ABS DISTR-REFL-put-PRTC
'They were really nicely dressed in black.'

yáa pú yéewí t^{y}ú'-u-he-pe-'e tɨkɨn
thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-COMPL-speak-PRIV-APPLIC QUOT

va'upu'u tɨ tá-k^{w}a'endi-ra'a-n w-íh-mu'u
cocorocha SUBR up-be-SG-ABS inside-facing-head
crusty toward
'She bad-mouths us this way, saying, "That bald-headed cocorocha bird."'

Before-Clauses

The notion 'before' is conveyed through some of the basic temporal constructions of Cora.

tɨ p^{w}-arí hí-(y)á'-u-raa á
SUBR ASSR-now NARR-away-COMPL-leave there

hí-(y)a'-a-rá'a
NARR-away-outside-arrive
'He arrived there when (the other) had already gone.'
('The other one had already left before he got there.')

n^{y}e-t^{y}u'-u-k^{w}á'a nú yée ú n^{y}a-'a-rá-hraa
I-DISTR-COMPL-eat I QUOT there I-outside-facing-leave
away
'I ate just before I left from off there.'

TEXTS

Carl and the Fortune Teller

1. This is what happened to me once.
a'anāh tɨ ku ayān t^{y}ī-nā-a-ruu
once SUBR EV thus DISTR-me-COMPL-happen

2. They sent me off to get tortillas, (saying) "Go downtown and buy some tortillas so that we can have something to eat".
hām^{w}e'i mū t^{y}ī-n^{y}-u-'u-tā-ih āuh
tortillas they DISTR-me-horizontally-COMPL-PERF-send LOC
BASE

wī hām^{w}e'i t^{y}ē-he'-i-ra-wāu
QUOT tortillas DISTR-away-across -facing-request
trajectory out

t^{y}a-ta'ah wī t^{y}ū'-u-k^{w}a'a-n^{y}ī
we-so QUOT DISTR-COMPL-eat-FUT
that

3. That's all (they said).
yāa pu'u
thus SUBJ:PS

4. There I was walking along and a Mexican came up and approached me.
ā nū n^{y}-ī hī-(y)e'-e-t^{y}ē-ča'akan^{y}a-'a-ka
there I I-SEQ NARR-away-outside-in -walk-PRTC-SIMUL
middle along

ahtā n^{y}aap^{w}ēih ā-ve'e-rē'e-n^{y}e
CNJ Mexican outside-coming-around-pass
across corner by

5. They call that kind of person a fortune-teller.
hungaro hée t^{y}i'itɨ
gypsy they thing
say

6. Then that one said to me, "Let me look at your hand to see what kind of luck you have these days".
āɨ p-ī ayēn t^{y}ī'i-n^{y}e-hee n^{y}i-čē'e yēe
DEM ASSR-SEQ thus DISTR-me-call me-EXHRT QUOT
out

ra-a-séih **man** **a-mʷáhka'a-ce-'e**
DISTR:SG-COMPL-see right your-hand-ABS-on
there

tʸi'itá-kí **yēe** **pāh** **sʷeertʸi**
what-INDF QUOT you:SUBR luck

7. That's what she called out to me.
yāa pʷ-ī'ih tʸī'i-nʸe-hee
thus she-SEQ DISTR-me-call
out

8. Then she asked me for my woven bag, the one that belonged to those people, those who sent me on the errand.
yāa nʸa-ka'anʸí pʷ-í'ih nʸa-waviira-ka'a wā'a-ka'anʸi
thus my-woven she-SEQ me-request-PAST their-woven
bag PERF bag

āɨme meh **tʸī-na-a-tā-īh**
DEM SUBR:they DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-send

9. That's all (that happened).
yaa pu'u
thus SUBJ:PS

10. "No, thank you!"
kāa nú yēe
NEG I QUOT

11. That's what I said to that gypsy.
yāa nú nʸ-ī tʸī-ra-a-ta-hé
thus I I-SEQ DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say

nʸ-āɨhná nʸá'u ɨ́ hungaro
I-DEM AFF ART gypsy

12. That's all (I said).
yāa pu'u
thus SUBJ:PS

13. And then again she asked me, "Do you want me to divine how things are with your household, whether or not your children are sick, or the one you are married to, whether or not she is sick?"
tɨ'ɨh-tā īh-wa'a ayān tʸī-na-a-tá-iwa'uri-'i
CNJ-and SEQ-beyond thus DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-ask-APPLIC:PAST

nʸí yēe pé-h-še'eve'e nʸah rá-a-mʷa'aree
Q QUOT you-DISTR:SG-want I:SUBR DISTR:SG-COMPL-divine

a'ih	**mé**	**he'en**	**ā=a-če**	**tʸī**	**ma-kāi**
what	they:SUBR	be	there=your-house	DUB	they-IRR

tʸī'i-ku-kʷi'i	**a-yāuh-mʷa'a**	**pah**	**ra-tʸé-**
DISTR-RDP-sick	your-child-PL	you:SUBR	DISTR:SG-in-middle

vi'itɨ-n	**tʸī**	**kāi**	**tʸī'i-kʷi'i**
carry-PRTC	DUB	NEG	DISTR-sick

14. I, indeed, will divine that matter perfectly."

naa	**nū**	**yée**	**nʸāa**	**tʸī'i-h-mʷa'aree-ra-n**
really	I	QUOT	I	DISTR-DISTR:SG-divine-CAUS-PRTC

15. Then I said this to her, "No, not at all.

yāa	**nū**	**nʸ-ī**	**nʸāa**	**tʸī-ra-a-ta-hé**	**kāa**	**nū**	**yée**
thus	I	I-SEQ	I	DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say	NEG	I	QUOT

16. Like fun you know what's happening there!"

mū	**tā'uh**	**yée**	**pa-h-mʷā'aree**
there	like fun	QUOT	you-DISTR:SG-know

17. That's all I (said).

yāa	**nū**	**nʸ-i**
thus	I	I-SEQ

18. And then I said this to her, "And I also know what kind of good fortune lies here in my hand.

nʸa-tɨ'ɨh-tā	**nʸ-ī**	**nʸ-eyān**	**nʸāa**
I-CNJ-and	I-SEQ	I-thus	I

tʸī-ra-a-tā-'iša	**nʸ-ahtā**	**yée**	**nʸāa**
DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell	I-CNJ	QUOT	I

hī'i-h-mʷa'aree	**tʸi'itɨ**	**nʸeh**	**yée**	**hī'i-h-sʷeertʸi**
NARR-DISTR:SG-know	thing	I:SUBR	QUOT	NARR-DISTR:SG-luck

y-en	**nʸa-mʷāhka'a-ce-'e**
here-on top	my-hand-ABS-on

19. That is what kind of luck I have--that I go to work, that I prepare a corn patch, that I get a job off yonder there and make money".

āɨh	**nū**	**yée**	**hī'i-h-sʷeertʸi**	**īnʸaa**	**nʸeh**
DEM:ACC	I	QUOT	NARR-DISTR:SG-luck	I	I:SUBR

tʸu'-u-mʷāre'e-n nʸa wá-n-vi'ire'e-n mē'e
DISTR-COMPL-work-PRTC I:SUBR COMPL-REFL-prepare-PRTC there
patch PS

nʸe tʸe'-en-tʸi-mʷāre'e-n tumin nʸa-'an-tʸi-mʷē'itɨ-n
I:SUBR DISTR-on-up-work-PRTC money I-on-up-earn-PRTC
top top

20. That's what I told that fortune-teller.
yāa nū nʸ-ī tʸī-hi'i-h-ree īnʸaa nʸ-āɨhna
thus I I-SEQ DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-say I I-DEM

ɨ hungaro
ART gypsy

21. That's all (that transpired).
yāa pu'u
thus SUBJ:PS

22. And then she spoke up again like this, "But I know more about it (than you)!"
tɨ'ɨ-kī ayān tʸu'-u-ta-šāhta-ka'a pero māa
CNJ-INDF thus DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-PAST but more
PERF

nú wí nʸāa hi'i-tá-mʷa'aree
I QUOT I NARR-PERF-know

23. "Oh, really! I'm not at all so sure about that."
āaa aru ka-nú nʸā'u yēe īnʸaa
Oh! but NEG-I AFF QUOT I

24. That's all.
yāa pū
thus SUBJ

25. And then she told me, "I'll only charge you twenty-five pesos".
tɨ'ɨ-kī ayān tʸī-na-a-ta-hē veinte cinco
CNJ-INDF thus DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-say twenty five

pesos nú wī mʷa-a-hīhve'e
pesos I QUOT you-COMPL-charge

26. And then I (responded), "As for me, nothing doing!
āh nū nʸ-ī yee nʸāa kā-nū yēe
then I I-SEQ QUOT I NEG-I QUOT

27. I'm not going around here so that someone can be bugging me about things in this way."

ka-nū yēe nʸ-aɨhna kɨn ye ā'-u-ča'akan īnʸaa
NEG-I QUOT I-DEM with here away-COMPL-walk I
along

yēe ta'ah a'atɨ ayēn-en ye-'e-tʸī
QUOT so someone thus-PRTC away-outside-be
that

nʸe-hē'-īwa'ura
me-away-request

28. That's just what I told her, nothing more.
yāa nu'u nʸ-ī tʸī-ra-a-ta-hē
thus I:PS I-SEQ DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say

29. That's all.
yāa pu'u
thus SUBJ:PS

30. And then I got out of there.
nʸ-ahtā ū a'-a-rā-hraa
I-CNJ there away-outside-facing-leave:PAST
out

31. Later on, in the evening, I was telling all this to that guy with whom we were staying off there.
āa nū nʸ-ih-tā nʸ-ī čūmʷa'an nʸ-eyān
then I I-SEQ-and I-SEQ evening I-thus

tʸī-hī'i-r-išaa-tʸe-'e nʸ-āɨhnā tʸe
DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-explain-CAUS-APPLIC I-DEM we

hemī-n āa a-'uu-tʸi
accompanying-ABS there away-be-sit:PL

32. That's all.
yāa pu'u
thus SUBJ:PS

33. And then Gene said to me, "We probably should record that on tape.
āh pʷ-ī'i ayān tʸī-na-a-ta-hē āɨhna
then SUBJ-SEQ thus DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-say DEM

euheenʸiu tʸah grabaadu sēin wī
Gene we:SUBR recorded EV QUOT

34. I liked it!"
na-'a-rā-nahča-ka'a wī
me-outside-facing-meet-PAST QUOT
out PERF

35. That's all (he said).
yā́a pu'u
thus SUBJ:PS

36. "Well, go right ahead, then."
hā́awi ī́ye'e hī́ m^{y}á'u yḗe
INTR here SEQ AFF QUOT

37. That's all (there is to it).
yā́a pu'u
thus SUBJ:PS

38. This is all (I've got to say).
ā́i pu'u
DEM SUBJ:PS

My Feet are Small

1. That which, they say, our deceased forefathers did in the beginning.
mah nū́'u m-eyā́n hu-'u-rɨ́ ɨ́
they:SUBR QUOT they-thus NARR-COMPL-do ART

hahk^{w}a ta-vā́uhsi-m^{w}a'a t^{y}aaka
new our-elders-PL deceased

2. They assembled together when they realized that the Rains had not come anywhere around.
m-ī́'i-t^y-ū́h-sā́ɨ-ra-'a mū́ ma-tɨ'ɨ
they-NARR-up-REFL-one-CAUS-PRTC they they-when

m-ī́=t^{y}u'-u-m^{w}ā́'-a ɨ́ vī́it^{y}e mah
they-SEQ=DISTR-COMPL-know-PRTC ART rain they:SUBR

kā́i mḗ'e hī́-(y)ā́'a-wa'a-ka'a
IRR there:PS NARR-be-beyond-PAST
medial located PERF

3. Then they sent Snake to go call them from there in Teihmata'a.
ma-tɨ'ɨh m-ī́ kū́'uku'u wa-tā́-it^{y}a-ka'a tɨ́
they-then they-SEQ snake COMPL-PERF-send-PAST SUBR
PERF

wa'-u-tá-heev-e	**ú**	**t^{y}eihmata'a**
them-COMPL-PERF-speak-APPLIC	there distal	PN

4. They did not let him come back.

ka=mú=hí-ra-a-tá-'a
NEG=they=NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-permit

tu-'u-vé'e-n^{y}e-n
SUBR-inside-covering-come-PRTC

5. They killed him right away.

m-í-ra-a-ta-hé'ika
they-NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-kill

6. And once more they commanded a snake that he also should go.

m-ahtá-wa'a	**séih**	**wa-tá-it^{y}a-ka'a**
they-also-beyond	another	COMPL-PERF-send-PAST PERF

kú'uku'u	**tɨ**	**ahtá**	**wá-ye'i-ve**
snake	SUBR	also	COMPL-walk-HAB

7. And so he arrived there.

ahtá	**ú**	**a'-a-rá'a**
then	there distal	away-outside-arrive

8. He called out to them.

wa'-u-ta-hé
them-COMPL-PERF-speak

9. And they immediately killed him, too!

ka'anakan	**mú**	**m-ahtá**	**ra-a-ta-hé'ika**
quickly	they	they-also	DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-kill

10. And after that they thought about calling for that Toad.

ma-tɨ'ɨh-tá	**m-í**	**m-aɨhná**	**ɨ**	**t^{y}aaku**
they-then-afterwards	they-SEQ	they-that one	ART	toad

a-uu-tá-m^{w}a'aree-ri-'i
outside-horizontally-straight-know-CAUS-STAT

11. From off there he was returning in response to their call.

á	**e'-í-re'e-n^{y}á-a**	
off there	away-in trajectory	-around-come-PRTC corner

12. They went out a ways off there to meet with him.
ā mū ɨmɨ hī-(y)a-uu-náhča-ka'a
there they far NARR-outside-horizontally-meet-PAST
PERF

13. And then they spoke to him in the following way: "Go call on our Elders, the Rain Gods, so that they may shower upon us".
ma-tɨ'ɨh nū'u m-ī m-eyān
they-then QUOT they-SEQ they-thus

tʸī-ra-a-tá-'iša tɨkɨn āuh vīitʸe
DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell QUOT LOC (OPTV) rains

a'-u-ta-héev-a ta-váuhsi-mʷa'a ma-ta'a
away-COMPL-PERF-speak-PRTC our-elders-PL they-so that

yēe tá-'ipʷa-n
QUOT us-irrigate-PRTC

14. And then, they say, Toad spoke up in this way, "I'll not be doing anything of the sort.
tɨ'ɨh nū'u hī ayān tʸu'-u-ta-šáh-ta-ka'a
then QUOT SEQ thus DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-CAUS-PAST
PERF

ɨ tʸaaku ka=nū yēe ā'ih hī'i-rɨ-nʸi
ART toad NEG=I QUOT thing NARR-do-FUT

15. Look, I can't move very fast.
kāsi'i ka=nū wá-ye'i-ve
look NEG=I COMPL-walk-CAP

16. My feet are small.
kɨ̄le'en ɨ nʸa-ɨɨka
small ART my-foot

17. Not at all."
ka=pū
NEG=SUBJ

18. "On the contrary. It's already been decided on.
pu'u-rī pɨ̄ tʸi'i-wá-uh-ša'apɨ'ɨn-ta-re
SUBJ:PS-now ASSR DISTR-COMPL-REFL-good-CAUS-CAUS:PASS

19. You will be going there."
ú pá-há'-u-má-'ah-pʷ-ā'a-me
there you-away-horizontally-go-PRTC-you-be:LOC-FUT

20. She vigorously besought them to let her off from going there.
m^{w}íh pú nú'u ra-a-tá-wau meh
lots SUBJ QUOT DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-ask they:SUBR

t^{y}í-ra-a-tá-uun^{y}i-'i tɨ̄ kái
DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-pardon-STAT SUBR IRR

ū́=ā́'-u-ye'i-kan
there=away-COMPL-walk-PRTC

21. She didn't want to go.
ka=pū́ ā́'-u-ye'i-mɨ́ɨ-ka
NEG=SUBJ away-COMPL-walk-DESID-SIMUL

22. They barely managed to convince her.
ma-ra-a-t^{y}ā́-m^{w}e'itɨ šā́'iču'i
they-DISTR:SG-COMPL-middle-prevail barely

23. And so she went there.
tɨ'ɨh nū́'u hī ū́ ā́'-u-me
then QUOT SEQ there away-COMPL-go

24. She went off to an area in back of the hill.
ā́h-ka'i ā́-ū́u-rupi
slope:outside-over:hill outside-horizontally-enter:PAST

25. She went off hopping bit by bit.
kāh t^{y}i'i-h-cū́na-'ača-'a
little DISTR-slope-jump-run-PRTC

26. She arrived back off there at her house.
ū́ a'-u-rē'e-n^{y}ā́ ru-čḗ
there away-inside-around:corner-arrive REFL-house

27. And then she called her six sons together.
tɨ'ɨ-kí ru-yā́uh-m^{w}a'a wa-ta-hḗ arā́sevī́-ka
then-INDF REFL-son-PL COMPL-PERF-call six-ACC

28. "Let's go! My elders have sent me off to do a job."
tɨkɨn če'erḗ me-t^{y}ī-na-a-tá-ih
QUOT EXHRT:go they-DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-send

ɨ̄ n^{y}a-vauhsi-m^{w}a'a
ART my-elders-PL

29. She explained to them how they would be strung out back over the hill close by where the long ridge lay stretched out.
we'-išā́a-t^{y}a-'a a'ih mḗh m-ī
then-tell-CAUS-PRTC thing they:SUBR they-SEQ

mū́=t^{y}ī=t^{y}a-ha'-u-hū́'u m^w-ā́'a-hu'u-n
there=be=DISTR-away-COMPL-go:PL they-be-go:PL-PRTC
seated located

āh-ka'i tɨ́ nū́'u vehri'i
slope:across-over:hill SUBR QUOT close

a'-u-t^{y}a-kā́'a ɨ vi'iyeci
away-EXT-middle-lay ART ridge

30. She stationed one of her sons up there on top.
ā́n pu sḗi a'-u-tā́-ra ɨ́ ru-yauh
top SUBJ one away-COMPL-PERF-put ART REFL-son

31. She dug out a hole for him at the foot of the rock.
ra-'an-t^{y}e-īča-'a=hrā́'a ɨ t^{y}et^{y}e het^{y}e
DISTR:SG-top-middle-dig-PRTC=ASP ART rock under

32. "You will give a shout from right up here."
y-ḗn peh yḗe wa-hīhwa m^{w}aa
here-top you:SUBR QUOT COMPL-yell you

33. That is what she told him to do.
yāa pú nū́'u hī t^{y}ī-ra-a-ta-hḗ
thus SUBJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say

34. And so she went on.
ahtá mú hī-(y)ā́'-u-me
then there NARR-away-COMPL-go

35. And afterwards, coming back this way from the top of the hill, she situated another one on the ridge.
tɨ'ɨh=tá nū́'u hī ā́n-kā́'iwa yée séi
then=and QUOT SEQ top-over:hill here one

a'-u-tá-ra ɨ ví'iyeci hece
away-COMPL-PERF-put ART ridge on

36. And she told him the very same thing.
ayée ča'a=tā́ t^{y}ī-ra-a-tá-'iša
thus CONT=and DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell

37. "Thus you should give out a shout just when they come around the backside from over there on top."
ayḗn peh yee wa-hīhwa tɨ p^{w}á'a m-erī
thus you:SUBR QUOT COMPL-yell SUBR COND they-now

e'-i-rḗ'e-n^{y}e-n ā́n-tavan
away-trajectory-around:corner-come-PRTC top-across

38. Once again, she set out on her way over there.
ahtā-wa'a mū hī-(y)a'-u-má-'a
then-beyond there NARR-away-COMPL-go-PRTC

39. And again she situated another one, off this way
coming over the top of the hill.
ahtā-wa'a ân-ka'i yêe sêi a'-u-tā-ra
then-beyond top-over:hill here one away-COMPL-PERF-put

40. And she gave him the same instructions that
she had given the others.
ayēh ča'a-tā-na'a t^{y}ī-ra-a-tā-'iša
thus CONT-and-be DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell

41. She finished getting them situated along the hill-tops.
wa'-i-wa-t^{y}āa-kɨ̄'ɨ
them-NARR-COMPL-sit-finish

42. She arrived there all by herself.
ū=hī-(y)a'-a-rá'a ru-sāɨ
there=NARR-away-outside-arrive REFL-one

43. She came approaching, they say, while they were
dancing there inside the house.
hu'-u-má-'a nū'u tɨ p^{w}á'a nū'u
NARR-EXT-go-PRTC QUOT SUBR COND QUOT

me-t^{y}ī-hī-rū-'u-n^{y}e'e ū či'i-ta
they-DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-dance inside house-in

44. They were inside there shouting.
m-ī-rū-'u-hih^{w}a
they-NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-yell

45. They were in there dancing--the dancers, the
acrobats, the horsemen, the old masked man.
me-t^{y}ī-rū-'u-n^{y}e'e lanzáanti maruméeru
they-DISTR-DISTR:SG-inside-dance dancers acrobats

mūuru'u-se šāayaka
horseman-PL pussy

46. They were in there yelling.
m-ī-ru-'u-hihwa
they-NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-yell

47. And then she rapped on the door.
tɨ'ɨh nu'u hī t^{y}e-'e-h-t^{y}á-tu'asi-šɨ
then QUOT SEQ DISTR-outside-slope-middle-hit-PAST

48. "Open the door, you people! "
ša-'an-tā-uh-kuuna **yee**
you:PL-top-across-REFL-open QUOT

49. And then they opened the door.
ah pū́ nū́'u hī́ me-t^{y}**a-'an-ta-kū́**
then SUBJ QUOT SEQ they-DISTR-top-across-open

50. "Look around to see where he is, you guys!"
šā́-iše'e-re'-e **ha'un**^{y}**ī ā́'ih hḗen**
you:PL-appear-CAUS-APPLIC where INDF be

51. There was nothing anywhere around there.
ka-pū́ mḗ'e hḗ'e t^{y}**i'itɨ**
NEG-SUBJ there:PS be:LOC thing

52. But as for her, she was sitting there right beneath the door.
ā́ɨn ahtā́ nū́'u p^{w}**ḗerta het**^{y}**e ha'-a-r-ā̂h-ka**
DEM and QUOT door beneath away-outside-facing-slope-sit
away

53. She had dug a hole in the ground.
ra-'a-t^{y}**ē-iča-'a-hrā́'a**
DISTR:SG-outside-middle-dig-PRTC-INCEPT

54. Little by little she would stick her hand up out from the hole.
kɨ̂h pū́=i kā̂h an
little SUBJ=SEQ bit top

t^{y}**ē-he'-i-h-mḗ'ika'a-va'ara-'a**
DISTR-away-trajectory-slope-hand(?)-follow-PRTC

55. She would rap on the door.
ra-'a-h-t^{y}**ā́-a-tu'aš-a** **ɨ̄ p**^{w}**eerta**
DISTR:SG-outside-slope-middle-COMPL-hit-PRTC ART door

56. That's just what she did, five times.
ayā́a pu'u anšɨvi-ka=hrecḗ
thus SUBJ:PS five-ACC=at

57. And then they got mad!
ma-tɨ'ɨh nu'u m-ī t^{y}**i'i-n**^{y}**ī-n**^{y}**u'uka-ku-ka'a**
they-then QUOT they-SEQ DISTR-RDP-speak-DESID-PAST
PL PERF

58. And then the Moors (i.e. those who go mounted on horseback) all jumped right up.

ah mú m-ī w-ii-rá-cuna-šɨ ɨ
then they they-SEQ inside-trajectory-facing-jump-PAST ART
away

má=ta-'a-vé'e-t^{y}e'e-t^y-e
they:SUBR=SUBR-outside-covering-extend-CAUS-APPLIC

múuru'u-se
horseman-PL

59. And then they all streamed out of the house together.
ma-tɨ'ɨh nu'u m-ī nāɨhmi-'i
they-then QUOT they-SEQ all-STAT

w-ii-rá-a-kɨ
inside-trajectory-facing-COMPL-leave:PL
away

60. And then a little ways removed from that place, the first one piped up.
tɨ'ɨh nú'u hí ayán-na ɨmɨ hī-(y)a'-u-ta-n^{y}ú
then QUOT SEQ thus-PREV far NARR-away-COMPL-PERF-respond
REF

ɨ saɨ ɨ ta-'a-ná-hka
ART one ART SUBR-outside-perimeter-sit

61. From a little ways off up there at the top of the hill he cut loose with a yell.
ān pú ɨmɨ hu'-u-hīhwa-ka'a
top SUBJ far NARR-COMPL-yell-PAST
PERF

62. And then this command was given: "There he is! Go after him so that you can catch him and kill him!"
ah pu nu'u hí ayān tɨkɨn ma'a-k^{w}ī
CNJ SUBJ QUOT SEQ thus QUOT there-EMPH

ša-a-ta-vá sa-ta'ah
you:PL-COMPL-PERF-follow you:PL-so:that

ra-a-tá-'ase sa-ta'ah ra-a-hé'ika
DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-reach you:PL-so:that DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill

63. And then they came around right to there on top where the first one gave a yell.
m-ahtā m-an-ná
they-CNJ they-top-PREV
REF

hī-(y)e'-i-ré'e-n^{y}e nú'u a'u-tɨ
NARR-away-trajectory-around:corner-come QUOT where-SUBR

a'-u-hīhwa-ka'a ɨ saɨ
away-COMPL-yell-PAST ART one
PERF

64. Again, from somewhere on this side, he cut loose with a yell.
ahtā-wa'a y-u hece a'-u-hīhwa-ka'a
CNJ-beyond here-inside at away-COMPL-yell-PAST
PERF

65. "Pour on the coals, you all, so that you catch up to him!"
ša-a-tā-uh-ka'an^{y}-e yee sa-ta'ah
you:PL-COMPL-PERF-REFL-strong-APPLIC QUOT you:PL-so:that

ra-a-tā-'ase
DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-reach

66. Once again they came storming to that place on top
of the next hill from where Toad's son shouted.
m-ahtā-wa'a m-ān-nā
they-CNJ-beyond they-top-PREV
REF

hí'i-ve-ré'e-n^{y}e
NARR-covering-around:corner-come

67. Once again, from the top of a hill toward this side
of things, Toad's son cut loose with a shout.
ahtá-wa'a y-ū hece hí-(y)a'-u-hīhwa-ka'a
CNJ-beyond here-inside at NARR-away-COMPL-yell-PAST
PERF

68. "Pour on the coals, you guys, faster!"
ša-a-tá-uh-ka'an^{y}-e yée hēice'e
you:PL-COMPL-PERF-REFL-strong-APPLIC QUOT more

69. And then the Old Man of the Moors told them this:
"So that you can catch him, you guys who are on horseback."
ayāa pú nú'u hí t^{y}u'-u-ta-šāh-ta-ka'a ɨ
thus SUBJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-CAUS-PAST ART
PERF

šaayaka tɨkɨn sa-ta'ah ra-a-tá-'ase
pussy QUOT you:PL-so:that DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-reach

mɨ sa-ta-'a-vé'e-t^{y}e'e-t^{y}-e
ART you:PL-SUBR-outside-covering-extend-CAUS-APPLIC

70. That is what the Old Man of the Moors was saying to them.
ayāa pú nú'u hí ɨ šaayaka mūuru'u-se šaayaka
thus SUBJ QUOT SEQ ART pussy horseman-PL pussy

71. He is said to have been running ahead of them all.
a-na-kā-i pū nū'u
outside-perimeter-sit-STAT SUBJ QUOT

72. Once again, from off on this side, Toad's son gave out a yell.
ahtā-wa'a y-u hece hu'-u-hīhwa-ka'a
CNJ-beyond here-inside at NARR-COMPL-yell-PAST PERF

73. "Pour on the coals, you guys!"
ša-a-tā-uh-ka'an^y-e yee
you:PL-COMPL-PERF-REFL-strong-APPLIC QUOT

74. "He's off yonder there on the other side of the canyon already!"
ā'a=na'a ah-tān ɨmɨ arī
there:PS=be located slope-across river far now

75. "So that you can kill him."
sa-ta'ah ra-a-hé'ika
you:PL-so:that DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill

76. That is how the Rains are said to have arrived here.
ayāa pu'u yé me-t^{y}ī=t^{y}e'-i-rā'a ɨ viit^{y}e
thus SUBJ:PS here they-sit=DISTR-trajectory-arrive ART rains

77. And afterwards, Toad left from right there (where the Rains lived).
tɨ'ɨh=tā='i m-u hī-(y)a'-a-rā-hraa
CNJ=and=SEQ there-inside NARR-away-outside-facing-leave away

ɨ t^{y}aaku
ART toad

78. From there she arrived, rounding up all her sons.
m-ú pú w-ī-(y)a'-a-ra-saɨɨ-
there-inside SUBJ them-NARR-away-outside-facing:away-one-

ra-'a-hrá'a ɨ ru-yauh-m^{w}a'a
CAUS-APPLIC-arrive ART REFL-son-PL

79. And then she made it back to her house, when (the land) was already thoroughly wet.
ahtā hī-ru-'u-vé'e-n^{y}e ɨ ru-če
CNJ NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-covering-come ART REFL-house

tɨ p^{w}a'a arī́ hū́'-u-ruu
SUBR COND now NARR-COMPL-wet

80. It was indeed nice there by now.
pu'u-rī́ nā́a ū́-ē'en
SUBJ-now well inside-be

81. And then she left her sons off at her home.
ahtā́ w-ī́-(y)a'-u-t^{y}ā-tuā́ ɨ
CNJ them-NARR-away-COMPL-middle-leave ART

ru-yauh-m^{w}a'a ɨ ru-čeh
REFL-son-PL ART REFL-home

82. And then she went off there to where the elders sit around.
tɨ'ɨh=tá='i ā́un hī́-(y)ā́'-u-me a'u=mā́
CNJ=and=SEQ LOC NARR-away-COMPL-go where=they:SUBR

hī́-(y)e'-e-h-t^{y}ī́ ɨ vauhsi
NARR-away-outside-slope-sit:PL ART elders

83. Just right off there a ways off they found her.
ā́a mu'u nū́'u ɨmɨ hī́-(y)a-uu-nā́hča-ka'a
there they:PS QUOT far NARR-away-horizontally-meet-PAST
PERF

84. They all stood up.
mu-'a-h-wī́i-šɨ'ɨ nā́imi-'i
they-outside-slope-stand:PL-PAST:DISTR all-STAT

85. They picked her up in their hands.
ma-ra-'a-n-t^{y}i-tɨ
they-DISTR:SG-outside-top-up-carry

86. And then they brought her to where the elders sit.
mū́ nu'u m-ī́ ā́
they QUOT they-SEQ there

me-y-a'-u-rē̂'e-n^{y}eh-t^{y}-e
they-her-away-COMPL-around:corner-come-CAUS-APPLIC

a'u=mā́ he'-e-h-t^{y}ī́ ɨ vauhsi
where=they:SUBR away-outside-slope-sit ART elders

87. And then she said this to them: "Now there it is,
as you can see.
tɨ'ɨh nū́'u hī́ ayā́n t^{y}ī́-wa'-u-tā́-'iša tɨkɨn
CNJ QUOT SEQ thus DISTR-them-COMPL-PERF-tell QUOT

pu'u-rī 'ī-ku
SUBJ-now be-EV

88. Didn't they get here?"
n^{y}ī ma-kāi ya-rā'a
Q they-IRR here-arrive

89. "Why, they surely did."
a'in^{y}ī m-i-htā n^{y}ā'u
how they-SEQ-CNJ AFF

90. "Well, that's okay."
puh ka=pu ā'ih
well NEG=SUBJ thing

91. "From now on, you will be giving them the word whenever June rolls around.
īhii m^{w}āa pā wa'a-n^{y}ūukari-stah p^w-ā'a-me
today you you them-word-CAUS you-be:LOC-FUT

tɨ'ɨh-tā an a-uu-mē'-en hūuniu-hece
then-and top outside-horizontally-go-PRTC June-at

92. You are going to speak up.
m^{w}āa pā hu'-u-tā-n^{y}uu-sin
you you NARR-COMPL-PERF-respond-DUR

93. You will have the role of summoning them.
m^{w}āa pā we'-i-wa-tā-heev-i
you you them-NARR-COMPL-PERF-call-STAT

94. They will be hearkening unto you."
m^{w}ēeci mū hu'eita-ā m^w-ā'a-hu'u-n
you:ACC they understand-PRTC they-be:LOC-go:PL-PRTC

95. That Toad was not one bit willing to give in.
ka=pū nū'u a'čū hi'i-tā-ur-a'a-ka
NEG=SUBJ QUOT somewhat NARR-PERF-REFL-be-SIMUL

āɨhna ɨ t^{y}aaku
DEM ART toad

96. "Not me!"
tɨkɨn ka=nū
QUOT NEG=I

97. "Oh, yes, you will!
a'in^{y}ī p-i-htā
how you-be-CNJ

98. There is no other way out unless it was not really you who went and brought them back from there."
ka=pū́=čḗ'e ā́'i tʸu'-u-tā́-rɨ'ɨri-sta-ri
NEG=SUBJ=CONT thing DISTR-COMPL-PERF-possible-CAUS-CAUS

ka'ɨn pa-kā́i mʷā́a m-u=hā́'a
or you-IRR you there-inside=be:LOC

wā́-ha'-u-vḗ'e-vi'itɨ
them-away-horizontally-covering-carry

99. She responded, "That's too bad.
ayan tɨkɨn ka=pū́ a'ih
thus QUOT NEG=SUBJ thing

100. So be it."
če'e ā'ih tɨ̄ na'a
EXHRT thing SUBR be

101. Later on she gave in.
tɨ'ɨ-kī wa-tā́-ur-a'a
then-INDF COMPL-PERF-REFL-be:LOC

102. And whenever it rains, then they say this, that Toad is calling out.
ɨ mā́h nū́'u m-ī m-eyā́n ma-tɨ'ɨh-tā́
ART they:SUBR QUOT they-SEQ they-thus they-then-afterwards

hu'-u-tʸé-viiye amɨ̄ pū́ hu'-u-tā́-nʸuu-sin
NARR-COMPL-PERF-rain DEM SUBJ NARR-COMPL-PERF-respond-DUR

ɨ̄ tʸaaku
ART toad

103. That, so they say, is what took place.
ayā́a pū́ nū́'u tʸū́-hu'-u-rɨh
thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do

104. As you can now tell, that's all.
pu'u-rī i-ku
SUBJ:PS-now be-EV